

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
PART 3
Investigation of Activities in Detroit, Mich.; Philadelphia, Pa.;
and Indianapolis, Ind.

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

JULY 21-24, 1970
(INCLUDING INDEX)

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The House Committee on Internal Security is a standing committee of the House of Representatives, constituted as such by the rules of the House, adopted pursuant to Article I, section 5, of the Constitution of the United States which authorizes the House to determine the rules of its proceedings.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 91ST CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 3, 1969, as amended by House Resolution 89,
February 18, 1969

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress, together with all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, be, and they are hereby adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the 91st Congress * * *

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RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(k) Committee on Internal Security, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

11. Committee on Internal Security.

(a) Communist and other subversive activities affecting the internal security of the United States.

(b) The Committee on Internal Security, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make investigations from time to time of (1) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, whether of foreign or domestic origin, their members, agents, and affiliates, which seek to establish, or assist in the establishment of, a totalitarian dictatorship within the United States, or to overthrow or alter, or assist in the overthrow or alteration of, the form of government of the United States or of any State thereof, by force, violence, treachery, espionage, sabotage, insurrection, or any unlawful means, (2) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, their members, agents, and affiliates, which incite or employ acts of force, violence, terrorism, or any unlawful means, to obstruct or oppose the lawful authority of the Government of the United States in the execution of any law or policy affecting the internal security of the United States, and (3) all other questions, including the administration and execution of any law of the United States, or any portion of law, relating to the foregoing that would aid the Congress or any committee of the House in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Internal Security shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Internal Security, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

28. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Part 3

Investigation of Activities in Detroit, Mich.; Philadelphia, Pa.; and Indianapolis, Ind.

TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1970

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richardson Preyer, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, chairman; Richard H. Ichord of Missouri, chairman of the full committee; and John M. Ashbrook of Ohio.)

Subcommittee member present: Representative Preyer.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel; Stephen H. Romines, assistant counsel; and Stuart Pott, investigator.

Mr. PREYER. The subcommittee will come to order. The hearing today, which we are about to begin, is a continuation of hearings concerning the Black Panther Party. The subjects that we will inquire into today relate to the history, the origin, the organization, character, the objectives, and activities of the Black Panther Party pursuant to committee resolutions of October 8, 1969, authorizing an in-depth investigation of the Black Panther Party, and February 18, 1970, authorizing the conduct of hearings on this subject.

In the initial hearings the committee received evidence and testimony concerning Black Panther Party activities in the Kansas City, Mo., area. Subsequently, the subcommittee received evidence and testimony on Black Panther Party activities in the Seattle, Wash., area.

This subcommittee, consisting of myself as chairman, Mr. Ichord, and Mr. Ashbrook, reconstituted by Chairman Ichord on July 8, 1970, meets today to receive evidence and testimony with respect to Black Panther Party activities in Detroit, Mich.; Philadelphia, Pa.; and Indianapolis, Ind.

As to Mr. Ashbrook, we have just learned his plane is late and he will probably be in about 11:30. I believe Mr. Ichord will not be here until tomorrow.

We have subpoenaed four witnesses for this series of hearings. Three of them are ex-members of the Black Panther Party; one is from Detroit, one from Indianapolis, and one from Philadelphia. The fourth witness is a sergeant with the Indianapolis Police Department.

It is an objective of this hearing to develop further information on the objectives and activities of local Panther chapters. We seek to determine particularly the extent to which the local chapters adhere to policies or doctrines of revolutionary violence advocated by leaders of the national Panther organization. It appears that the three ex-Black Panther Party members who have been subpoenaed to testify should possess relevant and material information on this subject and are in a position to explain the extent to which the local chapters subscribe to doctrines of violence and actually attempt to implement them.

Any individual who may feel aggrieved by the nature of the testimony or its personal effect on him may request that he be heard. Every consideration will be given by the committee to any such request with a view toward affording him an opportunity to testify if he so desires. However, it will be on condition that he will be sworn, that he will conduct himself with propriety and decorum, and that he will be available for examination by members of the subcommittee on pertinent matters to which he testifies.

Mr. Counsel, you may call your first witness.

Mr. ROMINES. I call Donald Berry.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Berry, will you stand and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BERRY. I do.

Mr. PREYER. You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF DONALD BERRY

Mr. ROMINES. Will you state your full name for the record, please?

Mr. BERRY. Donald Berry.

Mr. ROMINES. Where do you reside, Mr. Berry?

Mr. BERRY. Detroit, Mich.

Mr. ROMINES. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. All my life.

Mr. ROMINES. How old are you?

Mr. BERRY. Thirty-eight.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you currently employed, Mr. Berry?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I am.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, have you served in the armed services of this country?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I have approximately 14 years of service.

Mr. ROMINES. When were you discharged?

Mr. BERRY. August 1, 1962.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of discharge did you receive?

Mr. BERRY. Honorable.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you have any particular assignment or assignments while you were in the military, Mr. Berry?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I was a military policeman and also a military police investigator.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, I understand you have had some experience as a boxer; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you care to relate briefly to the committee what your experience has been?

Mr. BERRY. As an amateur I had 102 fights and as a professional I had 56 and lost 10.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you participate in any fights in the military?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. I won quite a few titles in the service. I was the first serviceman to ever win six titles in 1 month while stationed at Fort Lewis, Wash., and in 1960 I became a member of the 1960 Olympic boxing squad.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you actually go to the Olympics?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I went, but I didn't fight because I received two broken hands in the trial.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BERRY. At the present, no, but I have been a member of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. You are not now?

Mr. BERRY. No, I am not.

Mr. ROMINES. But you have been; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. Where were you a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BERRY. In the city of Detroit, Mich.

Mr. ROMINES. When did you join the party?

Mr. BERRY. Around 1967, the year after it was formed.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the approximate month in which you joined?

Mr. BERRY. I think it was around, it was during the summer, May or June, around in there somewhere.

Mr. ROMINES. Why did you join the Black Panther Party, Mr. Berry?

Mr. BERRY. At the time I joined the Panthers, for the good the Panthers were doing. I had studied the Panthers before I joined and I seen a lot of good things they were doing for the black community. This I wanted to be a part of, as long as they were helping our people working in the community, helping the children, working with the people, this was good. I wanted to be a part of this.

Mr. ROMINES. How long did you remain a member of the Panther Party?

Mr. BERRY. For approximately 3 years.

Mr. ROMINES. When did you leave the party?

Mr. BERRY. In 1969. No, excuse me. The chapter was closed for part of 1969 and then reopened, and this other office reopened in the early part of 1970.

Mr. ROMINES. When did you cease to associate with either the Black Panther Party chapter itself or what was subsequently formed?

Mr. BERRY. Oh, I ceased to associate with them around May, April, or May of this year.

Mr. ROMINES. Of 1970?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. While you were in the Black Panther Party, Mr. Berry, did you hold any positions of leadership?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I did. I held two positions.

Mr. ROMINES. What would those two positions have been?

Mr. BERRY. The first one was field secretary for the 12th Street area of Detroit and the second was lieutenant of security for the State of Michigan.

Mr. ROMINES. What would the duties of the field secretary have encompassed?

Mr. BERRY. My duties were I had a group of five people working under me, and we would go into the communities, talking with tenants, landlords, businessmen, working with people, finding out their problems and any way we could help solve the problems, get the tenants to work along with the landlords, getting the people to keep the neighborhood clean, working along with the businessmen just to try to make a better community.

Mr. ROMINES. You said you had five people with you, would these have been members of the party also?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. For what period of time, Mr. Berry, were you the field secretary for the party?

Mr. BERRY. Up until approximately—about a year, actually.

Mr. ROMINES. So that would have been from around April, May, or June of 1967 until the comparable period in 1968; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. When did you become lieutenant of security?

Mr. BERRY. I became lieutenant of security in 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you know approximately what months in 1969? Would that have been around April or May perhaps?

Mr. BERRY. This could have been, I remember it was the summer months.

Mr. ROMINES. How long did you remain lieutenant of security?

Mr. BERRY. Until the chapter closed.

Mr. ROMINES. What were your essential duties as lieutenant of security?

Mr. BERRY. As lieutenant of security it was my job to set up security for the office as well as security at the Panther house, teaching security classes and teaching the Panthers on security.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you yourself conduct any classes?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I did.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of classes did you conduct?

Mr. BERRY. Well, I conducted classes on the use of firearms and physical education classes.

Mr. ROMINES. With respect to the classes in the use of firearms, where were those classes taught?

Mr. BERRY. These were taught in my home.

Mr. ROMINES. How often did you teach them?

Mr. BERRY. Once a week.

Mr. ROMINES. What did your teaching consist of?

Mr. BERRY. Well, the proper use of different weapons, the care and maintenance of these weapons.

Mr. ROMINES. To whom were these lessons given?

Mr. BERRY. To Panther sisters and brothers.

Mr. ROMINES. Approximately how many members of the party would have participated in these classes?

Mr. BERRY. At times we would have 15 or 20 because by my home being small we could not accommodate everyone, and then a lot of times some just wouldn't come at all.

Mr. ROMINES. Could you elaborate, Mr. Berry, and tell me a little bit more about what kind of classes you taught? What did you teach the members of the party?

Mr. BERRY. Mainly the sisters was how to use, how to hold weapons, how to fire them, how to clean them, how to break them down, put them back together.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of weapons were you instructing about?

Mr. BERRY. At the time I was instructing a 12-gauge shotgun, .33 Winchester, and a .32 revolver.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the various members of the party who participated in these classes bring their own weapons?

Mr. BERRY. No, they didn't, because I didn't allow them to bring any guns to my home.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of weapons did you use to instruct with?

Mr. BERRY. I used my own weapons, the ones I had at home were the ones I instructed with.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you teach essentially by using the weapons or from manuals? How did you conduct your classes?

Mr. BERRY. I had manuals and then I had these charts like they have in the service that show the different parts of the weapons and naming each part, how to break them down, and also manuals telling the different parts about the weapon and how it would fire and how to use it.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ever conduct any classes which actually involved firing or shooting the weapons?

Mr. BERRY. No, I didn't. A few of the Panthers and I myself went to the ranges, but I never actually held a class where they actually fired the weapons.

Mr. ROMINES. When you went to the ranges, was this voluntary or was it organized?

Mr. BERRY. Voluntary; we just got together on our own and went out on Sunday to the range, some of us.

Mr. ROMINES. Why, Mr. Berry, was it necessary to conduct classes in the use of firearms?

Mr. BERRY. I was ordered to conduct these classes.

Mr. ROMINES. By whom?

Mr. BERRY. By the central office in Chicago.

Mr. ROMINES. The central office of what?

Mr. BERRY. Of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. What then, if any, is the relationship between the Chicago office of the Black Panther Party and the Detroit office of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BERRY. The Detroit Chapter; we received all of our orders from Chicago because Chicago has been designated as the central office from California. We were notified that we would receive all orders from Chicago.

Mr. ROMINES. If Chicago is the central office would other offices, other than your own in Detroit, fall under its control and jurisdiction?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, they would.

Mr. ROMINES. Other offices in that general area?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. When you were ordered by Chicago to conduct classes in firearms, did they give you any reason why?

Mr. BERRY. They said that this was part of the plan of the Black Panther organization that every member should know how to use a weapon and be qualified with that weapon.

Mr. ROMINES. When you conducted the classes in firearms, was it merely a class in teaching the members how to physically use the weapons or did you ever instruct them as to when and under what circumstances they should actually use the weapons?

Mr. BERRY. It was mostly on how to use the weapons, and also when they had to use them they would know how to use them.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ever instruct them as to when and under what circumstances they were to use the weapons?

Mr. BERRY. No, I didn't.

Mr. ROMINES. You have indicated you taught a class in physical education. What did that consist of?

Mr. BERRY. This mainly consisted of condition, body condition, exercise, keeping your body in good condition, eating the proper food, getting the proper rest.

Mr. ROMINES. Who attended those classes?

Mr. BERRY. Mostly the sisters did.

Mr. ROMINES. How often were those classes held?

Mr. BERRY. This was once a week also.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the Detroit Chapter of the Black Panther Party ever have any classes in political education?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, we did.

Mr. ROMINES. How often were those held?

Mr. BERRY. These were held every Saturday, once a week on Saturday from 5 to 7.

Mr. ROMINES. Who attended those classes?

Mr. BERRY. These classes were mainly for the public, the outsiders.

Mr. ROMINES. Who taught the classes?

Mr. BERRY. The teaching was done in rotation. Each week it was divided into 2 hours, and each week each Panther was picked to teach a class. Like maybe my turn might come up once a month and I would have an hour, and some other brother would have an hour.

Mr. ROMINES. Where were the classes taught?

Mr. BERRY. These were taught in the Panther office.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the general substance of the class, what were they teaching to the public?

Mr. BERRY. Mainly on political education, words and meanings, what the Panthers were, what they meant, what their objectives were.

Mr. ROMINES. Could you elaborate a little bit? What objectives did you teach the public?

Mr. BERRY. Most of the classes that I taught were on words, meanings and definitions of certain words that were used by the Panthers, words that came from the "red book" and other literature that the Panthers put out.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you actually instruct out of the "red book"?

Mr. BERRY. I took notations from the "red book" I used for my classes, but I didn't actually instruct out of the "red book." I used quotations from the "red book" during my instructions.

Mr. ROMINES. Did any members of the party who conducted these classes teach from the "red book"?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, they did.

Mr. ROMINES. When we refer to the "red book" we are referring to the QUOTATIONS FROM *CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG*?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the average attendance at these classes?

Mr. BERRY. You mean public attendance?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes.

Mr. BERRY. Sometimes we would have 30 to 40 people. Sometimes we wouldn't have enough room to let everybody in, some would have to stand on the outside.

Mr. ROMINES. Were the classes generally well received by members of the general public?

Mr. BERRY. Mainly in a way yes, because the majority of the people were there because they didn't understand the Panthers. They didn't know what they were and they were there actually to find out just what the Black Panther Party really was and what it really meant.

Mr. ROMINES. What period of time, Mr. Berry, did you conduct these classes, from when to when?

Mr. BERRY. From the time I became lieutenant of security until the chapter closed.

Mr. ROMINES. You say the chapter was closed; did the classes continue after the chapter was closed?

Mr. BERRY. No, they didn't.

Mr. ROMINES. So in effect, as I understand you, the chapter was closed and the classes were discontinued; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you know when that occurred?

Mr. BERRY. You mean when the chapter was closed?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BERRY. The chapter was closed right after the defense captain was killed, which should have been around during the summer months, I think around July or August, I am not sure.

Mr. ROMINES. July or August of what year?

Mr. BERRY. 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. You indicate the defense minister was killed; is that what you said?

Mr. BERRY. The defense captain.

Mr. ROMINES. By whom was he killed?

Mr. BERRY. Well, truthfully we don't know, but at the time there was 12 Panthers, 14 altogether, 12 from Detroit, two from Chicago present. The defense captain was shot in the side of the head. Now with 14 Panthers in the house and the defense captain shot, nobody claims they knew what happened. The police didn't investigate it, the Panthers didn't bother to investigate it, so the national office asked for a report on what had happened. They didn't get one. The central office asked for a report, they didn't get one. Everybody went into hiding.

So David Hilliard, the chief of staff, he ordered the Detroit Chapter closed because he said if no one in that chapter had any concern about the defense captain being killed and no one bothered to investigate it then he didn't feel that Detroit was worthy of being called a Black Panther chapter, so he ordered the chapter closed.

Mr. ROMINES Who is David Hilliard?

Mr. BERRY. He is the chief of staff of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. Is he located in Chicago?

Mr. BERRY. At the time he was; I think he is in California now.

Mr. ROMINES. I want to make sure I understand exactly the circumstances surrounding your defense captain being killed. Was it in the Panther house?

Mr. BERRY. Directly in the house, right in the hallway.

Mr. ROMINES. Was there anyone present other than members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BERRY. No, there wasn't, except that the two were from Chicago, but they were members of the party.

Mr. ROMINES. So you had 12 members of the Black Panther Party from Indianapolis?

Mr. BERRY. No, from Detroit.

Mr. ROMINES. From Detroit, excuse me, and two from Chicago?

Mr. BERRY. Two from Chicago.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know for what reason the two members from Chicago were there?

Mr. BERRY. We were still trying to figure that out 3 or 4 months after it happened. We couldn't understand why they were here because they were not authorized to be here. Excuse me, when I say "here" I mean Detroit. Any time any member of the party came from out of State we were notified ahead of time that this person would be there. But we were never notified about these two coming.

Mr. ROMINES. They just came; is that right?

Mr. BERRY. They just came because one tried to get me to take him to the airport that evening, but by me working I was not able to take him.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you actually in the Panther house that night?

Mr. BERRY. No; I was not there at the time the killing happened, but I had just taken eight of the Panthers out there and returned to work. I never did get back to the house and I was called and told about the shooting.

Mr. ROMINES. As I understand you then, as a result of this shooting the Black Panther chapter in Detroit was closed; is that right?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir; yes it was.

Mr. ROMINES. This order came from David Hilliard; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. What did he tell you to do as far as closing the chapter?

Mr. BERRY. He said to close down the chapter, have no more meetings, and for no one within the party to associate with each other until notified by him. He would get in contact with the communications section when he felt that Detroit was capable of having a Black Panther chapter again.

Mr. ROMINES. Is there now a Black Panther chapter in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. Well, no; there is an organizing branch of the Black Panthers known as the National Committee to Combat Fascism.

Mr. ROMINES. So then Detroit had a Black Panther chapter from mid-1967 to the latter part of 1969; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. They no longer have a Black Panther Party chapter per se?

Mr. BERRY. No, they don't.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period 1967 through 1969 while you were a member of the Panther chapter, what was your approximate membership?

Mr. BERRY. I would say around 30 to 40 people.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the average age of the members?

Mr. BERRY. The average age—the youngest at the time was about 18, and myself I was the oldest member of the chapter.

Mr. ROMINES. Would the majority of the members have been closer to 18 or closer to your age or somewhere in between?

Mr. BERRY. The majority was closer to 18 because we had about four, not counting myself, that were in their thirties and the rest in the early and late twenties, but the majority were around between 18 and 22.

Mr. ROMINES. What happened, if anything, Mr. Berry, after the Panther chapter was closed in July or August of 1969?

Mr. BERRY. Well, myself and a few of the others, we kept meeting anyway because we felt we had an obligation to the people. We had been working along with the people in these communities, and they had begun to get things going and looking nice. And we felt just by not seeing the people, not continuing this, we would be letting the people down and we would be breaking a promise we made to them. So we kept working with them.

Mr. ROMINES. Approximately how many of you continued to work?

Mr. BERRY. About six of us.

Mr. ROMINES. And were these the younger or older members of the party?

Mr. BERRY. These were the older members.

Mr. ROMINES. What did the younger members do?

Mr. BERRY. Some of them I never did see and some I did see. Actually I could not actually tell you what a lot of them did, but they never related to us. But word did get back to Chicago that we were still carrying on as Panthers.

Mr. ROMINES. What did Chicago have to say to you about that?

Mr. BERRY. David personally called me.

Mr. ROMINES. You say, "David." Now who are you referring to?

Mr. BERRY. Chief of staff, David Hilliard, and he told me that we could get in trouble for posing as Panthers because there were no Black Panthers in Detroit. I told him—I said we would deal with the situation; we would take care of that. So we just stopped using the name of Black Panthers and just continued working with the people.

Mr. ROMINES. You indicated a couple of minutes ago that a chapter of the National Committee to Combat Fascism was formed in Detroit; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, it is.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you give the committee the circumstances under which that chapter was formed, as you understood them?

Mr. BERRY. In 1969 they had the national conference to combat fascism¹ in California.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be in Oakland?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, it was. This was a conference where all militant organizations were present; this conference was given by the Panthers. SDS, RNA (Republic of New Africa), Weathermen, were all invited. The conference was held to unite all of these organizations together in case of a revolution. They were hoping the revolution was started.

These organizations would combine together as an army to work with each other, not only in a revolution, but in any given situation. At the time there was no Panther chapter. Three ex-members from Detroit went to California to this conference and when they came back then this is when the office, the National Committee to Combat Fascism was opened.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they receive authority to open such an office in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, they did. This authority came from national headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. What then, if anything, Mr. Berry, is the relationship between the Black Panther Party and the National Committee to Combat Fascism.

Mr. BERRY. The National Committee to Combat Fascism is an organizing branch of the Black Panthers. They set the pattern. They recruit, they teach, and they have you to sell papers; you do Panther work. This is to show them that you really want to become a Panther or they are satisfied that you really can be a Black Panther. Then a chapter is organized within that city, if there is not already one, of Black Panther members, but this committee can continue to organize.

Mr. ROMINES. So in any one given city you could have both a Committee to Combat Fascism and a Black Panther chapter?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, you could.

Mr. ROMINES. After the three individuals came back from California and opened the Committee to Combat Fascism how many of the ex-members of the Panther chapter in Detroit actually joined with that Committee to Combat Fascism?

Mr. BERRY. Other than the three that came back, I think altogether it was about four of the old members went back.

Mr. ROMINES. Why would so few have actually joined this Committee to Combat Fascism?

Mr. BERRY. When they first came back they called a meeting and we all went to the meeting, but the majority of the older fellows like myself we didn't like the ideology they came back with. We didn't like what they came back talking about and the things they brought back; we didn't go along with it.

Mr. ROMINES. What was it they were saying or talking about that you and the older members did not want to go along with?

Mr. BERRY. The main thing all they would talk about is violence, destruction, kill the pig, do this; and this isn't what we wanted. We wanted something constructive. This is all they talked about, violence,

¹ This is a reference to the National Conference for a United Front Against Fascism in America held July 18-21, 1969, at Oakland, Calif.

violence. So we just decided together that we didn't want to be a part of this.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you actually ever join the National Committee to Combat Fascism chapter in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. No, sir; I never actually joined. I went to some of their political education classes; I went to some of their breakfast programs to see just what they were doing, but I never actually joined the National Committee to Combat Fascism.

Mr. ROMINES. As I understand it, the basic reason you did not was because of the violence they encouraged; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; because of what they brought back from California.

Mr. ROMINES. During your membership in the Black Panther Party chapter from 1967 through 1969, was your Detroit Chapter of the Black Panther Party, to use your own words, "violence oriented"?

Mr. BERRY. No, sir; I think we were the best chapter in the country.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say, "the best chapter in the country"?

Mr. BERRY. Records will show you the Detroit Chapter never had any trouble with the police; there had never been an actual shootout in Detroit with the police. In fact, we never had any trouble actually with any law enforcement officer unless it was like minor traffic tickets or maybe one or two down on the street selling papers that was given tickets for disturbing the peace. But as far as major trouble like other chapters had, we never had that because I didn't allow it.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you characterize the Detroit Chapter of the Black Panther Party from 1967 through 1969 as pretty much a non-violent chapter?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I would.

Mr. ROMINES. Did either the regional office in Chicago or the national office in California have anything to say to your chapter about how you were proceeding and what you were doing?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir; they did. They sent two representatives from central to tell us that we were chicken, we were kids; that we wasn't doing nothing; Detroit was the only chapter that had not made the paper and things like this. I stood up and asked them what are we supposed to do, go out and kill a policeman just so we can be known as the Detroit Black Panther chapter and I said we didn't go along with that.

They told me I was wrong, they said Detroit should do something; we had been a chapter for 2 years; we had not done a thing. One of the messengers, he left. And then this other sister she stayed there for 2 or 3 weeks. I guess she thought she was going to run the chapter.

Mr. ROMINES. Would these two individuals have been from Chicago?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What did she do while she was there?

Mr. BERRY. She changed—she called herself changing the ideology of the political education classes, more violence was taught and we were related to the "red book," but actually all we did was sit down and read a book and everybody got up and told what they thought about it.

Mr. ROMINES. Other than this one visit by the two members from Chicago, did you get any other instructions or directions or even pressure to change and become more violent from the national chapter?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, we did. We had two goons, pardon the expression,

to come from national headquarters. And they were sent there to try to better the chapter. I think that is what was wrong with the chapter. We had somebody every other week coming in and trying to tell us how to run the chapter. We thought we were doing it all right, but they didn't. After central couldn't get no results after we wouldn't kill no policemen for them, then they sent us somebody from national to try to get us to do something to get in the paper.

Mr. ROMINES. What, to use your term, did the two goons who came from California tell you you should do?

Mr. BERRY. They said we should be a little more aggressive toward the pig force and should be a little more attentive to neighborhood problems that the people had with the police and that way we would be acting as true Panthers.

Mr. ROMINES. Now they said be more aggressive toward—by "pig" I assume you mean police?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they tell you how to be aggressive toward the pigs?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, they did.

Mr. ROMINES. What did they tell you to do?

Mr. BERRY. They would say never let a policeman stop you anywhere by yourself. Always if a policeman stops you make sure there is a group of people around or somebody around that can see what is going on. They say that the policeman if he catches you by yourself and knows you are a Panther he will take you in the alley and beat you up or he will put you in a car and put a trumped-up charge on you. So they say whenever you are stopped by a policeman make sure there is a group of people around.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they ever tell you or advocate that you should take any physical action against the police department?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; we were always told that. Any time you were stopped by the police, they would say if you are manhandled defend yourself, but they would never actually tell you to start trouble, hit a policeman, or something. The Panthers always felt that the minute they were stopped by the police they were going to be mistreated anyway.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period 1967 through 1969 while the Black Panther Party chapter was in existence in Detroit and you were a member thereof, were there any purges conducted to eliminate or kick out members of the party there?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, there was; there were two.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know when the first one was?

Mr. BERRY. The first one was just before I got in, and the second one was while I was in.

Mr. ROMINES. So the first one would have been sometime in 1967?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you a member at that time?

Mr. BERRY. No, I wasn't. I came in right after the purge.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know for what reason the purge occurred in 1967?

Mr. BERRY. Well, the first one, they say, was for dereliction of duty, not holding office right; they were not keeping the books, money was coming up short, and actually they were just having fun. Instead of

doing regular political work they were just having fun up there and calling themselves Panthers.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know who conducted that purge?

Mr. BERRY. The first one was conducted by Chicago.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they send members down to Detroit from Chicago?

Mr. BERRY. I assume they did.

Mr. ROMINES. But you were not there at the time?

Mr. BERRY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you know how many members of the party were kicked out during that first purge?

Mr. BERRY. I think it was around seven or eight.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the second purge, you say you were in the party when that occurred; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I was.

Mr. ROMINES. When did that happen?

Mr. BERRY. This happened around, just before Michael was made defense captain.

Mr. ROMINES. That would have been somewhere around May of 1969?

Mr. BERRY. Around May of 1969 because that is when Michael was made defense captain.

Mr. ROMINES. Michael Bayaham?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. What caused that purge?

Mr. BERRY. For one thing there was a lot of dissension in the party then; you had what we called little cliques.

There were certain groups holding their own little meetings and certain Panthers associating with each other and a lot of confusion and argument going on. Food and money was coming up short, and half the time nobody was working in the office. No papers were being sold and those that were being sold, the money would come up missing.

The defense captain wrote to Chicago, and they relayed the letters to California to notify them what was going on in Detroit. Then that is when they sent the two goons up to Detroit.

Mr. ROMINES. That is what you testified about earlier, the two, as you put it, "goons" from California.

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What happened when they got there?

Mr. BERRY. We were at the breakfast for children program that morning. It was about 8 o'clock when they came in, and I had never seen them before. One of the Panthers was sitting there at the table with his beret on, one of the members from Detroit.

This fellow walks up to the table and asked him what was he doing with his beret on, and he told him and he said, "It is mine, I can wear it." He said, "No. Are you a member of the party?" He said "Yes." He said, "Well, you have to take your beret off." So this fellow asked him why, and he said, "Because, according to Panther regulations, Panthers only wear their berets doing political work, such as rallies, protest marches, and things like that."

The lieutenant of information at the time was Charlie Diggs, Jr. I called him and asked him—I said, "Who are these guys," and he said, "This is part of the goon squad from California."

So I said, "What do you mean goon squad?" And he said, "These are the guys that take you in the alley and break your leg," and so on, if you mess up money and so on. He said these guys you have to be scared of because that is why they sent them, if anything goes wrong in the chapter, he said, these guys come from out of town and wax you; they take care of you.

I said, "Oh, yeah," like that. I said, "Look, I don't care who they sent." I said, "After running up and down the hills of Korea none of these guys could scare me." That is when they told everyone then to return to the office because they had an important meeting.

Mr. ROMINES. When you say "they" you are referring to the two from California?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. So we returned to the office, and this is when they read off the list. They didn't tell who sent the letter in, but the reason I knew was because I mailed the letter.

Mr. ROMINES. Who had actually sent the letter?

Mr. BERRY. Our defense captain, which was Cully at the time. They read that off, talking about the dissension and how the Panthers were not getting along and money was coming up short and there was too much dissension and jealousy in the party. They read off the names of the people they thought was the ringleaders in this and they thought they should be purged.

At the time 10 people were purged, and while they were reading the names off they said if your name comes up you get out of here right away and if you don't something is going to happen to you.

While they were reading it, the lieutenant of information, Charlie Diggs, and myself—we were very close because I thought he was one of the best members of the party because he really worked for the people and he was a good member and he was one of the ones purged so I almost walked out when he did. I got up to go to the door, and they said, "Where are you going?" I said, "I am just going to see if they are leaving." I walked to the street and I don't know where they went, some we never saw them again. Charlie, I saw him once in a while, but the rest I never seen them again.

Mr. ROMINES. When they purged them they stayed out?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. How long did the individuals from California stay in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. About 2 days.

Mr. ROMINES. After they had carried out their purge, did they make any attempts to help reorganize the chapter?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; that is when they made Michael Bayaham the defense captain. They told about what should be done and someone would be back within a week or 2 weeks to see just how the party was run. They made all new officers. I think I was the only one at the time that was allowed to keep an office. The new defense captain said this was because of the work I had done in the community.

Mr. ROMINES. You have already indicated, Mr. Berry, that the peak membership of the party while you were a member was approximately what?

Mr. BERRY. Thirty, thirty-five people.

Mr. ROMINES. Would the number of Panther members vary depending on what particular events or activity the Panther Party was participating in?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, it would.

Mr. ROMINES. Could you give me an example of what you are referring to?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, because we had actually what we would call paper Panthers and rally Panthers. Now some you would only see like on Huey's birthday or at certain rallies, "Free Bobby," things like that, and we would be down at the Federal Building and we might have all 30 Panthers there, standing there with their black leather jackets and their buttons and berets on. But if you called a meeting the next day you might be lucky if you get six.

The only time we would see some was when they could get to stand up and look proud for somebody to see them. But to work in the office and work in the community, some of them we had a hard time trying to find to keep up with them.

Mr. ROMINES. Approximately how many members could you count on to do the work when it needed to be done?

Mr. BERRY. Eight or ten and maybe not that many.

Mr. ROMINES. Now you have already testified, Mr. Berry, that while you were a member of the Detroit Chapter, in your opinion, it was basically a nonviolent type chapter. Would you have an opinion as to why it was nonviolent and why it was primarily concerned with working in the community?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. I am not patting myself on the back, but at the time I was in charge of security and I made a rule that no guns and no ammunition were to be kept in the office. We would sit down, at the time with the majority being younger, and we would explain to them about just going out starting trouble, getting into trouble, things like that, how this thing would be hurting us, not helping us, and also not helping the people or the community.

I believe a lot of things that our security squad did was the reason why we never had any actual trouble with the police. We were working with these kids and we would sit down and talk with them and show them where this was wrong. Besides knowing that the party didn't like it, we still did it.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period of time that you were a member of the Black Panther Party, was the leadership in the party older individuals or was it younger individuals?

Mr. BERRY. The majority of the time when I was there, the leadership was older.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you think that would have any bearing on why the chapter was to a large extent nonviolent?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I do, I do. Because the older people seem to think a little more; they would weigh a situation. Where a youngster, when I say youngster I mean a 17-, 18-year-old kid, he will jump before he thinks. But the majority of the time the older person like myself, if a situation would come up I would sit down and think should we do this or what should be done to eliminate this. And this way, by thinking and weighing, you get a better solution than just running on into it without even stopping to think.

Mr. ROMINES. You have indicated that the Panther chapter was essentially a nonviolent type organization. You have also testified that it went out of existence in the latter part of 1969 and now they have a National Committee to Combat Fascism in Detroit. How would you characterize the National Committee to Combat Fascism, is it a non-violence-oriented organization or violent?

Mr. BERRY. I would say they are a violence-oriented organization because first of all they have got a fool for a leader up there. The fellow is 19 years old, he don't have any experience. He has never been anywhere but half way to school and back home. In fact, he cannot handle the people that he has got up there. I believe half the time he really don't care what they do because, by being in the community and being downtown and watching them, you can tell they don't have any leadership. They don't have no means of discipline; it seems as though everyone is doing just what he wants to do, which is nothing, nothing constructive anyway.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give the committee any examples which would illustrate why you say the membership of the National Committee to Combat Fascism is violence oriented?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; I can recall an incident that I personally know two members of the committee were on. This happened in Detroit a couple of weeks ago. It is this sniping of these three policemen. I know personally that these two men that did it are members of the National Committee. With leadership and the right discipline, this never would have happened. But when you have poor leadership and no one up there to actually discipline the men or carry out a program the way it is supposed to be, then anything might happen. Actually it was five of them; three I don't know. But the two that actually did the shooting, I personally know them because both of them at one time were on my security squad.

Mr. ROMINES. Were they good men to have on your security squad?

Mr. BERRY. No, they were not, neither one of them because I kicked both of them off. One, a person named White, the fellow seemed to be obsessed with always wanting to kill a policeman. That is all he ever talked about, and judging from the family he comes from we were surprised at him. After a while we just made up our minds this guy is nuts, we can't use him because eventually he is going to do something to get everybody killed. So we kicked him off.

This other fellow was a "yes" man for White; everything White said was OK with him. I think that is because he lived with White because he didn't have nowhere else to live and no job.

Mr. ROMINES. Since you referred to the policeman being shot in Detroit, can you give the committee just a brief explanation of what happened there?

Mr. BERRY. These five men were in a car. Now I don't think they knew it, but at the time they had been put under surveillance. Another member of the Committee [to Combat Fascism] that had quit had notified the police that this thing was going to happen, and these five men were under surveillance as this car they were in drove to the east side of Detroit.

Mr. ROMINES. You say they drove to the east side of Detroit, from where did they leave?

Mr. BERRY. They were a block from the office of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, where one of the fellows lived. They drove to the east side of Detroit. Now the National Committee is in the northwest section of Detroit, and they drove to the east side, which would be approximately maybe about 8 or 9 miles from where the National Committee office is, and these two were let out. Now the three continued back, were on their way back to this fellow's house in the car when the police stopped them. That is when the police got the call over the radio that these other officers had been ambushed. Now to me, this had to have been planned because they knew exactly what time these officers came across that bridge; it is a bridge that goes over the expressway.

Mr. ROMINES. Were the officers shot in the car as they were driving over the bridge?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; they were ambushed in the cars, and I think the third officer that was shot was a police lieutenant. He was coming to the scene after receiving a call and he was also shot.

Mr. ROMINES. Do I understand you correctly that the two individuals have been arrested for this?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; the way they got arrested, they got away from the scene and had run to White's house, because White lived in that district and he knew that area. He lived with his parents, and they got to White's house. But just to show how people in the community were concerned, the people told the police that they saw these two going in the house carrying rifles.

The police converged on the house and gave them so much time to come out, which they didn't. In the process White's father, I think he works with the police in some capacity, I am not sure what it is, but he talked with the police and asked them to let him go in and talk to his son.

Anderson, he surrendered first; he threw out his gun and walked out, but White stayed in. Then White's father went in and talked with White for a half hour, but there was so much tear gas in the house he could not stay. He came back. They gave him a tear gas mask and he went back in and this time talked his son into coming out, and his son surrendered to the police.

Mr. ROMINES. Both of these two people were members of the Committee to Combat Fascism?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir, they were.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know of any examples where members of the Committee to Combat Fascism have tried to agitate or cause violent confrontations in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I have. Another incident, which happened in the 12th Street area around the corner from where I worked, involved a fellow who had called a policeman. They came, and just as they knocked on the door he cracked a door open and stuck a 12-gauge shotgun through the door and killed a policeman, and in turn the policemen shot through the door and killed him.

Mr. ROMINES. The man in the room who killed the policeman, was he a member of the Committee to Combat Fascism?

Mr. BERRY. No, he wasn't. After this was all over the police were bringing this man out on a stretcher. All of the neighborhood was around; all of the people in the community were around there. I was

standing there with one of the people, you know, talking to them. So these members from the National Committee, which I know personally, they walked up and asked what happened. So one of the men said the police just killed a man in there. So they asked what did the people do.

Mr. ROMINES. Was the man that was killed a Negro?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, he was. These three members asked the people what did the people do, what did you do. The people said we didn't do anything. And so they started that little talk they always do about how the police do this and do that and do you mean to tell me you people in the community are going to stand around and let them do this. So the people told them just like this, I was standing there listening, a lot of people told them, they said we have enough trouble in this neighborhood as it is. First of all if this man had not done anything wrong, he had no right to shoot that policeman. He shot the policeman, the other policeman shot him, that is a matter of law. As far as us doing anything, we are going to go back in the house and mind our business and in fact we want you to get out of this neighborhood. They said if you are not out of this neighborhood in so much time then we are going to run you out; we are tired of this mess and all of this trouble and we don't want it. They told them to get out of this neighborhood, and I think if they had not gotten out of there in quite a little while the police would have had to help them.

Mr. ROMINES. You have characterized the Black Panther Party chapter as essentially nonviolent and now there has been a swing to violence on the part of the Committee to Combat Fascism. Would you have any opinion as to why the change occurred from violence to nonviolence?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; I think the conference in 1969 in Oakland was the turning point of that. Now you have mostly youngsters ranging in age 16, 17; in fact they have some 14-year-old kids recruited in the National Committee now. When they came back from California it seemed like this is all they talked about. This was supposed to have been a means of revenge for Fred Hampton and Mark Clark getting killed in Chicago.¹

Mr. ROMINES. When you say this was supposed to have been a means of revenge, what do you refer to?

Mr. BERRY. I refer to this sniping. I am almost sure this is a plan of revenge. If you will notice by just reading, you can't always go by the papers, but by reading you can see a set pattern, first Detroit, this week Chicago, next week it might be New York.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you referring to the two police officers who were just recently killed in Chicago?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. With most of the older people in there, we seemed to think this killing and violence was not the answer because to me you are not serving the people, you are hurting the people that way. We had nothing to gain by killing policemen because at that district where I lived down there if there wasn't any police down there I would be ready to go to the moon; I would not stay down there.

Mr. ROMINES. Would this change from nonviolence to violence have had any bearing on the reason that you ceased to associate with the Black Panther Party and/or the Committee To Combat Fascism?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir; that is the main reason.

¹ See pp. 4471, 4472.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, during the period of time that you were a member of the Black Panther Party in Detroit, did the Detroit Chapter conduct and maintain any breakfast for children programs?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. At one time we had three centers going.

Mr. ROMINES. Where were the centers located?

Mr. BERRY. One was located on the northeast section, one was located on the west side of town, and one on the east side.

Mr. ROMINES. And in what type of establishments were these centers located?

Mr. BERRY. Two were in churches, in the church dining rooms, and the third was in a recreation center.

Mr. ROMINES. When were the breakfast for children programs started in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. Our first one was started around May of 1969, around the 19th of May 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. And you have indicated that the chapter was formed in 1967. Why did you wait until 1969 to start a breakfast for children program?

Mr. BERRY. Before then Chicago—I referred to Chicago, that is the central office—and national headquarters didn't feel that the Detroit Chapter was strong enough or set up enough to carry on a breakfast for children program.

So the organization in Detroit had to be built a little larger. At the time, with the membership we had, they didn't feel we could carry on the breakfast with the low number of membership we had at the time. We had the lowest membership in the country.

Mr. ROMINES. So I assume by April or May of 1969 it was thought you did have enough strength to conduct the program?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. How many of the breakfast programs are still operating?

Mr. BERRY. That I know of, one; one center.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what happened to the other two?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, they lost the other two. As I said, I never joined the committee, but I used to go around to see certain things they were doing. The reason they lost the other two centers was because they were just plain lazy and careless and they would not clean up the place. Food would be left open and spoil. The people that loaned these buildings to them just made up their minds that they could not have that because if they weren't going to take care of the people's buildings then the people were not going to let them have it.

Mr. ROMINES. Now, do you know when these two centers stopped operating?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; they lost one about a couple of months ago and one they lost the early part of the year, but they lost both of them this year.

Mr. ROMINES. Approximately how many children were fed at each one of the centers?

Mr. BERRY. They would feed from 30 to 40 kids a day.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be 30 to 40 kids per program, so a total of somewhere around what, 120 or so per day?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. It started in April or May of 1969, and they continued until about the same period in 1970. Over that approximate

year did the number of children who attended the program increase or decrease?

Mr. BERRY. For a while it stayed about the same and then it would increase and then it would start decreasing.

Mr. ROMINES. Why, in your opinion, did it start to decrease?

Mr. BERRY. For one main reason, at some of the centers the kids would be there; they couldn't get in or, if they could get in, there would be nobody there to serve them. The Panthers would not get up and fix the breakfast, nobody would be there. So a lot of kids just started saying, "We are not going to go over there because we go over there and can't get in."

Then one personal friend of mine that happened to be the director of this recreation center refused to give them the key at one time because of the condition they were leaving the dining room in. This is how they eventually lost that one center.

Mr. ROMINES. Just because they could not keep it clean?

Mr. BERRY. They wouldn't keep it clean; they could if they would just stop being so lazy. It would only take maybe a half hour or an hour for six or eight people to clean up a dining room.

Mr. ROMINES. How were the breakfast for children programs financed, Mr. Berry?

Mr. BERRY. Through donations from businessmen, people in the street, supermarkets, grocery stores, people in the community.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you personally take part in any of the solicitation of either funds or merchandise from the merchants?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir, I did. My district was the 12th Street area, which was bordered by West Grand Boulevard, Clairmont, Woodrow Wilson, and Linwood, which would be approximately a 2-mile area.

Mr. ROMINES. What success did you enjoy in your solicitation attempts?

Mr. BERRY. I think I was the biggest donor—not donor, but collector the party had. Because I would take it on myself to just get out and explain to these people and tell them if they didn't want to give that was OK; if they did we were glad to get it.

Mr. ROMINES. From what period of time or over what period of time, Mr. Berry, did you help solicit or help obtain either funds or merchandise for the breakfast program?

Mr. BERRY. Until the chapter closed, and when the committee opened they asked me to continue to work with them, but I never actually did any work with them. So actually I collected my donations up until the chapter was closed.

Mr. ROMINES. It was the latter part of 1969; is that it?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Why did you cease helping them collect?

Mr. BERRY. Because of one reason of what was going on; what they were doing with the food and money that was being collected for the breakfast for children program. I felt it was wrong to go and ask these people and receive these donations and this food, with them thinking that they were helping a hungry or needy child, and here is a house full of Black Panthers sitting up having a party and eating dinner off of the food that was meant for the kids.

So I was going around to all of the people that I collected from and was notifying them that I was no more taking collections. If anyone

else came around there and asked for a collection I refused to give it to them.

Mr. ROMINES. If I understand you correctly, the food that was being collected for the breakfast for children program was actually being used for the personal use of the members?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, it was.

Mr. ROMINES. Would this have been for the personal use of the Black Panther Party members while the chapter was still in existence or for the members of the Committee to Combat Fascism?

Mr. BERRY. This was for members of the Committee to Combat Fascism.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give me any specific examples that you know of where either money or food was misappropriated for personal use?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; I can. No one know it, I never told them, but whenever I went to a person and asked for a donation I kept a record of it. I would give them a receipt. I kept a little book which I wrote this down in because usually when dealing with people it is always best to keep a record in case anything comes up. I kept this record so I would have it when it come time to buy food or stuff would run short.

Now we had three centers at this time. All of a sudden the food started getting short. There was no money to buy certain things with. No one knew what happened to the money, nobody had a record. So I brought the book before them, and they all stood looking wide eyed; they couldn't understand. They said I made this up. I said, "OK, I will tell you what I will do, I will get a committee and take you to every person in this book and let them verify; they will show you a receipt with a date on it where I made a collection." I said, "You show me where this money is," and they could not do it.

Mr. ROMINES. How about food?

Mr. BERRY. They could not show the food because they had eaten it up.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you ever at the Panther headquarters or the committee headquarters when they were eating food that you knew you had collected for the breakfast programs?

Mr. BERRY. I sure was, quite a few times, especially on Sunday when I went to the class. There would be three or four of them in there cooking and the table would be set up and they would say, "This is food we had bought." But I knew they couldn't buy it because nobody in the house had a job.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the fact that both money and food were being misappropriated for personal use have any bearing on why you left the party?

Mr. BERRY. That was also one of the reasons. As I said before, I didn't believe it was right for me to go and ask these people that were willing to help, thinking they were helping, and in the meantime this stuff was being used for other reasons than it was meant to be. Most of the people in that district know me because I have been living in that district almost 6 years and I know everyone down there. These are the kinds of people I would not have to go to them and tell them a lie to get something. I could ask each one of them for a favor and I would receive it because I have done favors for them.

Mr. ROMINES. What, in your opinion, was the objective of the breakfast for children program?

Mr. BERRY. I think the breakfast for children, it wasn't so much, as you say, for hungry kids; I think it was a good way to gain the confidence of the children.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say that?

Mr. BERRY. Well, you know how it is with a kid if you are nice to him, treat him nice, give him food, buy him things, he will kind of look up to you, he will kind of listen to you; in fact he will listen to you. He will say well this person is nice to me, he does things for me, anything he tells me I know he is going to tell me right. That is a good way to get next to the children, to gain their confidence.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you think it was the principal objective of the Panther Party or the Committee to Combat Fascism, as the case may be, in operating these breakfast programs to actually have an avenue with which to reach the children?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. What, if anything, was taught to the children when they attended these programs?

Mr. BERRY. The first thing is most of them were asked, "Who is Huey?" They were taught who Huey was, Eldridge, certain members of the Panthers, certain phrases that were said. They were also taught about disliking policemen, which I used to bring up because I thought it was wrong because the majority of the kids like to relate to policemen. They were always taught this is the man that does you wrong, hate this man, don't like this man, if the policeman says anything to you run and tell your father and mother this, but stay away from this man, this is the man to stay away from. They would have a big picture on the wall that says, "This is a pig, do not have anything to do with him because he will laugh at you and stab you in the back," and things like that.

To me this is a heck of a thing to be telling a kid. If I had kids, if anybody told my kid that, I would want to go see them and ask them why they were telling him this.

Mr. ROMINES. Were they actually taught to hate the police or just to dislike them?

Mr. BERRY. Mainly they were taught to just dislike the policemen. They were told to shy away from them, stay away from them, not to have anything to do with them.

Mr. ROMINES. Were they taught to call the police "pigs"?

Mr. BERRY. Definitely; they walk up and down the street doing it now, some kids 3 or 4 years old just managing to talk, will manage to say that.

Mr. ROMINES. Why, in your opinion, do the Panthers or the Committee to Combat Fascism attempt to teach these children to hate the police and call them "pigs"?

Mr. BERRY. One reason, I believe, is because most of the Panthers and the committee members they have what we call a thing going. They dislike police and they figure that police will do this. I always look at it this way, the only ones to me that have really anything against the police are the ones that are doing wrong.

It is just like anything else, if you are not doing anything wrong, then you have nothing to be afraid of. But I really could never understand why they would teach a kid this because, the average kid, you would tell him that and an hour later you would see him standing on

the corner, talking to a policeman, laughing and smiling. But to me this was one means of their indoctrination of a kid. I never did. I have never as a member of that party told any child or spoke to any child against a policeman.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you think they were trying to indoctrinate the kids; what was their purpose?

Mr. BERRY. As I said before, to gain their confidence. They figure, by giving to the children, this is a means of making their organization stronger because this way later on the kids would want to be a part of them. They would make the kids feel that they like them, they do for them, and this way the kids can relate to them.

Mr. ROMINES. Would this be an attempt, perhaps, to indoctrinate the kids in their own philosophy?

Mr. BERRY. Right; to get the kids to think their way.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, are you familiar with the neighborhood from which these children came to the breakfast for children programs?

Mr. BERRY. Most of them.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, we have some previous testimony before this committee that in the breakfast for children programs many of the children actually came from homes where they could have obtained a breakfast if they had wanted to.

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Would the same thing hold true in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. Sure. It is not so much hungry children, just lazy parents that won't get up and feed them; that is what it is.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, during the period of time you were associated with the Black Panther Party, did the police department conduct any raids on the Black Panther Party headquarters?

Mr. BERRY. We had one raid that I can remember. Actually we only had one raid, and that was at our 12th Street office.

Mr. ROMINES. Could you describe for the committee, please, what occurred during that raid?

Mr. BERRY. I was at the office. I had just walked outside, and the police and Federal men came up with a warrant that stated they had reason to believe that the Panthers had a stolen police radio in their office. They came in with a warrant, they searched the office, they didn't find any stolen police radio. They took typewriters, dictaphone, adding machine, and a box of "red books" which we had at the time and they arrested three Panthers that were in the office. But later on that evening they were released when they found out that nothing that we had in the office was stolen and none of these Panthers were wanted by the police or had any records, and they were later released that evening. In fact, they were released about 3 hours later.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the police take anything from the Panther headquarters?

Mr. BERRY. No, they didn't; the only things they took was the typewriter, the dictaphone, adding machine, and a box with some "red books" in it.

Mr. ROMINES. Were any of those items returned to the Panther headquarters?

Mr. BERRY. Everything was returned when the three Panthers were released.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the police department take any money from Panther headquarters?

Mr. BERRY. No, they didn't because at the time we didn't have any money in the office.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any news accounts of the police raid on the Panther headquarters which contained reference to the police taking money from the Panther headquarters?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, there was; and there were a few lies written in the paper that a quantity of ammunition and a quantity of guns were taken and \$2,000 cash. At the time, as I have stated before, no guns and no ammunition were kept in the office and, as to \$2,000, we had not seen that much money in a year.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know in what papers or in what news media these accounts were contained?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. This article came from the Fifth Estate, which is a radical paper printed by the SDS in Detroit.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, did the Black Panther Party in Detroit stockpile any weapons at all?

Mr. BERRY. No, we didn't.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the individual members of the Black Panther Party have any weapons?

Mr. BERRY. Myself, I owned three. Now there was talk of certain members owning weapons, but I never actually saw them. The only ones I actually saw was the ones I had at home, the ones I taught the class with.

Mr. ROMINES. Were members of the party supposed to have or required to have weapons?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir. As a member of the Black Panther Party the first thing you were required to own is a 12-gauge shotgun with a hundred rounds of ammunition. And any other weapon that you owned you were required to have a hundred rounds of ammunition for every weapon you owned.

Mr. ROMINES. Why?

Mr. BERRY. These were orders from California, which were never questioned. I never questioned them and I don't guess anybody else did either.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they ever give you any reason as to why they required you to have these weapons?

Mr. BERRY. They say that every member of the Panthers should own, and know how to use, a weapon to be prepared for the revolution.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what they mean when they say "be prepared for the revolution"?

Mr. BERRY. I believe they meant—I used to think they meant that they had an idea, they dreamed up an idea that one day they was going to walk in and take over the country violently. When they said "revolution with guns" I think that is what they meant, through bloodshed if they had to.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the Black Panther Party chapter in Detroit ever have any dynamite, hand grenades, or automatic weapons in the organization?

Mr. BERRY. Not that I know of.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, did any members of the Black Panther Party in Detroit ever use extortion, threats, or intimidation in an attempt to obtain either money or merchandise from merchants?

Mr. BERRY. Not that I knew of because we, when I speak of "we" I speak of the security squad, we handled most of the things that went on and we didn't allow it. If people didn't give it on their own then we let them alone, but we would not stand for nobody going around threatening people or saying what was going to happen. Now it might have been done, but if it was we didn't know about it. If we had known about it I think we would have made the papers before now because something would have happened to my own members.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, did any members of the Black Panther Party ever shoot a police officer or other government official?

Mr. BERRY. Not while we were a chapter of the Black Panther Party. The only shootings that have occurred came since the National Committee has been formed.

Mr. ROMINES. I believe you already told us about one of those, the sniping episode?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any other instances?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. In the projects, which is a project section of Detroit for people with low-paying jobs, made up mostly of apartment buildings, they had a little branch office. We didn't have this; this was after the committee was formed. The committee had a little branch office in the projects, and directly in front of where this office was there was a fire and the fire department was called.

Mr. ROMINES. What period of time are you talking about?

Mr. BERRY. That was this year.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what month?

Mr. BERRY. It must have been around February or March; it was the early part of this year.

Mr. ROMINES. Somewhere around February of 1970?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; I know it was the early part of this year. The firetrucks were called to put out the fire, but as the firetrucks approached the scene of the fire they were fired upon by .30 caliber rifles, and the police were called. At the time I was given a call, I was not even a member of the organization. But I was given a call and I went down to the projects, and as I got there one of the policemen who was a friend of mine, I knew him, he and I had been in the service together, I asked him could I go in with him.

Mr. ROMINES. In where?

Mr. BERRY. In this little office, this branch office of the National Committee that they had down in the projects, it was just one room with maybe two windows, one facing south and one facing to the west.

Mr. ROMINES. Would one of those windows have faced in the direction of the firetrucks?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; in fact the firetruck was parked directly across in front of that window, and there was one to the side. Now the door had been locked from the inside because the police had to break the door to get in. I asked this policeman could I go in with him, and he let me go in with him.

As we entered the room the window to the side had been opened, the window was opened. No one was in the room, but there were a number of .30 caliber shells on the floor that had recently been fired.

Mr. ROMINES. Was anybody injured during the firing?

Mr. BERRY. No one was injured; just the firetrucks were shot up pretty bad. And I don't think they ever found out who actually did the shooting, but it did come from that office because the shells were found on the floor.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any opinion as to why the shooting occurred?

Mr. BERRY. I don't think I could ever understand that. That would really be foolish. Here are the people coming to maybe save my home or my property or my life, and I am going to kill him or shoot at him; that really don't make sense.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, during the period of time that you were a member of the Black Panther Party in Detroit were any of the members using drugs?

Mr. BERRY. No, sir; that was strictly a violation of the 26 rules and regulations. Rule No. 1 states that at no time shall any party member be caught using, selling, or buying any narcotics of any kind.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the principal method of support or principal means of support of the Black Panther Party in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. We formed what is known as the White Panthers. We helped form the White Panthers under the leadership of John Sinclair. Their main office was in Ann Arbor, Mich., about a block from the campus of the University of Michigan. They have within their organization a rock-and-roll group which is pretty famous, known as the MC-5. They give a lot of concerts and they would donate so much money each month.

Then we formed another organization called The Blackberries in Ann Arbor, and they would donate so much money to the Panthers. Our office acted more as a central office to them like Chicago was to us. They were affiliate branches connected with the Panthers, and so much money they donated each month to help pay our bills and things like that.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the purpose or the reason for forming the White Panthers?

Mr. BERRY. The reason for forming the White Panthers was to work in certain communities in Detroit like in the black communities, the poor white communities. We figured that the White Panthers would be better to start off working in these communities, the same as we were working in the black community, and in turn we could mix it up, have so many Black Panthers working in the white community and so many White Panthers working in the black community, this way to bring the black and the white community closer together.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you elaborate, if you can, Mr. Berry, on exactly how your chapter helped form the White Panthers?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. The White Panthers were originally a bunch of hippies out of Wayne University. We invited them to a meeting. They used to do a lot of printing for us, a lot of literature and flyers and things.

So one day Mike Bayaham, who was the defense captain then; he went up and talked with John Sinclair and gave the idea to John Sinclair, and they met down in our office, which at the time was on 12th Street. This is where we, along with John Sinclair and a few of the fellows from the hippie bunch, formed the White Panthers and wrote up their 10-point program. Then they moved. At that time

they bought a mansion in Ann Arbor, and this is where they moved their headquarters in Ann Arbor. We kept in touch with them for a while until Sinclair went to jail for narcotics, and then we stopped. In fact, they lost contact with them—just before our chapter closed we lost contact with the White Panthers. The only ones we actually heard from was The Blackberries, and we called them down because they had started a breakfast-for-schoolchildren program in Ann Arbor but they didn't have any records to show where they had been getting all the stuff from. We had been given the thought that they were extorting people so we called them down to find out what actually happened.

Mr. ROMINES. What actually had happened?

Mr. BERRY. This is what they were doing. Lately most of them have ended up in jail and The Blackberries are just about broke up now, most of their leadership is in jail in Ann Arbor.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the purpose of forming The Blackberries?

Mr. BERRY. I don't know whose idea that was. But The Blackberries were an organization. They wanted to be Black Panthers, and Chicago felt that there wasn't enough membership of them in Ann Arbor to be given a Black Panther chapter. So I think they just picked this name themselves, The Blackberries. They started off trying to get a charter to be a Black Panther chapter in Ann Arbor.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the Detroit Chapter of the Black Panther Party sell the Black Panther Party newspaper?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, we did.

Mr. ROMINES. When did you start selling it?

Mr. BERRY. In 1967.

Mr. ROMINES. Is it still being sold in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. Well, the national committee they are still trying to sell them.

Mr. ROMINES. So if I understand you correctly, the paper has been sold continuously from 1967 to date; is that right?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What, in your opinion, was the peak number of sales; what was the most papers you would sell a week?

Mr. BERRY. You mean the whole chapter?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes, the whole chapter.

Mr. BERRY. Then we would sell as much as 1,500 to 1,600 papers.

Mr. ROMINES. A week?

Mr. BERRY. A week.

Mr. ROMINES. When you say "then," to when are you referring?

Mr. BERRY. Before the chapter was closed.

Mr. ROMINES. Back in 1969?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. We had a pretty good distribution going then because we even had some stores that would take in papers and sell them.

Mr. ROMINES. When you sold the papers how much of the money, if anything, was retained by the local chapter?

Mr. BERRY. The way national office has it set up, each member for each paper he sells he receives a nickel. A dime goes to the local office, a dime goes back to the national. So if you sold 50 papers you kept 50 nickels. Now some of them did. I didn't, I never kept any of them. This money was to be used like for carfare back and forth

from downtown or on the pretense of going to see about a job, which they never got.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what success the committee is having now selling the papers?

Mr. BERRY. Right now the committee is having little success selling the papers because of the character of the people they have out there selling the papers.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say that?

Mr. BERRY. Well, downtown in the main business section, the downtown section of Detroit, if you could just walk down there and just watch some of them. You know when you sell papers, any time you have something for somebody to buy, you approach them in an orderly manner. If they say no, then that is it, then you say thank you and let it go. But if they stop you on the street downtown and ask you do you care to buy a Panther paper, if you say no, then they want you to stand up there and explain why, why you might read the Free Press or why you might read the Chronicle, why you can't buy a Panther paper.

Then it is the disposition they have, and the carrying on they do it makes a person feel like they are trying to force that paper on them. The average person doesn't want anything forced on them. When people want something, you don't have to force them to take it if you have something to offer them.

Mr. ROMINES. Would the content or the import of the paper, what is actually printed in it, have any bearing on the success of selling the paper?

Mr. BERRY. I think that would have a bearing on it. The minute you open a Panther paper all you read of is violence, killing, somebody getting his brains shot out. People are tired of this. People want to pick up a paper and read where the Panthers are doing something constructive, like the Panthers are helping keep this neighborhood clean. They don't want to read about the policemen getting killed, the Panthers having a shootout. People are tired of reading this mess. They want to read something constructive, something that is helpful and beneficial to the black community. This kind of stuff is not helping the black community. This is a downfall.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period of time you were a member of the Black Panther Party, did your party receive any assistance in any form from the SDS?

Mr. BERRY. We received a letter from the SDS letting us know that at any time we needed any help, guns, ammunition, anything else, that we could count on them. This came from the 1969 convention in Oakland where all militant organizations swore an allegiance to each other. We have even got letters from the Young Lords and the Young Patriots in Chicago.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ever receive any weapons from them?

Mr. BERRY. No; we never had any reason to receive any.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ever receive any financial support from them?

Mr. BERRY. Not from SDS, only from the White Panthers and The Blackberries.

Mr. ROMINES. Does the Black Panther Party have women members, Mr. Berry?

Mr. BERRY. Quite a few.

Mr. ROMINES. Describe for the committee what the status or the role of a woman Panther is?

Mr. BERRY. Well, a sister in the Panthers is considered a warrior, a revolutionary warrior. She is treated just as a man, which is the only thing I don't like, because they don't respect their women. No matter what you are doing, you have got to respect your women.

Mr. ROMINES. What, Mr. Berry, is a revolutionary baby?

Mr. BERRY. In the Panthers we have—I speak of we, I should not say that because I am no longer a member. They have a thing going in the Panthers where a Panther sister and a Panther brother is only supposed to go with a member of the party. In other words, they prefer that you go with a member of the party. It is for this reason, in case a child is born, in fact they want a child to be born, I will put it this way, truthfully. They have a Panther sister to go with a brother in hopes of having a child, whether they are married or not. If a child is born this is known as a revolutionary baby, and the party takes care of this child.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do they call them a revolutionary baby?

Mr. BERRY. Because they say that this baby is born during the time that the revolution is about to start and they feel that the more children that are born by members of an organization, militant organization, there is more people to help fight in the revolution to come.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, you have previously testified that two members of the national office, as you put it, the "goon squad," came to Detroit.

Were there any visits by other members of the national office in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, we had one from Masai.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be Ray Hewitt?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; we know him as Masai. He is the minister of education now. At the time he was more of an inspector. He was going from chapter to chapter just seeing how things were going on and seeing how the party was going on and making sure the books and records was kept right.

Mr. ROMINES. When did he visit the chapter?

Mr. BERRY. I believe in the latter part of 1968 or early 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. Sort of an inspection tour; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, when the Panthers use the term "off the pig," what do they mean?

Mr. BERRY. One word, "kill."

Mr. ROMINES. Kill whom?

Mr. BERRY. Kill the policeman.

Mr. ROMINES. Does "pig" mean only policemen?

Mr. BERRY. In a sense "Yes" and in a sense "No," because they consider people of—I will say like in the middle class. Say you own a business and maybe they will come around and ask you for things, and if you say "No" for a donation then they will consider you a pig. In other words anyone that doesn't relate to their ideology is considered a pig. Mainly it is related to policemen. When they speak of "off the pig" that particular phrase means kill the policeman.

Mr. ROMINES. When they say "off the pig," could "pig" encompass more than policemen, such as governmental officials, just for example,

a mayor or a Governor of a State or somebody who works for the Federal Government?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. What does the term "liberate goods" mean?

Mr. BERRY. That means to steal; anything you can get without paying for you are liberating it. In other words you take it.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, are the Panthers a racist organization, are they simply for blacks?

Mr. BERRY. This comes under saying one thing and mean another or doing another. The Panthers never speak against race. They always tell you they are not racist, they are not racist, they don't believe in racism, they don't believe in separation. But certain things the Panthers do make you think about that.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give me any examples?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. They speak of, "We are not racist, we don't believe in separation," then they turn right around and in the 10-point program say, "We want complete control of the black community, we want black police, black businesses, black lawyers, black judges." What is this if it is not separation?

Mr. ROMINES. What you are saying, in effect, is what they say is one thing and what they do may be something entirely different?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, what is the relationship, if any, between the Black Students Union and the Black Panther Party in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. Well, the Black Student Union only relates to the Panthers. Now the Panthers swore an allegiance to them; in case of any trouble they said they would back them or they would stand by them.

But at the time I was a member we never had any direct action with the Black Student Union except going to rallies or rap sessions that they had. But as far as actual dealings while I was a member, we never had any actual dealings with them except sitting down and talking with them and discussing things with them.

Mr. ROMINES. Was there any direct tie-in or coordination or relationship between the two organizations?

Mr. BERRY. No, there was not.

Mr. ROMINES. While you were a member of the Black Panther Party in Detroit, did any of the members make speeches either in the Detroit area or elsewhere for which they were paid?

Mr. BERRY. No. Everyone has to know how to rap.

Mr. ROMINES. For the record now, when you say "rap" what do you mean?

Mr. BERRY. That means give speeches and talks. We never received any pay for it because the only thing we ever did was speak at rallies and protests, but never for any pay.

Mr. ROMINES. You never got paid when you spoke at the rallies?

Mr. BERRY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Based on your experience and your knowledge of the Panthers, what is the Panthers' attitude toward middle-class blacks and blacks who own their own businesses?

Mr. BERRY. Well, they have a name; they called them black bourgeoisie or black capitalists. They say these are the people we don't even relate to because they think they are better than us and they refuse

to help us, and we can't get next to them so in the revolution these will be some of the first people that will be executed. In other words, they think that these people, they put these people in a class different from them. In other words, these people are supposed to be better than them, and they refuse to relate to them so actually they have nothing to do with them.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, over the last 2 or 3 years the Black Panther Party has made numerous demands. I am certain you are probably more familiar with them than I and know basically what they are and what they encompass. What is your opinion of the various demands they have come forth with?

Mr. BERRY. I think some of them are foolish and just plain ignorant. Take, for instance, the No. 8 of the 10-point program—we want freedom of all black men from Federal, State, city, county jails and prisons. Now I can't go along with that because there are some people in there that if they let them out on the street it would not be safe to walk out the front door. Just because they are black men in jail, I don't believe they should be let out. They are in there for various reasons, for killing people, for robbing, and I disagree with that letting them out.

Mr. ROMINES. Are there other demands that you think are good demands or bad demands?

Mr. BERRY. The one good demand is decent housing, shelter, food; yes, I can go along with that. Everybody wants that, that is commonsense there. Then when they speak of control of our black community, we can't control the black community, not in the sense they want to control it.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say that?

Mr. BERRY. Because, first of all, we don't have everything. We have to get our products from outside, we get milk, our bread and things come in. Now what if we stopped the bread trucks, if we stopped the fruit trucks from coming in? We are not in a position to supply these black communities with this. So why can't we just accept this? These are the people we have to deal with. Why cut off this and then you have nothing?

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, you were a member of the Black Panther Party for actually a little over 2 years. Based on all of your knowledge of the party and your experience with the party, what, in your opinion, is the party all about; what is it like? What is your opinion of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BERRY. My opinion, now, isn't too good. When I first joined the party I joined it because I saw a lot of good in the party, and the party was doing a lot of good. Because at that time there were older people with experience and good commonsense and more sensible ways of thinking about things, thinking things out. But since then, to me, the Black Panther Party is nothing because all it seems now is that they are a means of violence. They are not doing anything that they said they were setting out to do. They are not helping the people, they are not working with the people, and this thing on violence, it is going to mean total destruction. If the people had went along and kept going along with this, this would have meant total destruction for the people, which is what we don't want.

Mr. ROMINES. When you say, "go along with this," you mean go along with the violence?

Mr. BERRY. To go along with the violent program they have set up, nobody wants violence. Everybody wants to live. But they want to live in a peaceful way. This can be done, but if we listen to the Panthers and follow their ideology this won't happen. It will be the other way and nobody wants this; nobody with any commonsense would want it.

Mr. ROMINES. Is it then your opinion, Mr. Berry, that the Black Panther Party is a violence-oriented organization?

Mr. BERRY. Now it is; I would say yes; because this is all you can see, everything the Panthers do now. You never hear about the Panthers tried to buy land to grow food to feed people or the Panthers bought a supermarket to help feed the people, all you hear about is the Panthers got 40 or 50 guns in the building shooting at the police, or the Panthers tried to run over two or three policemen. You never hear anything constructive. Everything you hear or see about the Panthers now is destructive. So you can only pass one conclusion on them, that they are a violent organization.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit No. 1, which is a collection of cartoons which have appeared in various issues of the Black Panther Party newspaper on certain dates. The dates are indicated on each page of the exhibit with each cartoon. I ask you to look at that and see if you have observed those cartoons before.

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I have.

Mr. ROMINES. Where have you seen those cartoons before?

Mr. BERRY. In the Black Panther paper.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have an opinion, Mr. Berry, as to the reason or the purpose that the Black Panther Party paper publishes these cartoons?

Mr. BERRY. I think they are trying to say something to the people, in other words, this is what should be done or this is what we should do or this is what needs to be done. In other words, like saying one picture can be worth more than a thousand words. In other words, rather than sit down and tell you this they will show you a picture, even to a kid. Now, the average kid, he will look at this and say is this what I am supposed to do or should I be doing this? Then he sits down and looks at the picture and that gives him some kind of idea.

Mr. ROMINES. How would you yourself describe and characterize these cartoons? What do they represent to you?

Mr. BERRY. To me they represent a bunch of foolishness, that is all, and silly ideas.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have an opinion as to what they are intended to represent to the people?

Mr. BERRY. To me they intend to represent the killing and sniping and killing of policemen.

Mr. ROMINES. If I understand you correctly then, these cartoons are put in the Black Panther Party paper to represent or advocate sniping or killing of police; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Right. Because everyone you see in it shows something brutal being done to a policeman. There is one being shot or being stabbed or being hit with an axe or something like that.

Mr. ROMINES. In your experience, both as a member of the Black Panther Party and also as a black man in a black community, how do the younger children, younger teenagers, react to cartoons like this?

Mr. BERRY. To some they get a kick out of it and some of them they won't even look at it. I will say for instance now most of the kids in the community where I am, the ones that are dropouts, the hangouts on the street, troublemakers, to them it is a big thing.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say it is a big thing; how do they react to it?

Mr. BERRY. To them it is a great thing; they imagine themselves as doing this to a policeman. If the policeman stops me this is what I am going to do to him. I am going to do this, I am going to do that. But the average kid who is going to school, trying to get an education, trying to make something of himself, he looks at it but he will hand it back to you or throw it away because they know this is no good. All of the kids don't relate to that. Now today's kids are smarter than they were when I was going to school, and it is kind of hard to fool them. These out there on the street who don't have no future and don't intend to do nothing anyway, this is a big thing to them because all they are ever in is trouble anyway. This is an outlet for them. This gives them an idea; I can do this; I can do that.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you think these cartoons are put in the paper for that very reason, to reach this type of individual?

Mr. BERRY. I think that is the only reason they are put in there, because, as I said before, one picture can be worth more than a thousand words.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I would ask that Committee Exhibit No. 1 be introduced in the record.

Mr. PREYER. It will be received in the record.

(Documents marked Committee Exhibit No. 1. See appendix, pages 4571-4599.)

Mr. ROMINES. We discussed a few moments ago the Panther concept of racism. As I look through Exhibit 1, I see a number of cartoons depicting either policemen or pigs, depending on how you want to use your terms. I notice that none of them is depicted as being black. There are black policemen, I presume?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, there are; there are quite a few. You know I have thought about that, too. The Panthers say we are not racist, we don't believe in separation, but I have never yet seen a cartoon in a Panther paper with anything being done to a black policeman.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the Black Panther attitude toward black policemen?

Mr. BERRY. Now in Detroit they feel the same. They talk the same toward a black policeman as they do a white policeman because they have even put pictures of certain ones in the paper that were working as undercover agents that were found out they were policemen. They put their pictures in the paper saying this is a pig, watch out for him, and all that. They speak the same, but I never see any drawings of any black policemen. They feel the same toward them, a policeman is a policeman.

Mr. ROMINES. So a black policeman would suffer the same fate or should suffer the same fate as a white policeman?

Mr. BERRY. According to the Panthers, yes; because he is still a policeman.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, there is one picture in this collection of cartoons of a black policeman. You and I both kind of skipped over it, it would appear. If I understand you correctly then, the Panther attitude toward the black policeman is the same as it is toward the white; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, based on your experience with the Panther Party and your knowledge of the Black Panther Party, what is the Black Panther Party attitude or position on revolution?

Mr. BERRY. The Black Panther Party, I don't know about now, they believed at one time that they would be strong enough to actually take over this Government and this country. But like I say, they had to be sick to think that. Because I have even heard them sit down and talk, I mean actual words, that they were going to walk into Washington and take over Washington. Now that was a joke to me.

Mr. ROMINES. When have you heard them sit down and say that?

Mr. BERRY. I have heard it at meetings around the office and certain ones from Chicago came to Detroit and they mentioned it, what should be done, and they had planned on doing this. I just laughed. I knew it was impossible.

Mr. ROMINES. Does the Black Panther Party, as an organization, advocate revolutionary violence?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, they do. The Black Panther Party advocates the overthrow of the Government.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit No. 2, which is a collection of quotations, again taken from the Black Panther Party newspaper. These quotations have been made by various national officers and, in a couple of instances, by local officers of the Black Panther Party. I will ask you if you have seen those before?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I have.

Mr. ROMINES. Where have you seen those?

Mr. BERRY. Some articles in the paper and some in books by certain leaders, that I have read.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me read you one of the quotations here, Mr. Berry. It is taken from the Black Panther Party issue of June 28, 1969. It is on pages 12-14:

. . . We're not reformists, we're not in the movement to reform the curriculum of a given university . . . We are revolutionaries and as revolutionaries, our goal is the transformation of the American social order. In order to transform the American social order, we have to destroy the present structure of power in the United States, we have to overthrow the government . . . we say that we will do this by any means necessary . . . and the only means possible is the violent overthrow of the machinery of the oppressive ruling class.

The author of this quotation is Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information.

Is this an accurate portrayal of the ultimate objectives of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, it is.

Mr. ROMINES. Now with respect to the members of the local chapters of the Black Panther Party, do they subscribe to, and believe in, this revolutionary violence, the advocacy of revolutionary violence as it is set forth by the national leaders?

Mr. BERRY. Some of them do and some don't. We have some that I say are brainwashed because any time anybody in leadership says anything they will believe it. They act that they are afraid, they won't question it. In fact, they are afraid to question anything that is said. I have got in a lot of heated arguments and a lot of times I have almost got in trouble because I have questioned things that were said that I don't like. But you find some people within the party, youngsters, the younger ones more so, that will accept anything that is said because these guys they put them on a pedestal and they say these are the leaders and they know what they are doing and we will accept this.

Mr. ROMINES. You say the younger ones are much more inclined to accept this than the older; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. To make sure I understand you correctly then, you say in your opinion there is no question but that the Black Panther Party organization, as such, is dedicated to revolutionary violence; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. With respect to the local chapter level, some members subscribe to it and some don't; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you referring now to the Detroit Chapter?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I am.

Mr. ROMINES. Would the way that a local chapter would treat the doctrine of revolutionary violence vary from chapter to chapter?

Mr. BERRY. It would because you can usually tell by the purges. The majority of the local chapters have got to the place where their defense captain wants to run it, but California and Chicago want to dominate all of the chapters. In other words, they want to set down rules, regulations, and laws that are run strictly by them and everybody adhere to this law.

The majority of the people that left the Panthers at the time I was in it left because of things they didn't like and things that were done and said within the Panthers that they didn't agree with.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know, Mr. Berry, whether any actual steps have ever been taken by any local chapter or by the national office of the Black Panther Party to effectuate or to set forward this goal or this doctrine of revolutionary violence? Has anybody in the Panther Party ever started to actually work toward it?

Mr. BERRY. Not in the Detroit Chapter. This is just hearsay, in California and Chicago the chapters there we heard that they had taken certain steps, such as a start was to be this battle between the Panthers and the police.

That is supposed to be the start of it, because they figure by getting rid of the police, the police are considered a city's armor, and they figure by destroying the armor of the city then you take over that city.

Mr. ROMINES. How does the concept of hate the pig, kill the pig, as the Panthers advocate and teach it to the youngsters, how is that tied in with their concept of revolutionary violence?

Mr. BERRY. This phrase "hate the pig"—

Mr. ROMINES. And even more particular, "kill the pig."

Mr. BERRY. Kill the pig, as to where this phrase comes from you will notice the majority of the leadership at the headquarters of the Black Panther Party are all ex-convicts. Just about every one has some sort of record, felony or misdemeanor, and most of these guys come out of jail with a hate for the police in the first place. First of all, if they had never went to jail they never would have had any dealings with the police. This phrase, I believe, is derived from them. Say for instance Eldridge, Eldridge spent 9 years in jail and after 9 years in jail you hardly expect him to come out of jail loving a policeman. This is where that phrase actually came from because a majority of your leadership came out of jail hating policemen anyway, and this is what carried it on.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me put it to you this way, Mr. Berry, you have testified that in your opinion the Black Panther Party is dedicated to the concept of revolutionary violence; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Also the Black Panther Party and its members advocate and teach kill pigs; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Pigs being policemen?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Is there any connection between the two, between the concept of revolutionary violence and kill pigs?

Mr. BERRY. The only concept I see is like I said before, they believe by getting rid of the policemen they stand a better chance of bringing forth their program of violence because so far in each city the police have been the stopping of anything that the Panthers have tried to do violently, and they have to go against the police before they go against anyone. They figure by removing the police this is one step forward for them.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me read you another quotation from Committee Exhibit No. 2, which appeared in the April 18, 1970, issue of the Black Panther Party paper.

When a self-defense group moves against the suppressive system, by executing a pig by any means, sniping, stabbing, bombing, etc., in defense against the 400 years of racist brutality and murder this can only be defined correctly as self-defense.

This is basically what you and I are talking about now; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What then do the Panthers mean when they use the term "self-defense?"

Mr. BERRY. To me they use the words "self-defense" in the wrong way. To them it is getting back at what has been done to the black man all of these years, but the true meaning is not that of self-defense. Self-defense, to my knowledge, is any time anything is provoked upon you or any action is taken against you aggressively, not only being a Panther, that is the same as if I would walk up to you and swing at you. Normally you would try to protect yourself because I am trying to do something to you. But if no one is doing any-

thing to you and I walk up to you and shoot you, that is not self-defense.

Mr. ROMINES. That is not self-defense under your definition?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Or under mine or probably Mr. Webster's.

But if a Panther walks up and shoots a policeman or a pig, would that be self-defense?

Mr. BERRY. According to them it would, that is their idea of self-defense, killing a policeman or any law enforcement officer.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me read you one other quotation from the Black Panther Party paper of July 20, 1967, of Bobby Seale:

Now if we want to exercise Black Power, we do not go out and have a lay-in . . . The only thing that we can do now, brothers and sisters, is get our guns organized, forget the *In*s and shoot it *Out*.

When the Panthers use the term "black power" what do they mean?

Mr. BERRY. Like I said, black power that is an army of black people with guns controlling the black communities, black businesses, and things like that. I disagree with Bobby on that. That is not mine, and a lot of people I have dealt with, in fact a lot of communities, that is not their idea of black power. To them that is not black power. Black power is the black people living together in unity, working together, living with other people, in fact trying to live with everybody in unity and peace, trying to make a better community. Having black businesses working together with these black businessmen working with each other and having a little concern about each other, this is our idea of black power.

Mr. ROMINES. But is it the Panthers' idea of black power?

Mr. BERRY. It definitely is not, because the Panthers believe that power flows through the barrel of a gun.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, are you familiar with any of the local chapters of the Black Panther Party other than the one in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. I have seen, visited a few, but to just actually be familiar with them, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, in your opinion if the Black Panther Party could somehow achieve this goal of theirs, of violent revolution, and take over, do they have any constructive changes which they would make?

Mr. BERRY. I don't think so. In fact if they did take over, I would not want to be here. I would not want to live in this country.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say that?

Mr. BERRY. Because of everything that they speak of is violent. They never speak of anything constructive and some of the things they ask for in demands anybody with any good commonsense would not want to live under that. It would be worse than living in one of these other countries. Truthfully I don't believe they have anybody really qualified that could really do anything constructive to help the people. Any fool can pick up a gun and shoot it. You don't have to be a Black Panther, you can be a fool and walk around the street and shoot policemen with a gun.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, in your experience as both a member of the Black Panther Party and as a black man in the black community,

what is the effect on the younger people in the black community of the Black Panther talk and actions pertaining to violence and revolution?

Mr. BERRY. As I said before, most of the kids are the dropouts or the street gangs, the guys that hang around on the corner that are not looking for anything. In other words, they don't have a future and don't want one. But the kids that are going to school and trying to live decent lives and make something out of themselves, they don't even relate to it. You mention that word around them and they will walk away from you. They will say, "Let's talk about something else, we don't want to hear this."

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I would ask that Committee Exhibit No. 2 be introduced into the record at this point.

I have no further questions of the witness at this time.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you.

Committee Exhibit No. 2 is the quotations, I take it, from the Black Panther papers. Without objection they will be a part of the committee file.

(Documents marked Committee Exhibit No. 2. See appendix, pages 4600-4602.)

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Berry, we appreciate your testimony today. You indicated that you can take care of yourself, both with your fists and also with words. I was interested, you said you won six titles in 1 month when you were boxing in the Armed Forces?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. What sort of six titles were those, six different tournaments?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir, six different tournaments. I was stationed at Fort Lewis, Wash., and I was fighting welterweight and middleweight. I won the Takoma Golden Gloves, Seattle Diamond Belt, the Yakima Diamond Belt, and Vancouver Golden Gloves, British Columbia Diamond Belt, and the Sixth Army title.

Mr. PREYER. I would say you are a man that really does know how to rap in more ways than one.

I notice on those buttons that you have on you mentioned that you joined the Panthers out of idealism that you wanted to do good for your community. While I can't read all of your buttons I see one of them says "black power." I can't see what the others are, but they don't look like old Hoover buttons to me. I gather you are still very interested in the whole idea of helping your people and working in the community?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. But you now feel you can do more in this way outside of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. Have you joined any other organizations or is there any way now that you feel you can better serve in your community?

Mr. BERRY. No, sir; I have not joined any organizations, but I have a few buddies of mine who were in the service and we have got together and formed an organization called Peace and Unity Development Center. We have dedicated this organization to working with the community, first of all teaching our people how to live together, how to get along with each other, and to have just a little more concern about each other. We have set up rules where we will work with police com-

munity relations, work with the neighborhood block clubs in the community, in fact doing everything we can to help the black community be a better place to live in.

Mr. PREYER. I see there is a document here relating to that center which we will get into a little later on. I think the testimony is more impressive from the fact that it comes from someone who not only has worked in the black community in the past, but who continues to work and not someone who is a disillusioned cynic.

Why do you feel that your membership never got larger than 30 or 40 when you were with the Black Panther Party and before it went off on a violent kick?

Mr. BERRY. One reason, sir, was the way that they were taking members in. If they felt when you were being interviewed that you had any doubt in your mind about the Panthers, at that time they would refuse you membership. A lot of people had a lot of doubts in their minds because they really didn't understand and know what the Black Panther Party was really all about. At the time they were so afraid, to them everyone that they didn't know anything about they considered them as being a policeman. They said they would rather have at the time a small membership of people that were dedicated rather than have a large membership of people they were not sure of.

Mr. PREYER. So this was an effort on the part of the party to keep it small and exclusive, rather than the fact that you could not recruit any more?

Mr. BERRY. Right, sir.

Mr. PREYER. How large is the National Committee to Combat Fascism?

Mr. BERRY. Right now in Detroit I would say they are about 30 people, at the most. It might be 28 because two left in the last couple of weeks; it is around 28 or 30.

Mr. PREYER. About how many of those would have been former members of the Black Panther Party there?

Mr. BERRY. At the present you have four that were actual members of the Black Panther Party at the time I was in.

Mr. PREYER. So this is largely a newer group and I gather from what you testify younger in age?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir; in fact the majority of them, except the few officers, the only old members are the officers they have, but the rest of the party is all new, youngsters, ranging in age from 14 to 18.

Mr. PREYER. You mentioned several specific incidents, the sniping of the police there from the office of the Committee to Combat Fascism. I gather that two members, White and Anderson, have been arrested?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir; they have been arrested and are awaiting trial now.

Mr. PREYER. You mentioned one other incident. I got that instance mixed up with another. There was another incident about a firetruck where they were shooting from the office.

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. This incident is known to the police, I take it?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, it is known to the police and the public, too.

Mr. PREYER. And they have not been able to identify the man who actually fired at the trucks?

Mr. BERRY. No, sir; they haven't.

Mr. PREYER. You mentioned, as I understood it, one requirement of joining the Panthers is that everyone own a 12-gauge shotgun or some weapon and have a hundred rounds of ammunition. Is that a rule of Panther membership that is set out any place in writing or documented in some way?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir; that comes out of the national headquarters.

Mr. PREYER. Is it official in some way?

Mr. BERRY. It is not on the rules and regulations. It is more so passed down from mouth to mouth. I have never seen it actually in writing, but I was told this by the defense captain. I also heard this from inspectors and messengers from headquarters that this was a rule, but it was never written as a rule.

Mr. PREYER. Along that line, you mentioned a letter from the SDS after the Oakland meeting, promising guns to the Panthers from SDS, ammunition, and so forth. Do you have a copy of that letter anywhere?

Mr. BERRY. The only one that has that letter would be considered as the chairman of the National Committee to Combat Fascism.

Mr. PREYER. The White Panthers as you described them—in the interest of time I am jumping from subject to subject here—this was a group of young people I think you said starting with hippies?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. They were to be working Panthers, I take it; they were not a group of older white people who were set up to finance the Black Panthers?

Mr. BERRY. No, sir. Most of these hippies, most of these White Panthers at the time were college students. In fact, the whole organization was made up of college students then. I don't know about now because we have not had contact with them for over a year. In fact, I don't think they have been in Detroit for quite a while because they moved their headquarters to Ann Arbor.

Mr. PREYER. This was not a group set up to raise money for the Panthers through rock concerts, for example, and turn the funds over to Panthers?

Mr. BERRY. No, sir; at the time it wasn't.

Mr. PREYER. It was not people in the white community giving cocktail parties to finance the Panthers and that sort of thing?

Mr. BERRY. No, sir.

Mr. PREYER. Looking at the cartoons here and the quotations which have been introduced in evidence, it makes one point that I think you have made very well, which is that words and pictures of this kind do carry an impact. Something happens when you say words like "off the pig," or when you show a picture of a policeman being stabbed.

We have had people, members, come in and say, "Well we have to put it strong; this is the only way people in the ghetto can get our message. This is why we do it, we don't really mean that, we don't mean for you to kill a policeman."

But words have a dynamic of their own, and there are a lot of people, and you point out a lot of young people and a lot of trouble-makers, the paranoids in society. You put out words like this and pictures like this and you may trigger something into happening. I think people have to be responsible for what they say and do and not say, "Well, we didn't really mean this, you know. This is just the way we talk."

You have made the point that some of these things do have results. You have made the point, too, about the reason you left the Black Panthers was because of their shift to violence. Your example is a good one that anyone who goes into the Panthers feeling that they are helping their community, when they find out what the Panthers stand for they had better get out of the Panthers.

One might be a bad Black Panther in the sense that one is an idealist and wants to work in the breakfast programs and help the black community and the low-income community, and thinks it can be done through the Black Panthers, and maybe one doesn't believe in violence, overthrow of the Government, and so forth. In that sense a person might be a bad Panther because he doesn't believe in all that doctrine, like being a bad Communist, let's say, if you don't believe in their basic goals. But I think society is going to have to judge Panthers not by whether you are a "bad" Panther, you have to judge them by what they say and by their programs. So it is dangerous for people who are idealists to be working in a party like this.

Mr. Berry, I think you have done a lot of good in your community and with your ability and with your energy and drive I expect you to be a lot further help to the people in your community.

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir; we need all we can get.

Mr. ROMINES. I have approximately 15 or 20 minutes' more questioning of Mr. Berry. Would you prefer to take them now, this afternoon, or he can come back first thing tomorrow morning. What is your pleasure, sir?

Mr. PREYER. I won't be able to be back this afternoon. Would we have time enough to finish with all of your witnesses this week if we go on in the morning?

Mr. ROMINES. Why don't we take Mr. Berry for 15 or 20 minutes in the morning then?

Mr. PREYER. We can do that. The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p.m., Tuesday, July 21, 1970, the committee recessed to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, July 22, 1970.)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Part 3

Investigation of Activities in Detroit, Mich.; Philadelphia, Pa.; and Indianapolis, Ind.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1970

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richardson Preyer, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, chairman; Richard H. Ichord of Missouri, chairman of the full committee; and John M. Ashbrook of Ohio.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Preyer and Ashbrook.

Committee member also present: Representative Albert W. Watson of South Carolina.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel; Stephen Romines, assistant counsel; and Stuart L. H. Pott, investigator.

Mr. PREYER. We will resume the hearings that we were conducting yesterday. Mr. Counsel, I believe that your witness will be Mr. Donald Berry again this morning.

Mr. ROMINES. That is correct, sir.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. PREYER. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF DONALD BERRY—Resumed

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, first I have a series of questions I would like to ask you to clarify something that was said yesterday.

I would like to read part of the hearing transcript to you which was compiled yesterday and then ask you a couple of questions about it. First of all I asked you the question, and I quote,

You have characterized the Black Panther Party chapter as essentially non-violent and now there has been a swing to violence on the part of the Committee to Combat Fascism. Would you have any opinion as to why the change occurred from violence to nonviolence?

(4471)

Your answer was:

Yes: I think the conference in 1969 in Oakland was the turning point of that. Now you have mostly youngsters ranging in age 16, 17; in fact, they have some 14-year-old kids recruited in the national committee now. When they came back from California it seemed like this is all they talked about. This was supposed to have been a means of revenge for Fred Hampton and Mark Clark getting killed in Chicago.¹

Mr. Berry, as you read that transcript it would sound as if in your testimony it was your opinion that at the Oakland conference in '69, in July '69, plans were made for revenge for the killing of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Was that the purport and the intent of your testimony?

Mr. BERRY. No, I didn't mean that. The conference was held in '69, and Fred and Mark were killed 6 months later. But this plan of violent acts against police, the killing of Fred and Mark was a steppingstone for these acts of violence; this is what I meant. In other words, the conference was held first; Fred and Mark were killed 6 months later. Their killing was the steppingstone for these acts of violence against the police.

Mr. ROMINES. What exactly was it your intent to say about the conference? What did they actually decide to do at the conference?

Mr. BERRY. My intent was, as I was told by the three members that came from the conference, that they had turned toward more violence than they were before. In fact they turned from nonviolence to actual violence.

Mr. ROMINES. That is what you meant to say about the conference?

Mr. BERRY. That is what I meant to say.

Mr. ROMINES. What about the revenge for Fred Hampton and Mark Clark getting killed?

Mr. BERRY. It couldn't have been revenge for Fred and Mark getting killed because Fred and Mark were at the conference; they were killed 6 months later.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you know Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were at the conference?

Mr. BERRY. I was told and I also read a list of names of members that were at the conference, and Fred and Mark's names were on the list.

Mr. ROMINES. So you actually knew then that Hampton and Clark were at the conference; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. If I understand you correctly then, what you are saying is at the conference in July was the shift from nonviolence to violence; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. And subsequently thereto, as a steppingstone or as a result of that, came the revenge for Hampton's and Clark's deaths; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. I have a few brief questions for you, Mr. Berry, to clear up a couple of matters that I neglected to ask you about yesterday. First of all, can you identify for the committee the leaders of the Black

¹ See p. 4446.

Panther Party chapter in Detroit at the time the chapter was closed?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I could.

Mr. ROMINES. Who would those individuals have been?

Mr. BERRY. At the time there was no defense captain because the defense captain had been killed.

Mr. ROMINES. Who would that have been?

Mr. BERRY. Michael Bayaham. We had a communications secretary which was—do you want the names?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes.

Mr. BERRY. That was Jackie Spieser. I was lieutenant of security, Eric Bell was officer of finance, Anita Hartman was coordinator for the breakfast for children program, and I think at that time those were the only officers we had. We had an officer of the day but he wasn't considered as an officer, that rotated.

Mr. ROMINES. That rotated from individual to individual?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, officer of the day did.

Mr. ROMINES. You testified at present there is a chapter of the National Committee to Combat Fascism in Detroit; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, there is.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you identify the current leaders of that chapter?

Mr. BERRY. I can.

Mr. ROMINES. Who are they?

Mr. BERRY. The chairman is Malik, breakfast for children coordinator is Chuck Holt, lieutenant of information is Larry Powell, and those are the only officers that they have now.

Mr. ROMINES. You used the name Malik; is that the only name by which he goes.

Mr. BERRY. That is the only name I know him by, Malik.

Mr. ROMINES. You also testified yesterday, Mr. Berry, that three individuals from Detroit went to the Oakland conference in July of 1969, is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, it is.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you identify those three individuals?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I can.

Mr. ROMINES. Who are they?

Mr. BERRY. Malik, Omar, and Phil.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know them by any other names than those you have just given us?

Mr. BERRY. No, I don't.

Mr. ROMINES. Also yesterday, Mr. Berry, you testified that two individuals came from national headquarters in California to the Detroit Chapter. Do you know the names of those two individuals?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I do.

Mr. ROMINES. Who would they have been?

Mr. BERRY. Landon B. Williams and Rory Hithe.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, while you were a member of the Black Panther Party chapter in Detroit, were there any particular membership admission requirements?

Mr. BERRY. No, there wasn't.

Mr. ROMINES. How did a person go about joining the chapter, if he wanted to?

Mr. BERRY. First, you would come and sign your name and you would say you would like to become a member of the Black Panther

Party. They would then take your picture, your name and address, and proceed to what they would call an investigation of you. In the process of this investigation you would attend political education classes, do work in the community along with regular Panther members, plus sell newspapers. After a period of time then they would notify you of the investigation, and then you would go through another 6-week course of political education classes. At the end of the 6 weeks then you became a friend of the Panthers. Then you would take another 3-week course of training. At the end of this 3-week course they would let you know whether or not you were qualified to be a member of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, during the period of time that you were a member of the Black Panther Party in Detroit, were there any communications between the Detroit Chapter and the national office in California?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, there were.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of communications would these have been?

Mr. BERRY. By telephone.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any written communications?

Mr. BERRY. We received that I know of two or three letters. They were sent to the communications secretary. At the time she was the only one besides the defense captain that would actually make contact with national headquarters. In fact, she was the only one authorized. The defense captain and the defense secretary.

Mr. ROMINES. Would these have been the individuals who engaged in the telephone conversations?

Mr. BERRY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what the substance of the two or three letters were that you received from national?

Mr. BERRY. No, I don't. No one actually read them but the defense captain and the communications secretary, and then we were told by them what the letter was supposed to have contained. But we could never actually see what was in the letter because we never were allowed to see them.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, was the Black Panther chapter in Detroit required to transmit or remit any funds to national headquarters?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, we were.

Mr. ROMINES. What were the requirements?

Mr. BERRY. We were to send money for the papers that we had got from national. Each chapter has a quota of so many papers to sell, and a certain amount of the money from these papers is returned to national headquarters. As I said before each member that sells the paper he gets a nickle off of the paper, a dime goes to the office, and the other dime goes to national headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. So then part of the money which was received for selling papers was transmitted back to national; is that correct?

Mr. BERRY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Over what period of time was money from the Detroit Chapter for the paper sales transmitted back to national office in California?

Mr. BERRY. It wasn't too many times because our chapter was kind of behind. In fact we were in debt to national for papers. We had a

lot of papers that never got sold. We actually owed national money for papers that wasn't sold.

Mr. ROMINES. During your testimony yesterday, Mr. Berry, you and I discussed the term "off the pig" as it is used and as you understand its meaning by the Panther Party.

From a book entitled *SEIZE THE TIME*, by Bobby Seale, published by Random House, on page 404 is the following sentence: "*Off the Pig* means to kill the slave master. It doesn't mean commit murder." Does that fit in, or agree with, your understanding of the term "off the pig"?

Mr. BERRY. No, it doesn't. First of all to kill somebody without provocation is murder. The plan to kill someone, to me, is premeditated murder.

Mr. ROMINES. As you understand the Panther meaning of the term "off the pig," does that mean kill a policeman only when provoked or does it mean if you have the opportunity to kill him?

Mr. BERRY. It means if you have the opportunity because, not only as they look at it as if in the black community, not only if Panthers are provoked but if any black man is provoked by the policeman the Panthers are supposed to come to this person's aid.

Mr. ROMINES. How about if nobody is provoked?

Mr. BERRY. If nobody is provoked to me it is awfully stupid to kill a policeman, but they believe in doing it. They believe by killing a policeman that is one less policeman they have to deal with.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Berry, yesterday you testified that you originally joined the Black Panther Party in an attempt to help the community. You left the Black Panther Party when you determined that the Black Panther Party was not actually helping the community but actually was rather a detriment or maybe actually even harming the community. Since you left the Panther Party have you yourself done anything to further help or attempt to help the black community in Detroit?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I have. As I said before, some friends of mine that were in the service and some guys that I worked with we had got together and formed an organization of our own known as Unity and Peace Development Center.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the purpose of this center?

Mr. BERRY. The purpose of this center is to first teach people of the black community how to live together, have a little more concern about each other, work together, and keep the neighborhood clean, just in a whole to make the black community a better place to live and work in.

Mr. ROMINES. Are there any particular problem areas in the black community that you are attempting to concentrate on or intend to concentrate on?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. Our number one problem we are going to start off with is fighting the dope problem in the community. That, I believe, is the basis of all crime in the black community.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give the committee any examples of what you are talking about?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. In my community there are what we call dope houses that are run openly. I mean we see them every day. They are run openly, and with these guys that go in and out of these joints you

have to be scared to leave your home. Your wife or your mother or your sister, she can't stand on the street in the daytime without being robbed or mugged or her purse snatched, and they will break in your house and steal all your furniture. To me the minute we get rid of this kind of mess then the black community will be a good place to live. Right now it has got to the place you have to carry a gun to walk to the grocery store. You can't even come out of your house without fear of being robbed or killed. This is the kind of thing we want to fight against because we want peace and unity in the black community and we are going to have it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. May I ask a question at this point?

Mr. PREYER. Sure.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Not, of course, condoning or suggesting there is any right or authorization to kill or reason for killing, but if there is a tendency to want to kill or "off" the policeman because he provokes, and there have been obviously cases where the police and the Black Panthers have come into serious confrontation, sometimes even shoot-outs, why has there not been this same tendency for the Black Panthers to take the same attitude toward the dope pushers?

If they are open and as you say you know these people, why is it there is one treatment accorded to the policeman and a different treatment accorded to the dope pusher? I don't hear of any effort on the part of the Black Panthers to rid themselves of the oppression or what might be called the exploitation of the dope peddlers yet; they direct their attention toward the police. You say that is the major cause of crime. It must be a provocation. Why is there this single vision against the policeman, but not against the dope pusher? I am not suggesting there should be. I am just trying to think their philosophy. If they are provoked by the police and would use means of violence to defend themselves—in some cases there is a question of whether it is defense or not—why isn't this same attitude toward the dope peddler? It almost makes you think they are in connivance with them.

Mr. BERRY. I am glad you asked that question. While I was a member of the Black Panther Party in Detroit we took it on ourselves. We raided three different dope joints in the city of Detroit. Six of us, we raided them armed with 12-gauge shotguns. We raided six of them in Detroit on our own. We could not keep it up because sooner or later it was going to end up with the police and the Panthers. Because any time you see six or eight fellows walking up the street or walking in a building with shotguns the first thing the people are going to do is call the police. You might have somebody in the crowd who is hot-headed, and then a whole lot of trouble is started.

Something has been done about it in Detroit. But we can only do so much. We have helped the police, we have tried this. But now we are no more a chapter and somebody else has to take it up, but we did try it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. There wouldn't be a feeling that there might be organized crime or something so big behind dope peddlers that you would not even want to get involved in it?

Mr. BERRY. We know this, because if you remember about 6 or 8 months ago there was a book put out. I don't know if it was put out here, but it was in Detroit. It is called *Scope*, it was called "The War Between the Black Panthers and the Mafia." This is where the trouble

is coming in. The Panthers have started to converge on these places, but we were getting word that if we didn't leave them alone we would get trouble out of the Mafia.

Now this book, it might have been a little later than that, but I say close to 6 or 8 months ago, this book, this magazine, *Scope*, which comes out in Detroit, the title on the front cover was "The War Between the Black Panthers and the Mafia."

Mr. ASHBROOK. This so-called word that came to you from the Mafia didn't deter you, but the thought of getting into a confrontation with the police because of raiding these establishments did deter you?

Mr. BERRY. We didn't stop because of that. We stopped because a lot of the people we thought might be hurt in the building. Because I know these places, I know these fellows that run them, and when you bust in there it is one or two things. You have to kill them or they will kill you because they are killing each other every day, robbing each other's places.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ROMINES. With respect to your center, again, Mr. Berry, do you envision working with any of the neighborhood residents?

Mr. BERRY. Yes; we have set up a program where we will work with the neighborhood block clubs, police community relation organizations, and different neighborhood organizations from different sections of town to try to bring all of them together and get ideas from each one that we can sit down and put together. Maybe all of the communities can work together, not only just the black, but the black community, the white community, everybody can work together to better their community.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any specific plans for working with the younger people?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, we do. We plan to have two or more classes a week working with the youngsters.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you intend to teach them in the classes?

Mr. BERRY. First we want to teach them to understand the conditions of today, which a lot of them don't, and then teach them the right way of living, such as education, trying to get a decent job, taking care of the things that belong to them, and of all things showing a little more concern about their next door neighbor or their friends.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any particular plans for working with the parents of the younger children?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, we do. One of the girls that is coming in with us was a sociology teacher, and we plan on having classes on parental care. To me one of the problems also is parents nowadays, to me they are too quick to say yes. They don't seem to care enough about their kids. They would rather say yes and let them go rather than sit and listen to them or sit down and explain things to them. It seems to me like they don't have the time to do it. We are going to try to take this time to do it or get them to take the time to do it.

Mr. ROMINES. How do you intend to support your center, Mr. Berry?

Mr. BERRY. Right now, the fellows that are with me and the few girls that are with me, we all have pretty fair jobs and right now we plan to come out of our pockets and do it. Later on if someone wants

to help us OK, but we are not asking for donations or nothing. We are not going around begging, telling people we want this. We are going to attempt this out of our pockets, and I believe if we try hard enough we can do it.

Mr. ROMINES. One final question, Mr. Berry: Before you came to Washington, D.C., to testify were you subjected to any threats by any individuals in Detroit with respect to your trip to Washington?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, I was, twice.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you relate the substance of those threats to the committee, please.

Mr. BERRY. Yes. On about the 13th I got a call that night I got home from work.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be the 13th of July?

Mr. BERRY. The 13th of this month; yes. It was about 7:30 or a quarter to 8, and I got a call. So I asked the fellow on the other end. I said, "Hello, who is it?" He says, "It is a friend of yours." I asked him, "What is happening?" He says, "I hear you are going to Washington," just like that. I said, "Yes, on personal business." He said, "I was told to advise you not to go to Washington." I said, "Why?" He said, "Because if you go it might mean your life." Just like that. So I laughed. I said, "Who is it?" Then he hung up the phone.

At first I didn't think nothing about it. I just thought it was somebody down where I worked trying to be smart. Then after I thought about it I called a couple of friends of mine and told them about it. So they came over to the house and they asked me had anything happened, was anything wrong. I told them about the call, and they said they wanted to stay with me. I told them no, because I keep my house pretty well protected. They said just for safety we will stay with you, so they stayed with me a couple of days. After that nothing went on.

A few more days again, that following Thursday, Thursday night, about 9 o'clock—

Mr. ROMINES. That would be Thursday of last week?

Mr. BERRY. Yes. The phone rang and a young lady was on the other end. I said, "Hello." She said, "May I speak to Don?" I said, "You are speaking." She said, "I was told to tell you not to go to Washington." So I said, "Who is it?" She said, "A friend of yours." So she said, "If you go it might mean your life or your family's life." So I told her, "Evidently you don't know me because if you did you would know I didn't have a family and I am not married." She said, "Well, you have a mother and two sisters," just like that. I told her, I said, "If anything happens to my mother or anybody tries to do anything to my sisters then they have to see me because I am going to try to protect them." She hung up the phone.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. Berry, you have indicated earlier that you know how to protect yourself pretty well with your fists; you are a Golden Gloves champion and Olympic boxer.

I will point out, in addition, to whom it may concern, that it is a Federal crime to injure or intimidate a congressional witness for a congressional hearing. Title 18 of the U.S. Code, section 1505 says:

Whoever corruptly, or by threats or force, or by any threatening letter or communication, endeavors to influence, intimidate, or impede any witness * * * in connection with any inquiry or investigation being had by either House * * * ; or

Whoever injures any party or witness in his person or property * * * [in connection with the hearing] ; or

* * * * *

Shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

I want to bring that to the attention of anyone concerned.

Mr. Ashbrook, do you have any further questions of Mr. Berry?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I have no questions at this time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. Berry. We appreciate your being here and your testimony. I think you have made a real contribution to our record on the Black Panther Party.

Thank you.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, at this time I wonder if it would be possible to take a 3- to 5-minute recess?

Mr. PREYER. Certainly.

We will recess for about 3 minutes for a short meeting.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. PREYER. Counsel, you may call your next witness.

Mr. ROMINES. I call Barron Howard, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Howard, would you stand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the evidence you are about to give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HOWARD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BARRON HOWARD

Mr. ROMINES. Would you state your full name for the record, please?

Mr. HOWARD. Barron Howard.

Mr. ROMINES. What is your age, Mr. Howard?

Mr. HOWARD. 21.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, are you now or were you ever a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, I was.

Mr. ROMINES. When were you a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. September '68 to April of '69.

Mr. ROMINES. Where were you a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. Indianapolis, Indiana.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know when the Indianapolis Chapter of the Black Panther Party was formed?

Mr. HOWARD. About the latter part of August.

Mr. ROMINES. Of what year?

Mr. HOWARD. '68.

Mr. ROMINES. So you joined shortly after it was formed; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. For what particular reason did you join the chapter?

Mr. HOWARD. Curiosity, mostly, to see what the party was really like.

Mr. ROMINES. How old were you, Mr. Howard, when you joined the chapter?

Mr. HOWARD. About 18.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you hold any position of leadership during the period of time you were a member there?

Mr. HOWARD. Minister of special investigation, security, I am sorry.

Mr. ROMINES. Minister of security?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. What would your responsibilities have been as minister of security?

Mr. HOWARD. To make sure any of the engagements that the party members were speaking at were guarded properly and no incidents would happen involving them physically.

Mr. ROMINES. Yours were basically protective responsibilities?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Did your responsibilities extend to any areas other than just protecting speakers?

Mr. HOWARD. The building, also.

Mr. ROMINES. What building would that have been?

Mr. HOWARD. Indianapolis Chapter headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you have any members of the party assigned to you to help you with this job of security?

Mr. HOWARD. Approximately four.

Mr. ROMINES. How old were these individuals?

Mr. HOWARD. Ranging from about 17 to 22.

Mr. ROMINES. Why, Mr. Howard, was it felt that special security was necessary? What was the purpose of it?

Mr. HOWARD. The real purpose was to make sure no bodily harm came to any party member that had a speaking engagement.

(At this point Mr. Watson entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ROMINES. Were there ever any thoughts or any indications that somebody might want to try to harm the speakers?

Mr. HOWARD. Mostly the police department.

Mr. ROMINES. What I am driving at, did you as a chapter ever receive any information that somebody was actually going to try to harm a speaker?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. You were just there in case something did happen?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you or your men armed when you were on duty?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, we were.

Mr. ROMINES. All five of you?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of weapon did you carry?

Mr. HOWARD. .38 revolvers.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you carry any types of weapons other than the .38 revolver?

Mr. HOWARD. A shotgun if it was a large crowd, two of us would.

Mr. ROMINES. Why a shotgun for a large crowd?

Mr. HOWARD. Because with a shotgun you really don't have to take an aim if a group of people is charging at you like you do with a revolver.

Mr. ROMINES. Were the weapons that you carried loaded?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, they were.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, were you given any instruction as to when or under what circumstances you were to use your weapons?

Mr. HOWARD. No, I wasn't. I already knew what my responsibilities were, automatically.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say you already knew "automatically"?

Mr. HOWARD. Because we was a revolution party and, as such, as a revolution party we must protect our leaders to the utmost.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you ever told or did you know what you were supposed to do if a policeman interfered with your operations?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What were you supposed to do?

Mr. HOWARD. The phrase we used was "rip off."

Mr. ROMINES. What does that mean?

Mr. HOWARD. Kill.

Mr. ROMINES. Kill the policeman?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. You were in the Panther Party from 1968 to April of 1969, almost a year. During that period of time did you ever have occasion to use your weapon?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. You never used it?

Mr. HOWARD. No, I didn't.

Mr. ROMINES. Approximately how many members did the Indianapolis Chapter of the Black Panther Party have when you joined?

Mr. HOWARD. Approximately 300.

Mr. ROMINES. Was there any written list kept of the names and addresses, et cetera?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, there was.

Mr. ROMINES. So you had a membership list of approximately 300 individuals?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How many of those 300, Mr. Howard, were what we could call active members?

Mr. HOWARD. Sixty-five.

Mr. ROMINES. How do you distinguish between an active member and just a plain member?

Mr. HOWARD. Someone that came to meeting days on Mondays and Wednesdays.

Mr. ROMINES. Of those 65 active members would you have any opinion as to how many would have been the actual, well, to use the term, "hard-core leaders," planners and doers?

Mr. HOWARD. About 12.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the names of the officers at the time you joined the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. The chairman was Fred Crawford. Other members for different departments I do not because we changed all the time.

Mr. ROMINES. Did Fred Crawford remain the chairman, is that correct, the chairman?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. During the entire period you were a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period of time you were a member of the Black Panther Party, did the number of members increase, decrease, or remain stable?

Mr. HOWARD. Decreased.

Mr. ROMINES. To what number did it decrease?

Mr. HOWARD. We had roughly about 35 people coming to meetings.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be what you would call the active members?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How about of the hard core, the actual leaders and doers?

Mr. HOWARD. About six.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have an opinion, Mr. Howard, as to the reason for this decrease in membership?

Mr. HOWARD. Poor leadership by the chairman.

Mr. ROMINES. Is there any other reason?

Mr. HOWARD. Most of the people realized that the funds that we did have was being misused for various other personal use of the chairman and ranking officers.

Mr. ROMINES. You say poor leadership on the part of the chairman. Can you give the committee any examples of what you are referring to?

Mr. HOWARD. He didn't come to meetings as he was supposed to. When he would speak it wasn't enough in his speeches to make the party really live up to its motto.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the individuals who left the party leave voluntarily or were any of them purged or kicked out?

Mr. HOWARD. No, voluntarily.

Mr. ROMINES. They all left voluntarily?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. At the time you left the party in April of '69 what was the approximate average age level of the members?

Mr. HOWARD. Oh, about from 17 to 38.

Mr. ROMINES. You say 17 to 38; that covers a rather large span. Would most of them have been younger or older or somewhere in between?

Mr. HOWARD. Younger.

Mr. ROMINES. In their late teens?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Counsel, while I don't have any difficulty hearing him apparently some people are having difficulty hearing the witness. Would you move the microphone a little closer.

Mr. ROMINES. I believe you just indicated, Mr. Howard, that the majority of the members were younger; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Was this also true when you first joined the party?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, it was.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have an opinion, Mr. Howard, as to what it is about the Black Panther Party that attracted the younger people?

Mr. HOWARD. The use of violence. I mean they used violence in their speeches in telling that the Government really has done nothing for them and low rating the Government in front of them.

Mr. ROMINES. Is there any other particular reason that you know of?

Mr. HOWARD. Kids just like violent words; they like to hear violent words used.

Mr. ROMINES. Would it be your opinion that it is the violence that the Black Panther Party espouses that was primarily responsible for attracting the kids?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would there be any difference between the ability to influence or persuade or sway a younger person as opposed to an older person?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, because an older person, in our group most of them were very good conners.

Mr. ROMINES. Very good—pardon me?

Mr. HOWARD. Conners.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you care to elaborate on that?

Mr. HOWARD. Someone that can talk you out of your money or make you do what they want you to do.

Mr. ROMINES. If I understand you correctly the older members were good at either conning or influencing other people; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, did the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis have a breakfast for children program while you were a member?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, they did.

Mr. ROMINES. When was that program started?

Mr. HOWARD. In February.

Mr. ROMINES. Of what year?

Mr. HOWARD. '69.

Mr. ROMINES. And at how many locations was it established?

Mr. HOWARD. One.

Mr. ROMINES. How long was the breakfast for children program maintained?

Mr. HOWARD. Three weeks.

Mr. ROMINES. Why, Mr. Howard, did it only last 3 weeks?

Mr. HOWARD. Because the party members, the head party members, used the money for their own use and the rest of the food we ate it ourselves.

Mr. ROMINES. You say the money, from where was the money obtained?

Mr. HOWARD. Churches, merchants, anyone that wanted to donate anything to the fund.

Mr. ROMINES. That money was used for the personal use of the members; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, it was.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the food?

Mr. HOWARD. We ate most of that in the chapter, in the back.

Mr. ROMINES. Where was that food obtained?

Mr. HOWARD. From merchants and people who volunteered canned goods to the party.

Mr. ROMINES. So, as I understand it then, you simply had no funds or no food to feed the children; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Right; it only lasted about 3 weeks.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, did the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis ever have a large collection, or perhaps I could use the term, a "stockpile" of weapons?

Mr. HOWARD. Some, not very many.

Mr. ROMINES. You say "some," to what are you referring?

Mr. HOWARD. About 32 rifles.

Mr. ROMINES. Thirty-two rifles?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of rifles were they?

Mr. HOWARD. Semiautomatics, British Springfields, and French-made rifles, also.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know where the rifles were kept?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Now, since you were the minister of special security, why is it that you did not know where they were kept?

Mr. HOWARD. Because it is only broken down to three people knowing that; that would be the chairman, deputy chairman, and minister of defense.

Mr. ROMINES. Is this a typical position on the part of the Black Panther Party—

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES.—to restrict information such as that to only three members?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the reason for that?

Mr. HOWARD. They believe that when the three people know a secret it is more sound than when four or more know it because it might get out to the police department what they intend to do or where their supply is kept.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Counsel, if he didn't know where they were how did he know there were 32 weapons?

Mr. HOWARD. How did I know there were 32?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes.

Mr. HOWARD. Because I seen them the day they were delivered.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You saw them being delivered, but you did not know where they were kept; is that it?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know from what source these rifles were obtained.

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know who delivered the rifles?

Mr. HOWARD. I don't know his name; no.

Mr. ROMINES. Was he a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Was he Caucasian or black?

Mr. HOWARD. Caucasian.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what organization he was from, if any?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how the weapons were paid for?

Mr. HOWARD. They were donated.

Mr. ROMINES. Thirty-two rifles were given to the Panther Party free of charge; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Were these the only rifles that were ever given to the party?

Mr. HOWARD. The only ones I know of; yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Were any other weapons such as shotguns or pistols ever given to the party?

Mr. HOWARD. Not that I know of; no.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the party ever purchase any other rifles?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they ever purchase any shotguns or pistols?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the party have any other offensive weaponry such as dynamite, hand grenades?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. So the rifles would have been it; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. As far as my knowledge, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, was each member of the Black Panther Party required to have his own weapon?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, he was.

Mr. ROMINES. Is there a particular term that the Panthers call a weapon as opposed to calling it a weapon?

Mr. HOWARD. A piece.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of piece was each member required to have?

Mr. HOWARD. A .38.

Mr. ROMINES. Revolver?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How did you know, Mr. Howard, that each member was required to have his own weapon or his own piece?

Mr. HOWARD. It was given to us in class, handed down through the national office, that our party members must have a piece for his own protection.

Mr. ROMINES. So you were informed in your own class that you were required to have your own piece?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. And you were further informed that this order had come from national; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how the order was transferred from national to the Indianapolis Chapter?

Mr. HOWARD. Through the mail.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ever see a copy of it?

Mr. HOWARD. A glance at it, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you remember what it looked like; do you remember what it said?

Mr. HOWARD. No, not offhand.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you remember when the written notification came from national to the Indianapolis local chapter?

Mr. HOWARD. About December of '68.

Mr. ROMINES. Did each member of the Indianapolis Chapter, in fact, have his own piece?

Mr. HOWARD. He had to; yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Now having to have something and actually having it are sometimes two different things. Do you know, as a matter of fact, whether each member of the chapter actually obtained and kept his own piece?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how many of them did? I will rephrase that. Do you know of any of them that did?

Mr. HOWARD. No; because if you had a piece it was a secret of your own; you didn't broadcast it or make it known to the other members what you had.

Mr. ROMINES. Under what conditions were you required to have that piece in your possession?

Mr. HOWARD. At all times.

Mr. ROMINES. At all times you were required to carry that piece?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Irrespective of what you were doing or where you were going?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know, Mr. Howard, what the reason was for requiring each member to have his own piece?

Mr. HOWARD. I don't understand.

Mr. ROMINES. Did anybody ever tell you why it was that they said, "OK, Mr. Howard, you as a member of the Black Panther Party are henceforth required to carry your own piece?" For what reason were you to have a weapon?

Mr. HOWARD. To protect yourself and your personal property.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you ever given any instructions as to when or under what circumstances you were to use your piece?

Mr. HOWARD. That was up to you.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, during the period of time that you were a member of the Indianapolis Black Panther Party Chapter did any members of the national office from California come to Indianapolis?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Did any members of the Chicago, Illinois, Black Panther Party Chapter come to Indianapolis?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. First of all let me ask you this question. What, if anything, was the relationship between the Chicago and Indianapolis Chapters of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. We wasn't on very good terms with national headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. You say "we," that means the Indianapolis Chapter?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Why were you not on very good terms with national headquarters?

Mr. HOWARD. Because our chairman was messing up and he was not carrying out the policy and we had a little trouble with our sales of paper.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean he was not carrying out party policy?

Mr. HOWARD. Meaning he wasn't attending meetings as he was supposed to or seeing about things in the chapter and seeing that things were being done as they were supposed to be.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the chairman of the Indianapolis Chapter's position on violence? What was his attitude toward violence?

Mr. HOWARD. He wasn't a very violent person.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the fact that he was not a very violent person have any bearing on the fact that your chapter and the national office didn't get along too well?

Mr. HOWARD. That is correct. They thought that in the event anything would happen we wouldn't retaliate on the incident. So if he would just look over it like he did, this would make national headquarters very mad because they wanted us to participate in everything that might happen there.

Mr. ROMINES. Correct me if I misunderstand you. As I understand what you have just said, one of the reasons the national office was dissatisfied with the Indianapolis Chapter was because you were not aggressive enough or violent enough; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Now if the national office was not satisfied with the way your chapter was being run, why would that have anything to do with the chapter in Chicago?

Mr. HOWARD. Because Chicago and the national headquarters, well, Chicago is the national headquarters' second headquarters. If any chapter from the East or West is having trouble, they would send someone from Chicago to help them out of their problems, if they could help them.

Mr. ROMINES. Would your chapter in Indianapolis have reported to the Chicago Chapter?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Then was the Chicago Chapter, in fact, in charge of the Indianapolis Chapter?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Could you characterize the Chicago Chapter as perhaps a regional office under which your chapter would have fallen?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right; yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know any other chapters in or around your area which reported to and received instructions from Chicago?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Now a few minutes ago you indicated that some members from the Chicago Black Panther Party had visited Indianapolis; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. How many different times did you receive a visit while you were a member of the chapter in Indianapolis?

Mr. HOWARD. Roughly six.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know by name any of the individuals who came from Chicago to Indianapolis?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know when they came?

Mr. HOWARD. Datewise?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes, sir, as closely as you can approximate.

Mr. HOWARD. It started about January '69.

Mr. ROMINES. Over what period of time did it last?

Mr. HOWARD. A month before I left.

Mr. ROMINES. So that would be about March of 1969; is that right?

Mr. HOWARD. March.

Mr. ROMINES. How many different individuals from Chicago came to Indianapolis?

Mr. HOWARD. Three.

Mr. ROMINES. So these three individuals made six different trips; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. On each one of the trips did the same three individuals come?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Would one come one time and maybe two the next and switch back and forth?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes; it would be three at any time, but one guy he made sure he came all the time, and I guess the other two people that was with him was his bodyguards.

Mr. ROMINES. You don't know the names of any of these three?

Mr. HOWARD. No; they would go into a closed session, and we would not be involved in anything like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Did any of these three ever meet with the general membership of the Indianapolis party?

Mr. HOWARD. Some but not all of us; no.

Mr. ROMINES. Generally speaking, if I understand you, they met in closed session with the leaders of your party; is that it?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. For what purpose did they come to Indianapolis?

Mr. HOWARD. We were behind in our paper sales. We owed the chapter some money, and they were trying to collect it or get something going to get the money out to them. With our leadership people leaving, they were concerned about that also and they wanted to see what they could do to bring the people back to the party.

Mr. ROMINES. They were basically trying to straighten out your chapter; is that it?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What steps did they take to straighten out your chapter? Did they change any of the procedures under which you operated?

Mr. HOWARD. The chairman he came around more often than he did before, but really changed them overall, no, I didn't see any changes.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they give you any specific instructions as to how you were to proceed or how you were to conduct yourselves?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Was the Indianapolis Chapter of the Black Panther Party required to submit any written reports?

Mr. HOWARD. Once a month.

Mr. ROMINES. To whom was the written report to go?

Mr. HOWARD. That I would not know; it would go to national headquarters is all I know.

Mr. ROMINES. But you also indicated that you did have to report to Chicago; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be a verbal type report?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ever see any of the written reports that went from Indianapolis to national headquarters?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, did the Indianapolis Chapter of the Black Panther Party ever conduct any classes?

Mr. HOWARD. Monday and Wednesday.

Mr. ROMINES. Of each week?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the purpose of the classes?

Mr. HOWARD. Monday was more of a teaching of handling of various guns and guerrilla warfare.

Mr. ROMINES. How about Wednesday then?

Mr. HOWARD. Wednesday was education of the party policy and reading of the Mao Tse-tung "red book."

Mr. ROMINES. With respect to the classes on Monday, that would be, as I understand you, essentially weaponry and guerrilla warfare tactics?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Who conducted the classes?

Mr. HOWARD. Minister of education.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what his name is or was?

Mr. HOWARD. No; they change so much I don't remember who was who each day, really.

Mr. ROMINES. Were these classes open to anybody or only to members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. Only members.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the average or the approximate attendance at these classes?

Mr. HOWARD. Sixty-five, roughly.

Mr. ROMINES. Were any particular books used as a method of instruction?

Mr. HOWARD. Che's *Guerrilla Warfare* book.

Mr. ROMINES. Anything else?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you actually attend those classes?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have attended them strictly as a member or would you have attended them in your capacity as the minister of special defense?

Mr. HOWARD. As minister of special defense I went to class maybe going to the back door to check the back door, but never sat down in actual class, no.

Mr. ROMINES. But you were present at most of the classes?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give the committee some idea as to the general substance of the class?

Mr. HOWARD. You mean what they were teaching?

Mr. ROMINES. Precisely.

Mr. HOWARD. How to make cocktails.

Mr. ROMINES. I presume when you say "cocktails" you are not talking about martinis; are you?

Mr. HOWARD. No. It was the making of gunpowder and fire bombs.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they actually instruct in how to put together a Molotov cocktail, which I presume is what you are referring to?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. They did teach you how to do that?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they actually teach you how to make other types of bombs?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What other types, now?

Mr. HOWARD. I can't remember offhand what it was; it was using a pipe with a battery connected and then acid; the main ingredient used in it was acid

Mr. ROMINES. That would be battery acid?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. In addition to instructing you in how to make these explosive devices, did they instruct you as to when and how to use them?

Mr. HOWARD. No. It was your decision, really; if you wanted to use it that night you could use it. There wasn't any word given from the chapter how to use it or when to use it.

Mr. ROMINES. Just here it is, here is how you make it, now do your own thing?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. In addition to the instruction in how to make explosive devices, did they instruct you at all in any other types of guerrilla warfare or any other facets of guerrilla warfare?

Mr. HOWARD. How to make a spike board.

Mr. ROMINES. What is a spike board?

Mr. HOWARD. You use a spike and you drive it into a 2 by 4. And in case an army vehicle would come down the street you could blow his tires out by laying the plank across the street.

Mr. ROMINES. In addition to the manufacture or the assemblage of weapons such as this, was there any other part or facet of guerrilla warfare that was discussed? For example, how do you get the people behind you, did you ever talk about that?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How were you instructed to bring the people in, to get the people with you?

Mr. HOWARD. To degrade the government establishment in front of them and to use your own imagination, more or less propaganda, take some event that happened yesterday and twist it.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you actually told to twist the facts?

Mr. HOWARD. Like I said you automatically knew to do that.

Mr. ROMINES. Once again it is "Here is how it is done, now do it if you want to"; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they discuss with you at all or teach you at all any other tactics which could be employed in guerrilla warfare?

Mr. HOWARD. Talk to the youth.

Mr. ROMINES. Why talk to the youth?

Mr. HOWARD. Because the youth is the revolution.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say that?

Mr. HOWARD. It is another quote from Mao Tse-tung that the youth is the revolution, meaning that using the younger youth for the backbone of the government is better off than using, I guess, you would say, an older person.

Mr. ROMINES. Using the youth as the backbone for what?

Mr. HOWARD. For the revolution, I meant.

Mr. ROMINES. Why would that be, would you know?

Mr. HOWARD. Because they don't really think about what they are doing. You just get them emotionally stirred up, and they will do what you want.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they discuss with you at all how you can get the youth emotionally stirred up?

Mr. HOWARD. Using the government or an event that happened or something.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean an event that happened?

Mr. HOWARD. Maybe some policeman shot a 16-year-old kid in the back running from the scene of a crime, and we would turn it around and say the kid stopped and he shot him anyway, or something like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, at least myself, when I think of guerrilla warfare, I am inclined to think of hit-and-run tactics.

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Was that ever discussed at all?

Mr. HOWARD. No; because when you read the Che book you automatically knew that is what you were supposed to do if you wanted to do it.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you taught anything in these classes about cooperation or lack of cooperation with the whites?

Mr. HOWARD. No. At first they wanted a separate party; I mean they wanted separatism.

Mr. ROMINES. Who are "they"?

Mr. HOWARD. The Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean "at first"? When you say, "they at first," are you referring to the Indianapolis Chapter?

Mr. HOWARD. No; I am talking about the Nation.

Mr. ROMINES. National?

Mr. HOWARD. National.

Mr. ROMINES. At first they wanted separatism?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they actually advocate it?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes; when I went into the party they were saying they wanted half of the United States, cut it in half, the whites take one half and the blacks take the other half and for us to govern our own selves.

Mr. ROMINES. In my experience with the party, reading their publications, listening to their speeches, and in talking with the people, I have never heard them publicly advocate separatism; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do they still as a party advocate separatism?

Mr. HOWARD. With party members, yes, but with the public, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Now, why is that?

Mr. HOWARD. Because the white kids, for one, give up money quicker than the Negroes will. Because it is a simple fact that they are young and we can tell them a line of bull and they accept it, and then they just give up the money wholeheartedly.

Mr. ROMINES. Then is there a deliberate attempt on the part of the Panther to not mention separatism in an attempt to gain financial or other type of support from the white community?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. In your own experience as a member of the Black Panther Party, Mr. Howard, did you find it easy or difficult to approach, as you put it, young whites and obtain support from them?

Mr. HOWARD. It is easier to get money from them than from our own people, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Just to make sure that I understand you exactly, why is it that it is easier to approach a young white and obtain support from him than a young Negro?

Mr. HOWARD. Well, Negroes they can tell, I mean you know we know each other, as we would say, to a line of bull. But white kids, half of them that I ran into they are all the time high off about anything, and one week they want to help us and the next week they have some other project going, but still just the same they give us money without any questions asked.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, a moment ago as we were discussing your classes you indicated that they were essentially conducted on a "here is what you can do" and "here is how it is to be done" basis, but they didn't actually tell you when or where or under what circumstances you were to do it; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Now would the fact that there was no attempt to organize the members to do these things, a certain lack of organization, would this have had any bearing on the Indianapolis party's problems with national?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. It would not?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Now you testified a little while ago that also on these Monday classes you discussed weapons; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Could you elaborate on that for us, please?

Mr. HOWARD. How to clean it, the basic requirement that the rifle can perform, and how it performs and that is about all, really.

Mr. ROMINES. Basically how to clean it?

Mr. HOWARD. How to operate it and keep it clean, and so forth.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the members of the Indianapolis Chapter ever conduct any firing practice?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ever conduct any marching practice?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would this have been marching in drill with the weapons?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Marching without the weapons?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. For what reason did you practice marching?

Mr. HOWARD. Mostly when we marched, we marched down in the community where our chapter was to show the people of the community our strength.

Mr. ROMINES. So the purpose for that then would have been just to display your strength?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. How frequently did you conduct the marching practice?

Mr. HOWARD. Maybe once a month or something like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me direct your attention now to the Wednesday classes which you say were essentially, how did you phrase it? What was considered in Wednesday classes?

Mr. HOWARD. The "red book," Mao Tse-tung.

Mr. ROMINES. Were any other books used?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the general thrust or the general import of the classes on Wednesday night? What, in your opinion, were they trying to teach you?

Mr. HOWARD. How to carry on a revolution and how to organize it before it happens.

Mr. ROMINES. Now were the classes on Wednesday night open to the public or only Black Panther Party members?

Mr. HOWARD. Just party members only.

Mr. ROMINES. What, in your opinion, was the average attendance at these classes?

Mr. HOWARD. About 40, 45; something like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Who conducted these classes?

Mr. HOWARD. Our minister of education.

Mr. ROMINES. That again would have been a rotating, revolving arrangement?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. You say the classes were for what reason?

Mr. HOWARD. To carry out a revolution and how to organize the people before it happens.

Mr. ROMINES. What steps were you to take to organize the people?

Mr. HOWARD. Once again, use the tactics of propaganda and use any current event that has happened lately to degrade the government.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that have been in an attempt, perhaps, to unite the people?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you elaborate at all when you say unite the people or use things that have happened to unite the people, can you give me any specific examples of what you are referring to?

Let me put it to you this way: Generally, when you unite people for any particular purpose, you unite them either for or against a common cause or a common enemy.

Mr. HOWARD. We would unite them against the government presently now.

Mr. ROMINES. Would the government have been viewed as the common enemy?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you then have tried to unite the people basically on your side to oppose the government?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Once again I would ask you, Can you give me any specific examples of instances where you did something or took something that had been said or done in an attempt to unite the people and say, look, here is the government, the government is bad, it is our common enemy?

Mr. HOWARD. Someone came up with a picture—I don't know where it came from—but we spread it around the community there that the Government was secretly building concentration camps for the black people to be impounded in.

Mr. ROMINES. What was it a picture of?

Mr. HOWARD. A camp, actually a prison. It looked like it was set back in some wooded area.

Mr. ROMINES. As you circulated that picture throughout the community, did you in conjunction therewith tell the people anything about the pictures?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes; that this is one of the papers that someone secretly stole, showing one of the prisons being built for the people to be put in.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you know whether that was true or not?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. But it was just a good opportunity; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. To unite the people against a common enemy?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, during the period of time you were a member of the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis, were any members of the Black Panther Party killed by police or were any police killed by members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period of time that you were a member, was the Black Panther Party headquarters ever raided by the police department?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, it was.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you there on the day that it was raided?

Mr. HOWARD. No; I came down later, about when it was about over with.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know for what reason the raid occurred?

Mr. HOWARD. Someone called the police and told them that we had submachine guns in the back.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any submachine guns there?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Were either any members of the Black Panther Party or any members of the police department shot?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, during the period of time that you were a member of the Black Panther Party, and in particular while you were assigned to the special security division, how many times did members of the Black Panther Party participate in speaking engagements for which they were paid?

Mr. HOWARD. Roughly about 215; something like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Somewhere around 200?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ASHBROOK. How would he have access to that figure?

Mr. ROMINES. Would you not have attended each one of these?

Mr. HOWARD. I attended roughly about 140. Any time that any speaking engagement was held outside, I had to assign two men to party members that were going to whatever various places there were to protect them.

Mr. ASHBROOK. This was over a period of 7 or 8 months?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. These speaking engagements that the members participated in, were they in Indianapolis or in other cities?

Mr. HOWARD. Both.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have an estimate as to the percentage which would have been in Indianapolis as opposed to any other cities?

Mr. HOWARD. About 50-50.

Mr. ROMINES. What member or what members of the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis actually did the speaking?

Mr. HOWARD. The chairman or whoever was available to make the trip.

Mr. ROMINES. That would be Fred Crawford?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the names of the other Black Panther Party members who actually spoke?

Mr. HOWARD. Not offhand; no.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what the Black Panther Party charged per speaking engagement?

Mr. HOWARD. You would have to send \$200 for our expenses to get there if it were out of town.

Mr. ROMINES. How about if the speaking engagement was to be in town?

Mr. HOWARD. I don't know offhand what they would charge.

Mr. ROMINES. If you traveled out of town, the party had to have \$200 first before they would leave town?

Mr. HOWARD. Right; for expenses, gas, and so forth.

Mr. ROMINES. What if the expenses of getting to the speaking engagement and back to Indianapolis were less than \$200, was any of the money refunded?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. So you just got the flat \$200 out of which came your expenses, and anything left over you got to keep; is that right?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. What about a speaking engagement where you were going to be gone over a day or so—who took care of the accommodations?

Mr. HOWARD. Whoever wrote for us to come and visit them or make a speech.

Mr. ROMINES. So not only did they have to pay \$200 for a trip to and from, but they had to take care of your actual accommodations?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. How about at the actual speaking engagement, were collections ever taken up?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Was that a usual thing or a frequent thing?

Mr. HOWARD. At every one.

Mr. ROMINES. At every speaking engagement a collection was taken?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. With respect to the money that was collected at the speaking engagement, how was that divided, between the Black

Panther Party and the organization that was sponsoring the speaking engagement?

Mr. HOWARD. The Black Panther Party would take the donations that were taken up, but as far as when they got back who got ahold of it I would not know.

Mr. ROMINES. If you went to a particular area and gave a speech and a collection was taken, all of the money which was collected went to the Black Panther Party; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what, or would you have an opinion as to, the average or approximate amounts which were collected at these various speaking engagements?

Mr. HOWARD. Never less than \$80. It would exceed that, but not under that.

Mr. ROMINES. Of all the speaking engagements the least that was collected was \$80?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what the maximum amount was?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have any opinion as to what an average amount was?

Mr. HOWARD. Maybe over \$150, or something like that if it was a big crowd.

Mr. ROMINES. Generally what types of organizations were you speaking before?

Mr. HOWARD. Mostly at Presbyterian Churches.

Mr. ROMINES. How about universities?

Mr. HOWARD. Them too.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give us the names of any of the universities to which you went to speak?

Mr. HOWARD. Indiana University in Bloomington.

Mr. ROMINES. Any others?

Mr. HOWARD. Indiana University, also in Indianapolis.

Mr. ROMINES. Any others?

Did you go outside the State to give any speeches?

Mr. HOWARD. I think once at Purdue, in Lafayette, Indiana.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you recall any others?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. With respect to the speaking engagements, now were these the type of engagements where anyone could have walked in off the street and listened? I will put it this way. Were they open to the public or were they for the membership of the particular organization and no one else?

Mr. HOWARD. Just for the people who were in the organization that called on us, but as far as being open to the public, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the names of any of the organizations before which you spoke, and by you, of course, I refer to the speakers of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. At whose initiation or at whose request were the speaking engagements made? For example, did the members of the Black Panther Party call up and say we would like to speak before you or did the organization call you?

Mr. HOWARD. They would have to write our chapter and set a date when you wanted us there, and then we would call you and tell you whether we could make it or not.

Mr. ROMINES. After you left the Black Panther Party chapter in early 1969, do you know whether the speaking engagements continued?

Mr. HOWARD. As far as I know they continued, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the frequency of the speaking engagements increased, decreased, or remained stable?

Mr. HOWARD. No, I don't know that.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give the committee an example or a general idea of the general contents of the speeches?

Mr. HOWARD. Once again, degrading the Government Establishment in front of them.

Mr. ROMINES. Were they exclusively degrading the Establishment or did they also consist of talking about the party?

Mr. HOWARD. We didn't get on the party business mostly, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Pardon?

Mr. HOWARD. I said no we didn't talk about party business in front of them; no.

Mr. ROMINES. For what reason would the speech generally have been geared for degrading the Establishment?

You indicated the speeches were generally anti-Establishment; is that right?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Now why?

Mr. HOWARD. Because the youth wanted to hear that, really. I don't know; they would just grab hold of anything that degraded the government to their satisfaction.

Mr. ROMINES. Were these speaking engagements, in particular with respect to the churches, were they actually sponsored by the churches or did they merely provide the facilities for you to come to speak?

Mr. HOWARD. They would provide the facilities.

Mr. ROMINES. It was basically to provide the facilities; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. When these speeches were made basically, as you say, degrading, putting down the establishment, in your opinion would one reason for taking this approach be to further the goal which you have already discussed of uniting the people, or would it have been for the purpose that you also have previously discussed of simply going to the white establishment in an attempt to get money?

Mr. HOWARD. It would be more of financing. We needed the financing so it was all basically for getting funds to finance our other programs if any came up.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period of time that you were a member of the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis, did any members of the Black Panther Party attempt to obtain money or merchandise from merchants in town under duress or force, threats, intimidation?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, during the period of time you were a member of the Black Panther Party, were any of the members on drugs?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What types of drugs?

Mr. HOWARD. Reefers and barbiturates and I know of one that was on heroin.

Mr. ROMINES. You know of one that was on heroin?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any others on hard drugs?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Only the one?

Mr. HOWARD. It might have been two, but I am just positive of one.

Mr. ROMINES. You are positive of one and suspect a second one?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. How many of the members were taking drugs?

Mr. HOWARD. I really could not say, I guess about 15, something like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Do the Black Panther Party rules have any provisions in them pertaining to the use of drugs?

Mr. HOWARD. It states in our rules that we are not supposed to have any narcotics in our possession nor be intoxicated while on party business.

Mr. ROMINES. Am I correct in assuming that this rule was broken?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Was it broken with any great frequency?

Mr. HOWARD. It was just an everyday thing.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have any opinion or estimate as to the cost to the members of supporting their drug habits?

Mr. HOWARD. The one that was on the hard stuff, he had about a \$30-a-day habit.

Mr. ROMINES. \$30 a day?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the barbiturates and reefers, would you have any idea what the expense per day would be for them?

Mr. HOWARD. \$10 or \$15 for a week, and barbiturates about \$5.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period of time you were a member of the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis, was your chapter selling the Black Panther Party paper?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. How many papers a week would you sell?

Mr. HOWARD. About a hundred.

Mr. ROMINES. How many papers a week did you receive from national to be sold?

Mr. HOWARD. A thousand.

Mr. ROMINES. I believe you testified earlier that you got behind in your paper sales, is this correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be the difference between the 100 you sold and the thousand you received?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have an opinion as to why you were not able to sell your full 1,000?

Mr. HOWARD. None of the members were really interested in selling the paper, really, and it was not forced on us to sell them anyhow.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know why you received a thousand papers each week to sell? Was this something your chapter requested or was this something that was just sent to you by national?

Mr. HOWARD. I guess it was just sent by national. I don't know really if that was what we required, a thousand.

Mr. ROMINES. What if anything was done as a result of the fact that you got behind in your paper sale?

Mr. HOWARD. Finally the chairman said that every member must sell at least 50 or a hundred papers each week.

Mr. ROMINES. Did each member, in fact, sell that many papers thereafter?

Mr. HOWARD. It increased I think about 600 or 700 a week; still each member was not able to sell 50 papers.

Mr. ROMINES. And, as I understand you, this is one of the reasons the individuals came from Chicago because you were behind?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. By the time you left the chapter in April of '69, had that been straightened out?

Mr. HOWARD. Not altogether, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the Indianapolis Chapter of the Black Panther Party get to keep any of the money that you obtained from selling the Panther papers?

Mr. HOWARD. Twelve cents, I think it is.

(At this point Mr. Ashbrook left the hearing room.)

Mr. ROMINES. What happened to the rest of the money?

Mr. HOWARD. Five cents went to the seller, and the other percent went to the national.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, you have already testified that the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis received funds from speeches that they gave. You indicated they received certain funds from the paper sales. Were there any other sources of funds for members of the Black Panther Party or for the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis?

Mr. HOWARD. We could get it from some of the university students.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say you could get it from some of the university students?

Mr. HOWARD. Because if we needed some money real bad the minister of finance would call up some of the various people he has on his list to give donations to the cause or whatever they need it for.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the names of any of the individuals he would call?

Mr. HOWARD. No, because that is confidential; he kept it secret.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know any of the amounts of money that he was able to obtain by these solicitations?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Did any individuals ever provide the chapter with the use of credit cards?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, a man by the name of Steed.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know his first name?

Mr. HOWARD. Donald.

Mr. ROMINES. He provided a credit card?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. For what purpose?

Mr. HOWARD. To go to the national headquarters when they called.

Mr. ROMINES. So the credit card was to use for expenditures in going to and coming from?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Did Donald Steed supply the Black Panther Party with any other financial support while you were a member?

Mr. HOWARD. Any time they needed it he would supply it.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know of any specific instances and/or amounts where he helped support the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis?

Mr. HOWARD. We gave a rally at one of the churches and he provided, I think, about \$200-and-some-odd for the rental fee on the building and the dinner that we were having afterwards.

Mr. ROMINES. I am not sure whether you have mentioned or not, was Donald Steed a Caucasian or black?

Mr. HOWARD. A Caucasian.

Mr. ROMINES. I would assume therefore he was not a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he ever help the members of the Black Panther Party obtain funds to post bail?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, he did.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the amount of funds he supplied?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know where he obtained the funds?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, do you know whether any of the money, which we have discussed, from the various sources, was used for the personal use of the members?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, most of it was.

Mr. ROMINES. When you say, "most of it was," can you elaborate at all?

Mr. HOWARD. No, really, because any time that the funds would get back to the headquarters the chairman would be the first one to get ahold of it, and then after that I think it just wouldn't get to the chapter's personal use at all.

Mr. ROMINES. As I understand, it would be your opinion that most of the funds obtained by the Black Panther Party were used for the personal use of the members as opposed to being used by the party itself?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, of the 12 individuals you indicated were the active real hard core at the time you left the party, how many of them had jobs?

Mr. HOWARD. Three.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how the remainder supported themselves?

Mr. HOWARD. No; they just had some special thing they had done in the street that would give them money.

Mr. ROMINES. Would it be possible that they might have used funds obtained by the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. If they had it they could get it, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, what does the term "off the pig" mean?

Mr. HOWARD. It means to kill a policeman.

Mr. ROMINES. Now does that mean to kill a policeman only when the policeman provokes you, or does it mean kill a policeman if you have the chance?

Mr. HOWARD. When you have the chance.

Mr. ROMINES. What does the term "liberate the goods" mean?

Mr. HOWARD. It means to steal whatever you need.

Mr. ROMINES. You touched on this a little while ago, Mr. Howard, but I would like to go back to it for a moment. Does the Black Panther Party advocate separatism?

Mr. HOWARD. Publicly?

Mr. ROMINES. First of all publicly?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Privately.

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. You said the reason for not advocating it publicly was what?

Mr. HOWARD. That they would lose 90 percent of their finance.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, based on your knowledge and experience as a member of the Black Panther Party, what is your opinion of the party?

Mr. HOWARD. I don't think it really does any good for the community at all. I think it is just really organized gangster people to exploit the black people in the ghettos, because they really don't finance nothing for the people in the ghettos. They just take their money and tell them we need this for various funds or something or protection for ourselves and everything. And I think really the people look at it the same way as I did, they thought maybe they were going to do some good. But they find out later on that they are just organized young youth to obtain money without really working, they just let them go. I think that is one reason why they started not publicizing that they wanted separatism because they only had one way to go and that was to the white youth because they were easy to be brainwashed, really.

Mr. ROMINES. What, in your opinion, is the basic objective of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. To overthrow the Government.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, I hand you what has been previously marked as Committee Exhibit No. 1 and introduced into evidence. I ask you to look at it please. Exhibit 1, Mr. Howard, consists of a series of cartoons. Have you seen those cartoons before?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Where have you seen them?

Mr. HOWARD. In the paper.

Mr. ROMINES. That would be in the Black Panther Party paper?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have an opinion, Mr. Howard, as to the purpose the Black Panther Party publishes cartoons such as these?

Mr. HOWARD. This is really trying to exploit the younger youth because they like to see things such as this in a violent manner used against what they really hate, the police. So really the youth, black or white, is still very good to brainwash.

Mr. ROMINES. So it would be your opinion, then, if I understand you correctly, that those cartoons are published as an attempt to reach the kids?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. And basically those cartoons depict killing policemen; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. In your opinion then would the Black Panther Party paper be attempting to indoctrinate or trying to persuade the kids to kill "pigs"?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me read a quote to you, Mr. Howard, which was introduced into evidence yesterday as part of Committee Exhibit No. 2. The quote comes from the Black Panther Party paper. It says:

When a self-defense group moves against this oppressive system, by executing a pig by any means, sniping, stabbing, bombing, etc., in defense against the 400 years of racist brutality and murder this can only be defined correctly as self-defense.

Now this fits in with the question I asked you a few minutes ago about "off the pig." "Off the pig," as I understand you, means "kill the policeman"; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Which is what the cartoons in Committee Exhibit No. 1 advocate; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Now I would ask you this question, then: When the Panthers use the term "self-defense," what actually do they mean?

Mr. HOWARD. If they are about to get brutalized or physically moved on by the "pigs," to protect ourselves, really.

Mr. ROMINES. That is certainly one accepted definition of the term "self-defense"?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. How about, as this quote would indicate, suppose hypothetically you simply shoot and kill a policeman, period, without any provocation whatsoever, would that come under their definition of self-defense?

Mr. HOWARD. I would think so, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. And why?

Mr. HOWARD. Because the pigs are, I mean the policemen are the enemies of the community, and I think that any enemy that you might have, this is justified to "off" him.

Mr. ROMINES. Are the police the Establishment's first line of defense?

Mr. HOWARD. Right; the first step to getting the Government in their possession.

Mr. ROMINES. So the more policemen or pigs you eliminate the easier it becomes to have a revolution; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Based on your experience and knowledge as a member of the Black Panther Party, Mr. Howard, what is the Black Panther Party attitude or position with respect to revolution?

Mr. HOWARD. They are for revolution. This is what the party is mainly organized for, to overthrow the Government and to put it in the power of the people. They say all the people, but really what they mean is to the black people.

Mr. ROMINES. Is that what the members of the local chapters, as you know the members of the local chapters, understand the position of the Black Panther Party to be?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been previously marked and introduced into evidence as Committee Exhibit No. 2, which is a series of quotations from the Black Panther Party newspaper, and I ask you if you have seen those quotations before?

Mr. HOWARD. The ones you read?

Mr. ROMINES. All of them. Have you seen those quotations before, Mr. Howard?

Mr. HOWARD. A few of them.

Mr. ROMINES. Where have you seen them?

Mr. HOWARD. All of them in the paper, really.

Mr. ROMINES. In the Black Panther Party paper?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me read one quotation to you which is from the Black Panther Party paper of June 28, 1969, the quotation of Eldridge Cleaver:

. . . We're not reformists, we're not in the movement to reform the curriculum of a given university . . . We are revolutionaries and as revolutionaries, our goal is the transformation of the American social order. In order to transform the American social order, we have to destroy the present structure of power in the United States, we have to overthrow the government . . . we say that we will do this by any means necessary . . . and the only means possible is the violent overthrow of the machinery of the oppressive ruling class.

Is that a fair and accurate summarization of the basic and ultimate goal of the Black Panther Party as you understand it?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. I believe you said, as you know the members of the local chapter, that is their understanding of it too; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know, Mr. Howard, if any steps have been taken, any physical steps, any acts, have been taken in an attempt to implement this goal by the Black Panther Party? Have they started to do anything to move toward this goal?

Mr. HOWARD. Not in Indianapolis, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Do they have any specific plans to implement this goal, to your knowledge?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Would the classes that you attended on Monday nights with respect to guerrilla warfare and weaponry and the classes you took part in on Wednesday nights with respect to explaining how the Panther Party works, would those fit in with their goal of a violent revolution?

Mr. HOWARD. Right, to unite the people, of course.

Mr. ROMINES. Do I understand you correctly then that the first thing the Panther Party has to do, in your opinion, is unite the people?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. And you have already outlined for the committee some of the methods by which they intend to unite the people; is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness at this time.

Mr. PREYER. We are running a little late today. Mr. Watson, if you would like to ask some questions now rather than tomorrow morning it is agreeable with me to go on.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your giving me the opportunity to ask a question or two of the witness. I didn't hear his testimony from the beginning. I think it rather intriguing. How old are you, young man?

Mr. HOWARD. Twenty-one.

Mr. WATSON. What are you doing now, what is your work?

Mr. HOWARD. I am in the liquor business.

Mr. WATSON. I notice when you made reference to the "pig" a moment ago that you caught yourself in laughter and I notice that apparently the laughter was shared by some other young people in the audience. Is a Black Panther serious about "off the pigs" or is it a big joke?

Mr. HOWARD. They are very serious about it.

Mr. WATSON. As I recall you stated that some 50 to 80 percent of your financial support came from whites?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. Young whites, small denominations, or older whites and larger denominations, so far as the contributions?

Mr. HOWARD. Younger and in large denominations. It is the youth.

Mr. WATSON. By large denominations you mean a larger group? What was the average contribution?

Mr. HOWARD. Actually whatever you wanted to give, but most of the time they gave about not less than \$20.

Mr. WATSON. So, in other words, the young white person was a number one supporter for the Black Panther movement whenever you needed money?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. Aside from the idealism, you said they were easily conned and that while your black people understood you, they did not understand you and, as a consequence, they were a pretty easy touch; is that in essence what you said?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. Additionally I assume, too, this is a fair assumption, that perhaps they had more money than the black people in order to assist you?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes. Mostly the youth that we did get money donations from were from rather well-off families; I mean their families had it.

Mr. WATSON. Aside from the matter of the financial contribution, did you have any other relations with any white groups or youth organizations?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. WATSON. In other words, your only contact or the office of the Black Panthers' only contact principally was to get money from them?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. As I understand it, your membership excludes anyone of the white race or Caucasian race?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. Have you ever had any affiliation with or do you have any knowledge of the RAM, Revolutionary Action Movement?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. WATSON. That is one, I believe, headed by Robert Williams or

perhaps he is the chairman of it. And principally, as I understand it, it is a black movement. You have no knowledge of that at all?

Mr. HOWARD. No, that is the first I have heard of it.

Mr. WATSON. What were the qualifications for membership in the Black Panther club? Perhaps he has touched on that?

Mr. HOWARD. Actually there were no requirements at all. You would come and submit an application to the party and then you would have to learn your 10-point program and that was about all.

Mr. WATSON. Purely upon submission of that application? Did it have to be approved by any group or there was just a submission of the application and then you were considered a member?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. What was the cost of membership?

Mr. HOWARD. There was no cost; you had regular dues each week of \$3.

Mr. WATSON. \$3 per week?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. What presumably was that \$3 going for?

Mr. HOWARD. They said it was supposed to pay utility bills, telephone bills, and the rents.

Mr. WATSON. What size headquarters or office building did you have?

Mr. HOWARD. It was a storefront building; it wasn't very big at all.

Mr. WATSON. As I recall you stated that some Caucasian, white person, delivered some 30 or 32 rifles to you and you were there and observed the actual delivery?

Mr. HOWARD. I seen him as he was leaving, yes, and as far as being a witness to the transaction, no. I carried the boxes inside.

Mr. WATSON. You carried the boxes in?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. Were the boxes closed?

Mr. HOWARD. They opened them up to see what they were really getting, and I think he gave us a little briefing over how they are operated, and so forth.

Mr. WATSON. You say you think he gave them a little briefing, do you know?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. WATSON. You do not. Was this person young, old, or what?

Mr. HOWARD. He was young, about 22 or 23.

Mr. WATSON. You remembered specifically a white person by the name of Steed. Did you say that?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, Steed.

Mr. WATSON. Steed?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. How did you have occasion to remember him? I assume this is the only time you saw this white individual who brought the weapons, is that it?

Mr. HOWARD. Right. Donald Steed didn't bring the weapons, no.

Mr. WATSON. You say he was a frequent donor and benefactor and so forth.

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. Did you talk with him personally or did the head of your organization talk with him?

Mr. HOWARD. I never talked to him, no.

Mr. WATSON. Did he visit the club, your headquarters, often or did the officers go to see him?

Mr. HOWARD. If they needed some money for something he would drop it off there at the building, maybe twice a month or something like that.

Mr. WATSON. What does he do, do you know?

Mr. HOWARD. He is the head of the Communist Party of Indianapolis right now.¹

Mr. WATSON. He is the head of the Communist Party of Indianapolis?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. So he was a frequent benefactor in giving money and stopping by and visiting and so forth?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. Did anyone ever raise the question of an officer of the Communist Party being of assistance to the club?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. WATSON. And you say you never saw the individual who brought the weapons over?

Mr. HOWARD. I seen his profile.

Mr. WATSON. I believe you said that these weapons were given to you, you did not buy them?

Mr. HOWARD. No, they were donated.

Mr. WATSON. How did you ascertain that?

Mr. HOWARD. We had a speaking engagement, I think, at one of the universities, and they made a statement that anything you wanted to donate let us know and we will pick it up or you can bring it to us. So really we didn't keep any money in the building to buy anything, really; anything we got it was donated or any money was donated also.

¹ On July 29, 1970, the following letter was mailed to Mr. Steed. It was sent "Registered Mail, Return Receipt Requested, Deliver to Addressee Only." On Aug. 6, 1970, Steed acknowledged receipt. As of Nov. 30, 1970, the committee had received no reply from Mr. Steed:

JULY 29, 1970.

Mr. DONALD STEED,
14 Sylvan Avenue, New Haven, Conn.

DEAR MR. STEED: The House Committee on Internal Security is currently conducting an investigation into the origin, history, organization, character, objectives, and activities of the Black Panther Party. Enclosed herewith for your information is a copy of the Resolution, adopted by the Committee on October 8, 1969, authorizing that investigation and a copy of the Committee Rules of Procedure.

Pursuant to the enclosed Resolution a duly constituted subcommittee of the House Committee on Internal Security held hearings on July 21-24, 1970, to receive evidence on the Black Panther Party in Detroit, Michigan; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. During these hearings certain testimony was received relating to you. Enclosed herewith are pertinent extracts of the testimony.

This letter is to afford you the opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness before the subcommittee to affirm, deny, qualify, or to offer other relevant evidence with respect to the enclosed testimony. This letter is not a summons and imposes no obligation on you to appear or to respond. However, if you do desire voluntarily to appear before the subcommittee, you are requested to communicate your affirmative decision to the Chief Counsel of the Committee no later than 10 days after receipt of this letter. If a reply of acceptance is not received on or before that date, it will be concluded you do not wish to appear. The Chief Counsel is located in Room 309, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Cordially yours,

RICHARDSON PREYER,
Subcommittee Chairman.

Mr. WATSON. So apparently you relate this contribution of rifles to a response made by someone through an appeal one of your officers had made for anybody to give you anything?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. Of course, you don't know whether there was any specific business arrangement or not; this is just an assumption on your part?

Mr. HOWARD. Any arrangements?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; you don't know whether your officer, the chairman, had made some business arrangements with this person or not to get the rifles?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. WATSON. You just assumed this man was making a contribution of 30 rifles?

Mr. HOWARD. Right

Mr. WATSON. And you were there at the time and you helped uncrate them?

Mr. HOWARD. I brought them inside, yes.

Mr. WATSON. And helped to uncrate them?

Mr. HOWARD. No, they never was uncrated; they were left in the box and later on they took them out, crate and all.

Mr. WATSON. How did you ascertain or determine the 32 figure?

Mr. HOWARD. I counted them.

Mr. WATSON. Then you did uncrate them? This is all an unusual delivery. They were uncrated then and you counted them?

Mr. HOWARD. Well, you mean all taken out? Just a few was taken out.

Mr. WATSON. But you counted them there; the boxes were opened and you saw what it was?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. There is no question?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. WATSON. Was there any ammunition?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. WATSON. So as far as you know were they loaded?

Mr. HOWARD. They were empty.

Mr. WATSON. Do you know whether or not later on you obtained any ammunition and if so how?

Mr. HOWARD. No, I don't.

Mr. WATSON. But they were stored somewhere, as I understand, and you did not know where?

Mr. HOWARD. Right; there were only three people who would know that.

Mr. WATSON. You state that you are unaware of any specific organization with which you worked as an individual or as a group, you are not aware of any other organization except this Don Steed who headed up the Communist Party, I believe you said?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. You mentioned the children's breakfast program which lasted, I believe you said, for about 3 weeks; is that it?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. And you raised some money and you obtained some food and so forth from the merchants and other people presumably for that program?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. During the 3-week period that it survived what were your activities with these young people and how many attended, if any?

Mr. HOWARD. I would not know how many were there. I worked in the daytime and the breakfast program started at 8 o'clock and at that time I was at work.

Mr. WATSON. So you really don't know how many attended?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. WATSON. And further, since you were working, you would not be aware of what was taught those young people or what programs were conducted?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. Earlier, I believe Mr. Chairman, we heard a report from someone in the Seattle, Washington, area about the breakfast program for the children. They were teaching them basically the same speeches as you outlined a moment ago. I believe they had a little ditty that they taught them to sing in the morning, "off the pig," or something like that. But you know nothing about any program, education program at the breakfast club.

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. WATSON. You said you were to provide the security for the speakers. You attended about 140 of these speeches?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. Principally they were before what groups, blacks or whites?

Mr. HOWARD. Whites.

Mr. WATSON. Principally before whites?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. How would these individuals, your inviters, those who invited you, how would they get the name of your club and to whom to make the inquiry if you seldom had any contact with them?

Mr. HOWARD. I think the paper for a while they were issuing different locations of the chapters and their telephone numbers.

Mr. WATSON. You mean the Black Panther paper?

Mr. HOWARD. Right. You can call us up if you want us to make a speech, you would tell us when and where.

Mr. WATSON. So principally you assumed that most of the requests for speakers came through the advertisements and other information given in the Black Panther paper?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. In that connection did you ever sell any of the papers?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. WATSON. You never did. Of your own knowledge do you know to whom those papers were sold, primarily white, black, young, old, or what?

Mr. HOWARD. It would vary. I would not have an actual count.

Mr. WATSON. Do you have any idea? I am just asking you.

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. WATSON. You never heard any of your fellow members at this

club discuss to whom they sold the papers, or did you ever see them sell any papers?

Mr. HOWARD. No, I mean they were selling around the community there, yes.

Mr. WATSON. I don't want to put words in your mouth, but is it a fair assumption that these papers had a pretty good market among young whites because you received obviously a request for some 200 speakings around?

Mr. HOWARD. I could not say.

Mr. WATSON. Of these 200 speakings how many were before primarily white audiences?

Mr. HOWARD. I have only known two meetings where it was in front of an all-black organization or committee.

Mr. WATSON. You can only remember two where you were before an all-black?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. So most of them were obviously then before predominantly whites, if not all of them?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. And principally youth groups?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. I am not Presbyterian, but I have a lot of friends who are. Do I recall correctly that you stated you had a lot of meetings in Presbyterian Churches?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. When you say, "a lot," how many is a lot?

Mr. HOWARD. Mostly how things really got started was that the Presbyterian Churches gave us a lift; they started spreading around how good we were at speeches and everything.

Mr. WATSON. When you say, "they started spreading around," you don't mean the official leaders of the Presbyterian Church do you, would it be the young people or what? Upon what basis do you make that statement?

Mr. HOWARD. Actually it was made by one of the pastors at the Presbyterian Church, and he helped us a lot. But he was an older guy, about 55 or 60.

Mr. WATSON. So apparently one Presbyterian minister was of help to you, measureable help, in spreading the views and getting you before these various groups; is that about it?

Mr. HOWARD. That is about it.

Mr. WATSON. Where did you meet otherwise? When you would go to college campuses and so forth, where would you meet there?

Mr. HOWARD. In a dormitory or somebody's house or something like that.

Mr. WATSON. And the attendance, I believe you said, ranged on the average from about 150 or something like that?

Mr. HOWARD. No; like at Indiana University where it is going to be a large group like that we would bring more than two guys. But generally for a little smaller meeting we would send about two.

Mr. WATSON. Who would make the big pitch at these meetings?

Mr. HOWARD. Anybody that was available to go.

Mr. WATSON. Who did it mostly?

Mr. HOWARD. The chairman.

Mr. WATSON. Did he have some films or any other aids that he used?

Mr. HOWARD. No; he just made a speech and that was about it.

Mr. WATSON. And the principal thrust of that speech being "off the pig" and down with the Establishment and revolution, and so forth?

Mr. HOWARD. That is about the size of it, yes.

Mr. WATSON. At these sessions did you sell or distribute any of the copies of the Black Panther publication?

Mr. HOWARD. We would bring our old issues, the ones that we still had a lot left and sell them instead of the new editions.

Mr. WATSON. What was the response from the young groups? You said you took up a collection later on. You got pretty good response from them?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, we always did.

Mr. WATSON. Was your thrust in addition to anti-Establishment and "off the pigs" an appeal to them for money to help your poor black brethren?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes. At that time everything we said we wanted the money for was for our breakfast program.

Mr. WATSON. So throughout most of these speakings, as you were running around, you were actually appealing to these people for contributions for your breakfast program to help feed the hungry children?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. WATSON. And according to your estimate very little of what was collected went into that program, but rather went into the pockets of your chairman and others?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. Have you been threatened since you severed your relationship with the club? I don't know now, maybe you are under protective custody. I won't explore that.

Mr. HOWARD. The night that I did quit I was, I guess you will say, interrogated for about 12 hours and I was received at the Methodist Hospital early in the morning about 8 o'clock.

Mr. WATSON. We won't pursue it further. Then we will start with what I originally started before I had some questions.

When these people say, "off the pig," it is really not a laughing matter, they are pretty serious about it?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Mr. PREYER. We have a quorum call. But I think since you mentioned the name of Donald Steed as being the head of the Communist Party at Indianapolis I believe counsel ought to try to clarify that a little bit in fairness to Mr. Steed.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Howard, during your testimony in response to the questions you were asked by the Congressman you identified Donald Steed as a member of the Communist Party, is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. On what basis do you make that identification? What is it that you know about Donald Steed that makes you call him a member of the Communist Party?

Did he ever tell you he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. He has mentioned it once.

Mr. ROMINES. He did tell you once he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. He mentioned it in a group, I overheard. I can't recall the book he brought down, but I believe it was some book that Ho Chi Minh wrote. He issued out some down there, about six or seven. He didn't issue out a large quantity of them.

Mr. ROMINES. He brought a large quantity of these books?

Mr. HOWARD. No, I said he didn't bring a large quantity.

Mr. ROMINES. He gave out some books?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he make a speech or something?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. You say Steed told you or told the assembled group?

Mr. HOWARD. The group he was talking to. He never talked to any member that was not an officer.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he tell the group while you were present he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. He mentioned it, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. He mentioned he was a member of the Communist Party, is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. What group was assembled, was it a meeting of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. It wasn't a meeting for all of us; no, just for various officers.

Mr. ROMINES. Of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know on what date this occurred?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know where it occurred?

Mr. HOWARD. At the chapter.

Mr. ROMINES. At the chapter headquarters?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the address?

Mr. HOWARD. I don't know the address, I think it was 233 West 30th Street.¹

Mr. ROMINES. Is that in Indianapolis?

Mr. HOWARD. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know for what reason Steed made the comment he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. No, I don't.

Mr. ROMINES. How many other people were present?

Mr. HOWARD. About four.

Mr. ROMINES. I have no further questions at this time, Mr. Chairman. I suggest that perhaps we should go into executive session and explore this matter further, if it can be done.

Mr. PREYER. May I speak to you just 1 minute?

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. PREYER. We have a quorum call. Mr. Watson, do you have any last-minute question?

We will recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m., Wednesday, July 22, 1970, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, July 23, 1970.)

¹ The correct address is 113 West 30th Street.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Part 3

Investigation of Activities in Detroit, Mich.; Philadelphia, Pa.; and Indianapolis, Ind.

THURSDAY, JULY 23, 1970

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Subcommittee of the Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richardson Preyer, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, chairman; Richard H. Ichord of Missouri, chairman of the full committee; and John M. Ashbrook of Ohio.)

Subcommittee member present: Representative Preyer.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel; Stephen H. Romines, assistant counsel; and Richard A. Shaw, investigator.

Mr. PREYER. We will resume the hearings on the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis and Detroit and Philadelphia.

Will you call your next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ROMINES. I call Sergeant Ron Bates.

Mr. PREYER. Sergeant Bates, will you stand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BATES. I do.

TESTIMONY OF RONALD WAYNE BATES

Mr. ROMINES. Will you state your full name for the record, please?

Mr. BATES. Ronald Wayne Bates.

Mr. ROMINES. By whom are you employed?

Mr. BATES. The Indianapolis Police Department.

Mr. ROMINES. What is your rank?

Mr. BATES. I am a sergeant.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, how long have you been with the Indianapolis Police Department?

Mr. BATES. Eight years.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any particular division or section to which you are assigned?

Mr. BATES. Yes, I am assigned to the special investigation section.

Mr. ROMINES. With what activity is the special investigation section involved?

Mr. BATES. Organized crime and subversive activities.

Mr. ROMINES. How long have you been with that section?

Mr. BATES. Two and a half years.

Mr. ROMINES. Would the Black Panther Party fall within the jurisdiction of that section?

Mr. BATES. Yes, it does.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, have you had occasion to investigate the activities of the Black Panther Party in the Indianapolis area?

Mr. BATES. Yes, I have.

Mr. ROMINES. Over what period of time have you investigated or followed the activities of the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Since September of 1968 to the present.

Mr. ROMINES. When was the Black Panther Party formally organized in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. September of 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. So then you have followed their activities from their very inception; is that correct?

Mr. BATES. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. What was it that caused you or your police department to first become concerned about the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BATES. We began to receive numerous complaints from the black community, primarily, regarding Black Panther activities. The chief of police, Winston Churchill, saw fit to keep himself abreast of the activities of the Panther Party as well as other groups who were expounding violence, and he formed this unit.

Mr. ROMINES. So this unit, that would be the special —

Mr. BATES. Investigation section.

Mr. ROMINES. That was formed approximately the same time the Panthers came into existence; is that right?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit No. 3 and ask if you can identify that, please?

Mr. BATES. Yes, this is a letter that was given to me by a confidential source. The original was taken from the Black Panther Party headquarters and my source Xeroxed a copy for me and gave me the copy.

Mr. ROMINES. What essentially does that letter consist of?

Mr. BATES. This is a letter describing the forming of the Indiana Chapter of the Black Panther Party and the charter officers.

Mr. ROMINES. Is it the Indiana Chapter or the Indianapolis Chapter?

Mr. BATES. They call themselves the Indiana Chapter of the Black Panther Party. They are located in Indianapolis.

Mr. ROMINES. Does that exhibit have on it the list of the initial officers of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BATES. Yes, it does.

Mr. ROMINES. Who are those officers?

Mr. BATES. The deputy chairman was Fred Crawford. He traveled to California in July to gain permission from the home office to form the chapter in Indianapolis.

Mr. ROMINES. That would be July of what year?

Mr. BATES. Of 1968. The central staff consisted of Abram Sharrief, who was distribution manager; Will Sharrief, who was captain of defense; Lawrence Roberts, who was deputy minister of finance; Stanford Patton, deputy minister of education; and Donald Campbell, who was deputy minister of information and health.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I would ask that Committee Exhibit 3 be included in the record.

Mr. PREYER. Did I understand this was taken from the Panther headquarters?

Mr. BATES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. Was it obtained in a raid?

Mr. BATES. Did you say a raid, sir?

Mr. PREYER. Yes.

Mr. BATES. No, it was taken by a member of the party.

Mr. PREYER. This will be admitted into evidence, then.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 3. See appendix, pages 4603, 4604.)

Mr. ROMINES. Does the Black Panther Party still have a chapter in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Yes, it does.

Mr. ROMINES. Is the list of officers or the current officers of the chapter the same as the officers you just read into the record?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Who are the current officers?

Mr. BATES. The Indianapolis chapter has recently been revised. They don't have a deputy chairman. The motivating force behind the chapter right now is Donald Campbell, who, at the time of the forming in 1968, was a minister of information. He calls himself defense captain. Robert O'Banion is another officer, who is the field captain, and they have two younger brothers, Arnold Counsel and Bruce Counsel, who are sergeants of defense.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any information, Sergeant, as to the current membership, how many members they have in the Indianapolis Black Panther Party chapter?

Mr. BATES. Hard-core activists would be between 7 and 10.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have any information or any opinion as to the number of supporters that they could call on?

Mr. BATES. They have approximately 40 to 60 younger people who attend their functions, their rallies, regularly.

Mr. ROMINES. Was Barron Howard known to you as a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BATES. Yes, he was.

Mr. ROMINES. Barron Howard testified before the subcommittee yesterday that he joined the Panther Party in September of 1968. He gave the committee some figures on the membership at the time, which were somewhat higher than the figures you have just given us as to the current membership. Would you have any opinion as to what has caused the decrease in membership in the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Yes. The older people, the older men that got into this—by older I am saying the 21- to 30-year-old age group—these men, a lot of them, got into it for the purpose of helping the black community.

They saw the Panthers as an answer to community needs. They became disillusioned with their activities, and many of these people dropped out.

The younger people, the teenagers, they also became disillusioned, and on the two occasions that I know of the younger people were put in the middle between the Black Panther Party and the police.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean, put in the middle?

Mr. BATES. On December 18, 1968, the Indianapolis Police Department assisted Federal officers of the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division of the Treasury Department in serving a search warrant on Black Panther headquarters from information received from an informer concerning automatic weapons being stored there.

We went to the scene and we were refused admission, and they had two young juveniles—these boys were 17 and 16—who were acting as guards for the Panther headquarters. This was very early in the morning, about 8 o'clock. I was told by one of them later that they made a phone call to the deputy chairman, and he told them not to let the police in under any circumstances until other people from the party arrived.

We ultimately gained entrance by using tear gas, and these two youngsters were arrested for interfering with a Federal officer and they were both convicted in Federal court. As a result, these two individuals became disillusioned with the party because they felt like the party had put them in a situation and then they didn't really do too much to help them get out of it.

Mr. ROMINES. You mentioned, I believe, two instances where the party had put younger teenagers in between the party and the police; is that correct?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the other situation?

Mr. BATES. In the last month we had primarily a gang disturbance between a motorcycle gang and the black youths on the east side of Indianapolis.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you talking about this year?

Mr. BATES. The incident happened July 13 of 1970.

The Panthers previous to this, on the 11th, had shown a Black Panther film in this black neighborhood. Two days later a member of this motorcycle gang was driving his motorcycle down the street and he ran upon a blockade which these youngsters had put across the street. This is a young group; they were not members of the Black Panther Party. However, he was forced to drop his motorcycle and he started to clear the debris out of the street, and the black youths began stoning him.

Mr. ROMINES. Were the black youths members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BATES. No. They came back to the scene. He ran between the houses to go home and he came back to the scene and tried to get his cycle again with the help of some other gang members, and there was a shot fired at him. They had to leave again. They returned later on and started exchanging gunfire in this neighborhood.

Mr. ROMINES. This motorcycle gang, are they Caucasian or black?

Mr. BATES. They are Caucasian. We received information that this

black youth gang had requested the aid of the Black Panther Party and the members of the cycle gang did have a conference with Donald Campbell of the Black Panther Party. They assured him they would not take any more aggressive action toward these black youths.

Mr. ROMINES. You say the motorcycle gang assured Campbell?

Mr. BATES. Yes, Donald Campbell, the minister of defense, and they asked if he would assure them the same thing and he said he couldn't. That night members of the uniformed division observed two known Black Panther members patrolling around this area of the disturbances for several hours and they did commit a traffic violation. They were stopped and they were checked out and when they were taken out of the car they were both armed with .38s. The youngest one of this group was 16 years old. He was named Billy Counsel. He was the younger brother of Bruce and Arnold Counsel. This is the situation again where they put the juvenile in the middle with the police.

The leaders of the Black Panthers were not there. Charles Goliath, who was 21 years old, was the other member. But I would not call him one of the motivating factors within the party.

Mr. ROMINES. Is it your opinion, then, that the Black Panther Party deliberately puts their younger members at the forefront when they expect any type of a confrontation?

Mr. BATES. Yes, because they believe that the courts will do less to the juveniles than they will to an adult in the event of an arrest.

Mr. ROMINES. You mentioned a couple of moments ago, Sergeant, an execution of a search warrant on the Black Panther Party headquarters.

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have the date when that occurred?

Mr. BATES. December 18, 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. I believe you said approximately 8 o'clock in the morning?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. I believe you also said it was a search for automatic weapons?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Were any weapons found?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Were any members of the police department killed or injured by gunfire?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Any members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Was there any gunfire between the two?

Mr. BATES. No, just tear gas. The shell was fired by shotgun.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you present in the hearing room yesterday, Sergeant, to hear Mr. Barron Howard's testimony about the breakfast program in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. To your knowledge was that accurate testimony?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the Black Panther Party currently has a breakfast program in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. They don't have a breakfast program, but they do have a luncheon program.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know when the luncheon program began?

Mr. BATES. Approximately the last of May of 1970.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they have any type of program between about April of 1969 and May of 1970?

Mr. BATES. Not that I know of.

Mr. ROMINES. Where is the luncheon program operated?

Mr. BATES. At their new headquarters, which is located at 414 East 23d Street.

Mr. ROMINES. Which is the headquarters of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BATES. Yes, it is called the Eldridge Cleaver Information Center.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how frequently the luncheons are provided?

Mr. BATES. Monday through Friday.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any information as to approximately how many people attend the luncheons?

Mr. BATES. Approximately 12 to 20 youngsters between the ages of 8 and 11. This luncheon is held in conjunction with what the Black Panther Party calls the Liberation School.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what is taught at the Liberation School?

Mr. BATES. The Black Panther philosophies, that is about as close as I can get to it. I don't have any specifics on it, any pamphlets or anything like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any information as to whether the Black Panther Party has a stockpile of weapons?

Mr. BATES. They have weapons. I would not say they had a stockpile because they don't believe in stockpiling in any one location. The members of the party are required to have weapons and they keep them in their homes.

Mr. ROMINES. In other words they don't concentrate their weapons supply in any one particular area; is that right?

Mr. BATES. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Why would this be?

Mr. BATES. Because they are afraid of raids by police and Federal authorities.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any information as to what kind of weapons the Panthers have?

Mr. BATES. Yes, I had information that they had several M-1 carbines, shotguns, and revolvers.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any information as to the numbers of each particular type?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the Panthers store any other kind of weaponry, such as dynamite, hand grenades, anything of that sort?

Mr. BATES. They were storing battery acid to be used in making bombs. They have literature out that explains how to make bombs with battery acid. I don't know exactly how this operates myself, but I do know they were storing large quantities of battery acid.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether they still have the quantities of battery acid?

Mr. BATES. No, I could not say right now.

Mr. ROMINES. Where would they have obtained the battery acid?

Mr. BATES. You can buy this at any service station supply.

Mr. ROMINES. Anybody can buy battery acid; is that right?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, to your knowledge, have any national Black Panther Party officers visited in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Who would that have been?

Mr. BATES. On February 21—correct, February 20, 1970—Lincoln C. Powell and, according to my information, minister of culture at that time, Emory Douglas of the Oakland national office came to Indiana to speak at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana. Donald Campbell and Robert O'Banion of our local chapter met these two men at the Indianapolis Airport and drove them to Bloomington, where they stayed with them during February 21 and 22 while they were in our State.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they spend any time in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. They came back and they spent a short time after the ceremony, the speaking engagement in Bloomington, they spent a short time in Indianapolis.

Mr. ROMINES. Is this the only occasion you know of where national officers visited in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any knowledge, Sergeant, of whether any member of the Black Panther Party from Chicago has visited in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Yes. I received information in the early part of 1969 that there were members of the Black Panther Party traveling back and forth from Chicago to Indianapolis to aid our chapter and more or less reorganize it, get it motivated. The national chapter was not too happy with the way our chapter was progressing. We received the names of three men and the license number and make of the car they were driving.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give the committee the names of the three you know?

Mr. BATES. Yes. Number one subject was Jewell Cook, who was field secretary of the Black Panther Party of Illinois, and the second subject was Willie Calvin, who was defense captain for the Black Panther Party of Illinois.

Mr. ROMINES. You said three of them came to Indianapolis; is that correct?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Were any of the three ever arrested in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Yes. On October 1, 1969, three members of the Black Panther Party of Illinois were arrested along with one local member. They were charged with theft and violation of the Indiana State 1935 Firearms Act.

Mr. ROMINES. What is that act?

Mr. BATES. It has two counts. Count 1, it is a violation to have in your possession a revolver or a concealed weapon, and count 2 is having it in your automobile. They were charged with count 2.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the result of those arrests?

Mr. BATES. They were convicted. The violation of the Firearms Act was dismissed against Jewell Cook and Willie Calvin. They were convicted on the theft charge. The third subject, Cleveland Cook, who was the owner of the car, was charged with violation of the Firearms Act and theft and convicted on both charges. They all did a short term in Marion County jail and they were put on probation with the agreement that they would not come back to Indianapolis.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether any members of any other Black Panther Party chapters have visited in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Yes. We had two different visits to Indianapolis from members of the Denver, Colorado, Chapter. On November 10, 1968, deputy chairman Lauren Watson and deputy minister of education, Russell Simpson, of the Denver, Colorado, Black Panther Party chapter spoke at the University United Methodist Church which is located at 30th and Capital Avenue in Indianapolis.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know for what purpose they had come to town?

Mr. BATES. It was a fundraising dinner for the Black Panther Party. It was a \$25 a plate dinner.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how many people attended?

Mr. BATES. Approximately 300.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know of any other visits by members of any other Black Panther chapters?

Mr. BATES. Not by any other. We had another visit from two subjects from the Denver, Colorado, Chapter on May 27, 1969, Sorl Shedd, deputy minister of finance, and Steve Shedd, deputy minister of labor, of the Denver, Colorado, party came to Indianapolis. These two subjects are natives of Indianapolis. They did meet with local members.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know for what reason or what purpose they came to Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, has the police department ever received any complaints from merchants in the Indianapolis area for being approached by members of the Black Panther Party in an attempt to obtain donations under threats of force or duress?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How many complaints?

Mr. BATES. We received three complaints from merchants that I know of personally.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you summarize the nature of those complaints?

Mr. BATES. Yes. They went to the merchants and asked for funds and they wanted to put their literature and pamphlets in the windows of the establishments, and on all three occasions they were refused.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they make any threats to the merchants?

Mr. BATES. Yes, subtle threats. They said they would not want to see them burned out, and things of this nature.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there ever any physical reprisals taken against the merchants?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the merchants contributed?

Mr. BATES. These three in particular, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Are they all still in business?

Mr. BATES. Two of them are.

Mr. ROMINES. What happened to the third one?

Mr. BATES. The third one was located right around the corner from the Black Panther headquarters. It was owned by white people and the manager was an elderly white lady.

After I talked to her—it was in the early part of '69—they closed up. It was a variety store, and they closed it up not too long after that, maybe 2 months after I talked to them.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any prosecutions or arrests arising out of these?

Mr. BATES. No, these people didn't want to pursue it because they were fearful of reprisal.

Mr. ROMINES. For what period of time are we talking about now; approximately when did these instances occur?

Mr. BATES. About the first part of 1969 until about April of '69.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, do you know whether the members of the Black Panther Party have made any attempts to approach or recruit community youth in particular in the schools?

Mr. BATES. Yes, we have had several occasions where they have attempted to pass out literature in local high schools, particularly Chrispus Attuck High School, which is an all black high school, Arsenal Tech High School, and Shortridge High School, which is probably about 65 percent black.

On November 15, 1968, Robert O'Banion, who was the minister of information at that time, spoke at the Shortridge High School human rights council. He was brought there by the teacher adviser who was in charge of the human rights council. He spoke on the 10-point program and at that time he urged the students present to join the party.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any other speeches that you know of, Sergeant?

Mr. BATES. Yes, they gave several speeches. Are you talking about just to the youths?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes, to the youths, in particular in the high schools.

Mr. BATES. They talked, not in the high schools, but they had gatherings around the high schools where the youths would gather after school. This wasn't a formal thing, but we have seen on occasions where one or two of the Panthers would have groups of 20, 30 people they were talking to.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the Panthers had any success in their attempts to recruit high school students?

Mr. BATES. Yes; on this one particular instance I mentioned at Shortridge High School, after the talk was over there were approximately 8 to 10 Panthers at this time who were present, were wearing their garb, and so on. There were approximately 40 students, black students, who approached them and showed interest in joining the party. There were another 15 students who stated that they were members previous to this meeting, and there were a number of white youths who expressed interest in helping the party in their goals.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether any of these individuals actually joined the party and have stayed with the party, or would it have been just sort of a momentary attraction type thing?

Mr. BATES. I don't know if they have stayed with the party or not.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, have you yourself ever attended any of the Black Panther Party rallies in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Approximately how many have you attended?

Mr. BATES. Approximately four or five.

Mr. ROMINES. Over what period of time?

Mr. BATES. Over 2 years, since September of 1968 until the present.

Mr. ROMINES. Are most of the rallies basically of the same type or do they vary from rally to rally?

Mr. BATES. They are basically the same type. They depend on the issue. The first rally I attended was a "Free Huey Newton" and the last one was geared more toward "Free Bobby Seale."

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit No. 4 and I ask you if you can identify that?

Mr. BATES. Yes, this is a copy of a news release that was advertising the Huey Newton rally that was held at the Broadway Christian Center, 1654 North Broadway Avenue. It was issued by the Socialist Workers Party of Indiana and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Mr. ROMINES. When was that rally held?

Mr. BATES. September 27, 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. That is the first rally you attended; is that correct?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I would ask this exhibit be introduced into the record.

Mr. PREYER. This exhibit is admitted.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 4. See appendix, page 4605.)

Mr. ROMINES. You said, Sergeant, the basic format of the rallies was approximately the same; is that correct?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Could you describe briefly for the committee how these rallies proceeded, what were they like?

Mr. BATES. They had a number of speakers. All of them I have been to had at least one white speaker. They basically state that they support the Panther program and they encourage the white people present to do likewise, and the Panther spokesman starts speaking on the party philosophy.

Here in the recent past they have become more dogmatic, where it is stated now that you are either for them or against them and you are going to have to make a decision one way or another. They are speaking more about revolution, and in this last rally they had on July 10, 1970, at the Federal Building Donald Campbell urged everyone present to get a gun and make sure that they were armed. Basically these rallies have been to organize what they call the oppressed people of Indianapolis to get into one organization.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be comparable or would that be the same as an attempt to unite the people?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do they ever use the term "unite the people" in their speeches?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the term "revolution"? Do they use that in their speeches?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. In what context do they use it?

Mr. BATES. Basically that is their main objective. According to their speeches, their sole existence is for revolution in the country, and this is all they expound.

Mr. ROMINES. Do they make any comments in their speeches as to how they intend to effectuate a revolution?

Mr. BATES. Yes; they make a comment that is fairly standard with them. They say that this system can only be overthrown through violent revolution and they are not for war, but only through war can this system be abolished, so therefore that is the step they must take.

Mr. ROMINES. Now you have heard the speeches, if I understand you correctly, at four or five of the rallies; is that correct?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Based on what you have heard them say in their speeches, what is your understanding of their use of the term "revolution"? What do they mean?

Mr. BATES. To organize the black community primarily, and with the support of white they mean to organize these people into a revolutionary force with which to overthrow the existing Government of the United States.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, can you identify any of the individuals who have spoken at these rallies?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you do so, please?

Mr. BATES. Donald Campbell, Stanford Patton, Richard Parker, who is a Black Panther and also the student body president of the Indiana University at Bloomington, Indiana, and Robert O'Banion. There have been several of these people give these speeches and I can't recall the exact contents of each individual speech, but it is primarily the same rhetoric.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any information, Sergeant, on how the Panthers obtain their financial support in the Indianapolis area?

Mr. BATES. Presently they are obtaining most of their financial support through speaking engagements. They are charging \$50 for a speaking engagement and then they pass around a plate for donations, which they average about \$100 for each speaking engagement.

Mr. ROMINES. With what frequency, Sergeant, do they conduct these speeches?

Mr. BATES. The recent information I have would be about three or four times a week in different locations throughout the State.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any information as to where they have conducted these speaking engagements?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. They are speaking both in Indianapolis and without the city; is that correct?

Mr. BATES. Yes, they did give two speeches in Indianapolis. One was at Butler University and the other one was at Indiana Central College.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know of any other locations outside of Indianapolis where they have spoken?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. What individual or individuals do most of the speaking for them at these engagements?

Mr. BATES. Donald Campbell and Robert O'Banion and recently Richard Parker.

Mr. ROMINES Any other individuals?

Mr. BATES. Not within the party, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Are there some people from without the party who speak in their behalf?

Mr. BATES. Yes. One man who has been speaking in their behalf on and off since 1969, May of 1969, is Dr. Finley Campbell, who is a professor at Wabash College located in Crawfordsville, Indiana.

Mr. ROMINES. Is he Caucasian or black?

Mr. BATES. He is black.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, do you know of any individuals who are not members of the Black Panther Party who have helped support them either financially or otherwise?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Who would that be?

Mr. BATES. Donald Charles Steed was one individual.

Mr. ROMINES. How did he help support the Panthers?

Mr. BATES. Just about every way he could; financially, morally.

Mr. ROMINES. What period of time are we talking about now?

Mr. BATES. From September of 1968 to June 4, 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. Under what circumstances, if you know them, did he come to Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. He came here from Yale University, where he was a divinity student. He was brought here by an organization called Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, whose chief official in Indianapolis was Reverend Henry Atkins, Jr.

Mr. ROMINES. How did Steed help the Panthers, what did he do?

Mr. BATES. Primarily, when he first came in he provided funds for them. At the same time he was helping the Panthers he was organizing an underground newspaper in Indianapolis and a draft project office in Indianapolis. When he got these things set up, the newspaper the *Indianapolis Free Press*, he frequently wrote articles supporting the Indianapolis chapter and he provided printing machines for the Panthers use out of the draft project office.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the draft project office?

Mr. BATES. It is an office that he set up to inform and instruct youth as to alternatives against the draft so they would be able to avoid the draft legally as many ways as possible. If ultimately they could not avoid it legally, he gave them the alternative of fleeing to Canada.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean he gave them the alternative?

Mr. BATES. He also suggested in some of the literature that I have in our files that if their legal maneuvers are ended then the last resort would be to flee to Canada in order to avoid fighting for his country.

Mr. ROMINES. Is Steed Caucasian or black?

Mr. BATES. He is Caucasian.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any information, Sergeant, as to how much financial support he furnished the Panther Party during the interval of time he was in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Yes. He gave the Panthers approximately \$2,000 to \$3,000 over a period of 9 months or so.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know where he obtained that money?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Was he, to your knowledge, ever a visitor at the Black Panther Party headquarters?

Mr. BATES. Frequently.

Mr. ROMINES. Did Steed ever participate in any of the rallies for the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BATES. Yes. On May 1, 1969, the Black Panther Party, in conjunction with Donald Steed's Indianapolis draft project, organized a rally at the Federal Building, and Donald Steed was one of the featured speakers.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he speak on behalf of the Panthers?

Mr. BATES. Yes, he did.

Mr. ROMINES. Is this the only instance in which he did this?

Mr. BATES. Public speaking, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Are there any other individuals in Indianapolis who have helped support the Panthers?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. You mentioned, I believe, Reverend Atkins: is that right?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Was he a supporter of the Panthers?

Mr. BATES. I would think so because of the fact that he was Donald Steed's immediate supervisor while he was in Indianapolis.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how Atkins helped support the Panthers?

Mr. BATES. On one occasion, the day following the raid on December 18, 1968, a committee who called themselves the Committee to Defend the Black Panther Party protested in front of police headquarters, and Reverend Atkins was one of the subjects who was protesting. He was carrying a sign identifying himself as a member of the Committee to Defend the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 5 and ask you if you can identify that?

Mr. BATES. This is a pamphlet that this committee was handing out while they were protesting on December 19, 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. This would be the Committee to Defend the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. I notice here this one comment in the pamphlet they handed out, and I would quote from it: "When they," referring to the police department, "had finished [their search] the office had been tear gased [sic] and wrecked, \$610.00 of Panther funds were missing * * * ." Did the police department take any funds from the Panther headquarters?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. I will ask you one other question about that raid. Were any weapons actually found?

Mr. BATES. One shotgun and a bandolier of shotgun shells.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I would ask that Committee Exhibit No. 5 be introduced in the record.

Mr. PREYER. It will be admitted.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 5. See appendix, page 4606.)

Mr. ROMINES. Did Reverend Atkins ever visit the Black Panther Party headquarters?

Mr. BATES. Yes

Mr. ROMINES. How often?

Mr. BATES. Only one occasion that I know of.

Mr. ROMINES. Was Atkins Caucasian or black?

Mr. BATES. He was Caucasian.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any other individuals in the Indianapolis area who furnished any type of support to the Panthers?

Mr. BATES. Yes, moral support more than anything else.

Mr. ROMINES. No financial or work type support?

Mr. BATES. Yes, they did some work for them, yes. Kit Fishback, who is a Caucasian female, passed out literature for them and things like this at the rallies.

Mr. ROMINES. Is "Kit" her first name?

Mr. BATES. Her first name is Florence Louise.

Mr. ROMINES. Florence Louise Fishback, she just helped them with their everyday duties?

Mr. BATES. She was very close to them; she did call the party headquarters frequently and talk to people there.

Mr. ROMINES. Are there any other individuals that furnish substantial support to them?

Mr. BATES. Ronald Holliman, who is the owner of the Radical Publishing Company, who is also publishing the *Indianapolis Free Press*, is providing them with a great amount of press coverage.

Mr. ROMINES. Is he black or Caucasian?

Mr. BATES. He is Caucasian.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, did you accept for the record Committee Exhibit 5.

Mr. PREYER. Yes, it is in evidence.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, I hand you what have been marked Committee Exhibits 6 and 7 and ask if you can identify them, please?

Mr. BATES. Yes, these are also pamphlets that were given to me by an informant that came out of Black Panther headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you briefly describe what the import of each document is?

Mr. BATES. The one is a letterhead from the Oakland, California, branch and it explains the production costs of their newspaper, and it gives a breakdown of the cost and quantities of the newspaper.

The second pamphlet contains Black Panther demands on the part of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Mr. ROMINES. Is it a demand on the part of those organizations or directed to those organizations?

Mr. BATES. It was directed to them by the Black Panthers.

Mr. ROMINES. Where did that set of demands originate?

Mr. BATES. In the home chapter in Oakland, California, according to my source.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I would ask that Committee Exhibits 6 and 7 be introduced for the record.

Mr. PREYER. These are printed flyers which were obtained from the Black Panther headquarters?

Mr. BATES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. Without objection, they are admitted into evidence for the committee.

(Documents marked Committee Exhibits Nos. 6 and 7, respectively. See appendix, pages 4607-4609.)

Mr. ROMINES. With respect to the exhibit, Sergeant, pertaining to the Black Panther Party newspaper sales, do you know whether the national Black Panther office in California was at all upset with the Indianapolis chapter pertaining to their paper sales?

Mr. BATES. Yes, they were upset with our Indianapolis chapter for several reasons, and the distribution was one of many reasons.

Mr. ROMINES. Why were they upset over the distribution of papers?

Mr. BATES. They sent out many more papers to the Indianapolis chapter than the party members were able to sell, and as a result they were losing money.

Mr. ROMINES. You say for several reasons. What were the other reasons for which the national office was upset with your local chapter?

Mr. BATES. The lack of the organization and the reluctance to follow national dictates as far as violence and retaliation against police action, and so on.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, I hand you now four exhibits, Committee Exhibits Nos. 8, 9, 10, and 11, and I would ask if you can identify those?

Mr. BATES. Yes, these pamphlets also came out of Black Panther Party headquarters from the same informant. Exhibit 8 is armament information and it describes different types of weapons and their uses.

Exhibit 9 is another pamphlet that was given to the Indianapolis Black Panther chapter.

Mr. ROMINES. Let's back up to Exhibit 8 for just one moment. Do you know where Exhibit 8 originated?

Mr. BATES. This originated with the Indianapolis chapter.

Mr. ROMINES. And Exhibit 9?

Mr. BATES. Exhibit 9 is a pamphlet that was given to the Indianapolis Black Panther Party chapter by the Illinois Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you read into the record, please, the first two paragraphs?

Mr. BATES. It is titled:

Problem:

Complete victory for People Revolution in Ill.

Theory:

To cause chaotic condition, and place pig in position to take repressive measures toward the masses of the people, and thereby chase the mass of people into the revolutionary's camp. Plan to be used when party reaches this level.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the remainder of Committee Exhibit 9 concerned with?

Mr. BATES. It goes into communication and transportation networks, execution of public officials, city, Federal, State.

Mr. ROMINES. Does it identify any individuals by name or just by capacity?

Mr. BATES. Just by capacity.

Mr. ROMINES. When your informant provided you with Committee Exhibit 8, actually provided you with Committee Exhibits 8, 9, 10, and 11, did he tell you what they were to be used for or what the Panthers' understanding was as to how they were to be used?

Mr. BATES. Yes. We went over these individually and he explained them to me. This particular Exhibit 9 is the plan to be used if the party ever reaches the level where they have the proper support and numbers to implement a revolution in the United States.

Mr. ROMINES. How about Committee Exhibit 10?

Mr. BATES. Exhibit 10 is a pamphlet entitled *Comparative Revolutions*, which gives a list of revolutions and names to know and definitions of different words which all are involved with revolution.

Mr. ROMINES. Did your informant tell you what this particular document was for?

Mr. BATES. Basically the list of information is for the party members to familiarize themselves with these different movements, the revolutions and wars, and to be aware of all the past social changes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know where Committee Exhibit No. 10 originated?

Mr. BATES. Yes, this originated in Indianapolis.

Mr. ROMINES. And Committee Exhibit No. 11?

Mr. BATES. This is another letterhead from the home chapter in Oakland, California. It is a mandatory reading list that includes a "6 Week Training Vocabulary List" and also "DEFINITIONS."

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, contained on some of the pages of Committee Exhibit 11 are stars and numbers with a star and also a star and the indication "WHOLE PAGE." Do you know who put the star on and for what reason?

Mr. BATES. No, I don't.

Mr. ROMINES. I would direct your attention now for one moment back to Committee Exhibit 8. On page 4 of that exhibit is some information pertaining to the AR-15, and I would read to you from this exhibit:

This weapon is the civilian model of the army's M-16 used in Viet Nam. The only difference being that this one is semi-auto while the army's can be tuned to full auto. It weighs only 6½ pounds. It uses a 20 rd magazine and can be modified so as to fire fully auto. Due to the lightness of the ammo large quantities can be carried. These weapons can be utilized as machine guns but care must be taken so as not to burn up the barrel, or jam the rifle. The cost of this weapon was \$215 but has rocketed up to \$325. If one utilizes the magic words however the money obstacle can be overcome almost any night.

With respect to that last sentence, did your informant tell you what "utilizes the magic words" means?

Mr. BATES. Yes, the magic words are, "This is a hold up."

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I would ask Committee Exhibit 8 through 11 be introduced in the record.

Mr. PREYER. As I understand, these have the signature of national or headquarters in Oakland, but were found in the Indianapolis chapter?

Mr. BATES. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. Not all of them came from Oakland.

Mr. BATES. I believe there are two of each.

Mr. ROMINES. One from Chicago?

Mr. BATES. One from Chicago, two from Indianapolis, and one from Oakland.

Mr. PREYER. These documents, 8 through 11, are admitted into evidence.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, can you explain to the committee the circumstances under which you were provided with these documents Exhibits 8 through 11?

(Documents marked Committee Exhibits Nos. 8, 9, 10, and 11, respectively. See appendix, pages 4610-4629.)

Mr. BATES. Yes. I had approached this individual on numerous occasions. I had learned that he was disillusioned with the party and I requested that he provide information regarding any violence, any stored weapons, any revolutionary philosophy that they might be expounding. He refused me on several occasions, but each time I knew that he was becoming more disillusioned, and on one occasion he contacted me and told me he would like to meet with me. When I met with him he gave me an envelope that had these documents in it.

Mr. ROMINES. Has he proved to be a reliable source of information for your department?

Mr. BATES. Yes, he has.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, has he provided any more recent information regarding Black Panther activities in the Indianapolis area which has proven to be correct and accurate?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, is the Indianapolis Police Department currently able to keep well informed on Black Panther activities in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. Sir, I would have to decline answering that question because of the policies of our department. It would be detrimental to our operations.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, you have followed the activities of the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis for over 2 years. Based on all you have seen and observed and been told about the party, what, in your opinion, does the party stand for?

Mr. BATES. Basically it is a very grave threat to our community and primarily the black community. They tend to exploit the black community and particularly the youth. My concern for them is more in the future than it is now because they are presently trying to get to the 8- to 11-year-old people. I think in the future is when we have more concern for them than even now.

Mr. ROMINES. Is it your opinion then that there is a deliberate attempt on their part to reach the younger children or teenagers?

Mr. BATES. Yes, there is.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, J. Edgar Hoover very recently said that in his opinion the Black Panther Party is the most serious threat to the United States at this time. Would you agree or disagree with that statement?

Mr. BATES. I would agree very much.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness at this time.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Sergeant Bates, for your testimony.

We have heard from police in other areas of the country on the Black Panthers and there seems to be a difference in the way they are treated by the police forces.

At least one force feels that in their city the Panthers are really not so much purposeful terrorists as they are big talkers, and their method of treating them is to give them no special attention. They regard them as more paper Panthers than dangerous Panthers. They feel that the buildup in the press, and so forth, is what gives them a certain glamor which they really don't have.

From the evidence we have heard about Indianapolis, I gather that the party there has an organization right now that is not too effective. You talk about the national headquarters' disillusionment with their lack of motivation and their foulup of the paper sales, and so forth. I gather your feeling is, if even at the moment the party may not be an effective organization, that it is a serious long-range threat because of the nature of the goals and because of reaching young people in particular?

Mr. BATES. Yes, sir. I would like to clarify one thing. The Panther Party in Indianapolis is now enjoying what you would call a rebirth. They are reorganized and they are much more active than they have been in the last 6 or 8 months. So I think we can expect to see more out of them locally.

Mr. PREYER. This is a little different pattern from what we have seen in other cities where what we have found is a steady dwindling of influence and membership. In fact, it has gone down so much it raises the question of are they going underground.

But you find here that it went down and is now beginning to come back again?

Mr. BATES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. On the subject of the organization at Indianapolis, you talked in terms of the Black Panther Party. Do they call themselves Black Panthers now?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. This is not the National Committee to Combat Fascism or something of that sort?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. PREYER. Do you know anything about that committee?

Mr. BATES. Well, they had the national rally in Oakland last year, and members of our party went there where they organized the National Committee to Combat Fascism. I think this is a coalition of both black and white people in support of the Black Panther Party, more than anything.

Mr. PREYER. According to your testimony, it is the Black Panther Party by that name that is the effective organization in Indianapolis, not the National Committee to Combat Fascism?

Mr. BATES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. What happened to Fred Crawford?

Mr. BATES. Fred Crawford resigned in June of 1969. He had an opportunity to take a job working in primarily the same area with an activist group, but this group he went to work for is primarily interested in achieving more equality through peaceful means.

He did go to work for them for a short time. However, he had problems with drugs and he didn't stay with them very long at all.

Mr. PREYER. He is no longer connected with the Black Panther Party?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. PREYER. Your example of that motorcycle gang and the young Black Panthers, I am afraid I lost you on that. You were making the point that the Black Panthers were letting young people be arrested, be front men for them. I lost you at the point in the story of just what happened. The motorcycle gang went to Campbell, apparently, and agreed with Campbell that they would not come into the area of the Black Panthers again if he in turn would call off the Panthers?

Mr. BATES. No, sir. This confrontation between this white motorcycle gang and a black gang was not in the area around the Black Panther headquarters. It was on the east side of town and the Black Panthers are located on the north side of town. However, after the short burst of gunfire between the two groups, the black youths called for the aid of the Black Panthers and the Panthers responded with these two people coming over into the area and patrolling the area.

One of them was a 15-year-old and the other was a 20-year-old. They were arrested by the police. They had spent several hours in the area and they were observed by the police and they were ultimately arrested for a traffic violation and carrying a pistol without a permit.

The Panthers and the motorcycle gang leaders did meet and the motorcycle gang member told Donald Campbell that he would not bring his people back into this area if he could promise that there would be no aggressive action on the part of the blacks, and Donald Campbell told him that he could not guarantee this.

Mr. PREYER. I am just trying to clear up a few points in your testimony, jumping from one subject to another.

You did mention you served a search warrant on the chapter and did search the headquarters on December 18, 1968?

Mr. BATES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. And you have not searched the headquarters since then?

Mr. BATES. No, sir.

Mr. PREYER. What are the relations between the Black Panthers and the police? Have there been any shootouts?

Mr. BATES. No, sir, we don't treat them with any special preference. I know our chief of police does not agree to take any repressive actions. We just consider them the same as any other organization that would expound violence and we just keep abreast of their activities so that the chief is aware of what is going on. There are no confrontations. We have not had any violent confrontations between the police and the Panthers.

Mr. PREYER. You mentioned the question of storing battery acid. I think you spoke of large quantities of it. Has your information on that gotten specific enough at any time to where you could justify a search for that?

Mr. BATES. The information was very good. There is no question about obtaining a search warrant, but I don't believe we would have ground for a search warrant for searching for battery acid. I don't think it would be a crime unless there was a reason or other materials with it that would show that they were developing explosives with it.

This wasn't in the information; it was just that they were storing the battery acid for this purpose, but that was the only thing this subject did observe.

Mr. PREYER. Well, if you have a large quantity of battery acid, unless you own a fleet of U-Drive-It cars it would be hard to explain. In any event, you have not been able to move on that?

Mr. BATES. No, sir.

Mr. PREYER. You mentioned the unhappiness, generally, with the party from Chicago and from Oakland and you talk also about the party's revival. Presently are you getting any visits to the Indianapolis party from Chicago or from Oakland? Are they taking a new interest in the party?

Mr. BATES. No, sir. There are no visits. I believe they are taking a new interest because the party is shaping up in their eyes. Under Donald Campbell they have gotten back on the track of the national party philosophy.

Mr. PREYER. Do you think that their lack of visits indicates that they are satisfied that the party is shaping up?

Mr. BATES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. I notice this one Oakland document here is dated January '69. That is the only one I see with a date on it. As far as you know, the local party is still following the doctrines and using the materials of the national party?

Mr. BATES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. It hasn't turned suddenly into a strictly indigenous or native Indianapolis party?

Mr. BATES. No, sir.

Mr. PREYER. When was the \$25-a-plate fundraising dinner which 300 people attended?

Mr. BATES. It was on November 10, 1968.

Mr. PREYER. As a Presbyterian we took our lumps yesterday; I am glad to see that was held in the United Methodist Church. Have there been any fundraising efforts of that sort since then?

Mr. BATES. Not in the city of Indianapolis, not that I know of.

Mr. PREYER. Was this primarily a white audience?

Mr. BATES. Yes. It probably was 50-50, maybe a little more whites than blacks.

Mr. PREYER. It would be interesting to know whether you could conduct a dinner like that today. Back in '68 I guess this was the heyday period when Black Panthers were regarded as Robin Hoods, romantic heroes, and they were attracting more support from white liberals and the young probably than they are today. Along that line, when did Donald Steed leave Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. He left Indianapolis on June 4, 1969.

Mr. PREYER. Is the Reverend Atkins still there?

Mr. BATES. No, he left approximately the same time and went to Santo Domingo, I believe.

Mr. PREYER. Are any of this group from the divinity students?

Mr. BATES. It is the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam that is the organization that brought Donald Steed in.

Mr. PREYER. Are any of this group in Indianapolis?

Mr. BATES. If there is there is no representation that they are still active in anything. They have not been bringing any additional people in.

Mr. PREYER. It may indicate that a number of people, whose motives might be pure but whose actions I would certainly think would be wrong, are beginning to fall off from the Black Panther Party.

Looking at some of these documents here it is pretty clear that somebody behind the party there knows more than just the local Black Panthers. This one signed by the Black Panther Party with the address Indianapolis, Indiana, has things like this in it:

We demand: * * * That a massive international action be held to protest the Sato-Nixon meeting to solidify Japan's role as a springboard for further imperialistic aggression on the Continent of Asia and in particular, in Vietnam, Laos, and Korea. * * *

That is pretty sophisticated stuff, talking about the Sato-Nixon treaty, and I think it is pretty clear that (1) it has no relation to improving conditions in black neighborhoods and, (2) that comes from somebody besides the local Black Panthers.

This has no date on it, but it sounds as if it could come from a Donald Steed type operation.

As far as you know at the present time there is not what you might call an outside group like the Donald Steeds and the Reverend Atkins busy working with the Black Panthers in Indianapolis.

Mr. BATES. No, sir.

Mr. PREYER. Did I hear you say the student body president of the University of Indiana was a Black Panther?

Mr. BATES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. When was he president of the student body?

Mr. BATES. He was elected president last year. He will be the president this coming academic year.

Mr. PREYER. You mentioned that you heard him speak, as well as Dr. Campbell of Wabash College and Atkins and Steed. When they speak, the student body president and Dr. Campbell, do they advocate violent revolution?

Mr. BATES. Richard Parker does. Dr. Campbell doesn't advocate revolution, as such; he just advocates supporting the Black Panther Party. He does not advocate the revolutionary aspect.

Mr. PREYER. In other words, he views the Panthers as basically an idealistic group attempting to overcome racist oppression or problems of the black community?

Mr. BATES. Yes, I believe that would be correct.

Mr. PREYER. Has he ever mentioned any of these documents here, the plans to take over the country and so forth?

Mr. BATES. No, sir; they have not been mentioned since I received the information.

Mr. PREYER. Sergeant, you have given some very interesting testimony here. We thank you for testifying. Your testimony has been straightforward. You told us where you got your information and when it was from an informer, and when not, so we were in a position to judge the weight of the testimony very well.

Mr. Counsel, that is the quorum call. We are starting it early today.

Mr. ROMINES. Could I have about 3 minutes to clarify a matter with this witness?

Mr. PREYER. Has the second bell rung?

Mr. SANDERS. I don't believe it has, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROMINES. Would it be your pleasure for me to finish with this witness and call our last witness tomorrow morning?

Mr. PREYER. If you could, since we will have to go over to tomorrow. I think we are going to have a series of votes coming up.

Mr. ROMINES. Sir, let me ask you about three or four quick questions.

First of all, were these documents that you have provided for the committee, Committee Exhibits 3 through 11, furnished to the committee pursuant to a committee subpoena?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. The second question, Sergeant, we discussed early this morning three members of the Chicago Black Panther Party who came to Indianapolis and who were arrested?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have the dates when they were arrested?

Mr. BATES. Yes, October 1, 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. In conjunction with the question that the chairman raised about the member of the Black Panther Party who is the president of the student body at the University of Indiana, was it a known fact that he was a member of the Black Panther Party when he was elected?

Mr. BATES. Yes, it was.

Mr. ROMINES. With specific reference to Committee Exhibits 8 through 11, the last exhibits we introduced, when did your informant provide you with these documents?

Mr. BATES. This is during the months of July through September 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. Somewhere in there?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know or did he tell you when the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis obtained these documents?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. I direct your attention specifically to a Committee Exhibit 9 which we have already discussed, essentially the plans for revolution.

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Where did you say that document originated?

Mr. BATES. According to my source, this was given to the Indianapolis Black Panther chapter by the Illinois Black Panther chapter.

Mr. ROMINES. In Chicago?

Mr. BATES. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Did your source know where that document originated in Chicago or whether Chicago in turn received that document from national headquarters?

Mr. BATES. He did not state that.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he have any opinion?

Mr. BATES. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Based on your knowledge and experience, would you have any opinion as to whether that document originated in Chicago or in national headquarters?

Mr. BATES. By the title of it being the "Revolution in Ill[inois]," this particular document apparently came from Illinois. However, the sophistication of it, it would probably come from the national chapter.

Mr. ROMINES. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. That was the second set of bells.

I have one last question. What denomination are Reverend Atkins and Donald Steed?

Mr. BATES. Donald Steed stated he did not have a denomination. I spoke to him on several occasions. Reverend Atkins was with the Episcopalian Church.

Mr. PREYER. That will spread the blame out a little, since we heard earlier testimony about the Presbyterians and the Methodists.

Thank you again, Sergeant, and we will recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 11:25 a.m., Thursday, July 23, 1970, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Friday, July 24, 1970.)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Part 3

Investigation of Activities in Detroit, Mich.; Philadelphia, Pa.; and Indianapolis, Ind.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1970

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,
Washington, D.C.
PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m. in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richardson Preyer, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, chairman; Richard H. Ichord, chairman of the full committee; and John M. Ashbrook of Ohio.)

Subcommittee member present: Representative Preyer.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel; Stephen H. Romines, assistant counsel; and B. Ray McConnon, Jr., investigator.

Mr. PREYER. We will resume our hearings on the Black Panther Party. Mr. Counsel, you may call your first witness today.

Mr. ROMINES. I call Thomas Kearney.

Mr. PREYER. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KEARNEY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS KEARNEY

Mr. ROMINES. Will you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. KEARNEY. Thomas Kearney.

Mr. ROMINES. How old are you, Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. Twenty-one.

Mr. ROMINES. Where do you reside?

Mr. KEARNEY. 2437 Opal Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you employed, Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right, General Electric.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Kearney, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. KEARNEY. A former member of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you now a member?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. When did you join the Black Panther Party?

Mr. KEARNEY. June of 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. Where?

Mr. KEARNEY. Philadelphia.

Mr. ROMINES. When did you cease to associate with the Black Panther Party?

Mr. KEARNEY. January 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. When you joined the Black Panther Party in June of 1968, was the Philadelphia Chapter an officially recognized chapter?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, it was not.

Mr. ROMINES. When did it acquire its official status?

Mr. KEARNEY. The latter part of August.

Mr. ROMINES. Of what year?

Mr. KEARNEY. 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you a part of a group which actually organized and formed the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you relate for the committee the circumstances under which the chapter received its official status?

Mr. KEARNEY. One of the members of the party went to Berkeley, California, to obtain the charter.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he come back with one?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Who was that member?

Mr. KEARNEY. Willie Crawford.

Mr. ROMINES. What position, if any, did he hold when he came back?

Mr. KEARNEY. He proclaimed himself captain.

Mr. ROMINES. You say he proclaimed himself captain. What do you mean by that?

Mr. KEARNEY. Some months later we found out he wasn't.

Mr. ROMINES. He was not actually appointed captain?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. How did you know that he acquired for the Philadelphia Chapter official status?

Mr. KEARNEY. Communication was being made, you know, somewhat from Berkeley to Philadelphia.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give any examples of the communications?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, we started receiving papers and I took it for granted that was our announcement that we had been accepted to the party.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether there was any other type of communication between Berkeley and Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. Strictly oral, that is all.

Mr. ROMINES. By phone calls?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ever see any piece of paper which Willie Crawford brought back with him to prove that Philadelphia had become a recognized chapter or that he had become appointed captain?

Mr. KEARNEY. None whatsoever.

Mr. ROMINES. How many individuals, Mr. Kearney, constituted the original membership of the Black Panther Party, the ones who actually got together and formed it in June of 1968?

Mr. KEARNEY. About 10 of us, 8 or 10 of us.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the average age of those individuals?

Mr. KEARNEY. The average was about 19, 21.

Mr. ROMINES. You were how old in June of 1968?

Mr. KEARNEY. Nineteen.

Mr. ROMINES. You say you left the Panther Party around January of '69; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. By that time how many members did the Black Panther Party have?

Mr. KEARNEY. Oh, ranging from 18 to 25 members.

Mr. ROMINES. What would the average age of that group have been?

Mr. KEARNEY. Approximately the same, about 19.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have an opinion, Mr. Kearney, as to the total membership in the Black Panther Party today in Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. Hard core or supporters?

Mr. ROMINES. Hard core first.

Mr. KEARNEY. Approximately 80 to 100.

Mr. ROMINES. When you say "hard core," how do you define your term?

Mr. KEARNEY. Those what you call, you know, Panthers that really could be trusted to show up at a rally or something.

Mr. ROMINES. In other words, the people you could always count on to be present and do what had to be done?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. How many supporters would you say the Panther Party has in Philadelphia today?

Mr. KEARNEY. There is the main chapter, and then there is three branches that split out from it. I could only give an account of two branches and the last one was about 50.

Mr. ROMINES. They have a main chapter; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. And they have branches?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Where are the branches located?

Mr. KEARNEY. North Philadelphia, South Philadelphia, West Philly, and Germantown.

Mr. ROMINES. There are four branches?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Why is Philly split in branches?

Mr. KEARNEY. Philly is bigger.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the address of the main chapter?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, 1928 Columbia Avenue.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the address of any of the branch chapters?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, not exactly.

Mr. ROMINES. How about 3625 Wallace?

Mr. KEARNEY. That could be the West Philadelphia chapter.

Mr. ROMINES. How about 428 West Queen Lane?

Mr. KEARNEY. That could be Germantown.

Mr. ROMINES. You say "could"; do you know whether it is or not?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is the vicinity of Germantown and West Philly.

Mr. ROMINES. You say you are familiar with two of these branch offices; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. Right, exactly.

Mr. ROMINES. Which two are those?

Mr. KEARNEY. North and South.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know anything at all about West or Germantown?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. How many active members are in the North and South?

Mr. KEARNEY. Approximately 150.

Mr. ROMINES. You say approximately 150 active members or supporters now?

Mr. KEARNEY. Those are hard core and the supporters.

Mr. ROMINES. Now a few moments ago you told me a total; I believe you said in Philadelphia you had about 80 to 100 hard core.

Mr. KEARNEY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. The question is, How many of those hard core would be in North and South Philly?

Mr. KEARNEY. You would have to split them up, more so to North Philly.

Mr. ROMINES. Pardon me?

Mr. KEARNEY. You have to give more to North Philly, being as that is the main branch.

Mr. ROMINES. But this 80 to 100, now—I want to make sure I understand you—hard-core Panthers, that includes all four branches; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. No; that is just the two I know of.

Mr. ROMINES. So the 80 to 100 hard core would be just North and South Philly?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. And you don't know anything about West Philly or Germantown?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. How many supporters would you say there are in North and South Philly?

Mr. KEARNEY. About 150 altogether; that would give you about 70-75 each.

Mr. ROMINES. What, in your opinion, would be the average age of the members of the Black Panther Party today?

Mr. KEARNEY. The ages run anywhere from 15 on up to about 29, but predominantly young.

Mr. ROMINES. You say predominantly young. In what general age bracket?

Mr. KEARNEY. In the teens.

Mr. ROMINES. Now the membership in the Panther Party has increased since you were originally one of the individuals who helped form it in June of '68. Would you have an opinion as to why the membership in the Black Panther Party has increased in Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. At the time when I was in the party we wasn't actually, you know, that well together, but, excuse the expression, brass balls came in to straighten it out.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean "straighten it out"?

Mr. KEARNEY. You know, get the office functioning right.

Mr. ROMINES. Where did these individuals come from?

Mr. KEARNEY. I could not give account, only on one of them; she came from New York.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know her name?

Mr. KEARNEY. Barbara Cox.

Mr. ROMINES. How many individuals came to the Philadelphia Chapter to, as you put it, straighten it out?

Mr. KEARNEY. Two.

Mr. ROMINES. Barbara Cox and one other individual?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. You do not know the name of the other individual?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. When did they come to Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. October 10, 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. Was the individual whose name you don't know a male or female?

Mr. KEARNEY. It was a male.

Mr. ROMINES. They were both members of the Black Panther Party; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. You say they came in and straightened out the chapter. Can you give me any examples of what you are referring to as far as straightening out?

Mr. KEARNEY. They got them uniforms in the Panther-like tradition, like black, and so on and so forth. They got the office, you know, the colors in accordance with the Panther regulations. They had classes and stuff functioning for them and started the education classes and Panther classes for the Panther Party in general, you know, to orient the Panthers and orient the people.

Mr. ROMINES. Had they had any classes before October of 1969?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not that I could give account of, no.

Mr. ROMINES. So only after October of 1969 did they actually start their classes; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have any opinion as to what it was that caused this general increase in membership, anything other than the fact that, as you put it, the chapter was straightened out?

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, it would be like mostly built around these touch and go incidents. Like you were getting more sympathizers for the party from the actions that the police would take upon the Panthers in general, nationwide. People were, you know, sympathizing; some of the people would go and favor the Panthers and you would unite more.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give me any specific examples of what you are talking about?

Mr. KEARNEY. In Chicago, two brothers was killed in Chicago.

Mr. ROMINES. Did that have any effect on the Panther membership in Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, almost on me, too.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say, almost on you, too?

Mr. KEARNEY. It almost brought me back to the party.

Mr. ROMINES. Why?

Mr. KEARNEY. To me, I thought the killing was unjustifiable.

Mr. ROMINES. So, if I understand you correctly, what you are saying is that the police or governmental activities, such as the killings of Hampton and Clark, can increase the Panther Party membership?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Does the Panther Party membership increase basically come from younger people or older people?

Mr. KEARNEY. Predominantly young, but you get, like I said, you get a great deal of sympathizers from the older bracket, too.

Mr. ROMINES. Why, in your opinion, would the increase come from, as you put it, predominantly the younger people?

Mr. KEARNEY. Because a great deal of older blacks are not ready for this type of action that is being brought on now, being in the nonviolent status, and they are not willing to eat up that force and violence movement as fast as the young would.

Mr. ROMINES. In other words, if I understand you, the younger people are basically more violent than the older people; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, and in the changing of the years that is noticeable.

Mr. ROMINES. Why, Mr. Kearney, did you originally either join or help form the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. In Philadelphia we had the lack of firm black leadership. We had leaders, but they were practically shams.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean by the word "shams"?

Mr. KEARNEY. Nine times out of 10 they would help a certain politician in office and then the politician would promise them a nice job, and once again the blacks are left out without a leader. If he is a leader he is a puppet.

Mr. ROMINES. Is a sham somebody who says he will do one thing and actually does something else?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. If I understand you correctly, you originally got in the Panthers in an attempt to help the black community; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. You indicated that you left the Panther Party in January of 1969. Why?

Mr. KEARNEY. I was suspended and it was about October or November. I got suspended. I tagged around the party, you know, up until January and I was disillusioned. I didn't like the way they handled the people, handled the meetings. They had a nasty attitude in talking to the blacks in general, you know.

Mr. ROMINES. You say you were suspended on what date?

Mr. KEARNEY. November.

Mr. ROMINES. For what reason were you suspended?

Mr. KEARNEY. Because, I think it was rule No. 4, I bucked the rule No. 4. I didn't come to the meetings like I should have. Also, I was always in debates with the members.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean "in debates with the members?"

Mr. KEARNEY. I didn't go along primarily with the system of New York or anyone else telling me and the people of Philadelphia what to do, because the problems that confronted Philadelphia confronted us in Philadelphia, not in New York. So I felt like there wasn't no need for us to retaliate on an act that was taken in New York and then jeopardize our own selves in Philadelphia.

Mr. ROMINES. You say one of the things you didn't go along with was New York. What was the relationship, if any, between the Philadelphia Chapter of the Black Panther Party and the New York Chapter?

Mr. KEARNEY. They were like——

Mr. ROMINES. Who is they?

Mr. KEARNEY. New York. They got orders, I guess, from national and national would tell them in turn to tell us. There was lack of communication between us and the national.

Mr. ROMINES. While you were a member of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia, was your chapter in Philadelphia taking orders from New York?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. You mentioned the words a minute ago "retaliate in Philadelphia for something that happened in New York."

Mr. KEARNEY. Anything in general that might happen in New York or anywhere else, you know, in the United States.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give me any specific examples of what you are referring to?

Mr. KEARNEY. Like there might have been a raid on one of New York's offices and it was a tussle, you know, and I guess some of the Panthers banging around. So they wanted us to go around and bang up on somebody else.

Mr. ROMINES. Did New York actually instruct the Philadelphia Chapter to go out and, as you put it, bang on somebody else?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not that exact words, you know, but we were supposed to move as a national thing; if one moved the others would move.

Mr. ROMINES. In other words, if something happened to the Panther chapter in New York, then in the Philadelphia and in other chapters of the Black Panther Party there was supposed to be some form of retaliation; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. If I understand you correctly, New York was the one giving you the orders; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they ever tell you what form your retaliation was to take?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not directly, no, not directly they never told us.

Mr. ROMINES. How about indirectly?

Mr. KEARNEY. Indirectly, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you tell me what you mean by "indirectly, yes."

Mr. KEARNEY. That is only on an assumption, though.

Mr. ROMINES. In your opinion?

Mr. KEARNEY. Say like a pig would kill a brother there, you were supposed to retaliate on the pigs in Philadelphia.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they actually tell you that you were supposed to kill a pig?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, like I say it was only an assumption.

Mr. ROMINES. It was more or less understood?

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Now you indicated that you were suspended, I believe you said, in what, September, October, November of 1968?

Mr. KEARNEY. November.

Mr. ROMINES. Then you actually were finally out of the party in January of 1969; is that true?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. After you got out of the party under your suspension, could you have gone back in if you had wanted to?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How is that you could have gone back in?

Mr. KEARNEY. You know, after we had found out that our captain was an impostor, you know, they said I was illegally suspended.

Mr. ROMINES. That would be Willie Crawford you are talking about?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Is he the one that suspended you?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes. So I was really disillusioned because I felt like if I deserved a suspension on the ground of an impostor they really didn't care whether I was in the party or not. Then a certain incident took place one time when one of the Panthers hit one of the sisters; it was a hit and run.

Mr. ROMINES. In a car?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes. I went down and talked to him about it and they tried to jump me.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean tried to jump you?

Mr. KEARNEY. You know, tried to move on me.

Mr. ROMINES. Physically?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. For what reason?

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, they didn't like the way I was talking to one of the members, the captain.

Mr. ROMINES. Who assumed the position of captain after you found out that Willie Crawford was not actually authorized to be captain?

Mr. KEARNEY. Reggie Schell.

Mr. ROMINES. Is he still the captain?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. If I understand you, one of the reasons you didn't go back in the Panthers was because you felt they didn't trust you; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. They must not have wanted me in the party if they suspended me on the grounds they did suspend me on.

Mr. ROMINES. You also indicate that you originally joined the Panther Party or helped form it in an attempt to help the black community; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. After you got out of the Black Panther Party around January of 1969, was the Panther Party helping the community at all?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, actually they became, they was seeking publicity, really, you know, prestige.

Mr. ROMINES. So actually they really weren't as interested in helping the community as they were in building their own prestige; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. That was at first; that is what our intentions were when we started out, the 10 of us.

Mr. ROMINES. The intent was to help the community?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Then what happened?

Mr. KEARNEY. We got strayed away from it; they became publicity seekers.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the attitude of the Black Panther Party at this time toward nonmembers of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. KEARNEY. Like I said, they was very disrespectful, you know, they cursed them and stuff like that, no respect for them whatsoever, no respect for the black people in general.

Mr. ROMINES. Is this something, an attitude that they still have today?

Mr. KEARNEY. Somewhat, yes; even in classes they tend to get off on their cursing and stuff.

Mr. ROMINES. You have mentioned classes several times now, Mr. Kearney. What type of classes did the Black Panther Party conduct, if any, while you were a member?

Mr. KEARNEY. Political education classes for the public and for the party in general.

Mr. ROMINES. Was this a combined function?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you have two classes then?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. One for the members only and one for the public only?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the political education classes for the members only?

Mr. KEARNEY. I can't give account of that class.

Mr. ROMINES. Why not?

Mr. KEARNEY. I never been to none of them.

Mr. ROMINES. Now maybe you didn't understand me. During the period of June of '68 and January of '69 were they conducting political education classes for their members?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Those started afterwards?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the period of June '68 to January '69, were they conducting political education classes for the public?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, that was one of my gripes, not letting the public know what they was doing.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you elaborate on that at all?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes. Like people in my community were shying from the Panther Party because of what the news media was doing, so we had to try to prove to them different and they refused to even talk about the Panther Party to anyone.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean "what the news media was doing"?

Mr. KEARNEY. The news media classified the Panthers as a mad, violent, outrageous group, you know, and that wasn't our chapter at the time.

Mr. ROMINES. At that time?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know when the PE classes for the members began?

Mr. KEARNEY. After the brother and sister came.

Mr. ROMINES. That would be after October of '69?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. How about PE classes for the public? When did they begin?

Mr. KEARNEY. They started approximately the same time.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you ever attended any of the PE classes for the public?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Approximately how many?

Mr. KEARNEY. About seven or eight.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you relate to the committee basically the substance of those classes?

Mr. KEARNEY. They was teaching the definition of capitalist, fascism, so on and so forth. It was like when question sessions came there was always big debates between me and the party.

Mr. ROMINES. How frequently are these PE classes for the public held?

Mr. KEARNEY. Every week.

Mr. ROMINES. Where are they held?

Mr. KEARNEY. At 16th and Susquehanna.

Mr. ROMINES. What is located at that address?

Mr. KEARNEY. I guess the classroom.

Mr. ROMINES. Now you have been there; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. On the occasions that you were present, approximately how many people were there?

Mr. KEARNEY. About 50.

Mr. ROMINES. I presume now these classes were conducted by Panther members; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the names of any Panther members who actually conducted the classes?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they use any particular documents or books or magazines or anything of that sort to instruct from?

Mr. KEARNEY. They mostly instructed from the paper but, like I said, during debates, you know, certain people like Mao and Marx would be brought into it by various people in the audience.

Mr. ROMINES. Would this be brought into it by members of the Black Panther Party or by people from the public who were there?

Mr. KEARNEY. People from the public.

Mr. ROMINES. Why would people from the public bring in Mao and Marx?

Mr. KEARNEY. Really I don't know. Most of the time the people were me and my brother and another brother. We would go to the meetings, you know.

Mr. ROMINES. For what purpose did you go to the meetings?

Mr. KEARNEY. To antagonize them, I guess.

Mr. ROMINES. Why did you want to antagonize them?

Mr. KEARNEY. I was kind of like uptight about what they did to me.

Mr. ROMINES. You mean suspending you and kicking you out?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do I understand you are the one that brought up Marx and Mao?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not all the time; you know, I would bring up various stuff like the Peace and Freedom Party and the relationship between them and the Peace and Freedom Party, and stuff like that.

Mr. ROMINES. In what context would Marx and Mao have been brought up?

Mr. KEARNEY. Like, how can Mao Tse-tung promise to support us when his government couldn't even function right, and I used to debate on that, you know.

Mr. ROMINES. You say "promise to support us"; has he ever promised to support you?

Mr. KEARNEY. This is what they proclaim.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you referring to the fact that the Panthers use the quotations from Chairman Mao, the "red book"?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. That is why you brought that up?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know for what purpose the Panther Party uses the "red book" quotations from Chairman Mao?

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, some of them, not all of them, you know, are confronted with the same needs of the black community, like we need to regovern our system and stuff like that. They used to bring it out in that sense, various things at the particular time that would meet the needs of the problem. They would use the quotations from Mao.

Mr. ROMINES. Was there an attempt to use the quotations from Chairman Mao and translate it into the problems that the Black Panther Party were confronting?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Or was it an attempt to say, "Here is the way Chairman Mao does it, and we ought to follow his dictates and have something like he has got here"?

Mr. KEARNEY. I think you could take a little bit of both and use it.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ever hear any references to Lenin?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. In what context was that mentioned?

Mr. KEARNEY. One of the brothers brought it up. I wasn't too much on Lenin. I didn't know too much about Lenin, but they had a big discussion about it, you know.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you summarize or do you remember what the contents of the discussion was?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not exactly; no, not exactly.

Mr. ROMINES. Were they referring to any specific work of Lenin, do you know?

Mr. KEARNEY. Mostly quotations.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the book that the quotations came from?

Mr. KEARNEY. Statements of Lenin or something like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Would it be "State and Revolution"?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, that is it.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Kearney, while you were a member of the Black Panther Party, did you hold any offices?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, I was deputy minister of defense.

Mr. ROMINES. When did you assume that position?

Mr. KEARNEY. In July.

Mr. ROMINES. And for what period of time did you hold that position?

Mr. KEARNEY. Until suspension.

Mr. ROMINES. So from July of '68 until January of '69; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. What were your responsibilities as deputy minister of defense?

Mr. KEARNEY. Security measures.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean by security measures?

Mr. KEARNEY. Security of our speakers and papers and the building in general.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you in charge of all security for the Panther Party?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right, the Philadelphia Chapter.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you have any men assigned to you to help you with your duties?

Mr. KEARNEY. At the time it was small and I had four assigned to me.

Mr. ROMINES. Why, Mr. Kearney, was it necessary to have a security force? I will rephrase my question and put it to you this way: Why was it thought that it was necessary to have a security force?

Mr. KEARNEY. Because of the police always vamping the area.

Mr. ROMINES. When you use the term "vamping," what do you mean?

Mr. KEARNEY. Coming up with search warrants and going through your files, and stuff like that.

Mr. ROMINES. You mentioned you were also in charge of security when speeches were made?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Why would it have been necessary to have security when speeches were made?

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't know. Lack of security got Martin Luther King killed.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you or your men armed?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, me and one of my associates was armed.

Mr. ROMINES. Just two of you?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. You said you had four men assigned to you; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. So the other three were not; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of weapons did you have?

Mr. KEARNEY. I had a .32.

Mr. ROMINES. What about your man?

Mr. KEARNEY. He had a .22.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you carry your weapons with you at all times?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not at all times. Like I said, it was for the security of speakers and when we felt it was needed.

Mr. ROMINES. Were they loaded?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you ever given any instructions as to when, or under what circumstances, you were to use those weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether there were any policies established by the party as to when, or under what circumstances, you were to use those weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. In protection of your home and defense of your office.

Mr. ROMINES. While you were deputy minister of defense did you or any of your men ever use your weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. You mentioned a moment ago the police, you say, vamping on you?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period of time you were a member of the Black Panther Party, did the police ever execute any search warrants on Panther headquarters?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right. Well, no, mostly to homes, individuals' homes.

Mr. ROMINES. But none on the headquarters while you were a member?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not while I was a member.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period of time from January of '69 to date, do you know whether the police ever executed any search warrants on Panther headquarters?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how many times?

Mr. KEARNEY. Two to my knowing.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know for what purpose?

Mr. KEARNEY. Firearms.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether they found any firearms or not?

Mr. KEARNEY. They obtained some.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what type?

Mr. KEARNEY. A shotgun, M-14, and some swords.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they obtain an M-14 under a search warrant executed on Panther headquarters?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, that was on a Panther's home. Just the shotguns and the swords was obtained from the office.

Mr. ROMINES. Have there ever been any shootouts between the police department and the Panthers' building?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Kearney, are members of the Black Panther Party required or instructed to have their own weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of weapon are they required to have?

Mr. KEARNEY. A .38 on up.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean "a .38 on up"?

Mr. KEARNEY. To high-powered rifles.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you ever given any instruction as to what type of guns or how many guns you were supposed to have?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not how many; well, actually there are three types. You have your one for the riot, one for sniping, and one for, you know, like a shootout, I guess you would call it.

Mr. ROMINES. Now let's take those one at a time. What do you mean "one for the riot"?

Mr. KEARNEY. Rioting, mostly you would use a shotgun.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean "one for sniping"?

Mr. KEARNEY. A high-powered rifle.

Mr. ROMINES. And one for, how did you phrase it?

Mr. KEARNEY. A shootout?

Mr. ROMINES. A shootout.

Mr. KEARNEY. That calls for a .357 or a semiautomatic.

Mr. ROMINES. Rifle or pistol?

Mr. KEARNEY. A rifle, .357, you know, you have got the rifle and the pistol.

Mr. ROMINES. Now you say you were required. Were you required to have one for each one of those different occasions?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, but that is like, that is part of your protection, your defense, really.

Mr. ROMINES. How can you call sniping protection or defense?

Mr. KEARNEY. Sure, like if you got a whole cavalcade of cars and you hit the first, you obtain your objective.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean "your objective"?

Mr. KEARNEY. Say you have got about 20 cops coming after you in cars, if you hit that first car you slow down the cavalcade from coming.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me ask you this question, then, Mr. Kearney: The Panthers many times have stated that they are a self-defensive type organization: is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. When the Panthers use the term "self-defense," what do they mean?

Mr. KEARNEY. I could not define that, really.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me read you a quotation from the Black Panther Party paper contained in Committee Exhibit 2, which was identified and introduced in the hearing record on Tuesday.

When a self-defense group moves against this oppressive system, by executing a pig by any means, sniping, stabbing, bombing, etc., in defense against the 400 years of racist brutality and murder this can only be defined correctly as self-defense.

Mr. KEARNEY. I guess a defense of their own; they defend their own self.

Mr. ROMINES. Generally speaking, the term "self-defense" means protect yourself or your property, or whatever, when actually provoked; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, by any means necessary.

Mr. ROMINES. Under the Panther definition of the term "self-defense"—let me phrase it this way. Is it self-defense if a Panther kills a policeman when there has been no provocation on the part of the policeman?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. In your opinion, does that fall within the Panthers' definition of the term?

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't know. I would have to think on that one.

Mr. ROMINES. Does that fall within your definition of the term of self-defense?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not in mine.

Mr. ROMINES. Not in yours, but when the Panthers use the term "self-defense" does that include, in your opinion, killing a policeman when he has not been provoked?

Mr. KEARNEY. I could not say because I have never read in the paper where they killed any unprovoked.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know, Mr. Kearney, whether members of the Black Panther Party actually possessed weapons of their own? You have indicated they are required to have weapons. Do you know whether each one, in fact, does have a weapon?

Mr. KEARNEY. I really could not say.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia has any collection or stockpile of weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period of time that you were a member of the Black Panther Party, did you maintain any collection or stockpile of weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. I didn't believe in stockpiling weapons.

Mr. ROMINES. Why didn't you believe in stockpiling weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. Once you get busted they get a whole lot. They would take 20.

Mr. ROMINES. It would be your opinion, rather than put them all in one spot they should be spread around?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period of time you were a member of the Panther Party, was there such a collection of weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. While you were a member of the Black Panther Party, was there ever any attempt to obtain weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not an attempt, but an offer, I guess you could say.

Mr. ROMINES. By whom were the weapons offered?

Mr. KEARNEY. Only an assumption I built this on, I think it was the SDS office.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say the SDS offered you some weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. Because SDS and the Philadelphia Chapter, you know, had grown like a joint thing, and they were promised weapons and like in return, I guess, they promised us some.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you explain to the committee the circumstances under which this developed?

Mr. KEARNEY. We had a rally at Villanova and we had a speaking engagement.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be just the Panther Party or the Panther Party and the SDS?

Mr. KEARNEY. Panthers and the SDS.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be the SDS from any particular city?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, Philadelphia. We had a rally and one of the SDS guys confronted me with how many arms we had, and by lack of trust I only talked just so much to him. He put to my knowledge like some might be in the makings in about 2 weeks.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean "some might be in the makings"?

Mr. KEARNEY. I guess they would be getting something in about 2 weeks.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he actually tell you they would get some?

Mr. KEARNEY. He said something was in the making.

Mr. ROMINES. That was his phrase, "something was in the making."

Mr. KEARNEY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the name of this individual?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I don't know his name.

Mr. ROMINES. Was he in the SDS?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. You were actually talking with him; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What happened thereafter?

Mr. KEARNEY. About 3 weeks later on the Jersey Turnpike some arms were taken from a car, a vehicle, by the State troopers, a large sum.

Mr. ROMINES. You say a large sum; do you know how many?

Mr. KEARNEY. I am not sure; I think it was approximately 80.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. Small arms.

Mr. ROMINES. When you say small, do you mean pistols?

Mr. KEARNEY. Pistols.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what type of pistols?

Mr. KEARNEY. They were in the automatic bracket; I could not tell you, .38s I guess.

Mr. ROMINES. When you talked with this member of the SDS, did he tell you you could expect a shipment of weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, we got a phone call about 2 weeks after we had the meeting with the SDS, and I was not there to receive the phone call. When the phone call did come it, you know, was given to me half way, and the guy said that we could look for some weapons in about 2 weeks. And that is when the raid was pulled off on the Jersey Turnpike, about 3 weeks afterwards.

Mr. ROMINES. You first met with this SDS member during the rally at Villanova?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. He inferred that what, something was in the makings?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. You subsequently received a phone call at your Panther headquarters telling you to expect some weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. In about 2 weeks this car was busted on the Jersey Turnpike with 80-some pistols in it; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Was there any ammunition?

Mr. KEARNEY. Ammunition, too.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the individual who took the phone call in Panther headquarters identify who had called?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, but he said he was white.

Mr. ROMINES. How would he know that?

Mr. KEARNEY. He could tell by the accent on the phone.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any other attempts to obtain weapons or voluntary donations, if you will, of weapons that you know of?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ROMINES. One other question about these pistols: Either when you talked to the individual from SDS or when the phone call came to the chapter, was there any discussion of whether the guns were going to be provided to you just on a gratuity, on a voluntary basis, or whether you were supposed to pay for them?

Mr. KEARNEY. Like I said, I missed a great deal of meetings because I was working, and the last time they told me they needed \$2,500.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they tell you what they needed \$2,500 for?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, that was for the finance committee.

Mr. ROMINES. When the phone call was made telling you you could expect the weapons in about 2 weeks, do you know whether the individual who called said anything about paying for the weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I don't remember them saying anything about that.

Mr. ROMINES. All you know is shortly thereafter the finance committee said you needed \$2,500.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Kearney, during the time that you were a member of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia, did your chapter operate a breakfast for children program?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. When did it start?

Mr. KEARNEY. After I was out of the party.

Mr. ROMINES. You didn't operate it while you were in the party?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not while I was in it.

Mr. ROMINES. But it started thereafter?

Do you know when it started?

Mr. KEARNEY. In the summer of 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. Is it still in operation?

Mr. KEARNEY. As far as I know.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know at how many locations it is operated?

Mr. KEARNEY. I know of two.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the addresses?

Mr. KEARNEY. No. One was at 19th and Columbia and another was in South Philadelphia.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know in what type of facilities?

Mr. KEARNEY. One was a house, a storefront house they rented.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know about the other one?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know where the Panthers obtained the money and/or the food to support their breakfast program?

Mr. KEARNEY. Various stores donated it.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know, Mr. Kearney, whether any members of the Black Panther Party chapter in Philadelphia have ever used any of this money or this food for their own personal use?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not directly, but the followers take care of the leader and the leader takes care of the people.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean by that?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is the way it is defined; it is self-explanatory.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you ever personally seen any of the Panther members using food which was donated for the Panther program, for the breakfast program?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How many different occasions?

Mr. KEARNEY. Twice; I only had two breakfasts.

Mr. ROMINES. Maybe you didn't understand me. I said, Have you even seen Panther members using food which had been donated for the breakfast program for their own personal use?

Mr. KEARNEY. I said yes.

Mr. ROMINES. At two occasions?

Mr. KEARNEY. They ate with the kids, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. You never saw them use it at their own headquarters?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. How many times have you visited the breakfast program?

Mr. KEARNEY. Twice.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you observe whether the children were being taught anything at all?

Mr. KEARNEY. No. I saw terminology like "right on," "power brother," and stuff like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be on posters on the wall?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, when the kids come in the door they say "Right on"; one may say "Hi"; it was "Right on, brother," things like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Were the children being taught the use of the term "off the pig"?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any posters on the walls?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes. The pig would be stepping on a pregnant woman's neck and the brother would come up behind him and stab him.

Mr. ROMINES. Any other posters?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. What, in your opinion, Mr. Kearney, is the purpose of the Black Panther Party in maintaining and operating these breakfast programs?

Mr. KEARNEY. The kids are hungry.

Mr. ROMINES. Is that the only purpose?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is the best I can give for it.

Mr. ROMINES. In your opinion is there any attempt on the part of the Black Panther Party to indoctrinate or orient the children in the breakfast program?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, like when you go to school and salute the flag, you know, they teach them various things.

Mr. ROMINES. What do they try to teach them?

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't know, I only seen like I said, when the kids came in "Right on," "All power to the people," and things like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you familiar with the term "off the pig"?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. When the Panthers use the term "off the pig," what do they mean?

Mr. KEARNEY. When the Panthers use it?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. What do I think?

Mr. ROMINES. Let me put my question to you this way: In your opinion what does the term "off the pig" mean when the Panthers use it?

Mr. KEARNEY. I guess to deal with them.

Mr. ROMINES. To deal with them?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Deal with them in what manner?

Mr. KEARNEY. I guess to take to the streets in battle.

Mr. ROMINES. Does the term "off the pig" when the Panthers use it mean, in your opinion, "kill the policeman"?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do the young children who either come to the breakfast program or who you have seen on the streets use the term "off the pig"?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do they use it quite frequently?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Where would they have learned that term?

Mr. KEARNEY. On television, I guess they have seen it in the Panthers' office, too.

Mr. ROMINES. When the young kids use the term "off the pig," Mr. Kearney, what, in your opinion, do they mean?

Let me put it to you this way: In your opinion how do the children understand the term "off the pig," what do they think it means?

Mr. KEARNEY. I guess they would mean take to the streets to kill them, I guess.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you think when the kids use the term "off the pig," they mean kill the policeman; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right. Then again that terminology was used in Chicago, too, in the Democratic committee, and I don't know what they meant there.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Kearney, while you were a member of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia, did you receive any visits from national officers?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. You mentioned a little earlier the fact that various members of the Black Panther Party made speeches; isn't that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. And you were assigned the protection detail?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Were the members of the party paid for making their speeches?

Mr. KEARNEY. They were given money by various clubs and they would pass around plates and stuff.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how much money they were paid?

Mr. KEARNEY. No. Direct?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. \$25, \$50 a speech; it varies.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they pass around a plate at each speech?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have any opinion or estimate as to how much money was collected?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. How frequently would members of the Black Panther Party make speeches while you were a member?

Mr. KEARNEY. While I was a member during that 9-month period, seven speeches.

Mr. ROMINES. Are the members of the Black Panther Party still making speeches in and around the Philadelphia area?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether they are still getting paid for them?

Mr. KEARNEY. I could not say.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ever make any speeches for the Black Panther Party?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How many?

Mr. KEARNEY. Three.

Mr. ROMINES. Where did you make those speeches?

Mr. KEARNEY. The University of Pennsylvania, Raymond Rosen Project, and the Richard Allen Project.

Mr. ROMINES. And before what type of assembled group were you speaking?

Mr. KEARNEY. At the University of Pennsylvania I was speaking to stop the development of the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. ROMINES. Before what group of people were you speaking?

Mr. KEARNEY. Mixed white and black, adults and young.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the substance of your speeches at the University of Pennsylvania?

Mr. KEARNEY. The one at the University of Pennsylvania was to stop the advancing of the University of Pennsylvania because they were moving out black families and wasn't giving them substantial places to live.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the other two speeches?

Mr. KEARNEY. Raymond Rosen Project and at the Richard Allen Project.

Mr. ROMINES. What did you speak about?

Mr. KEARNEY. A 12-story duplex where they were living, paying too high a rent; there was a lack of security and heating, and ventilation in the summer.

Mr. ROMINES. As I understand, you were speaking on essentially local community problems?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the other members of the Panthers who were speaking? Were they speaking on community problems?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, they were mostly explaining the Panther program to people.

Mr. ROMINES. How did they explain the Panther program to the people?

Mr. KEARNEY. About what the Panther Party stood for and its existence and how long it has been together, and stuff like that, the history of the Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they ever discuss the term "revolution" in their speeches?

Mr. KEARNEY. Revolution was brought up.

Mr. ROMINES. In what context was it brought up?

Mr. KEARNEY. The preparations for revolution.

Mr. ROMINES. Were they advocating that the people prepare themselves for a revolution?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they ever tell the people how they were to prepare for the revolution?

Mr. KEARNEY. They explained about your defense of your home, and so on and so forth, the weapons that were required, as I explained to you before.

Mr. ROMINES. Anything else?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Does the Black Panther Party sell the Panther newspaper in Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have any information as to how papers are sold or how much money is obtained by Panther sales now?

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't know, they have a lot of Panthers selling papers and they come out sometimes like 25, 50 papers; they don't come out with none less than that.

Mr. ROMINES. When did you first start receiving the papers?

Mr. KEARNEY. After we received our so-called charter.

Mr. ROMINES. When would that have been?

Mr. KEARNEY. About August or September, something like that.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how many papers at that time you were receiving and selling?

Mr. KEARNEY. We received a thousand papers.

Mr. ROMINES. Per week?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you able to sell all 1,000?

Mr. KEARNEY. I wasn't given an account; that was the financial committee.

Mr. ROMINES. During the period of time that you were a member of the Black Panther Party, Mr. Kearney, were any of the members using drugs?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, not at the time.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know today whether any members of the Panther Party are using drugs?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how many are using drugs?

Mr. KEARNEY. I would say about 30 percent of them.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what type of drugs they are using?

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't know how to define it, you know, without going on defining it further, like acid, monster, skag, emski,¹ so on and so forth like that.

¹ Phonetic spelling.

Mr. ROMINES. Are any of them using heroin?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, heroin is kind of expensive.

Mr. ROMINES. I would like to read another quotation to you, again from Committee Exhibit 2, which has previously been introduced into the record, a statement of Eldridge Cleaver.

. . . We're not reformists, we're not in the movement to reform the curriculum of a given university . . . We are revolutionaries and as revolutionaries, our goal is the transformation of the American social order. In order to transform the American social order, we have to destroy the present structure of power in the United States, we have to overthrow the government . . . we say that we will do this by any means necessary . . . and the only means possible is the violent overthrow of the machinery of the oppressive ruling class.

Mr. Kearney, based on your knowledge and experience in the Black Panther Party, in your opinion does the Black Panther Party stand for and advocate a revolution in this country?

Mr. KEARNEY. Do they stand for?

Mr. ROMINES. And advocate a revolution in this country?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, going around the preparation for a revolution.

Mr. ROMINES. Let's take it a step at a time. Does the national Black Panther Party stand for and advocate a revolution in this country?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do they advocate a violent revolution?

Mr. KEARNEY. I could not say because they contradict themselves when they say "any means possible" and then turn around and say a violent revolution. That is double talk. If they said a violent revolution I would be forced to say yes, but they say "any means possible," so that means they are probably willing to go through the legal matters.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you think the Black Panther Party deliberately uses double talk?

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, no. If I was doing it then it would be a means of defense for myself.

Mr. ROMINES. In your opinion, do you think the Black Panther Party deliberately uses double talk?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, tactics.

Mr. ROMINES. Along that same line do you think that the Black Panther Party, in particular through its newspaper, ever distorts or twists facts?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, just like *The Washington Post*.

Mr. ROMINES. For what purpose, in your opinion, Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. Publicity can make you or break you. You have to gain the confidence of the people in your favor so you tell them what you think might be pleasing to their ear.

Mr. ROMINES. So if I understand you correctly they will, if they think it is advantageous, twist or distort the facts?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. To present their position to the people?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. In your opinion, would this be an attempt to unite the people?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. And for what purpose are they trying to unite the people?

Mr. KEARNEY. Preparation for the revolution.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the local leaders of the local chapters of the Black Panther Party? Do they also advocate and stand for a revolution?

Mr. KEARNEY. Most of the local leaders aren't that heavy.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean when you say they are not that heavy?

Mr. KEARNEY. They speak what they read, you know, as far as common knowledge; not too many of them have common knowledge. So that could be a yes and a no.

Mr. ROMINES. Maybe you had better explain that to me again; I didn't quite follow you.

Mr. KEARNEY. Like I explain to you, you see, like you always have a brain with anything, like you probably have a top counsel; like you run into a problem you go to him, right? And if it sounds good enough, that is it.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you saying, then, that the national office is the top brain?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. And that the local leaders go to the top brain; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, they try to handle local problems on a local basis, but like if it gets out of hand I think they would relate to national.

Mr. ROMINES. You told me in your opinion the national Black Panther organization advocates revolution; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. So since they are, in your words, the top brain, would that not then be reflected by the local leaders?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Then do the local leaders actually believe in a revolution or are they just using the words that national uses?

Mr. KEARNEY. It really varies with the local leader, really.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have an opinion on the local leaders in Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't think they know no better.

Mr. ROMINES. How about, in your opinion, the local members of the Black Panther Party, when they hear the talk of revolution and violent revolution as it is spoken by the national chapter? Do they look upon that as just so much talk or do they actually believe in it?

Mr. KEARNEY. A great many of them has, just like the military, been brainwashed into thinking this way through their classes.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean brainwashed into thinking this way?

Mr. KEARNEY. It was a long time before I knew Hannibal was black. I was brainwashed; I was told he was white.

Mr. ROMINES. In your opinion, does the Black Panther Party make a deliberate attempt to brainwash its members?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. And for what reason do they try to brainwash members?

Mr. KEARNEY. What good is a person without a place to govern? He is not a president.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me put my question this way. Do the national leaders of the Black Panther Party, in your opinion, attempt to brainwash the local members to further their goal for a violent revolution?

Mr. KEARNEY. For revolution.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say "for revolution" as opposed to violent revolution?

Mr. KEARNEY. We are torn between two words. One might advocate a violent revolution and the other one might not believe in the violent revolution, but he might believe in the Panther Party's theory.

Mr. ROMINES. You indicate that the national office of the Black Panther Party attempts to brainwash local members; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Where would this basically be done?

Mr. KEARNEY. In the PE classes.

Mr. ROMINES. You testified earlier that you originally joined the Black Panther Party in an attempt to help the community; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. In your opinion, is the Black Panther Party a constructive force or a destructive force in the black community?

Mr. KEARNEY. Neither one.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say neither one?

Mr. KEARNEY. Because in order to be constructive you have to do something, and in order to be destructive you have to do something. In Philadelphia it is nothing.

Mr. ROMINES. Have they done anything constructive in the community?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not outside of the breakfast program and the clothing program and the free clinic.

Mr. ROMINES. That is all?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is all.

Mr. ROMINES. Have they done anything destructive?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do they operate a medical clinic?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How frequently?

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't know, I have never been to it. I don't even know how it functions, but I know there is one somewhere.

Mr. ROMINES. How about a clothing center?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you been there?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I have never been there.

Mr. ROMINES. You don't know anything about that either?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. I would like to go back to the PE classes for just one moment, Mr. Kearney. You indicate that there is an attempt there to brainwash the local members. Do they allow the local members at all to think for themselves?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, just a little.

Mr. ROMINES. While you were a member, did they allow you to think for yourself?

Mr. KEARNEY. They didn't want me to.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that have had any bearing on the fact that you left the party?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. That they would not allow you to think for yourself?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the basic, overall Panther philosophy, Mr. Kearney? What is your opinion, is it a good philosophy or a bad philosophy?

Mr. KEARNEY. They like Mao. Mao can't even function to take care of his own government, yet he is going to promise us aids in the event there was a violent revolution.

Mr. ROMINES. Had Mao ever promised the Black Panther Party aid?

Mr. KEARNEY. It was in the papers, in the classes, and stuff.

Mr. ROMINES. Do they actually teach in classes that Mao promises aid if there is a violent revolution?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. I have no further questions of this witness at this time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. Kearney.

I understand that you were in charge of security of speakers for a while, and from what I understand of some of your qualifications you would be able to handle that pretty well. I understand that you had quite a record as a boxer for the Marines and that you won some 29 amateur fights as a boxer.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. And that you worked out with Joe Frazier?

Mr. KEARNEY. He was my road buddy.

Mr. PREYER. How do you mean road buddy?

Mr. KEARNEY. We worked out together.

Mr. PREYER. Do you still box?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, it has been 2 years since I boxed, outside of last night at the "Y."

Mr. PREYER. I understand you also played fullback and middle line backer for the Potsdam Firebirds?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. That is a semipro football organization?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. You have had opportunities to attend college on athletic scholarships?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. I hope you will take advantage of some of those.

Is the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia now, in your opinion, growing in membership or is it declining? Is it going down or going up?

Mr. KEARNEY. I have to say it is growing.

Mr. PREYER. It is growing now?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. Is that because the organization and leadership of the party is improving or is it because of reaction to events such as the Hampton-Clark shooting in Chicago that you referred to?

Mr. KEARNEY. More so sympathizing, like incidents like Hampton and Clark.

Mr. PREYER. It becomes more of a sympathy reaction other than the party itself is getting stronger and being better led?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, that is right.

Mr. PREYER. Is Willie Crawford still the head man in the party?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, he isn't; he is no longer in the party.

Mr. PREYER. Who is the head man now?

Mr. KEARNEY. Reggie Schell; he is the captain.

Mr. PREYER. What was his name?

Mr. KEARNEY. Reggie Schell.

Mr. PREYER. How old is he?

Mr. KEARNEY. Reggie is about 29.

Mr. PREYER. So your leadership, then, is older, but the rank-and-file members are predominantly teenagers?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. You mentioned this question of membership in the Panthers growing and people being attracted to the party, not so much by what the Panthers stand for but in reaction, in anger to outside events that take place in society. You indicated you originally got interested because you thought the black leadership in Philadelphia was inadequate?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. I don't know anything about the Philadelphia situation. Maybe it is inadequate. Maybe it is just that young people expect something that is impossible for the leadership to deliver. I don't know what the answer to that is. I think you have put your finger on a good point, that any time injustices occur in society or where there is a failure of black leadership in society, the Panthers benefit from that even though they do nothing to deserve the benefit from it. Certainly this is one way to keep down the influence of the Panthers, to develop a strong black leadership.

You mentioned that the Panthers presently in Philadelphia weren't helping the community, that they were mainly now seeking publicity, that they had gotten away from their original intent, that they didn't have any respect for the black people. I detect from the way you talked that you still have some ambivalent feeling about the Panthers, perhaps some sympathy for them still. Do you think that the Panthers there now have gotten away from your original ideas of helping in the community and that they have gone in for what you would call publicity and are no longer making any major contributions to the black community?

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, like you said, I still somewhat hold sympathy for not only the Panther Party but black people in general; my sympathy goes that way, you know. It could have been the Green Panthers or the Yellow Panthers; my sympathy is for the blacks.

Mr. PREYER. I can see how that would be the case, but one of the questions we have been trying to get at throughout these hearings, Is the present-day Panther Party a really dangerous party or is it just a group of big talkers? I have got different answers from you on that.

You say one thing, that you don't think there is any collection of weapons being made, and you point out that in the Democratic Convention the words "off the pig" were used in a sense that it doesn't really mean "kill the pig," "kill the police officer." What does that talk mean when they go around saying "off the pigs"? Is that just ghetto talk? Is that the way you talk to people to get their attention or is this serious business?

Mr. KEARNEY. I really couldn't say. I guess it is the way an individual looks at it.

Mr. PREYER. I think some people like you, who do have some sympathy with the Black Panthers because of their sympathy for the black community, should realize when you use the word "off the pig" it is not exactly like saying "right on, man." There are a lot of nuts around in the world and some paranoid people, and when you raise the threshold of violence in discourse in this country you are doing a dangerous thing because some nuts might believe you. I don't think that is just big talk, even if that is all you intended it to be. It could lead to some real trouble.

Incidentally, you talked about the Chicago incident. A lot of problems with the Panthers and the police have been coming up there. Would you say the relations between the police and the Panthers have been generally good or bad in Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. I would have to say it has been somewhat good, because there has never been no big clash between the Philadelphia Panthers and the police force.

Mr. PREYER. I don't think you can expect the police to love the Black Panthers when they go around saying "off the pigs." But I gather your feeling is that they have been fair?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. You mentioned this shipment of weapons from the SDS and described the circumstantial nature of that, Mr. Kearney. In other hearings we have had different testimony about relations with the SDS. In some areas the Panthers and SDS are at opposite ends of the poles. But you say that in the Philadelphia area they originally grew as sort of joint chapters, but they had been friends?

Mr. KEARNEY. You have to look at it 2 years ago, you understand. Right now I would not say the Panthers and the SDS is that tight.

Mr. PREYER. There is not a warm relationship there now?

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't think they would actually go to battle if they saw each other, but me myself, I never did actually have any functions with SDS. But I was just one, you know.

Mr. PREYER. As far as you know right now, the Panthers and the SDS in Philadelphia are not working together?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. And are not helping each other. How long ago was this automobile stopped on the New Jersey Turnpike?

Mr. KEARNEY. It was about in September or October, maybe around Thanksgiving time; it was around the fall season. I know it was around football season.

Mr. PREYER. Of what year?

Mr. KEARNEY. '68.

Mr. PREYER. Was the driver of that car arrested?

Mr. KEARNEY. Two of them, yes.

Mr. PREYER. Were they identified as members of SDS?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I really couldn't go into the full details of it; I really couldn't tell you.

Mr. PREYER. Do you know whether they were convicted?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I really couldn't go into the full details of it.

Mr. PREYER. One question is, Do they really believe in violent revolution or not? Of course if words do mean anything they do believe in it. I gather from what you were saying is, you felt the Philadelphia Chapter does not believe in violent revolution right this minute, but believes in preparing for revolution?

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, preparing for revolution mostly. Most chapters are supposed to be taught in general and be prepared for it.

Mr. PREYER. This is some more dangerous use of words, "preparing for revolution," and you keep weapons for "the defense of your home" and that you kill "in defense," and so forth. That argument cuts both ways. The Ku Klux Klan can argue that they are preparing for revolution and that they have to keep guns to defend their homes and defend themselves.

So when you go down that line you end up with two armed camps, so I don't know whether you are preparing for defending your home or for violence. It may come to the same thing as a practical matter.

You concluded by saying that Panthers in Philadelphia didn't do anything much, they didn't do anything constructive except for the breakfast, and that they didn't do anything destructive. So I gather your attitude is, you want to see something done to help the black community?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. And you don't feel that they are doing it?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. PREYER. They are talking revolution, not cleaning up the neighborhoods. It does appear that there is certainly a good opportunity for people that feel the way you do about doing something for the black community to move in there and do the kind of things which you originally thought the Panthers were going to do, the breakfast programs and the real programs, and not just as fronts to indoctrinate children, and clinics that are real clinics, not for publicity purposes, distributing clothing, cleaning up the neighborhoods, doing all the things you originally wanted to do. That could be done without having this background philosophy of violence.

Mr. KEARNEY. Right now at the present time I do work for my community.

Mr. PREYER. Do you think that can be done without having to advocate the violent overthrow of the Government?

Mr. KEARNEY. We don't have to overthrow the Government, just change the system of the housing authorities, maybe.

Mr. PREYER. There is nothing wrong with advocating a change and working for the change of any system in our country as long as you are working within the political process. Do you have to advocate violence in order to attract followers to work in the community? I don't see why you have to do that.

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I don't say that.

Mr. PREYER. You are working in your community now?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. You think you are being effective?

Mr. KEARNEY. I feel I am. I have gained the trust of the people.

Mr. PREYER. Well, I wish you well. I think people like you can gain that trust because you obviously are not an Establishment man. You can do the job. You can do it without this threat of violence which is counterproductive and is just going to undo everything that they are trying to do.

Mr. KEARNEY. Maybe sometime you ought to hold a little investigation on Philadelphia in general. We have a gang problem and that is our main problem.

Mr. PREYER. Among young people?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right. From '67 up to now we have lost 65 kids in gang deaths.

Mr. PREYER. In gang battles?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. Sixty-seven kids from when?

Mr. KEARNEY. From '67 up to now we have lost 65, 39 last year, 17 this year. Seventeen when I left; I don't know how many it is now.

Mr. PREYER. Thirty-nine young people killed last year?

Mr. KEARNEY. Ranging from the ages of 13 all the way up to 21.

Mr. PREYER. And 17 already this year?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. Is this the situation where each one carves out his turf and if the other gang comes in there they shoot it out?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. Are these pitched gang battles in daylight?

Mr. KEARNEY. Sure, they attack in daylight, at night, when the opportunity knocks, I guess.

Mr. PREYER. Do you have any thoughts on how to reduce that?

Mr. KEARNEY. Sure, get more people in the street to work with them. Myself, I worked with three various gangs and I used to run one particular gang I worked with, and I work in our street and the village. Another one is the Zulu Nation. They are one of our foremost dangerous gangs in Philadelphia.

Mr. PREYER. They have four leading gangs?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, but there are something like 30 gangs in general, about 30 gangs, about 5,200 members.

Mr. PREYER. Thirty different gangs?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. I think people like you who can gain their confidence, with your record and ability as an athlete, I think that you can do it more easily than many people and probably are in the best position to do something about this. I wish you luck on that. That is a frightening thing.

Are they mostly fighting each other? Do they terrorize the rest of the black community there?

Mr. KEARNEY. They mostly fight each other, but you know the community in general is scared of their life, has fear for their lives also, but mostly, you know, they take their battles mostly with the kids themselves, you know.

Mr. PREYER. Has it gotten to the point where, in the black community, the average older person is afraid to go out at night?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. That is a serious situation. I think your suggestion that an investigation into that might be productive is a good one.

Thank you, Mr. Kearney. We appreciate your being here.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I have a few more questions I would like to ask.

Mr. PREYER. Certainly.

Mr. ROMINES. I have three or four questions, Mr. Kearney, on the Black Panther Party. First of all, you indicated that you gave a speech at the University of Pennsylvania; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you paid for that speech?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I was not paid.

Mr. ROMINES. Secondly, you discussed rather briefly in your testimony the fact that after the Hampton-Clark killings in Chicago there was an increase in membership in the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. And you even thought about going back yourself?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. First of all, would you know how many members the Philadelphia Chapter gained after those killings?

Mr. KEARNEY. Approximately 20 percent of what they have now.

Mr. ROMINES. Those two killings, or killings like them in general, do they generally help the Black Panther Party gain membership?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, because it brings around sympathizers.

Mr. ROMINES. When a black man or a Black Panther, either one, is killed, does it make any difference whether it is in self-defense on the part of the police or whether it is just an out-and-out killing?

Mr. KEARNEY. According to who tells it.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you elaborate on that?

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't know, I guess after this investigation you have three or four papers in here and you are going to have about four different stories so the people can decide what story they are going to believe.

Mr. ROMINES. I don't doubt that at all. You discussed with me earlier this morning that fact that the Black Panthers on occasion distort or turn around the facts to suit their own purpose; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you ever seen them do that in an attempt to make the white Establishment look bad?

Mr. KEARNEY. Maybe not the white Establishment, maybe the police in general.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you ever seen them do it?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, I witnessed one particular incident myself. It was an incident where the cop stopped a car, right, and he came out a little wrong. He snatched around the guy because he had his hat and his button on, and something like that, and it almost touched up a real incident. So the *News* and *Tribune*, they wrote their part of it, and the *Panther* came out with it in their story a few days later and I found it very amusing, you know.

Mr. ROMINES. Were any of the reports accurate?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, none to be exact. Nowadays if you want to be honest the kids don't even have to buy a comic—they can pick up some of these daily papers and get a good mystery story out of them if they want them.

Mr. ROMINES. I gather you are not too fond of the news media.

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Kearney, I would hand you what have previously been marked as Committee Exhibits 8, 9, 10, and 11, which were introduced into evidence yesterday, and I ask you if you have ever seen any of those exhibits before.

Mr. KEARNEY. Exhibit 8.

Mr. ROMINES. You have seen Exhibit 8 before?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Where have you seen it, Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. Actually it originally came out of some type of book. It is a training book on tactics and stuff you have to use.

Mr. ROMINES. Discussion of different types of weapons?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you seen a comparable discussion of armaments in the Philadelphia chapters?

Mr. KEARNEY. You mean similar to this?

Mr. ROMINES. Something similar to that.

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes. Like you cut this out of any Marine Corps book they have, too; it is the same stuff.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know where the Philadelphia Chapter obtained their document which is similar to Committee Exhibit 8?

Mr. KEARNEY. You get your originals, most of the time, from Washington and all you have to do is just change the top of it from Oakland to Philadelphia.

Mr. ROMINES. You mean from national?

Mr. KEARNEY. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether Philadelphia got their copy from national or not?

Mr. KEARNEY. Not to be exact, but I take for granted this is where it came from, and this one here.

Mr. ROMINES. Which one is that?

Mr. KEARNEY. Exhibit 9.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you seen a similar document in the Philadelphia Chapter?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know where they obtained that document?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I could not actually give an account.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether it came from national or not?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I really could not say.

Mr. ROMINES. Was it typed like that document is there?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, because you take notice almost all the typing is almost the same. And I have seen this one and I have never seen this one.

Mr. ROMINES. Which is the other one you have seen?

Mr. KEARNEY. No. 11.

Mr. ROMINES. You have seen No. 11 before in the Philadelphia Chapter?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know where you obtained that?

Mr. KEARNEY. This one here states Oakland, California; I take for granted it came from Oakland.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what use was made of any of those documents in the Philadelphia Chapter?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, not really. Actually one of them is a training program, you know, your military training program.

Mr. ROMINES. How about Exhibit 9; do you know whether they used that very much or not?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, this one was—like I said I have seen this one, but to actually say I have seen this one in the Panther Party's house, no. I used to read various books and stuff and so I probably could have glanced at this, but these two I am sure of.

Mr. ROMINES. Which two?

Mr. KEARNEY. Eight and eleven.

Mr. ROMINES. And how about nine; where have you seen that before?

Mr. KEARNEY. Nine, like I say, it just came to me, like when you make up these here reports, like when they raided SDS they had various things, the kind of stuff they was using and leaflets and stuff they was passing out. They had a series of it in the paper and it could be where I have seen this one.

Mr. ROMINES. I am still trying to ascertain exactly where you have seen Committee Exhibit 9. Do you remember exactly?

Mr. KEARNEY. I am not that sure.

Mr. ROMINES. Could you have seen it in the Panther headquarters?

Mr. KEARNEY. It is possible I could.

Mr. ROMINES. But you don't know for sure?

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't know for sure.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Kearney, if the Black Panther Party were able to succeed and basically get what it wants, in your opinion would this be a good result?

Mr. KEARNEY. I would be somewhat afraid because I might be sitting on the other side of the table interrogating you, because I feel like it would just be a vice versa system and there would always be a constant revolution. We might get in and we might abuse, you know, we might decide to put you all in chains and vice versa, and then you would want to get loose and fight us again, so it would be a toss up. Just in general the system should be changed.

Mr. ROMINES. Do I understand you to mean by that in your opinion the Black Panther Party wants black control; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Does the Black Panther Party then advocate separatism of the races?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I could not say that.

Mr. ROMINES. In your opinion does the Black Panther Party want separatism?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Yet you tell me if the Black Panther Party gets what it wants the black will be in control; is that correct?

Mr. KEARNEY. Right, but then again you have various organizations in this very same movement. You have the Peace and Freedom Party

and all that, SDS, and all of them, that might just be a mass, and it won't be just a civil war of blacks and whites; it would be a mass over the total system in general. But in the event if it was an all mass, that one word "if," and blacks were to get it, I am pretty sure they would probably abuse it, you know.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me direct your attention just a moment or two to the subjects the chairman brought up with respect to the blacks. Are you doing voluntary work in the community now?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you doing any voluntary work other than working with the gangs?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, I work with the projects in trying to get this here thing together about the welfare. Welfare is one of the downfalls of the black people.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say welfare is one of the downfalls of the black people?

Mr. KEARNEY. They never actually give them a chance to rehabilitate themselves, to my notion. They always want them to depend on it, not only blacks, the whites also.

Mr. ROMINES. You don't think the present system of welfare is a good one; is that right?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, because you still see kids running around hungry and their parents half high.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have an opinion as to why the kids run around hungry and their parents half high?

Mr. KEARNEY. Sure, with the welfare money you can buy liquor and they might neglect the kids and go out in the park and swing it up.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me ask you this question: The committee has previously received testimony in relation to the Black Panther breakfast program that it is not really a question of parents being unable, physically unable, to feed their children and therefore the Panthers have to establish the breakfast program, rather it is a question of basically lazy parents?

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you see that same situation in Philadelphia?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me ask you one quick question about the gang warfare in Philadelphia. Is that a black versus white gang type warfare?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, that is blacks versus anybody, really.

Mr. ROMINES. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. Kearney.

You mentioned that if Black Panthers or SDS or some group of that sort gets control in the country that it would, in your phrase, be constant revolution, and that if these groups got control over the Government they would probably abuse it. I think that makes the point that not all change is necessarily good, but you do go on to say the system needs change.

I think you are on the right track of working to change the system within it rather than trying to overthrow it.

Thank you, Mr. Kearney, and we appreciate your being here. If you keep on socking it to *The Washington Post* and some of these

other papers, I think you will get to be known as the Agnew of the black community.

I appreciate your being with us and we wish you well in your work with gangs there.

At this time we will recess this series of hearings on Indianapolis and Philadelphia and Detroit, and the hearings will remain subject to the call of the Chair for the next series.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a.m., Friday, July 24, 1970, the subcommittee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

APPENDIX

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1

Cartoons which appeared in issues of "The Black Panther" newspaper on dates indicated.

Cartoonists:

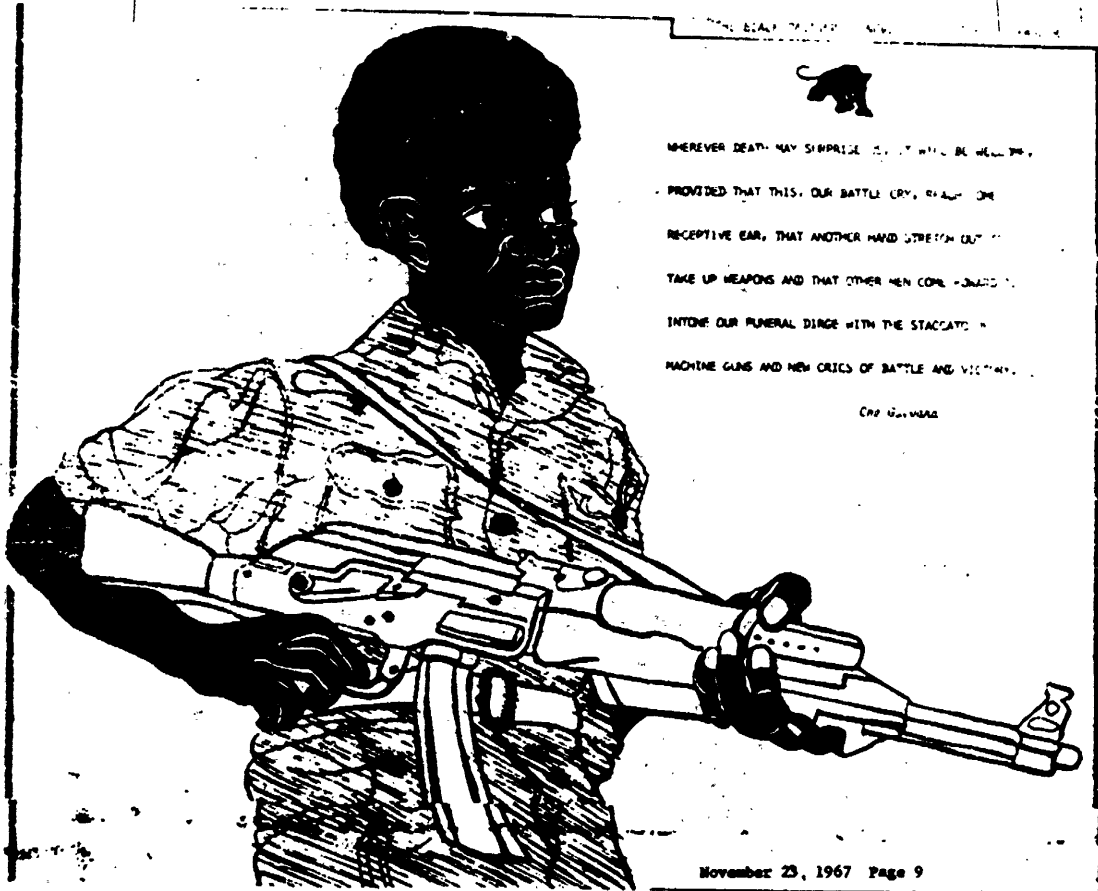
- "Emory" - - - - Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture
- "Matilaba"- - - - Joan Lewis, Asst. Revolutionary Artist
- "Teemer" - - - - Mark Teemer



July 20, 1967, page 1



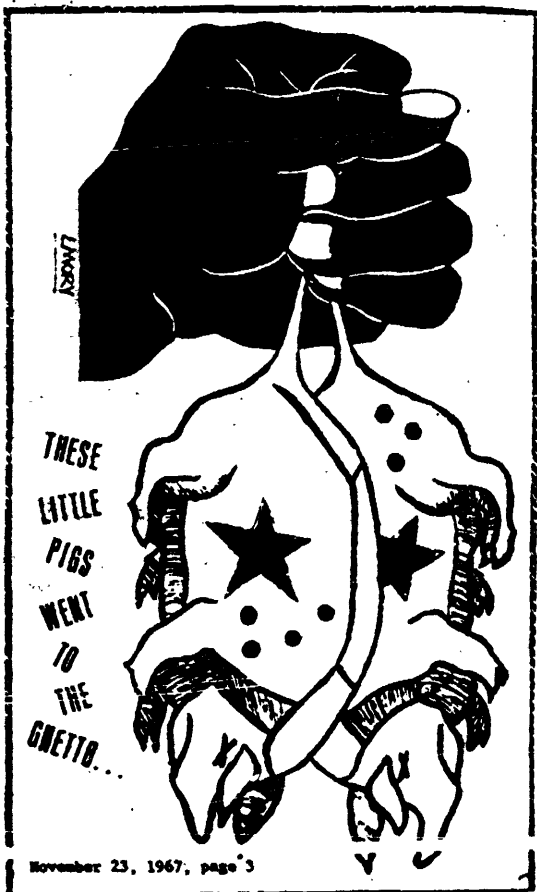
July 3, 1967, page 11



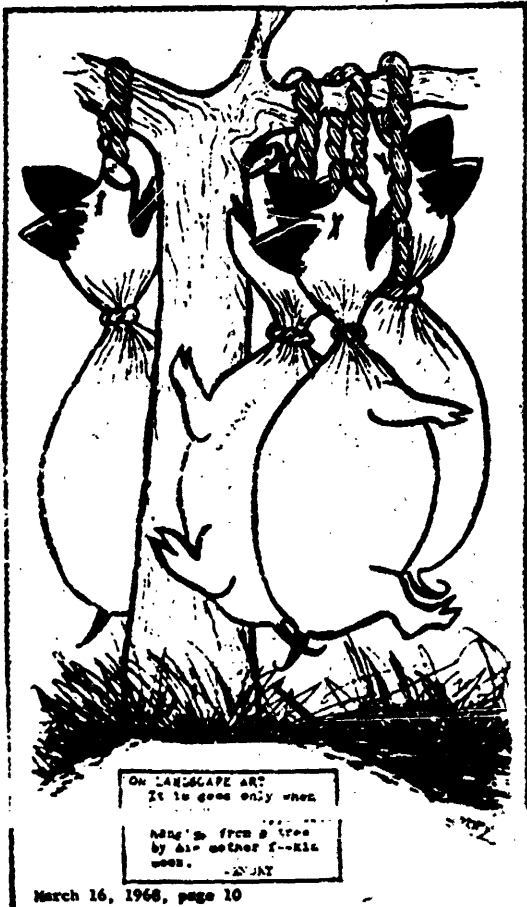
WHEREVER DEATH MAY SURPRISE US IT WILL BE WELL WORTH
 PROVIDED THAT THIS, OUR BATTLE CRY, REACHES THE
 RECEPTIVE EAR, THAT ANOTHER HAND STRETCH OUT TO
 TAKE UP WEAPONS AND THAT OTHER MEN COME FORWARD TO
 INTONE OUR FUNERAL DIRGE WITH THE STACCATO OF
 MACHINE GUNS AND NEW CRIES OF BATTLE AND VICTORY.

COP GUY WALK

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1 - Continued

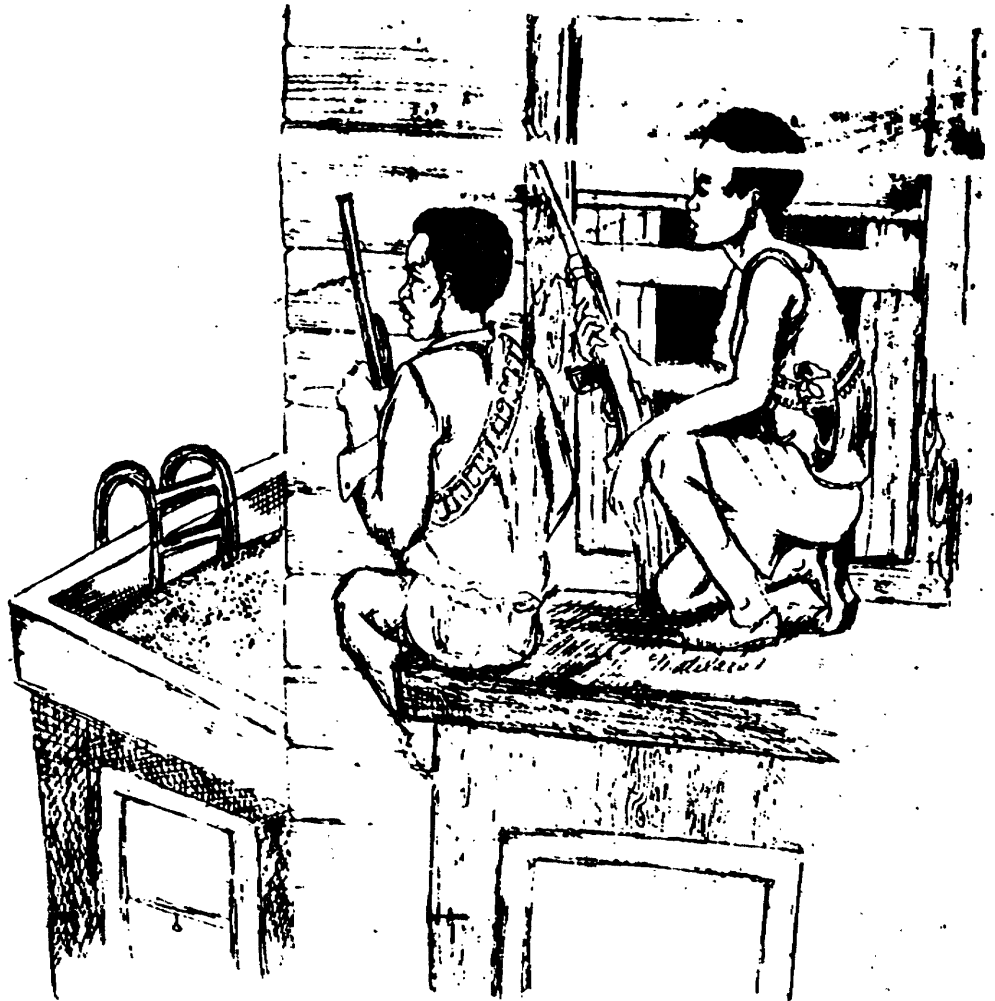


November 23, 1967, page 3



March 16, 1968, page 10

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1-Continued



WE WANT FREEDOM, WE WANT POWER TO
DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR
BLACK COMMUNITY .

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1-Continued



COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued



EDUCATION



June 10, 1968, page 4

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued



October 26, 1968, p. 6

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued



November 16, 1968, page 24

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1-Continued



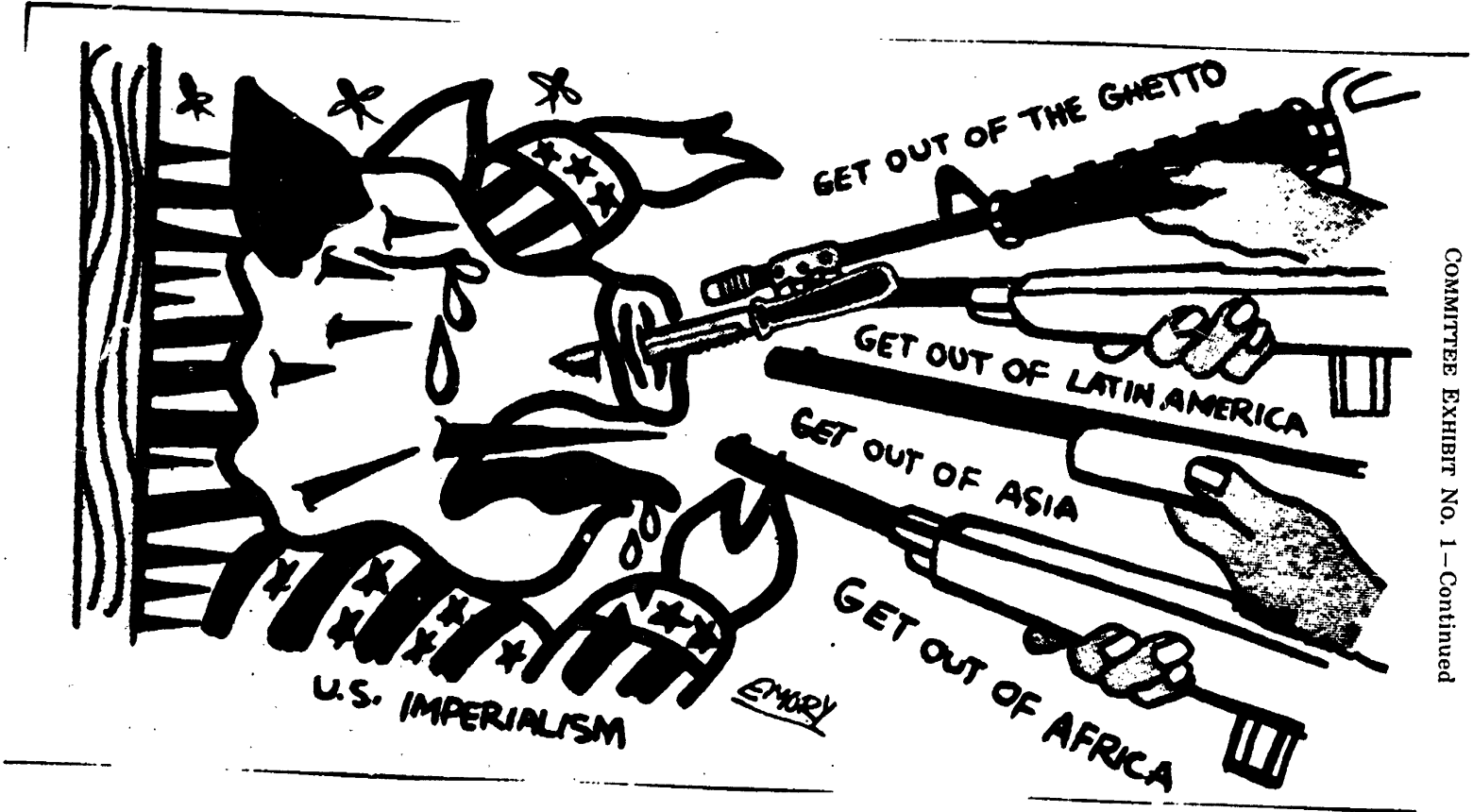
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued



November 16, 1968 pp. 15



December 7, 1968, page 13



COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued



January 4, 1969, page 6



January 4, 1969, page 4

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1-Continued



February 2, 1969, page 4



January 15, 1969, page 11



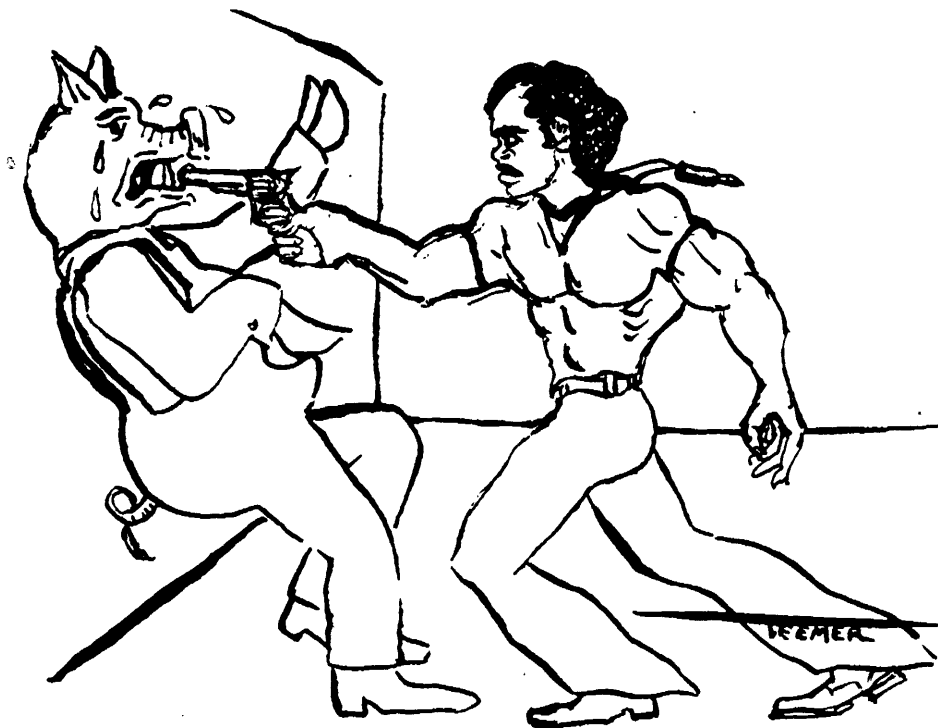
March 3, 1969, page 9

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

4585

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1-Continued



March 9, 1969, page 6

4586

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

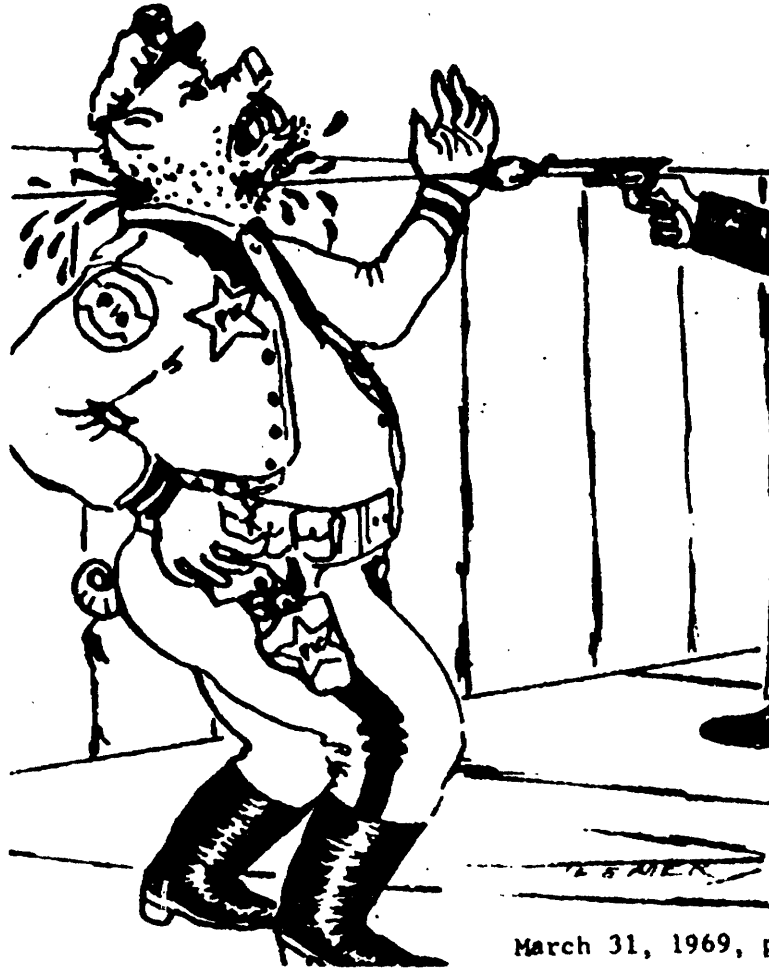
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1-Continued



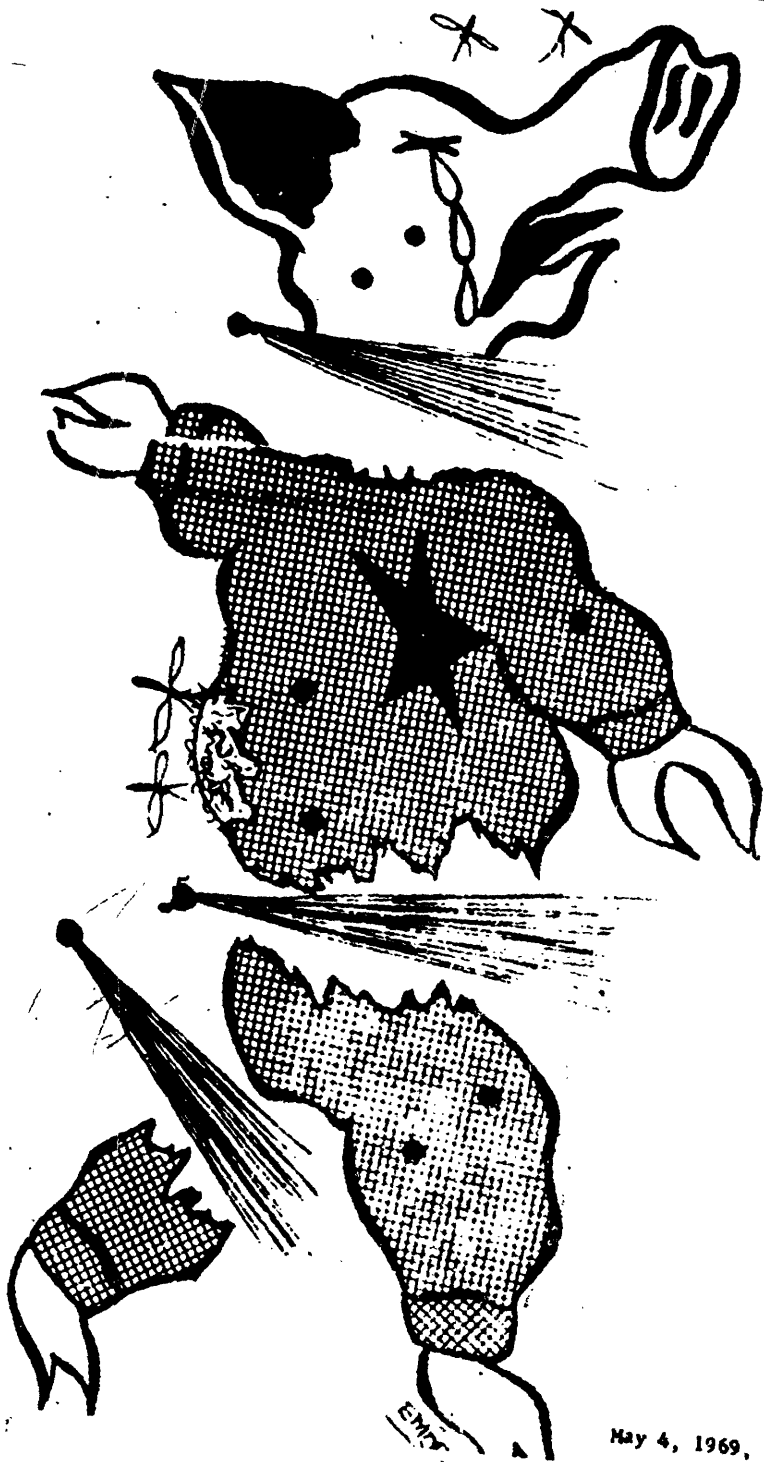
March 21, 1969, page 3

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1-Continued

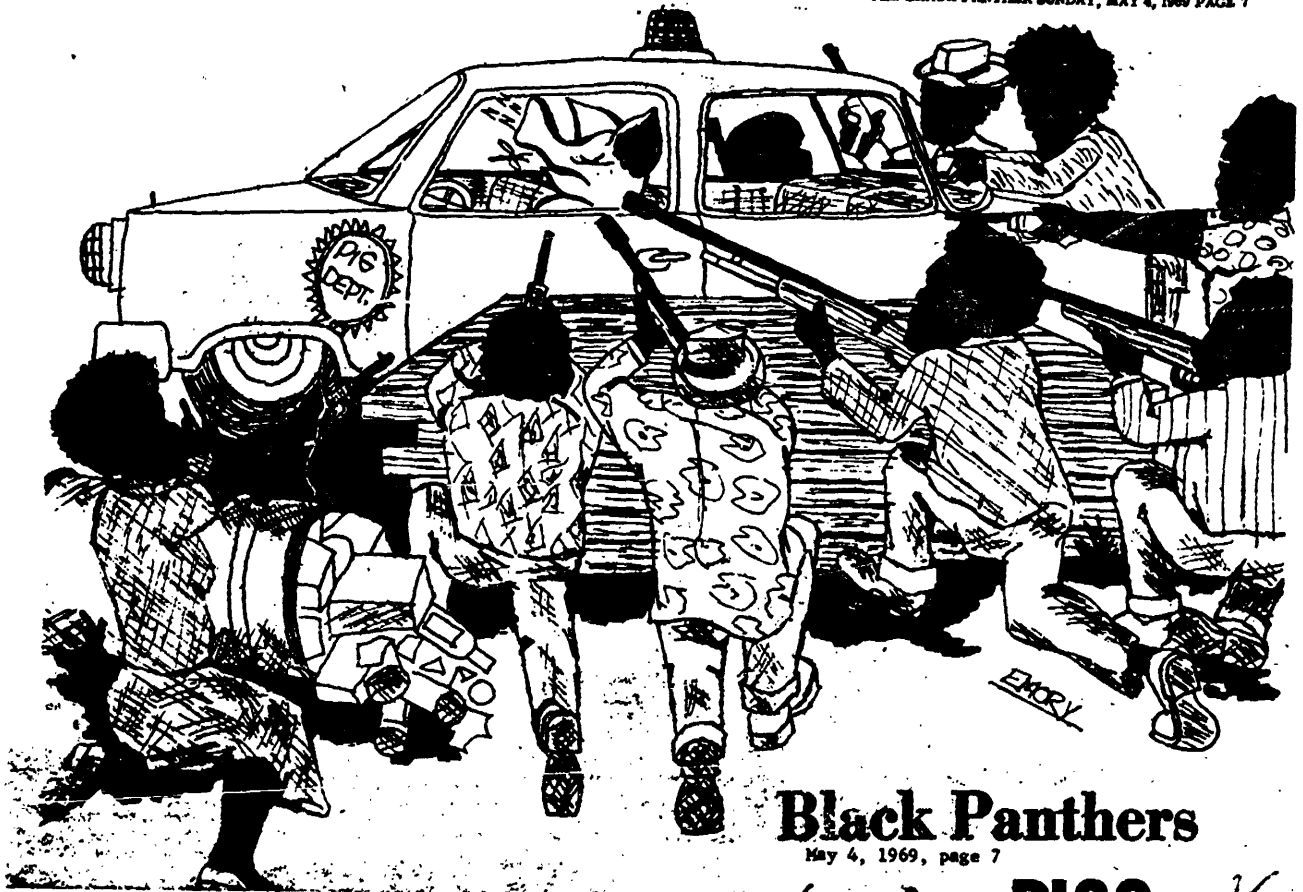
OREGON PANTHERS STAND OFF PIGS



March 31, 1969, page 11



THE BLACK PANTHER SUNDAY, MAY 4, 1969 PAGE 7



Black Panthers

May 4, 1969, page 7

200

4590

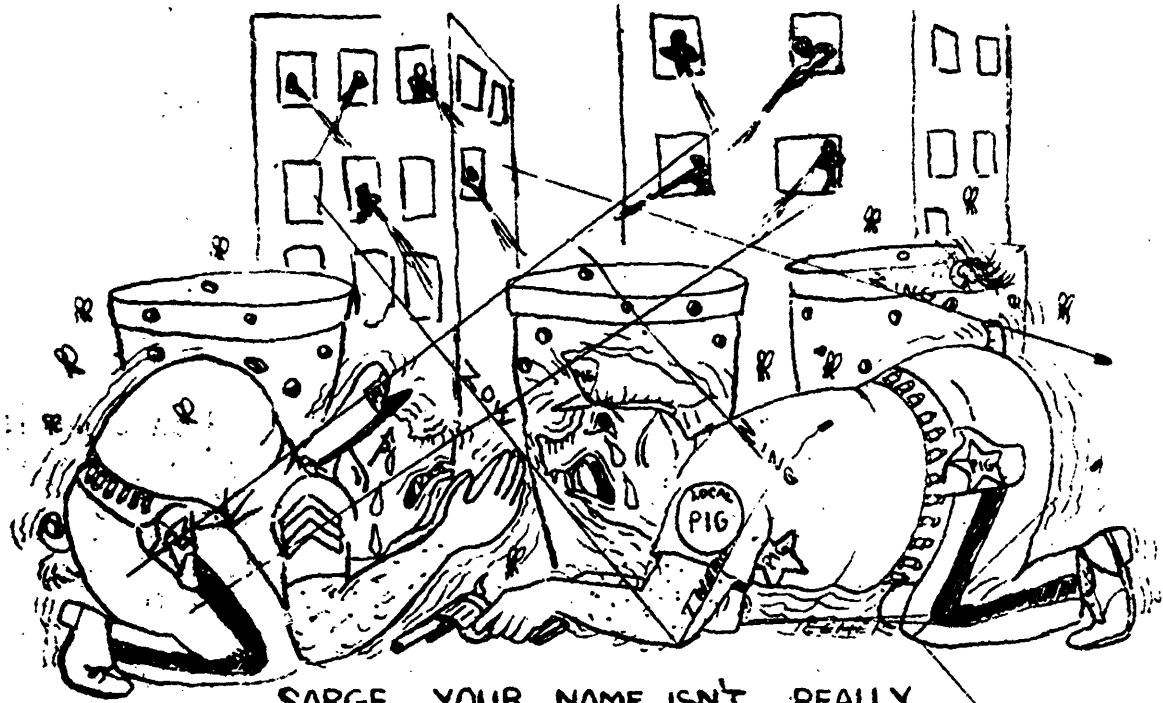
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1 - Continued

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued



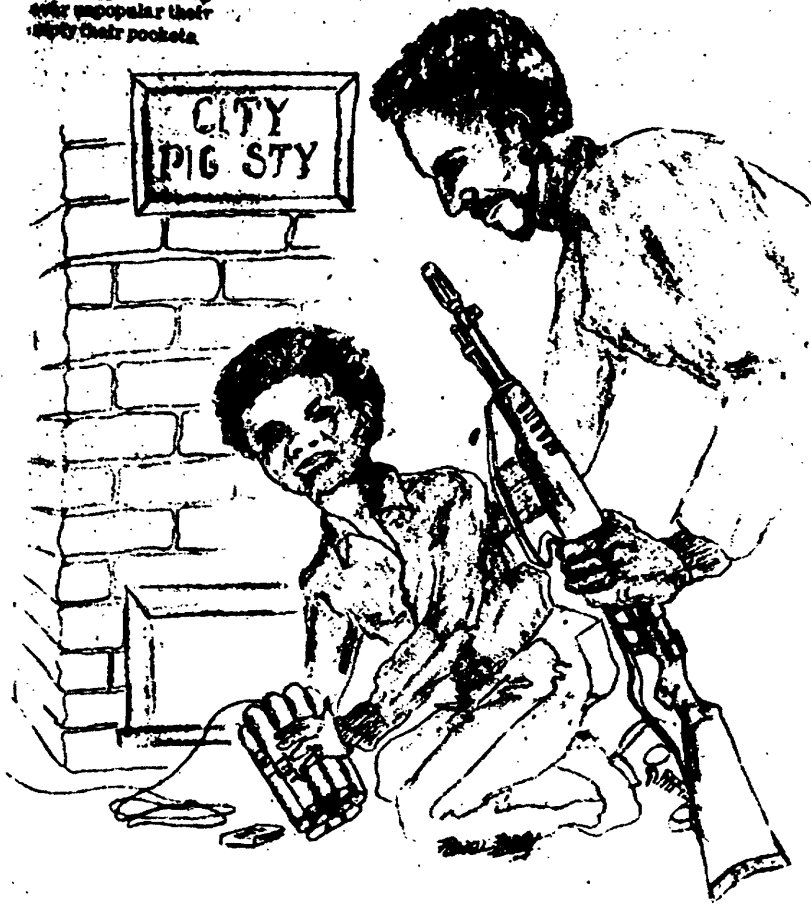
May 19, 1969, page 14



SARGE YOUR NAME ISN'T REALLY
CUSTER IS IT SARGE?

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued

the oppressed of
their popular their
empty their pockets







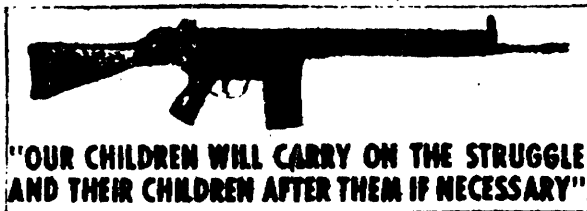
ONE GUN IN THE HANDS OF A GUERRILLA
IS THE SEED OF A REVOLUTION. December 6, 1969, page 20

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued

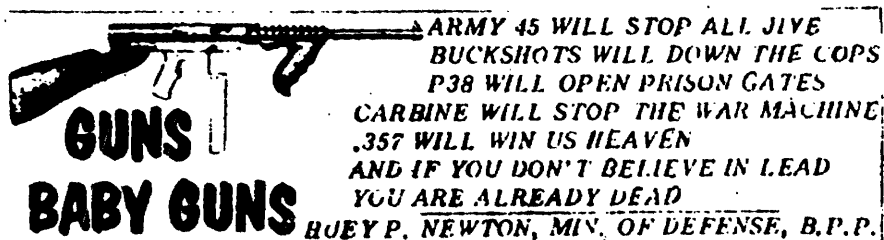
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

4595

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued



February 7, 1970, page 7



February 28, 1970, page 5

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1-Continued



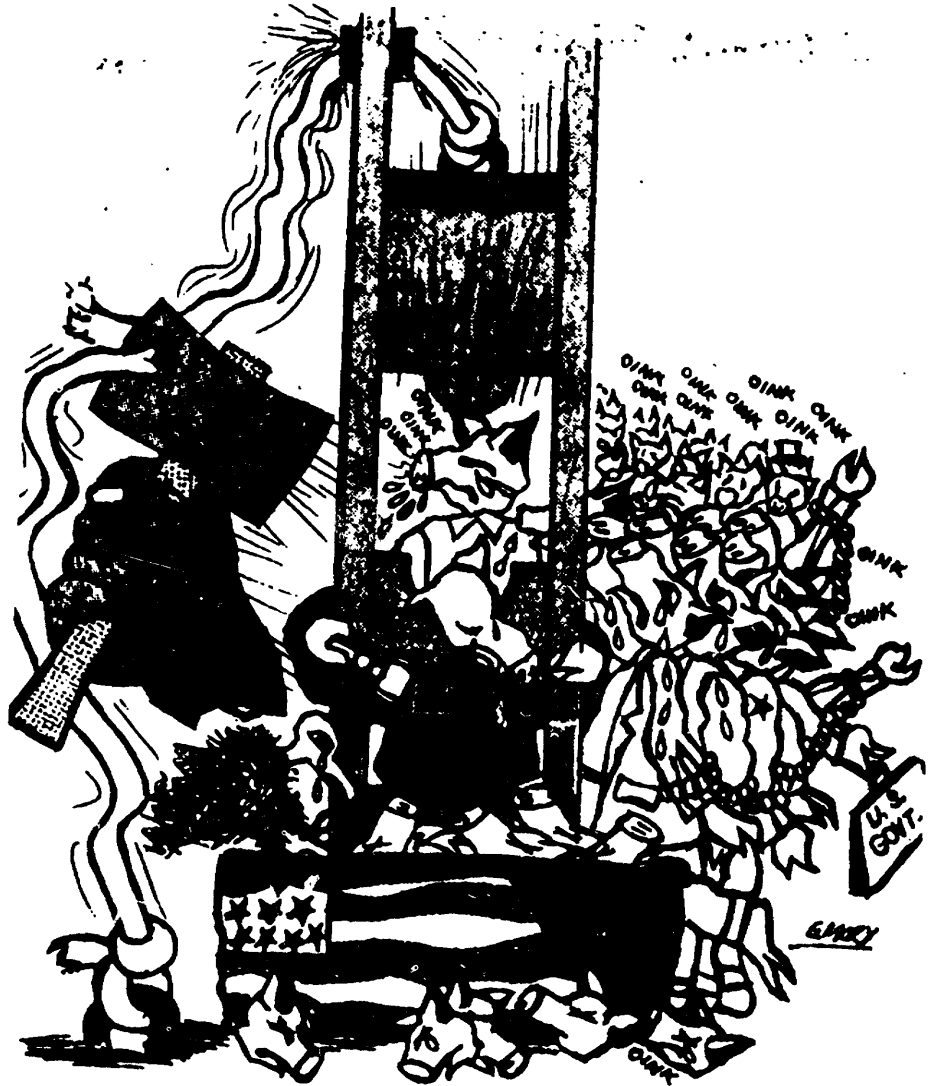
...Only by taking up arms can we seize power. Without taking up arms we cannot attain power... In order to seize power we should wage an armed struggle; it is impossible to seize power by playing elections."

April 6, 1970, page 16

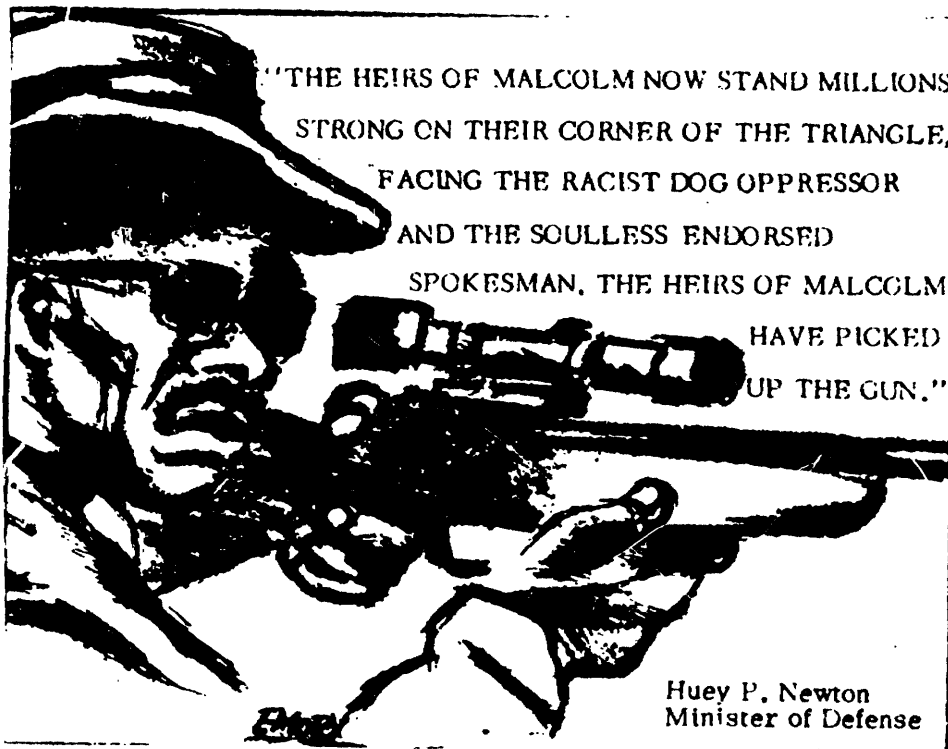


April 18, 1970, page 5

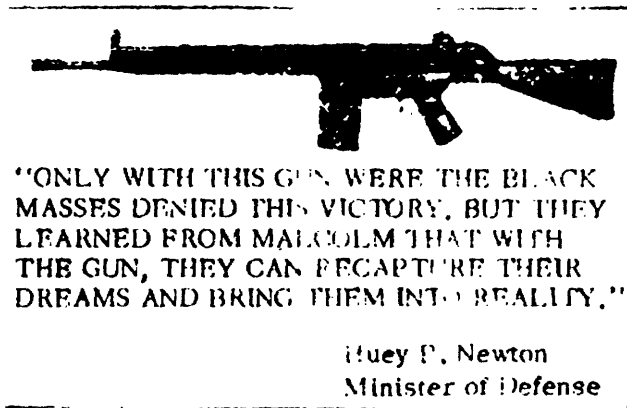
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1 - Continued



COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1-Continued



May 2, 1970, page 4



COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2

<u>QUOTATION</u>	<u>AUTHOR & BLACK PANTHER PARTY TITLE</u>	<u>HEADING OF ARTICLE & DATE</u>
<p>"This is a class struggle. To all those lackeys, opportunists, rotten ferocious, diseased m-----f-----s, we will not stop until we have destroyed and committed destruction on capitalism. You must understand that the revolutionary struggle has yet to continue. So let there be bloodshed because these racist m-----f-----s have to go check it out in Vietnam...So you see, people, as brother Mao Tse-tung puts it, 'We are the advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war, but war can only be abolished through war. And in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun.'"</p>	<p>Bobby Seale, Chairman; George Sams and Cleveland Brooks, members.</p>	<p>"Reactionary Paper Tiger" BP, 5/25/69 p. 4.</p>
<p>"This is...the year of the Panther. This is the beginning...of revolutionary struggle... the world of guns and political direction... we will dare to struggle and dare to win... This is the dawning of the age of revolution!"</p>	<p>Ericka Huggins, Political Education Instructor, New Haven Branch</p>	<p>"Ericka's Poem" BP, 5/25/69 p. 3.</p>
<p>"...We're not reformists, we're not in the movement to reform the curriculum of a given university...We are revolutionaries and as revolutionaries, our goal is the transformation of the American social order. In order to transform the American social order, we have to destroy the present structure of power in the United States, we have to overthrow the government...we say that we will do this by any means necessary...and the only means possible is the violent overthrow of the machinery of the oppressive ruling class."</p>	<p>Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information</p>	<p>"Revolution and Education" BP, 6/28/69 pp. 12-14</p>
<p>"If you kill a few, you get a little satisfaction. But when you can kill them all you get complete satisfaction. That's why we haven't moved. We have to organize the people. We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about revolutionary political power. And when they understand all that we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction, we'll be killing em all and getting complete satisfaction."</p>	<p>Fred Hampton, Deputy Chairman, Illinois Chapter</p>	<p>"All Power To The People" BP, 7/19/69 p. 7.</p>
<p>"The Black Panther Party is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. We realize that it is going to take a revolution for Black People to attain freedom...The Black Panther Party defends itself with guns not merely for the sake of defending itself, but to organize the people, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power."</p>	<p>Beth Mitchell, Minister of Information, Harlem Branch</p>	<p>"Revolution Is Inevitable" BP, 8/16/69 p. 12.</p>

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 2-Continued

<u>QUOTATION</u>	<u>AUTHOR & BLACK PANTHER PARTY TITLE</u>	<u>HEADING OF ARTICLE & DATE</u>
"Now if we want to exercise Black Power, we do not go out and have a lay-in...The only thing that we can do now, brothers and sisters, is get our guns organized, forget the <u>In</u> and shoot it <u>Out</u> ."	Bobby Seale, Chairman	"Black Panthers and Hunters Point" July 20, 1967 BP, 7/20/67 pgs. 4 & 15
"The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people...when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example... When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black people in primary groups of two's and three's, but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution."	Huey Newton, Minister of Defense	"In Defense of Self Defense" BP, 5/4/68 pg. 6
"So what we're saying can be reduced to one simple sentence...very simple, very common, one that can be understood by everybody...WE ARE SLAVES, AND THE ONLY WAY TO BECOME FREE IS TO KILL ALL THE SLAVE MASTERS!!!"	George Murray, Minister of Education	"The Necessity of a Black Revolution" BP, 11/16/68 pp. 13 & 24
"The Revolution and total Destruction of this racist decadent imperialist American Society is my battle cry."	Charles Bursey, Captain, San Francisco Branch	Poem, "Tears of Joy" BP, 11/16/68 p. 15
"...we need change, we need freedom, we need Black Power and political power comes through the barrel of guns...Black men, Black people, colored prisoners of America, revolt everywhere. Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pig everywhere."	George Murray, Minister of Education	"For a Revolutionary Culture" BP, 2/2/69 pg. 7.
"...if we kill a few of them [police], we'll have a little satisfaction, but if we kill some more, we'll have some more satisfaction, but if we kill all of them, we'll have complete satisfaction. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!"	Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture	"Minister of Culture Emory Speaks at Hunters Point Rally" BP, 4/20/69 pg. 5.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2--Continued

<u>QUOTATION</u>	<u>AUTHOR & BLACK PANTHER PARTY TITLE</u>	<u>HEADING OF ARTICLE & DATE</u>
"...we're revolutionary and you are the enemy, you are part of the problem and we have nothing to say to you, except "WE WILL KILL ANYONE WHO STANDS IN THE WAY OF OUR FREEDOM."	"Big Man" Elbert Howard Managing Editor Deputy Minister of Information	"The Role of the Black Panther Party-- Reviewed" BP, 2/28/70 Editorial
"The power to destroy is ours and if it takes leveling Babylon to the ground for the sake of humanity, then this must be done...The gun plays a very important role in this because it is the gun that is being used to silence the voices that cry out for freedom. Therefore the masses of oppressed people have the right to pick up the gun and defend these voices and themselves at all cost."	John L. Clark, Baltimore Chapter	"Total Emancipation" BP, 3/15/70 p. 9.
"You need to start killing the racist pigs who are over there with you giving you orders. Kill General Abrahms and his staff, all his officers. Subotage supplies and equipment, or turn them over to the Vietnamese people."	Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information	"To My Black Brothers In Viet Nam" BP, 3/22/70 p. 4.
"When a self-defense group moves against this oppressive system, by executing a pig by any means, sniping, stabbing, bombing, etc., in defense against the 400 years of racist brutality and murder this can only be defined correctly as self-defense..."Today to be an assailant or terrorist is a quality that ennobles any honorable man because it is an act worthy of a revolutionary engaged in armed struggle against the shameful military dictatorship and its monstrosities."	Author unknown	"Organizing Self Defense Groups" 4/18/70, p. 7.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 3

THE INDIANA CHAPTER/BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The Indiana Chapter of the Black Panther Party, was formed in September of 1968 by Fred Crawford (the Deputy Chairman). While a resident of Oakland (California) brother Crawford, noticed the move that the Party was making to serve the people. Impressed by the sincerity, and motivated by the writings and teachings of Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party within it's self, brother Crawford knew that a Chapter in his home State was a must (Indiana). This state, one the most racist states in the U.S. was once the power plant of the Ku-klux-klan. Even now the John Birch Society, and the Klan are in a homosexual love bag in the power structure of the State. The oppressive conditions of black people are beyond belief. With the insertion of the Black Panther Party in Indiana the racist reactionaries have become unglued and have resorted to gesticulists to destroy this great instrument of truth and strength that the Vanguard Party for the Liberation of Oppressed People in general and Black People in particular represent. When brother Crawford formed this Chapter he chose a Central Staff that would represent the people and follow the teachings of The Minister of Defense and the Central Committee (National Headquarters). Political Education is a must and all Panther's attend classes regardless of rank. The Central Staff, consist Abram Sharrief Distribution Manager, Will Sharrief Captain of Defense (an airtight department), Lawrence Roberts Deputy Minister of Finance, Stanford Patton Deputy Minister of Education, and Donald Campbell Deputy Minister of Information and Health. The party consist of brother from all walks of life and the continuing harmony that the relations between officers and men represent make the struggle to destroy

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 3-Continued

the oppressor by any means necessary more intense day by day. Many brother's have been the constant thorn in the idiot power structure's side. Harassment has been a regular thing and many brother's have been the victim of the man's pig pen the December 18, 1968 raid on the building only intensified the struggle to insure complete freedom by any means necessary. Indiana joins all Chapter's in solidarity in the fight against facism, racism, and the constant gestapo troops slobbering in the black community.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

SOLIDARITY WITH ALL OPPRESSED
PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

CAMPBELL/DEPUTY MINISTER
INFORMATION

INDIANA CHAPTER

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 4

PRESS RELEASE

PRESS RELEASE

PRESS RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 27 IS FREE HUEY NEWTON DAY

Statement of solidarity with Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton, and local Indianapolis Black Militants -- issued by :

Indiana Halstead-Routelle Campaign Committee
 (socialist Workers Party of Indiana)
 Indiana University Young Socialist Alliance (Bloomington)
 Indianapolis Young Socialist Alliance
 Ralph Levitt, Socialist Workers Party candidate for
 U.S. Senator from Indiana

The conviction of Black Panther Party Minister of Defence Huey P. Newton in Oakland California was a racist act by a racist court. Huey P. Newton was brutalized, wounded, and now falsely convicted of manslaughter for one reason and one reason alone --- because he is a leader of the Black Panther Party and a revolutionary fighter for black liberation. Newton was convicted of killing an Oakland cop in a trial full of conflicting testimony, and court errors. On the other hand several Oakland Panthers have ^{been} killed in cold blood by police and the Panther headquarters has been shot up by police. Needless to say, no Oakland police have been put on trial for murder.

Newton's lawyer is filing for a new trial, and is confident of an acquittal if Newton can get a fair trial. The Indiana Socialist Workers Party and its youth affiliate, the Young Socialist Alliance, fully supports the nation-wide defence campaign to free Huey Newton. On Sept. 27 a 2P Free Huey Newton rallies will be held in major cities across the country. Sept. 27 is the day of sentencing for Newton.

Here in Indianapolis, black militants are facing increasing harassment from Mayor Lugar's police. The Indiana Socialist Workers Party and the YSA support the College Room and Invaders black youth organization in their struggle against slander and harassment from the Indianapolis police department. As in Oakland those black people dedicated to breaking with the rotten politics of the Democratic and Republican parties, and who are working to bring the black community under the control of the people who live in them will face victimization by the government and its cons. The issues in Indianapolis are the same as in Oakland, Harlem, or Watts.

FREE HUEY NEWTON RALLY
 FRIDAY SEPT 27 6:30 PM
 17th and Broadway

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5

Defend The Black Panther Party

The Black Panther Party is an organization working for black control of the black community. It conducts its activities openly and legally.

It has been the target of harassment and intimidation not only from hate groups like the Ku Klux Klan, but now from the Indianapolis police and Federal agencies.

On Wed. Dec. 19 Federal agents aided by the racist Indianapolis police department broke into the office of the Black Panther Party allegedly searching for a cache of illegal weapons. When they had finished the office had been tear gassed and wrecked, \$610.00 of Panther funds were missing and NO STORE OF WEAPONS WERE FOUND.

Three members of the Panther Party have been arrested on frame-up charges in connection with the attack on the office.

The Indiana Committee to Defend the Black Panther Party thinks that the real reason for the police attack is an attempt to destroy the Black Panther Party.

Certainly the Panthers will defend themselves against unjust racist harassment from the police and Federal agencies. The Indiana Committee to Defend the Black Panther Party, representing students, young whites, and clergy around the state, will stand with the Black Panther Party in any defense effort.

We want to let the police know that they cannot continue to conduct themselves like a bunch of plantation owners. The Black Panther Party won't stand alone in opposition to racism and oppression.

Indiana Committee to Defend the
Black Panther Party

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 6

**Black Panther Party**

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS

P. O. BOX 8641 • EMERYVILLE BRANCH • OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA
654-2003; 654-2004; 863-6459; 921-4232

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

Minister of Defense
MUEY F. NEWTON

Chairman
SOBAT SEALE

Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

National Mgr. Captain
DAVID HILLIARD

Field Marshal
UNDERGROUND

Minister of Education
GEORGE MURRAY

Minister of Finance
MELVIN NEWTON

Minister of Foreign Affairs
JAMES FORMAN

Minister of Justice
R. RAP BROWN

Prime Minister
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Communications Secretary
KATHLEEN CLEAVER

Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

January 20, 1969.

To: All Chapters and Branches
Attention: Finance Dept.
From: National Headquarters

At this time it is necessary to explain the production cost of our National Organ, The Black Panther Newspaper, and the necessity of Propaganda. The production cost alone varies between 7.5 to 9 cents per copy. This however, depends upon the makeup, such as: Amount of pages, color, etc.

We, as revolutionaries must understand the importance of mass awareness; this in essence means to heighten the consciousness of the people. This is the primary reason why we only ask for 12.5 cents per copy; we feel that this will cover the cost of freight.

Until we can obtain a substantial income it will be necessary for each of the Chapters and Branches to send their money for all material in advance. For example: 1,000 papers at 12.5 cents per copy would cost 125.00 dollars.

If there are questions, please contact National Headquarters.

Distribution Manager,

Virtual Murrell

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 6-Continued



Black Panther Party

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS

P. O. BOX 8641 • EMERYVILLE BRANCH • OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

845-0103; 045-0104; 621-5255; 921-3860



NIGAL COMMITTEE

Jeter of Defense
ET P. NEWTONJerman
887 SCALEJeter of Information
JEROME CLEAVERJeter of Health
JIM MILLIARDJeter of Health
JEROMEJeter of Education
JAMES MURRAYJeter of Finance
J.VIN NEWTON

Jeter of Foreign Affairs

Jeter of Justice

Jeter of Justice
JIMMY CARROLLJeter of Justice
JIMMY CARROLLJeter of Justice
JIMMY CARROLLJeter of Justice
JIMMY CARROLL

Price list for B.P.P. Chapters and Branches at #12½ per paper.

	Quantity	Price	Quantity	Price
	100	\$12.50	950	\$118.75
	150	\$18.57	1,000	\$125.00
	200	\$25.00	100	\$187.00
	250	\$31.25	2,000	\$250.00
	300	\$37.50	2,500	\$312.00
	350	\$43.75	3,000	\$375.00
	375	\$47.31	3,500	\$437.00
	400	\$50.00	4,000	\$500.00
	425	\$56.88	4,500	\$562.50
	475	\$59.40	5,000	\$625.00
	500	\$62.50	5,500	\$687.00
	550	\$68.75	6,000	\$750.00
	600	\$75.00	6,500	\$812.00
	650	\$81.25	7,000	\$875.00
	700	\$87.50	7,500	\$937.50
	750	\$93.75	8,000	\$1000.00
	800	\$100.00	9,500	\$1062.00
	850	\$106.00	9,000	\$1125.00
	900	\$112.50	10,000	\$1187.50

Distribution Manager B.P.P.
Virtual Murrell

Virtual Murrell

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 7

BLACK PANTHER PARTY NAT'L HEADQUARTERS
3106 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, Ca. 94705

FOR CONTINUOUS ACTION TOWARDS WORLD PEACE

Black people should strongly support the demand for immediate withdrawal of all United States troops from Vietnam and should support the Moratorium actions, but Black people should understand that there is no unity of will between Black people and the leadership of the New Mobilization because the New Mobilization has either failed to see or does not want to see the importance of Black Peoples' just struggles or it's direct relationship with the struggles of the Vietnamese people. We Black people clearly understand that the best "care package" that we can send to the Vietnamese people is our continued and intensified resistance to fascist repression from the same enemy here in America.

We demand: That the peace movement, and in particular the New Mobilization Committee select one or two of it's responsible representatives to take the place of Rene Davis and Dave Dellinger, who are prohibited by the fascist U.S. Power Structure from taking an active part in the exchange of Political Prisoners, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale for American prisoners of war now being held in Vietnam. The Vietnamese people are ready to deal. All we need are trustworthy people. The selected representatives will proceed to Hanoi where negotiations should be carried out under the supervision of our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, to insure that the proceedings would be agreeable to the progressive forces, both Black and White of the American Society!

That a massive international action be held to protest the Sato-Nixon meeting to solidify Japan's role as a springboard for further imperialistic aggression on the Continent of Asia and in particular, in Vietnam, Laos, and Korea. CP USA and the New Mobilization Committee and other progressive forces contact the CP and other fraternal anti-war organizations in Japan to plan a series of simultaneous international demonstrations for this purpose.

That the CP USA address themselves to enlisting massive active support from the Soviet Union for the Vietnamese People in particular and the National Liberation struggles of the World in general. This must also include active and meaningful support for the liberation struggle of Black people in America.

For further information contact National Headquarters or:

Black Panther Party
113 W. 30 th. St.
Indianapolis, Ind.
46205

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 8

Military Training

1. Correct Handling of Weapons
2. Organizational Structure
3. Red Book Readings - War and Peace Discipline
Peoples Army
4. Party Purpose
5. Drill Instruction
6. Inspections
7. Map Reading
8. Compass Reading
9. First Aid
10. Legal First Aid

Notes on Classes

1. Weapons - Two Shotguns in office must be taught thoroughly
303

All Weapons mentioned in book made especially for
Party Members

Uniforms

- Berets 1.50 - 2.00
 Sweatshirts 1.65 - 2.00?
 Black Pants - Prices vary on types of material
 Red Books - 75¢
 Bullets - 10¢

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 8-Continued

ARMAMENT INFORMATION

Every Black Panther Party Member must have a functional piece and at least one thousand rounds of ammo. Every Panther in training must acquire a piece within their six week training period. All Party members who do not have a piece are on one months suspension and they must acquire a piece or they will be expelled from the party. Huey P. Newton Says "45 will stop all jive,

00 buck shot will down the cop,
 # 38 will open prison gate,
 357 will win us uor heaven,
 If you don't believe in lead,
 You're already DEAD.

Huey P. Newton Min. of
 Min. of Defense B.P.P.

1. **HANDGUNS;** These are to be used for close range targets only (0-25yds) It should be understood that hand guns are to be used for defensive purposes only, and then only if you do not have a rifle. It takes continuous practice to be able to shoot accurately with handguns. Another thing that must be taken into concederation is wether to get a revolver or a automatic. Revolvers tend to be more reliable than autozatics and don't jam as easily, however they are slower in firing. The choice is up to the individual however steps should be taken to insure that the same ~~caliber~~ caliber of weapons be bought to make ammo supply simpler.

A. Suicide specials.

1. all 22's (with the exception of the 22 Mag.) save these for target practice
2. 25 auto. There is a devil currently in S.F. walking aruond with five (5) of these shells in his head.
3. 32 cal. auto Just enough power to kill a squirl
4. #30 auto. See above

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 8—Continued

5. 38 snort (These are little better than the before mentioned and should be disposed of).
- B. Even Steven: All the following are acceptable pieces. The 9mm and the 38 special, with armor piercing rounds, will pierce a bullet proof vest.
1. 38 special
 2. P38 Auto.
 3. 9mm. (german lugers, Astras, 14 shot Brownings)
 4. 45 cal. auto
- C. Balance of Power: Armed with any of the following pieces, the teaching of Huey P. Newton, and the correct military tactics you will be more than a match for the pig.
1. 357 Mag. (this piece will crack and engine block on a car when loaded with armor piercing.)
 2. 41 Mag.
 3. 44 Mag.
2. SHOTGUNS AND RIFLES: (bolt action, pump, and semi automatic.) When acquiring rifles the military surplus or military style weapon is preferred due to the ease in which they can be taken apart for maintenance and cleaning and simplicity of operation. Other factors that should be taken into consideration are repairparts and ammo. Odd Cal weapons must be discouraged and stress should be placed on getting the cal. of weapons that the pigs will have ammo for.
1. Suicide Specials (little more effective than being hit by a fly.
 - a. 22 rifles (except the 22-250, .223, 22 Mag.)
 - b. .410 Shotgun (this is a shotgun in name only as far as we are concerned. It shoots a shot about the size of babes.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 8--Continued

ARMAMENT

2. **SHOTGUNS:** Most effective short range weapon-rapid fire can produce machine gun effect. Automatics have been known to jam badly. A 6 or 7 shot 12 guage pump is very effective. Only double 0 Buckshot or rifled slugs should be used.
- A. Short Barrels-----use OOB
1. 20 inches-24 inches effective up to 75 yds (3/4 block)
 2. 18 inches-shortest legal length that can be bought in gunstore.
 3. Sawed off--very effective for ripping off and close close combat 0-25 yds (1/2 block)
- B. Long Barrels-----OOB or Rifled slugs
1. 26-28 inches--Range 100 yds (1 block)
 2. 28-32 inches--Goose guns effective up to 1 1/2 blocks.
3. **RIFLES:** Here we stress military type over civilian type. The military have a larger magazine capacity and hold more shells.
- A. Bolt Actions: These should be equiped with scopes and used for special purpose weapons.
1. 303 British--Very popular piece the cost is about 40 dollars. Very good long range 0-500 yds (5 blocks)
 2. 30-06--There are of those around, the cost is about the same as the 303. The ammo is one of the easiest types to get plus the national guard still uses this type of ammo.
 3. Heavy Calibers--300 mag, .375 mag and other high powered rifles. These will stop anything that walks the earth. And should be gotten equiped with good scopes and put in the hands of specially trained personnell.
 4. Odd Calibers--7.7mm jap, 7mm moisor, 6mm, 8mm etc. These should be avoided because of the difficulty in resupply of ammo that will occur during prolonged struggle.
- B. Semi Auto: The availablility large magazine capacity and fire power of these weapons and their relatively choap cost make these weapons ideal for our purposes.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 8-Continued

(4)

ARMAMENT

1. 30 Cal M-1 Carbine: The small size of this piece makes it ideal for ripping and close in combat. However it will not pierce a bullet proof vest. The effective range is 0-300 yds. It uses a 15 and a 30 rd magazine and sells for about 80-90 dollars.
2. 30 Cal M-1 Garand: This weapon fires the standard 30-06 ammo and with armor piercing bullets will pierce a bullet proof vest. Cost about 89-99 dollars, it uses an 8 rd clip. Effective range 0-500 yds. (5 blocks)
3. F.N. Assault: This is a 30-06 that was developed shortly after WWII. It is said to be the best 30-06 ever produced. It uses a 10 rd magazine that is loaded from the top. Effective range 0-300 yds. Will pierce a vest. Cost 89-99 dollars.
4. Santa Fe Trooper M-59: This weapon is about the size of a carbine it uses 308 ammo known as 7.62 nato ammunition which is the same as the M-14 that the Marine, U.S. Army and some National Guard Units have. Ammo resupply is not hard and the ammo is lighter than the 30-06. It uses either an 8 rd or 20 rd magazine and can be stripper loaded from the top. Cost about 89-99 dollars.
5. AR-15 (2.23): This weapon is the civilian model of the army's M-16 used in Viet Nam. The only difference being that this one is semi-auto while the army's can be tuned to full auto. It weighs only 6½ pounds. It uses a 20 rd magazine and can be modified so as to fire fully auto. Due to the lightness of the ammo large quantities can be carried. These weapons can be utilized as machine guns but care must be taken so as not to burn up the barrel, or jam the rifle. The cost of this weapon was \$215 but has rocketed up to \$325. If one utilizes the magic words however the money obstacle can be overcome at any night.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 8-Continued

(5)

ARMAMENT

C. HEAVY EQUIPMENT:

1. Cannons: Can be bought. However first a book on cannons should be bought and read so that you will know what to look for.
2. Mortars: These can also be bought. The ammo however will have to be hand manufactured.
3. Machine Guns: Very effective and useful whenever possible they should be acquired and people trained on firing, up keep, and repair.
4. Grenades:
 - a. Military: get all you can. These are useful against people and inclosed spaces (inside rooms, tanks etc.)
 - b. Home made: TNT, PIPE AND FUSE.

D. BOOBY TRAPS: Enough importance cannot be placed on these. They completely unnerve the enemy. Anything can be booby trapped. A light fixture can be made to explode using electric booby traps. Use your imagination here...If every porch and door way and toilet and walk way was booby trapped that would eliminate house to house searches.

NOTE: Gunpowder that is used for reloading will not explode. For making grenades and booby traps either TNT, dynamite or Black Powder must be used.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 9

B.P.P.

Problem:

Complete victory for People Revolution in Ill.

Theory:

To cause chaotic condition, and place pig in position to take repressive measures toward the masses of the people, and thereby chase the mass of people into the revolutionary's camp. Plan to be used when party reaches this level.

Destruction of: (All hit at same time)

- a. Communication (Blame Pig)
 - 1. Telephone
 - 2. Radio
 - 3. T.V.
- b. Power (Blame Pig)
 - 1. Light
 - 2. Gas
- c. Industrial Complex (Blame Pig)
 - 1. Factories, etc.
- d. Food Distribution (Blame Pig)
 - 1. Non-Perishables (first)
 - 2. Perishables (second)
- e. Transportation
 - 1. Inner city (state) Bus Depot
Train Depot (tracks), buses, taxi
 - 2. Outer city (state) [same as inner]
 - 3. Air-trans, airports, airfields
 - 4. Water-trans, (Docks)
 - 5. hy-ways
 - 6. Gas stations (All Fuel)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 9-Continued

Execution of: (all . . . at the same time)

a. City Officials (State)

1. Admin. (top)
2. Police (rank)
3. Military (rank)

a. State

b. Federal

4. Dangerous elements in Community, petty leaders of enemy's ideology

Other Areas:

- a. Gun Shops (collected for distribution)
- b. Police Storage (to deprive pig and supply party)
- c. Military Storage (to deprive pig, Joliet, Ill. ammo)
- d. Cripple Fire Dept.

Other Suggestions:

Need for a Chapter in North Chicago (Great Lake Naval Training Center, and it's near Ft. Sheridan), East St. Louis, Ill. (Scott A.F.B.) The basic job to disrupt military organization before they can mobilize

Get the Plans of city's sewage system through bribery. Extortion, or any means necessary.

A Secure Place for Hq.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 9—Continued

SUGGESTED ORGANIZATION OF SECTION

I. Problem:

- a. Separation from Main Body

II. Cause:

- a. Movement to present level

III. Theory:

- a. Section to function as physical independent arm of main body and as one of the overall arms of the main body.

IV. Practices:

- a. Commander
- b. Intelligence
 1. Internal
 2. External
- c. Political
- d. Medical
- e. Communications
- f. Supply

A, b, c, d, e, and f must receive their training from the respective staffs of the Main Body, and come back to section and function in that capacity in their respective sections.

NOTES

A. Commander: Section Leader, see that section function smoothly.

B. Intelligence:

- a. Internal, to know the weakness and strength of each member, and estimate his actions in any given situation. To expose all counter revolutionary forces and actions, within that section. This position is to remain secret from all members except Section Leader and high level of Main Body.

- b. External: to gather intelligence material in sectional area.

- c. Political: (Sub-Section Leader)
Teaching and maintaining a high level of political ideology at sectional level of party.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 9—Continued

d. Medical: Primary job, aiding injured members in section. Secondary job, aiding the injured of the mass of the people.

e. Communications: Handling communications between Section and Main Body and within Section, and (in grave times) between people and section.

f. Supply: Collection and distribution of supplies.

OTHER SUGGESTION

1. Comrade court, to handle minor violations (major violations are handled by Main Body), Democratic Court.
2. Sectional citations, to be given to sections who are outstanding in relating to the people, sell papers and etc. This will build Sectional historical pride and increase morale.
3. Sectional title names, example, Night Fighters, Big Black Five, etc. This will also help build morale.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

MILITARY TRAINING SCHEDULE

A 4 weeks mandatory class for all members, (Tue, Thurs. and Sun) with the exclusion of all non-members. To classes should be conducted by a small military staff, classes conducted expressing party ideology, and stressing military discipline at all times! Ex. Upon the entering of the class room of the military instructor all talking should cease and all trainees should take a firm attentive standing position and remain in this manner until given the order to be seated. All classes or class activities should begin with: All Power the People and victory to the People's Revolution. The main purpose of the class is to give every party member a basic practical knowledge of the military phase of the People's Struggle. There should be no absenteeism from the Political Education Classes (no excuses) reason being a military mind without a people's ideology is a hired killer and the people don't need no more pigs. Classes should be conducted in an orderly manner at all times.

Structure of the Classes

I. Discipline:

a. Discipline is the exact execution of orders resulting from an intelligent, willing obedience rather than one based solely upon habit or fear. Discipline is necessary to secure orderly action which alone can triumph over the seemingly impossible conditions of battle. The party members must be able to recognize and face fear because fear is the enemy of discipline. Fear unchecked will lead to panic and a unit that panics is no longer a disciplined unit but a mob. There is no sane person who is without fear, but with good discipline and high morale all can face danger. Punishment of individual members for breaches of discipline are sometimes necessary, but only to reform or eliminate those who are unfit to serve the People's Revolution.

1. To be learned verbatim and understood thoroughly.

- a. Discipline of the Party (Red book)
- b. 3 Main Rules of Discipline (Red Book)
- c. 8 Points of Attention

2. Chain of Command

a. Trying to understand problems with self first, and if no success go to next ranking member.

3. Military Respect

- a. People Respect
- b. Party Respect
- c. Rank Respect

II. Intergration of Military and Political Ideology.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 9—Continued

1. Correcting the false idea that there is a contradiction between military and political ideology.

2. Teaching that the People's Liberation Army cannot exist without the people, the people have nothing without a socialist ideology, so the people is socialist ideology, the People's Liberation Army must have a socialist ideology in order to relate to the people, if it's to serve the people as their military arm.

III. Walpontry (sic)

a. Knowledge of

1. Range
2. Rate of fire
3. Loading
4. Unloading
5. External Parts (care)
6. Internal Parts
 - a. Care
 - b. Dis-assemble (time limit)
 - c. Assemble (time limit)

b. Hand gun

1. Holding
2. Breathing
3. Pulling trigger

c. Rifle

1. Correct position
2. Holding (Shoulder, and arms)
3. Breathing
4. Pulling trigger

d. Shot gun

1. Correct Position
2. Holding
3. Breathing

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 9-Continued

4. Pulling trigger
- e. Automatic Weapons (sic)
 1. Correct position
 2. Holding
 3. Breathing
 4. Pulling trigger
 5. Correct firing
- f. Shooting
 1. Correct alignment
 2. Weather conditions
 3. Distance
 4. Firing
- g. Knowledge of Enemy Weaponry (sic)
 1. Police
 2. State
 - a. Police
 - b. Military
 3. Federal
 - a. FBI
 - b. CIA
 - c. Military
- IV. Guard Duty
 1. Why.
 2. How
 - a. Condition red
 - b. Condition black
- V. Sectional tactics (In detail for Section and Sub. leaders)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 9—Continued

1. Deployment

- a. Position
- b. Advancement
- c. Retreat

2. The Cell

- a. 2 riflemen, 1 auto-riflemen

VI. Field Training

- 1. Living in and by the Elements
- 2. Adhesiveness with fellow members

3. There should be at least a three day camp out, with ration for one meal, on a condition of red during the whole camp out.

VII. Enemy Interrogation

- 1. Rights of Soldier
 - a. Name, People Liberation Army (Army)
 - b. Never has right to surrenger (sic)
 - c. Right and Duty to escape
 - d. Geneva Agreement

VIII. A test should be given at the end of the four week period of the material covered, if trainee fails he should be given the training over once again and if he fails again, something else should be found for him to do for the people.

VI.

Wks	Area and weeks of suggested study class
1.	I, II
2.	III, IV, V
3.	IV, V
4.	VI, VII and test

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 10

Comparative Revolutions

It is imperative that every member be enlightened and brought aware of all revolutions since 1917. We will be required to know these revolutions in depth.

Revolutions

1. Russian Revolution
2. Chinese
3. Cuban
4. Algerian
5. African
6. Phillipine
7. Indonesian

Wars

1. Korean
2. Indo-China
3. World War 1
4. World War 2
5. Viet-Nam

Names to know:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Lenin - Russian | 14. Mao Tse Tung - People Republic of Chi |
| 2. Trasky - Russian | 15. Ben Bella - Algerian |
| 3. Hitler - Germany | 16. Nassar - United Arab Republic |
| 4. Benito Mussolini - Italy | 17. Kenyatta - Kenya |
| 5. Winston Churchill - England | 18. Lumumba - Congo |
| 6. Stalin - Russian | 19. Marcus Garvey - W. Indies |
| 7. Karl Marx - Communist Manifesto | 20. Dubois - America |
| 8. Engle - Communist Manifesto | 21. Malcomb X - America |
| 9. Tojo - Japan | 22. Che Guevara - Argentina (Cuban Revolt) |
| 10. Petaif - France | 23. Chang-Kai Chek - Nationalist China |
| 11. De Guall - France | 24. Castro - Cuba |
| 12. Syman Rhee - South Korea | 25. Unkruma - Ghana |
| 13. Ho Chi Minh - Republic of N. Viet-Nam | 26. Roosevelt - America |
| | 27. Nehru - India |

Map reading and identification is a must to get a full understanding of these revolutions.

Maps

Asia	Europe
Africa	South America
	North America

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 10 - Continued

Define

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Revolution | 8. Civil War |
| 2. Revolt | 9. Imperialism |
| 3. Riot | 10. Capitalism |
| 4. Rebellion | 11. Communism |
| 5. War | 12. Socialism |
| 6. Reform | 13. Import & Export |
| 7. Militant | 14. Devaluation of Currency |

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 11

★ STAR INDICATES SIX WEEKS TRAINING AND ONLY WHERE STAR !!



CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Minister of Defense
RUBY P. NEWTON

Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Medical Edg. Captain
DAVID HILLIARD

Field Marshal
UNDERGROUND

Minister of Education
GEORGE MURRAY

Minister of Finance
MELVIN INFINTON

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Minister of Justice

Prime Minister
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Communalistic Secretary
KATHLEEN CLEAVER

Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

Black Panther Party

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
P. O. BOX 8641 • EMERYVILLE BRANCH • OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA
845 -0103; 845-0104; 621-1663; 921-3860

POLITICAL EDUCATION KIT
for Black Panther Party Members

Primary Objective of Our Party:

To establish Revolutionary Political Power
for Black People

★
WHILE
PAGE

The Black Panther is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at the present, the Black Panther Party should certainly not confine itself to only fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, our Party must also shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming Black people, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up party organizations. The Black Panther Party defends itself with guns and force not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Black Panther Party loses the reason for its existence.

CARDINAL RULE: Have Faith in the People and Faith in the Party

MOTTO: We are the advocates of the abolition of War. We Do Not Want War, but War can only be abolished through War, and in order to get rid of the Gun, It Is Necessary to take up the Gun.

Power to the People

Black Power to Black People

Panther Power to the Vanguard



COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 11-Continued

NUMBERS
WITH
STAR

MANDATORY READING

BY Minister of Education

- * 1. Platform Program
- * 2. Rules of legal First-Aid
- * 3. Essays from Minister of Defense
- * 4. Red Book Principles (Quotations from Mao)
5. Wretched of the Earth - Frantz Fanon
6. Neocolonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism - Kwame Nkrumah
- * 7. Communist Manifesto - Karl Marx
8. Imperialism - The Highest Stage of Capitalism - V. I. Lenin
- * 9. State & Revolution - V. I. Lenin
10. What is to Be Done - V. I. Lenin
- * 11. Autobiography of Malcolm X - Malcolm X (also records "Message to the Grass Roots")
- * 12. The Ballot or the Bullet - Malcolm X
13. The West on Trial - Chedi Jagan
- * 14. Revolution in the Revolution - Regis Debray
15. The Challenge of the Congo - Kwame Nkrumah
- * 16. Guerilla Warfare - Che Guevara
17. Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah - Kwame Nkrumah (Freedom Fighters edition)
18. Periodicals - Newspapers:
 - * Black Panther Party - Black Community Newspaper Service
 - * National Guardian - International Perspective
 - * Muhammad Speaks - (newspaper)
 - * Ramparts Magazine
 - * Gramma - official Journal of the Communist Party of Cuba
 - * Tricontinental - Journal of the Organization of Solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America
 - * Minority of One - Magazine

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 11 - Continued

WHOLE
PAGE



6 Week Training Vocabulary List

1. Revolution - a complete or drastic change of any kind.
2. Imperialism - The policy, practice or advocacy of seeking to extend the control, dominion, or empire of a nation.
3. liberation - to Free
4. Criticism - the act of judging or reviewing a person's acts or statements
5. Self Criticism - the act of judging or reviewing one's own acts or statements.
6. Reactionary - action caused by emotional influence with no thought of outcome.
7. Insurrection - A rising up against the Government
8. Insurgent - one who acts contrary to the policies & decisions of his political party.
9. Bourgeois - A person of middle rank in society; a person with private property interest.
10. Oppression - unjust or cruel exercise of authority or power.
11. Liberalism - liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs the revolutionary ranks of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through and alienates the party organizations from the masses which the Party leads. It is an extremely bad tendency.
12. Capitalism - system of Government where capital & capitalists play principal part & private ownership of natural wealth etc.
- Neo/colonialism - MAINTAINING CONTROL & oppression from outside the colony through puppet government.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 11 - Continued

WHOLE
PAGE

DEFINITIONS

Minister of Education

Revolution means radical, complete, absolute and uncompromising change.

The last shall be first and the first last.

Power is the ability to define phenomenon (things - houses, jayers, senators, schools, teachers, store owners) and make them act in a desired manner.

Political power come through the barrel of a gun.

The state, nation, country, government whatever you call political institutions is -- a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction within itself. That it is a irreconcilable contradiction within it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, classes, with conflicting interest may not consume themselves and society in a sterile struggle, a power apparently standing above society, becomes necessary, whose purpose is to moderate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of order, this power arising out of society, but placing itself above it, and itself from it is the state.

..... Marx

State is an organ of class domination.

Political education Workshop: What we propose to do is discuss capitalism, imperialism, neocolonialism as it exists today, and have the people of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the wretched of the earth in the United States are dealing with it.

Of course this will necessitate a review of our ideology and the realization that we must resolve to defeat unconditionally the enemies of the human race. Mankind's enemy is the imperialist domain of North America known to the 20th Century slaves -- Black, Brown, Red, and Yellow people of the world -- as capitalist, racist, homosexual monsters, henkies, beast, toms, lackeys, traitors, agents, tools, etc. regardless of the names, the result is the same. They murder people of color in masses by the million, as they have done, and are doing to Africa, as the racist are doing in Asia, and as they are doing in Latin America. But this great humanity has said enough, and are wiping out its enemies, with the thoroughness, completeness, and absoluteness of a Panther!

Victory to the people; Panther Power to the Vanguard. Death to the imperialist, to the bankers, presidents, senators, congressmen, mayors, and all the enemies of the wretched of the earth.

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¹ Misspelled "Chiang-Kai Chek."

² Misspelled "Chruchill."

³ Misspelled "Rene."

⁴ Misspelled "DeGuall."

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¹ Misspelled "Engle."² Misspelled "Chedi."³ Misspelled "Malcomb."⁴ Misspelled "Mussolini."⁵ Misspelled "Nassar."⁶ Misspelled "Unkruma."

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