



October 2023

Pueblo Action Alliance:
The Marxist, Arabella-Funded
Non-Profit in New Mexico with
ties to Cuban Intelligence,
Palestinian Resistance, the U.S.
Secretary of the Interior, and
the White House



Overview

Pueblo Action Alliance (PAA) is a little known but influential activist organization with unexplored connections to President Biden's administration. Interior Secretary Deb Haaland's daughter Somah Haaland is a senior member of the group. One of PAA's animating issues, and one that both Haalands have been involved in, is blocking energy development around New Mexico's Chaco Canyon National Historical Park. Secretary Haaland has even used her official authority to grant PAA's primary lobbying goal – a moratorium around Chaco for two decades.

PAA made news in October 2021 for its role in organizing an anti-fossil fuel protest at the Department of the Interior HQ that resulted in several arrests, some hospitalizations and questions concerning building security. PAA subsequently claimed it did not participate despite its apparent work in planning it. Many of its members were spotted in the vicinity of the protest in the days leading up to it, and new evidence in this report indicates a more substantial role.

Recently uncovered photos suggest that Somah Haaland also participated in another protest the same week as the "DOI riot," this time outside the Government Accountability Office (GAO). The photos obtained through open-source research place Somah at the GAO protest participating in what appears to be unlawful activity that threatens public safety and federal officials, including assaulting a security guard and zip-tying doors to the building shut.

PAA is anything but a small, independent grassroots Native American organization as it has presented itself. Rather, it appears to be yet another cog in the infamous Arabella Advisors' \$1.6B progressive activism machine. Documents connecting PAA directly to Arabella's primary 501c3 vehicle, New Venture Fund, are included in the report.

PAA may also be using Arabella-raised tax-exempt funds to support radical organizations with strong ties to revolutionary causes in Africa, Cuba and Palestinian territories. In fact, PAA sponsors the New Mexico chapter of the Cuban regime's Venceremos Brigade, and PAA employees have gone to Cuba for indoctrination and other unknown purposes in recent years. Further, the individual who founded the group sponsoring PAA, Richard Moore, is a radical Marxist who has made several visits to Cuba and was appointed to an influential position in the Biden White House.

Whether PAA has become an unwitting accomplice to Cuban intelligence operations or whether Arabella's vast network of progressive organizations and war chest regularly filled by activist donors like George Soros and Hans Weiss is funding such operations remain questions that the public is likely to want answered after reading this report.

In addition, PAA and its members have claimed to stand in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance, even in the aftermath of the October 7 attacks in which more than a thousand Israeli civilians were murdered and nearly 200 taken hostage by Hamas terrorists.

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A. About Pueblo Action Alliance

Pueblo Action Alliance was founded in 2016 by Laguna Pueblo who traveled from New Mexico to Standing Rock, North Dakota to participate in the Dakota Access pipeline protests. The Standing Rock Protests¹ began in April 2016 near the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation to oppose the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline. It ended on February 23, 2017, when National Guard and law enforcement officers evicted the last remaining protesters.

The protestors falsely claimed that the pipeline ran onto reservation land, and that it would lead to oil spills. They were bankrolled by Greenpeace, the Sierra Club, the Tides Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and EarthJustice, and their claims were echoed by the media.

The media also claimed the protests were mostly peaceful. In reality, masked protesters roamed the encampments with clubs, attacking construction workers and vandalizing and torching \$10 million worth of construction equipment. So many livestock were killed that the North Dakota Agricultural Commission had to set up a hotline for local ranchers. Local business owners who refused to support the protests were harassed and their stores vandalized. Morton County Sheriff's Department officers were the targets of improvised explosive devices and gunfire. Protesters would retreat onto the reservation after each "direct action" – where only federal law enforcement could follow. The protests, with assistance from the Obama administration, worked and the pipeline was never completed.

In the meantime, the protests grew to be about more than oil. At one point, more than 5,000 protestors were there railing against racism, patriarchy, and capitalism, and they drew leftwing cash. Untold millions in dark money had flowed into the camps, and hundreds of GoFundMe accounts were established to support the protests. Combined they raised \$40 million in eight months. Some of this was utilized by Laguna Pueblo members from New Mexico to found PAA.

While widely overlooked, the Standing Rock Movement was a blueprint for future large scale, coordinated protest actions by the left. It was also a launchpad for aspiring leftist political figures. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Deb Haaland gained national followings among left-wing groups after their visits – both would be elected to Congress in 2018. The roots of PAA are in the violence, lies, and squalor of Standing rock. But the group's lifeblood comes from SWOP.

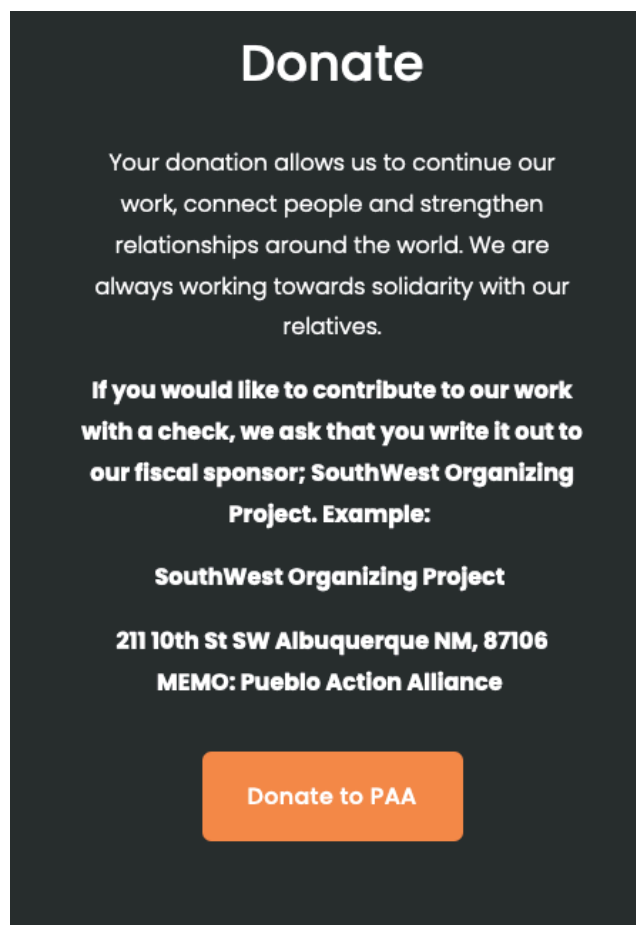
SouthWest Organizing Project (SWOP)

Soon after Standing Rock, PAA found a permanent financial sponsor in The Southwest Organizing Project (SWOP). SWOP is a New Mexico non-profit corporation with IRS tax-exempt

¹ Georg Koch. "Law, Politics, and Pipelines" C2C Journal. 08/07/2018.

501(c)(3) status. It was founded in 1980 by Richard Moore and has a long history of involvement with far-left activities in New Mexico. SWOP is the financial sponsor of PAA. Although PAA incorporated in New Mexico in 2021, it still operates as a project of SWOP, and does not have tax exempt status with the IRS.

On PAA's website, the donate button links to a donation page for SWOP. The landing page states: *If you would like to contribute to our work with a check, we ask that you write it out to our fiscal sponsor; SouthWest Organizing Project.*²



The PAA donation page then directs to a SWOP run donation portal that states: *The SouthWest Organizing Project (SWOP) serves as the fiscal sponsor for Pueblo Action Alliance. Because of this, your donations will be tax-deductible, and your donation will be given directly to the Pueblo Action Alliance for their work!*³

² <https://www.puebloactionalliance.org/donate>

³ <https://swop.ourpowerbase.net/civicrm/contribute/transact?id=15&reset=1> Accessed: 07/06/2023



Support Pueblo Action Alliance

Thank you for supporting the work of Pueblo Action Alliance!

The SouthWest Organizing Project (SWOP) serves as the fiscal sponsor for Pueblo Action Alliance. Because of this, your donations will be tax-deductible, and your donation will be given directly to the Pueblo Action Alliance for their work!

SWOP's website⁴ describes PAA as a *Fiscally Sponsored Project*⁵

Fiscally Sponsored Projects



Pueblo Action Alliance is a community driven organization that promotes cultural sustainability by addressing environmental and social impacts in Indigenous communities.

Visit them at: <https://puebloactionalliance.org>

PAA and SWOP are housed at the same address, 211 10st SW, Albuquerque, NM

The corporate filings with the New Mexico Secretary of State⁶ show the same address.

⁴ www.swop.net

⁵ <https://www.swop.net/movement-building>

⁶ New Mexico Secretary of State – Corporations and Business Services. <https://portal.sos.state.nm.us>

Pueblo Action Alliance

Entity Details

Business ID#:	6652522	Status:	Active
Entity Name:	Pueblo Action Alliance	Standing:	Good Standing
DBA Name:	Not Applicable		

Contact Information

Mailing Address:	211 10th St SW, Albuquerque, NM 87102
Principal Place of Business in New Mexico:	211 10th St SW, Albuquerque, NM 87102
Secondary Principal Place of Business in New Mexico:	
Principal Office Outside of New Mexico:	Not Applicable
Registered Office in State of Incorporation:	
Principal Place of Business in Domestic State/ Country:	Not Applicable
Principal Office Location in NM:	Not Applicable

Southwest Organizing Project

Entity Details

Business ID#:	1128891	Status:	Active
Entity Name:	SOUTHWEST ORGANIZING PROJECT	Standing:	Good Standing
DBA Name:	Not Applicable		

Contact Information

Mailing Address:	211 10TH ST SW, Albuquerque, NM 87102
Principal Place of Business in New Mexico:	211 10TH ST SW, Albuquerque, NM 87102
Secondary Principal Place of Business in New Mexico:	
Principal Office Outside of New Mexico:	Not Applicable
Registered Office in State of Incorporation:	
Principal Place of Business in Domestic State/ Country:	Not Applicable
Principal Office Location in NM:	Not Applicable

The most recent 990 filing by SWOP lists the same address.

Form 990 Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service	Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except private foundations). Do not enter social security numbers on this form as it may be made public. ▶ Go to www.irs.gov/Form990 for instructions and the latest information.		OMB No. 1545-0047 2020 Open to Public Inspection
	A For the 2020 calendar year, or tax year beginning 07-01-2020, and ending 06-30-2021		
B Check if applicable: <input type="checkbox"/> Address change <input type="checkbox"/> Name change <input type="checkbox"/> Initial return <input type="checkbox"/> Final return/terminated <input type="checkbox"/> Amended return <input type="checkbox"/> Application pending	C Name of organization SOUTHWEST ORGANIZING PROJECT		D Employer identification number 85-0368743
	Doing business as		E Telephone number (505) 247-8832
	Number and street (or P.O. box if mail is not delivered to street address) Room/suite 211 10TH STREET SW		
	City or town, state or province, country, and ZIP or foreign postal code ALBUQUERQUE, NM 87102		G Gross receipts \$ 1,859,196

And every filing back to the first one available in 2007 lists the address⁷

Form 990 Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service	Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax Under section 501(c), 527, or 4947(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation) ▶ The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.		OMB No. 1545-0047 2007 Open to Public Inspection
	A For the 2007 calendar year, or tax year beginning July 1, 2007, and ending June 30, 2008		
B Check if applicable: <input type="checkbox"/> Address change <input type="checkbox"/> Name change <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Initial return <input type="checkbox"/> Termination <input type="checkbox"/> Amended return	C Name of organization SOUTHWEST ORGANIZING PROJECT		D Employer identification number 85-0368743
	Number and street (or P.O. box if mail is not delivered to street address) Room/suite 211 10TH STREET SW		E Telephone number (505) 247-8832
	City or town, state or country, and ZIP + 4 ALBUQUERQUE, NM 87102-2919		F Accounting method: <input type="checkbox"/> Cash <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Accrual <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) ▶
	Please use IRS label or print or type. See Specific Instructions.		

Pueblo Action Alliance Receives Funding from Arabella Advisors

SWOP has received over \$900,000 from the New Venture Fund since 2018⁸

2018	Southwest Organizing Project	\$155,000 ⁹
2020	Southwest Organizing Project	\$467,050 ¹⁰
2021	Southwest Organizing Project	\$282,000 ¹¹

⁷ Guidestar

⁸ Guidestar

⁹ 2018 990, Schedule I, Part 2, 363

¹⁰ 2020 990, Schedule I, Part 2, 809

¹¹ 2021 990, Schedule I, Part 2, 582

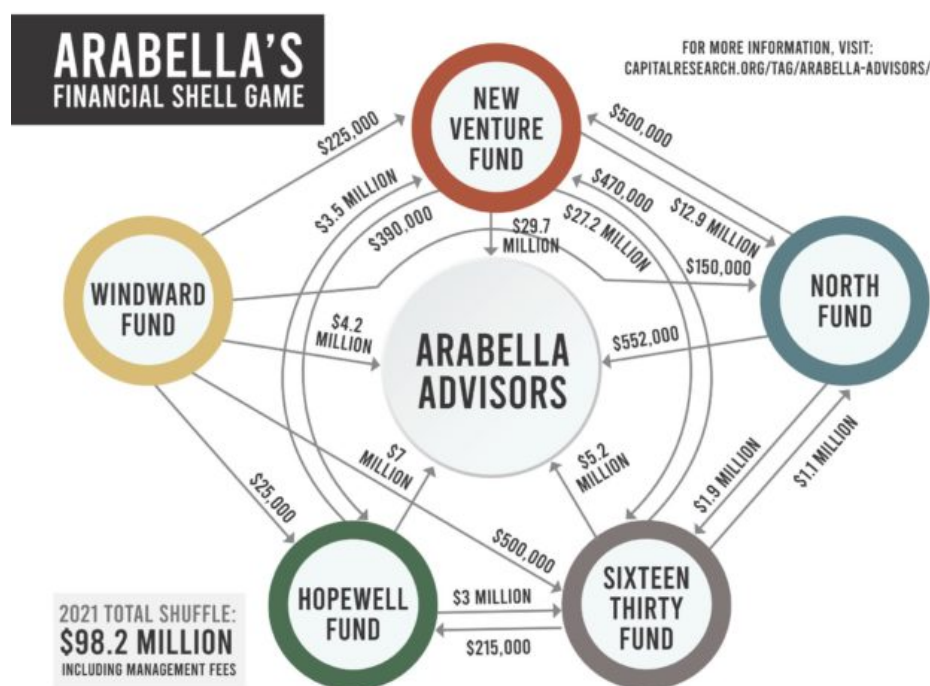
The New Venture Fund (NVF) is a 501(c)(3) in the network of five nonprofits created and managed by Arabella Advisors, a Washington, DC-based consulting company that caters to organizations on the political Left. Arabella contracts with all four funds to provide staffing and management services, and they share its Washington, DC, address.¹²

A Report by the Capital Research Center stated:

Arabella Advisors may be one of the most powerful—and least known—influencers on the Left through its shadowy network of nonprofits: the New Venture Fund, Sixteen Thirty Fund, Hopewell Fund, and Windward Fund.

Together, these groups form an interlocking network of “dark money” pop-up groups and other fiscally sponsored projects, all afloat in a half-billion-dollar ocean of cash. The real puppeteer, though, is Arabella Advisors, which has managed to largely conceal its role in coordinating so much of the professional Left’s infrastructure under a mask of “philanthropy.”

Yet, however the company would like to frame its work, the bulk of its “philanthropy” remains better described as “deep advocacy”: nonprofit political activism hidden beneath numerous layers.¹³



¹² Philip Rojc. “Big Builds: A Look Inside Arabella Advisors.” Inside Philanthropy. January 14, 2020. <https://www.insidephilanthropy.com/home/2019/1/14/big-builds-a-look-inside-arabella-advisors>

¹³ Ludwig, Hayden. *Big Money in Dark Shadows: Arabella Advisors Half-Billion Dollar ‘Dark Money’ Network*. Capital Research Group. 2019

Contrary to PAA's presentation of itself as a small grassroots indigenous rights organization, these records show that it appears to be yet another public-facing activist wing of the largest "dark money" organization in the United States. PAA's activities documented in this report contribute to public concerns that tax-exempt organizations are acting inconsistently with their IRS-approved purposes and that further investigation of PAA, its fiscal sponsor and primary funders, the New Venture Fund, may be necessary.

B. Secretary of the Interior Deb Haaland



Deb Haaland is the current U.S. Secretary of the Interior. She was nominated in January 2021 and confirmed on March 15, 2021. Prior to that Haaland served as a member of Congress (D-NM) from 2019-2021. She was the Chair of the New Mexico Democratic Party from 2014-2016. She unsuccessfully ran for Lieutenant Governor in 2014.

Haaland is a longtime New Mexico activist, centered on the Laguna Pueblo community and the She was an organizer for Obama 2012. Haaland traveled to North Dakota in 2016 to participate in the Standing Rock Protests. It is currently unknown if she traveled with PAA co-founder Reyes Devore or any other members of SWOP/PAA.

Haaland has close ties to PAA, which aggressively promoted her confirmation as Secretary of DOI. They held virtual townhall meetings and employed a vigorous social media campaign in support. Haaland was photographed with PAA staff wearing a PAA shirt in October 2018 while running for Congress.¹⁴

¹⁴ Facebook.com/puebloactionalliance



from left: Julia Bernal, Deb Haaland, Reyes Devore, Sheldon Tenaro

Members of PAA traveled to DC for her swearing in and she allowed a photograph taken of her in her DOI office with a PAA portfolio to be posted on PAA’s social media accounts. The caption read “It’s Auntie Deb’s first day as Secretary of the Interior, and she’s repping PAA in her office!”¹⁵



¹⁵ Instagram.com/puebloactionalliance

And Haaland has used her personal twitter account to raise funds for PAA.



In July 2021, members of PAA traveled to DC and met with Haaland.



Julia Bernal, Sheldon Tenerio, Marcus Trujillo, Lauren Howland



Julia Bernal, Deb Haaland

C. Somah Haaland



Somáh Haaland

Media Coordinator

Somáh Haaland (she/they) is an interdisciplinary artist from the **Pueblos of Laguna and Jemez**. Although their heart belongs to the desert, they currently reside on the east coast in Occupied Lenapehoking (NYC). Somáh earned their degree in theatre arts from the University of New Mexico in 2017, where they pursued their love of movement and storytelling that was instilled in them from a young age. In 2019, after a trip to the Jamestown History Museum in so-called Virginia, Somáh published an op-ed in Teen Vogue concerning inaccurate Native representation in museums. They also worked as an assistant teacher for the youth theatre program at UNM throughout their time as a college student, and they have been a youth leader with Circo Latino at the NHCC since 2017. Somáh loves collaborating with children to make theatre, and she is passionate about empowering youth to make art as a form of resistance. The intersectionality of Somáh's queer and Indigenous identities is what drives her work and her desire to contribute to making the world into a place where BIPOC, queer, & other oppressed groups can thrive.

Since 2020, PAA has employed Somah Haaland¹⁶. The 27-year-old Somah is Deb Haaland's only known child. Somah is known as an LGBTQ activist. It appears she currently lives in Brooklyn, NY. Somah was hired by PAA in September 2020, 3 months before Deb Haaland tweeted soliciting funds for PAA. Somah's exact role is not known, but it appears she adds content to several of PAA's social media accounts.

¹⁶ Puebloactionalliance.org/meet-our-team (accessed via archive.org 08/17/2023)

People vs. Fossil Fuels

People vs. Fossil Fuels was a week of protests in Washington, DC, from October 11-14, 2021. PAA was one of the lead groups organizing the events. It was widely reported that one protest turned into a riot at the DOI Main Headquarters, causing damage to property and the assault of a DOI security officer requiring hospitalization.

Somah Haaland, in her official capacity with PAA, attended the People vs. Fossil Fuels protests. Also in attendance was Julia Bernal, Jaelyn Littlebear, and at least seven other PAA staffers.



DOI Riot

On October 14, 2021, climate demonstrators attempted to occupy the Stewart Lee Udall Main Interior Building on C Street NW. The protesters traveled to DC for People vs. Fossil Fuels, five days of demonstrations by a coalition of groups known as "Build Back Fossil Free." PAA was one of the lead members of the coalition. The demonstration turned violent as the group attempted to forcibly enter the building. Protestors could be seen climbing up doors and pushing officers back as they tried to force their way into the Interior Department. Several DOI security personnel were injured, including one officer who required transport to a nearby hospital for treatment.



Although PAA has publicly denied it participated in the riot, at least one person who was seen at other protests with PAA was caught on video at the DOI protest.

Joye Michelle Braun was pictured with PAA at a protest at Lafayette Park and the GAO building. These photos were posted to PAA social media.



Joye Braun speaking near Lafayette.



PAA marching with Joye Braun.



Julia Bernal speaking at Lafayette.



Joye Braun speaking, Julia Bernal to her right.



Joye Braun, Julia Bernal.

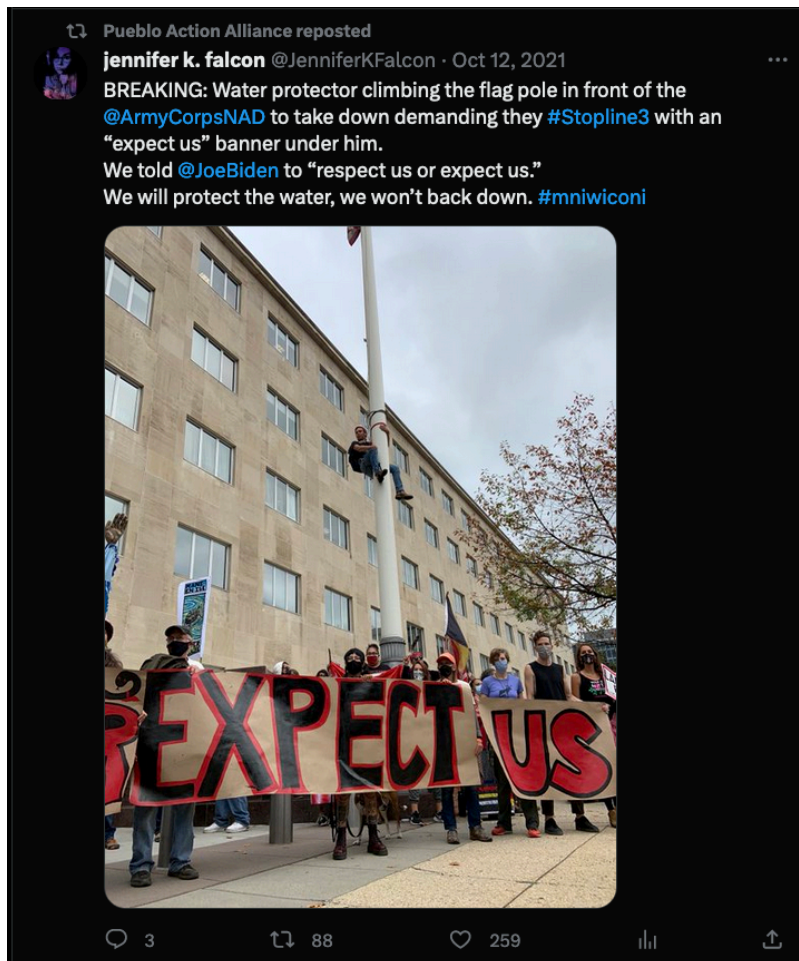


Joye Braun at DOI Riot.

Braun, one of first organizers of the Standing Rock Protests, had been arrested for a protest in front of the White House on October 11.¹⁷ Braun died on 13 Nov 2022 in Butte, ND.

The Protest at GAO

Build Back Fossil Free organized a large protest in front of the Government Accountability Office building at 441 G Street, NW on October 13, 2021. The target of the protest was the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, located in the building.



Protesters came equipped to climb the flagpoles in front of the building and cut down the American Flag and the Army Corps of Engineers flag. A GAO Security Guard attempted to stop the vandalism of the flag. He can be seen in a video running out of the building, attempting to stop the pole climber, being pushed to the ground into bushes, getting up, being shoved against the wall, and being surrounded before retreating into the building.

¹⁷ bsnorrell.blogspot.com/2021/10/native-women-leaders-arrested-at-white.html. 10/11/2021



GAO Security running toward pole climber.



GAO Security attempts to stop pole climber.



GAO Security is shoved into the bushes.



GAO Security is shoved against a wall.



GAO Security is physically blocked before retreating into the building.

It's possible Somah Haaland was in front of this protest just before the GAO Security guard arrived. All the PAA female staffers wore black pants and un-buttoned green camouflage shirts over black crew neck shirts. Somah has distinct black Nike sneakers with white soles.



Reyes Devore, Somah Haaland, Julia Bernal.



Somah Haaland, fourth from left.



Somah's sneakers.



Unidentified protester at the flagpole just before Security arrives.



Unidentified protester's sneakers.



Army Corps of Engineers flag is thrown while protesters cheer.



Protester begins cutting down the American flag.



One of the two discarded American flags propped upside down.

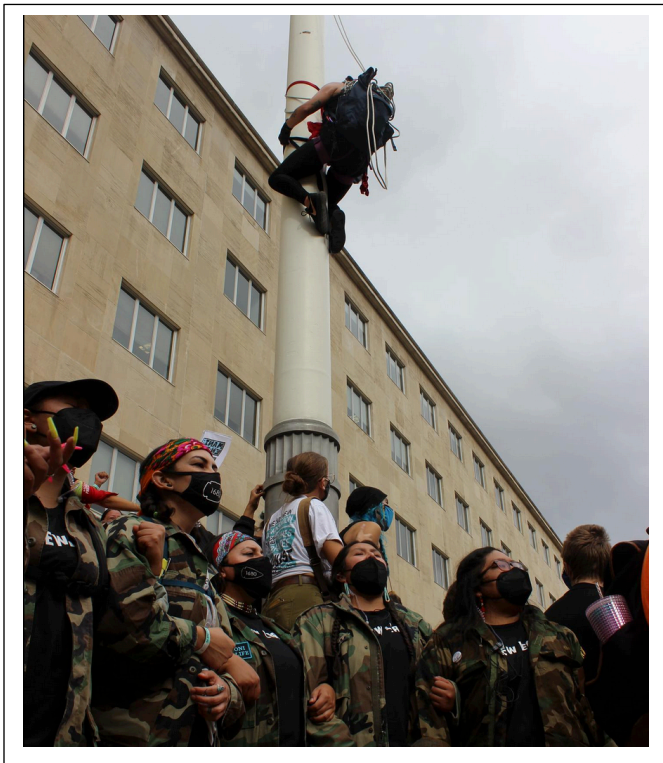


The protest flag.



Protest flag flying over GAO.

Somah and several other PAA staffers stood with their arms locked under a flagpole while the American Flag was torn down¹⁸.



¹⁸ Flickr. @puebloactionalliance



Protesters also blocked the doors of GAO with zip ties and bandanas.



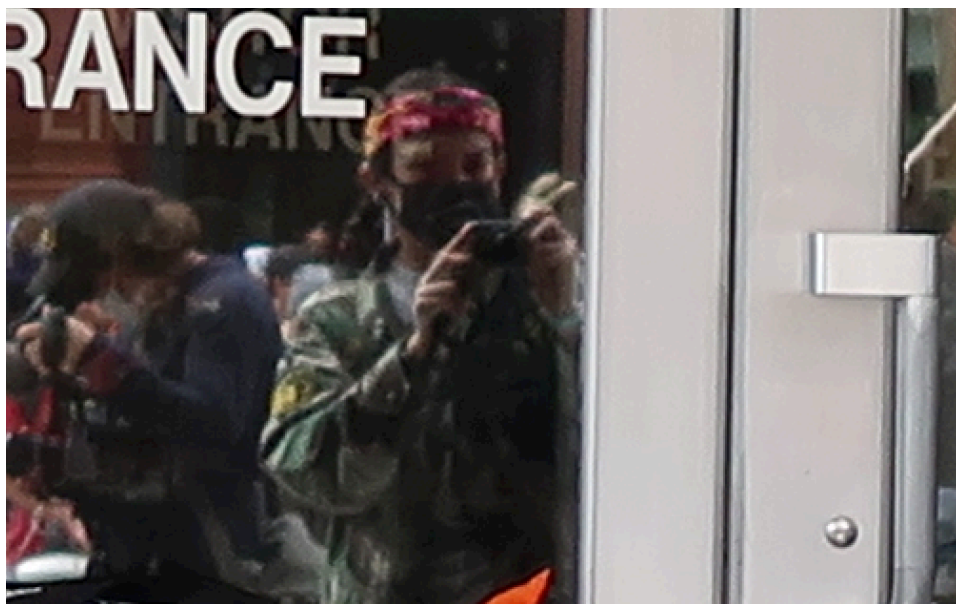
Somah Haaland participated in this protest. Not only was Somah present, she took the photographs that were posted to PAA social media.



Protesters barricading the doors.



Zoom 1: Reflection in door.

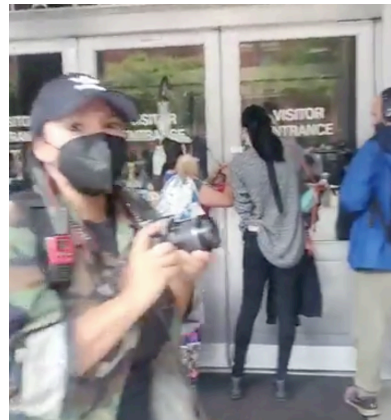


Zoom 2: Reflection in door.



Somah Haaland, Jaelyn Littlebear

Lauren “Corn” Howland was also caught on video taking photographs¹⁹



The actions documented above by Somah Haaland and her colleagues at PAA may constitute federal crimes and at the very least, warrant an official investigation by law enforcement authorities. Several individual actions appear to implicate the following statutes:

- ☐ Assault (18 USC 111),
- ☐ Conspiracy (18 USC 371),
- ☐ Malicious Mischief (18 USC 1361),
- ☐ Seditious Conspiracy (18 USC 2384),
- ☐ Civil Disorder (18 USC 231(3)),

¹⁹ Facebook. @ienearth

- ❑ Incitement of a Riot ((18 USC 2101)(1)),
- ❑ and possibly a host of other federal and DC laws including conspiracy and related RICO charges.

Did PAA organize the GAO Protest?

All of PAA staff are wearing radio earpieces and mics. PAA staff are at both flag poles as protestors are cutting down the American flags. PAA staff are seen photographing protestors barricading the doors.

Earpieces

Every member of PAA can be seen wearing a radio earpiece. Scanning available open source photographs and videos has not found any other groups with this communication apparatus.



D. Richard Moore

Richard Moore, co-founder and longtime organizer of SWOP, is currently the Co-Chair of the White House Environmental Justice Advisory Council. He also served on the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) National Environmental Justice Advisory Council (NEJAC), where in 1993 he was the first elected Chair.

Moore is a radical Marxist. He began traveling to Cuba with the VB in the early 1970s.



Richard Moore, Co-Chair of the White House Environmental Justice Advisory Council and Co-Coordinator of Los Jardines Institute in Albuquerque, New Mexico: “Today is an historic day in our larger movement for justice, started by our elders and ancestors many years ago. Since his first day in office, President Biden committed to listening and learning from the expertise and perspectives of environmental justice, grassroots communities to update the Clinton Executive Order. With this Executive Order, he is making good on that promise and answering a decades-long call to put environmental justice at the heart of federal policy. I am pleased that the recommendations of the White House Environmental Justice Advisory Council are central to this Executive Order. There is more work that must be done together, but today is a day to remember.” [[Statement](#), 4/21/23]

The Venceremos Brigade is not unknown to the White House. In 2020, Karen Bass was said to be on the Vice Presidential short list for then candidate Joe Biden. An op-ed in the Washington Post in August 2020 focused on her history as an organizer for the Venceremos Brigade.²⁰

²⁰ Olsen, Henry. *Karen Bass's history with Cuba should disqualify her from VP consideration*. The WashingtonPost. 08/04/2020.

E. International Support for Marxist Revolution

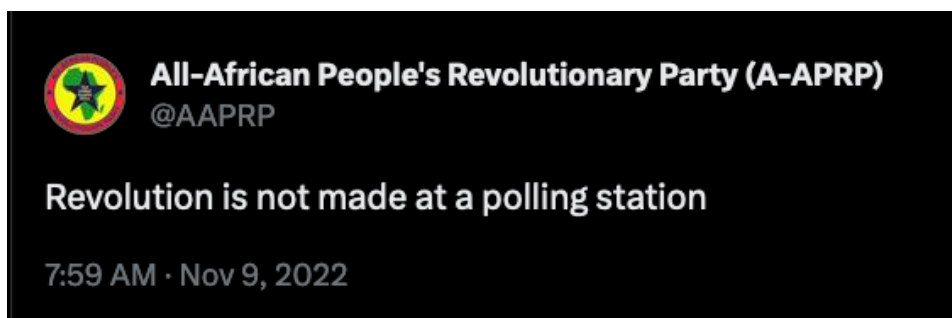
All-African People's Revolutionary Party



The All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) is a political organization that advocates “total liberation and unification of Africa under an All-African Socialist Government.” It calls on “all Black revolutionaries throughout the world” to take up the cause of “advancing the triumph of the international socialist revolution, and the onward progress towards world communism.”

The AAPRP was founded in 1968 by Kwame Nkrume in Guinea, author of a seminal book on Marxist revolution titled “Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare.” The book “sets down the structure for an All African political and military organisation” and is a practical guide for the eventual “armed phase of the African Revolution.”²¹ Leadership of AAPRP passed to infamous black revolutionary Stokely Carmichael in 1969²².

Under the tutelage of Fidel Castro, Carmichael established AAPRP chapters which today number 132 countries, all the while preaching that military struggle is essential for a true Marxist revolution to succeed.



²¹ Nkrumah, Kwame. *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*. International Publishers, 1968.

²² There is conflicting reports that state Nkrume founded AAPRP and gave control to Ture, or Ture founded AAPRP at Nkrume's behest. All reports agree it was founded on the principles outlined in Nkrume's book on Revolution.

This maxim is at the core of AAPRP and still referenced in public communications.

The Venceremos Brigade



The Venceremos Brigade is a U.S.-based organization that supports the Communist Party in Cuba. It was founded in 1969 by Cuban Intelligence (DGI) under the direction of the Soviet KGB. “After having observed the attitude of American left-wing visitors to Cuba, [DGI officials] concluded that the young Americans were an easy and accessible source of the information needed. Consequently, the Venceremos Brigade was brought into existence.”

A declassified CIA document released in 2002 called the Venceremos Brigade “one of the most extensive and dangerous infiltration operations ever undertaken by a foreign power against the United States.”

DGI closely vetted the VB members as potential agents: “Usually, out of a 200-member Brigade, 30 to 40 individuals were thought worthy of special consideration. Of these, 4 or 5 were recruited as contacts and, if future proficiency was evident, they were developed as agents.” Annually, current and potential recruits spend up to two weeks in Cuba. These “brigades” or “contingents” are intended to indoctrinate new “brigadistas” and strengthen the bond with existing members.

The VB contingents have made a pilgrimage to Havana annually since 1969. Fidel Castro spoke with the first Venceremos Brigade.²³



The contingents are run by the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP).

An Overview of the Brigade Experience

The Program

While in Cuba, the Venceremos Brigade is hosted by the *Cuban Institute for Friendship with the People* (ICAP).

Every year, our friends at ICAP develop a program for our two-week visit to Cuba. Our Cuban hosts work very hard to ensure that Brigadistas can seize the opportunity of their visit to Cuba- seeing and learning as much as possible, and hearing from as many voices as possible- so that we return to the US with a wealth of knowledge and a dynamic perspective, enabling us to educate people about Cuba, replacing myths with realities.

In a declassified CIA document, ICAP was described as an arm of Cuba's "Propaganda Apparatus." It was established by the Cuban Government on 30 December 1960 to "to stimulate and facilitate the visit to Cuba of the representatives of the popular and progressive

²³ Add citation

sectors of all the countries of the world that show interest in learning firsthand the economic and social changes and the works carried out by the Cuban revolution."

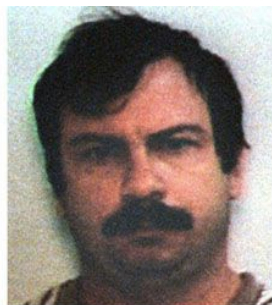
Former ICAP president Rene Rodriguez Cruz admitted in an interview that all ICAP friendship organization activities are closely coordinated "by Havana." The current President of ICAP is Fernando Gonzalez Llort. Gonzalez is an acknowledged Cuban intelligence agent who was charged with espionage and imprisoned in the United States for 15 years.

The Cuban 5

Gonzalez was one of five Cuban intelligence agents (with Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero, Ramon Labanino, and Rene Gonzalez) arrested in September 1998 after Cuban Migs shot down a Cuban-American rescue plane with four Americans aboard in the Florida strait. They became known as the Cuban 5. The Cuban 5 were convicted in 2001 in Miami of conspiracy to commit espionage, conspiracy to murder, acting on behalf of a foreign government, and other illegal activities in the United States. The Cuban government admitted in 2001 that the five were intelligence agents after three years of denial.



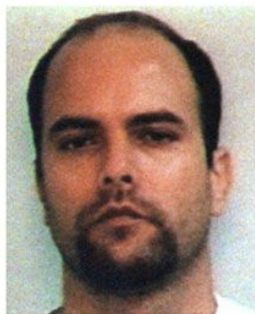
Guerrero



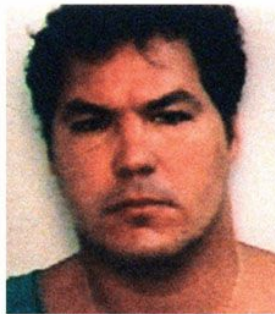
F. Gonzalez



R. Gonzalez



Hernandez



Labanino

Gonzalez was released from prison by President Barack Obama in 2014. This was met by strong opposition from the Cuban-American community. He was immediately deported to Cuba. At the airport in Havana, Gonzalez was met by Cuban President Raul Castro and awarded the honor "Hero of the Country."



Raul Castro, Magali Llort (mother of Fernando), Fernando Gonzalez Llort.

Gonzalez and the other members of the Cuban 5 are occasionally seen on official diplomatic trips.



Cuban 5 in Moscow (2016).



Fernando Gonzalez in Beijing (2019).

The Center for a Free Cuba wrote Secretary of State Anthony Blinken in 2023 and requested ICAP be placed on the list of terrorist organizations controlled by Cuba. In the letter they specifically mentioned Gonzalez Llor, stating²⁴:

The ICAP—led by Fernando González Llor, who served a 15-year sentence in the United States for espionage—has been used as a platform to support State Terrorism activities and intelligence gathering inside and outside Cuba. The ICAP often arranges and hosts meetings with the governments of Syria, Iran, and Russia and coordinates activities with organizations from these countries. **In addition, the ICAP directly controls ‘groups of solidarity’ outside of Cuba** that organize violent ‘acts of repudiation’ against Cubans abroad and it monitors Cuban citizens who are living in other countries.

²⁴ <https://www.cubacenter.org/articles-and-events/2023/2/21/the-assembly-of-the-cuban-resistance-asks-the-biden-administration-to-include-castro-regimes-mass-organizations-in-the-list-of-sponsors-of-terrorism>

The 50th Anniversary brigade contingent convened in Havana in 2019. Members of Pueblo Action Alliance, the SouthWest Organizing Project, and the All African People's Revolutionary Party (Southwest Chapter), traveled to Cuba as brigidistas²⁵.



from left: Onyesonwu Chatery, AAPRP; Sheldon Tenario, PAA; Julia Bernal, PAA; Roberto Roibal, SWOP; in Cuba.

²⁵ www.puebloactionalliance.org

PAA staffer Sheldon Tenario wrote about his experience at a Brigade in a PAA blog post²⁶:

Through Pueblo Action Alliance and our partnership with the SouthWest Organizing Project, there were a few of us who were able to travel to the island in July 2019 ...**The trip turned out to be life changing, to say the least...**

Unlike the U.S., Cuba is a Socialist country. Capitalism doesn't run the country, the people do...

I arrived back to Turtle Island knowing the work to be done in my own community, with support from many new friends. I experienced reverse culture shock returning to an environment with such a prominent white supremacist ideology...

While speaking with family about my experience, I couldn't help but want to continue work in solidarity with Cuba. I've since continued to organize with the New Mexico Venceremos Brigade Committee, and also accepted an invitation to be on the National Coordinating Committee for the Venceremos Brigade.

The NMVB coordinates monthly programming every last wednesday of each month. Tune into our program and join the NMVB to help organize Solidarity efforts with Cuba and of course, learn about the VB, and about Cuba, and the importance of why we must continue to build relationships with Cuba.

Cuba showed me that a new word is possible, for Kewa and for many autonomous Pueblos well.

²⁶ Tenario, Sheldon. "Solidarity with Cuba" Puebloactionalliance.org

Sheldon Tenorio in Cuba:

Solidarity With Cuba

By Sheldon Tenorio (Kewa Pueblo), Creative Strategist - Pueblo Action Alliance



Sheldon Tenorio posing at the Plaza De Revolución. Photo Credit: Julia Bernal



Gonzalez Llort, the convicted spy and president of ICAP, was a keynote speaker.

🗨️ | 07/08/2019 - 8:16am (GMT-5)



El actual presidente del ICAP, Fernando González LLort, espía de la Red Avispa.


Foto © ACN / Omara García Mederos


Returning to New Mexico, PAA, SWOP, and AAPRP formed the New Mexico Regional Committee of the Venceremos Brigade.




The NMVB website is hosted by PAA.




1680
Home
About
Campaigns
Popular/Political Education
Solidarity
Blog
Upcoming Events
Archives
f
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New Mexico Regional Committee



Venceremos!

"We shall overcome."

In the Southwest region of Turtle Island, three organizations have come together to build what is now the New Mexico Regional Committee. Joining the many years of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution through challenging U.S. policies and economic blockages as well as the U.S. travel ban on the island. Solidarity began in 1969 with a sugar harvest, and since the Venceremos Brigade has continued to work along side the Cuban relatives.

Pueblo Action Alliance, the Southwest Organizing Project, and the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party have had a few meetings and held a report back at Highland High-school. We continue to hold open meetings and encourage joining as we emphasize Indigenous, African and chicano/Chicana participation.

[Click here to learn more about the VB](#)

They host weekly meetings, some of which are live-streamed²⁷. Many of these videos were stored on the NMVB facebook page, but that was deleted sometime in 2021.



²⁷ YouTbue. @aaprpsouthwest

In addition to Bernal and Tenerio, the leadership of the NMVB includes Onyesonwu Chatoyer, and Roberto Roibal

Onyesonwu Chatoyer is the Executive Director, Southwest U.S., of the All Africa People's Revolutionary Party and serves on the National Coordinating Committee of the Venceremos Brigade. Chatoyer was a founder of the Black Lives Matter chapter in Portland, OR.



She described her experience in 2019:

Every Cuban we met and our delegation hosts – members of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples (or ICAP) – was warm, open, and patient with our many questions (even at times overly romantic and fawning questions) in a lot of broken spanish.

They are engaged in an existential struggle against US imperialism, but they hold onto a remarkable compassion for US citizens as fellow living beings first and foremost. I personally do not yet possess that kind of grace towards the citizens of the great Satan and witnessing it from Cubans after all they've been through was humbling and awe-inspiring²⁸. (Chatoyer, 2019)

Chatoyer traveled to Havana again in 2021 and 2022.

²⁸ Chatoyer, Onyesonwu. *African Solidarity with the Cuban Revolution*. Hood Communist. 12/21/2019

Roberto Roibal is a longtime leader of SWOP and has been involved with the Venceremos Brigade for over 30 years.



In a 1981 interview with the Albuquerque, New Mexico radio station KUNM, Roberto and Jean Gauna talk about their experience and work with the Venceremos Brigade in Cuba. Jean stated she and Roberto met and ate lunch with Ramon Castro, Fidel's older brother. Later on that evening they went to see Fidel speak at the Karl Marx theater.

*Jean: "One other thing that stands up in my mind is one particular day we had we met Ramon Castro, the older brother of Fidel, we had lunch with him at the beach. So we had the beach with Ramon. And then that evening, we went back into Havana, and were invited to the Karl Marx theater where Fidel spoke, which was, you know, a treat."*²⁹

On a SWOP podcast episode, Lucia Roibal interviewed her sisters Lolita and Rosina as well as her father Roberto. Rosina and her father Roberto, went to Cuba in 1997 and saw Fidel Castro. She also sang a song on national Cuban television.

*Rosina: "Well, SWOP sent me to Cuba with a small group, including you dad for the 14th world youth forum on anti imperialism. In 1997, I got to see Fidel Castro. I got to sing a song from Jóvenes Unidos on national TV. And I was also there just after Che Guevara remains were returned to Cuba."*³⁰

Roibal also appears to have a close relationship with Deb Haaland, once boasting that he persuaded her to cancel a trip to Israel.

²⁹ Espejos de Aztlan, KUMN Radio, 05-18-1981

³⁰ SWOP 40th Anniversary Podcast, Episode 6: The Roibal Family. 2020



US Representative Deb Haaland came to the Gutierrez Hubbell House this morning for a coffee meet and greet with over 200 people. I shared my opinion with her that I was very disappointed that she was going to Israel with AIPAC and she announced that she had just cancelled that trip. Good for her

PAA's parent organization, SWOP, has been involved with the VB for decades. SWOP members "traveled to Cuba throughout the 1980s and 90s."³¹



³¹ Facebook.com/swopista

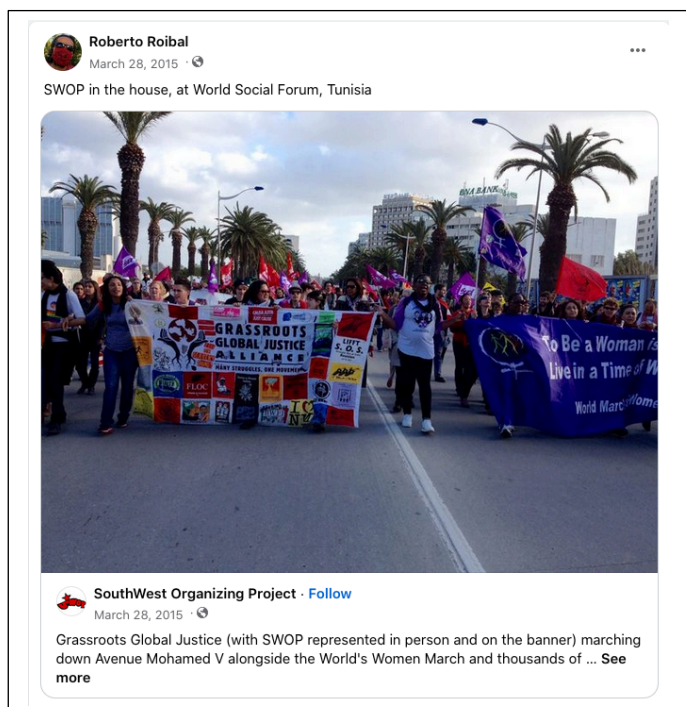
Palestinian Resistance

The groups and people mentioned above have a longstanding pro-Palestinian / anti-Israel agenda.

As noted, Roberto Roibal persuaded then-Congresswoman Deb Haaland to cancel an AIPAC sponsored trip Israel.



Roibal, who was the long-time director of SWOP, has long pushed the anti-Israel agenda, including sending members of SWOP overseas.



And he has publicly taken the side of Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) in the current war in Gaza.

**Roberto Roibal**
5 days ago · 🌐

Free Palestine. I won't be at the Albuquerque event, but I will be at the Santa Fe event today at 3.



FRI, OCT 13
EMERGENCY PROTEST FOR PALESTINE
Albuquerque, NM
49 people interested

☆ Interested



Roberto Roibal

5 days ago · 🌐

Protest in Santa Fe right now. Free Palestine and stop WIPP. It's all tied together. Join the protests today in Santa Fe and Albuquerque at 3pm to show your support of Palestine





Roberto Roibal

2 days ago · 🌐

...



Pasha Zahid

October 9 at 9:07 AM · 🌐

A worldwide social media campaign to spread the historical map of Palestine 🇵🇸




Roberto Roibal

October 16 at 7:44 PM · 🌐

...



PAA has posted Free Palestine propaganda.

 **Pueblo Action Alliance** · Follow


January 16, 2020 · 🌐

Palestinian resistance has been much like our own here on turtle island. Having solidarity with other indigenous peoples who experience genocide, displacement, relocation, xenophobia, oppression, racism and other isms is important for the liberation of all colonized people who live in settler states. The Palestinian solidarity wall in Tewa territory known as Santa Fe, is being threatened by erasure. The city wants to take down the mural claiming it doesn't withstand the city's historic preservation rules. But the reality is, it bothers people. There are some people who don't want to admit or see the genocide of indigenous people across the globe. Those who are comfortable and a-political benefit from the settler state and therefore won't fight for the abolition of the US empire and imperialism.

Support this message, support the artists who utilize their skills to uplift messages far beyond the colonized comprehension. Stand up for something real, recognize the foundation of Amerikkka was built on the backs on enslaved Africans and the killings of indigenous people. Support artist @f1rstse7en. Support indigenous groups like @therednationmovement who have worked hard to amplify Palestinian solidarity and resistance against colonized Zionism. Learn and support @aaprpnwemexico about the struggles African people have experienced from imperialism.

We are all in this together. No silos or separate movements. If you're not supporting or following those who have experienced the most hurt than you're not a good ally. Whether your fighting against climate change, oil and gas, equal housing, clean water and air, homelessness etc you must address the systemic racism BIPOC experience from the settler state.

Support us
To watch the full video go to @f1rstse7en





Pueblo Action Alliance · Follow

February 14, 2020 · 🌐

...

International Solidarity is the way in which we come together in the struggle to dismantle the systems against indigenous people everywhere. To create a place free from capitalism, free from patriarchy, free from white supremacy. We want to be able to look and move forward in a way where our movements unify. We must show up for one another, hold space for each other, build trust relationships, and learn from each other. Educate to liberate. From Chaco Canyon, to Mauna Kea, to Oak Flat, to Standing Rock, up to Unist'ot'en and Wet'suwet'en territories, to the Gwich'in of the Arctic, to the entire Global South, to Cuba, to Venezuela and to Palestine, the indigenous liberation movement is for everyone, everywhere. We aren't free unless all of us are free. @therednationmovement @swopista @aaprpnnewmexico @seedingsovereignty @earthcare_nm @protectoakflat @protectmaunakea @waterprotectorlegal @nsrgnts @tewawomenunited @indigenousrising @cjaourpower @frackoffchaco @ip3action @greenpeaceusa



SWOP has posted Free Palestine propaganda.

**SouthWest Organizing Project** · Follow

April 12, 2016 · 🌐

...

Honored to have Amena and Mariam tonight at SWOP with Friends of Sabeel ABQ!
[#FreePalestine](#) [#Nakba](#)

DIRECT FROM THE REGUGEE CAMPS –
Friends of Sabeel ABQ
in cooperation with the Free Palestine Movement, ABQ Chapter of Veterans for Peace and al-Awda Palestine Right to Return Coalition invite you to the North American Nakba Tour.

On May 14, 1948, as Zionist leader David Ben Gurion was proclaiming a Jewish state in Palestine, his troops drove out the inhabitants of the ancient Palestinian town of al-Zeeb. 18-year-old Mariam Fathalla was one of them. She and her young husband fled to Lebanon. By year's end the 4,000-year-old community had been leveled. More than half of all Palestinians were killed or expelled and more than half the cities, towns and villages disappeared, a crime that Palestinians call al-Nakba (the Catastrophe).

Now 86 years old, Mariam has spent the last 68 years in crowded, makeshift refugee camps in Lebanon. She has raised three generations, all waiting to return to Palestine. She has seen five Israeli invasions of Lebanon, as well as the 1976 Tel al-Zaatar camp massacre that killed more than 2000 refugees there.

Mariam wants to meet you. So does Amena Ashkar, the great granddaughter of other Nakba survivors. They have a different message. They do not live in Palestine. They have no citizenship anywhere. They do not live under Israeli occupation. Israel does not allow them to visit their homes, much less live there. Amena has never met an Israeli, and Mariam not since 1948. They have a different perspective.



– DIRECT FROM THE REGUGEE CAMPS –
Friends of Sabeel ABQ
in cooperation with the Free Palestine Movement, ABQ Chapter of Veterans for Peace and ANSWER New Mexico invite you to the

North America Nakba Tour

The Exiled Palestinians

Stateless Palestinians from the Camps in Lebanon



On May 14, 1948, as Zionist leader David Ben Gurion was proclaiming a Jewish state in Palestine, his troops drove out the inhabitants of the ancient Palestinian town of al-Zeeb. 18-year-old **Mariam Fathalla** was one of them. She and her young husband fled to Lebanon. By year's end the 4,000-year-old community had been leveled. More than half of all Palestinians were killed or expelled and more than half the cities, towns and villages disappeared, a crime that Palestinians call al-Nakba (the Catastrophe).

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SouthWest Organizing Project · Follow

November 21, 2012 ·

...

"So why is Gaza the world's largest "open air prison" and, more importantly, why do the nations of the world allow this to continue?"

Gaza is an "open air prison" because..."



ELGRITONM.ORG

Gaza: A New Mexican on Living in an Open Air Prison | El Grito

Gaza: A New Mexican on Living in an Open Air Prison By Lora Lucero On November 15, 2012 (Editor's note: Albuquerque's Lora Lucero is living in Gaza, and is currently witnessing an escalation in violence from Israel,...

i

SWOP has also sponsored travel to Israel for SWOP-istas to promote Palestinian propaganda.



SouthWest Organizing Project · Follow

October 31, 2014 ·

...


One of our community organizers, Rodrigo Rodriguez, is currently participating in a delegation to Palestine. He is participating in the olive harvest and learning about the struggle of the Palestinian people for self determination and food sovereignty. Here's a message from Rodrigo to his fellow SWOPistas!

"Saludos from the city of Ramallah in the occupied West Bank of Palestine! The last few days have been a whirlwind of activity. It's been powerful, at the same time it is heartbreaking but it is inspiring. The struggle of the people of Palestine is one that feels all too familiar. It's overwhelming to start making all the connections concerning colonialism and oppression in New Mexico to those here. I am almost 8000 miles away from home but everyday I am meeting people I feel like I have known my whole life, hearing stories I already know the endings to, seeing devastation and resilience that I recognize all too well. I feel a little piece of my heart, of my spirit, gets left behind in every village and camp we have visited. It's overwhelming to feel my own privilege, and literally to see it as we go through each apartheid military checkpoint. There are so many thoughts and feelings and things I'd like to say. But I'll keep it short and say that the struggle for the rights of all communities: Palestinian, Chicano, Black, Asian, Indigenous, LGBTQ is truly a universal one. The liberation of all our peoples is reflected in the steadfastness of the resistance of the Palestinians. There will never be justice on stolen land and we will never truly be free until we are all free. To quote one of the olive farmers (and new SWOPista) Mohammed Jboor, "Rights without power only makes sheep". I'll check in again soon, just don't start the revolution in Burque without me!"


In solidarity and struggle,
-Rodrigo — with Rodrigo Rodriguez.

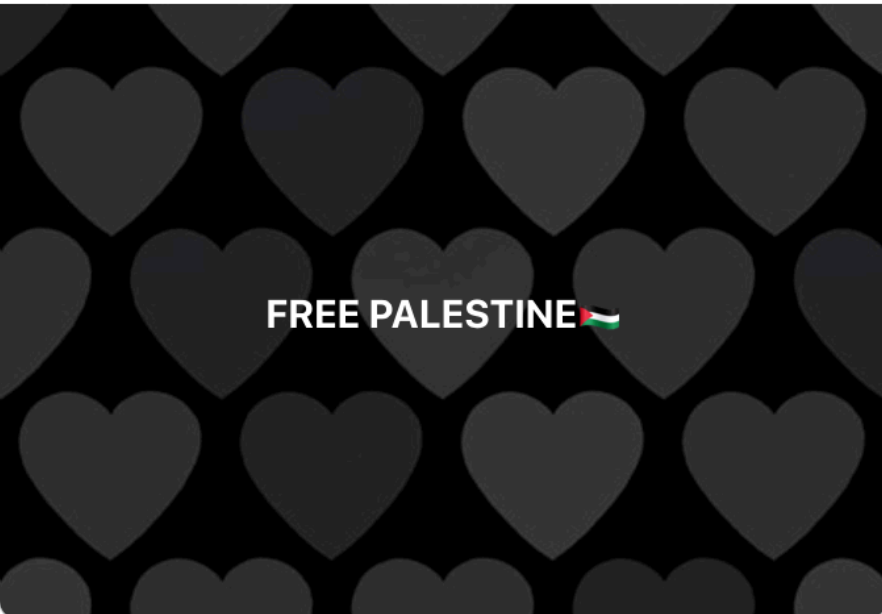






Richard Moore has posted Free Palestine propaganda.

**Richard Moore**
May 16, 2021 · 🌐


Los Jardines Institute - New Mexico


**Michele Roberts**
May 15, 2021 · 🌐





 55


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 Comment


 Share

**Richard Moore**
<https://theintercept.com/.../facebook-israel-zionist.../>



THEINTERCEPT.COM
Facebook's Secret Rules About the Word "Zionist" Impede Criticism of Israel

2y Like Reply



60



Richard Moore

July 22, 2014 · 🌐

...



Che Guevara was with Niyaz Ahmmed Kiliyamannil and 34 others.

June 19, 2014 · 🌐

(Posted during the 2014 Gaza War)

F. Conclusions and Questions

- The information compiled in this report raises several questions about Pueblo Action Alliance's tax-exempt activities, financial support, and relationships to both senior officials on President Biden's cabinet as well as in the White House. Further investigation is warranted on several of the following areas:
- Is PAA or SWOP inappropriately spending tax-exempt funds provided by New Venture Fund and its other donors? Specifically, have they fully complied with all lobbying registration and disclosure requirements, avoided political or partisan activities, and ensured no illicit foreign sources of funding have supported their activities?
- Is PAA's sponsorship of the New Mexico Venceremos Brigade, an organization with known ties to Cuban espionage activities, and sponsored trips of PAA staff to Cuba for unknown purposes consistent with the SWOP's tax-exempt status and restrictions on the use of tax-exempt funds for prohibited purposes? Have concerns of Cuban government influence over the operations, activities, and mission of the Venceremos Brigade been adequately studied and investigated to ensure the tax code is not being abused to advance the interests of hostile foreign adversaries?
- Secretary Haaland has been documented fundraising for and promoting the Pueblo Action Alliance, meeting with the organization while it lobbied her on a controversial oil and gas leasing decision, and her child retains a senior leadership role at the organization. She was present at Standing Rock when the group was created and PAA has only publicly identified one co-founder to date. What exactly is Secretary Haaland's relationship to the Pueblo Action Alliance?
- Somah Haaland and her PAA colleagues have been documented zip-tying doors of a federal building during a protest at GAO, obstructing and appearing to assault a security official in order to remove the American flag, and disturbing the peace outside a federal building during the riot. Did Somah Haaland and her PAA colleagues violate any federal or state laws in the course of this protest at GAO? Was undue political influence exercised to avoid fines, arrests, imprisonment, or any law enforcement action for the apparent riotous and unlawful behavior?
- While PAA has denied having participated at the "DOI Riot" that took place in October 2021, pictures in this report show members of PAA photographed outside of DOI during the protest and another individual photographed inside the building around the time when arrests took place. The protest ultimately resulted in certain law enforcement requiring hospitalization. Were PAA members acting as part of a concerted effort at DOI or independently under another organization either funded or otherwise sponsored by PAA (or related Arabella-controlled entities)? If so, which ones and what law enforcement actions have been taken to investigate the DOI riot and its perpetrators?

- Were the activities of the PAA or their sponsorship of the New Mexico chapter of the Venceremos Brigade appropriately considered in any decision to issue a security clearance to a Biden Administration appointee, including Secretary of the Interior Deb Haaland or Co-Chair of the White House Environmental Justice Advisory Council Richard Moore?
- In order to hold a cabinet-level position, Secretary Haaland maintains the highest level security clearance. Have the extreme views on Israel held by PAA, SWOP, and Roibal influenced Deb Haaland or Richard Moore since the Hamas attack? Are they influencing the Biden Administration more broadly today? Do they present any national security concerns given the deep personal and familial connection to Secretary Haaland or Moore?