

RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

1982-2

HEARINGS BEFORE THE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS

OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

PURSUANT TO SENATE RESOLUTION 26, 91ST CONGRESS

JUNE 28 AND 30, 1969

Part 20

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(II)

CONTENTS

ORGANIZATIONS: MILITANCY, EXTREMISM, AND VIOLENCE

| | <i>Page</i> |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Bearse, Lt. Lawrence H., Jr.----- | 4393 |
| Beatson, Robert J.----- | 4175 |
| Courtney, Det. Sgt. Thomas J.----- | 4209, 4271 |
| Grubisic, Sgt. Joseph P.----- | 4462 |
| Manuel, Phillip R.----- | 4175, 4427 |
| McCoy, Lt. William R.----- | 4348 |
| Olsen, Lt. William L.----- | 4434 |
| Reichert, Glenn L.----- | 4313 |

EXHIBITS

| | <i>Introduced on Page</i> | <i>Appears on Page</i> |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 518. Chart—Republic of New Africa, Headquarters—Detroit, Michigan----- | 4176 | 4176 |
| 519. Sixteen page booklet entitled "Now We Have a Nation— The Republic of New Africa"----- | 4176 | 4177 |
| 520. An article appearing in the July-August 1964 issue of "The Crusader" Robert F. Williams, publisher in exile----- | 4193 | (*) |
| 521. Copy of November 1968 issue of "The Crusader" with an article entitled "On The Republic of New Africa" by Robert F. Williams, publisher in exile----- | 4193 | 4194 |
| 522. Document entitled "Black Guard Structure and Organiza- tion"----- | 4211 | 4211 |
| 523. Indictment by the people of the State of New York against Herman Benjamin Ferguson and Arthur Harris----- | 4218 | (*) |
| 524. Indictment by the people of the State of New York against Milton Ellis et al----- | 4218 | (*) |
| 525. Article from the New York Times June 1968 entitled "Ferguson, guilty, is freed on bail"----- | 4218 | (*) |
| 526. Copy of a publication of the Revolutionary Action Move- ment (RAM) referring to Banjo Billy incident at Jamaica Savings Bank----- | 4219 | (*) |
| 527. RAM publication "World Black Revolution"----- | 4220 | (*) |
| 528. Document taken from a publication of RAM "On Organiza- tion of Black Ghetto Youth"----- | 4221 | 4221 |
| 529. Copy of "The Crusader" of May-June 1964----- | 4226 | (*) |
| 530. A publication entitled "Black America" published quarterly----- | 4226 | (*) |
| 531. Publication entitled "World Black Revolution"----- | 4226 | (*) |
| 532. Publication entitled "Liberator" December 1966----- | 4226 | (*) |
| 533. Copy of the New York-Newark application form for the Black Panther Party----- | 4232 | 4232 |
| 534. Excerpts from Black Panther Newspapers----- | 4236 | (*) |
| 535. Chart—Black Panther Party—State Chapter, New York----- | 4241 | 4241 |
| 536. Document entitled "Declaration of Independence"----- | 4247 | (*) |
| 537. 16 page booklet entitled "Now We Have A Nation—The Republic of New Africa"----- | 4247 | (*) |
| 538. Document entitled "Birth of Our Nation"----- | 4247 | 4247 |
| 539. Document entitled "We Want Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama Right Now"----- | 4247 | (*) |
| 540. Document entitled "Why Vote Friday, March 21st."----- | 4252 | 4252 |
| 541. Article from the New York Times, October 18, 1968, en- titled "Why The Board Canceled Summer Camp Pro- gram"----- | 4267 | (*) |
| 542. Document entitled "Vote for Power and Independence"----- | 4267 | (*) |

| | | |
|---|------|------|
| 543. Copy of a letter dated February 1969 addressed to Dear Citizen and Friend of the Republic of New Africa, signed by Herman Ferguson, Minister of Education, Republic of New Africa..... | 4267 | (*) |
| 544. Document entitled "Ocean Hill-Brownsville Is Now a Plantation"..... | 4267 | (*) |
| 545. Copy of a paper "The New African" dated April 20, 1969, Detroit, Michigan..... | 4267 | (*) |
| 546. Document entitled "Republic of New Africa, Working Papers"..... | 4267 | (*) |
| 547A. Document entitled "Republic of New Africa"..... | 4269 | 4269 |
| 547B. Document entitled "To Build a Nation" the Freedom Corps working papers..... | 4269 | (*) |
| 548A. A SNCC publication entitled "SNCC Rebels With A Cause" relating some activities they have been involved in..... | 4271 | (*) |
| 548B. An article from a SNCC publication entitled "From Freedom High to Black Power: relating activities they have been involved in..... | 4271 | (*) |
| 549. Leaflet issued by William Muhammad Hunt entitled "Brooklyn SNCC's Initial Four Point Program"..... | 4274 | 4274 |
| 550. A copy of a statement by Stokeley Carmichael from a Swedish press interview..... | 4278 | (*) |
| 551. Copy of June 24, 1968 New Left Notes..... | 4303 | (*) |
| 552. New York SDS Regional Newsletter, December 21, 1968..... | 4303 | (*) |
| 553. SDS bimonthly magazine "CAW" published in February 1968..... | 4303 | (*) |
| 554. Monthly Newsletter printed and distributed by the Movement for a Democratic Society..... | 4303 | (*) |
| 555. Document entitled "The Columbia Statement" September 1968, by Paul Rockwell..... | 4305 | (*) |
| 556. SDS New York regional chapter contact list..... | 4312 | 4312 |
| 557. Newspaper article entitled "Appeals filed for 39 ousted University of Denver Students"..... | 4328 | 4328 |
| 558. Copy of New Left Notes pamphlet on sabotage..... | 4329 | (*) |
| 559. A small pamphlet passed out at the University of Colorado entitled "Sabotage"..... | 4329 | (*) |
| 560. Photograph of bomb damage in Denver, Colo..... | 4329 | (*) |
| 561. Photograph of bomb damage to a gasoline storage tank in Denver, Colo..... | 4330 | (*) |
| 562. Photograph of electrical transmission towers that have been bombed..... | 4330 | (*) |
| 563. Newspaper article entitled "Significant Date on CY Scene"..... | 4331 | (*) |
| 564. Copy of a pamphlet called "Sundiata"..... | 4332 | (*) |
| 565. Copy of a newspaper article entitled "Au Naturel Hailed as Utopia"..... | 4332 | (*) |
| 566. Copy of newspaper article relating opposition to CALM group..... | 4332 | (*) |
| 567. Copy of a letter to the editor, from the Denver Chronicle, signed by Lauren Watson..... | 4332 | (*) |
| 568. Article entitled "Incite Riot" by Lauren Watson, from the Black Panther News, October 19, 1968..... | 4332 | (*) |
| 569. Document used at the Black Panther Party retreat, Oakland, Calif., in November 1968..... | 4332 | 4333 |
| 570. Articles appearing in the Black Panther News authored by the minister of information..... | 4342 | (*) |
| 571. BPP pamphlet entitled "Free Huey Rally"..... | 4342 | 4342 |
| 572. Copy of a newspaper account of a press conference called by the Black Panthers..... | 4343 | (*) |
| 573. Photograph of a group of Black Panthers at a rally of the University of Colorado..... | 4343 | (*) |
| 574. Copy of a law enforcement telegram from Cheyenne, Wyo., stating whereabouts of Marshall Chambers, et al..... | 4343 | (*) |
| 575. Newspaper account of Black Panther Party members involved in a junior high school boycott..... | 4343 | (*) |

| | | |
|--|------|------|
| 576. .50 caliber bullet, symbol of Black Panther Party membership..... | 4344 | (*) |
| 577. Report from the State college newspaper on Lauren Watson's speech to class at CSC..... | 4344 | (*) |
| 578. Copy of city and county of Denver model cities program per diem record..... | 4344 | (*) |
| 579. Copy of an interoffice correspondence to Howard K. Phillips, manager of safety and exercise from Lt. L. C. Gebhardt; subject, model cities program dated July 15, 1968..... | 4345 | 4345 |
| 580. Photograph of rifles recovered from the Black Panther Party..... | 4347 | 4347 |
| 580A. Chart, Black Panther Party, Colorado..... | 4348 | 4142 |
| 581. Document entitled "Duties of the Black Guard"..... | 4349 | 4349 |
| 582. Copy of an article which appeared in the Michigan Chronicle, dated March 23, 1968, entitled "Black Government Parley Called"..... | 4353 | 4353 |
| 583. Document listing officers of RNA, agenda of activities, declaration of independence, and proposed provisional government..... | 4354 | 4354 |
| 584. Letter dated April 6, 1968, addressed to Dear Fellow Citizen and Delegates, the Republic of New Africa, signed by Milton Henry..... | 4362 | (*) |
| 585. Letter dated May 29, 1968, addressed to the Honorable Dean Rusk, Department of State, calling for negotiations between the USA and RNA and signed by Milton Henry..... | 4363 | (*) |
| 586. Pictures of Milton Henry, Robert William's and Richard Henry..... | 4363 | (*) |
| 587. Petition and placard pointing out aims of the RNA..... | 4364 | (*) |
| 588. Pamphlet entitled "The Black Institution's Role in the Black Revolution for Land and Power in America..... | 4366 | (*) |
| 589. Letter dated December 2, 1968, addressed to peace and power signed by Richard Henry (Brother Imari)..... | 4366 | (*) |
| 590. Document entitled "Projection of Problems and Solutions for Ocean Hill-Brownsville as Independent State"..... | 4366 | (*) |
| 591. Document entitled "To Build A Nation, the Freedom Corps" working papers..... | 4367 | (*) |
| 592. Pamphlet entitled "The Freedom Corps"..... | 4367 | (*) |
| 593. Hand bill entitled "Serve in the Freedom Corps"..... | 4367 | (*) |
| 594. Copy of an article from the January 1969 issue of Esquire Magazine re Republic of New Africa..... | 4367 | (*) |
| 595. Newspaper article entitled "Pontiac Man Boosts Black Nation Idea," from the State Journal, February 2, 1969..... | 4368 | (*) |
| 596. Letter dated March 3, 1969, addressed to Power and Peace, Fellow Citizens, signed by Ray Willis on Republic of New Africa letterhead..... | 4368 | (*) |
| 597. Document entitled "Legislative Work Book" Republic of New Africa, Robert F. Williams, president..... | 4368 | (*) |
| 598. Photographs of weapons confiscated from the New Bethel Baptist Church, Detroit, Mich., on March 29, 1969..... | 4370 | (*) |
| 599. Copies of "The New Africa" published in Detroit, Mich., July 20, 1968, August 17, 1968, and April 20, 1969..... | 4371 | (*) |
| 600. Book entitled "Negroes with Guns" by Robert F. Williams..... | 4376 | (*) |
| 601. Publication entitled "Black Art" by LeRoi Jones..... | 4376 | (*) |
| 602. Instructions for making explosive devices, and duties and qualifications of an Askari..... | 4376 | (*) |
| 603. Document entitled "Black Manifesto" by James Forman..... | 4378 | (*) |
| 604. Sundry articles from the Wayne State University newspaper "The South End"..... | 4391 | (*) |
| 605. Chart, Black Panther Party, Detroit, Mich..... | 4392 | 4442 |
| 606. Article from a Jersey City newspaper entitled "Carmichael in New Jersey, Rips Poverty Fight" August 25, 1966..... | 4394 | (*) |
| 607. Black Panther Party membership application..... | 4394 | (*) |
| 608. List dated May 18, 1967 of Black Panther Party officers, Jersey City, N.J..... | 4394 | (*) |

| | | |
|--|------|------|
| 609. Document listing dedication committee of the BPP of Jersey City, N.J.----- | 4395 | (*) |
| 610. Copy of a membership list for a dedication committee, Jersey City, N.J., BPP----- | 4395 | (*) |
| 611. Document entitled "The Black News Letter"----- | 4396 | (*) |
| 612. Copy of a newspaper "STAND" Voice of the Black Discontent, May-June 1968.----- | 4398 | (*) |
| 613. Copy of a department of police report of the fourth precinct, Jersey City, N.J., August 3, 1968, re: STAND meeting.----- | 4398 | (*) |
| 614. Copy of a document listing the Black Panther Party 11 point program.----- | 4399 | (*) |
| 615. Photograph of Ralph Walker, Isaiah Rowley and Willie Davis in their BPP uniform.----- | 4400 | (*) |
| 616. Statement of a confidential informant dated September 27, 1968, with a copy of a polygraph examination.----- | 4400 | (*) |
| 617. Photograph of seven people arrested in their BPP uniforms.----- | 4402 | (*) |
| 618. Copies of two address notebooks.----- | 4404 | (*) |
| 619. Copy of a letter addressed to DuBerry from Johnnie, Power to the People, together with a copy of Johnnie Martins police record.----- | 4405 | (*) |
| 620. Chart, Black Panther Party, New Jersey State central committee.----- | 4409 | 4442 |
| 621. Copy of lists and records substantiating the chart.----- | 4410 | (*) |
| 622. Letter dated October 11, 1968 addressed to Frank Jordan signed Smoe Brown.----- | 4413 | (*) |
| 623. Police records, newspaper articles, membership lists and letters by and about Black Panther Party members, Jersey City, N.J.----- | 4415 | (*) |
| 624. Photographs of various persons in their Black Panther uniforms taken in Plainfield and Jersey City, N.J.----- | 4417 | (*) |
| 625. Copy of a membership book of the Jersey City BPP.----- | 4417 | (*) |
| 626. Juvenile's statement to Jersey City Police Department re activities at Isaiah Rowley's apartment.----- | 4418 | (*) |
| 627. List of names of staff members of Project Anti-Recidivism and the board of directors.----- | 4418 | (*) |
| 628. Black Panther Party program and platform; BPP rules and regulations; and resolution establishing the revolutionary committee.----- | 4419 | 4419 |
| 629. Pamphlet entitled "Urban Warfare" and a brochure "New 1967 Book-Manual List"----- | 4424 | (*) |
| 630. Documents describing ways to make molotov cocktails and other incendiary devices.----- | 4425 | (*) |
| 631. Pamphlet showing how to make a molotov cocktail.----- | 4426 | (*) |
| 632. Black Panther Party literature circulated in Jersey City, N.J.----- | 4426 | (*) |
| 633. Catalog entitled "New 1967 Book-Manual List"----- | 4428 | 4428 |
| 634. Article which appeared in the Chicago Sun Times on May 25, 1969, entitled "The Illinois Black Panthers: Leader Talks About His Aims"----- | 4435 | 4436 |
| 635. Political education curriculum for a Black Panther Party branch.----- | 4439 | (*) |
| 636. Copy of article which appeared in the Daily Cardinal, University of Wisconsin, May 21, 1969, entitled "Panther Head Favors Violent Class Struggle"----- | 4439 | (*) |
| 637. Article which appeared in the Madison Journal, Madison, Wis., May 20, 1969, entitled "Panther Chief Hails Revolt and Socialism"----- | 4439 | (*) |
| 638. Chart, Black Panther Party of Illinois.----- | 4442 | 4442 |
| 639. Article which appeared in the Chicago Today newspaper, May 9, 1969, entitled "Odd Coalition for Revolution"----- | 4443 | (*) |
| 640. BPP pamphlet advertising a rally to be held in Chicago, Ill., April 9, 1969.----- | 4443 | (*) |
| 641. Article which appeared in the Chicago Sun Times, April 18, 1968, entitled "Black Panther Assails Police"----- | 4444 | (*) |

VII

| | Introduced on Page | Appears on Page |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 642. Article which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, September 26, 1968, entitled "Red Party Tied to Peace Council"----- | 4447 | (*) |
| 643. Copy of three checks in the amounts of \$15, \$10, and \$80 found on the person of Fred Hampton when arrested----- | 4447 | (*) |
| 644. Article which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, January 15, 1969, entitled "Black Student Jailed"----- | 4449 | (*) |
| 645. Article which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, January 9, 1969, entitled "Struck Prof; Put on Probation"----- | 4450 | (*) |
| 646. Copy of speeches given on November 26, 1968, at a Huey Newton defense rally by Fred Hampton and Robert Brown----- | 4450 | (*) |
| 647. Tape of a speech given on December 10, 1968, by Robert Brown at the Northeastern Illinois State College in Chicago "Free Huey Newton" fundraising rally----- | 4452 | (*) |
| 648. Articles from various publications in downstate Illinois re arrests of Black Panthers on the University of Illinois campus in February 1969----- | 4452 | (*) |
| 649. Copy of a purchase order made out to Bob Rush, 2350 West Madison, Chicago, Ill., by China Books & Periodicals----- | 4453 | (*) |
| 650. Documents entitled "Committee on Finance and Industrial Commercial Development"----- | 4461 | (*) |
| 651. Reservation form for the Campbell Conference Center----- | 4464 | (*) |
| 652. Statement by Pat McGauley and Harriet Stulman entitled "Whither the Union?"----- | 4464 | (*) |
| 653. First draft of the police statement of the Union of Organizers written by Clark Kissinger, former national secretary of SDS----- | 4467 | (*) |
| 654. Minutes of the steering committee meeting September 11, 1968, of the Union of Organizers----- | 4467 | (*) |
| 655. Document entitled "Proposal for a New, City Wide, Radical Membership Organization"----- | 4468 | (*) |
| 656. Document entitled "Proposal To End All Voting Proposals," written by Mel McDonald----- | 4468 | (*) |
| 657. Document dated May 1968 entitled "A Program for Chicago" obtained from the Union of Organizers conference----- | 4469 | (*) |
| 658. Letter describing the purpose of "Peoples Policy" by Henry Wineberg----- | 4471 | (*) |
| 659. Flyer distributed at the Union of Organizers Conference announcing a countywide meeting of Peace and Freedom Party, September 23, 1968----- | 4471 | (*) |
| 660. Paper the roger SPARK, Chicago, Ill., October 24, 1968----- | 4472 | (*) |
| 661. Leaflet entitled "Introducing the NUC"----- | 4474 | (*) |
| 662. Leaflet published by CADRE, Chicago, entitled "Work With the Resistance"----- | 4475 | (*) |
| 663. Article which appeared in the National Guardian, January 7, 1967, entitled "SDS Draft Resolution"----- | 4475 | (*) |
| 664. Copy of April-May 1969 issue of "The Inside Agitator" published by CADRE----- | 4476 | (*) |
| 665. Copy of New Left Notes dated May 13, 1969, giving the locations of the national and regional officers of SDS----- | 4483 | (*) |
| 666. Copy of SDS national constitution as amended at the 1967 convention in Ann Arbor, Mich----- | 4483 | (*) |
| 667. Photograph of several individuals of SDS trying to overturn a police car during the Democratic National Convention----- | 4484 | (*) |
| 668. Booklet entitled "You Will Organize for Freedom" by Les Coleman printed May 1968 by SDS----- | 4485 | (*) |
| 669. Article which appeared in the Circle Focus, a student newspaper at the University of Illinois, written by Ed Jennings entitled "10 Years After, Firsthand Report from Cuba"----- | 4486 | (*) |
| 670. Article which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, May 21, 1969, entitled "Fenger High Closed Today by Disorders"----- | 4486 | (*) |
| 671. Articles which appeared in the Chicago, Illini, April 22, 1969, entitled "Student Jailed in UPS Strike"----- | 4487 | (*) |

VIII

Introduced Appears
on Page on Page

| | | |
|--|------|------|
| 672. Article which appeared in the Chicago Circle Focus, a student newspaper, September 30, 1968, entitled "Year of the Pigs"----- | 4487 | (*) |
| 673. Articles which appeared in the Chicago American and Chicago Tribune, November 21, 1968, entitled "College Sit-In 11 Arrested" and "Police Seize 11 for College Sit-In"----- | 4489 | (*) |
| 674. Four copies of articles which appeared in the Chicago Tribune and Chicago American in February 1969 relative to turmoil in the University of Chicago.----- | 4489 | (*) |
| 675. Copy of New Left Notes, May 30, 1969.----- | 4489 | (*) |
| 676. Eleven articles relative to SDS activities at the University of Chicago during the years 1965-68.----- | 4490 | (*) |
| 677. Articles which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, February 26, 1969, relative to demonstrations.----- | 4490 | (*) |
| 678. Excerpt from the May 26, 1969, issue of FRED relative to Roger Freeman and Dale Brent.----- | 4490 | (*) |
| 679. Copy of a receipt dated April 2, 1969, "Received of Sylvia Kushner \$100 for bail" signed Michael Klonsky.----- | 4491 | (*) |
| 680. Article which appeared in the Chicago Tribune on August 3, 1969, entitled "Two Brothers Arrested in Slaying of Grocer"----- | 4492 | (*) |
| 681. Copy of New Left Notes, June 18, 1969.----- | 4496 | (*) |
| 682. Copy of a SDS Press release, June 23, 1969, re: "SDS National Convention 1969"----- | 4497 | (*) |
| Proceedings of-- | | |
| June 26, 1969.----- | | 4175 |
| June 30, 1969.----- | | 4393 |

*May be found in the files of the subcommittee.

RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

THURSDAY, JUNE 26, 1969

U.S. SENATE,
PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10:10 a.m., in room 1202, New Senate Office Building, pursuant to Senate Resolution 26, as amended, agreed to February 17, 1969, Senator John L. McClellan (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas; Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican, New York; Senator Charles H. Percy, Republican, Illinois; and Senator Robert P. Griffin, Republican, Michigan.

Also present: Jerome S. Adlerman, general counsel; Philip W. Morgan; chief counsel to the minority; Philip R. Manuel, investigator; Perman H. Clay, investigator; Paul V. Kirby, investigator; Fred R. Miller, detailed from Metropolitan Police Department; Daniel Harris, investigator, General Accounting Office; John Honcharik, investigator, General Accounting Office; and Ruth Y. Watt, chief clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of reconvening: Senators McClellan and Griffin.)

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ALDERMAN. Mr. Robert J. Beatson.

The CHAIRMAN. Be sworn, please.

You do solemnly swear the evidence you shall give before this Senate subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BEATSON. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT J. BEATSON AND PHILIP R. MANUEL— (Resumed)

The CHAIRMAN. Identify yourself for the record, please, sir.

Mr. BEATSON. Mr. Chairman, my name is Robert J. Beatson.

I have been an investigator with the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations for almost 2 years. I was an FBI agent for 13 years, and have a total of approximately 20 years of investigative experience.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. BEATSON. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. BEATSON. At this point, I wish to submit a chart showing the officers and structure of the Republic of New Africa.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the chart be admitted and appropriately numbered as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 518" for reference and faces this page.)

Mr. BEATSON. This chart was prepared with material disclosed during an extensive investigation by the subcommittee's staff and was verified and substantiated by officials of various police departments in the United States.

I also submit an exhibit designated R-1 which is a 16-page booklet entitled "Now We Have a Nation the Republic of New Africa." Appended to that booklet is a two-page statement showing the officers.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you show the officers on the chart?

Mr. BEATSON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The officers shown on the chart are taken from the literature of the Republic of New Africa, is that correct?

Mr. BEATSON. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 519" for reference and follows:)

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

HEADQUARTERS - DETROIT MICHIGAN

PRESIDENT ROBERT F. WILLIAMS 

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT . . . MILTON R. HENRY (Brother Gaidi) . . . 

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT . . . (VACANT) FORMERLY BETTY SHABBAZZ . . . 

TREASURER



OBABOA ALOWO

MINISTER OF EDUCATION



HERMAN FERGUSON

MINISTER OF INFORMATION (DEPUTY)



CHARLES W. ENOCH

MINISTER OF INTERIOR



RICHARD HENRY (Imari Obadele)

MINISTER OF STATE & FOREIGN AFFAIRS



WILBUR GRATTAN, SR.

MINISTER OF INFORMATION (DEPUTY)



LEITO DURLEY

MINISTER OF CULTURE



OSEIJEMAN ADEFUNMI

MINISTER OF JUSTICE



JOAN FRANKLIN

MINISTER OF DEFENSE



JOHN TAYLOR (Mweusi Chi)

MINISTER OF CULTURE



LEROI JONES

MINISTER OF HEALTH & WELFARE



AUDLEY MOORE (Queen Mother)

SPECIAL AMBASSADOR



MAXWELL STANFORD

MINISTER OF CULTURE



MAULANA RON KARENGA

MINISTER OF FINANCE



RAYMOND E. WILLIS

REGION A (EAST COAST)

VICE PRESIDENT

HERMAN FERGUSON

REGION B (MIDWEST)

VICE PRESIDENT

RICHARD HENRY (Bro. Imari)

REGION C (SOUTH)

VICE PRESIDENT



VIRGINIA COLLINS

REGION D (WEST COAST)

VICE PRESIDENT

OBABOA ALOWO

EXHIBIT No. 519

**NOW WE HAVE
A NATION**

THE
REPUBLIC
OF
NEW
AFRICA

The Founding Convention

On March 31, 1968, almost two hundred black people — men and women, young and old, from all over the United States — signed a Declaration of Independence, declaring black people “forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United States.” This historic signing took place in the auditorium of the black-owned Twenty-Grand Motel in Detroit. It was the fruit of two days of intense deliberations, some held at Detroit’s Shrine of the Black Madonna, some at Wayne State University’s Helen DeRoy Auditorium, some in suites of the Motel. At the same time these dedicated men and women brought into existence *The Republic of New Africa* — a black nation, to which all black people in America, who wish to, can swear allegiance. And they elected officers of the government. These officers will carry out the aims of the Declaration of Independence. They will carry out the aims of the Revolution stated in the Declaration. These officers — the government of *The Republic of New Africa* — will see to it that black people and our new black nation become, in fact, free, independent, and successful.

“Henceforth and forever free...”



SISTER JOAN FRANKLIN
SIGNING DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Why a New Nation Was Necessary

We Have Never Been Citizens of the U. S.

Black people have never had legal citizenship in the United States. To begin with, when our ancestors were set free from slavery they should have been allowed to chose what they wanted to do. They should have been allowed to chose whether they wanted (1) to be United States citizens (2) to go back to Africa or somewhere else, or (3) to set up their own nation. This is international law: If a slave is set free, the slave master cannot tell that slave what to do once he is free. (If he could, the "freed" slave would not be free). But, that is exactly what the slave master did to us, to our ancestors. In the 13th Amendment, the slave master said we were free. Two years later, in the 14th Amendment, he said we were citizens. This was an illegal act by the slave master, the United States government: by forcing citizenship upon us — in other words, by *telling* us what to do *after* we were supposedly free — the United States wiped out the grant of freedom in the 13th Amendment.

The grant of freedom was not really a grant of freedom, anyway. A free citizen has all of his rights and privileges guaranteed and protected by the government. The government protects the citizen's rights against both the government itself and other citizens. Where a government does not do this, there is no citizenship. In the black man's case, the 13th and 14th Amendments, which were supposed to give freedom to the black man, protected the black man's rights against the government itself, but they did not — and *do not* — protect the black man's rights against other citizens. This was true even though at the time the Amendments were made law the black man was living in the midst of white citizens who were hostile to him and constantly taking away his rights. Therefore, because the law which was supposed to grant freedom to the slave did not guarantee his rights against other citizens, the grant of freedom never really was made.

These two reasons — first, that the black man never had a choice, and, second, that the 13th and 14th Amendments do not give the black man the protection that they would have to give him in order to make him a citizen — are why we have never been citizens of the United States.

We Have Never Been A Part of the American Nation. Though our people have struggled for 100 years to change the American Nation and become a part of it, we have failed to become a part of it — we still live separately, go to school and church separately, socialize separately, and act and react separately (and differently). And there is no real hope now that we can change America, because white people, who are in the majority, do not really *want* America changed. For our part, black people could not become a part of America unless she did change, for there is too much racism, inequality, and oppression of everyone who is not white.

BUT, MOST IMPORTANT, WE CAN SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS ONLY THROUGH BEING A SEPARATE, INDEPENDENT NATION WITH OUR OWN GOVERNMENT.



**BROTHER ROBERT, BROTHER GAIDI (MILTON HENRY), & BROTHER IMARI
IN DAR ES-SALAAM, TANZANIA, EAST AFRICA**

OUR PROBLEMS

JOBS. Unemployment and under-employment (low-paying part-time jobs), and discrimination are fantastically high for black people in the black ghettos and the black counties of the South. In the ghettos, one out of every three people is either unemployed or *under-employed*. And all over America the average white high school graduate earns more than the average black college graduate.

In *the Republic of New Africa* the government will guarantee decent jobs for everyone by using tax dollars to open as many factories and businesses, owned by the people themselves, as are needed. Also, any company that discriminates against black workers, in hiring, promotion, or training will be taken over and run by the government, *The Republic of New Africa*. But *sovereignty* is needed for this: complete freedom, a separate nation.

No black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could use tax money to open factories and businesses to end unemployment. No black mayor, city council, or county commission elected as part of the United States government, could take over white companies for discriminating against black people. Therefore, no black mayor, city council or county commission could end unemployment, under-employment, or job discrimination (for over twenty years, since the time of Harry Truman, white government has tried, under the old system, the present American system, to end these things — and failed). An independent, separate government, using new systems can and will succeed.

THIS IS ONE TOP REASON WHY BLACK PEOPLE HAVE ORGANIZED A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT - THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA - AND WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT IT.

Our Problems

BUSINESS CONTROL

AND PROSPERITY. Merely driving white businesses of our black neighborhoods and opening black businesses in their place will not guarantee black control and prosperity. To open black businesses where white businesses have run away will help keep money in the black community, but it will not guarantee prosperity. Prosperity will come from black businesses growing, and they will grow only if they can get *Trade Credit* (This is when whole salers give businessmen 30 to 90 days to pay) and only if they can get fair and plentiful bank credit. When businessmen can't get *trade credit* and bank credit, they have to charge more and they stay small, fail, or fall under control of bigger white businesses.

No black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could prevent this or guarantee trade credit or black control of banks. Bank charters are given out by the State and the Federal governments. And the United States Central bank — the Federal Reserve system — which makes and controls credit, is an arm of the National government, which black people have no chance of controlling.

But an independent black government *could* guarantee trade credit, bank justice, and control and growth of black business. For, an independent black government could control and operate its own central bank and would give out bank charters.

THIS IS ANOTHER TOP REASON WHY BLACK PEOPLE HAVE ORGANIZED A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT - THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA - AND WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT IT.

OUR PROBLEMS

FREEDOM

FROM RACIST WARS. No black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could protect black youth against being drafted and made to fight in racist wars, like the war in Viet Nam. Nor could any such mayor, city council, or county commission keep tax money from being used in support of such wars or of countries that oppress black people

But, as a citizen of an independent nation, The Republic of New Africa, no black youth could be legally drafted and made to serve in the United States Army. And no tax money of citizens would be used to support such a war or to aid racist South Africa, Rhodesia, or Portugal, vicious oppressors of black people. In fact, as an independent nation, we can stand up before the world and denounce such wars of the United States and United States support of racist countries, and we can use our government power against such perfidy. No black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could do this.

**THESE ARE TWO MORE REASONS WHY BLACK PEOPLE
HAVE ORGANIZED A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT - THE
REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA - AND WHY YOU SHOULD
SUPPORT IT.**

Our Problems

SECURITY AGAINST CURFEW AND

NATIONAL GUARD OPPRESSION.

In the years since 1964, when black guerrillas in Harlem began the black man's new war in America, white governors of American states, aided by white mayors of cities where black people live, have taken to imposing unjust curfews upon black people and patrolling our streets with trigger-happy, anti-black National Guard troops and police. Because this *police power* and *emergency power* are held not only by mayors but by state governors, no black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could stop this. But an independent black nation *could*. The Republic of New Africa *will* stop it. For the power of the army and the police would belong to the new, independent government, *The Republic of New Africa*. Our Army and police will be used to protect our land and citizens (and not oppress them) and to crush any other army, police or National Guard force that attempts to violate our sovereignty.

THIS IS A FURTHER VITAL REASON WHY BLACK PEOPLE ORGANIZED A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT - THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA - AND WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT IT.



BROTHERS KENYATTA & MILLER
MEMBERS OF THE MAFSI INDUG.



SISTER BETTY AND BROTHER OBABOA ALOWO

Where Is Our Land?

OUR LAND IS IN TWO AREAS.

First, scattered across America, our land is sections of the Northern cities where our people now live and have lived, in some, for two hundred years.

Second, lying in a great black belt across the South, our land is the counties of the South where we have lived and worked the land and clung to it for 300 years despite the most brutal oppression the world has known.

**ALL OF THIS LAND IS ILLEGALLY HELD IN CAPTIVITY,
AS A COLONY, BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.**



How Shall We Get Control Of Our Land?

By Black Determination. The first step is to decide in our hearts and minds that the land in the South (the black counties) and the land in the North (the black ghettos) are ours and that in these areas we will not be oppressed or controlled by anyone.

By Adhering To International Law. The next step in gaining control is to hold elections among ourselves in the black ghettos and the black counties, before the eyes of the world, with United Nations world observers, to take our consent from the government of the United States and give that consent to the *Republic of New Africa*. Under international law government "derives from the consent of the governed." We have the right to choose whether we want the old, oppressive government of the United States or our own new government, *The Republic of New Africa*, brimming with great hope and promise.

BY ARMS IF NECESSARY

The Government

BROTHER ROBERT AND SISTER MABEL

THE first President of the Republic of New Africa is Robert F. Williams, a poet and author and the most distinguished Afro-American Revolutionary now engaged in the freedom struggle. Born in Monroe, North Carolina, on February 26, 1925, Brother Robert served in the U.S. Marines during World War II. Afterwards, returning to Monroe, he entered the freedom struggle, finally becoming head of the NAACP. He armed the brethren at a time when self-defense was taking a back seat to non-violence and successfully out-gunned the Klan. In September 1961, Brother Robert moved the headquarters of his war against oppression from Monroe, going into exile first in Havana, Cuba, and then (1966) in Peking, China. By this move he not only frustrated a conspiracy by Southern police and officials to take his life, and a subsequent federal attempt to jail him, unjustly, on trumped-up kidnapping and flight charges, but he went on to become the most effective representative of the Black Revolution in foreign forums that we have had since Frederick Douglass. At the same time, with Brother Malcolm, Brother Robert has consistently provided true revolutionary guidance and insight to the Brothers in America, steeling us against the fatal contradictions and fallacies that often seem to overtake the struggle here.

The Government



BROTHER GAIDI

The First Vice President of the Republic of New Africa is Attorney Milton R. Henry. Born August 27, 1919, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Brother Milton's long and often solitary assault on racism and oppression have made him in his own lifetime a most beloved and honored servant of the Revolution and a model of dedication for the Brothers. As a young fighter pilot in the U.S. Army during World War II, Brother Milton's war against oppression brought him near death at the hands of Southern white racists and a court-martial, discharge, and loss of military benefits. Nevertheless, he went on to graduate from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and Yale Law School and has never ceased using his skills in behalf of the Struggle.

THE FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

The Second Vice President of the Republic of New Africa is Hajj Bahiyah Betty Shabbazz, wife of the father of our Revolution, Brother Malcolm. A Registered nurse by profession, Sister Betty was Brother Malcolm's most devoted supporter, confidant, and ally; this association, together with her travels in Africa, the Middle East, and Africa, and the personal travail and suffering she endured almost alone after Brother Malcolm's assassination, have made of her a unique person, strong, sagacious, and superbly fitted to serve the Revolution in this vital position.



SISTER BETTY

THE SECOND VICE PRESIDENT



BROTHER RAY WILLIS

OTHER CABINET OFFICERS

OBABOA ALOWO, Treasurer, Los Angeles industrialist, writer and activist.

* **CHARLES P. HOWARD**, Minister of State and Foreign Affairs, international journalist, world traveler, and savant.

* **H. RAP BROWN**, Minister of Defense, a monumental black patriot and toiler.

RAYMOND E. WILLIS, Minister of Finance, practicing accountant, law student and activist.

JOAN FRANKLIN, Minister of Justice, brilliant, concerned, young lawyer.

BABA OSEIJEMAN ADEFUNMI, Minister of Culture and Education, cultural writer, Chief Priest of the Yoruba Temple and Paramount Chief of the Yoruba Tribes of North America.

QUEEN MOTHER MOORE, Minister of Health and Welfare, a "mother of my people," who has actively served the Struggle for 50 years.

BROTHER IMARI, Minister of Information, writer and activist, author of *War In America. The Malcolm X Doctrine.*

WILBUR GRATTAN, SR., Deputy Minister of State and Foreign Affairs, respected militant with vast knowledge and great experience in the struggle.

MWESI CHUI, Deputy Minister of Defense, respected Commander of the Mwesi Nduqu of Dayton, Ohio.

* *Elected, but office not yet accepted.*

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

For the fruition of black power, for the triumph of black nationhood, I pledge to the Republic of New Africa and to the building of a better people and a better world, my total devotion, my total resources, and the total power of my mortal life.

YOUR SUPPORT

All Jews did not go to Israel. So, too, all Black People will not at first be citizens of the Republic of New Africa. Even so, you may donate, buy Certificates of Recognition, or voluntarily pay taxes. You may address your questions, gifts, or taxes to:

The Treasurer
THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA
 Post Office Box 60375
 Los Angeles, California 90060

HELP BUILD OUR NEW CITY

The First Malcolm X Certificate of Recognition may be bought by anyone for \$100.00. It is a gift to the Republic to be used specifically and only for the purchase of land to build a new city in the South.

The Republic of New Africa

Post Office Box
 Detroit, Michigan

48206

**REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA: AN AFRICAN NATION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
STRUGGLING FOR COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE, MAY 14, 1969**

Office of the First Vice President, 518 Orchard Lake Avenue, Pontiac, Michigan.
Mailing Address, Box 667, Detroit, Michigan 48206.

A list of current officers of the RNA:

President, Robert F. Williams.
First Vice President, Milton R. Henry, Esq.
Second Vice President.
Treasurer, Obaboa Olowo.
Minister of the Interior, Imari Obadele.
Ministers of Culture, Oserjeman Adefunmi—Lerol Jones.
Minister of Education, Herman Ferguson.
Minister of State & Foreign Affairs, Wilbur Grattan, Sr.
Minister of Justice, John Franklin, Esq.
Minister of Health and Welfare, Queen Mother Moore.
Minister of Finance, Raymond E. Willis.
Minister of Information (Deputies), Charles W. Enoch, Lelto Durley.
Minister of Defense, Mveusi Chul.
Special Ambassador, Maxwell Stanford.

[From vol. II, No. 1, Issue of the New African, Apr. 20, 1969]

Brother Gaidi (Milton Henry), First Vice President of the Republic of New Africa had printed his Executive Order making the following changes in the officers of the RNA.

Region A.—Embracing all of the Eastern Coastal Area of the United States, and including the cities contained along the coast from Maine to Florida. Vice President—Herman Ferguson

Region B.—Embracing all of the middle West and the western portion of N.Y. and Penna. Vice President—Brother Imari

Region C.—Embracing all of the South, including Louisiana, and Texas. Vice President—Virginia Collins

Region D.—Embracing all of the Far East, including Arizona. Vice President—Obaboa Alowa

(NOTE.—Bahlyah Betty Shabazz, who was Second Vice President, resigned her position because of family problems.

(Maulana Ron Karenga, who was one of the ministers of Culture, was removed from his position, because of the incident of two Black Panthers who were killed in Calif. and he refused to explain his involvement in it.

(H. Rap Brown, who was one minister of Defense has been dropped because his whereabouts are questionable and is unavailable.)

Mr. BEATSON. This document was received from the Detroit Police Department, Detroit, Mich.

The Republic of New Africa was established at a National Black Government Conference held March 30-31, 1968, at the Shrine of the Black Madonna—Central United Church of Christ—Detroit, Mich. Rev. Albert Cleage is the pastor of the church, and he is active in Detroit's black militant population.

Between 150 and 200 delegates and some 2,000 to 3,000 observers heard two brothers, Milton and Richard Henry, outline their plan to separate once and for all the black and white populations in North America.

The basic theme of the RNA is self-defense, and the movement has developed into a program of separation with a para-military force.

Some individuals involved with RNA are identical to persons who

have been associated with the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

In 1967, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described RAM as a "highly secret, all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist, Chinese Communist organization which advocated guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals."

Robert F. Williams, who is designated on the chart as the president, is the president of the Republic of New Africa, has been an FBI fugitive for 9 years on a kidnapping charge in Monroe, N.C. Williams has found refuge during that time in Cuba, Communist China, and Tanzania.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he still a fugitive?

Mr. BEATSON. He is still a fugitive.

The CHAIRMAN. How did he attend this meeting?

Mr. BEATSON. He did not attend the meeting, sir. He was elected president-in-exile. He did not attend the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not present?

Mr. BEATSON. He was not present.

The CHAIRMAN. As far as you know, he is still out of the United States?

Mr. BEATSON. As far as I know, he is still out of the United States, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But he was elected president of this militant organization?

Mr. BEATSON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. BEATSON. At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit for the record exhibit R-2, which is a copy of the July-August 1964 issue of the Crusader, a monthly publication.

The copy contains an article signed Robert F. Williams, exiled leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This appears on page 4 of that exhibit in your possession.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 520" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is he wanted for?

Mr. BEATSON. He is wanted on a kidnapping charge, sir, in Monroe, N.C. He is a fugitive.

In addition, the cover of that exhibit that you have in your possession identifies Robert F. Williams as publisher-in-exile.

In 1964, this newsletter was published in Cuba.

The next document I have is exhibit R-3, which is a copy of the November 1968 issue of the Crusader.

The November 1968 issue of the Crusader has a cover article entitled "On The Republic of New Africa." It is noted that Robert F. Williams is the president of the Republic of New Africa. The November 1968 issue was published in Communist China.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 521" for reference and follows:)

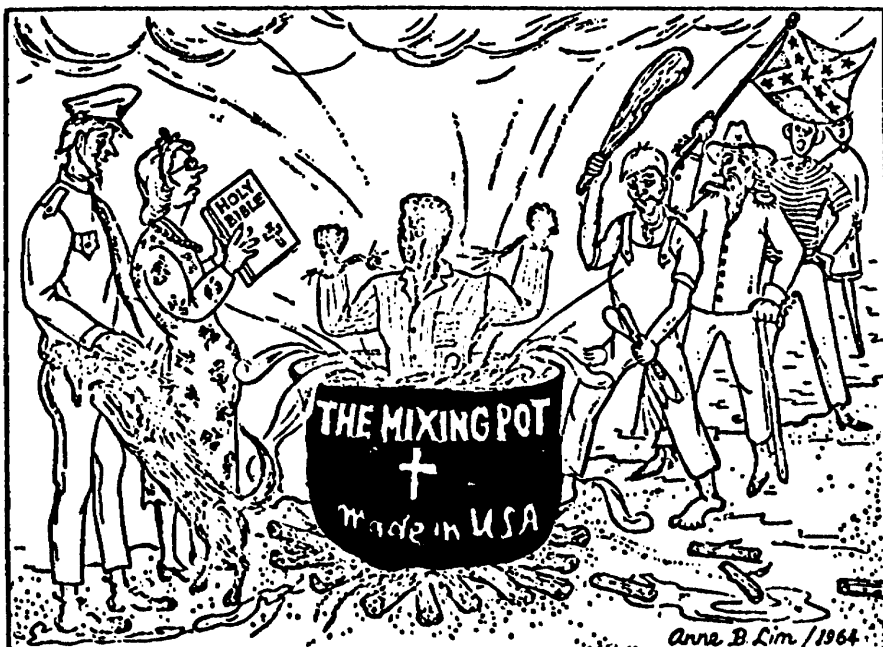
EXHIBIT No. 521



THE CRUSADER

NEWSLETTER

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher — IN EXILE —
VOL. 10 — No. 1 **NOVEMBER 1968**



"We's 'One Nation, Under Gawd, Indivisible', Boy!"

ON THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

The recent first step towards self-determination for the oppressed nation of Black America is not a new one. It is an extension and continuation of the ideas of the late Marcus Garvey, the Hon. Elijah Muhammad, the late Malcolm X and countless others. Brutalized, frustrated, dehumanized and enslaved Black people in America have long dreamed of a homeland wherein they could escape the rigors and hazards of oppressive savage tyranny. The dream of self-determination and nationhood has swelled the breasts of captive nations through time

immemorial. The drive for freedom, self-respect and self-determination is a natural human attribute.

Among the disinherited and the wretched of the earth there have always been fawning individuals who preferred to submit to the harried and tormented union of orderly slavery rather than to confront the uncertain challenge of disunion and liberation. Our own tragic history in racist America affords us a graphic example of such an indecisive and slavish mentality. After the so-called emancipation of the Black slaves in America, many insecure souls had to be driven from the clutches of human bondage at bayonet point. This was due in part to the brutal profundity of environmental conditioning. To some terror-stricken souls the rugged road of freedom was an awesome sight that could only lead to perdition. Despite the wretched voices of fear and prophets of doom, the masses cast down their chains and took to the perilous road of stormy uncertainty. What one among us today would still insist that our well-being and collective security would have best been served by loyally clinging to the bloody chains of slavery?

After the Boston Tea Party and the rising crescendo of those who called for independence and revolution, again, we have a case wherein some docile and status quo accommodating individuals preferred the oppressive social immobility of tyranny to the uncertain social locomotion of revolutionary change and the challenge of self-determination. Today, who would deny the wisdom and nobility of those who angrily cast off their oppressive chains and set the torch of freedom to the citadel of tyranny? No, we are not so unfamiliar with history as not to know that tragically some revolutions faltered and temporarily failed, but neither are we unaware of the fact that a noble undertaking of freedom can never be considered a permanent failure.

Unprincipled souls, devoid of courage and creative stamina, can devise a million reasons and causes why a daring and divine mission may fail, but they are always hard pressed in formulating a single honorable alternative affording certain positive success. For one reason or other, the cynical critics we will have with us always. Wise, honest and positive criticism is an integral part of a society, an idea or an individual's natural growth and development. However, the criticism of the cynic is the sinister product of a frustrated and disgruntled jester seeking status through a profession of criticism based on bismirching the creativity of those daring activists who set out to do, and sometimes succeed in doing what cynics neither have the capacity nor courage to undertake.

There are those among us who seem to think that America is a God-made indivisible empire blessed with the divine gift of permanence. That country which is nearest to permanence is also nearest to perfection. That country which is nearest to indivisibility is a bastion of brotherhood and justice. Racist America is no divine exception, like all other realms of oppression and tyranny, she, too, is subject to the laws that govern the transience of empire. A government that rejects the long suffering pleas of the oppressed and aggrieved for redress licenses insurrection and secession.

Some advocates of continued submission in the face of insufferable tyranny are desperately trying to confuse the issue of self-determination. These reactionary souls try to impinge the sacredness of self-determination by haughtily alluding to it as the negro's version of

racial segregation. These nigra gentlemen of high estate and intellectual cynicism argue loud and long in a surreptitious defense of degenerate Americanism by pretending not to know the obviously elementary difference between self-determination and racial segregation. If racial segregation is a goal to be desired by oppressed Blacks there is no need to struggle for that; it has been a living reality in America for four hundred years. The Black man in America has never known anything other than racial segregation. Segregation is what we have never needed but have always had. Self-determination is what we have always needed and never had. Self-determination means the condition to forge one's own destiny. Segregation means the condition of one without a meaningful destiny. The struggle for the fulfillment of the long range objective of self-determination does not mean a complete abandonment of present endeavors to ease our social burdens while we are captive people under the current racist white regime.

For the benefit of all those who seem at a loss to grasp the difference between an Independent Republic and a racially segregated colonial community, I would like to refer to the Declaration of Independence of the proposed Republic of New Africa. It specifically states that:

- “. . . We, therefore, see these as the aims of our revolution:
- To free Black people in America from oppression;
 - To support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free;
 - To build a New Society that is better than what we now know and as perfect as man can make it;
 - To assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum;
 - To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship and service;
 - To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and man's pursuit of God and/or the destiny, place, and purpose of man in the Universe will be without hindrance;
 - To build a black independent nation where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the New Society, the New State Government, or the achievement of the aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration;
 - To end exploitation of man by man or his environment;
 - To assure equality of rights for the sexes;
 - To end color and class discrimination, while not abolishing salubrious diversity, and to promote self-respect and mutual respect among all people in the Society;
 - To protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual, and his natural rights;
 - To assure justice for all;
 - To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the State to assure the benefits of this earth and man's genius and labor to Society and all its members, and
 - To encourage and reward the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devotion to the Revolution. . . .”

Who can be so asinine as to believe that such noble ideals are based on enlarged racial segregation espoused by Black reactionary separa-

tists. And for the sake of the record may I add that we self-determinationists are not advocates of a 51st American State. Let us rest assured that our goals are more realistic than those who think that they can plead and pray their way to a peacefully integrated and just monolithic American society. Nation building is a laborious, difficult, violent and sacrificial task. Black America deserves as much opportunity to undertake it in racist America as any other people in the world. On behalf of fair play and justice it is incumbent on just minded and progressive whites to support Black self-determination and nationhood. We have dismally failed after four hundred years of bloody and fruitless effort to win acceptance into the mainstream of American life. There are some who think that we should be patient enough to exert another four hundred years of vain effort. But we say no! We have had enough of shameful and bloody rebuff.

Now is the time to embark on the rugged road that leads to a destination of promise. We must unite in this great cause. It is a cause of survival and salvation. The rising tide of history is on our side. America's own corruption and meanness doom her. She is gradually sinking into the chaotic quagmire of her own filth and unrighteousness. Human decency and the laws of survival dictate that we sever our destinies. We must stand as an independent entity dissociating ourselves from the heinous crimes and grievous sins of Babylon. Our time has come. America's time has come. We are opposites in transition. One is rising the other is falling. The irreversible laws of the transience of empire are in motion against America. The seeds of fragmentation, sown in a soil fertilized by tyranny, react to the laws of birth and death. This process of transformation will ultimately be fulfilled despite the wrath of hell and the cynical and spiteful curses of devils both negro and white.

No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement.

Mao Tse-tung

COMBAT THE ENEMY WITHIN OUR RANKS!

The more intense the Afro-American struggle for liberation becomes the greater the counter force brought into play against it will become. Aside from brutal repression, the power structure will use whatever other counter-revolutionary methods it can dream up. The more Black ghettos become united, organized and resistive, the more imperative it will become to supplement self-defense forces with strong underground counter intelligence operations. Black militants must never relax their vigilance or lower their guard against the most sinister enemy of all—the one within our ranks.

We must not leave any stones unturned in ferreting the enemy out of our midst, while at the same time we must not allow the presence of agents to paralyze our progressive activity. Better and more serious organizing requires more elaborate forms of secrecy. Not only are

police agents, stool pigeons and pimps spying for the man, but agents provocateurs are busy weaving conspiracies of entrapment.

"Super militants," extreme "leftists," impatient "revolutionaries" and all manner of phoney Black nationalists are being sent into the movement to sabotage its forward thrust. These way out "revolutionaries" are advocating action and policies that are designed to destroy the vitality of the struggle.

Assured of police immunity for their lawless deeds, executed within the ranks of progressive Black nationalists, they engage in repulsive and irrational activity in order to alienate and isolate the true vanguard from the yet uncommitted masses. Their assigned task is to stymie and fragment the growing unity of our people. On behalf of the power structure they are moving might and main to discredit Black Nationalism and the growing demand among our people for self-determination and nationhood. Some are injecting irrelevant sectarian arguments and are trying to impose outlandish philosophies on the movement. They are trying to promote policies and saddle the rank and file with ideas certain to sow seeds of division, distrust and demoralization.

The cause of Black liberation in racist America must be raised above individual ideas, philosophies and personal attitudes. A united front for our overall collective goal of Black liberation and self-determination is not a thing of petty individual beliefs. The dynamics of our most significant consensus must flow from our common desire to throw off the yoke of racist tyranny. Our front of national salvation must be based upon an intense brotherhood of mutual respect and tolerance. It is not necessary that we all dress, speak and act alike in those matters that neither promulgate nor hinder our common cause.

We must have discipline yes, but we must have discipline through consensus of cause. Tyrannical discipline is contrary to the cause of liberation. Our objectives must be long range and designed to serve our common cause of freedom. We must guard against falling into a cultural rut wherein we dissipate our time, energy and resources trying to resurrect a dead past instead of constructing a glorious future. Instead of displaying negative color, wit and style in undercutting other groups and individuals, it behooves us to set ourselves to the task of formulating positive strategy.

It is time for solid unity. It is time for serious work and agitation. Progressive Black nationalism and self-determination must be widely explained in sober and rational terms through an all-out campaign in the ghettos. Those agents provocateurs, who are out to make the whole movement look like the rantings of stupid fools, must be discouraged. Those who advocate outlandish philosophies, which conspicuously and obviously the great masses will not accept, should be toned down. Stand up for unity and effectiveness, combat the enemy within our ranks.

NOW IS THE TIME TO GIVE UP THE GHOST, INTEGRATION

In white America there are many mansions, yet the Black man is relegated to the denigration of the outhouse. The American Black man is a harried and frustrated victim of an ever elusive ghost called integration. Hoped for integration into the white man's affluent society

is a tantalizingly cruel mirage. As far as Black America is concerned, the white man's ill-gotten dominion is as mobile and as elusive as a mirage in the desert. It appears on the horizon, but continues to move into the distance before it can be caught up to. Integration into the racist white American community, as far as Black America is concerned, is tantamount to the fabled pot of gold at the end of every rainbow.

The racist American white man is the proven enemy of the Black man. The facts of his treachery and brutality are so well known that there is no point of bothering to document them to our people any more. Bigoted white America is so calloused with hate and spite, and it is so pathologically warped that only those enslaved by the mania of self-delusion dare persist in the folly of the hoax of integration.

Is it logical and mentally wholesome for the aggrieved to seek close proximity with his torturer and crucifier? Is it common sense to persist in a shameful enterprise crowned with almost four hundred years of heartbreak and dismal failure? Is it common sense to pursue a sutor for an acon who habitually convulses and flees at the sight of the undesirable pursuer?

It is a normal drive of humanity to seek fellowship, common cause and social intercourse with Homo sapiens with like human attributes propelled by the valences of mutuality. It is also a natural human drive to withdraw from harmful and painful stimulants and contacts. Black America's experience with white America has been much less than a gratifying venture. It has been a terrifying and brutal ordeal. The worse part of the matter is that no appreciable relief is in sight. White America's conduct towards Black America is becoming more and more unbearable. The mailed fist of genocide is cocked in naked threats.

The Black man in racist America is being viciously blamed for all the social ills that the savage racists' demonic nature has wrought against the evil and corrupt society. White America is a shameless and savage hypocrite who thinks it can escape human conscience and the natural laws of retribution by becoming ever more beastly and brutal in its relationship with the victim of its depravity. There is more hope in the reformation of a rabid wolf than in such an ape of a fiend.

Thinking Black men can plainly see that the very laws of nature dictate separation under such an oppressive and incongruous relationship. The history of heaven and earth are replete with precedents of necessary separations under much less severe conditions than ours.

The choice now looms before us. Are we to contract ourselves to miserable lives as loyal dogs in the devil's den of satanic wrath and destruction, or are we to rise in a sacred exodus of emancipation, self-determination, salvation and dignity? For sundry reasons there are those among us who beg to continue their masochistic relationship with sadistic America. There are some honestly confused and not yet certain that an emancipated slave can make it without his master, but the hard cold fact remains that time alone is not a panacea for acute social ills. Those who deserve freedom and those who ultimately obtain it are those willing to shoulder the burden of its challenge. The dreaded task of separation challenges us. It is time to claim our rightful place in the

sun. Self-determination is a universally proclaimed right of all oppressed people and nations with the intelligence and will to grasp it. This is the season of our most provocative discontent. Now is the time to give up the ghost, integration. Let us claim our heritage. Now is the time to proclaim a nation.

AFRICAN SAFARI: HELLS RUN ON A MOTORCYCLE

Either out of a sinister design or from the unwitting course of habit, African journalism, with some progressive exceptions, is not placing enough stress on the development of black stamina and daring as essential ingredients for liberation and national construction. An oppressed and downtrodden people cannot cast off the cruel and crippling legacy of colonialism without undergoing a transformation of thought and attitude. Dwarfed and deformed thought as fashioned by ruthless exploiters and oppressors can be viewed only as negative factors in the downtrodden's cause of liberation.

Some African publications portray the new look of Black Liberation as a state of transition wherein the Black bourgeoisie becomes a symbol of soft and secure parliamentary life. They become the clerks in the new order. In the newspaper and magazine ads they become the hard-drinking playboys in the world of grinning, dancing, effeminate society.

It is considered a great new scene of freedom wherein imposing pictures of ivy league dressed Black men, armed with overrated degrees in white man's sociology, psychology, anthropology, political science and law serve as symbols of nation building and examples for the youth to emulate. The collective outlook of a people is influenced and formed by the slant of the mass media and certain accepted standards of success.

While most African journalism proudly stresses the new status of white collar Blacks risen to nominal power under token independence, certain factors essential to nation building, like boldness, exploratory quest and the challenge of nature, are still being portrayed as the adventurous white man's monopolized dominion.

Black youth who will face the task of nation building are not being exposed enough to the bold spirit necessary to undertake the rugged challenge of pioneering in national construction. The world of Black youth should not be a narrow, limited one wherein their hero examples consist of soft secure occupations that could very easily be interchanged with the west's concept of a woman's world. If it is a truism that man is a product of his environment what hope is there for Black youth who develop in a world of white man's order based on Black submissiveness? Great nations are not built from desk corps of parliamentarian dukes. They are built by robust men and women challenging nature, the general order of things and driven by a quest to scale unfamiliar heights. Inasmuch as the environment is conceded to be the most salient factor in the formation of personality and character the new image of the Black man needs to be drastically altered. The Black man's image cast before formative youth should be one to inspire a new tendency away from effeminate bureaucracy and conspicuous consumption.

Some African journalism has a tendency to project rugged outdoor life as the special meat of the great white hunter. Engineering and heavy industry are projected as something almost peculiar to Mr. Charlie. This

is a more modernized form of Tarzanism. The African press is full of praise for whites who muster the stamina to scale such peaks as Killimanjaro. Other grueling exploits of daring are recorded without impressionable Black faces.

Such seemingly nonproductive exploits may seem insignificant in the general scheme of national construction, but they are not. The psychological state of a people is a determining factor in the effectiveness of nation building. The development of national stamina, courage and a pioneering spirit sets the stage for an essential motive force required for great nation building.

On my recent trip to Tanzania, East Africa, aside from sitting fifty hours to tape my autobiography, a series of other interviews and meetings and conferences with officials of the proposed Republic of New Africa and African freedom fighters, an Afro-American brother, Ronald Howard, a Tanzanian, Gabriel Mulokozi and I completed a 1,470 mile motorcycle safari across Tanzania into Zambia. We not only planned this rugged itinerary over the murderous terrain commonly called "Hell Run" because it was the best way to get off the beaten tourist path to study Africa and her people, but also as a challenge to our stamina.

Our ten-day motorcycle safari took us across treacherous unpaved, dusty and sandy roads that are considered a sometimes impossible hazard for some motorcars and trucks. We cycled over mountain peaks that extended into exceptionally beautiful African clouds. We rode wash-board-type roads that shook us like a precarious ride on a rodeo bronco. Along 700 miles of roads so dusty that we had to wear dust masks, shields and goggles, we counted 50 heavy trucks and trailers overturned and wrecked. The truck traffic was very heavy because this is the route of the emergency truck lift between the Dar es Salaam port and landlocked Zambia.

Our dusty images replete with crash helmets, face shields, goggles and masks became a momentary source of fright to some children who rushed for closer view along the roadside at the roaring sound of strange sounding motors. This was primarily a territory of heavy trucks and landrovers. Curious but friendly observers stalked us wherever we went. It was a new scene to see Black men daring to mount such a venture. Many of the children after regaining composure and mustering special courage came close enough to touch the machines. The older people marveled at the rugged performance of the machines. Our Swahili speaking Tanzanian brother was forced to spend most of his time answering questions about where we were from, where we were going, how long would the trip take and what kind of motorcycles we were riding. We stopped over in rural African hotels and met people who were not accustomed to meeting tourists. The fact that we were Black aroused added interest.

At the Zambian border we went in separate ways with plans to rendezvous in two days on the way back to Dar es Salaam. I was to travel 137 miles on the return trip alone, however, because of some minor difficulties my companions failed to rendezvous and I was stuck with a 700-mile return trip to Dar alone.

I rode steadily but slowly hoping my friends would overtake me. They never did. On three occasions night overtook me riding in the rugged animal infested mountains alone. Some oil tankers had overturned in

the mountains and started widespread brush fires that gave an eerie glare wherein the vastness of the heavens seemed ablaze.

Near Mbeya, I visited an encampment of Chinese engineers who are surveying the line where a railroad is to be constructed as Chinese aid to Tanzania and Zambia. When completed this railroad will strengthen the transportation system between landlocked Zambia and Tanzania and will ease Zambia's dependence on South Africa's transportation system and strengthen it against Rhodesian pressure.

I raced darkness through Mikumi National Park, a wild animal reserve, and barely won. I was alone on my motorcycle in lion and elephant infested Mikumi Park with night fast bearing down. My speed was hampered because of occasional drifts of sand that piled up in the road and completely deprived the two-wheeled vehicle of control and traction. I had already sustained a fall at the beginning of the journey under such conditions at 30 miles an hour and suffered only a few minor abrasions which luckily did not interfere with the trip, so I had to be extremely cautious. Caution prevailed despite the fact that I had to ride by a herd of elephants and various other packs of animals along the side of the road.

The trip was a rugged one. It was an experience well worth the hazards and hardships. We journeyed 8,300 feet up to Njombe and Buloma. We visited schools, farms, market places, villages, rural African hotels and enjoyed the breath-taking scenery of emerging Africa. At one elementary school, a bright young African girl asked us what do Black people in America call themselves, Africans or Americans. I gave her a rundown on the history of how and why African people got to America and explained the fact that now most of our people with race pride call themselves Black Americans, Afro-Americans or African-Americans. After hearing this the entire fourth grade class broke into enthusiastic applause. Most of all, we gave African youth a much too rare opportunity to see a new type of tourist, Black brothers calling to them to accept Africa's challenge to the Black man. Through practice and example we were trying to say to Black youth everywhere that the Black man's day has come. We must rise to the challenge. We must change our outlook and our image. We must dare to scale the highest peaks and develop the stamina to succeed. Rugged pioneering is not in the exclusive dominion of the conquering imperialist white man, but is a commodity within grasp of all men. We wanted to say to our African brothers that the Black man can do anything he is really determined to do. In addition, I wanted to reaffirm to myself that I am physically and psychologically ready for a confrontation with racial tyranny in racist America.

AFRICA AND THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN

Historically Africa is the home of the Black man. Africa has a great potential. Many African youth sincerely and innocently ask why trained and educated Afro-Americans do not come to Africa to help construct the motherland and replace the imperialist-minded whites. This is positive thought, but the African situation is not so simple.

The imperialist-minded whites are deeply entrenched in Africa and they view a possible influx of Afro-Americans as a grave danger and threat to the status quo wherein lies their security. Afro-Americans have developed certain militant attitudes that are appearing very horrifying

to the white supremacists. They are afraid that these new Black Revolutionary traits are highly infectious and communicative. They are also fully aware of the fact that the Afro-American, because of his long and bitter experience in racist America, is the most enlightened of all the world's non-whites as to the true nature of universal white Nationalism, now sustained and nurtured by Americanism. Our enlightened African brothers are well versed in the wiles and ways of the former and current European colonialists, however, many of them are yet to be educated to the wily ways of neo-colonial Americanism. Racist America has now assumed the position of standard-bearer for universal white supremacy nationalism. She does not intend to allow her new world position to be threatened by Revolutionary Black Nationalists. Consequently, America is laboring fanatically to establish a closed door policy that will exclude non-Tom African Americans from becoming entrenched in Africa.

The great tragedy of the whole sordid affair is the fact that the newly emerging African Governments are not economically and militarily independent enough to frustrate these racist designs. Another great source of weakness stems from the lack of principle and a state of moral and political degeneracy on the part of some African Sambo leaders whose intellects have been warped and distorted by foolish and pretentious pedagogy.

Afro-Americans with the "Back to Africa" mania would do well to examine the current situation carefully to ascertain whether or not they are welcomed to settle in Africa without the racist white man's approval. There is no doubt that a vast majority of Africans are anxious to welcome Black Americans as brothers, but white power is yet a factor to be reckoned with in Black Africa.

To be sure, the present situation in Africa relative to militant Afro-Americans is no more than a transitory phase of a long and arduous uphill climb. Mr. Charlie cannot eternally stem the tide of liberation in Africa any more than he can in other parts of the world. It is only a matter of time. The Black youth of Africa like the Black youth of America will break with the obsequious traditions of their Uncle Tom elders and rise in a massive invincible challenge of Black Power!

The white agents provocateurs are working feverishly to widen the breach between Afro-America and Africa. Their rumor mills are busy sowing the seeds of suspicion, misunderstanding and rivalry. Despite the sinister activity of Americanism in Africa the Tanzanian Government manifested enough principled sovereignty to resist demands for my expulsion during my recent visit there.

Mercenary American negro Toms are serving as willing bait in the anti African-American snare. Some gullible Africans are being deceived into believing that most Black Americans are agents of the C.I.A. while the white ones are pious humanitarians. It never seems to occur to these naive souls that a government that furnishes military, economic, industrial and social advisers to guide the formulation of policy has no need to recruit Black agents unless they are merely to be used as decoys. The man who presides over or influences the formulation of policy is in better position to gather intelligence than a discriminated against brother who is denied access to the inside track.

A close examination of the African scene will also reveal that our African brothers are not properly apprized of the true nature of Ameri-

can racism. On this subject there is a wide information gap as to the whys and wherefores of our long ordeal now culminating in a Black Rebellion in racist America. Many of the salient aspects of our struggle have been deliberately obscured by the white man's skillful propaganda. We have left too much of our cause to be explained by our enemy oppressors to our Black brothers. We have taken too much for granted and left too much to chance. It is not enough for us to plunge headlong into the study of African history in Africa, we need to also acquaint the African with African history in America. The African needs also to be apprized more of Indian history in America and the potentially dangerous similarity of future development.

Yes, we need to look with pride to mother Africa, however, it is imperative to our own mental state that we not push our heads into blinding clouds. There is a lot of work to be done and it cannot be accomplished through cultural orgies. The Black man is facing a challenge of survival and it cannot be met successfully on a foundation situated in the quicksand of mythology. Our greatest satisfaction is that we can view the present situation in Africa as a transitory one. The American white man hates Blacks. His true nature is spiteful and demonic. Fortunately, a great shortcoming of hypocrisy is its inability to maintain its deceptive façade over the long haul. It soon grows weary of pretending to love what it hates. Ultimately, its feigned love degenerates to open contempt and violence. Afro-Americans must exert special effort to expose the true disposition of vicious Americanism now attempting to deceitfully devour the heart of Africa. Literature accurately portraying the African's bitter ordeal in racist America should be widely disseminated throughout Africa. Periodicals like *Muhammad Speaks*, *Inner City Voice*, *The Black Panther*, *The New African*, *Rebellion News* and other tell-it-like-it-is publications should supplant the *Ebony*-type of whitewash journalism in Africa. Black Americans with enough human dignity to resist American racist and imperialist oppression should take it on themselves to hip our African brothers.

I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of every country and all who are willing to fight against U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.

Mao Tse-tung

1969: A SEASON OF TERROR

Each year the struggle for Black Liberation in America becomes more and more intense. The trend of our struggle is following a natural scheme of progression based on the dynamic laws of social conflict

wherein the agitation of opposite forces initiates a chain reaction of increasingly violent friction. The acceleratory factor has neither been disengaged nor neutralized. Ever more brutal instruments of repression have been arrayed in defense of oppression and tyranny. The racist power structure is attempting to cloak mass lynching, unmitigated police violence, racial emasculation and extermination in a viciously hypocritical crusade disguised as "law and order."

There has been no implemented concern for law and order for protection of the human rights for Black Americans throughout the history of violently racist America. Now what is the cause for this sudden concern and pious sounding devotion to "law and order" and safety on the streets? Under the new Hitlerite order, who will defend the rights of the disinherited victims whose eternal abuse is considered an-accepted peculiarity of the American way of life? No sensible person can take exception to the just and impartial application of law and order. The most sinister and repulsive factor in the whole affair is the cruel fact that white man's "law and order" to Black America means racist license to rape, maim, plunder, dehumanize and massacre the most abused and unprotected element of the heartless society.

Who can have any faith in the demagogic utterances of a brigand whose entire history indicts him as a lawless savage whose very sadistical nature seems to condemn him to the hopeless region of human society dominated by the incorrigible? Can a leopard change its spots? Can a rabid wolf become a lamb? Can Black America rely on a viciously racist cop to justly enforce impartial law and order? Can Black America rely on viciously racist kangaroo courts to dispense even-handed justice? America's police and legal system constitute the goon squad of the white supremacy order. White supremacy is part and parcel of America's life, breath and blood chemistry. For Black people to leave our fate to the goodness and trust of such ruthless deceitful beasts is tantamount to trusting in the holiness of the devil.

After four hundred years of callous indifference, after four hundred years of capricious lawlessness, after four hundred years of lantalizing us with the cruel mirage of Constitutional law on the barren desert of white man's immorality, the eternal villain threatens the invocation of "law and order" to stymie our poignant quest for law and order born of a human compassion for unfettered justice. The current shrill howls for "law and order" emanating from the social jungles of jingoistic and chauvinistic America are savage clarion calls for an orgy in Black massacre.

The Black man, too, must attune his ear and stir himself to the stance of defense, the stance of survival. The year of '69 is to be a year of unmitigated terror. It is to be the prologue to a dramatic and glorious new testament to be unfolded in the year 1970. Brothers, the distant trumpets are beginning to wail. Sinister shadows feverishly stir in the citadel of hate. An ill wind rises to convey the demons of devastation and perdition. Get yourselves together Brothers! Get yourselves together! After the approaching harrowing night of terror and horror, change is gonna come. Lawlessness will devour the lawless hypocrite. Truth and morality shall be the final arbitrators of law and order in the streets of evilly dissipated America.

STILL PLANNING TO RETURN

The idea of my proposed return to the racist U.S.A. has not been abandoned. I am as convinced as ever that I should return in what I consider to be the most appropriate time. The decision has already been made, only the time element has been deferred. The time of my return has been deliberately set back in order to permit more preliminary details to be completed.

At any rate, the long anticipated undertaking will be a high voltage calculated risk. I shall assume this risk in the coming summer if plans materialize. I ask all those who have expressed interest to continue rallying support. Further details will be forthcoming.

**BEST WISHES FOR UNITY, SUCCESS AND STRAIGHT
SHOOTING IN 1969!**

ETHICS AND THE BLACK REVOLUTION

It is not enough to merely strike out against social injustices. It is not enough to violently endeavor to overturn tyranny. It is not enough to strike down one evil system only to erect another. Power structures are as much the products of environment, attitudes, traditions and mores as are those who are the victims of their tyranny and oppression. Nothing can grow or develop without an environment permeated with a certain amount of fertility and tolerance.

Apathy, mental degradation, naivete and impoverished thought are the running mates of political corruption, social reaction, oppression and tyranny. Racist America is a cesspool of moral degeneracy. Those nurtured in such a society cannot expect to escape its detrimental field of gravity without well disciplined and conscious design. There is no virtue in that freedom which becomes a visa to a region wherein the individual merely discards the restrictions of virtue and morality. The right to enter a degenerate and corrupt society is not the nobility of liberty but a descension to the depth of chaotic anarchy. To control one's own destiny is not positive self-determination unless it encompasses an endeavor for superior achievement in an improved environment.

The struggle for control of the ghetto must also be a struggle for the transformation of the individual and the environment. It must flow from a conscious determination to eliminate crippling social maladies as well as alien domination. The Black freedom fighter must engage in a personal inner struggle which will exemplify and propagate revolutionary ethics. The fight for control of the ghetto must be propelled by a deep-seated desire for social change. It must encompass a crusade for social and spiritual reconstruction as well as for the reconstruction of the physical structure of community blight.

The ethics of the Black Revolution must be predicated on a very high sense of morality and exemplary conduct. Meaningful freedom must entail the duty to cleanse one's self and community. It is the duty of Black Revolutionaries to wage war against the destructive use

and dispensation of narcotics, the scourge of fratricidal crime and violence and all the social evils and conflict of human blight.

Reconstruction in the Black community cannot be left to the corrupt and degenerate power structure nor to its mercenary running dog nigras. Racist beasts have no interest in the social reclamation of impoverished Black communities. Revolution means change—change of man as well as his environment. The Black Revolution will be meaningless if it seeks merely to become a carbon copy of the degenerate racist American white man's way of life. The Black Revolution must establish a high standard of ethic principles as a part of its guide lines and objectives. The matter of ethics and wholesome constructive goals should be the great distinguishing factor between ourselves and the enemy. The great difference should be in our revolutionary struggle to pioneer in the area of human decency and dignity; to build a world better than the one that dehumanized the oppressed and made us chattel slaves to our savage oppressors.

* * *

A monologue by Robert F. Williams to the Black brothers in Vietnam, "LISTEN BROTHER", sells for 35 cents. Quantities of six or more are 20 cents each, post-paid within the United States.

It may be ordered from: World View Publishers, 46 West 21 Street, New York, N. Y. 10010 U.S.A.

* * *

HELP to tell it like it is. Shake the man up. Wake the brothers up. Be a CRUSADER pusher. Order copies to put on the scene and to spread along. Send copies to the brothers all messed up in the man's armed services. The call is out, let the brothers come through. KEEP ON PUSHIN'.

An Appeal: SUPPORT FRAME-UP VICTIMS

Fascist forces in the U.S.A. are now endeavoring to create a national state of hysteria. Consequently, many Afro-American militants who refuse to sell out and who cannot be intimidated are being framed and imprisoned. A vicious campaign is being waged to destroy effective and potential ghetto leaders. Chief among these are: Max Stanford, Huey Newton, Rap Brown, Leroi Jones, Martin Sostre and Herman Ferguson. Many others are framed throughout the country. As a matter of collective security all anti-fascist forces and partisans of justice must stir themselves and give financial and active support to these victims of fascist kangarooism and tyranny. Oppose the court mob with massive resistance!

Robert F. Williams, 1 Tai Chi Ch'ang, Peking,
People's Republic of China

Mr. BEATSON. One of the RNA officers named on the chart is Maxwell Stanford, special ambassador. On page 1406, part 6, of this subcommittee's hearings on "Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders," Maxwell Stanford is referred to as the field chairman of RAM in a RAM publication entitled "Black America" published in the fall of 1964.

Another RNA officer is Herman Ferguson, minister of education. Ferguson, as an identified member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), was indicted, tried, and convicted in the State of New York for his part in a conspiracy to murder civil rights leader Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young.

The subcommittee, in its investigation of the Republic of New Africa, has obtained what we believe to be a complete set of "Crusader" newsletters which will clearly show the philosophy and tactics of its publisher-in-exile, Robert F. Williams.

These newsletters, plus additional background information and descriptive material concerning the Republic of New Africa's aims and objectives, officers, and members will be testified to at length by police officials from several cities in the United States in this series of hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. There is only one thing I want to be certain of. For every officer, every person listed on this chart that you have made an exhibit you have confirmed the information as to his position and his membership by documents of the organization itself?

Mr. BEATSON. That is correct, sir, from their documents those names were taken.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members has this organization, do you know?

Mr. BEATSON. Mr. Chairman, I would rather the police officials testify to that because the figure might well fluctuate.

I would rather not give a figure about that at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. You think they have more information about that than you?

Mr. BEATSON. I know they do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is it operating now, in what sections of the country?

Mr. BEATSON. The basic spot for the Republic of New Africa, and you might well call it the Mecca, is Detroit, Mich. This is where it was born 2 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that still the national headquarters for it?

Mr. BEATSON. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We did receive an exhibit a few months ago of the list of names that you say you took from the publication.

Mr. BEATSON. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does this list correspond with those on the chart?

Mr. BEATSON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Let this list be published in the record at the point where it was introduced.

Mr. BEATSON. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Manuel indicated to me and you may be interested in knowing, that The Republic of New Africa has established various consulates in cities in the United States.

I don't want to give the impression that Detroit is the only place it is operating. They have so-called consulates in other cities, Chicago, New York, Cleveland.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this the group that wants to set aside a number of States?

Mr. BEATSON. That is correct, sir. They want five southern States.

The CHAIRMAN. And they will call it The Republic of New Africa? Is that what they want to name their country?

Mr. BEATSON. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do we have a list of the States that they propose to take over?

Mr. BEATSON. Yes, sir, we do. The States that they desire to take over are South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and the fifth is Alabama.

Incidentally, Mr. Chairman, I call your attention to page 12 of the booklet, The Republic of New Africa. Page 12 is headed "How Shall We Get Control of Our Land?"

Then there are two notations in bold type. One reads "By Black Determination," and the second reads "By Adhering To International Law," and the third reads "By Arms, If Necessary."

The CHAIRMAN. With no comment under it?

Mr. BEATSON. No comment, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let that page be printed in the record (see p. 4187).

I read the first about determination. It says:

The first step is to decide in our hearts and minds that the land in the South (the black country) and the lands in the North (the black ghettos) are ours, and that in these areas we will not be oppressed or controlled by anyone.

Senator, have you any question?

Senator GRIFFIN. No, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Call the next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Thomas Courtney.

The CHAIRMAN. Be sworn.

You do solemnly swear the evidence you shall give before this Senate subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF DETECTIVE SGT. THOMAS J. COURTNEY

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify yourself, please, sir?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir. I am Detective Sgt. Thomas J. Courtney, of the office of the chief of detectives of the New York City Police Department.

I have been a member of the New York City Police Department for the past 20 years.

I welcome the opportunity on behalf of the department to assist this committee in any way possible in the current investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Do you have a prepared statement?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Mr. Chairman, I have prepared statements on the five organizations that are presently under investigation by your committee.

The CHAIRMAN. On what?

Sergeant COURTNEY. On five separate organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. You have background information on five separate organizations?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Name them.

Sergeant COURTNEY. The Revolutionary Action Movement.

The CHAIRMAN. That is RAM.

Sergeant COURTNEY. The Black Panther Party, Republic of New Africa, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Students for a Democratic Society.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Do you have a prepared statement?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I do, and I will follow the prepared statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a prepared statement on each one of these groups, each one of these organizations?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Which one are you taking up first?

Sergeant COURTNEY. The RAM, with your permission, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, you may proceed.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

I. HISTORY

Sergeant COURTNEY. The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) was organized in the winter of 1963, with Robert Williams, the leader (in exile in Cuba), and Maxwell Stanford as the head of operations in the United States. Although RAM was known to exist in the New York area, the organization did not gain prominence or recognition until the exposure of a bizarre plot to blow up the Statue of Liberty by a small group known as the Black Liberation Front. The individuals involved in this plot were Robert Collier, Walter Bowe, and Kahleel Sayeed. Robert Collier had traveled to Cuba prior to this plot and Kahleel Sayeed was closely associated with another individual, Mae Mallory, who was arrested along with Robert Williams in Monroe, N.C., in a kidnaping case that resulted in his flight.

This plot was the first indication of RAM's intention of carrying out its aim of organized violence to achieve their goal of a worldwide black revolution to create a "new world" free from the exploitation and oppression of man by man.

At that time, the Black Liberation Front was a RAM front organization that was born in Cuba in 1964, with Robert Collier and other Afro-Americans who had traveled there in violation of the U.S. State Department ban.

(At this point Senator Percy entered the hearing room.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. Subsequent to this plot the New York RAM organization was not heard from for a time but several suspected members were kept under surveillance and eventually another plot was exposed and 21 persons were arrested and charged with various conspiracies, including the conspiracy to commit the murder of Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins. Since these arrests in 1967, there has been no tangible evidence of the continual functioning of RAM. However, many of those persons known to have been members continue to pursue their revolutionary endeavors. Herman Ferguson, one

of the key RAM figures, is now the minister of education of a comparatively new revolutionary organization known as the Republic of New Africa, whose president in exile is Robert Williams. Robert Collier was arrested on April 3, 1969, along with several members of the Black Panther Party charged with various conspiracies.

II. ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

Although sources outside of New York City indicate that RAM had a definite structure there is no evidence of a true structure in New York City. There were lines of authority that were apparently understood by the members. Maxwell Stanford is believed to have been the national leader although at times there were signs which indicated him to be the east coast leader. However, he was, from his remote headquarters in his residence in Philadelphia, Pa., undoubtedly directing the RAM operation in New York. He appointed the New York cell leaders, Herman Ferguson in Queens, and Albert Haynes in Manhattan, and gave directions to those he appointed. He also directed that the Black Guard be established in New York and this was done just prior to June 1967, when 21 RAM members were arrested for various conspiracies.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the function of the Black Guard?

Sergeant COURTNEY. At this time, Mr. Chairman, I have an exhibit that I would like to offer that is self-explanatory. It is entitled "The Black Guard, Structure and Organization." It is a publication of the organization, itself.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the organization's description of the Black Guard and its functions?

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 522" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 522

BLACK GUARD STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

The structure and organizational authority of the Black Guard is as follows:

1. Unit: The unit consists of five (5) men with one leader. Each unit selects its own leader. The basic structure of the Black Guard is the unit. The unit consists of five men and functions as a self-defense guerrilla unit. The Black Guard is structured into units because it is a guerrilla army or Black People's Liberation Army. A guerrilla army is structured into units in order that maximum security can be maintained, making it hard for the enemy to penetrate our ranks and obtain Black Guard secrets. Each Black Guard unit has five men trained in the five basic areas of guerrilla warfare; therefore, each Black Guard unit is a liberation army within itself.

2. Squad: The squad consists of ten (10) men each. The squad is the combination of two units from the same section. The two units select a leader.

3. Platoon: The platoon consists of twenty (20) men. The platoon is the combination of four units or two squads from the same section. The platoon chooses one leader and one assistant leader. The platoon is organized mainly for maneuvers.

4. Section: The section consists of sixty (60) men, twelve units, or six squads or three platoons from the same area. The section selects one leader and two assistant leaders. Each unit in the section selects a brother to be on the section council which governs over the section. The section council in return recommends who is to be section leaders and assistant leaders. They then take it back to the unit for final approval or change.

5. **Area** : The area is made up of one hundred and twenty men or more. A city will be structured into areas. The ideal number of areas is three, but this may differ according to the city. If the number of Black Guards become too large for flexible guerrilla mobility in a given area, that area may have to be made into two areas. Each area will have an area council with two or three men from each section council selected by the section council. This keeps the area council tight nit. The area council makes decisions for the area and is complete authority for the area.

6. **City Council** : The city council is made up of two or three selected from each area council. The city council is the decision making board for the city program, activity, action, strategy, and tactics of the Black Guard. It is the last word in the city.

7. **County Council** : The county council is the combination of two or more neighboring city councils in a state that are in the same county. Number of county council will vary according to city. The purpose of the county council is to coordinate activity in neighboring cities within a given state.

8. **State council** : The state council consists of either one brother from each city council or two from each county. The State Council would make decisions and policy for the state coordinating state wide activity.

9. **Regional council** : The regional council consists of two or three brothers selected from each state council. They will combine within their regions to make regional councils. There are four regions: (1) Western, (2) Midwestern, (3) Eastern, (4) Southern.

10. **National Council** : The National Council is made up of three brothers selected from each regional council and those appointed as advisors by the vanguard. The national council has the responsibility of the entire national activities of the Black Guard. The national council will function independent except when advised otherwise by the national council, central secretariat or the soul circle of the vanguard. Representatives from the national council of the Black Guard will sit on the national council of the vanguard. The national council of the Black Guard will receive orders from the soul circle of the vanguard. The soul circle of the vanguard will at all times remain in close contact with the national council of the Black Guard.

The soul circle is the highest authority of the vanguard. All power is in and comes from the soul circle which has *dictatorial power*. The soul circle is secret. The central secretariat is the next highest body of power; then the national council. The national council, if needing help from the vanguard, will ask the national council of the vanguard; in extreme cases, the national council will refer the matter to the central secretariat, and if necessary to the soul circle.

THE FIVE SECTIONS OF THE BLACK GUARD

1. Political.
2. Field operations (Military).
3. Defense (protective).
4. Propaganda Public Relations.
5. Intelligence.

These five sections are the basic areas of guerrilla organization. Each Black Guard unit has these five sections making each Black Guard unit a guerrilla army within itself. Being structured in this manner, any or every Black Guard unit can rebuild the entire army and carry out the revolution.

Political

The political section is responsible for the development of the overall strategy and tactics, program, methods, analysis for the Black Guard. This includes both military and non-military activity. The political section would coordinate front activity will non-public activity, non-military with military, community organization and mobilization, etc.

Field operations (military)

The field operations (military) section is responsible for the training of Black Guard's training program and the applying (putting into action) the tactics, plans program, or manuevers of the Black Guard.

Defense (protective)

The defense (protective) section is responsible for the protection of vanguard and Black Guard leaders, members, and property in all situations. The defense

section is responsible for the defense of the Black Nation coordinating its activities with other sections. The defense section also functions as the enforcer squad; enforcing the vanguard and Black Guard discipline, and also enforcing the will of the vanguard and Black Guard. The name of the defense section is the M. M. (Mau Mau).

Propaganda-public relations

The propaganda-public relations section is responsible for the development of psychological warfare campaigns, organization, drafting of all propaganda and the organization of all front (public) activity. It is also responsible for fund raising activities, the organization of speakers to other groups, unity with other groups, diplomatic relations and affairs and the planning, coordination and organization of infiltration, coordinated with the intelligence section.

Intelligence

The intelligence section is responsible for the securing, collecting, analyzing, and organization of information on all friends and enemies activity, and is also responsible for the development of an intelligence and securities system inside and outside of the Black Guard.

LEVELS OF THE BLACK GUARD

There are four (4) levels of organization in the Black Guard. Level one (1) is the *Green Star*; level two is the *Red Star*, level three is the *Black Star*, and level four is the *RAM Star*.

1. Green Star

To get a Green Star a Black Guard recruit must complete orientation one (basic training). Basic training will take six weeks to two months, depending upon the discipline of the recruit. Basic training will give the recruit an understanding of the Black Guard; develop self discipline, and teach the recruit some basic methods of self-defense. Basic training will introduce the recruit to self defense. There are three stages within the Green Star level which, if the recruit studies the Black Guard lessons and trains, he will easily pass. Each recruit has a progress chart which his organizer grades him by and is used to help him in his development.

2. Red Star

In order to achieve a Red Star a Black Guard recruit has to complete orientation two which takes ten weeks to three months to complete. In orientation two the recruit broadens his understanding of self defense and self discipline, and a better understanding of people's war.

3. Black Star

To get the Black Star the recruit must pass orientation three. Orientation three will take the recruit into a higher level physically and mentally; translating theory into practice, etc. To achieve the Black Star, the recruit must have been in training for at least five months.

4. RAM Star

To obtain a RAM Star, the recruit must have completed orientation four; must know lessons and know how to apply lessons; must know Black Guard manual; and must have been in Black Guard training for eleven months. Once passing test he will receive RAM Star. The recruit should have the equivalent of a Brown Belt Karatist, and should be a good self-disciplined guerrilla soldier with knowledge of different aspects of self-defense warfare.

STAGES

There are twelve (12) stages of development within the Black Guard. Three (3) each in the four levels of organization. After completing each orientation and achieving the Star, there are three stages in each Star. These three stages symbolize the RAM'S head inside the star. Leadership is chosen by level and stage achieved. Stages and levels are achieved by execution of orders and understanding, loyalty; ability to apply the political, spiritual, and cultural economic lessons; and the military, political, spiritual, and physical training of the program.

THREE DEGREE RAM STAR

When a Black Guard has achieved his third degree RAM star (usually two years) he will be qualified to govern any society, be in any guerrilla movement in the world, and will be prepared to lead the New World.

RECRUITMENT, REQUIREMENTS, INITIATION, AND PRE-ORIENTATION "BASIC TRAINING"

Recruitment is established in most cases by personal contact. Recruit is accepted if he fulfills the five (5) rules for joining the B.G.

Pre-Orientation "Basic Training" takes six (6) weeks to three months to complete depending on the degree of self discipline of the recruit. Recruitment, orientation, and pre-orientation for new recruits is open only six times a year at maximum. The first step in becoming a member of the Black Guard is by being recommended by a person already in the Black Guard. (personal contact)

The recommended brother is studied and watched. The recruit must fill out application blank and must sign or copy Oath of Allegiance and report to area organizer to be assigned to a section and unit. The recruit must then report to "basic training" (orientation) class. After reporting two or three orientation classes, the recruit will receive a letter, (You Are Now A Black Guard), and other information for new recruits. The recruit is then instructed to bring this information to the next orientation class where it is further broken down.

The recruit is then requested to go to his draft board to pick up a C.O. Form (pending on his draft status). The recruit is then given copies of letters, "*America is the Blackman's Battleground*", for him to use as guidelines for A LETTER TO BE written by him in his own words. The recruit may use any part of the letters that he wishes. After completing letter, he is to bring it to the next orientation class along with C.O. Form and he is given instructions how to fill out C.O. Form. He then gives his letter to his area organizer or section leader for approval. The area organizer or section leader proof reads the letter, has copies made, published, distributed, etc.

After the letter of C.O. has been accepted and the C.O. Form with letter are sent to draft board, the recruit receives lessons which he must study. The recruit will be quizzed on his understanding of the lessons in unit meetings and also "unity liberation school".

A Progress Record is kept on each recruit and recruits are rated in such things as alertness, dedication, discipline, ability to apply theory, conduct, political-paramilitary development, cleanliness, cooperation, effort, and reliability. Each recruit, after completing level, can see his rating for that level completed.

After completion of orientation (pre-level one, basic training), the recruit, after passing the test of "*reliability and consistency*," becomes an official (registered) member of the Black Guard. He is then considered a "Green Star"-level one, stage one.

Basic training

Each recruit must report for basic training unless otherwise designated by the vanguard-RAM for a period of six weeks to three months. After six weeks of basic training—upon passing tests dealing with the fine aspects of guerrilla warfare—the recruit may wear level one pin, "the Green Star". Basic training will consist of weekly workouts, and a full programmed schedule of activity for each recruit pin-pointed to daily activity.

TYPES OF TRAINING OF THE BLACK GUARD

There are three basic types of training in the Black Guard that every member is graded in.

1. Political Training

Political training is very important to every Black Guard because without political theory a successful guerrilla campaign cannot be executed.

Political training teaches the Black Guard recruit: (1) Who he is; (2) What he is fighting for; (3) Who he must identify with; (4) Where his loyalty must be; (5) What must be done; (6) How to do it. Political also teaches the recruit

how to organize and move (mobilize) a community; how to run and control meetings; the art of front activity, infiltration, and psychological warfare, etc.

2. *Physical-Spiritual Training*

Physical-Spiritual training—to every Black Guard because every guerrilla must be worth ten or more of the enemy. This means that he must be superior to the enemy in all ways. Every Black Guard then, must be superiorly trained both politically, physically, spiritually, militarily than a Green Beret-Elite of the U.S. Army, the Black Belts (Seals)—Elite of the Navy, Marines, etc. Physical training includes Karate (Black Guard major sport), Aikido, Kung Fu, judo, stick fighting, armed fighting, etc. Physical training continues throughout in every level and stage.

Training is: (1) Basic Training—Karate (Basic Fundamentals); (2) Green Star—Karate (development), Aikido (B.F.); (3) Red Star—Kung Fu (B.P.) Aikido (D), Karate (d); (4) Black Star—K.F. (d), A(D), J(B.F.); and (5) RAM Star—Armed Fighting (B.F.).

Spiritual training develops within every Black Guard as he develops in physical training. Spiritual training is the science of disciplining one's will or soul force. It is often called Prana. Spiritual training involves the recruit's learning the art and importance of meditation, fasting (adjust to a new diet, eat irregular, etc.). Every Black Guard must be trained for a war time or crises bases; therefore, he must have steel nerves in times of chaos and confusion; must be able to go without food for long periods of time, etc. . . . therefore, spiritual training is of great importance to every Black Guard. Physical-Spiritual training consists of daily individual workouts and weekly (three times a week) "unity" (collective team) workouts.

3. *Para-Military Training*

Para-Military training is very important to every Black Guard being the Black People's Liberation Army (guerilla army). Para-Military means irregular military or guerrilla training. Para Military training consists of mock and real maneuvers as a guerrilla unit. It also involves training in:

- (1) Political functioning of a para-military unit.
- (2) Security and intelligence.
- (3) Methods of organizational survival.
- (4) Military discipline and guerrilla organization.
- (5) Rural and urban guerrilla warfare.

RANK IN THE BLACK GUARD AND COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

Rank in the Black Guard is designed on the principle collective leadership (more than one leader, but yet under the command of one leader). This leadership is selected by the group itself, not by personality as done in other groups, but rather by the most dedicated. The Black Guard who is the most disciplined and dedicated rises in rank. Rank is termed only as "leader" of whatever position involved and does not involve a lot of ego and personality struggle. The leaders are chosen by the area organizers judging the men from progress chart, etc. and ability, and also by secret ballot by the group. Leadership comes from the most disciplined within the Black Guard and at all times remains in unity with the rank and file of the Black Guard. Black Guard leadership is the best of the rank and file. The Black Guard being a people's guerrilla army, doesn't have rank and file officership like the enemy's army.

WHAT IS NATIONALISM?

Nationalism is the philosophy of group cultural unity, or a group of people who have a common ethic, historical, economic, cultural background and common interests expressing themselves, itself for the benefits of that particular group. Nationalism is usually expressed when a group of people with a common cultural history decide that they want to form an independent, self determining, nation being self ruling, run by the particular group with a common culture.

Nationalism becomes a living cultural force when the particular group begins to function from an independent group base. In other words, operating from the premise that their culture is good or best for their group.

WHAT IS BLACK NATIONALISM ?

Black Nationalism is the philosophy of peoples of Black (African, Asian, and Latin American) cultural root history used as a creative force, to liberate Black peoples from European colonialist exploitation and create free, self determining nations.

Black Nationalism is the belief in black culture controlling us as opposed to being dominated by white (European) culture. Black Nationalism is usually expressed when African, Asian, and Latin American groups strive to form independent, self determining nations to be controlled by the black group and not by European or the European American or any other group besides their own.

Black Nationalism means identity or black group identity. Black Nationalism means black patriotism, being patriotic to the cultural group. Black Nationalism is an identification and consciousness of our own cultural group, own kind and self. Black Nationalism is self identity. Black Nationalism is group love, that is the love for the group, our people, and our culture.

WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY BLACK INTER-NATIONALISM ?

Revolutionary Black Inter-Nationalism is the philosophy of cooperation, unity of Black Nationalists throughout the world to bring about a world revolution in which Black culture dominates and rules the planet. Revolutionary Black Inter-Nationalism is the philosophy that black people of world (black, yellow, brown and red) are all enslaved by the same forces. Revolutionary Black Inter-Nationalism is the philosophy of a common international cultural heritage and identity among all non-European people, that is African, Asian and Latin American people all have similar if not the same cultural histories and have a common destiny.

Revolutionary Black Inter-Nationalism is the philosophy of a world black revolution of the black underclass rising up against their slavemasters. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us a little information about what it contains, briefly ?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Reading from the index, itself, it indicates that the structure, five sections of the Black Guard, levels of the Black Guard, various stages, recruitment requirements, initiation, and pre-orientation basic training, types of training of the Black Guard, rank of the Black Guard, and collective leadership. It is a 7-page document.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it give the objectives of the organization ? What is the function of the Black Guard ?

Sergeant COURTNEY. On page 3 of the pamphlet it talks about field operations—military—

The field operation section is responsible for the training of Black Guard's training program and applying or putting into action the tactics, plans, programs or maneuvers of the Black Guard.

Next they talk of defense, protective.

The defense section is responsible for the protection of Vanguard and Black Guard leaders, members and property in all situations. The defense section is responsible for the defense of the black nations, coordinating its activities with other sections.

The defense section also functions as the enforcer squad, enforcing the Vanguard and Black Guard discipline, and also enforcing the will of Vanguard and the Black Guard. The name of the defense section is the MM, Mau Mau.

They go on and they talk about a propaganda section, an intelligence section.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Proceed.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Due to the clandestine operation of the Revolutionary Action Movement, there were no commonly known or public meeting places. The organization had two cell groups that functioned mainly in Queens and Manhattan and occasionally met in the Bronx and Brooklyn. Both cell groups functioned as one group when they participated in the activities of the Jamaica Rifle and Pistol Club. This rifle club was seemingly legitimate but in reality was formed to provide the necessary training and equipment to carry out the overall activities of RAM. The rifle club used the facilities of various ranges and armories in Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Long Island.

The Queens group met frequently in the basement of a grocery store located on New York Boulevard in Queens, and owned by a RAM member, George Samuels, who for the past year has been active with the Black Panther Party in New York City. On other occasions the Queens and Manhattan groups met in the homes of various members.

The national headquarters as far as can be determined was the residence of Maxwell Stanford in Philadelphia, Pa.

It was the policy of RAM to infiltrate and give direction wherever it would serve the ultimate purpose of the organization by indoctrinating others with their revolutionary ideas and tactics. This was done with some success in civil rights and antipoverty organizations. One Herman Ferguson, former New York public school assistant principal, and one of the 21 arrested and charged with various conspiracies, including conspiracy to commit the murder of Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, was the key figure behind an organization known as the Black Brotherhood Improvement Association which attempted to incite violence in a predominantly Negro Queens community over a mural on the wall of the bank. This activity resulted in some violence on a small scale. Ferguson exerted much influence over the Afro-American Teachers Association which, in turn, exerted influence over the Afro-American Students Association. These groups are made up of black teachers and black students—high school—in the public school system of New York City. These groups were instrumental in the disruptions surrounding the decentralization issue embroiling the entire public school system with some incidents of violence over the last 3 years and culminating in the current Negro-Jewish confrontation.

Senator GRIFFIN. You state that Ferguson was arrested and charged with conspiracy, including the conspiracy to commit the murders of Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young.

The previous witness said he was not only arrested and charged but was also convicted.

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is correct, sir. I will clarify it later in my statement.

III. MEMBERSHIP

Investigation by the New York City Police Department has developed evidence that the following have been active in the affairs of RAM in the New York City area.

I have a list of names, Mr. Chairman. If you want, I can read them into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be inserted into the record.

(The list of names follows:)

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| *Harriet Noel | *Michell Kourouma nee Doswell |
| Le Roi Jones | *Albert Edward Haynes |
| *Ursula West | *Arthur Harris |
| Robert Zimmerman a/k/a Clayfoot | Ella Mae Ferguson |
| *Merle Stewart | *Milton Clarence Ellis |
| *Abraham C. Taylor | *Fred Fernandez |
| Langston Savage | *Herman B. Ferguson |
| *George Samuels | Robert Steele Collier |
| *Hampton Rookard | Walter Bowe |
| *Raymond Smith | Al Calloway |
| Audley Moore | Donald Washington |
| *Mandola Gale McPherson | *John Henry Anderson |
| Willam Kochiyama | Shelton Duncan |
| Mary Kochiyama | Vida Gaynor |
| *Markl Kourouma a/k/a Moriko | Mae Mallory |
| Kaurouma | Kirkwood Hall |

Sergeant COURTNEY. Of the above-named individuals, those indicated by an asterisk were on June 21, 1967, after a lengthy investigation by the New York City Police Department and Queens County district attorney's office which resulted in an indictment of all defendants by the Queens County grand jury, arrested in New York City and charged with: (1) Advocacy of criminal anarchy; (2) conspiracy to advocate criminal anarchy; and (3) conspiracy to commit arson. In addition to these charges, defendants, Ferguson and Harris, were also charged with conspiracy to commit murder, in that they conspired to assassinate Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I have the indictments, two separate indictments, one including all 21 defendants, and the other including the defendants Ferguson and Harris, which I will offer into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 523 and 524" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Also arrested pursuant to the same indictment in Philadelphia, Pa., on a warrant issued by a justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, on the first three above-mentioned charges, was Maxwell Stanford, 3023 Fountain Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

(At this point, Senator Javits entered the hearing room.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. As indicated elsewhere in this report, the defendants Ferguson and Harris were on October 3, 1968, convicted of conspiracy to commit murder and sentenced to 3½ to 7 years, but are presently free on bail pending an appeal of said conviction.

All of the other defendants are also free on bail awaiting trial on the above first three charges.

At this time, I have an additional exhibit, Mr. Chairman, which is a newspaper article indicating that this is the status of all defendants at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 525" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. It is interesting to note that the defendants Ferguson and Harris, as well as some of the other defendants, have

since the date of their arrest continued their militant activities in varying capacities within the city of New York and elsewhere. Among those taken into custody in Detroit, Mich., on March 30, 1969, at a Republic of New Africa Convention, where one police officer was shot to death and others wounded, were Herman Ferguson, Arthur Harris, Mandola McPherson, and George Samuels. It is further interesting to note that of the above-named defendants, Abraham C. Taylor, George Samuels, Fred Fernandez, and Robert Collier are all known to be active in the New York City Black Panther Party and the latter two were among 21 Panthers arrested for Black Panther Party activities on April 3, 1969.

Senator GRIFFIN. Before you go to the next subject, may I ask you a question?

You previously identified Ferguson as an assistant principal in the school system of New York City, did you not?

Sergeant COURTNEY. At the time of his arrest and RAM indictment he was an assistant principal in the New York City school system.

Senator GRIFFIN. Do you know for how long?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I would say he had been associated as a teacher and assistant principal for at least 10 years prior to that time.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you very much.

(At this point Senator Javits withdrew from the hearing room.)

IV. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION AND THEIR IMPACT ON SPECIFIC COMMUNITIES

Sergeant COURTNEY. As mentioned heretofore, it was the policy of RAM to infiltrate and give direction wherever feasible in the community with the ultimate aim of achieving a black revolution. As far as violence was concerned, RAM members or associates were involved in a small way when RAM was in its first stages of formation and was functioning as a group known as the Black Brotherhood Improvement Association and they attempted to create an atmosphere of violence around an issue involving a mural on the wall of a bank in a black community.

I have another exhibit at this time which is a publication of the revolutionary action movement, and refers to this Banjo Billy incident at the Jamaica Savings Bank.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a publication of the organization?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 526" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. This activity did result in numerous confrontations with police and in the eventual arrest of Roosevelt Zimmerman for: Disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and 887-7 C.C.P. (wearing hood over face).

He was convicted on all of those charges at a later date.

The long-range plans plus the clandestine operation of RAM made it mandatory that any projection into overt violence be discreet and limited. However, RAM had extensive plans for violence and disorder at the time of the arrests of 21 members including two of Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris for conspiracy to commit the

murder of Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins. The plans and activities as actually carried out have yet to be aired at the upcoming trial of those arrested and because this case is pending trial, specifics cannot be gone into at this time. Ferguson and Harris were tried and convicted of the conspiracy to commit murder and were sentenced to 3½ to 7 years, but are currently free on bail pending the results of an appeal. In addition to the general aims of the organization as hereinafter set forth, the specific program and activities of the organization religiously followed the following schedule for a period of several months prior to the arrests of June 21, 1967, during each week:

Monday, business, social meeting of organization, and firearms familiarization.

Tuesday, lecture on guerrilla warfare, in various homes and store (headquarters in Queens).

Wednesday, New York School of Self-Defense—Aikido practice.

Thursday, Nassau County Range for rifle practice.

Friday, further range practice—New York State Armory for rifle and pistol practice, Westside Rifle Range, New York City.

Saturday, political education meetings in store of George Samuels in Queens where leaflets were printed, and so forth.

Sunday, political education and firearms instruction in homes of members.

I say, Mr. Chairman, this was the schedule that was adhered to day by day for several months prior to their arrest.

V. FINANCES

The only finances or money known to have been available to RAM in New York was from dues collected and individual contributions or money raised from fundraising affairs such as parties, and so forth. This money was, as far as is known, used for organization requirements, such as stationery, printing materials and other paraphernalia used for preparing leaflets and literature. It is, however, known that on one occasion a member of the New York City Police Department working undercover in the RAM was instructed by Max Stanford to make all preparations (passport, and so forth) for a trip to Paris, France, to meet Robert Williams from whom he would obtain literature and money to be brought back for RAM use.

VI. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The stated aims of the organization is to achieve their goal of a worldwide black revolution to create a "new world" free from the exploitation and oppression of man by man through the concept of organized violence. Their aims and objectives are clearly set forth in RAM publications such as the World Black Revolution, which I will offer at this time as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 527" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. And the Black Manifesto, and others which are in the possession of the Queens County District Attorney's Office at this time, and, for that reason, I cannot produce them.

For the United States, RAM envisions a black revolution that will seize total power. To accomplish this goal, RAM has devised a three-stage plan, which it claimed to have in operation prior to the June 21, 1967, arrests. The first stage was referred to as ideological warfare and said to consist of education and recruitment. The second stage was called expropriation. In this stage, the plan was to obtain funds by both legal and illegal means. The third stage will be direct action in which the system of government in the United States will be replaced, if necessary, by force. RAM planned to implement the second and third stages by using teenage gangs in the larger cities. The organization's timetable was flexible depending upon the success achieved.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this taken from?

Sergeant COURTNEY. This, again, Mr. Chairman, is taken from a publication of the Revolutionary Action Movement entitled "On Organization of Black Ghetto Youth."

I will offer it at this time as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 528" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 528

ON ORGANIZATION OF BLACK GHETTO YOUTH

One of the main reasons why Black ghetto youth have not been organized by Black radicals is because Black radicals have been following the European concepts of organizing our people. They have projected themselves as white moralist before our people and have lacked the dynamism and have not identified emotionally with our people. For this reason the Black left even at the present time remains an isolated from our community.

The only mobilization of black ghetto youth has come as a result of other Black youth leading them who had some form of emotional identification with our people. This can be seen from the days of Marcus Garvey, who in the prime of his movement was a very young man and was considered a youthful upstart. Martin Luther King the integrationist was very young and identified with our people's hatred against the segregationist, racist system in the South. Also Brother Malcolm of course represented the nationalistic aspirations of the Black ghetto youth, through his emotional appeal over a ten year period he developed the Nation of Islam from a small sect to a national organization. Brothers on the block became involved in a para-military organization because of their identification with Brother Malcolm, who had been on the block and had not lost his cultural roots. Also by the way he carried himself he projected the dynamism (togetherness) that was necessary to motivate Black youth to cut the society loose. In essence Brother Malcolm had internalized completely the program of Elijah Muhammad with such intensity that he could project it as the ultimate solution for our people because he believed it was so. What we are saying is the Brother Malcolm believed in a program. A program that gave ultimate solution, ultimate destiny. Whether we believe it or not he had complete faith in the program and attempted to carry it out.

In organizing Black ghetto youth Black revolutionaries must first develop the vision for victory. The vision of victory is a must if we intend to develop a sustained revolutionary movement among Black ghetto youth. This means in the early stages of mobilization of Black ghetto youth we must prepare for the ultimate stage, a protracted war of national liberation; therefore the type of organization that must be established is a political para-military organization. Only such an organization that understands raw, physical power can initiate and sustain the revolutionary movement among the youth. The problem therefore is not the motivation of Black ghetto youth to wanting to participate in revolutionary action, on the contrary the problem is developing the organizers of such a movement to the point that they can gain the respect of Black ghetto youth.

Therefore emphasis must be placed upon the internalization of new values, the physical preparedness of each organizer and the structure of the organization that can control Black ghetto youth. Also the emphasis must be placed upon the structured doctrine of revolution that would be taught Black ghetto youth. Black ghetto youth being in their most unstable years must have a disciplined, decisive and dedicated organization that has a structured doctrine, that answers every possible question they may have. This is necessary, because youth need to see the new. In order for our people to be organized for revolution they must see the way out or the way towards victory. Therefore doctrine is of upmost importance in order to instill loyalty in the Black ghetto youth to the revolutionary organization that will be organizing them. Also this is important to instill pride and respect for other organizers.

Once drawing our basis for organization of the youth which would join the Black army to fight the war of national liberation we can discuss organization and program for such an army. Such an army has to take on a revolutionary nationalist prospective, have the sense of density and the sense of retribution. Such an army must be an army of a Black government-in-exile. Such an army must represent the oppressed or nation within a nation. It must have its own heroes, flag, and everything that an army has. A black liberation Army should have three arenas; physical, political, and para-military. The Black Liberation Army must have a basic training period. This basic training period should be for at least three months and no person would be considered a member of the B.L.A. unless they had completed basic training. This would make the B.L.A. selective and give it a sense of prestige in the community.

The Types of Training of the Black Liberation Army: The organizers of the B.L.A. must study the U.S. Army and all its special forces being that we have inferior (less numbers) forces we must have superior requirements for our prospective cadres. Our army must be political and have a sense of political victory, political revolution. It must be a peoples army.

Physical Training: This would entail the organization and the development of squads and teams to develop group (collective) spirit. This would mean daily physical work-outs as a team. Physical training after acceptance of a recruit into the B.L.A. would entail the training in the marshal arts (karate, judo, akido, and stick fighting etc.).

Political Training: This would entail the physical projects of the army. This would range from picketing, distributing leaflets, organizing rallies, rent strikes, student's school strikes to selling publications.

Para-Military Training: Para-military training during the basic training period would entail the teaching of rural and urban guerrilla warfare. The political and military functioning of a disciplined cadre, method of organizational survival, security and intelligence. After the basic training period it would entail the actual structure and organization of guerrilla units that would be involved in physical maneuvers.

Structure of the Army: The army is to be organized in units of five. This is done to ensure security and to enhance mobility, being organized in small units would mean to have a permanent guerrilla army that could disperse and function in a period that called for decentralization. Each unit if properly organized and knowing its function and the total prospective of the army could continue to operate if separated from other units.

Authority of the Army: Ultimate authority would come from a soul circle that would be unknown. Basic decisions would come from the Black Brotherhood which would consist of the original organizers of the army and those chosen from the rank and file.

The Five Sections of the Black Brotherhood: (1) Political Bureau, (2) Public Relations, (3) Protection, (4) Intelligence, (5) Public Activity.

Political Bureau: purpose is to assess and draw strategy for all political activity for the army responding to a directive from the soul circle. To prepare all propaganda from the army coordinating with the public activity section.

Public Activity: to plan all public activity for the army and coordinating plans with other sections.

Protective: to be responsible for the protection of officers, property, and members in the army in all situations.

Intelligence: to be responsible for obtaining information of any enemy activity and be responsible for the developing of a securities system within and without the army. To be responsible for security at public gatherings. This action would be coordinated with the protective section.

Public Relations: to be responsible for fund raising. The organization of public fund raising. The organization of public speakers from the army speaking to other groups (speakers bureau) and the relationship of the army with other groups.

Methods of Joining the Army: 1) The person must come to the army office and fill out an application blank or either approach a member of the army and other arrangements can be made. 2) They must sign a pledge of allegiance to our people and a declaration of the army. This qualifies them for basic training.

Basic Training: The recruit must report for basic training for a period of three months. Basic training will consist of daily workouts and drill for a three month period, with para-military training and liberation school once or twice a week. The joining of a political committee which would have a political activity once every two weeks. The recruit must participate in all activities of the group and sell publications, this will be checked by his squad leader. The recruit must memorize and study lessons which would be checked in the liberation school. A questionnaire will be given to all recruits and returned to the army officer. In order to fill out the questionnaire properly the recruit must attend the liberation school.

After completing basic training each recruit will either get promoted or stay in the same position. If promoted they will obtain another assignment and be considered as a member of the army. Every male recruit must make an exact copy of his declaration of consciousness, mail it to his local draft board having the army secretary for his witness. Then he will be assigned to orientation II. Once being promoted into the freedom army the recruit is then allowed to wear a special army button and an army uniform. The uniform will only be worn when instructed. The army button describes rank, completion of basic training and physical training. Orientation II will require less classroom time for para-military training. The recruit will be involved in more political work with less liberation school sessions which will involve maneuvers of applying theory into practice of both a political and para-military nature.

The Doctrine: The doctrine of B.L.A. should be well structured. The Nation of Islam should be studied closely for this. The B.L.A.'s philosophy revolutionary nationalism should be structured into lesson form, where a notebook should be kept and mimeographed notes. Requirements for each recruit should be the memorization of these lessons, promotion should be based on work in the community and the understanding of lessons.

The slogans of the army should be, "We will win by any means necessary". The colors of the army should be red, black and green, an army song should be established and a blood oath should be taken to avenge the murder of Brother Malcolm, using Brother Malcolm and Garvey as prophets. Train the troops to have a sense of retribution or physical retaliation. The doctrine should use the assassination of Brother Malcolm as an example to show what the troops are up against; finks, uncle toms, and whiteys. Developing them to a fanatical point of striking the one physical blow in the name of Malik Shabazz that could bring the oppressor to his knees.

The doctrine must have the sense of ultimate destiny to discipline the troops not to move prematurely but for the unleashing of the final blow. This means the doctrine must have the total prospective of the Black revolution including the new world society and Black dictatorship in this country. The Marxian concept of destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be replaced by Black dictatorship of the world. The doctrine would put forth the concept of ultimate power, ruling this country and the entire world. It must illustrate the three alternatives left for Black men in this country; jail, exile, or assassination. The prophet of this doctrine must be Marcus Garvey, Black man who was jailed, exiled and rumored to have been poisoned. The bomb plot victims (statue of liberty) must become martyrs along with Brother Malcolm and Robert F. Williams who must become the army's leader-in-exile.

The B.L.A. must have principles, high morals and humanistic standards of a peoples army. This is important for the transformation of Black ghetto youth's values from the negative reactionary concepts now existing to the new humanistic values of the new society.

The Black ghetto youth must have slogans that illustrate their new sense of organization. Examples are:

What are the Black Liberation Army's 3 A's? Awareness, Agitation, Action.

What are the 3 D's? Dedicated, Decisive, Discipline.

What is our motto? One Goal, One Aim, One Destiny.

What are our slogans? We will win by any means necessary! Unite or Perish.

What is our target date? 1970.

Who will rule the new world? Black People.

Why? We are the only ones capable of restoring the world to a new spiritual level.

All these questions will be dealt with in detail, this is just on outline for doctrine.

Proposed Program for the Black Liberation Army :

- (1) Development of an arm for protection and survival of Black People.
- (2) The organization of a Black Peoples government in Black Power.
- (3) The organization of a Black self-help program.
- (4) The organization of a league of Black workers.
- (5) The organization of a Black tenements leagues.
- (6) The organization of Black unemployed and welfare.
- (7) The organization of a Black student movement.
- (8) The development of liberation schools to teach our people survival.
- (9) The organization of a Black athletic organization.
- (10) Taking our issue before the U.N. and charging genocide (completing Brother Malcom's work).

PROSPECTIVE FOR ORGANIZING

Prepare the community for issue by propagandizing :

- (1) Collect serious people around issue.
- (2) Develop into organizational form.
- (3) Have a public meeting and rallies calling for the joining of the organizational formed.
- (4) Plan action that would create the image of the organization taking the offensive and prepare the community for such an action.
- (5) Call meeting of organizations calling for a Black united front around nation.
- (6) Have Black news conference releasing organization's program, action and calling for a Black united front concerning the issue.
- (7) Have demonstrations on the issue, start off with small cadre and build up involving other organizations; then attempt to coordinate in other cities.
- (8) Develop coordinating committee with other groups in the cities around issue.
- (9) Call national conference on developing a coalition of different groups involved.
- (10) Consolidate efforts of the conference and develop the political end of program established at conference.

(*NOTE.—At all times have political activities flowing with propaganda and para-military action.)

These notes are just a brief description of the types of organization it will take to organize Black ghetto youth of jr. high and high school age. These notes are not complete and further study should be made on the subject. This is an important subject because Black ghetto youth are the most revolutionary section of Black America. But they can not be organized for revolutionary action of a protracted manner unless a highly disciplined, para-military organization is already established.

I must re-emphasize this is an acute problem and should not be dismissed lightly. The organization of Black ghetto youth will take organizers to the final stages of revolution, if properly organized. If not properly organized it will lead to a premature stage and a complete disruption of an entire cadre. The key thing at this point is organization. Organization is top priority anything less then leading to the development of a highly discipline revolutionary organization at this point is insignificant!!

The CHAIRMAN. You introduced a document a moment ago, the "World Black Revolution," exhibit 527.

Before you go any further, it has been called to my attention that the first picture in it, on the first page inside, is a picture of a group of people, standing before microphones.

It says, "Robert Williams and Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That picture was made, I assume, in China.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir. Peking, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that? Was it dated? I am trying to see how recent it is.

Do you have the date that this was distributed?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I would give an educated guess that it is about 1964, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

VII. SECRECY

Sergeant COURTNEY. Secrecy was continuously a prime objective of RAM due to the subversive activities of the organization and primarily because of the previous infiltration of the organization in its plot to blow up the Statue of Liberty, by members of the New York City Police Department. This plot was attributed to RAM in its early stages of operation.

Secrecy is also evident in that the name RAM was seldom used and was scarcely known in the black communities. The organization limited memberships to a select few carefully screened people, although in a few instances members used aliases in an attempt to conceal their true identity. Although it was not a general policy of the organization to use codes or code names, evidence was uncovered indicating codes were used to refer to lumber yards, gas stations, and so forth, the organization intended to seize and utilize when the revolution came.

VIII. RELATIONSHIPS TO OTHER DOMESTIC ORGANIZATIONS

RAM, from all indications, did not form a solidarity of programs and were not known to use United Front techniques in the United States. Instead, RAM appeared to be independent of other domestic groups except for their attempts at infiltration and control. However, in its early stages, RAM was closely allied with Malcolm X's group, the Organization for African-American Unity. RAM, rather than aline itself with other domestic groups, set up its own front organizations such as the Black Brotherhood Improvement Association, the Black Panther Party, and the Jamaica Rifle & Pistol Club.

IX. RELATIONSHIP TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS

In view of the fact that Robert Williams is claimed to be the leader of RAM in exile and has lived in Cuba, Peking, China, and now Tanzania, the relationship to these countries can be taken for granted. In fact, the teachings and indoctrination to which RAM members are subjected are heavily weighted with the revolutionary theories and philosophies of Mao Tse-tung. On numerous occasions this literature has been seized, and what is known as the "Red Book"—the teachings of Mao Tse-tung—often bear the printed name and Peking, China, ad-

dress of Robert Williams on the inside back cover. While Williams was in Cuba, several students visited Cuba in violation of the U.S. State Department ban on travel to Cuba, there were several students among them, including Max Stanford and Robert Collier. It was alleged that during this trip they received indoctrination and training in guerrilla warfare.

X. PUBLICATIONS, NEWSPAPERS, AND LEAFLETS PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY THE ORGANIZATION

As mentioned in the history of the organization, the publication Crusader was the principal means of disseminating RAM's propaganda.

At this time, I will offer in evidence a copy of the Crusader dated May-June 1964.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 529" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. Another publication known as Black America, which I now offer as an exhibit, published quarterly, which was available at some newsstands or by subscriptions mailed to a New York post office box.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 530" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. Occasionally, other RAM literature, such as World Black Revolution, would appear without any indication of its source.

I offer a copy of that at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 531" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. Another publication known as the Liberator, though not a RAM publication, was influenced by RAM and frequently carried articles written by RAM members.

I offer a copy of Liberator magazine as an exhibit at this time.

It is interesting to note that the cover of this magazine carries the same picture of Robert Williams with Mao Tse-tung in Peking, China.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 532" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. The above-mentioned publications were the principal conveyors of RAM literature but it was the policy of the organization to print and disseminate much literature to get their ideas across. It was, in fact, a policy to establish news media in all communities where they were organized as a means of communication. The purpose of this was to form a network by which a RAM office in Detroit, Mich., would publish events of RAM office in Philadelphia, Pa., or New York City, N.Y. There are no figures available on the circulation of these publications.

X. INFLUENCE AND PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

There is no indication of RAM having had any participation or influence in government except for the fact that the Black Arts Repertory Theater functioned with Federal funds made available through HARYOU-ACT, which was the Harlem agency responsible for the distribution of these funds. There were various accounts of the mishandling of these funds and, in fact, it is alleged that the leader Leroi Jones and other members of the Black Arts Theater had a falling out which eventually ended in Jones' expulsion and an attempted murder by the shooting of one Larry Neal by John Moore and Charles Patterson on Seventh Avenue, Manhattan (Harlem), March 10, 1966, who were arrested and incarcerated, and eventually released when Neal failed to press the charges.

Senator JAVITS. I would like to ask a couple of questions, if I may.

First, I would like to welcome you to the committee as a fellow New Yorker and thank you for your cooperation.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Thank you, Senator.

Senator JAVITS. I notice that you named in the last paragraph the Black Arts Repertory Theater. Speaking as a lawyer, I didn't notice in the course of your statement the establishment of a connection between the Black Arts Repertory Theater and the RAM.

Do you want to make that connection?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I believe the connection would be, Senator, that Leroi Jones was associated with RAM all through the investigation, and, of course, he runs the Black Arts Repertory Theater.

Senator JAVITS. That is the connection?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator JAVITS. Could you also tell us how extensive an operation is this Black Arts Repertory Theater?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I wouldn't say it was terribly extensive. As a matter of fact, it is rather defunct right now.

Senator JAVITS. In other words, the Leroi Jones plays were produced, as I recall it, elsewhere than by the Black Arts Repertory Theater; is that true?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator JAVITS. Do you know how much money they actually used from HARYOU-ACT?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I couldn't venture a guess at this time.

Senator JAVITS. HARYOU-ACT was financed through the anti-poverty program, was it not?

Sergeant COURTNEY. So I understand.

Senator JAVITS. So really this is a rather different echelon of activity, except that Leroi Jones was in both, is that right?

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is right, Senator.

Senator JAVITS. I noticed with interest on the first page of your statement the following sentence at the bottom of page 1:

Since these arrests in 1967, there has been no tangible evidence of the continual functioning of RAM.

That is correct, is it not?

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is correct, sir.

Senator JAVITS. So really, what you are giving us is the historical

record. Since RAM is no longer a vital organization in terms of this investigation we are making?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Well, actually, Senator, organizations are comprised of people, and the people who were involved in RAM are very active in New York in other organizations today.

Senator JAVITS. They are still around?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, indeed.

Senator JAVITS. Are you going to trace these people into subsequent presentations on other organizations like the Black Panther Party?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator JAVITS. So this is really the first stage of their activity as it is described to us?

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is the purpose of the order of the presentation, Senator.

Senator JAVITS. Now the next question is: You propose also to establish a connection between these same people and disruption on college campuses, and so forth?

Sergeant COURTNEY. To a degree; yes, sir.

Senator JAVITS. To a degree you can?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator JAVITS. One last question, Sergeant: As both of us are sophisticated New Yorkers, do you see any profound difference in the character or quality of a leftwing organization like RAM and other extremist groups we have run into in New York, like rightwing groups? That is, do you detect any really fundamental difference in the type of activity, the nature of its organization, and so forth, between the groups that we have discovered before, as I say, on both planes, right and left, and this one?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Fundamentally, there is no difference in my opinion, Senator. The ultimate aim of all of these extremist groups, whether they be right or left, is to overthrow the Government.

Senator JAVITS. By force?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator JAVITS. Thank you, very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Have you finished with respect to this group, RAM?

Sergeant COURTNEY. The Revolutionary Action Movement is complete, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have just finished that one?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next one?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I am now going to the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You may proceed.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

I. HISTORY

Sergeant COURTNEY. The Black Panther Party (BPP) in the United States originated, at least in name, in Lowndes County, Ala. Approximately 4 years ago, the Lowndes County Freedom Party (LCFP) was formed by John Hulett and Stokely Carmichael as a black peoples' political party in opposition to both the Democrats

and Republicans. The party chose as their emblem a black panther because, "The Black Panther doesn't go looking for trouble, but if you corner him and he has to fight, he'll claw you apart."

In New York City, we have had experience with two Black Panther organizations at two different periods of time: One, an offshoot of the Revolutionary Action Movement, and the other a chapter of the Oakland Black Panther Party. The first started in New York City in August of 1966. The chapter of the Oakland Black Panther Party came to our attention in approximately April of 1968. We wish to note that the philosophy and modus operandi of the two groups are sufficiently similar as to make them virtually indistinguishable.

The first BPP, which closely parallels the philosophy of Malcolm X and retains the black panther emblem, bears little resemblance to the Lowndes County Freedom Party. This movement was an offshoot of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

Maxwell Stanford was instrumental in the formation of Black Panther groups in New York and Chicago. Max Stanford, along with Benjamin Playthell, formed RAM in Philadelphia, late in 1963 or early in 1964. RAM did not seek mass membership, but rather operated on the principle of a tight-knit highly selective inner circle of leaders who accomplish their aims through infiltration and subversion of other Afro-American groups, and through fronts and the use of Negro teenage gangs schooled in urban guerrilla warfare. One of these front organizations was the Black Panthers which was active in New York starting in August 1966.

In August 1966, Maxwell Stanford and the Panther organization appeared in New York City, at a BPP rally at which Stanford, Stokely Carmichael, and William Epton of the Progressive Labor Party were the main speakers. Stanford, flanked by members of the BPP, stated:

Black men must unite in overthrowing their white oppressors, must do it like panthers, smiling, cunning, scientifically * * * stalking by night and sparing no one.

Stanford said the United States could be brought down with a rag and some gasoline and a bottle.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this taken from?

Sergeant COURTNEY. This is taken from the report of New York City detectives who attended this meeting, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they heard these statements made?

Sergeant COURTNEY. They did, indeed, sir.

This early Black Panther Party was born, so to speak, of RAM, and its early spokesmen were Max Stanford and Robert Williams, a native of Monroe, N.C. Williams fled to Cuba with his family in August 1961, hours before he was indicted on charges of kidnaping a white couple and holding them for several hours during a racial disturbance. A Federal warrant is outstanding charging Williams with unlawful flight to avoid prosecution for kidnaping.

The current BPP is a serious movement that is totally committed to revolution and "black liberation in the white mother country." At this time, the BPP is officially headquartered in Oakland, Calif. It operates from 8306 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, Calif.

Initially, the Panthers functioned as a community alert patrol in Oakland, following police cars and advising residents of their legal rights if they were arrested. As part of this effort to protect the legal rights of residents, the BPP newspaper of May 18, 1968, published a 14-point "Pocket Lawyer of Legal First Aid," which carefully spelled out the rights of citizens and the limitations of police officers when making an arrest.

It is my understanding, Mr. Chairman, that this is in evidence at this time from prior testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. It has already been introduced?

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is what I understand, sir.

Huey Newton was one of the original founders of the Oakland Panthers, along with Bobby Seale, back in 1966. Newton is in a California prison, convicted for the murder of an Oakland policeman in October 1967.

While the Panthers attempt to portray Newton as a patron saint and martyr, the truth is that Newton has a long history of involvement with the police. He served 6 months in a California prison for assault with a deadly weapon in 1964 and has a record of frequent arrests for theft and burglary. Eldridge Cleaver, who is now a fugitive from justice, fled to Cuba in November 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. I noticed an article in the paper this morning that some of them who are down there are a little bit disenchanted.

Sergeant COURTNEY. I was very happy to read that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Bobby Seale, chairman of the Oakland Panthers, now directs Panther activities on the west coast and he has personally helped to organize Panther conclaves in San Diego, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Tacoma, and has personally appeared in New York City on a number of occasions.

While Newton, Seale, and a few others actually direct the day-to-day activities of the Black Panthers, the group claims Stokely Carmichael as honorary prime minister and field marshal for the Washington, D.C., area, and H. Rap Brown as honorary minister of justice. James Forman was until 1969, the administrator of foreign affairs.

II. ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

Ranking and official titles are important to the Black Panthers and they have an elaborate chain of command beginning with National Chairman Bobby Seale, Prime Minister Stokely Carmichael and continuing on down through cabinet posts, field marshal, local captains, and area organizers.

These ranks were displayed in the form of gold bars attached to the uniform. Ranks and titles, while an integral part of the system, seem to be extremely flexible. Rank appears to be a reward for devotion to duty and good performance rather than a strictly military and methodical system of promotion.

In New York City, the BPP have three offices: 108-60 New York Boulevard, Queens; 2026 Seventh Avenue, Manhattan; and 1808A Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. Other locations where meetings are

held are: 232 Jersey Street, Staten Island, N.Y.; and on Monday nights, I.S. No. 8, a public school located at 108-35 167th Street, Jamaica, Queens; and Long Island University Brooklyn, N.Y., room L-40.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if the school authorities who make these facilities available to them for these meetings are aware.

Would you say they are aware of the purposes and aims of this organization?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I would say they should be aware of them, Senator. I personally have never notified them, but I am sure they have knowledge of the aims.

The CHAIRMAN. I just can't believe that knowingly they would permit them to hold meetings in a public building for which they have the responsibility. I can't conceive of them doing that, if they know their real purpose.

Those names that you are about to mention can be published in the record at this point without your taking the time to read them.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Very good, sir.

(The list is as follows:)

CHAIN OF COMMAND

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CENTRAL STAFF OFFICERS, OAKLAND, CALIF.

Central Staff Officers

Bobby Seale, Chairman.

Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense.

Prime Minister, Stokely Carmichael.

Minister of Justice, was H. Rap Brown—title now vacant.

Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver.

Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas.

Minister of Finance, Melvin Newton (brother of Huey Newton).

Minister of Education, George Murray.

Minister of Communications, Kathleen Cleaver.

Minister of Foreign Affairs, title vacant.

Chief of Staff, David Hilliard.

CHAPTERS IN VARIOUS CITIES UNDER CENTRAL STAFF

New York Chapters: June 1, 1969

Chairman, David Brothers.

Deputy Minister of Information, Zayl Shakur.

Area Captain, Nathaniel Shanks, a/k/a Sadik Hakim.

Officer of Day, Ray Grisby a/k/a Rashid El Fatah.

Security, Henry Mitchell, a/k/a Mitch.

Section Leaders

Queens, Larry Mack (wanted by New York City Police Department).

Manhattan, Afeni Shakur (in jail).

Brooklyn, Sam Skeets a/k/a Babu.

Bronx, Edward Joseph (in jail).

Sergeant COURTNEY. The Panthers have expanded their operation through the establishment of additional chapters around the country. The most important of these was prior to recent Panthers arrests, the New York chapter. This, it was felt, would give them a coast-to-coast reputation and the chance for numerical expansion in the New York area was as good, if not greater, than the Oakland area.

New York is Malcolm X's territory and there are hundreds of young men who remember Malcolm as a "man." These youths are likely to respond positively to the Panther philosophy. The recent arrests in New York City have greatly curtailed the enthusiasm for membership in said organization.

III. MEMBERSHIP

The number of members in the Oakland Black Panthers is difficult to estimate. There are probably no more than 200 hard-core members who form the inner circle and are involved in daily activities and policy. They have given up on membership cards in Oakland and New York. Recruitment is done on a very casual basis; if someone wants to join, the recruiting office merely makes out a file card and issues an application form. This is done for their own reasons of security. This policy differs slightly on the east coast where the Panthers have recently begun to organize officially and publicly. In Newark and New York, the application form is quite complete.

At this time, I will offer in evidence a copy of the New York-Newark application form for the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 533" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 533

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE "BLACK PANTHER PARTY" PROGRAM

The Panther Party recognizes that within the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to separation, we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall deem most likely to effect their safety, happiness and peace. Therefore it is mandatory that the Panther Party develop its 10 point program to deal with the basic needs and rights of all black people.—From What We Believe, BPP Platform (In part from Declaration of Independence).

"America has a very serious problem . . . America's problem is us. We're her problem. The only reason she has a problem is she doesn't want us here, and every time you look at yourself, be you black, brown, red or yellow, a so-called Negro, you represent a person who poses such a serious problem for America because you're not wanted. Once you face this fact, then you can start plotting a course that will make you appear intelligent, instead of unintelligent.

"Be intelligent . . . Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery."—EL HAJJ MALIK SHABAZ (Malcolm X).

"Power is the ability to define phenomena and make them act in a desired manner."—HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

"Every black man should have a shotgun, a .357 magnum or a .38 in his pad to defend it . . . every woman should understand that weapon."—BOBBY SEALE, Chairman, BPP.

Each Panther must become politically educated, in order that he may conduct himself in a revolutionary manner that is beneficial to the Party and that furthers the obtention of the basic needs and rights of the Black people. Learn the ten points. Know what they mean, and be able to articulate that program. Remember: the Panther never attacks; but don't back him into a corner, for "When the Panther roars, the world trembles!"—Panther Power!

PANTHER APPLICATION

[Print all information]

Name ----- Phone -----
 Address ----- Zip Code -----
 City (borough) ----- Section of borough -----
 Sex ----- Age ----- Birthdate ----- Soc. Sec. No. -----
 Parents (or guardian, if applicable) -----
 Address ----- Borough and state -----
 In emergency notify ----- Phone -----
 Employer -----
 Work phone ----- Work hours -----
 Days and hours committed to Party -----
 Phones where you can be reached in emergency -----

 Addresses where you are frequently -----
 (If any) -----
 Do you attend school Yes ----- No ----- If so, name and location of school -----

Always try to keep in touch with your section leader and at least one other Panther, and in times of impending crisis, try to make sure you can be contacted, or contact one of our offices during the day. This does not mean 365 days a year, but when trouble is in the air, keep in contact.

Make all entries accurate, as much as possible. In case of any changes, notify your section leader, or the administrative office of the change in your application. Always carry yourself with special discipline and dignity when in uniform. Be aware of your blackness and your duty to black people and especially of yourself at all times. Pledge your life to liberation, for with your signature, you make the first big step in being a member of the Black Panther Party.

Signature -----

AREAS OF PRIMARY INTEREST AND OF GREATEST ABILITY

[Fill in completely]

Indicate your ability and/or interest in the following areas. Make a first and second choice.

Office Work

Filing ----- (Filing records and materials)
 Mail orders ----- (Shipping out orders)
 Mimeograph ----- (Production leaflets & lit. on machine)
 Mailing list ----- (Compiling and dealing with list)
 Bookkeeping ----- (Keeping records)
 Stock clerk ----- (Stocking materials and keeping their record)
 Typing ----- (Typing up those things that necessitate it)

Field Work

Project coordination ----- (Seeing to certain projects & their operation)
 Communication ----- (Establishing contacts and communication lines)
 Information teams ----- (Teams to go out on certain missions)
 Car pools ----- (Indicate driver's license &/or car)

Special Assignments

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Security----- | (Must be disciplined; indicate experience) |
| Speaker's bureau----- | (Must get pol. educ. quickly: indicate exp.) |
| Fund raising----- | (Going on assignment or independently to raise \$) |
| Research----- | (Getting info through study or espionage) |
| Training program----- | (Training bros. & sis. in spec. skills) |
| Miscellaneous skills (fill in)----- | |

Panther power, black power, power to the people, black power to black people, power!

Sergeant COURTNEY. The application even asks what type of skill each applicant has that could be put to use in the Panther organization. Membership in New York City is estimated at 75 hard-core members. Panther discipline is strict and members who violate the code risk temporary or permanent ostracism.

In May 1969, in New Haven, Conn., a member of the New York BPP, Alex Rackley, was found murdered. Eight Black Panthers were arrested for this crime. It is believed the subject was punished for being an informer. The central headquarters in Oakland has issued a list of 10 rules, which I understand are already in evidence, which not only must be obeyed, but must be memorized word for word. Members are expected to report violations of brother members.

NEW YORK BLACK PANTHER LEADERS

Mr. Chairman, do you desire that I read this next list of names?

The CHAIRMAN. The list, without objection, may be published in the record at this point.

(The list is as follows:)

David Brothers.—a/k/a Chairman Brothers, 333 Lafayette Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, born 12/25/19, in New York State; married, wife Jane Brothers. Employed: Cornell Club, 155 East 55th Street, Manhattan (cook). No criminal record—acts as spokesman for Party.

James Coston. a/k/a Zayd Shakur, Bays Malik Shakur—2024 Davidson Avenue, Apartment 2A, Bronx, New York. B# 488457—born 6/6/40 in New Jersey. Subject is brother of Lumumba Shakur, also Black Panther. Subject is now Deputy Minister of Information (Exhibit BPP No. 8—yellow sheet).

Nathaniel Shanks.—a/k/a Sadik Hakim, 185 West 170th Street, Apartment 2B, Bronx, New York, M/N/40; New York City Police B# 330680. Subject is now Area Captain, Black Panther Party (Exhibit No. 9—yellow sheet).

Sam Skeets.—a/k/a Babu—Section Leader, Brooklyn, 9 Arlington Place, Brooklyn, New York. No criminal record.

Charles Powell—Section Leader—Bronx BPP.

Andy Steed.—a/k/a Yellow Kidney, 455 West 21st Street, New York, New York, telephone OH 8-9198. Subject is Section Leader, Lower Manhattan BPP.

Ray Grisby.—a/k/a Rashid El Fatah, 29 Convent Avenue, Apartment 12, New York, New York. Subject is Section Leader—Harlem BPP.

Henry Mitchell.—a/k/a "Mitch"—36 Convent Avenue, Apartment 2, New York, New York. Subject is in charge of security for New York BPP.

Larry Mack.—a/k/a Montcellede (Queens Section Leader), 114-60 201st Street, Queens, New York. Subject wanted.

Afani Shakur.—a/k/a Alice F. Williams, 112 West 117th Street, New York, New York, born 1/10/47, B# 747929. Subject was Section Leader of Manhattan. She is the wife of Lumumba Shakur, both arrested 4/2/69 for Conspiracy to commit murder, arson.

Sergeant COURTNEY. All other leaders were arrested April 2, 1969 and are presently in jail, or wanted by New York City Police Department.

IV. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION AND THEIR IMPACT ON SPECIFIC COMMUNITIES

Sergeant COURTNEY. This group gained national attention when 40 of them armed with rifles and pistols entered the State legislature at Sacramento, Calif. During the whole episode there was no overt violence, no shooting occurred. The Panthers stated that they were demonstrating against "racist Oakland police" and protesting pending legislation limiting their right to bear arms. The Panthers were arrested while on their way home for violating a law prohibiting the carrying of loaded guns in a vehicle.

On April 6, 1968, there was a confrontation between the Panthers and the Oakland police that centered around the fatal shooting of Bobby Hutton by Oakland police officers. The Oakland police stated that they were fired upon during a routine investigation of a suspicious person and, after a short search, cornered Hutton and Eldridge Cleaver in the basement of a nearby house. A fierce gun battle ensued which lasted for hours before Hutton and Cleaver surrendered to the police. Cleaver's claim is that Hutton was shot down by the police as he stumbled toward a police car which was to take him to headquarters.

His sudden and violent death made him an "instant martyr for the Panthers." Tributes, eulogies, and a funeral attended by 1,200 persons, including movie star Marlon Brando, helped to publicize nationally the Panthers' campaign against the Oakland police. The Panthers get a lot of mileage from their martyrs in the form of news coverage in both local and national press as well as the underground Communist Party papers.

Each event gives the Panthers another opportunity to spout their line of "revolution in the white mother country and national liberation in the black colony."

In New York City on August 2, 1968, two patrolmen were shot by unknown perpetrators in Brooklyn, N.Y. At the scene they found two discharged 12-gauge shotgun shells. The perpetrators escaped in an unknown manner. At this time, members of the BPP, Joudon Ford, William Hampton, and Ron Hill, have been indicted for this crime. Case pending.

September 12, 1968, the FBI arrested in New York City, three members of the New York Black Panther Party on warrants issued by city of Baltimore, Md., for crime of arson, conspiracy to commit arson, malicious destruction, and conspiracy to burn personal property. Persons have been sentenced to long jail terms.

The CHAIRMAN. These are Black Panther members?

Sergeant COURTNEY. New York City Black Panther members, sir.

November 12, 1968, in front of a New York City police station, a bomb—dynamite—was placed on the window ledge of the 25th precinct station house. Said bomb exploded causing windows in basement, first floor, second floor to break, also damage to basement door and iron gratings of station house. A member of BPP, Lumumba Shakur, has been indicted and arrested for this crime.

V. FINANCES

Rallies and fund-raising events are held regularly in the name of "Free Huey," "Help Huey," "Help Defend Eldridge (Cleaver)." A well-publicized and well-attended benefit for the California Panthers in jail was held at Fillmore East in New York East Village on May 30, 1968.

Public appearances and speeches by members of BPP at colleges and auditoriums also produce funds.

The Black Panther newspaper, Black Panther, is perhaps the most profitable item both financially and publicitywise that the Panthers have going for them. A recent issue of the paper consisted of 30,000 copies of which 10,000 were held in reserve for other than usual distribution. About 3,000 copies are now going to the Los Angeles area, others to New York and Newark area.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this publication printed in New York?

Sergeant COURTNEY. No, Mr. Chairman. It is printed in Oakland.

The cost is 25 cents per copy. The margin of profit is enormous, the cost being only a fraction of the sale price. It has been reported that if they sell out a complete issue the profit can be as much as \$7,000.

Senator JAVITS. How often does this newspaper issue?

Sergeant COURTNEY. It is weekly, I believe, Senator.

It has been reliably reported that \$250 per week is sent to Oakland in payment for newspapers from New York City.

VI. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The Panthers declare that their important objective is to gain political power and they like to describe themselves as a political organization engaged in full-scale attack upon the legal system of America. This seems to contradict other evidence of their proneness to violence and revolution.

As an indication of this, I would like to submit at this time a Black Panther publication that espouses the violence I talk of.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 534" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. Minister of defense. Huey Newton, has issued "Executive mandate No. 3," which is a general order to all members of the Black Panther Party stating that—

... all members must acquire the technical equipment to defend their homes and their dependents and shall do so. Any member of the Party having such technical equipment who fails to defend his threshold shall be expelled from the Party for life.

I might add, Mr. Chairman, that the technical equipment refers to nothing but firearms. It is the Panther term for guns, commonly known as TE in the party.

The philosophy of the Panthers is eclectic, encompassing Mao-Stalin, Ho Chi Minh, and even Leon Trotsky. The ideas of Malcolm X, who emphasized black unity and self-defense, have had the most visible influence on their current activity. Their platform centers around 10 demands that the Panthers insist must be met "right now" or else.

The Panthers have a charisma about them which has lent to their surprising success and popularity. It is exciting, attractive, and basically masculine, with strong paramilitary qualities. The quotations and insistence on rote memory is pure Red Chinese propaganda technique. The Panthers draw much of their spirit from the belief that they are true revolutionaries in the sense of Che Guevara and Castro.

It is their revolutionary fervor which seems to retain the momentum so desperately needed by the Panthers.

VII. SECRECY

Members of the Black Panthers are not secret, with the exception of those who have been designated as "underground." This group are the secret revolutionaries, and their identities are kept secret.

The members use Swahili names in place of their given names and some have legally changed their names to African names.

VIII. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER DOMESTIC ORGANIZATIONS

In New York City, the BPP first came to the attention of this department on July 13, 1966, when the leader of RAM in the United States, Maxwell Stanford, asked persons attending the Black Nationalist Action Forum held at the YMCA, 180 West 135th Street, Manhattan, to join the Black Panther Party. Members of RAM have been twice arrested in aborted plots to dynamite national monuments, including the Statue of Liberty, and the assassination of civil rights leaders Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young. In July of 1966, Stokely Carmichael met with BPP members to plan the group's activities.

In August of 1966, the reported long-range aims of the BPP in New York City were to establish an independent political party and to establish community control by the black residents of Harlem.

The immediate aim of the BPP in New York City at that time was to conduct a successful school boycott, starting September 12, 1966, of two schools in the Harlem community.

The BPP school boycott of September 12, 1966, was unsuccessful when 80 percent of the school pupils attended school. On this day there were 12 arrests made outside one of the schools, and included in these were three known members of the BPP.

After the failure of the scheduled boycotts during September of 1966, the BPP, as such, terminated its activity in the New York City area. The Party did, however, gain support in other urban areas of the United States. The BPP was reactivated in New York City during the summer of 1968. The leadership was under the direction of (Captain) Joudan Ford and (Lieutenant) Jorge Aponte.

On August 1, 1968, New York City, members of the BPP had its first of recent encounters with the New York City Police. Gordon B. Cooke, Darryl "Birdman" Baines, Captain Joudan Ford and (Lieutenant) Rashi Jenga were arrested and charged with obstructing government administration, assault 2d, resisting arrest and harassment of police officers.

These cases are presently pending.

August 2, 1968, New York City, James Sullivan, community organizer for the BPP, and Eston Anton (Simmons) BPP member, both charged with loitering, assault (felony) and inciting to riot.

August 3, 1968, New York City, Jorge Aponte (lieutenant), BPP, arrested and charged with possession of marihuana and a variety of V.T.L. violations.

August 21, 1968, New York City, Daryl L. Baines, B# 720961, John Martinez, B# 722995, and George Correa, B# 503767, all members of BPP, were arrested and charged with felonious assault; resisting arrest.

All these cases are still pending.

The above is just a few of the many arrests made by the New York City Police of members of BPP. During the early part of September 1968, BPP members were involved in the public school dispute in New York City re: demonstration school districts. On September 10, 1968, the BPP went into Federal Court and filed a lawsuit asking for decentralization of the New York City Police Department. The suit also asked for an injunction against the New York City Police Department, preventing further acts of violence, intimidation, and humiliation against black people. This suit was denied.

During the time of the community alert patrols, the Panthers referred to themselves as the Black Panther Party for self-defense. Huey Newton later declared that they would in the future be called "The Black Panther Party." A recent coalition of the Panthers with the Peace and Freedom Party from California catapulted the Panthers into the political scene. They ran a slate of candidates on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket in the November elections, including Eldridge Cleaver for President and Huey Newton for U.S. Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Speaking about those cases, how many suits did the Black Panthers file in New York?

Sergeant COURTNEY. There was one suit, Mr. Chairman, that encompassed all of the demands that they were making, the decentralization and stopping harassment of black people.

The CHAIRMAN. There was only one suit involving all of these issues, seeking relief in all those areas?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Right, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I know there have been four suits filed by some of these groups that we are investigating to try to prevent this subcommittee from getting the information that it seeks, trying to prevent this committee from functioning.

All four of the suits have been dismissed. One was filed in New York, one in California, and two here in Washington. I certainly want to commend the courts that heard these cases for the action they took.

In fact, I don't think they had jurisdiction in the first place.

In the second place, if the Congress cannot function without courts enjoining it, we do not then have three separate, sustained, equal branches of the Government anymore.

I think the decisions of the courts were right. The bringing of these suits clearly indicates to me that the organizations don't want the Congress and the people to know the truth about them. That is something I think the Congress is entitled to. I think it is imperative

that it get the facts in order to make a proper assessment and evaluation with respect to whether our present laws are adequate and whether additional statutes are needed to deal with this anarchistic movement that is in the country under different names, under the names of some of these different organizations.

They are militant organizations. Their objective is the overthrow of the Government by any means necessary.

I think it should be emphasized so the American people will know and Congress will know exactly what we are dealing with. These are not eleemosynary institutions. They are absolutely anarchistic organizations, dedicated to the objective of overthrowing this Government.

I am glad to know that the case in New York to which you referred was dismissed, and properly so, I think.

Proceed.

Sergeant COURTNEY. The Panther militants in Oakland became involved in the Poor People's March from Oakland. They were represented at a rally held in Oakland Auditorium by Ralph Abernathy, and it is reported that they played a significant role in organizing the March on Washington, from Oakland. Panthers were among the residents of Resurrection City and managed to be identified as such.

The Panthers became associated with the black boycott of the Olympic games organized by Harry Edwards, an associate professor at San Jose College, Calif.

A coalition between the Black Panthers and the Peace and Freedom Party became clear at the Peace and Freedom Founding Convention held on March 16, 1968, in Richmond, Calif. The Peace and Freedom Party joined with the Black Panther Party and the Stop the Draft Week organizers.

In spite of their mistrust for some white radicals, the Panthers have formed a new and open alliance with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

The extreme left and the Communist Party, in particular, have been taking action to bring the Panthers under their wing. In fact, it is alleged that Communist Party, U.S.A., has issued a directive to this effect. Many of the whites and blacks who become linked with the Panthers in some way, are either members of the Communist Party or have very close ties with it.

The most recent example is as follows: The recently nominated Communist Party candidate for President, Charlene Mitchell, took part in a militant demonstration at the courthouse on July 16, 1968, in Oakland, demanding the release of Huey Newton, and she later conferred with Panther leaders.

During the latter part of 1968, they engaged in campaigning for the Peace and Freedom Party as well as continuing their militant operations against law-enforcement agencies.

The Oakland Panthers' first public appearance as a group was when they provided an armed escort for Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, while she was in California for a speaking engagement. Wherever she appeared, they accompanied her with rifles and revolvers clearly visible. This group also gained national attention when 40 of them armed with rifles and pistols entered the State Legislature at Sacramento, Calif.

The W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, Freedom and Peace Party, and its Black Caucus from Brooklyn, N.Y., have openly supported the Panthers.

Marchers to the Oakland courthouse to support Huey Newton involved other known leftists such as Karen Lieberman Wald (a correspondent for the "National Guardian").

The Panthers formed an alliance on February 19, 1968, with SNCC. This alliance was announced by SNCC's new head, Phil Hutchings of Newark. Hutchings stated that Negroes needed their own party and that the Black Panther would be its symbol.

The New York Panthers who supported Eldridge Cleaver's Peace and Freedom candidacy also maintain close contact with the black activists in the Black Caucus, which is associated with the New York State Freedom and Peace Party and the Brooklyn Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

IX. RELATIONSHIP TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS

The Panthers make no secret of their adherence to revolutionary ideas of Mao, Franz Fanon, Castro, and so forth.

Tom Hayden, a founder of SDS, took on the job of coordinating Eldridge Cleaver's unsuccessful campaign for President on the Peace and Freedom ticket. He has a long history of contacts with foreign Communists in such places as Hanoi and Havana.

X. PUBLICATIONS, NEWSPAPERS, AND LEAFLETS PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY THE ORGANIZATION

1. The Black Panther Newspaper, published weekly by the Black Panther Party, Ministry of Information, Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, Calif.

2. Numerous leaflets, which the party issues.

3. Other inflammatory racist documents seized as evidence on the occasion of the recent New York City Panther arrests, which, because they are evidence, are not available at this time.

XI. INFLUENCE AND PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

In New York, members of the Black Panther Party have been associated with antipoverty programs as salaried employees.

That concludes my prepared statement, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you testified with respect to a chart you have?

Let me have somebody identify that chart before it is exposed.

Are you presenting the chart?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I will, Mr. Chairman. I didn't know I was supposed to. I have seen it.

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe somebody else is. I thought you had referred to it.

Mr. ADLERMAN. The names that he mentioned, Senator, are on that chart.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure of that, that all the names are on the chart?

Mr. ADLERMAN. Yes.


The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Let the chart be exhibited.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - STATE CHAF

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

CHAIRMAN DAVID BROTHERS..... 

DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENSE .. JOUDON FORD (expelled)..... 

DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION.. FREDERICK RICHARDSON (expelled)..
REPLACED BY
JAMES COSTON (ZAYD SHAKUR)..... 

SECTION LEADERS

LARRY
MACK



NATHANIEL
BURNS (Sekou Odinga)



AFENI
SHAKUR



RAY
GRISBY (Rashid el Fatah)



ANDY
STEED (Yellow Kidney)



SAM
SKEETS (Babu)



CURTISS
POWELL



EDDIE
JOSEPH (Jamal)



MICHAEL
TABOR (Cetewayo)



EUSTACE
WILLIAMS

LIEUTENANTS

LEROY
DAVIS

WILLIAM
KING (Kinshasa)

CHERYL
SPENCER



JORGE
APONTE



ANTHONY
COSTEN (Lumumba Shakur)



HENRY
MITCHELL

OTHER KEY MEMBERS

DARRYL
BAINES



ROBERT
COLLIER



LEROY
DAVIS



RICHARD
HARRIS (Nine)

WALTER
JOHNSON (Baba Odinga)



DELORES
PATTERSON (Baba Hassan)

THOMAS



PAUL
CHAVIS (Rishi Jena)

LONNIE
EPPS



JOHN
CASSON (Ali Bey Hassan)



ALEX
McKIEVER (Katara)



LEE
ROPER (Shaba-um)


PANTHER PARTY - STATE CHAPTERS

NEW YORK









NEW YORK CITY

CHAIRMAN DAVID BROTHERS 

DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENSE .. JOUDON FORD (expelled) 

DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION .. FREDERICK RICHARDSON (expelled) ..
REPLACED BY
JAMES COSTON (ZAYD SHAKUR) 












SECTION LEADERS

| | | | | |
|----------------------|---|---|---|---|
| LARRY MACK |  NATHANIEL BURNS (Sekou Odinga) |  AFENI SHAKUR |  RAY GRISBY (Rashid el Fatah) |  ANDY STEED (Yellow Kidney) |
| SAM SKEETS (Babu) |  CURTISS POWELL |  EDDIE JOSEPH (Jamal) |  MICHAEL TABOR (Cetewayo) |  EUSTACE WILLIAMS |

LIEUTENANTS

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|---|--|---|
| WILLIAM KING (Kinshasa) | CHERYL SPENCER |  JORGE APONTE |  ANTHONY COSTEN (Lumumba Shakur) |  HENRY MITCHELL |
|----------------------------|-------------------|---|--|---|


OTHER KEY MEMBERS

| | | | | | |
|--|--|---|---|--|---|
|  ROBERT COLLIER |  LEROY DAVIS |  RICHARD HARRIS (Nine) |  WALTER JOHNSON (Baba Odinga) |  DELORES PATTERSON (Baba Hassan) |  DONALD WEEMS (Kwesi Ballagoon) |
|  PAUL CHAVIS (Rashi Jenga) |  LONNIE EPPS |  JOHN CASSON (Ali Bey Hassan) |  ALEX McKIEVER (Katara) |  LEE ROPER (Shaba-um) | |










NEW YORK CITY

CHAIRMAN DAVID BROTHERS..... 

DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENSE .. JOUDON FORD (expelled)..... 

DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION.. FREDERICK RICHARDSON (expelled)..
REPLACED BY
JAMES COSTON (ZAYD SHAKUR)..... 





















SECTION LEADERS

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------------|---|----------------------|---|------------------------------|---|----------------------------|---|
| LARRY MACK |  | NATHANIEL BURNS (Sekou Odinga) |  | AFENI SHAKUR |  | RAY GRISBY (Rashid el Fatah) |  | ANDY STEED (Yellow Kidney) |  |
| SAM SKEETS (Babu) |  | CURTISS POWELL |  | EDDIE JOSEPH (Jamal) |  | MICHAEL TABOR (Cetewayo) |  | EUSTACE WILLIAMS | |

LIEUTENANTS

| | | | | | |
|-------------|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| LEROY DAVIS | WILLIAM KING (Kinshasa) | CHERYL SPENCER | JORGE APONTE | ANTHONY COSTEN (Lumumba Shakur) | HENRY MITCHELL |
|-------------|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------------------------|----------------|


OTHER KEY MEMBERS

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|-----------------------|--|---------------------------|---|--------------------|---|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|---|
| JOAN V. BYRD |  | DARRYL BAINES |  | ROBERT COLLIER |  | LEROY DAVIS |  | RICHARD HARRIS (Nine) |  | WALTER JOHNSON (Baba Odinga) |  | DELORES PATTERSON (Baba Has) |  |
| ROSEMARY BYRD |  | THOMAS BERRY (Mshina) |  | PAUL CHAVIS (Rashi Jenga) |  | LONNIE EPPS |  | JOHN CASSON (Ali Bey Hassan) |  | ALEX McKIEVER (Katara) |  | LEE ROPER (Shaba-...) |  |
| ROSELAND BENNETT | | LEE BERRY |  | GEORGE CORREA |  | WILLIAM A. HAMPTON |  | RON HILL |  | RICHARD MOORE (Dharuba) |  | CLARK SQUIRES |  |










NEW YORK CITY

CHAIRMAN DAVID BROTHERS 

DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENSE .. JOUDON FORD (expelled) 

DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION.. FREDERICK RICHARDSON (expelled) ..
REPLACED BY
JAMES CGSTON (ZAYD SHAKUR) 


















SECTION LEADERS

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| LARRY MACK |  | NATHANIEL BURNS (Sekou Odinga)  | AFENI SHAKUR  | RAY GRISBY (Rashid el Fatah)  | ANDY STEED (Yellow Kidney)  |
| SAM SKEETS (Babu) |  | CURTISS POWELL  | EDDIE JOSEPH (Jamal)  | MICHAEL TABOR (Cetewayo)  | EUSTACE WILLIAMS |

LIEUTENANTS

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|--|---|
| WILLIAM KING (Kinshasa) | CHERYL SPENCER  | JORGE APONTE  | ANTHONY COSTEN (Lumumba Shakur)  | HENRY MITCHELL  |
|----------------------------|---|---|--|---|

OTHER KEY MEMBERS

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
|  | ROBERT COLLIER |  | LEROY DAVIS |  | RICHARD HARRIS (Nine) |  | WALTER JOHNSON (Baba Odinga) |  | DELORES PATTERSON (Baba Hassan) |  | DONALD WEEMS (Kwesi Ballagoon) |
|  | PAUL CHAVIS (Rashi Jenga) |  | LONNIE EPPS |  | JOHN CASSON (Ali Bey Hassan) |  | ALEX McKIEVER (Katara) |  | LEE ROPER (Shaba-um) | | |
|  | GEORGE CORREA |  | WILLIAM A. HAMPTON |  | RON HILL |  | RICHARD MOORE (Dharuba) |  | CLARK SQUIRES |  | |

I will ask you if you have seen this chart which is now being exhibited. Have you checked the names on it to ascertain whether those are people that you have referred to in your statement?

You can go and examine it, if you like. Just make certain that you know what you are talking about, that these people on the chart are the people that you have referred to in your statement, or that you can give further testimony about. Check them off.

Sergeant COURTNEY. I would say, Mr. Chairman, the chart is completely accurate.

The CHAIRMAN. You have taken your time to look at it?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had seen it before, hadn't you?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I have seen it before. I am familiar with all the individuals on the chart.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you help prepare it from the information you have?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you verify it and state that the chart is accurate?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, with respect to the names and the positions they hold?

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the chart be received and made an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 535" for reference and faces this page.)

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Griffin.

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, before the witness goes on to the next summary, I want to comment on one development.

I don't intend to be critical of any particular network or anything, but I just happened to be watching the NBC news program this morning, and the newscaster at 7 o'clock came on with this text, which my office got from the New York Office of NBC.

The newscaster said and I quote:

The Black Panthers' Coloring Book showing Negroes versus the Police has now been rejected by the Black Panthers. This was attributed to a politically immature member. The priest of the church where the book appeared during the breakfast for ghetto youngsters defended the Black Panthers.

Then at that point, Father Boyle of the Sacred Heart Church, whose name was mentioned in testimony here last week, came on with a film and voice and said this, and I quote:

The coloring book does not square at all with our experience with the reality of the Black Panthers or the Black Panther Party.

I feel that the serving of breakfast to 75 children at the parish every morning gives self-esteem, dignity and self-worth to those who came in at 6:00 a.m. to serve the breakfast.

I was a witness to a potentially riotous situation on Fillmore Street which I saw them "cool." I, myself, saw them "cool" this potentially riotous situation; but it did get in the press in another way.

Still continuing to quote Father Boyle:

The coloring book does not reflect to us what we have seen or what the Black Panther Party means to us.

Then the newscaster added this, and I quote :

Father Boyle said only a handful of the books were ever distributed.

Mr. Chairman, I only read that into the record just for whatever value or information it may be, to make the record as complete as possible. Then I want to add a few other comments.

I think it is well to recall at this point that we had the sworn testimony of Mr. Benjamin Lashkoff, police inspector of the intelligence unit of the San Francisco Police Department last week.

He testified concerning these breakfast programs in the Oakland-San Francisco area. At one point, I asked him a question, and I am quoting from the transcript of the hearing :

Senator GRIFFIN. Inspector, you referred extensively to the breakfast program of the Black Panther Party in the San Francisco area. We had testimony last week from former members of the Black Panther Party indicating that most, if not all, of the food that is served to the children at the churches, and wherever they have these breakfasts, is actually stolen or secured from merchants as a result of shakedown operations.

Do you have any comment or information that you might like to add to that testimony which would help the committee as to the source of the food?

Then Inspector Lashkoff answered my question :

In one of the issues of the Black Panther paper, I believe your staff has the issue, they stated that the Black Panther Party is responsible for the arson that was committed in a company that would burn down because it refused to donate food for the Black Panther Party breakfast.

This was a meat company located in the Hunters Point area in San Francisco. It was a three-alarm fire. It burned right down to the ground, and they took credit for it in their own paper.

Mr. Chairman, I also want to call attention to an article which appeared in the June 14 issue of the New York Times, written by Earl Caldwell. I shall quote some portions of it and then ask that the full article be printed in the record.

The article reads, with a dateline San Francisco, as follows :

It is early morning and the kids come racing up the hill through the chilly mist to a shabby little whitewashed church that overlooks the Hunters Point slum.

The kids are young. Second, third and fourth graders. They are young and black and they come dashing up the hill with their coats open, yelling and grabbing and pushing at each other.

At the back door of the church, sitting at a scarred wooden desk, Richard O'Neal, a 20-year-old member of the Black Panther Party, waits for the kids.

"Free Huey," the first youngster to reach the door shouts. The others follow. "Free Huey. Free Huey. Free Huey."

O'Neal grins and raises a clenched fist. "Right on, little brothers and sisters," he says. "Right on."

The youngsters rattle off their names and addresses. O'Neal jots them down on forms spread out on the desk. As soon as he can get the information, the children hustled past him and into two small rooms, off to the side of the church for eggs, pancakes, grits, sausage, bacon, toast, coffee, milk and sometimes juice.

CHILDREN EAT FOR NOTHING

The children were there for free breakfast from the black militant organization, and they were being well fed—with both food and politics.

In St. Augustine's Episcopal Church in Oakland, Marsha Turner, a young Panther leader, led the youngsters in a song that had these lyrics :

"There's a pig upon the hill, if you don't shoot 'em the Panthers will." And : "They got Huey in the jail, they won't let 'em out on bail."

Marsha, a pretty 16-year-old, yelled the lyrics and after each verse, as in the old Army march song, she would ask the kids to "sound off" and they would respond with the familiar shout of "Free Huey."

At another point during the breakfast at St. Augustine's, the kids joined in repeating after a husky-throated Panther:

"I am a revolutionary; I love Huey P. Newton; I love Eldridge Cleaver; I love Bobby Seale. I love being a revolutionary; I feel good; off the pigs; power to the people."

In the basement of the huge Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church at Fillmore and Fell Streets in San Francisco, the church where Father Boyle serves, articles from the newspaper published by the Panthers were read and explained to the youngsters.

And at the Ridge Point Methodist Church, the little white church at 181 Hilltop Road in the Hunters Point section of San Francisco, the youngsters were given copies of the Black Panther paper to take home.

The political "talk" sessions that are part of every breakfast are a highlight for the kids.

"Off the pigs" they shout now and their clenched tiny fists shoot into the air. The term "pigs" is one that the Panthers have popularized among radicals when referring to the police.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that the entire article be printed in the record. The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it can be printed in the record, not as sworn testimony but in connection with your statement. (The article referred to follows:)

BLACK PANTHERS SERVING YOUNGSTERS A DIET OF FOOD AND POLITICS

(By Earl Caldwell, Special to the New York Times)

SAN FRANCISCO, June 14.—It is early morning and the kids come racing up the hill through the chilly mist to a shabby little whitewashed church that overlooks the Hunters Point slum.

The kids are young. Second, third and fourth graders. They are young and black and they come dashing up the hill with their coats open, yelling and grabbing and pushing at each other.

At the back door of the church, sitting at a scarred wooden desk, Richard O'Neal, a 20-year-old member of the Black Panther Party, waits for the kids.

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CHILDREN EAT FOR NOTHING

The children were there for a free breakfast from the black militant organization, and they were being well fed—with both food and politics.

The breakfast program reaches far beyond this bay area into at least six California cities and several others across the country.

"Right now," Bobby Seale, chairman and co-founder of the Black Panthers, said this week, "we are feeding over 1,000 kids every day right here in the bay area." He said the national program feeds 10,000 youngsters daily in cities including New York, Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Los Angeles, and Kansas City.

In the bay area the Panthers have their program operating in churches and halls in both the Fillmore and Hunters Point ghettos. Other programs are operating in Oakland and Berkeley.

At rallies the Panthers, who used to hustle donations that they said were needed "for bail money," now ask contributions "to help feed hungry children."

In addition to what they can collect at the rallies and demonstrations, the

Panthers also make the rounds of business establishments in the area. Their demand that merchants doing business in the black community is firm. (sic)

One large supermarket, Safeway, is now being subjected to a Panther-led boycott because, according to Seale, it refused to contribute \$100 a week to the breakfast program.

While the Panthers say that the program was initiated "to feed hungry children," they make no effort to mask its political side.

Most of the church basements and halls where the breakfasts are served have huge posters and pictures of Black Panther leaders and heroes of the Black Nationalist Movement pasted on the walls.

The "Free Huey" shouts are almost constant. "Free Huey" is a Panther slogan that refers to Huey P. Newton, one of the founders of the organization and its minister of defense who was jailed last year after a manslaughter conviction arising from the fatal shooting of an Oakland policeman.

The shouts for Newton's freedom though are not the only slogans the kids have picked up during the breakfast meetings.

In St. Augustine's Episcopal Church in Oakland, Marsha Turner, a young Panther leader, led the youngsters in a song that had these lyrics:

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In the basement of the huge Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church at Fillmore and Fell Streets in San Francisco, articles from the newspaper published by the Panthers were read and explained to the youngsters.

TALKS ARE A HIGHLIGHT

In a meeting hall a few blocks from Candlestick Park, the baseball stadium of the San Francisco Giants, the kids took turns explaining what they felt the words political prisoner meant.

And at the Ridge Point Methodist Church, the little white church at 181 Hilltop Road in the Hunters Point section of San Francisco, the youngsters were given copies of the Black Panther paper to take home.

The political "talk" sessions that are part of every breakfast are a highlight for the kids.

"Off the pigs," they shout now and their clenched tiny fists shoot into the air. The term "pigs" is one that the Panthers have popularized among radicals when referring to the police.

Mostly, the breakfasts are held in the churches. Some in white churches but mostly in the black area. Most of the kids who come for breakfast are black but there are a few whites. Some whites also show up each morning to help prepare the breakfasts, but mostly it is the Panthers themselves who do the cooking, the serving and afterward the dishes.

William Hill, a dark, smooth-faced 18-year-old, stood in the cramped little kitchen in the Ridge Point Methodist Church in Hunters Point and kept busy scrambling eggs in a huge, black skillet. Like many of the Panthers preparing the breakfast, he wore his identifying black leather jacket and slim-cut black trousers.

"Everybody gets their chance to cook," he explained. "And if they don't know how, they learn."

Each morning now, William Hill and a number of other Panthers involved in the program begin their day at 5 A.M. "You have to get up that early," he explained. "You have to be here by 6. We are ready to start serving by 7 or 7:15. You know we feed about 50 or 60 a day up here."

After the breakfasts are over and kids have gone off to schools, the Panthers do the cleaning up.

"Then we go out with leaflets or selling the papers or trying to get donations or something," the Hill youth explained.

THE PANTHERS CLEAN UP

"You'll find that very few Panthers have time for a job," he continued. "The people take care of us. As long as we are on the job, we don't have to worry about that."

For the Panthers, the breakfast program is a new venture but those involved do not consider it unusual.

"We see that our children are hungry," Marsha Turner explained, "so we feed them. We know that they are hungry because when we were kids we were hungry. We know what it means to have nothing but cold cornbread and maple syrup in the morning."

Aside from the refusal of contributions that prompted the Safeway boycott, the program has experienced other difficulties.

One has been the reluctance of certain Negro churches to allow the Panthers to use their facilities. Some parents have also insisted that their children have breakfast at home.

When black churches turned the Panthers down, they went to white churches. When contributions were refused, they boycotted or threatened such action. And as for criticism that the program exploits the kids as it feeds them, the Panthers ignore it.

"Say anything you want," one observer said, "but there is one unmistakable fact: Black Panthers are feeding more kids every day than anyone else in the whole State of California. Now think about that."

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will also observe, since the Senator made reference to what he heard on television this morning, I only heard part of it. I was trying to ascertain whether Father Boyle would condemn any of the policies, any of the objectives, of the Black Panther Party.

I was almost shocked to think that he would make defense of them on the basis that they probably provide breakfast for children with food they steal and with money they get and food they get from shakedown of merchants, and then not condemn the revolutionary objectives of it, as has been testified here over and over. I was shocked.

I still do not believe the Catholic Church stands for any such thing. I do not believe it will condone it. I do not believe that attitude on the part of Father Boyle represents the attitude of the Catholic Church or of Catholic people. I apply that to the Methodist Church, the Baptist Church, or any other church that is permitting these things to occur under its shelter. I just do not believe it.

Incidentally, I think it has been said that only very few of these Black Panther coloring books had been distributed. I don't know how many. I received one this morning from the Vice President of the United States. I have a letter from him, the cover letter, dated June 24. He didn't know, possibly, that we had this information. I tried to reach him to find out from what source he got his copy. I tried to find that out.

There has been a great amount of publicity recently about the eleemosynary activities of a completely irresponsible, anarchistic group of criminals, the Black Panther Society. In an effort to make them appear respectable, the Panthers are serving breakfast to pre-school age ghetto youngsters who they claim cannot afford a decent meal. The newspapers have been very laudatory in their reaction to this apparent charitable activity on the part of black militant groups. Unfortunately, what is served at these breakfasts is more than food.

I am enclosing a copy of the Black Panther Coloring Book. The material speaks for itself and indisputably has great effect on a 5- or 6-year-old mind.

He goes on to say that there is no law prohibiting the distribution of such literature. He thinks there should be, and I agree with him, if

it can be done within the framework of the Constitution. That is one of the purposes of holding these hearings, to get the facts in order to enlighten the Congress as to what areas additional legislation may be needed in.

Have you anything further, Senator?

Senator GRIFFIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your next item?

Well, just before that, I noticed what they were teaching in New York, according to the witness. In this speech, Stanford, one of the high-ranking members of the Black Panther Party, stated:

Black men must unite in overthrowing their white oppressors, must do it like Panthers, smiling, cunning, scientifically, stalking by night and sparing no one.

Stanford said:

The U.S. can be brought down with a rag and some gasoline and a bottle.

I wonder if Father Boyle and the other ministers of the gospel out there in these churches who are giving boarding conveniences to these Black Panthers groups—I wonder if they can endorse that language? I am sure they can't, and I don't believe they will. I am sure the churches don't endorse it.

Proceed.

Sergeant COURTNEY. My next statement, Mr. Chairman, concerns the Republic of New Africa.

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

I. HISTORY

The Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a black militant separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a conference held at the Central United Church of Christ (the Shrine of the Black Madonna), 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Mich. A declaration of independence (exhibit, page 2), formulated at this convention, was signed at the black-owned Twenty-Grand Motel in Detroit. It was reported that almost 200 black people attended this founding convention.

This conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization headed by the Henry Brothers; Attorney Milton Robinsin Henry (Gaidi) and Richard Bullock Henry (Imari Obadele) with the Reverend Albert B. Cleage, Jr., (Pastor of Central United Church of Christ), all of Detroit, Mich. Upon the founding of RNA, the Malcolm X Society was dissolved and incorporated into the RNA. The stated aims of the organization at this conference was the formation of a black nation in the United States, with separate sovereignty, to which all black people in America, who wish to, can swear allegiance. Officers elected at this convention were charged with carrying out the aims of the revolution stated in the declaration. The pledge of allegiance and declaration of independence signed by those forming the Republic of New Africa follows:

I will now present that as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 536" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. The organization states that this proposed nation will be formed by seizing control of five Southern States, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Also to be included are the black ghettos in sections of northern and western cities where heavy concentrations of black people now live. They are also asking for \$400 billion in reparations from the U.S. Government. This demand was originally \$10,000 for every black person in the country. Of the \$10,000 originally requested, \$6,000 would go to the Republic and \$4,000 to the individual.

I have exhibits which I will offer at this time, Mr. Chairman, supporting the statement I have just made.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, they will be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 537, 538 and 539" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee. Exhibit No. 538 follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 538

BIRTH OF OUR NATION

On March, 31 1968, almost two hundred black people—men and women, young and old, from all over the United States—signed a Declaration of Independence, declaring Black People in America "forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United States." This historic signing took place in the auditorium of the Black-owned Twenty Grand Motel in Detroit. It was the fruit of two days of intense deliberations, some held at Detroit's Shrine of the Black Madonna, some at Wayne State University's Helen DeRoy Auditorium, some in suites of the motel. At the same time these dedicated men and women brought into existence *THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA*—A Black Nation, to which all black people in America, who wish to, can swear allegiance. And they elected officers of the Government. These officers will carry out the aims of the Declaration of Independence. They will carry out the Aims of the Revolution stated in the Declaration. These officers—the government of *THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA*—will see to it that black people and our new Black Nation become, in fact, free, independent, and successful.

Why was it necessary to create our own nation and government?

We have never been citizens of the United States.—Black people have never had legal citizenship in the United States. To begin with, when our ancestors were set free from slavery, they should have been allowed to choose what they wanted to do. They should have been allowed to choose whether they wanted (1) to be United States Citizens, (2) to go back to Africa or somewhere else, or (3) to set up their own nation. This is international law: If a slave is set free, the slave master cannot tell that slave what to do once he is free. (If he could, the "freed" slave would not be free) But that is exactly what the slave master did to us, to our ancestors. In the 13th and 14th Amendments, the slave master said we were free and at the same time said we were citizens. This was an illegal act by the slave master, the United States Government by forcing citizenship upon us—in other words, by *telling us* what to do *after* we were supposedly free—the United States wiped out that freedom and without freedom there is no citizenship.

The grant of freedom and citizenship in the 13th and 14th Amendments was not really a grant of freedom and citizenship *anyway*. A citizen has all of his rights and privileges guaranteed and protected by the government. The government protects the citizens rights against both the government itself and other citizens. Where a government does not do this, there is no citizenship. In the Black man's case, the 13th and 14th Amendments, which were supposed to give freedom and citizenship to the blackman, protected the Black man's rights only against the government itself: they did not—and *do not*—protect the black man's rights

against other citizens. This was true even though at the time the Amendments were made law the Black man was living in the midst of white citizens who were hostile to him and constantly taking away his rights. Therefore, because the law which was supposed to grant freedom and citizenship to the slave did not guarantee his rights against other citizens, the grant of freedom and citizenship never really was made.

These two reasons—first, that the black man never had a choice, and, second, that the 13th and 14th amendments do not give the black man the protection that they would have to give him in order to make him a citizen—are why we have never been citizens of the United States.

We have never been a part of the American Nation.—Though our people have struggled for 100 years to change the American nation and become a part of it, we have failed to become a part of it—we still live separately, go to school and church separately, socialize separately, and act and react separately (and differently). And there is no real hope now that we can change America; after 100 years of struggle and a full decade of intensely confronting racist evil with loving non-violence, we find that white people who are in the majority, do not really want America changed. On the other hand, Black people could not become a part of America unless she did change, for there is too much racism, inequality, and oppression for us to join in America as she now exists.

But, most important, we formed a new Nation because we can solve our problems only through being a separate, independent Nation with our own independent Government.

Our problems

Jobs.—Unemployment and under-employment (low-paying part-time jobs), and discrimination are fantastically high for Black people in the Black ghettos of the North and the Black counties of the South. In the Ghettos, one out of every three people is either unemployed or under-employed. And all over America the Average white high school graduate earns more than the average Black college graduate—the result of persistent discrimination.

In *The Republic Of New Africa*, the government will guarantee decent jobs for everyone by using tax dollars to open as many factories and businesses, owned by the people themselves, as are needed. Also, any company that discriminates against black workers in hiring, promotion, or training will be taken over and run by the government, *The Republic of New Africa*. But *sovereignty* is needed for this: complete freedom, a separate nation.

No Black mayor, No Black city council, no Black county commission, elected as part of the United States Government, could use tax money to open factories and businesses to end unemployment. No Black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could take over white companies for discriminating against Black people. Therefore, no Black mayor, city council, or county commission could end unemployment and under-employment, or quickly wipe out job discrimination. Our independent, separate government, *The Republic of New Africa*, could and will!

*This is one top reason why Black people have organized a separate government—
The Republic of New Africa—and why you should support it*

Business control and prosperity.—Merely driving white businesses out of Black neighborhoods and opening black businesses in their place will not guarantee Black control and prosperity. To open Black businesses where white businesses have run away will help keep money in the Black community, but it will not guarantee prosperity. Prosperity will come from Black businesses growing and they will grow only if they can get *trade credit* (this is when wholesalers give businessmen 30 to 90 days to pay) and only if they can get fair and plentiful bank credit. When businessmen can't get *trade credit* and bank credit, they have to charge more and they stay small, fail, or fall under control of bigger white businesses.

No Black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States Government, could prevent this or guarantee trade credit or black control of banks. Bank charters are given out by the *state* and the *federal* governments. And the United States Central Bank—The Federal Reserve System—which makes and controls credit, is an arm of the National Government, which Black people have no chance of controlling.

But an independent Black Government *could* guarantee trade credit, bank justice, and control and growth of black business. For, an independent Black government would control and operate its own central bank and give out bank charters.

This is another top reason why black people have organized a separate government—The Republic of New Africa—and why you should support it

Freedom from racist wars.—No Black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could protect Black youth from being drafted and made to fight in racist wars, like the war in Viet Nam. Nor could any such mayor, city council, or county commission keep tax money from being used in support of such wars or in support of countries that oppress Black people.

But, as a citizen of an independent nation, *The Republic of New Africa*, no Black youth could be legally drafted and made to serve in the United States Army. And no tax money of citizens would be used to support such a war or to aid racist South Africa, Rhodesia, or Portugal, vicious oppressors of Black people. In fact as an independent nation, we can stand up before the world and denounce racist wars of the United States and United States' support of racist countries, and we can use our government power against such perfidy. No Black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could do this.

These are two more reasons why black people have organized a separate government—the Republic of New Africa—and why you should support it

Security against curfew and National Guard oppression.—In the years since 1964, when Black guerrillas in Harlem began the Black man's new war in America, the white governors of American states, aided by white mayors of cities where black people live, have taken to imposing unjust *curfews* upon black people and patrolling our streets with trigger-happy, anti-black national guard troops and police. Because this *police power* and *emergency power* are held not only by mayors, but by state governors, no Black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could stop this. But an independent government, *The Republic of New Africa*. Our Army and police will be used to protect our land and citizens (and not oppress them) and to crush any other army. Police or National Guard force that attempted to violate our sovereignty.

This is a further vital reason why black people organized a separate government—the Republic of New Africa—and why you should support it

Where is our land?

Our land is in two areas.

First, scattered across America our land is sections of the Northern cities where our people now live and have lived, in some, for over two hundred years.

Second, lying in a great Black belt across the South, our land is the counties of the South where we have lived and worked the land and clung to it for 300 years despite the most brutal oppression the world has known.

All of this land is illegally held in captivity, as a colony, by the United States Government

How shall we get control of our land?

By black determination.—The first step is to decide in our hearts and minds that the land in the South (The Black Counties) and the land in the North (The Black Ghettoes) are ours and that in these areas we will not be oppressed or controlled by anyone.

By adhering to international law.—The next step in gaining control is to hold elections among ourselves in the Black ghettos and the Black counties, before the eyes of the world, with United Nations world observers, to take our *consent* from the government of the United States and give that *consent* to the Republic of New Africa. Under international law government "derives from the consent of the governed." We have a right to choose whether we want the old, oppressive

government of the United States or our own new government, *The Republic of New Africa*, brimming with great hope and promise.

By diplomacy and military action.—Finally, we will seek to negotiate and use other diplomatic means to achieve recognition of our control and peace and safety for our citizens and our land. Like any sovereign nation, we reserve the right to military action in defense of our national integrity.

Sergeant COURTNEY. In May 1968 Brother Imari—Richard B. Henry—served a note on assistants to Secretary of State Dean Rusk requesting the opening of negotiations between the United States and the Republic of New Africa. That is contained in the exhibit I just offered.

The organization has stated in their literature and publications that the black man in America can only solve his problems through a separate, independent nation. Some of the early goals announced by the organization were to guarantee decent housing for everyone by using tax dollars; business control and prosperity; freedom from racist wars—no black youth could be legally drafted and made to serve in the U.S. Army; security against curfew and National Guard oppression—our army, police, and black legion will be armed and used to protect our land and citizens and to crush any other army, police, or National Guard force that attempts to violate our sovereignty.

The organization proposes three means of obtaining control of land—in the South and the black ghettos in the North:

1. By black determination—to decide that these lands are ours and that in these areas we will not be oppressed by anyone.

2. By adhering to international law—hold elections, among the black people in these ghettos and black counties of the South before the eyes of the world, with U.N. world observers. To take our consent from the Government of the United States and give that consent to the Republic of New Africa.

3. By arms if necessary—the establishment of both active and reserve components of the black legion, initiating monthly military reserve training to include physical training, rifle, and small arms with the possibility of establishing military training sites in foreign countries sympathetic to the struggle of the Republic of New Africa and the third world revolution.

(At this point Senator Javits entered the hearing room.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. In conjunction with the above, they have also stated that they will:

- (a) seek equal representation in the United Nations;
- (b) seek defense aid and trade from any foreign government friendly to the new nation;
- (c) to declare their support and wage world revolution until all people are free;
- (d) to seek diplomatic recognition from foreign governments;

and

- (e) to intercede direction with the assistance of the third party governments for New African political prisoners in the United States. This is indicated in my exhibit 1 already in evidence on page 12.

Early activities of the organization have been:

- 1. Attempts to purchase land in the areas mentioned through the sale of \$100 Malcolm X land certificates.

2. Publicity campaigns in newspapers and magazines of the organization's existence and purposes.

3. Association with other black militant groups like the Black Panthers, and an attempt to take control of the public schools through the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board in Brooklyn, New York City. There were also early meetings in Tanzania, Africa between the Henry Brothers and Robert F. Williams, president-in-exile of the Republic of New Africa.

Mr. Chairman, I have a list of the officers of the organization which, for the sake of conserving time, I will not read, with your permission.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. They will be copied into the record at this point.

(The list of officers follows:)

Officers of the organization when founded were: *President-in-exile*.—Robert F. Williams who has not lived in the United States for the past nine years. During this time Williams has resided in Cuba, China, and Tanzania, Africa. Although he has been absent from the country during these years, he has directed and dictated the activities of many black militant nationalist groups in the U.S. He was directly connected with the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and now RNA. He fled this country in 1961 while being sought by the FBI on abduction charges.

First vice president.—Milton Robinson Henry, A/K/A Galdi, . . . Attorney, Male, Negro, Detroit, Michigan. Visited Robert Williams in Tanzania. Formerly with Malcolm X Society.

Second vice president.—Bahiyah Betty Shabazz—Widow of Malcolm X. New York City.

Treasurer.—Edmond Bradley—A/K/A Ababoa Alowo. formerly chairman of the Malcolm X Foundation. Los Angeles.

Minister of finance.—Raymond F. Willis.

Minister of Information.—Richard Bullock Henry—A/K/A Brother Imari, Box 697, Detroit, Michigan. Brother of Milton R. Henry, (First Vice President).

Minister of defense.—Hubert Gerold Brown—A/K/A H. Rap Brown, D.O.B. 10/4/43—6'3", 185 lbs., Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 800 Concourse Village West, Bronx, New York, also Minister of Justice in Black Panther Party, Chairman of Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Under sentence in Louisiana for Federal violation of transporting rifle while under indictment.

Minister of State and Foreign Affairs.—Charles P. Howard, Sr. United Nations correspondent, columnist for Muslim newspaper, Muhammad Speaks, D.O.B. 3/10/1894, Abbeville, South Carolina. Died in Baltimore on January 26, 1969. Organized Howard News Service in 1939. Made frequent trips to Africa.

Minister of Culture and Education.—Baba Oserjeman Adefunmi, A/K/A Serge King, D.O.B. 10/5/28, 5'7", 135 lbs., 28 West 116th Street, New York City, Yoruba Temple—Director Harlem People's Parliament.

Minister of Justice.—John Franklin—Attorney. D.O.B. 1/22/38, Detroit, Michigan, 5'0", 100 lbs, 150 West 21st Street, New York City, Counsel for the Martin Sostre Defense Committee, Greenhaven Prison, Stormville, New York. Sostre was arrested in Buffalo, New York by Federal, State and City Police in July 1967. A/K/A Brother Martin X, dominant figure in East side disorders in that city, also charged with possession of drugs, and using basement of his African bookstore to manufacture Molotov cocktails.

Minister of Health and Welfare.—Audley (Queen Mother) Moore. 67 year old, New York City. A long-time activist in black nationalist affairs. Former member of Communist Party. August 12, 1945 elected to State Committee of New York State Communist Party.

Deputy Minister of Defense.—Mweusi Chui—Dayton, Ohio—A/K/A John Franklin Taylor, 5147 Derby Road, Dayton, Ohio.

Vice Speaker of National Council of Representatives.—Henry Wells—Detroit, Michigan.

Chairman of New York City Consulate.—Mae Mallory—New York City. . . . 39 years old, 5'5", 155 lbs., 139 West 125th Street, New York City. Was associated

with Robert Williams (President) in case involving abduction. Active black militant.

Chairman of Chicago Consulate.—Brother Omar Bey.

Chairman of Cleveland Consulate.—Lewis G. Robinson. 1242 East 89th Street, Cleveland, Ohio. Founder of Medgar Evers Rifle Club; Deacons for Defense.

Chairman of Cincinnati Consulate.—Rev. Willie Thomas, A/K/A Maulana Tuungani.

Chairman of Los Angeles Consulate.—Hakim Jamal.

National Council Secretary.—Lana Mitchell—Dayton, Ohio.

Bond Chairman and Detroit Caucus Chairman.—Onadele Adasoji.

II. ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE III. MEMBERSHIP

Sergeant COURTNEY. The organization's national headquarters is located in Detroit, Mich. Mailing address: Box 667, Detroit, Mich.

I now wish to offer these two exhibits.

The **CHAIRMAN.** They will be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 540" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 540

WHY VOTE FRIDAY, MARCH 21ST?

Because you *care* about the future of Ocean Hill-Brownsville.

Because—even if you have not yet made up your mind about voting for independence, later, and making Ocean Hill-Brownsville a part of the Republic of New Africa—the Republic is so sure that people here will eventually do so that Ocean Hill-Brownsville has been authorized *ten* Representatives in the Republic's National Council of Representatives (the Congress), which meets in Detroit on March 28-30.

Because, while your vote will not bind you to independence, it *will* insure that you have a voice in shaping the black nation—not only for Ocean Hill-Brownsville, should this community later vote for independence within the Republic, but for all black people who one day may live under our own government.

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville Independence Project, 125 Hopkinson Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Republic of New Africa.

THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

" . . . We, therefore, see these as the aims of our revolution:

To free Black people in America from oppression;

To support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free;

To build a New Society that is better than what we now know and as perfect as man can make it;

To assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum;

To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship and service;

To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and man's pursuit of God and/or the destiny, place, and purpose of man in the Universe will be without hindrance;

To build a black independent nation where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the New Society, the New State Government, or the achievement of the aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration;

To end exploitation of man by man or his environment;

To assure equality of rights for the sexes;

To end color and class discrimination, while not abolishing salubrious diversity, and to promote self-respect and mutual respect among all people in the Society;

To protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual, and his natural rights;

To assure justice for all;

To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the State to assure the benefits of this earth and man's genius and labor to Society and all its members, and

To encourage and reward the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devotion to the Revolution. . . ."

An African Nation in the Western Hemisphere Struggling for Complete Independence

WHO CAN BE ELECTED?

Any person 16-years-old or older who has lived in Ocean Hill-Brownsville at least six-months prior to March 1st, 1969, may sign a nominating petition, and/or may vote in the election, and/or may run in the election. To run in the election simply present nominating petition containing at least 25 signatures of other Ocean Hill-Brownsville residents, similarly qualified. Obtain petitions at 125 Hopkinson Street.

THE BLACK INSTITUTION'S ROLE IN THE BLACK REVOLUTION FOR LAND AND POWER IN AMERICA

(By Brother Imari)

I. A STRATEGY CHANGE FOR THE REPUBLIC

Until Sunday, September 29, 1968 when New York's Mayor John Lindsay ordered a police occupation of the schools of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville District (in Brooklyn), the strategy of the Republic of New Africa—claiming sovereignty over black areas in the United States, all of which are subjugated by the United States—had been (1) to gather strength among black people everywhere in the U.S. and then (2) to open our drive to free the first subjugated land not in the North but in the South, in Mississippi.

The South-oriented strategy was dictated by several considerations. For one thing, as was pointed out in War in America, black military possibilities in the South are exceedingly rich, as compared with those in the North: in the North we are crowded into areas a few miles wide, with no means of feeding ourselves and, usually, little control over sanitation facilities or water; in the South the black population stretches uninterrupted in place after place, for scores of miles, across arable farmland. For another thing, the five states, of the South which constitute our natural homeland—Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina—form a contiguous land mass with ports on the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean; they form a natural homeland for us because of the great numbers of black people already in them and because we have lived there traditionally, have worked the land, and have fought for it. These states, to, taken together, are the poorest states in the Union; they are, therefore, those which the white oppressor is most apt to yield when he is brought to a point where yielding *something* to us becomes a necessity.

Why, then, when the southern strategy has such logic, have I and other leaders worked so hard to involve the Republic in a do-or-die battle for New African Sovereignty in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, where all of the best reasons for *not* fighting such a Northern battle are present? The short answer comes in two parts; first, we opt for Ocean Hill because *it is possible* to win sovereignty there; second, we opt for Ocean Hill because by winning sovereignty here *we may shorten our ultimate war in America*, victoriously, and *save many New African lives*.

Let us briefly examine these two propositions.

II. WHY THIS STRATEGY CHANGE

Ever since the American Declaration of Independence an accepted principle of international law has been that men need only be bound by government that arises from the consent of the governed. That is to say, a group of persons must *consent*—must *agree*—to be governed by a government or else that government is a creature of oppression and its rule is tyranny. A group of people has a right—indeed, they have a *duty* to throw off such tyrannical government and

institute such new government and new forms as to themselves seem most likely to assure their future happiness and success.

Thus, because the founders of the Republic of New Africa understood that the government of the United States rules black people without our studied consent, and because the founders understood, therefore, that for black people the United States government is tyranny and an exercise in oppression, we created a new government—The Republic of New Africa—to which black people can freely and with great hope and justification give their consent. The *new forms* which we are instituting to assure our future happiness and success are those to which black people throughout the United States have traditionally aspired, in order to achieve freedom, justice, prosperity, progress, and brotherhood. And they are spelled out in the "Aims of the Revolution" contained in the Republic's Declaration of Independence (March 31, 1968).

Therefore, the primary objective of the government of the New Republic of New Africa, in our peaceful campaign to win sovereignty over lands on this continent that rightfully belong to black people, has been to create opportunities for black people to show that the government of the United States does not have our consent, and that the Republic of New Africa does have our consent.

This continues to be our policy and the primary strategical objective of the Republic of New Africa. Wherever our Consulates and pledged citizens exist—whether in our subjugated colonies in the Northern cities or our subjugated territories in the South—the policy is the same and constantly pursued: to create the means for black people to express their *consent* to be governed by the Republic of New Africa.

Because of the massive mis-education of black people in America concerning rights and obligations, the Republic's campaigns for consent are often described as, and often become campaigns to *win* consent. For most black people do not understand that their present evidences of consent (payment of taxes, voting, serving in the Army, etc.) have been forced from us by a tyrannical government that has never allowed us a free choice—free consent—in the matter of citizenship.

Thus, our work in Mississippi (where, for reasons already stated, we originally deemed it necessary to begin our earnest work of freeing our land) is to revolve around *winning consent* of black people there. To break through the massive mis-education of our people there (as elsewhere) it is necessary to make them understand—not just in their brains but in their gut-bottom emotions—that the only answer to ending the oppression and misery under which they daily live is to join in building a separate, free, powerful black nation of our own, right now, right here on this continent. The next step—there as elsewhere—is to convince them that it can be done.

But the first, most difficult, but most important step is to convince them that our new nation is the *only* answer to misery and oppression.

This work—the work of convincing people *anywhere* in our subjugated areas within the United States, that our separate nation is the only answer and to join us in building it—is fraught with danger wherever we conduct it.

Even though the Republic's official pronouncements have made it clear that (1) we wish to negotiate a peaceful settlement of our differences with the United States and that (2) we do not seek to overthrow the United States government or alter its form but only to set up our own independent government—despite this, the United States government is fully capable (though wrong under its own law and international law) of harrassing and jailing our workers and leaders. Indeed, the likelihood of this happening increases geometrically as we become more successful and as mis-informed whites (the majority in America) feel that we are seriously threatening their prestige and power (that is: their white supremacy and white domination).

Moreover, every state in the Union has its own laws on subversion, overthrow, syndicalism and the like. In the five states of the South these laws could be used against us with considerably more justification than similar federal laws—and almost certainly will be. Again, the federal law *could* come into play under conspiracy statutes, or under the Constitutional provision which requires the federal government to protect every state against invasion. Worse, all of the Southern states, and particularly Louisiana and Mississippi, have made it difficult, almost to the point of impossible, for freedom lawyers to operate in them with any effectiveness.

Then, there is the use of uniformed and un-uniformed white violence.

Workers and officers of the Republic face all these dangers—whether operating in New York or Mississippi—merely for organizing people to express their free consent for a government. It can be no other way. And because we understand the call of history, we can do nothing else but to press on for the freedom of our people, along this certain course: *Independence*.

But at all times we must be ready to react to new circumstances, to seize upon fortuitous opportunities to advance the Republic's objectives of land and power, of freedom, of sovereignty. Such an opportunity made itself manifest in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville District on Sunday night, September 29, 1968, when Mayor Lindsay occupied the District with police.

The issue was clearly—if narrowly—drawn. It was narrowly drawn because it involved, directly, only education. It was clearly drawn because the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School District had been set up with a local school board elected from the district and with "power" to run its own affairs. (This included power to hire, assign, re-assign, and transfer teachers.) It represents a last-stage before separation: the giving of *community control*—within the United States system—to people who see control of their own lives as the only means of ending their victimization.

Stop here. The first thing that made Ocean Hill-Brownsville more advanced than Mississippi—or Detroit, or Atlanta, or any other place in the U.S.—was that leaders in Ocean Hill-Brownsville already understood, not just in their heads but in their gut-bottom emotions, that *community control* (that is *black control*: this includes Puerto Ricans) is the *only* answer to their misery and oppression, to their victimization. This fact is not just important, it is crucial.

Ocean Hill-Brownsville was already at the point to which we could hope to get people in Mississippi after months—indeed, perhaps, years—of steady, hard, and certainly costly (in human terms) work.

What Mayor Lindsay did when he sent in the police to occupy the District and force a white decision down black throats was to *prove* that community control *within* the United States system is impossible. *He proved* that whenever decisions of the local black community are not to the liking of the larger white controlled community, the larger white—controlled community will walk in and slap down the local black community.

And if this happens in education, it will happen in "locally controlled" economics and politics and everything else. The only answer to such over-riding white power—if it is, in fact, true that local control is necessary for good education, for freedom from victimization—is separation from the United States system. It is to get out from under the United States system and establish sovereignty so that white government will have no rights over the community.

This is a hard answer. It is the *only* answer. But it is still, a hard answer. It is hard for people who always have believed that the American system could adapt to the requirements of black justice, to realize that the American system will not adapt. In Ocean Hill—Brownsville people have come to the end of the road: it stands before them as clearly as the police in front of the schools that local control is a farce, because Big White Brother takes "control" away whenever he feels like it. But still many people in Ocean Hill thrash around looking for another way when there is no other way except to take the community out of the U.S. system.

Independence is a hard answer. It is harder still for people in Ocean Hill to stop doing the things that we all have done for over a decade, during the Civil Rights era, hoping that somehow they will bring a magical solution: marching, praying, singing, protesting verbally and in writing, throwing our bodies against the barricades and the police. (This is civil disobedience. We are breaking the law—their law. Once Ocean Hill is out of the U.S. system and makes its own law, *they* will be breaking the law. There's a big difference.)

We must help Ocean Hill-Brownsville in this hard moment. We must help because today Ocean Hill-Brownsville is the foremost thrust of the Black Nationalist movement. First, leaders in Ocean Hill-Brownsville understand in their guts that community control—that *black* (includes Puerto Rican) control—is essential to freedom from victimization. Second, everyone in the District now has proof, through Lindsay's police occupation, that community control within the U.S. system is impossible: the larger white community will take away that "control" whenever it pleases them.

What we must do—working with our brothers and sisters in the leadership there who already have this knowledge and this vision—is to help all Ocean

Hill-Brownsville recognize this proof that Lindsay has put before them and then take the next, necessary, inevitable step: independence from the U.S. and formulation as the first freed state in the Republic of New Africa.

This is possible today in Ocean Hill-Brownsville because the political and psychological conditions to make it possible have fallen upon a large black community that so far has shown the courage to do what is necessary.

We must support and strengthen that courage, and share this burden, which in truth is not their's alone but that of all who claim to be in the Revolution.

IV. ROLE OF THE BLACK INSTITUTION AND THE BLACK CAUCUS

I would hope that your mind boggled when I raised the possibility of exercising sovereignty in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, during the period of Expanding Sovereignty, through such things as non-combative police activities, the operation of a health service, hospital, court system, and government-owned industry. For, here is where the black institution, the black caucus, the black student can make their richest contribution—*and make it now*.

We are here not to titillate your mind but to engage your commitment: as a citizen of the Republic of New Africa and as a member of the *Freedom Corp.*, to work *now* in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, in Mississippi, in Alabama, and wherever we may come to face the challenges of black people voting for sovereignty.

The doctors and nurses and technicians for our health services should properly come from black college people, graduate and pre-graduate. Black college people and alumni must provide their share of managers and patrolmen, judges and counsel.

The proposed provisional government for the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area calls for election of a legislative body and a chief executive (a governor). The executive functions, under direction of the Governor, would be carried out by five *policy-executive* committees.

Each committee would be composed of a *policy-side*, containing experts (including students, teachers, and practicing alumni), and an executive-side, composed of political and administrative people. The policy side (the experts) studies, evaluates, and makes recommendations on actions in its area of responsibility; its technicians also carry out specific, actual technical duties. The executive/administrative side (which provides the committee's chief executive) determines which recommendations to follow and sees that appropriate actions pursuant thereto are carried out.

The committees, through which all activities of the Government would be carried out, are:

1. Council for Economic Policy and Action.
2. Council for Educational Policy and Action.
3. Council for Political Policy and Action (Includes foreign affairs in coordination with the RNA Minister of State and Foreign Affairs).
4. Council for Defense and Public Safety.
5. Council for Public Welfare and Communications.

Inherent in this structured approach to the problems of independence certain to face us on this uncharted and dangerous course is the belief that the application of organized black genius to any of these problems will be sufficient to overcome. The task now is to mobilize this genius. Thus, the Republic of New Africa is here on no intellectual exercise: we are here to call you to citizenship in the Republic, to call you to *commitment*, to call you to service in the Freedom Corps (a concept, a body, whose finer details are even now not worked out).

Commit now. And then go back to your college campuses, go back to your caucuses. Organize Republic of New Africa Consulates; elect a Consul, a Vice Consul, a Secretary, an Assistant Minister of Finance, and a treasurer. Set up five Consulate Committees which are a microscopic copy of the proposed Ocean Hill-Brownsville provisional government. And from these committees reach out into the total college (black) and black communities to mobilize financial and skill support. Through these committees channel your doctors, your nurses, your managers, your technicians, your engineers, your people of willing hearts and hands and minds. So that through your effort, in our time, we shall bring out of Ocean Hill-Brownsville—supporting this community like a beleaguered Hong Kong—the first liberated territory of our new black nation in the Americas, the first and turning point success in our irresistible drive for land and power.

Sergeant COURTNEY. The regional offices which have been designated as consulates are located in the following cities: New York City (believed to be residence of Mae Mallory, 212 West 129th Street, New York City), Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, Detroit, Compton, Calif., Indianapolis, Ind., Dayton, Ohio, Boston, Washington, D.C., Tucson, Ariz., Philadelphia, Pa., 125 Hopkinson Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. (exhibit No. 6), Wilberforce, Ohio, Gary, Ind., Yellow Spring, Ohio, Athens, Ohio, New Orleans, Harrisburg, Pa., and Springfield, Ohio.

Exhibit 9, which I have already offered, page 6, indicates their were offices at these points, or consulates.

The following regional vice presidents have also been appointed to cover these designated areas:

Region A: Embracing all of the eastern coastal area of the United States, and including the cities contained along the coast from Maine to Florida. Vice president, Herman Ferguson, also minister of education. This, of course, is the same Herman Ferguson I mentioned in my presentation on RAM and the Black Panthers.

Region B: Embracing all of the Middle West and the western portion of New York and Pennsylvania. Vice president, Brother Imari (Richard Henry), Detroit, Mich.

Region C: Embracing all of the South, including Louisiana and Texas. Vice president, Virginia Collins.

Region D: Embracing all of the Far West including Arizona. Vice president, Obaboa Alowa (Edmond Bradley).

The present national officers are the same as those appointed at the founding convention and listed earlier, with the following additions and deletions: Exhibit 9, page 3, minister of state and foreign affairs, Wilbur Grattan, Sr.; minister of interior, Imari Obadele; minister of education, Herman Ferguson (presently free on appeal bond) New York City convicted member of RAM—Revolutionary Action Movement, for conspiracy to commit murder—New York City, New York City Police Department, B No. 681563; Ossining Police Department, No. 142230; FBI No. 957582-F. Defeated November 5, 1968, in election bid for U.S. Senate from New York on Freedom and Peace Party ticket, Ministers of culture, Oserjeman Adefummi (former minister of culture and education).

Le Roi Jones, black poet and playwright, Newark, N.J., also a minister of culture and education.

Maulani Ron Karenga, Los Angeles leader of "US". (He was relieved of this post on March 31, 1969.)

Ministers of information, Charles W. Enoch.

Deputies, Leïtd Durley.

Minister of defense, Mweusi Chui.

H. Rap Brown, relieved of this post March 31, 1969; special ambassador, Maxwell Stanford, m/n/dob, July 31, 1941, mentioned earlier as being in RAM and Black Panther activities. Arrested May 27, 1963, Philadelphia, assault and battery, and resisting arrest.

Arrested June 9, 1967, Philadelphia, conspiracy, malicious mischief, and damage to private property.

Arrested June 21, 1967, Philadelphia, member of RAM, Revolutionary Action Movement, charged, conspiracy to commit criminal anarchy and arson.

Others who have played or are playing roles in RNA activities are:
From Chicago: Anias Lugman, John Crawford, Camille Landry, Roy J. Lewis, James Harvey, Rev. Archie Hargraves and Ishmael Flory.

From New York: Sister Olewa (Dorothy Sanders, Brooklyn); Chuck Moore, Brooklyn; Irv Joyner, Sonny Carson, Brooklyn.

From Detroit: Henry Wells, Hazel Gibbs, Warren Galloway, and David Munday.

It is estimated that there are approximately 2,500 supporters of Republic of New Africa (RNA) nationally. Of these 2,500 supporters, it is believed there are only approximately 400 active members. Of these 400 members, approximately 40 are residents of the New York metropolitan area.

Following is a list of New York City residents of the Republic of New Africa and a short account of their activities.

Mr. Chairman, do you want me to read all of the names and activities, or just the names?

The CHAIRMAN. How far do they extend?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Through page 12.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to inserting into the record the prepared statement listing these names going to page 12, without requiring the witness to read them?

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, I am not going to object.

The CHAIRMAN. It is just a matter of expediting.

Senator GRIFFIN. However, I would like to take a moment at this point, as it might be appropriate, to refer back to page 4 of the witness' statement.

There you did a similar thing. We just put a lot of names of people in the record without having them read. I notice reference here to the minister of justice of this organization Joan Franklin, an attorney. Most of the descriptions, identifications, and items that you have noted with respect to others have given their connection with groups that have been identified here, or there is some reason to believe that they are advocating similar policies of violence and the use of violence, et cetera.

I am sure that Joan Franklin, being an attorney, is a member of the bar association and a good many other organizations. But why do you mention that she is the assistant counsel of [deleted]? I am a member of [deleted], and I don't know of anybody who has appeared before this committee or anybody who has anything to do with these investigations who believes that organization has any such philosophy or objectives, yet you have referred to a person as a member of the [deleted]. Very frankly, this is the kind of thing that I don't like to see in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, let it all be read. I have no objection to it being read.

Senator GRIFFIN. Unless you have some explanation, I would take that reference out.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you make reference? I have no objection either way.

Senator GRIFFIN. The fact that the minister of justice is a member of [deleted]. You are not trying to indict or condemn that organization.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Absolutely not, Senator. It is the way the information came to me and perhaps inadvertently we included it. I have no objection to having it removed.

Senator GRIFFIN. The point is, the person is undoubtedly a member of many other organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Sometimes these things have only one purpose, such as showing that they are all overlapping.

Senator GRIFFIN. I want to take issue with the chairman. I don't think there is any evidence in the record, or any indication that I have heard, to show that [deleted], as one example, has any overlapping purpose here at all.

The CHAIRMAN. What I meant is that a lot of these people are joining different organizations.

Senator GRIFFIN. That might be.

The CHAIRMAN. I have no objection to it being in or out; either way.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, shouldn't we have a ground rule on this? In other words, is there any implication—would you mind yielding, Senator?

Senator GRIFFIN. I yield.

Senator JAVITS. When you name a person's connections in the context you are now giving us, are you naming that person's involvement in a part of a network which, generally speaking, is considered subversive, or, as you said before, in answer to a previous question, seeking to overthrow the Government by force, or are you just describing that person with a curriculum vitae as we normally would describe anyone?

If the former is the case, then the Senator is absolutely right. There would be absolutely no basis for including [deleted] or a similar organization. For example, I noticed a reference in your statement about the Black Panther Party to the Brooklyn CORE. That organization hadn't been named before and I don't believe that you named it afterward.

A ground rule would be that every organization you identify people with is supposedly an organization which you and your Department consider to be of the nature we are looking into. This we would understand. If, on the other hand, you are going to give us a list of all the connections of every person you name insofar as you can ascertain them, then I believe it would be proper, in any of these cases, to include many other things in addition to those which you are including.

I think if we had an expression of what is really your intention in giving these connections, we would be better guided and then you could kind of clean up the record in that respect, and in respect to the Brooklyn CORE, and any other reference which may just be inadvertent.

I am sure Senator Griffin, like myself, is completely understanding of the fact that when you draw statements like this, you can't be expected to have refined each one right down to point. I think for me, at least, if you give us your ground rules, we would be better able to deal with them.

The CHAIRMAN. I know of nothing in this record which would reflect

upon [deleted]. Sometimes they might say he is a Democratic Party member or something else, to describe a person.

I assume that is what you are doing.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of them belong to good organizations as well as the organizations that we are investigating; is that correct?

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I have no objection either way. It can come out or stay in.

Senator GRIFFIN. I would take it out in light of the way the other people have been described. If there were any consistency at all—

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be stricken from the record, without objection. I have no objection. I don't know that it serves any purpose. I assume this comes from his records.

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is correct, sir.

Senator JAVITS. As long as we are talking about this, what about that Brooklyn CORE reference? Do you think it belongs?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I think it belongs, Senator. Brooklyn CORE has been divorced, so to speak, from national CORE. It is not the same organization. People who run the Brooklyn CORE are part and parcel of this movement.

Senator JAVITS. You would advisedly keep that in?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I would.

Senator JAVITS. So the ground rule we are now working under is that you will only name, either as connections or otherwise, such organizations as you and the people with whom you are working in the department consider to be really in this classification of subversive groups or organizations generally, to be looked into with a view toward whether or not they are seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Very well, Senator.

Senator JAVITS. It seems to me that would be very helpful.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has no objection to that. It is not our purpose to try to reflect on those organizations. We are seeking information about certain groups and sometimes if a person is mentioned and it is shown that he is a member of a Baptist Church, that might be a good thing in his favor.

I would have no particular objection, but I wouldn't want it reflected on the Baptist Church, that the Baptist Church endorses or approves some of this conduct. I don't believe it does. It is just as I have said about the Catholic Church.

Try to avoid it. If you have inadvertently included in your statement something like this, any Senator may point it out so it can be eliminated.

Senator JAVITS. Then it may be understood, too, Mr. Chairman, that if any of the parties named wishes to raise by way of an affirmative case other connections that the person has, he can assume that the only connection that we put in the record is the connection which represents some kind of subversive link or subversive activity as far as the witness is concerned.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Very good, sir.

Senator JAVITS. So we are not assuming, as it were, on the defendant's case. That is up to him.

The CHAIRMAN. On the what?

Senator JAVITS. What would be tantamount to a defendant's case. In other words, if somebody comes in and feels we have given him a bad character, then he has the liberty to give us all the things he feels are good about himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, if he thinks he has been maligned in any way by testimony, the rule provides how he can proceed, and as far as I am concerned, we will follow the rules. I haven't had any request yet from any Black Panthers to testify. Anyway, we will handle that when it arises.

Do you want this read or just placed into the record? I was trying to expedite this.

Senator GRIFFIN. I have no objection.

Senator JAVITS. No objection.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to reach the witnesses that we have scheduled for today.

Senator JAVITS. It was very helpful to get this cleared for the record, Mr. Chairman, so that everybody will know. I have no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Then let it be printed in the record down through page 12, and let it be accepted as your sworn testimony, under oath.

(The list referred to follows:)

Betty Shabazz, a/k/a Betty Little, Betty X, Widow of Malcolm X—f/n/dob: 5/28/34—B #415754.

Arrests:

6/3/58—Charged Assault 2nd, Conspiracy, 1854, 1825 and 1851—Penal Law—Dismissed 3/18/59.

1958—1963—Member of Nation of Islam (NOT) expelled in 1963 with husband Malcolm X.

1967—Supported 17 accused RAM members.

1968—Mentioned in the Village Voice condemning repressive actions against Black Panther Party.

1969—Second Vice President of RNA.

Dorothy Sanders, a/k/a Sister Olewa, f/n/dob: 12/14—45.

1968—Arrested October 8, 1968, by New York State Police at Oneida, New York with three others also arrested and all members of RNA for possession of two revolvers and one M-1 rifle. (She was in charge of team.)

3/30/69—Arrested in Detroit, Michigan, during RNA conference.

Mae Mallory, a/k/a Willie Mae Mallory, f/n/dob: 6/9—27, Willie Mae Turner—B #396277.

Arrests:

6/20/57—Grand Larceny, Welfare Aid Fraud, Brooklyn.

7/30/58—Relief Fraud—Manhattan.

1961—Indicted with Robert Williams for Kidnapping in Monroe, North Carolina.

Affiliations: Supporter Black Panther Party; Supported 17 arrested RAM members; Women's Committee of Harlem—Unemployment Center; Attended RNA Conference at Hotel Delmonico, N.Y.C.; Coalition for anti-imperialist movement; United Blacks Against Genocide; Chairlady of "Crusaders for Freedom", pro-Castro organization; Member of Monroe Defense Committee (funds to fight extradition from Ohio to North Carolina); Supporter of Youth Against War and Fascism; Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam; Supported persons indicted in plot to blow up Statue of Liberty. (Collier, Bowe and Savved.)

Maxwell Curtis Stanford, Jr., New York addresses: 237 Ashland Place, Brooklyn; 708 Eagle Avenue, Bronx; 300 West 121st Street, New York City; 39 West 105th Street, New York City; 418 Central Park West, New York City; 2405 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

1964—Was one of 84 students who traveled to Cuba;

1965—Attended Black Power Convention in Detroit, Michigan. Admitted RAM membership. Afro-Americans for Freedom;

1966—Urged force in taking over their own Negro communities at formation of Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama.

Audley Moore (Queen Mother) f/n/70 yrs., dob: 7/28/.

8/1245—Elected to State Committee of the New York State Communist Party. Formerly alternate member of National Committee Communist Party, U.S.A., active since 1934.

11/25/53—Claims to have left Communist Party in 1950 when her son entered Army.

7/4/67—Subject held weekend conferences at her property, Mt. Addis Ababba, Parksville, New York, for the purpose of forming a nucleus group to raise funds to build physical training area and eventually a school of higher learning for Negroes.

7/19/67—Attended National Conference on Black Power, Newark, New Jersey.

8/29/68—Attended Third National Conference on Black Power, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

8/17/68—Attended RNA Conference, Hotel Delmonico, New York City.

12/7, 8/68—Attended RNA Conference, School of Common Sense, Brooklyn, New York.

Irving (Irv) Joyner, m/n/dob: 12/11/44; Affiliations: Black Political Movement; Assistant Director-Brooklyn Independent CORE; Black Panther Party; School of Common Sense; Peace and Freedom Party Presidential Elector.

Supported: Student Organization for Black Unity; Brothers and Sisters for Afro-American Unity; Black Panther Party; Herman Ferguson-Peace and Freedom Party; Black Caucus.

Joyner was mentioned in material carried by four members of RNA arrested on 10/8/68 by New York State Police Department at Oneida, New York, for possession of hand guns and rifle.

Arrests:

10/22/68—Inciting to riot, obstructing government administration, resisting.

9/11/68—Obstructing government administration.

8/18/68—Reported arrested in St. Petersburg, Florida, for trespassing and possession of loaded .38 cal. pistol. On July 6, 1968, it is reported that subject bought seven hand guns: 3 .38 cal. automatics; 3 .25 cal. automatics; and 1 .38 D. automatic in Whitehall, Ohio.

Sonny Carson (Robert) m/n/36 years, Brooklyn, New York. Black Caucus; Attended Black Panther Party functions; Supported Herman Ferguson for Senator.

Affiliations: National Core; Brooklyn Independent CORE; Ocean-Hill Brownsville Community Evening School; Green Lantern House, St. Albans, New York; Black Conference for Community Control of Schools; Reported to be head of Brooklyn Consulate NRA; Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth in Action; African-American Teachers Association; School of Common Sense, Brooklyn.

Arrests:

9/18/67—Sit-In at Board of Education, Brooklyn.

11/7/68—Grand larceny auto—no disposition.

Lerol Jones, m/n/34 years.

Affiliations: Black People's Parliament; Youth Against War and Fascism; Malcolm X Society; Women's Strike for Peace; New School of Afro-American Thought; President, N.Y. Chapter—Fair Play for Cuba Committee; Founder and Director—Black Arts Repertory Theatre; Vice Chairman—Monroe Defense Committee; Author of plays—"The Toilet" and "The Slave"; New Jersey Black Panther Party and National Black Panther Party; Radical Theatre Repertory; Supporters of Members of RAM who were arrested; CORE.

Arrests:

7/30/66—Assault and robbery by complainant—not indicted by Grand Jury—returned to Criminal Court—petit larceny and 3rd degree assault.

7/15/67—Sentenced to two to three years resulting from arrest and conviction in Newark, New Jersey, as a result of rioting in that city during summer of 1967. Also fined \$1,000. Arrested for possession of 2 .32 cal. pistols. Convicted 1/18/68.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Background investigation of persons arrested in the Linwood-Philadelphia incident (fatal shooting of Patrolman Michael Czapski):

On March 31, 1969, following the fatal shooting of Patrolman Michael Czapski at the RNA convention in Detroit, investigation by the New York City Police Department disclosed that the following New York City residents were present and taken into custody at the convention:

Larry Lee Edwards, date of birth, January 31, 1940, of 543 Hancock, Brooklyn, N.Y. He is a member of the Brooklyn branch of CORE. This branch of CORE split away from the parent organization when it was felt that their aims more closely aligned with the Republic of New Africa. They are now affiliated with the RNA; however, they have retained the organization's name of CORE. In 1968 Edwards was the minister of economics of Brooklyn CORE.

Herman Ferguson, date of birth: December 31, 1920, of 125 Hopkinson, Brooklyn, N.Y. He is presently a member of Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). Also a one-time minister of culture and education of the RNA. Ferguson is presently free on an appeal bond after being convicted of conspiracy to commit murder in New York. New York Police Department B No. 681563, Ossining Police Department No. 142230, FBI No. 957582-F.

Rev. Kirkwood M. Hall, date of birth: May 13, 1944, of 609 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. He was at one time an organizer for RAM. He is presently employed by the city of New York, Department of Welfare. Kirkwood M. Hall is being held in Detroit on a charge of possession of a gas ejection device and awaiting trial. Frequently appeared with Stokely Carmichael during 1966-67. In March 1967, he purchased clip for .32 automatic pistol in gun shop in Richmond, Va.

Received personal letter from Robert F. Williams from Peking, China.

Published small homemade newspaper "Nitty Gritty."

Constance Josephine Hicks, date of birth: June 29, 1932, of 88-25 148th Street, Jamaica, N.Y. She is a coordinator for the Queens County Citizens for a Black Nation and also the fundraising chairman for RAM.

Ernestina Jay Hughes, date of birth: October 10, 1928, of 1050 Lafayette Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. She is on the board of directors of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth in Action civilian governing board, a Government-sponsored poverty program. Known to be a militant.

Mandola Gale McPhefson, date of birth: March 28, 1927, of 200-06 120th Street, St. Albans, N.Y. Member of RAM. She is presently free on an appeal bond awaiting trial for conspiracy to commit criminal anarchy. NYPD B No. 681576.

Dorothy Morrow, date of birth: September 6, 1946, of 395 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. She is presently secretary of the Independent Party of Brooklyn CORE.

Adefunmi Olubunmi, date of birth: Unknown, age now 21, of 106 West 113th Street, New York. Subject is affiliated with the Yoruba Temple, an African religious group. In 1965 was known to be a member of the Organization for Black Power.

Juan Pile, date of birth: January 13, 1953, a juvenile of 1629 Prospect Place, Brooklyn, N.Y. He is believed to be a member of the Black Panthers. Attends the Thomas Jefferson High School in the city of New York.

Serje King, date of birth: October 5, 1928, known aliases: Baba Oseijeman Adeumi and Jeman Adefumioser. Lives at 123 West 142d Street, New York. It is believed that this man originally came from Detroit. However, he has no record of arrest in our city. He was formerly the minister of culture and education for the RNA. He is a leader in the Yoruba Temple.

George Samuels, date of birth: May 20, 1924, of 67 Kosciusko, Brooklyn, N.Y. Member of RAM. Subject was arrested for conspiracy to commit criminal anarchy in New York and is presently out on bail awaiting trial.

John W. Smith, Jr., date of birth: August 24, 1933, of 1338 Bushwick, Brooklyn, N.Y. He is the cab driver whose arrest sparked the 1967 Newark riot. He is not known to belong to any organization, but attends meetings of various militant organizations as a celebrity. FBI No. 794027-C.

Samuel Smith, date of birth: February 18, 1944, of 826 Hancock, Brooklyn, N.Y. Attended the National Conference of New Politics in Chicago, Ill., in 1967, NYPD B No. 549924, FBI No. 703043-E.

Arthur Williams, date of birth: February 19, 1932, of 1317 Prospect Avenue, New York. He is a former member of CORE. He at one time was an officer of CORE on the local level. He was also on the steering committee at the National Black Power Conference in 1965. NYPD B No. 555634, FBI No. 703504-E. Pleaded guilty June 18, 1964, to assault third, received a suspended sentence, Bronx County Court, docket No. 1572.

Jeral Williams, date of birth: August 8, 1950, 124-14 155th Street, South Jamaica, N.Y. He is a member of the Committee for Community Education in the County of Queens. NYPD B No. 731857.

Joseph Williams, date of birth: July 15, 1932, of 616 West 48th Street, New York. In 1967 he was the leader of a military-type youth group, funded by the Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth Unlimited, a Government poverty program.

The following is a list of others from the New York area arrested at the Linwood-Philadelphia incident who we do not have background information on at this time.

Fabunmi Adefdefunmi, date of birth: June 19, 1939, alias Mary Cooper and Mary Sitton, of 168 East 2d Street, New York City. NYPD B No. 436132 and No. 503337, FBI No. 178753-D.

Majile Adefunmi, date of birth: September 20, 1945, of 123 West 142d Street, New York.

Oscar Allen, date of birth: June 22, 1940, alias Lukman Abdur Rageeb, of 31 Leonard Street, New York, N.Y.

Hollie Coles, date of birth: February 24, 1942, 393 Dumont Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Roxieann Lavern Cromer, date of birth: November 29, 1948, 114 Dewey, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Maurice Erwin, date of birth: August 18, 1939, alias Awolowa Akinyele, of 2305 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. Former minister of information, Harlem People's Parliament.

Calvin Vernice Handerson, Jr., date of birth: June 24, 1930, 227 West 122d St., New York City. FBI No. 320949-B. Also known as Calvin Vernon Hendricks. Arrested five times since 1947 in Tallahas-

see, Fla.; Biloxi, Miss., Georgia and Kansas. Two-year sentence for desertion. Air Force No. AF 12-289-872.

Betty Hunter, date of birth: September 17, 1941, 246 West 150th Street, New York.

Maxine L. Johnston, date of birth: February 9, 1950, of 195 Wiloughby, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Williard Vernon Kelly, date of birth: September 27, 1925, 613 Halsey Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. Winston Salem, N.C. PD No. 32966Rd.

Fred McCummings, date of birth: October 15, 1948, 1106 Morris, Bronx, N.Y. West Palm Beach, Fla. PD No. 40757.

Robert Morris, date of birth: May 16, 1938, 168 East 2d Street, New York, N.Y. PD B No. 409207, FBI No. 836-845-C. (Shot in New York a couple of weeks ago.)

Abdullah W. F. Spencer, date of birth: July 6, 1940, of 548 Bainbridge St., Brooklyn, N.Y. NYPD B No 731200.

Rafael Viera, dae of birth: July 24, 1948, of 56 East 125th Street, New York City. This subject was identified as the one who fired the fatal shots at Patrolman Czapski on March 29, 1969. On April 9, 1969 warrant A-152598 was issued charging him with murder.

Ronald McCoy, date of birth: unknown. He is a juvenile 14 years of age, 547 Howard Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.

IV. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION

In addition to the aforementioned Detroit convention, most of the programs and activities of the organization have been concerned with recruitment of members, publicizing the organization and raising of funds to implement its purchase of land.

Activities by the organization in New York City have been as follows:

July 5, 1968—Organization held a recruitment and publicity meeting at the Harlem YMCA, 135th Street, New York City.

August 17 and 18, 1968—Held a convention at the Hotel Delmonico, Park Avenue, New York City. This convention was sponsored by Esquire magazine, who published a feature story on the organization and its officers in its January 1969 issue.

Senator GRIFFIN. You say this convention of the Republic of New Africa was actually sponsored by the Esquire magazine?

Sergeant COURTNEY. It is our understanding it was sponsored by Esquire so that they could get material for a feature article.

Senator GRIFFIN. Can you give us any more information beyond what you have said here? Can you elaborate?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I am afraid not, Senator. I think the article will be offered in evidence at the proper time.

(At this point Senator Javits withdrew from the hearing room.)

Mr. ADLERMAN. Do you know who paid for the convention at the Hotel Delmonico?

Sergeant COURTNEY. No, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. How can you say they sponsored it?

Sergeant COURTNEY. From reports that I received from detectives in the New York City Police Department who spoke to the people at the hotel.

Senator GRIFFIN. That is the best evidence at this point?

Sergeant COURTNEY. At this point. I could perhaps supply more.

Senator GRIFFIN. Does their article concede or admit that they sponsored the convention?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I don't recall, Senator. I read the article, but I don't recall.

Senator GRIFFIN. I wish you would get a little bit more information than just the flat statement here. It seems to me that there ought to be some documentation.

I think this is a very important item because there is a great deal of concern generally about the impact of the news media—publications, television and so forth—on much of this activity: the fact that sometimes incidents, even riots on a small scale, seem to be instigated or generated for publicity purposes. Sometimes the publicity is wanted by the people who are participating.

Then we have had insinuations or charges leveled from time to time that various news gathering agencies are actually generating some of the activity. I think it is a pretty serious charge and it ought to be backed up, if it is true.

Sergeant COURTNEY. We will see that the material is provided the committee, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Secure and provide for the committee any documentary or supporting evidence you have. If you don't find it, make a statement for this record that this is all you have.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Very well, sir.¹

September 22, 1968: Organization had a meeting at the East Wind Motel, East 125th Street, New York City, to recruit members and inform group on purpose of organization.

October 8, 1968: Four members of the RNA were arrested by New York State Police at Oneida, N.Y., for carrying hand guns and one M-1 rifle, traveling in a Mustang from Detroit, Mich.

1. Dorothy Sanders, female, Negro, date of birth, December 14, 1945.
2. Warren Galloway, male, Negro, date of birth, August 30, 1942.

¹ Based on information given in testimony by Sergeant Courtney and other information provided subsequently by the New York City Police Department, the subcommittee, on July 2, 1969, issued a subpoena to the general manager, Delmonico Hotel, 502 Park Avenue, New York City, calling for the production of certain records relating to a conference held at that hotel by certain officials of the Republic of New Africa on or about August 17 and 18, 1968.

In response to this subpoena, the hotel provided documentation and information which showed that Esquire magazine, 488 Madison Avenue, New York City, had made arrangements for room accommodations for certain individuals, identified in testimony before this subcommittee as officials of the Republic of New Africa. Payment for these rooms was made by Esquire magazine under a "due bill" arrangement, whereby the hotel deducted the cost of the rooms from any moneys owed Esquire for advertising by the hotel in the magazine.

Bills for the following individuals in this party were paid for by Esquire magazine.

1. Wilber Grattan, August 17, \$29.40.
2. T. R. Kenyatta, August 17, \$32.00.
3. Obaboa Alowo, August 17-18, \$59.80.
4. John Taylor, August 17, \$35.05.
5. Mr. and Mrs. Richard Henry, August 17 and 18, \$101.50.
6. Mr. and Mrs. Milton Henry, August 17 and 18, \$286.51.
7. Mae Mallory, August 17, \$29.80.
8. Mr. and Mrs. O. Adefunmi, August 17, \$30.39.
9. Miss Joan Franklin, August 17, \$101.13.
10. Mr. and Mrs. Leo Sklarz, August 17 and 18, \$110.00.
11. Mr. L. Simmons, August 17, \$49.31.

3. Selina McCutchen, female, Negro, date of birth, February 18, 1939.

4. Leroy Wilds, male, Negro, date of birth, August 30, 1942, two revolvers and one rifle.

October 18, 1968: The organization is mentioned in an article in the New York Times of this date as being connected with an investigation by the board of audit in payments to Mt. Addis Abbaba, Inc., a camp site in Parksville, N.Y., owned by Audley (Queen Mother) Moore. (Minister of health and welfare of RNA).

November 17, 1968: Approximately 60-70 persons attended a meeting at 236 Gates Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y., sponsored by RNA to elect new cabinet members.

At this time I will offer as an exhibit my exhibit No. 8.

The CHAIRMAN. What is it?

Sergeant COURTNEY. It is a New York Times article dated October 18, 1968, entitled "Why the Board Canceled Summer Camp Program." It goes into references to the Republic of New Africa.

Moreover, investigators said the camp owned by Audley Moore is used as a meeting place for militants working toward the formation of New Africa in the U.S.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 541" for reference may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. January 13, 1969: An unknown individual who was a self-alleged member of organization spoke at a school decentralization hearing at Board of Education office, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn. The meeting group supported separatism in the New York City school system.

April 14, 1969: Members of organization held a meeting at Junior High School No. 271, Brooklyn, to discuss and inform the community on the Detroit incident (gun battle) at the organization's convention.

In addition to the above activities, there was a concerted campaign waged in Brooklyn by members of RNA, led by Herman Ferguson, minister of education, to claim the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School District, Brooklyn, as the first RNA-controlled school board.

I wish to offer my exhibits 12 through 19, 10 and 21 at this time, which give evidence on the statements I have just made.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be received at this time.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 542, 543, 544, 545, and 546" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. Also in connection with this, an election was held on Friday, March 21, 1969, at which the community was asked to vote for independence for Ocean Hill-Brownsville and to make it a part of the Republic of New Africa. Results of this election were never announced. The national headquarters of RNA issued statements declaring that the independence of Ocean Hill-Brownsville was receiving top priority in its campaign. They claim the following as schools of the RNA: The Green Lantern School of Science and Culture, Queens, N.Y., and the Yoruba Academy, West 116th Street, New York City, operated by Oserjeman Adefunmi (minister of culture of RNA).

V. FINANCES

The organization's finances are a matter of secrecy and no public information has ever been made available. Reported source of income expected by the organization are:

1. The reparations in the sum of \$400 billion being demanded from the U.S. Government.
2. A 2-percent tax from those members willing to be taxed, with the only allowable deduction being \$600 for dependents.
3. The sale of \$100 bonds.

There is also the possibility of money from Red China and Cuba to finance any guerrilla activity. It is estimated that no more than about \$10,000 has been raised in the United States from their campaigns. They also propose a Black Power Exposition to open April 2, 1972, to raise funds.

VI. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims and objectives of the organization are separatism from the U.S. Government and the establishment of a free, independent black nation governed and controlled by blacks as stated in the pledge of allegiance and declaration of independence of RNA. These aims and goals are to be achieved by any means necessary. If not achieved by negotiation with the U.S. Government, then they will resort to guerrilla-type warfare waged by their black legion which they report is growing. They reportedly see their role as leader of the black revolution in America and as a member of the third world.

VII. SECRECY

Very little secrecy, except as to finances and strength of their alleged black legion, has been maintained by the organization. They have, though, on occasion, barred persons without proper credentials from some of their meetings. The use of fronts, code names, and cover names is not known. The only cover names could be the African names assumed by many of the members.

VIII. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER DOMESTIC ORGANIZATIONS

They have allied themselves with other black nationalist groups on occasion, such as the Black Panthers, US of Los Angeles, Black Caucus, Black Student Unions, Black United Front, and so forth. It is felt that they will work with most black militant organizations, but none of these alliances have any established permanent relationships.

IX. RELATIONSHIP TO FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS

No known relationships to foreign governments have been uncovered, but through its president-in-exile, Robert Williams, it is assumed they have ready entrance to Red China, Cuba and Tanzania. They have also expressed their willingness, on many occasions, to establish relationships with any foreign governments willing to aid them in their goals.

**X. PUBLICATIONS, NEWSPAPERS AND LEAFLETS PRINTED AND
DISTRIBUTED BY THE ORGANIZATION**

In addition to many leaflets published by the organization, they also publish the following:

A. The New African—newspaper, published irregularly, price 10 cents.

B. The Black Institution's Role In the Black Revolution For Land and Power in America—a pamphlet by Brother Imari.

C. Republic of New Africa—a pamphlet. Working papers—projection of problems and solutions for Ocean Hill-Brownsville as independent State, December 1968.

D. To Build a Nation—a pamphlet by Brother Imari, price \$2. The Freedom Corps working papers.

E. Now We Have a Nation—a pamphlet.

XI. INFLUENCE AND PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

It is not known what influence or participation this organization has in Federal or local government.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes my statement on the Republic of New Africa.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those pamphlets offered as exhibits?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be received and appropriately numbered.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 547A and 547B" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee. A part of exhibit No. 547A, follows:)

EXCERPT FROM EXHIBIT No. 547A

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Founded: March 30, 31, 1968—At a black government conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7623 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Mich. (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

Sponsored by: The Malcolm X Society (*); Officers: Milton R. Henry; Richard B. Henry; Reverend Albert B. Cleage Jr., Pastor of Central United Church of Christ, Detroit.

OFFICERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

President-in-exile, Robert F. Williams.

1st vice president, Milton Robinson Henry—Pontiac, Michigan, 192 Bassett, Pontiac, Mich. 313 FE4-8721; 518 Orchard, Pontiac, Mich. 313 FE4-5823; Founder of Malcolm X Society—Detroit, Mich., Attorney.

2nd vice president, Betty (Shabazz) Little—New York City, Widow of Late Malcolm X.

Treasurer, Obaboa (Awolo) Brady—Los Angeles, Office of Treasurer Box 60375, L.A. Cal. 90060, Businessman and Chairman of Malcolm X Foundation.

Minister of Finance, Raymond E. Willis.

Minister of Information, Richard Bullock; Henry—Detroit, Michigan, Also Known As Brother Imari. Box 697, Detroit, Mich., 48206, Brother of Milton R. Henry (1st V.P.).

Minister of Defense, Hubert Gerold Brown—Baton Rouge, La., Also Known As H. Rap Brown, DOB 10/4/43—6'3" 185 lbs 800 Concourse Village West,

(*) The Malcolm X society is now dissolved and incorporated into the Republic of New Africa.

Bronx, N.Y. Also Minister of Justice in Black Panther Party under sentence in Louisiana for Federal Violation of transporting ride while under indictment.

Minister of State & Foreign Affairs, Charles P. Howard Sr., United Nations Correspondent; 21 West 86th Street, NYC.

Minister of Culture & Education, Baba Oseljeman Adefunmi, Dob 10/5/28 5'7'' 135 lbs, 28 West 116th Street, N.Y.C.—Youruba Temple, Director of Harlems Peoples Parliament.

Minister of Justice, Joan Franklin—New York City, Attorney.

Minister of Health & Welfare, Audley (Queen Mother) Moore—New York City, 67 years.

Deputy Minister of Defense, Mensi Chui—Dayton, Ohio, Also Known as John Franklin Taylor, 5147 Derby Road, Dayton, Ohio.

Vice Speaker of National Council of Representatives, Henry Wells—Detroit, Michigan.

Chairman of New York City Consulate, Mae Mallory—New York City, 38 years 5'5'' 155 lbs, 139 West 125th Street, NYC UN 6-0430.

Chairman of Chicago Consulate, Brother Omar Bey.

Chairman of Cleveland Consulate, Lewis G. Robinson—Cleveland, Ohio 1242 East 80th Street, Cleveland, Ohio, Founder of Medgar Evers Rifle Club, Deacons for Defense.

Chairman of Cincinnati Consulate, Reverend Wille Thomas.

Chairman of Los Angeles Consulate, Hakim Jamal.

National Council Secretary, Lana Mitchell—Dayton, Ohio.

Bond Chairman & Detroit Caucus Chairman, Onadele Adasoji.

The CHAIRMAN. I noticed at the beginning of your statement on page 1, you say they are asking \$400 billion in reparations from the U.S. Government. Then on page 2 you say:

In May of 1968 Brother Imari (Richard B. Henry) served a note on Assistants to the Secretary of State Dean Rusk requesting the opening of negotiations between the United States and the Republic of New Africa.

Did you place that document in the record yet?

Sergeant COURTNEY. That was my exhibit 5, page 2.

The CHAIRMAN. You say the organization has stated in their literature and publications that the black men in America can only solve these problems through a separate nation.

Is there anything further? How many more have you to present?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Two more, Mr. Chairman, SNCC and the Students for a Democratic Society.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't believe we can finish this morning. Therefore, without objection, we will recess until 2 o'clock. The committee stands in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Senators McClellan and Griffin.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:10 p.m., Senator John L. McClellan, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee will be in order.

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of reconvening: Senators McClellan and Griffin.)

TESTIMONY OF DETECTIVE SGT. THOMAS J. COURTNEY—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Courtney, you had two more groups, I believe, to testify about this morning when we recessed.

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the other two?

Sergeant COURTNEY. The other two groups are the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Students for a Democratic Society.

The CHAIRMAN. Which one are you taking first?

Sergeant COURTNEY. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)**I. HISTORY**

Sergeant COURTNEY. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (pronounced "Snick"), was founded in the spring of 1960. A conference at Raleigh, N.C., in the spring of 1960 brought together many of the demonstrating southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October.

By October 1961, SNCC had taken on staff for a voter registration campaign and had more full-time workers in the South than any other civil rights organization.

I had an exhibit at this point, but I am informed by the staff it is already in evidence, buttressing the statement I have just made.

The CHAIRMAN. The exhibit has already been received?

Sergeant COURTNEY. So I understand, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Sergeant COURTNEY. For all the controversy it has provoked, SNCC is a small organization, about 135 members, some one-third in office and clerical jobs and the rest engaged in field work. It has an influence far out of proportion to its size, however, partly because all its members are full-time staff workers and partly because it has been in the forefront of civil rights activity.

At this time, I would like to present my exhibits Nos. 2 and 3, indicating these are both SNCC publications, and they indicate some of the activities they have been involved in.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 548A and 548B" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. After the sit-ins and freedom rides had run their course, SNCC began dispatching staff workers into the Deep South to live in segregationist backwaters as nonviolent guerrilla fighters.

It paved the way for the confrontation with segregationists in Albany, Ga., in 1962 and 1963.

It led the "Mississippi summer" of 1964 when segregation in that State was challenged for the first time on a massive scale.

There is indication of this in my exhibit 2 that I have just presented.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the next portion of your statement will be printed in the record.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Very well, sir.

The early leaders of SNCC were as follows:

John Lewis, graduate of Fisk University and the American Baptist Seminary. Resigned from SNCC as of July 22, 1966.

James Forman, director of international relations, former Chicago schoolteacher, administrator of foreign affairs, Black Panther Party (out in 1968), prime supporter of the current "Black Manifesto," became SNCC's executive secretary in the fall of 1961.

Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of SNCC in May 1966. Currently prime minister of the Black Panther Party.

H. Rap Brown, national chairman of SNCC May 1967. Former minister of justice, Black Panther Party.

II. ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

The national headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is located at 360 Nelson Street SW., Atlanta, Ga., telephone 688-0331.

The New York headquarters was located at 100 Fifth Avenue, room 803, Manhattan, telephone YU 9-1313.

Recently, because of rent difficulty, they have moved to 360 West 28th Street, Manhattan.

The group is also represented in a very loose and unorganized way on several college campuses in this city.

Because of its loose organizational structure, its actual membership is inestimable. SNCC operates in the same manner as most protest organizations in that it will plan a certain project, coordinate its development, and draw the majority of participants from the local community.

Most of SNCC's activity has been in the South, although it has maintained branch offices in the North.

The CHAIRMAN. The next listing of the active leaders of SNCC, without objection, will be printed in the record at this point.

Sergeant COURTNEY. The active leaders of SNCC are:

Irving Davis, deputy administrator and acting director of international affairs. Subject visited Havana, Cuba, in October 1968.

Julia Herve, visited Cuba with Davis.

In New York the following are the leaders of SNCC:

Ivanhoe Donaldson, 179-61 Zoller Road, Jamaica, Queens. Became head of SNCC's New York Office after playing a key role in the political maneuvering that led to the election of Stokely Carmichael as chairman.

Elizabeth Sutherland, 21 East 92d Street, New York City, N.Y., administrator of SNCC.

Mrs. Ella Baker, adviser to SNCC.

John Wilson, elected deputy chairman on June 11, 1968. Also chairman, National Black Antidraft Union.

Julius Lester, SNCC staff photographer.

III. MEMBERSHIP

Because of its loose organizational structure, its lack of overt activity in New York, its actual membership is unknown. SNCC will draw the majority of participants from the local community.

On the key members, do you want me to place them into the record as though read?

The CHAIRMAN. You might read those.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Very well, sir.

Ivanhoe Donaldson, 179-61 Zoller Road, Jamaica, Queens. Active in the Black Panther Party. Went to Michigan State University; was arrested in Clarksdale, Miss., in 1963, on a narcotics charge arising out of driving a shipment of clothes and drugs to Negroes in that town who had been removed from relief rolls.

Elizabeth Sutherland, 21 East 92d Street, New York City. Female, Negro, 39 years of age, administrator of the New York City office of SNCC. Sutherland has been connected with several leftist groups in New York City including the leftwing publication National Guardian, and authorized a report on Cuba's Congress of Writers and Artists in 1961, for which she traveled to Cuba as an observer. She has been active as a staff member of the Committee for Fifth Avenue Peace Parade (against the war in Vietnam) which took place on October 16, 1965, and attracted some 12,000 persons, including many leftists and pacifists.

Mrs. Ella J. Baker, member of the executive committee.

Julius Lester, subject a columnist for the Guardian and staff photographer for SNCC, was informed by the State Department on February 1, 1968, that his passport was invalid.

He attended the third annual convention of W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, which was held at Columbia University from September 10-12, 1967.

John Wilson, elected deputy chairman of SNCC on June 11-15, 1968, also chairman of National Black Anti-War/Anti-Draft Union.

William Muhammad Hunt, director, Brooklyn branch of SNCC.

The organization ceased to function overtly in New York after the arrest of H. Rap Brown on August 22, 1967, by Federal authorities on charges of carrying a rifle across State lines while under indictment.

The persons mentioned herein have not been active overtly in the SNCC organization in New York City within the past 2 years.

IV. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION AND THEIR IMPACT ON SPECIFIC COMMUNITIES

The New York office of SNCC has been quiet during the past year. At their headquarters here, members of the Black Panther Party have been observed frequenting said location, using the office facilities there. Their programs are noted under that organizational history.

V. FINANCES

Their finances are not known by the New York Police Department. Prior to this time, most of their finances were obtained through contributions.

VI. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

In 1968, one William Muhammad Hunt, director of Brooklyn SNCC, issued leaflets stating the United States is a racist nation, and the black people have moved from resistance to revolution * * *

I will offer at this time my exhibit No. 4.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 549 for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 549

BROOKLYN SNCC'S INITIAL FOUR POINT PROGRAM

1. *Legal Defense Cadre*: A 24-hour call volunteer staff of Black Lawyers to aid and assist all Black People of our community *immediately*, when they are arrested..

2. *Liberation Schools*: While we agree wholeheartedly that we must wage a struggle against the system, to *correct* the ills of the present form of "Education" we also must begin to understand the need of *counteracting* those ills while we wage that struggle. This can only come through self-determination; we are determined to establish our *own* Schools to teach *Black* history, culture, skills, etc. so vitally necessary *now*, for the incentive to build and learn, and for the survival of our communities.

3. *Newsletter*: Funds for the newspaper have been temporarily delayed. During the interim, we've decided to put out a newsletter. It will operate on the same principle as the paper in that many of the items will be reported by the Black Community itself. We will conduct classes to teach the 5 basic points of reporting to answer clearly:

1. What happened?
2. When did it happen?
3. Where did it happen?
4. Why did it happen?
5. How did it happen?

Not only will this give us a broad range of reporting but also nothing can transpire in our communities without all of us being informed.

4. *Self-Defense Units*:

1. Rifle and gun clubs
2. Karate for survival

For all members of the Black community—men, women and children. There is no need to debate it; self-preservation is the *first* law of nature. To defend oneself is to preserve oneself!

WILLIAM MOHAMMAD HUNT,
Director, Brooklyn SNCC.

SNCC-SOBU LIBERATION SCHOOL

MONDAY

(Brooklyn S.N.C.C.-S.O.B.U., Long Island University, Flatbush Ave. at DeKalb Ave., Room 2268-2298, Tel. UL-2-9100 Ext. 274)

Political Education, 6:45-7:30 p.m.

First Aid, 7:35-8:20 p.m.

Karate*, 8:25-10:00 p.m.

TUESDAY

Swahili, 6:45-7:30 p.m.

Afro-American History, 7:35-8:20 p.m.

African Culture, 8:25-9:10 p.m.

WEDNESDAY

Political Education, 6:45-7:30 p.m.

First Aid, 7:35-8:20.

Karate*, 8:25-10:00 p.m.

THURSDAY

Swahili, 6:45-7:30 p.m.

Afro-American History, 7:45-8:20 p.m.

African Culture, 8:25-9:10 p.m.

SATURDAY

Rifle Club (N.R.A.), 9:00-11:50 a.m.

Karate*, 12:00-2:45 p.m.

Rifle Club (N.R.A.), 3:00-5:50 p.m.

Karate*, 6:00-9:00 p.m.

[Political Education No. 1]

COMMUNITY IMPERIALISM

(By Eldridge Cleaver)

In our struggle for national liberation, we are now in the phase of community liberation, to free our black communities from the imperialistic control exercised over them by the racist exploiting cliques within white communities, to free our people, locked up as they are in Urban Dungeons, from the imperialism of the white suburbs.

Our's is a struggle against Community Imperialism. Our Black communities are colonized and controlled from outside, and it is this control that has to be smashed, broken, shattered, by whatever means necessary.

The politics in our communities are controlled from outside, the economics of our communities are controlled from outside, and we ourselves are controlled from outside, by racist police who come into our communities and occupy them, patrolling, terrorizing, and brutalizing our people like a foreign army in a conquered land.

THE POLITICS

In the first place, our communities have been gerrymandered. When it comes to drawing the political boundaries of electoral districts, on the municipal, county, state, and national levels, the lines are drawn in an unfair way that deliberately dilutes the political power that our numbers entitle us to. We are over 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 strong. Yet we are political beggars. In districts where we are concentrated in sufficient members to elect a representative, we are still robbed because the racists SELECT the candidates for us and then we are called upon to certify that selection by going through the dumb ritual of an election, electing those who have been selected for us by our enemies. These bootlickers

*Licensed Instructor, N.R.A.—National Rifle Association.

and uncle toms who are trotted out, grinning for our approval, know exactly what they are doing. They are traitors to their own people.

In addition, this all takes place within a rigged system that pretends to be democratic but is actually controlled by money. Big Money. A look at the Presidential Candidates this year shows that there is nothing but a Millionaire's Derby. The truth about this rotten, corrupt, racist, undemocratic system is so clear that one wonders how the political racketeers in the Democratic and Republican parties get away with it, or how do they have the audacity to come out into the public talking that talk. A look at the public laughing it up, however, reveals just how unaware the people are. And black people, who have been victimized by this system every moment since they were first dragged over here as slaves, are still, to a large degree, hung up in it. We say that we are working for our National Liberation, and that in order to achieve that we must have universal national consciousness within our people. But before we can really tackle that monumental job, an essential step is to achieve Community Liberation. To achieve Community Liberation, we must have a solid Community Consciousness. A community that year in and year out allows itself to be raped politically is not conscious. It is dead, locked in a deep slumber. There is power in our communities, but it is not in the hands of our communities. It is in the hands of other communities, or in the hands of traitors who are the flunkies for the Big Wheels in other communities.

THE ECONOMICS

Economically, we are at the mercy of the exploiters, businessmen, storekeepers, merchants, who have turned our communities into market places out of which they make huge profits, through high prices and high rent, draining off all the prosperity, taking it home with them, making their neat, clean Suburban communities into showplaces of prosperity, and leaving our communities to deteriorate into desolate, poverty-stricken dirty slums.

We have been "organized" into this poverty. We must "organize" ourselves out of it. We are cut off, blocked from the sources of wealth. We have no control over the land that contains the natural resources out of which goods and products are manufactured. We have no control over the machines and factories that take the natural resources and make them into goods and products. We have no control over the wholesale and retail establishments that take these goods and products and offer them for sale at a profit. From beginning to end, we have no control over the economic process. Gathering the natural resources from the land, processing these natural resources into goods and products, marketing these goods and products at a profit, all is controlled by others. We are out of it. There used to be a time when we could get jobs, at low pay, in one of these phases of the economic process, but now even those jive jobs are gone or quickly disappearing, and we are being replaced by machines—and these machines are owned and controlled by others. And those who own and control everything, have hired themselves a crew of strong-arm men to see to it that nobody interferes with their good thing, their pot of gold, their horn of plenty.

THE POLICE

These strong-arm men, the police, are there to see to it that we don't budge. The law and order they are hired to enforce is designed to insure that the political control and the economic exploitation continue undisturbed! They are there to stop black people from organizing themselves to move against these conditions and improve their lives, and when we move anyway, in spite of the efforts of the police, we are labelled by the lying propaganda men, who are also on the payroll for those who own and control everything, as rioters, looters, and criminal trouble-makers.

MUST MOVE ANYWAY

We must move anyway. We have no choice. The survival of our people depends upon our moving, demands that we move. By struggling against these conditions, we are doing nothing more nor less than continuing the struggle of our ancestors, of the generations of black people who have struggled up from slavery. And we are reaching the end of our people's long, hard struggle, because the end is in sight. We know what we want and need and must have; the power to determine

the destiny of our own black communities. And we know what we must do in order to possess that power: organize ourselves into an organization that we ourselves control, that is not controlled either by outsiders or their lackies. It was for this purpose, and this purpose alone, that Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale got together and organized the Black Panther Party. It belongs to you, black people. Join it and employ it as a tool to liberate our communities, to link our liberated communities together, to unite our liberated and linked-together communities into a nation-wide force, and in the process of doing that we will have won many victories along the way, we will have become a powerful and uptight people, and as cool as we are, as jive as we are, as beautiful as we are, we will be out of sight! And you won't find nobody on the face of the planet earth crazy enough, fool enough, to be messing with us.

7521F

PH 1345-68

BROOKLYN:
STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE
STUDENT ORGANIZATION FOR
BLACK UNITY

S.N.C.C.
S.O.B.U.

PRESENTS: IN SUPPORT OF OCEAN HILL
BROWNSVILLE:

H. RAY BROWN
RHODY McCOY
LES CAMPBELL
HERMAN FERGUSON - SPECIAL GUEST

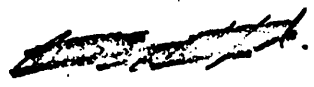
HEAR H. RAY BROWN, RHODY McCOY, LES CAMPBELL, AND SPECIAL GUEST
HERMAN FERGUSON, SPEAK OUT FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF THE BLACK NATION.
BE THERE! BE THERE! BE THERE! BE THERE! BE THERE! BE THERE! BE THERE! BE THERE!

where?
LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY
FLATBUSH AVE. EXTENSION AT DEKALB AVE.
"H" BUILDING
BROOKLYN CAMPUS-BROOKLYN NEW YORK

Time!!!!!!!
THURSDAY NIGHT 7:00 PM - 9:00 PM
NOVEMBER 19, 1968
1.00 DONATION
H. RAY BROWN DEFENSE FUND

BROOKLYN SNCC-SOBU
352-9100 EXT: 274

BE THERE! BE THERE! "RAPS" FIRST BROOKLYN APPARANCE! SING. PARISH PRESBY!!!
BE THERE!



DEAR BROTHER'S AND SISTER'S: The time has come for all Black People and People's of color around the world to fight this life-sucking, dying Octopus. The United States of America is in its last days of existence as a racist nation. For Black People—Liberation is the order of the day. Our people have moved from resistance to revolution.

White American's and their lackey's i.e., so-called negro's, europeans, white south africans, etc., are a threat to all humanity. Therefore, it is encumbant upon us to put a stop to this exploitation and slavery of the Black Man, and peoples of color. The war in Viet Nam is a war of color.

What can you do? Brooklyn SNCC has a four point program designed to open the eyes of the "WALKING DEAD" i.e., the so-called negro. It is encumbant upon you as an African in America to seek Liberation by any means necessary. Because a man that is afraid to fight for his Freedom is already dead. For one must cry in order to be happy, one must sometimes venture into darkness in order to find light.

Black Brother's and Sister's do not be deceived, for you have been tricked and lied to for 400 years. Even a fool knows when he's been had, its time to open your eyes and look around you. You must stop begging this white man for your so-called civil rights, and get up off of your behinds and work with SNCC in Liberation and Freedom. Assimilation (INTEGRATION) is dead.

This man has murdered our people for four hundred years and continues to do so right now with no opposition from you-the "kneegro" community. Brother Malcolm X said: "I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions—political, economic, social, physical, anything that's necessary. I believe in it—as long as its intelligently directed and designed to get results." Stop licking your master's boots for crumbs, stop feeling inferior to this beast, and most important never raise your hand against another Black Man again. Black lives are too precious. Remember: the time to prepare for the storm is not while the hurricane is on. And also remember what Brother Rap Brown said "If America try to play Nazi, Black people will not play Jew".

NOTE.—Herman Furgeson and Arthur Harris are on trial daily at Kew Garden in Queens for trying to commit murder against Uncle Tom-Roy Wilkins, and "Whitey" Young. Just another frame-up by he ghetto-pigs to get the brother's. We request your presence there daily. Take the "E" or the "F" train to Kew Gardens at ten each morning.

Yours in revolution,

WILLIAM MUHAMMAD HUNT,
Director, Brooklyn SNCC.

VII. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER DOMESTIC ORGANIZATIONS

Sergeant COURTNEY. SNCC had exhibited ties with the Black Panther Party here in New York. This was noted by the Black Panther Party using the office of New York SNCC and also the Brooklyn (Long Island University) branch of SNCC used the same room for their meetings.

IX. RELATIONSHIP TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS

Although there is no known direct relationship with foreign governments, its chairman, Stokely Carmichael, has traveled to Cuba and North Vietnam.

I wish at this time to offer as an exhibit a statement of Stokely Carmichael. It was taken in Sweden, I believe, on his way back from Vietnam.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 550" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

X. PUBLICATIONS, NEWSPAPERS, AND LEAFLETS PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED
BY THE ORGANIZATION

Sergeant COURTNEY. In New York, there is no official publication issued by SNCC, although leaflets and pamphlets have been obtained.

These leaflets and pamphlets have been submitted as exhibits 1, 2 and 4, my exhibit numbers.

That concludes my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions on this statement?

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Courtney, on page 1 of your statement you make this statement:

After the sit-ins and freedom rides had run their course, SNCC began dispatching staff workers into the deep South to live in segregationist backwaters as nonviolent guerrilla fighters.

What is a nonviolent guerrilla fighter?

Sergeant COURTNEY. As opposed to a violent guerrilla fighter, he is not an activist. He will stay in the background. I imagine from the reports we have received they are well-organized people, who will go out and demonstrate, and so on.

Senator GRIFFIN. I must say in all candor that we have had some other testimony that indicated while SNCC in its early stages was nonviolent, as its name indicates, it later turned into an organization the leadership of which now advocates violence.

But I don't think your statement on that point really adds a great deal, and the use of those terms, "segregationist backwaters as non-violent guerrilla fighters," doesn't mean anything to me, very frankly.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a further explanation of it?

Sergeant COURTNEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to proceed to the Students for a Democratic Society?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice this statement on the SDS is quite lengthy. Insofar as you can do so, where you think you can do so, without impairing the import of your statement in these hearings, let us insert in the record whatever you feel you don't want to emphasize or don't need to emphasize. Then when we get down to page 67, apparently from there to the end, to page 80, can all be inserted in the record without reading.

All right, you may start.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Sergeant COURTNEY. At the present time, the Students for a Democratic Society is undoubtedly the most dangerous leftist organization and represents the greatest potential threat to the established order.

While at times, extreme radical groups have sprung up which posed an immediate and grave danger to a small segment of American society, and other less radical organizations have existed and still exist which represented a long-term threat to the American society generally, few have presented such an immediate danger to particular institutions while sustaining such a grave threat to society generally.

This is true because SDS has been able to sustain an impressive growth in actual membership commensurate with its ever increasing radical behavior. This has enabled it to swallow up other radical student groups, while providing a vehicle of antiestablishment ideology of the doctrinaire Moscow-oriented Communist Party and Peking-oriented Progressive Labor Party.

Indeed SDS does have its factions, dissidents, and interorganizational power struggles, but it has thus far succeeded in remaining a cohesive force with increasing potency with an unbending aim of destroying every vestige of an ordered society under a capitalist system.

I. HISTORY OF THE ORGANIZATION

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) originated in its present form at a national convention held at Port Huron, Mich., from June 11 to 15, 1962. It originated as the successor of the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID), the youth wing of the League for Industrial Democracy, presently headquartered at 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

The League for Industrial Democracy was founded in 1905 as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society by Upton Sinclair, Jack London, and Harry Laidler. In 1921, it was reorganized as the League for Industrial Democracy.

Since its inception, the league and its predecessor were staunch supporters of the Russian revolution, which it glorified as "the heritage of the world" and predicted it would "blaze the way for industrial democracy throughout the world."

The original organization was student-oriented and when its founding members eventually graduated and formed a newly constructed League for Industrial Democracy, it became necessary to organize a student wing composed of various college chapters.

By 1935, there were 135 campus chapters of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and, at that time, its representative body voted to merge with the American Student Union. According to the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications prepared by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the American Student Union was:

a Communist front which was the result of a united front gathering of young Socialist and Communists in Columbus, Ohio, in 1935. The Young Communist League took credit for the creation of the A.S.U. which offered free trips to the Soviet Union. It claimed to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22nd strikes in the United States.

The flirtation with the American Student Union, viz, the Young Communist League, ended abruptly in 1939 with the now-infamous Stalin-Hitler pact which resulted in dissolution of the ASU. During World War II, the SLID was dormant, but resumed its activities on the college campuses in the late 1940's.

In 1960 the SLID decided to revitalize its student affiliate, and undertook to reorganize an association of young people to the left and extended invitations to "liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty."

Senator GRIFFIN. Can I interrupt the witness for a moment?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. You are now reciting the history of the national organization of the SDS. That material has been presented to the committee several times—the national officers, the manifesto adopted at Port Huron. All of that material has already been presented.

I would like to suggest, Mr. Chairman, we could perhaps accept that and go to what happened in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just tracing it now and it comes under "Membership," on page 8. That is where you actually start with New York.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Very well.

The CHAIRMAN. The remainder of your statement that you haven't read down to page 8, beginning with "Membership," will be printed in the record.

Sergeant COURTNEY. A national convention was called which took place in Port Huron, Mich., in June 1962, where the name "Students for a Democratic Society" was officially adopted, and a policy statement, a document with which SDS officially identifies, and which is to form the base for future development of policy. A constitution was adopted which has been renewed with minor revisions at each subsequent convention.

In the fall of 1965, the SLID publicly severed its relationship with SDS due to what has been generally believed to be concern over the former's tax-exempt status threatened by the radical behavior of SDS and the latter's refusal to denounce Communist support.

PORT HURON STATEMENT (SDS MANIFESTO)

This document, which is claimed to represent months of research by the charter members of SDS, is still regarded as the principal policy statement of the organization. The final draft is generally attributed to the efforts of Thomas Hayden, sometimes regarded as the founder of SDS.

In it, the American society is characterized as corrupt from top to bottom with control in the military-industrial establishment. It views the salvation of the society in a strong left-wing movement based on a liberal-radical coalition with a strong base in the universities, which provide a ready-made institution of liberal intellectualism, and a location in a permanent position of social influence.

The document stresses the importance of a combination of liberals and radicals, the former to maintain an atmosphere of tolerance and readiness to change, and the latter to pull the softened society in an every leftward direction.

It is important to understand that when the term "democracy" is employed, it is not used in the sense of our present representative democracy, but rather in the purely socialistic concept of complete power in the people. The statement summarizes the goals of the "new left" and includes the direction:

A new left must start controversy across the land, if national policies and national apathy are to be reversed. The ideal university is a community of controversy, within itself and in its effects on communities beyond.

The statement concludes by underscoring the need for an alliance of student and faculty in the "new left" in order to "build a base for their assault upon the loci of power."

The final paragraph of the document has often been incorporated in SDS literature:

As students for a democratic society, we are committed to stimulating this kind of social movement, this kind of vision and programs in campus and community across the country. If we appear to seek the unattainable, it has been said, then let it be known that we do so to avoid the unimaginable.

The manifesto, taken alone, appears to be nothing more than a left-wing thesis for social reform, but when it is observed how closely and dogmatically the thesis is adhered to, it is exposed as a blueprint for revolution in this country.

II. ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is organized under a national constitution, duly adopted at the Port Huron convention in June 1962, and amended annually at each subsequent convention. The organizational structure consists of a national council, regional chapters, campus chapters, associated groups and fraternal organizations. (A copy of the national constitution is included in appendix.)

A. National council is composed of 11 national officers:

(a) National secretary, Michael Klonsky, responsible for functioning of national office and implementation of national programs approved by the convention on national council.

(b) Interorganization secretary, Bernardine Dohrn, responsible for liaison with other organizations.

(c) Education secretary, Fred C. Gordon, responsible for functioning of the internal education program.

(d) Eight members of the national interim committee elected at annual conventions: Charles C. Marshall, Niagara region; Jeff C. Jones, New York region; Michael James, Chicago; Eric M. Mann, New England; Roy Bartel, Texas; Michael L. Spiegel, Washington; Morgan O. Spector, San Francisco; Carl P. Oglesby, Antioch.

Alternates: Jared Israel, New England region; Mark Rudd, Columbia; Bruce Clarke, Iowa.

B. National conventions are held annually, usually in June, and generally on a college campus. The national convention elects officers and national council members, debates major issues, and sets program mandates to the national staff. The convention is comprised of delegates elected by the chapters on the basis of one delegate for every five members.

C. National council meets four times a year and is composed of—

1. Eleven national officers.
2. Representatives from each chapter, limited to one for each 25 members.
3. Elected liaison representatives from associated groups.
4. At-large members elected by a minimum of five of any such members in a particular area.
5. National staff members without voting power. The actual power lies in the national council meetings which are empowered to draft resolutions which determine policy in specific areas limited only by the broad guidelines adopted at the convention.

III. MEMBERSHIP

New York area Students for a Democratic Society: The organizational structure of SDS in New York City and the surrounding area is basically divided in three categories:

1. New York regional SDS with headquarters and printing press at 131 Prince Street, New York City. This office maintains contact with all other SDS chapters in the area covered by the region, serving as an information center and functioning also to provide services such as printing, dissemination of ideas, and contacting of other groups. The regional office has no authority over any of the chapters as the structure is strictly parallel.

2. University and college campuses, at least 34 colleges in this area (including Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester) have recognized chapters.

(a) At this time, there are at least seven recognized SDS high school chapters in the metropolitan area, with organizing efforts being conducted at numerous others.

3. There are also at least nine recognized associated groups in the New York area which have a representative member of SDS and maintain a consultative status in the SDS organizational structure.

Exhibit No. 1 which I offer in evidence sets forth all of the New York chapters and affiliated groups with which the New York regional SDS maintains regular contact.

At the last national convention, SDS claimed a national membership of 200 to 250 chapters with approximately 6,000 actual dues-paying members and 25,000 to 30,000 supporters who participate in chapter activities. This membership is principally clustered in three areas: New York, Chicago, and the San Francisco Bay area. It is estimated that about 1,500 of the actual dues-paying members are in the New York area with about 5,000 to 6,000 campus supporters.

Mr. Chairman, what I have attempted to do is to list these by college campuses. I have named individuals.

With your permission, I will leave out the background data and just read the names.

The CHAIRMAN. You are naming the individuals and the campuses in the New York area?

Sergeant COURTNEY. In the various chapters, Mr. Chairman.

Senator GRIFFIN. These are key members?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Key members, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. We have let the remainder of your statement be printed down to the middle of page 9, where it starts "The following pages represent" and so on.

Sergeant COURTNEY. The following pages represent the more active New York City chapters with background information on the principal members:

City College of New York—Students for a Democratic Society: Paul Milkman, Ron Tabor, Ira Liebowitz, Rick Rhoades, Sheila Hamanaka, Lionelle Hamanaka.

City College Commune (closely related to Students for a Democratic Society): Ron McGuire, Jeff Steinberg, Josh Chaitkin.

Paul Alan Milkman: 567 West 191st Street, New York City and 244-17 61st Avenue, Flushing, male, white, date of birth: November

30, 1948. Subject is leader of the SDS Labor Committee at CCNY and active with PLP (Progressive Labor Party) faction in SDS. He was arrested on April 10, 1969, with three others in connection with bomb plot in Philadelphia, Pa.

Ronald David Tabor: 419 West 115th Street, New York City and home, 32 Stevenson Terrace, Briarcliff Manor, N.Y. Previous: 137 West 81st Street, New York City, male, white, date of birth: March 13, 1947. Leader of SDS at CCNY. Formerly a member of the W.E.B. DuBois Club. As a student of Briarcliff High School in 1965, subject was arrested in connection with disorders created by Local 1199, Drug & Hospital Employees Union at Lawrence Hospital in Bronxville, N.Y. He was also arrested at Columbia University during the April-May 1968 strike, and again in September 1968 during an attempted takeover of Law Library at Columbia. His parents, Sol and Florence Tabor, are apparently active in "the movement."

Richard M. Rhoads: 307 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, 31 Avenue "B," New York City, male, white, date of birth: January 19, 1944, in Brooklyn.

Subject is very active with the Progressive Labor Party and part of that faction in SDS. His wife, Naomi, is also very active. He was arrested twice in connection with demonstrations in 1964 in New York City by May 2nd Movement, a PLP front, and in 1966 for disrupting a HUAC hearing in Washington, D.C.

Ira Liebowitz: 42 Mayfair Road, White Plains, N.Y. Previous: 191 Stanton Street, New York City, male, white, date of birth: September 9, 1948. Subject, a student at CCNY is very active with SDS and the City College Commune. He was arrested on November 7th, 1968, with 140 others in connection with takeover of Finley Center. He was previously arrested with eight others at CCNY campus on October 5, 1967, protesting construction on campus.

Lionelle Hamanaka: 622 West 141st Street, New York City. Previous: 718 West 171st Street, New York City, female, date of birth: December 24, 1948. Subject very active with Progressive Labor Party Club at CCNY and in the PLP faction of SDS. She was arrested on December 8th, 1966, in connection with takeover of CCNY Placement Office in Finley Center. Her sister, Sheila, is also very active and was a delegate to SDS Convention in 1968.

City College of New York: Jeffery Howard Steinberg: 200 Claremont Avenue, Bronx, N.Y. male, white, date of birth: July 16, 1947. Student at CCNY—born Bronx, N.Y. Arrested three times, most recently for criminal trespass at CCNY. Active in CCNY Commune and SDS.

Ronald Brian McGuire: 2229 Creston Avenue, Bronx, N.Y., male, white, date of birth: March 28, 1948—New York City. CCNY student suspended. Arrested five times—four times at CCNY demonstration, once at the YIP-IN in Grand Central Station on March 23, 1968. Active in CCNY Commune and SDS.

Joshua Samuel Chaitken: male, white, date of birth: March 31, 1947—New York City. CCNY student—active in CCNY Commune and SDS. Subject turned in draft card in Vietnam protest and later appeared at this local board and expressed his regret for this action. Arrested three times during demonstration, last time on January 20, 1969 at CCNY Criminal trespass. The leader of Commune at CCNY.

New York University Students for a Democratic Society—Key Personnel: Robert Kirkman, Steve Halliwell (graduate of Columbia—Radical in Residence at N.Y.U.), John Mason.

Robert Kirkman: 16 Jane Street, New York City, male, white, date of birth, April 5, 1945. Subject is the leading figure in N.Y.U.-SDS. He was expelled from the school for his action in various campus disorders including the humiliating disruption of a speech by South Vietnamese Ambassador Huu Chi. He was arrested on January 30, 1969, during a demonstration at the Spanish Consulate protesting the Franco regime.

John G. Mason: 5 University Place, New York City. Male, white, 22 years. Subject has been a leader in N.Y.U.-SDS since 1966. Although a frequent participant in demonstrations by SDS, he has never been arrested. He was suspended by N.Y.U. for his role in campus disorders.

Steve Edward Halliwell: 210 West 109th Street, Apt. 34, New York City, 496 East 29th Street, Paterson, N.J. Male, white, date of birth September 27, 1943 in Paterson, N.J. Subject has been active in both Columbia and N.Y.U. Regional Chapters of SDS. He has been a frequent contributor to New Left Notes, and appears to be aspiring to national leadership. He registered for graduate courses in N.Y.U. and now holds a leadership role in that chapter, where he has title of "radical in residence." He was arrested during Columbia strike. He also reportedly traveled to Cambodia in an effort to go to Hanoi.

Queens College Students for a Democratic Society: Walter Rosenthal: 149-06 61st Road, Flushing, N.Y. Male, white, approximately 23 years. Subject is the real force behind SDS at Queens College and has been active since 1967 when he ran the Queens College Committee Against the War in Vietnam. Meetings are held at his house and his home phone is very often used for contact. Should graduate after summer session 1969.

Herbert Bleich: 72-25 153rd Street, Flushing, N.Y. Male, white, 22 years. Subject is a transfer student from City College of New York where he was active with Progressive Labor. He is very active leader with SDS at Queens College and was suspended for his part in a demonstration against corporate recruiters from General Electric being on campus. He was arrested for criminal trespass on April 1, 1969, during a college sit-in. He is a junior.

Richard Freeman: 99-45 60th Avenue, Rego Park, N.Y. Male, white, 20 years. Subject is listed as the cochairman of SDS at Queens College along with Bengt Sward although Wally Rosenthal is the real leader. Freeman was suspended with Sward and Bleich for his part in a sit-in against General Electric and was arrested in a sit-in on April 1, 1969, at the college. Freeman is a senior.

Bengt Sward, aka Bennett: 39-29—46th Street, L.I.C. male, white, 21 years. Subject is cochairman of SDS at the college. Sward was suspended on March 25, 1969, along with Freeman and Bleich for his part in the demonstrations against General Electric and was arrested on April 1, 1969, for criminal trespass for a sit-in at the college. Sward is a junior.

Fernando Quijano: 72-25-153d Street, Flushing. Male, white, 21 years. Subject is an active member of SDS at Queens College as well as Progressive Labor Party. Subject has been arrested twice: Dec. 7,

1967—arrested for disorderly conduct and parading without a permit during Stop the Draft Week and arrested for criminal trespass in a Queens College sit-in on April 1, 1969.

Fordham University, Students for a Democratic Society: Ivo Banac: 99-41—64th Avenue, Rego Park, N.Y. Telephone TW 6-5869. Subject is chairman of the Fordham University SDS. Active formation of Fordham University Free School and plans to “smash military”—ROTC, recruiting.

Charles Duggan: Student at Fordham University—former cochairman of Fordham University Students for a Democratic Society.

Harvey Chertok: 3050 Perry Avenue, Bronx. Faculty Advisor to Fordham University Students for a Democratic Society.

Philip Conlon: 6 Cherry Street, Douglaston, N.Y. Member of Students for a Democratic Society.

Students for a Democratic Society—Columbia Chapter, 200 West 108th Street, N.Y.C.—Principal characters:

Juan Daniels Gonzalez, Jr.: male, white, 22 years—216 West 104th St., N.Y.C., Apt. 5-D, 151-25—88th St., Apt. 66, Howard Beach.

Robert Henry Roth: male, white, dob: 5/3/50—725 John Jay Hall, 53-24 Little Neck Parkway, Little Neck.

Lewis Cole: male, white, dob: 5/25/46—515 West 122 St., N.Y.C., Apt. 4-A.

Henry Moragne Gehman: male, white, 26 years. 44 South Drive, Plandome, N.Y.

Thomas Dudley Hurwitz: male, white, dob: 2/5/42—1 Sheridan Square, Apt. 6-A, N.Y., 43 West 93rd St., N.Y.

Michael John Golash Jr.: 421 W. 118 St., Apt. 42, N.Y., 191 Shaker Road, Albany, N.Y.

Stuart Mark Gedal: 1008 Furnald Hall, 245-50 60th Ave., Douglaston, N.Y.

Roger Jay Taus: 1268 Amsterdam Avenue, Apt. 4RN, N.Y.C.

Mark William Rudd: 501 W. 110 Street, Apt. 7-E, N.Y.C., 75 Maplewood Avenue, Maplewood, N.J.

Paul Hunter Rockwell: 812 Riverside Drive, N.Y.C.

SDS Labor Committee: Anthony Papert, Lawrence M. Hecht, 18 West 108th Street, Apt. 63, N.Y.C. Richard Sober.

Others: Jeffrey David Sokolow, 200 West 106th Street, N.Y.C.; 141 East 88th Street, N.Y.C.

Morris Alan Older Grosmer, 780 West End Avenue, N.Y.C.

Students for a Democratic Society—Regional Office, 131-33 Prince Street, New York City—Key personnel: Jeff Jones, Steve Halliwell, Dave Slavin, Mark Rudd.

The CHAIRMAN. Are Jeff Jones and Mark Rudd national officers?

Sergeant COURTNEY. They have been recently elected national officers.

Other frequenters of 133 Prince Street, N.Y.C.: Karen Ashley, Joe Barthel, Anita Simpson, Charles Simpson, Robert Kirkman, Joe Pisaresky, Diane Dhongi, Jeff Melich, Nick Freudenberg, Martin Kenner, Josephine Duke.

Bank account: Chemical Bank N.Y. Trust, 525 Broadway, N.Y.C., authorized signatures: Treasurer: Richard Marantz, Anita Simpson.

Balance in February, March and April—low 4 figures. As of May 15, 1969—\$550 plus.

(Subpena of account will reveal several checks payable to Black Panther Party.)

Printing press operated in basement of 133 Prince Street, N.Y.C.

Jeffrey Carl Jones: 535 East 6th Street, N.Y.C., 109 Norfolk Street, N.Y.C. and 13949 Tyler Street, Sylmar, Calif.

Previous: 466 Lafayette Avenue, Brooklyn. Subject was director of New York Regional SDS and recently elected to the National Interim Council of SDS. He was very active in recent SDS campaign to disrupt elections. He was arrested during Columbia disturbances and also for criminal mischief on April 6, 1969 for spraying paint on Government autos. He was also arrested on April 23, 1968 at Rockefeller Center. He is closely associated with the radical wing of SDS.

Steve Halliwell (see New York University).

David Slavin: 721 Walton Avenue, Bronx, male, white, date of birth: September 2, 1946. Active with Columbia SDS and more recently with the regional office. He was arrested in Chicago during the disorders at the Democratic National Convention. He was also arrested in this city on June 29, 1968, during demonstration by Coalition for anti-Imperialist Movement protesting movie, "Green Berets".

Joe Pissaresky: 5525 Netherlands Avenue, N.Y.C., male, white—Social Security No. 50-24-44-110—Classified 4-F. Subject is physically handicapped and gives appearance of mental deficiency. He has been very active with regional SDS, coordinating several demonstrations and acting as product manager of CAW magazine. Subject was arrested at the opening by CORE. He was also observed at the Pentagon demonstration in Washington, D.C., on October 21, 1967.

Anita Simpson and Charles Simpson: 135 Ridge Street, N.Y.C. business manager of CAW, and authorized signer of SDS checking account. Her husband, Charles, male, Negro, 26 years, is also active in regional SDS.

Mark Rudd: See Columbia.

Robert Gottlieb: See Movement for a Democratic Society.

Movement for a Democratic Society, 225 Lafayette Street, N.Y.C.—Key personnel: Robert Gottlieb, Ted Jack Kaptchuk, Theodore Gold. Organized late in 1968 as a nonstudent chapter of SDS to accommodate those individuals who leave the campuses but wish to continue with SDS type activities.

Robert Gottlieb: 411 East 12th Street, N.Y.C., male, white, 24 years. Former New York regional director of SDS and presently principal organizer of Movement for a Democratic Society. He was arrested on November 14, 1967, during disorderly demonstrations at New York Hilton Hotel.

Ted Jack Kaptchuk: 8524 Avenue M, Brooklyn, N.Y., male, white, 23 years. Formerly chairman of Columbia University, chapter of SDS, and played prominent role in Columbia disorders in spring, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Kaptchuk a very active member?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Very active. He is very highly regarded by SDS members and gives directions to many of them.

Theodore Gold: Previous: 175 West 93d Street, New York City, 203 West 94th Street, New York City, male, white, date of birth December 13, 1947: Subject was formerly vice-chairman of the Columbia SDS, but graduated from Columbia in 1968. He was arrested for inciting to riot on November 14, 1967, for his role in organizing the disorders at the New York Hilton Hotel. He has been active recently organizing the Teachers for a Democratic Society, of which he is Chairman.

Brooklyn College Chapter—Students for a Democratic Society:
Ira Perelson: 204 East 25th Street, New York City, Apartment No. 15, telephone: 683-4531. Former member of May 2d movement, W. E. B. Du Bois Club of America, present leader of Brooklyn College SDS. Active in New York SDS labor project and Progressive Labor Party.

Prof. Barton Myers: Faculty member who is associate and advisor of leftist students at Brooklyn College, active during SDS-sponsored student strike at Brooklyn College in 1967.

Ann Dichtor: Member of Brooklyn College SDS chapter.

Norman Wechsler: Member of Brooklyn College SDS Chapter.

Kenneth Hechter: 1602 Avenue "R", Brooklyn. Subject has been opposed to U.S. involvement in Vietnam and has signed a letter and petition to this effect. Member of W. E. B. Du Bois Club. Arrested on May 21, 1968 for trespass, as a result of a sit-in of the registrar's office jointly sponsored by W. E. B. Du Bois Club and SDS.

Jeffrey Gordon: 881 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn male, white, date of birth, October 30, 1942. Subject a former student at Brooklyn College, has been an organizer of most radical student movements at that school.

He has been a member of:

1. Progressive Labor Party.
2. May 2 movement.
3. W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs.
4. Students for a Democratic Society.

Subject has been an active participant in:

1. Protests at the Atomic Energy Commission.
2. Antidraft and draft resistance work.
3. Opposition to Vietnam war.
4. Anticampus recruiting by military and by civilian firms doing Government work.
5. Anti-CIA recruiting.
6. Opposed to transit fare increases.
7. Supporter of the Peace and Freedom Party.
8. On staff of the "Free Student".

IV. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims and objectives of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) are generally formulated at conventions and national council meetings in the form of resolutions and proposals which are used as guidelines for action by the local chapters in implementing specific activities. Examples follow:

(New York Regional Conference of the Students for a Democratic Society held on February 10-11, 1968, at New York University (NYU), Washington Square)

PROPOSAL NO. 1

Proposal for Spring mass action

A mass action against the war and imperialism can serve to focus our overall critique of American society, by making appropriate connections between our various programs; draft resistance, women's liberation, anti-consumption, high school organizing, anti-media and cultural imperialism, etc.

1. A march (perhaps dressed as slaughtered Vietnamese, G.I.'s, etc.) on the symbolic center of economic power, Wall Street.

a. From Wall Street we disperse in several other areas.

1. Draft resistance groups would hold counselling at draft boards.
2. Women do guerrilla theatre at department stores.
3. High school students hit the Board of Education.
4. Underground press people demonstrate at the Times.
5. Radical artists could physically or symbolically deface a ruling class museum.

PROPOSAL NO. 2

Strategy for the Student Movement

1. Build an anti-imperialist base on the campus.

2. Unite that base with working people for joint struggles against imperialism. The strategic definition of success in our region, then is:

1. To build an anti-imperialist student movement which looks toward winning over thousands of students on each campus.
2. To unite that student movement with the struggles of the black, white, and Puerto Rican workers who live around us.

How do we do this?

On campus, we have to help students fight in their own interests against an Administration that wants to train them body and soul to do the dirty work for imperialism. While we are engaged in these struggles together with our fellow students, we have to explain our understanding of the Administration as the campus agent of U.S. imperialism and win them over to that understanding. I want to illustrate this with three examples of the work the City College SDS chapter is doing.

1. The chapters central activity this semester will be around University collaboration with the ward and the Vietnam draft.

a. Careful education work will be done around the visits of the CIA and Dow Chemical. Picket lines, rallies and dramatic presentations will be developed.

b. SDS will start political draft counseling on the campus and individual help on how to get out of the draft.

2. SDS members began working in the City College Tutorial Project. The goal of the SDS tutors is over a period of time to win the project over to a prospective of allying with the students, parents, teachers and education students at City to struggle against the Board of Education.

a. Introduce books like S.N.C.C.'s primer on Black History for teacher reading.

3. Caucus in the History Department.

Issues

- (a) Smaller classes.
- (b) Greater opportunity to get credit for research.
- (c) Getting a course on Vietnam available.
- (d) Courses on the Black Liberation movement.
- (e) The great increase in strikes.
- (f) Social revolution around the world.
- (g) Antiwar movement.

Develop this caucus over a period of several semesters to the point where we will be able to put up a strong fight against the Administration and the department brass.

To win and maintain victories on campus, workers are our necessary ally

1. N.Y.C. chapters are beginning to develop against a subway and bus fare increase as an excellent example of the kind of activity that can bring workers and students together.

2. Organize students to support strikes.

3. Develop a work-in program. SDS should encourage students to get summer

jobs in factories (work-in) with the aim of gaining experience in building personal and political ties with workers. SDS should support strikes, rank and file insurgencies and unionizing efforts.

Ten days of antiwar activity

Thousands of students should have a march and a rally around the demands of—

1. U.S. get out of Vietnam now.
2. No university collaboration with the war.

At Columbia University this march could be used to point out to the people in the neighborhood that the Columbia Administration, which the students are fighting against is also:

1. One of the biggest slumlands in New York City.
2. A part of the Institute for Defense Analysis which works out the tactics to suppress the ghetto rebellions of Columbia's tenants.

PROPOSAL NO. 3

The financial district festival

Part of a 10 day program to consolidate, strengthen and expand the radical movement, would be an action in the financial district. The large number of corporate offices, shipping companies, banking institutions in addition to the stock exchange means that chapters can take actions against targets of special significance for their own local situations and still be part of a city-wide demonstration.

1. Occupy a building.
2. A highly mobile demonstration with more than enough ugliness to attack need not attempt to hold its ground in any particular spot.
3. Planned actions at a diversified set of targets has an educational effect on the people.

The important thing about the Financial District Festival is that it brings people together on the initiative of SDS; projects to raise consciousness around the draft, university, imperialism, etc. can arise out of that involvement.

PROPOSAL NO. 4

Spring offensive proposal: Museum of modern art

Demonstration at the museum using guerrilla theater plus leafletting to describe where the museum directors and patrons get their money (Venezuelan oil, South African gold).

PROPOSAL NO. 5

Recruitment, training and the draft

1. We should push the program passed at the December National Council to train political draft counselors for students.
2. Start orienting our college draft program for actions to occur on graduation day.
3. Encourage the high school draft resistance program.
4. Develop a draft resistance program for our young adult constituency (high school teachers, social workers, doctors, lawyers, etc.) in which any actions on their part could be highly disruptive and lead to organizing in those professions.
5. We demand various recruiters to be kicked off campus.
6. Abolition of military assemblies and regents exams.
7. Disruption of the placement offices and selective service offices on campus and make the following three (3) demands:
 - a. Set up SDS political education institution and demand its acceptance on campus.
 - b. The placement office must be abolished.
 - c. The university fund a draft counseling office.

PROPOSAL NO. 6

Counter communications action

1. A series of steps be taken against the communications media in the representative form of the three major city newspapers. The purpose would be to de-legitimatize the press and the social structure it represents and supports.
2. Actions should attempt to reveal the relation between the press and the

corporate structure. Publicize events that have been totally unreported by the press. (cases of resistance to the draft)

3. A counter newspaper be published.

We must begin to build our own media, and it must be emphasized to participants in the demonstration that their actions has no meaning unless they also work on the distribution of this paper. The paper might be continued and deal with a variety of issues; the war, the draft, community issues, women's liberation, etc.

4. Constituencies:

a. Community at large on the issue of an unfree press in an unfree society.

b. Youth and campus on the issue of the draft and dissent.

5. Prior organizing (publicity, etc.)

a. Local organizing on college campuses and at draft resistance projects.

b. Guerilla theater on campuses and neighborhoods.

c. Leafletting by participants in neighborhoods and at newspaper stands.

d. Posters in neighborhoods.

e. Articles in Ramparts, Free Press, Village Voice, Guardian.

f. Discussion and newscasts on WBAI and campus radio.

g. High school organizers.

6. Tactics (unevaluated)

a. Leafletting and talking to people in newspaper buildings, city-room print shops, etc.

b. Phone-in.

c. Picket line.

d. Mill-in.

e. Sit-in editor's office.

f. Block delivery trucks; attempt to temporarily halt the delivery of newspapers, while the counter newspaper is being distributed.

7. Follow-up:

a. Continued distribution of counter newspapers.

b. University:

A program linking the use of the press to the use of the university, both as tools of the corporate structure.

c. Neighborhoods:

Contacts made with groups and individuals discussion groups and an extension of anti-draft activities.

d. High schools:

Discussion groups organized to discuss the real significance of "current events."

Sergeant COURTNEY. Sometime after the student rebellion at Columbia University the national office of the Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. 60612 published the following pamphlet outlining the SDS platform on five issues of national importance:

WHERE DO WE STAND?

ON VIETNAM AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

SDS completely opposed the U.S. Government's immoral, illegal, and genocidal war against the people of Vietnam. We insist on the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. personnel from that country.

Moreover, we see the U.S. policy in Vietnam as part of a global strategy for containing revolutionary change in the "Third World" nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Rather than the result of an essentially good government's mistaken decisions, we see the world-wide exploitation and oppression of those insurgent peoples as the logical conclusion of the giant U.S. corporations' expanding and necessary search for higher profits and strategic resources. That system is most properly named imperialism, and we stand by and support all those who struggle against its onslaught. They are our brothers and sisters, not our enemies.

ON THE DRAFT AND THE MILITARY

SDS demands the abolition of the Selective Service System. We see the draft as racist and anti-democratic, procuring manpower for aggressive wars abroad.

Moreover, through the "deferment" system, the primary coercive function of the draft is "channeling" the lives of millions of young people outside the military into lifelong vocations deemed "essential" by corporate military elites rather than freely chose by themselves.

We urge and will organize all young men to wage a collective struggle in resistance to the draft by refusing to serve in the military. We also seek to break the barriers placed between us and our brother in uniform. When forced by threat of imprisonment or exile, some of us will organize within the Armed Forces, advocating desertion and other forms of resistance to U.S. foreign policy.

ON THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

SDS has long and actively supported the struggle of black Americans for freedom and self-determination. Racism and exploitation confront black people as a group, as a people. From this given condition of their daily lives, black people must act as a group in establishing their common identity, and in planning a strategy to challenge their oppression.

We do not simply "tolerate" the growth of black consciousness, we encourage it. Criticizing "black power" as "racism in reverse" is as mistaken as denouncing the American Revolution of 1776 as "colonialism in reverse".

In addition to confronting all aspects of institutionalized racism in American life, we strongly believe that the strongest support we can afford the black movement comes from our efforts to engage exploited whites in the struggles and values of radical politics.

ON LABOR AND THE STRUGGLES OF WORKING PEOPLE

From its beginnings, SDS has recognized the crucial role that the working class has to fulfill in any movement for radical social change. More recently, we have rejected the false notion that most Americans are "middle-class". Considering professional, service, white-collar, and university-trained technical workers as a "class" separate from blue-collar industrial workers serves only to confuse and divide millions of workers and students and prevent them from realizing the corporate capitalist source of their exploitation and their common interest in uniting against its oppression.

To further the unity and radical consciousness of the working class as a whole we support the rank-and-file insurgencies of working people against their employers, the Government, and corrupt union leadership. Our concern is not only the improvement of wages and working conditions for our brothers and sisters in the shops, but for a transformation of all labor issues growing out of alienation and lack of control into a movement against the capitalist system itself.

ON THE STUDENT REVOLT

SDS views the multiversity as a knowledge factory, a kind of service station producing skilled manpower and intelligence for integration with the marketable needs of the major corporate, government and military institutions. Neither the content of the educational process, nor the ends to which our learning and resources are directed, further the fulfillment of humane social needs.

Rather, the "knowledge commodity" (ourselves and the results of our work) is shaped to further the production of waste, social oppression, and military destruction. The recognition of this process has been the driving force in our work to transfer student "alienation" into a radical force reaching out and uniting with constituencies beyond the campus in struggles against oppressive university administrations.

Sergeant COURTNEY. On Sunday, March 11, 1968, at 501 Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia University, the Students for a Democratic Society held the New York regional council meeting and the following proposals were presented:

PROPOSALS

Spring Offensive

The conference accepted the following criteria or general guidelines for Spring mass action:

1. Establish an anti-imperialist focus, "economic power is central; that slaughter is a product of U.S. capitalism."

2. Secondary institutions of imperialism should be hit as secondary targets
- (2) draft (b) media (c) educational (d) cultural.
3. Avoidance of a needless bash with the cops.
4. Tactical necessity of disciplined dispersal after the demonstration.
5. The demonstration should come out of serious organizing and base building activity.

6. The secondary targets were seen as a possible means of disciplined dispersal based on organized units. Each project or chapter would have to work out appropriate secondary targets or tactics.

Target originally suggested as the symbolic center of economic power was Wall Street. For several tactical and political reasons we now feel the area should be Rockefeller Center.

(a) Wall Street has been overused.

(b) Wall Street suffers because of narrow streets and unfamiliar to most demonstrators. (This situation would leave us vulnerable to being boxed in by aggressive police tactics.)

(c) Secondary targets appropriate to most projects are not by and large within walking distance of Wall Street.

"Rockefeller Center has wider streets (with mid-block exits and entrances) is a more familiar area, is located near a convenient meeting area (Central Park) and is within walking distance of many secondary targets (the local draft boards at 44th Street, various media, cultural, consumer, etc.) "Politically, Rockefeller Center provides all the necessary connections. Institutions in close proximity include: First National City Bank (bank with largest foreign investments,) Chase Manhattan, Esso, RCA-NBC (defense contracts, foreign investments, media), Time-Life, Associated Press, U.S. Department of Commerce, State, travel agencies from various right-wing and puppet regimes, etc.

"Further, the name of Rockefeller itself suggests a certain connection between the economic and political spheres. Also, the land is owned by Columbia University.

"ACTION: We do not see the demonstration as growing out of mass publicity or coalition with the Mobilization, et al.; this demonstration is not feasible with a group of that size and lack of organization. We see the demonstration as relatively small—500-1000—organized by projects and chapters, not called out on an ad hoc basis.

"People could meet at Central Park. From there we could proceed on a, hopefully legal, march down to Rockefeller Center. The march could then 'tour' by several appropriate institutions, e.g. Esso, Time-Life, RCA, State Department. Costumes, symbols such as coffins, and leaflets could make the connection with the war. (Some people might choose to leaflet inside).

"The 'tour' would end with demonstration, guerrilla theater, et al. at a final target, e.g. First National. Dispersal would be quick, spirited, organized, rather than lingering and demoralized since groups would be heading for secondary targets.

"At the secondary targets, tactics should be more active than a picket line, but not geared to incurring arrest—e.g., a counsel-in in the waiting room of a draft board. Chapters not project oriented could pick targets relevant to their school power structure—e.g., New School at Lehman Brothers."

"THE WALL STREET DEMONSTRATION

"We still need a city-wide focus for activity during the 10 days in April. The Wall Street demonstration mandated by the Regional Council a month ago could be used to bring large numbers of students and provide this focus. It would be especially effective because of the added opportunity the location provides to talk about the class nature of the war.

"At the same time, we recognize that the draft is developing as a key issue this spring. To meet this dual need (regional focus and anti-draft emphasis) we propose the following:

"I. That the demonstration be organized around three themes:

"A. No draft for Vietnam.

"B. U.S. get out of Vietnam now.

"C. The Vietnam war is Wall Street's war.

"This would provide a regional anti-imperialist focus (unlike Parade Committee actions). To call for and execute such a demonstration would give a boost to all anti-imperialist organizing in the region.

"II. That the demonstration consist of two stages:

"A. (Stage 1) A march from Washington Square Park through the Wall Street area and a rally in the Wall Street area in which people rap on the three themes.

"B. (Stage 2) Disperse after the rally and re-assemble at the main draft boards in each borough. Here a variety of tactics could be used such as: picketing in front and sending as many people as possible inside to see their records (thus effectively halting the operations of the board). This would provide a real boost to anti-draft work on individual campuses, setting the precedent of demonstrating at the boards and publicizing our anti-imperialist position on the draft.

"III. Date and time:

"We propose Thursday, April 25th as a suitable date. This gives us the first half of that week for campus actions and publicizing the demonstration. It leaves Friday (the day of the SMC strike) free for chapters to do their thing (we're hoping to organize a sharp confrontation at the Placement Office over military recruiting—coming that day).

"An early start is necessary to allow time at the draft boards before their 5:00 closing. 9:30 may be a good time to assemble at Washington Square."

"COUNTER COMMUNICATIONS PROGRAM

"*Purpose.*—The program is an attempt to de-legitimatize the press and the social structure it represents and supports. By April, more explicit research should be done in this area.

"*Newspaper.*—The easiest way to make the point of media manipulation is to widely publicize news of resistance to the war that has not been reported in the press. Resistance in the army and to the draft is especially good for this purpose. A special issue of the Rat could be devoted to this, and should be distributed by demonstrators. It might feature columns from the Times where news was distorted next to well documented stories explaining what really happened. On some stories, of course, the Times column would be bland. The special issue would be entitled 'all the news that is not fit to print.'

"Thus, the political point of the action is quickly and easily understood by people without advanced political consciousness; the press does not report some kinds of news and when it does, its reporting is distorted. Other articles and analysis in the Rat could begin to ask the question, "Why?"

"*Action-Tactics.*—Demonstrators would proceed from Rockefeller Center to the Daily News Building (220 E. 42nd Street) and from there to the Times Building (220 W. 43rd Street). Along the route groups should perform guerrilla theater and demonstrators should distribute the paper. At the newspaper buildings, demonstrators should be distributing Rats and talking to employees inside while other demonstrators are outside doing guerrilla theater.

"*Conference.*—We propose holding conference in April before the Ten Days. Its purpose would be to analyze the ways in which the media support the cold war ideology, and to explore ways of creating a radical alternative. Much work would have to be done before the conference, but some basic topics might include:

"The media's ideology: impartiality rather than objectivity; the media do not report facts, they report what people say about them.

"Case studies of how certain foreign policy situations have been handled by the media.

"Corporate connections and the concentration of control of the news: as important as corporate connections in the reliance of most media outlets on a few central news gatherers.

"Developing radical media."

SDS NATIONAL CONVENTION JUNE 10-15, 1968

Sergeant COURTNEY. The 1968 national convention was held on the campus of Michigan State University in East Lansing, Mich. From public reports of the event, there appear to be little if any opposition to permitting the SDS convention at MSU, a State-funded institution, but after reports of the conduct of the convention, there was apparently quite a furor created in the Michigan State Assembly.

The consensus of opinion appeared to be that the administration of MSU had no business providing a forum, free of charge, to such a

radically oriented group whose revolutionary design was to destroy the existing system in this country.

Approximately 300 official SDS delegates from various campus and local chapters, in addition to about 300 more observers from affiliated groups, attended the 5-day convention.

During the convention, the national officers and the national interim council were elected, the results being announced on Friday, June 14, 1968.

National secretary: Michael Klonsky, 25-year-old graduate of San Fernando State College.

Internal education secretary: Fred Gordon, 24-year-old graduate of Harvard, and graduate student in philosophy at the University of California, San Diego.

Inter-organizational secretary: Bernardine Dohrn, 26-year-old graduate of the University of Chicago in 1963, and the University of Chicago Law School in 1967.

National interim committee: Charles C. Marshall, Niagara section; Jeff C. Jones, New York region; Michael James, Chicago; Eric M. Mann, New England region; Roy Bartee Haile, Texas; Michael L. Spiegel, Washington; Morgan O. Spector, San Francisco, and Carl P. Oglesby, Antioch.

Alternates: Jared Israel, New England region; Mark Rudd, Columbia University; Bruce Clarke, Iowa.

The national officers replaced Carl Davidson, inter-organizational secretary; Robert Pardun, internal education secretary; and Mike Spiegel, national secretary.

The principal policy statements stemming from the convention were:

1. SDS must begin to relate to new constituencies :
 - a. High school and uncommitted college students.
 - b. Workers.
 - c. Hippies.
 - d. The American poor.
2. SDS should maintain a decentralized organization to prevent the development of any national manipulative bureaucracy.
 - a. The national office should serve only a coordinating and educative role.
 - b. Far more initiative should come from regional centers which are closer and more responsive to the needs of individual chapters.
3. Reaffirmed its strong opposition to the draft as an oppressive institution which exploits American workers and students for purpose of exploiting and murdering people abroad.
 - a. Unanimous support for SDS national draft coordinator, Jeff Segal, who was sentenced to a four year jail sentence for draft refusal.
4. SDS affirmed its solidarity with students at Columbia University who are now in jail for their protest against Columbia's "counter-insurgency military research programs", and Columbia's role as one of the biggest slumlords in New York.

The proposal concerning power to the regional SDS centers, presented by New York and Niagara regions, and adopted unanimously by the convention, was as follows:

It is the sense of this convention that the need for strong regional organization to determine its own political character be considered a top priority of this year's program; and this convention mandates all officers and NIC-NAC members to work toward this objective. Also, we suggest that they make provisions for travelers to help coordinate and strengthen regional control.

Two other proposals passed by the convention expressed solidarity with the Iranian Students Association in their "continuing fight against the dictatorship which oppresses your homeland," and solidarity with the "students and workers of France and Germany in their revolutionary struggle against their capitalist oppressors." The proposals carried this statement:

The fight for freedom is international because tyranny is international. Your (Iranian Students Association) fight against the Shah, the fight of German SDS against Klessinger, of the French against deGaulle, of the Japanese against Sato—these are a few of the current fronts of a single war. We are your allies and brothers.

Several proposals concerning the relationship between SDS and the labor movement were tabled, and ordered printed in the SDS weekly "New Left Notes" for consideration of the general membership. The proposals tabled were printed in New Left Notes of June 24, 1968.

The Students for a Democratic Society held a national council meeting at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor on December 26, 1968, through January 1, 1969.

The most significant resolution was submitted by Mike Klonsky, the national secretary and titled:

TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETY

AN ORGANIZED CLASS-CONSCIOUS YOUTH MOVEMENT WOULD BASICALLY SERVE FOUR FUNCTIONS IN BUILDING REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

1. An organized revolutionary youth movement is itself a powerful force for revolutionary struggle.

(a) Ally with workers waging struggle against a common enemy.

(b) Ally with the liberation struggle of those fighting against imperialism.

2. Youth is a critical force through whose struggle war, racism, the exploitation of labor and the oppression of youth can be exposed.

3. Organize young working people into our class-conscious, anti-capitalist movement.

4. The movement will define itself in terms of "class interest" rather than "student interest."

IMPLEMENTATION

The implementation part of this proposal should not be seen as a national program of action but rather as some suggested actions as well as some necessary actions to be taken if such a youth movement is to be built.

1. Build class consciousness in the student movement in the development towards a revolutionary youth movement.

(a) SDS organizers should direct the focus of their energies to organizing on campuses of working-class colleges, community schools, trade schools and technical schools as well as high schools and junior colleges.

(b) Attack should also focus on the university as an arm of the corporations that exploit and oppress workers. Corporations that exploit workers should be fought on campus. (Aside from producing napalm, Dow Chemical Company has plants in 27 countries of the Third World and is among the largest international corporations.)

(c) SDS should move towards the building of alliances with non-academic employees on the campus based on struggle against the common enemy, the university. SDS should view the university as a corporation that directly oppresses the working class.

(d) SDS should move to "destudentize" other students by attacking the false privileges of the university, e.g., the 2-S deferment should be attacked on that basis.

(e) Some of us should move into factories and shops as well as into working-class communities, to better understand the material oppression of industrial workers, as well as to eradicate prejudices against workers.

(f) We should move into the liberation struggle now being fought inside the armed forces and take an active part. Up until now, we have paid only lip service to that struggle of mostly working-class youth.

(g) Youth should be made to see their own struggle and the struggle of the Vietnamese against imperialism as the same struggle. The war must continue to be an important focus for SDS organizing.

(h) We must join the fight against the class and racist nature of the public school system.

(1) Drop-out and forced-out youth should be encouraged to join our movement.

2. Attack on Institutional Racism.

We must view the university as a racist and imperialist institution which acts to oppress the working class and is the brain center of repression against the liberation struggles at home and around the world. Programs should be developed which aggressively attack it as such and attempt to stop it from functioning in that manner. Targets should include:

(a) Police institutes on the campus.

(b) The real estate establishment (The University of Chicago is among the largest slumlords in the city).

(c) Centers for counter-insurgency (both domestic and foreign) including research and planning centers and sociology and education schools which teach people racism so that they can help defeat the struggles of the blacks.

(d) Racism in the classroom, especially in high schools where students are forced by law to sit and listen to racist and class prejudiced distortions of history.

(e) A fight should be waged for the admission of black students and brown students to help wage the fight against racism on the campus. Blacks are carrying on the most militant fights both on and off the campus, and more black admissions means a more militant campus movement.

We must also expose the racist and class nature of admissions systems and the high school track system and demand that the school be opened up to the community so that they too can struggle to stop its oppression."

Another significant proposal was the racism resolution titled, "Fight Racism; Build a Worker Student Alliance; Smash Imperialism."

The following are the specific proposals:

1. Special admission of non-whites and working class.

(a) Courses should be taught on working class history, the real story of U.S. imperialism.

(b) Demand for courses on the history of non-white section of the working class, in particular the super-exploitation of the non-white worker.

(c) Fight the training of personnel for ghetto cooling-off projects including schooling and housing.

(d) Fight racist institutions on campus such as ROTC.

2. Urban Removal.

Non-white and working class should not be evicted for campus expansion.

3. Support Strikes.

Part of the overall strategy for a worker-student alliance is to fight racism by supporting the on-the-job struggles of non-whites and campus workers.

4. Support Ghetto Rebellions.

(a) Use whatever means necessary to fight the daily violent oppression.

(b) Mass actions at City Hall and National Guard Armories.

5. Alliance With the High Schools.

6. Take the Initiative in Education on Racism.

7. Movement Must Involve Working People.

(a) Active support should be given to local strikes.

(b) Students should keep in close touch with rank and file union caucuses.

SDS NATIONAL COUNCIL, AUSTIN, TEX., MARCH 27-30, 1969

Resolution passed at the national council:

1. Support of the Black Panthers: We see clearly the need to join with the Black Panther Party and other revolutionary black groups in the fight against national chauvinism and white supremacy.

SDS declares:

Its support for the Black Panther Party and their essentially correct program for the liberation of the black colony;

Its commitment to defend the Black Panther Party and the black colony against the vicious attacks of the racist pig power structure;

Its commitment to join with the Black Panther Party and other black revolutionary groups in the fight against white national chauvinism and white supremacy; and

Its total commitment to the fight for liberation in the colony and revolution in the mother country.

IMPLEMENTATION

Form Newton-Cleaver Defense Committees—The Black Panther Party has requested that SDS join in setting up these committees. Huey P. Newton is "the key political prisoner in this country at the present time." The committees should first raise money for the defense of Newton, Cleaver, and all other Panthers facing charges, and second educate the people about the real nature of "justice" in this racist society.

The National Office should be mandated to print and distribute information about the history, development and programs of the Black Panther Party and other black revolutionary groups. Information about the repression directed against the black community should be kept up to date and distributed. Literature about the history of the black colony and its 400 years of unending struggle against oppression should be produced.

The National Office should be mandated to print and distribute information about the organizing of black workers. This would include Panther organizing in the factories, DRUM, and other revolutionary black unions.

This resolution should stimulate chapters and regions to develop and/or strengthen informal and formal relationships with the Panthers. We must keep in mind that the Black Panther Party is not fighting black people's struggles only but is in fact the vanguard in our common struggles against capitalism and imperialism.

This resolution should be seen as a formal repudiation of the resolution—"Smash Racism: Build a Worker-Student Alliance"—which was passed at the December National Council. This previous resolution with its refusal to recognize the colonial oppression of blacks in this country, its statement that nationalism is "the main ideological weapon of the ruling class" within the black liberation movement and its inability to distinguish between revolutionary and reactionary nationalism is at best non-revolutionary.

SDS must not be on record as supporting any resolution which considers revolutionary nationalism—the main factor which ties all oppressed nations together in their fight against imperialism—as a "weapon of the ruling class". Anything less than complete repudiation of this previous resolution is a cop-out on the support and solidarity which we must give to the world-wide movement of oppressed peoples for national liberation.

2. Build SDS in the South:

SDS severed relations with the Southern Student Organizing Committee (S.S.O.C.) and will now begin organizing in the South.

3. Fight Racism and Imperialism, Support the Guerilla Struggle in Southern Africa:

"Therefore, be it resolved: That SDS adopt a program of struggle aimed at aiding the African revolutionary movements in their efforts to smash South African racism, fascism, and capitalism, educating the American public and ourselves, and making American corporate investments in South Africa unprofitable.

"a. SDS immediately initiate programs to provide assistance to revolutionary movements with which we can ideologically agree and which are engaged in armed struggle in southern Africa.

"b. SDS intensify its educational programs on American Involvement (both present and potential) in South Africa. This long-term project should be initiated and/or intensified at the earliest possible date. The corporate-government elite must be made painfully aware that American support for a South African War will mean war at home.

"c. SDS continue to initiate direct pressure on corporate and governmental interests which directly support the Republic of South Africa; to this effect, we propose a massive struggle to line up the struggles against racism, imperialism, and their root, capitalism."

This would be preceded by an education drive aimed at pointing out the theoretical validity of the above-mentioned linkages and stressing education

through struggle through a concerted drive to prevent Chase Manhattan, the Bank of America, and General Motors from recruiting on college campuses throughout the nation.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would they not want the people to work for them? Do they claim they are imperialists?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Apparently there is a good deal of money from these organizations in South Africa, and as part of the opposition to the South African regime they intend to demonstrate against them.

Senator GRIFFIN. You are testifying here about a meeting in Austin, Tex., and you are from New York.

Do you know how many SDS members, approximately, from New York, went to the meeting in Austin, Tex.?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I couldn't venture a thought at this time, Senator.

Senator GRIFFIN. Would it be more than 100, do you think?

Sergeant COURTNEY. I would say it would be at least a hundred.

Senator GRIFFIN. Obviously, my question will not go further than this, but I take it you must have had people that infiltrated the SDS group that went to the meeting in Austin, Tex., and you are testifying on the basis of their information.

Sergeant COURTNEY. I think your statement is an accurate one, Senator.

Senator GRIFFIN. Otherwise, I don't know why you would be testifying about it.

I can understand from that point, if that is what happened. I take it that the point is that what happened there, and the plans they laid, later became very relevant to the situation in New York.

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is very true, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Sergeant COURTNEY. This program would also include a weeklong series of massive and militant international confrontations at Chase and Bank of America branches, which would take place on June 26 (South African Freedom Day), which would demand the withdrawal of said investments.

The interorganizational secretary would be mandated to attempt to get European revolutionary organizations, the Japanese Zengakuren, and so forth, to participate in the program in their respective countries.

d. Finally, these actions be undertaken in close cooperation with Third World movements (BSU, UMAS, Panthers, etc.) in the U.S. The possibility of a strike led by the League of Revolutionary Black Workers against GM—aimed at making that corporation pull out of South Africa—should be pursued. Determined action in support of the armed struggle against facism and raclsm in South Africa will provide a catalyst for greater revolutionary solidarity in the U.S.

4. Boycott Standard Oil:

SDS will support a boycott against the Standard Oil Company nationally and to publicize and act around the strike of Local I-561, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers in California.

Specifically SDS Chapters should:

- a. Publicize the boycott (leafletting, agit-prop, and educational materials).
- b. Circulate petitions supporting the boycott and get people to send their Standard Oil credit cards back to the company with a note demanding that they agree to the union's demands.

c. The National Office is mandated to prepare a pamphlet on the oil strike, the relations that have developed between the students and the workers, and explaining the racist and imperialist nature of Standard Oil.

d. On Campus Agitation Against Standard Oil Recruiters.

e. New Left Notes will keep the membership informed of the status of the boycott and the strike.

5. The Schools Must Serve the People

a. SDS demands an end to the classification of students into different levels of study.

b. An end to flunk-outs and disciplinary expulsions.

c. Demand the teaching of history and social conditions of the people in this country which exposes injustice and the struggles of the exploited working people against injustice.

d. Demand an end to cooperation by schools with recruitment for American corporations which rule and exploit people, and surrounding communities through the control of urban renewal programs, and that they end the brutal and un-human wage and working conditions.

e. Unlimited admission of black and brown students.

f. Free education and opposition to all tuition increases.

g. End to military recruitment in the schools.

h. End to all forms of male supremacy in the schools.

i. A real understanding of the movement of national liberation and of communist countries by teaching courses on Vietnam, Cuba and China.

j. Support of the Black Panther Party 10 point program on the campus.

6. Vietnam Resolution:

Support of the National Liberation front and Ho Chi Minh.

7. Fight U.S.-Soviet Collusion Against China

Mobilize working people, colonized people, students and the broad masses of oppressed people in this country against the new U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary alliance. All chapters are urged to carry on educational work and to agitate around this issue.

8. Hot Town: Summer in the City

A summer work-in in Detroit, Michigan with "revolutionary youth movement politics". The main thrust is a city-wide organizing program which would build a full time cadre who would engage in study and skill building with a view towards building a revolutionary youth movement in Michigan.

9. Third World Liberation and Socialist Revolution

The role of SDS is clearly to lead the struggle in the white community to support and defend the revolutionary nationalist movements in the neo-colonies. Our job is to convince the white students to ally themselves with the struggle for national liberation.

V. FINANCES

Very little is known about SDS financing except for the publicly known sources such as membership dues and sale of literature. It is doubted whether proceeds from the latter are sufficient to cover costs of production.

Campus chapters need little financing to carry on local agitation and much of their operation is sustained by scavenging from available facilities.

SDS formerly received financial support from its parent body, the League for Industrial Democracy, and while this support has been cut off officially, it is not unlikely that some unofficial support continues. SDS leaders have often bragged in their literature about available resources from their "liberal friends." These are general statements unsupported by specific details.

The SDS regional office in New York City at 131 Prince Street, New York City, is known to have a bank account at Chemical Bank New York Trust, 525 Broadway, which has averaged balances in the low four figures during February, March and April. As of May 15,

1969, the balance was \$550 plus. The remainder of the premises at 131 Prince Street is a newly renovated cooperative commune with approximately 20 tenants. SDS is believed to have acquired a financial interest in the premises.

Other financial support is received from periodic appeals for general and specific purposes.

VI. SECRECY

For the most part, SDS has not concerned itself with secret activities. Most of its projects are published in advance in its literature, particularly, *New Left Notes*. It does rely somewhat on secrecy in carrying out specific objectives, such as building takeovers and other campus activities, but its membership is open to anyone radical enough to acquire and maintain sufficient interest in the overall objectives.

Recently, SDS meetings have involved some discussion about internal security, and at the last national convention at Michigan State University, reporters were ejected and participants were required to wear identification cards. At recent SDS affairs at Columbia and N.Y.U. meetings were interrupted and prevented from proceeding until certain suspected and known "agents" in the audience left the premises.

Because of recent prosecutions against "movement people", SDS members have been admonished not to make it easy for "the man" by carelessness in handling mailing and membership lists.

VII. RELATION TO OTHER DOMESTIC ORGANIZATIONS

Since SDS considers itself a collection of students on the left and opens its membership to all regardless of factional persuasion, its members reflect a cross section of left-wing extremists and radical students. In New York City, the various SDS chapters are composed of virtually 100 percent white members.

Although SDS has supported what is referred to as "the Black Revolution", and recently has announced its wholehearted support for the Black Panther Party, it has been unable to attract any black members.

SDS has generally avoided domination by and of the stronger leftist organizations, such as the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, or the Progressive Labor Party, but has supported revolutionary movements wherever they exist.

In New York City, SDS appears to be composed of three factions:

(1) The pure SDS faction which denounces outside domination and supports the idea of world revolution through breaking down of established controls. This group, also headquartered in the hippy community on Manhattan's Lower East Side, has been most active in organizing disruptions of public appearances of various prominent "liberal" spokesmen.

The Communist Party has acquired some foothold in SDS through its youth organization, the W.E.B. DuBois Club. The Communist Party and the DuBois Clubs usually dispatch observers to the SDS conventions and national council meetings, and the following SDS leaders in New York City also have been or are still DuBois Club members: Ronald David Tabor, Jeffrey Gordon, Kenneth Hechter.

In the recent past, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), a tightly knit youth wing of the Workers World Party, has been active in joining SDS demonstrations, and its members have been arrested at SDS demonstrations resulting in mass arrests, such as Columbia in April 1968, and Finley Hall at CCNY in November 1968.

Both organizations have been most vocal in recent demonstrations to support the "Panther 21" in New York City. The latter are 21 Black Panthers who were indicted earlier this year in a conspiracy to firebomb department stores and other locations.

SDS has committed itself to full support of the Black Panther Party as a truly revolutionary liberation movement in this country. There is, of course, no interlocking directorate at this time, but it is not unlikely that such a marriage may come to pass in the future.

(2) The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) faction, which supports Mao Tse-tung and his brand of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory.

(3) The radical faction composed of East Village types who support revolution through chaos and anarchy.

Principal PLP members having influential positions in SDS are: Rick Rhoads, CCNY; Herbert Bleich, Queens College; Anthony Papert, Columbia University; Jeffrey Gordon, Brooklyn College.

The radical contingent is represented by an organization known as "Up Against the Wall, _____," which is a recognized chapter of SDS. The principal figure in this organization is Benjamin Anthony Morea, 20 East Broadway, New York City; male, white; born, October 8, 1941.

Subject has been arrested in New York City on several occasions including the Columbia strike in April 1968, and at an SDS disorderly demonstration at Rockefeller Center on April 14, 1968, and April 23, 1968.

He is also closely associated with East Side Service Organization (ESSO), an anarchistic organization on the Lower East Side in Manhattan. This chapter resembles a motorcycle gang in that the members freely use drugs, wear leather jackets, and disregard social sanctions regarding moral behavior. The group is tolerated because of its tie with the hippy community. It is undertaking to lead a project this summer "to liberate Tompkins Square Park as another People's Park as in Berkeley."

Another radical group closely associated with the New York regional SDS and which will likely apply for recognition as a chapter in the near future is the "Crazies," formerly associated with the revolutionary contingent and the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement.

VIII. RELATIONSHIP TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS

At the last national convention, SDS passed resolutions supporting the SDS organization in West Germany, and revolutionary student movements in Japan, France, and Iran.

Several SDS leaders, notably Tom Hayden, have traveled to Cuba, Czechoslovakia, and North Vietnam. It is unknown whether or not these contacts involve any more than theoretical and ideological exchange.

IX. PUBLICATIONS, NEWSPAPERS, AND LEAFLETS

The official publication of the Students for a Democratic Society is *New Left Notes*, a biweekly newspaper published out of the national office in Chicago. This periodical prints current SDS activities, proposals, projects, and theories, which are officially sanctioned by the national council.

I will offer as my exhibit No. 2 a copy of *New Left Notes*.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 551" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. The SDS regional (New York) Newsletter is printed and published occasionally by the regional committee out of its 131 Prince Street headquarters, and contains news of local activities and proposals for local action.

I offer this Newsletter as my exhibit No. 3.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 552" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. CAW was a bimonthly magazine published by New York Regional SDS, the first copy of which was published in February 1968, and at least two additional issues were printed through June 1968. A copy is included in exhibit 4.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 553" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. Newsletters are also printed and distributed by the various campus chapters usually on mimeographed paper. The Movement for a Democratic Society has initiated a monthly Newsletter.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 554" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. Mimeographed "position papers" of various SDS leaders and theoreticians are regularly distributed either individually or incorporated into periodicals.

Leaflets are distributed virtually every day at the various campuses throughout the city.

X. INFLUENCE AND PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

This area is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine at a local level.

SDS is not a direct recipient of governmental aid and any involvement in this regard would be through secondary or tertiary dispensers of public funds.

It is likely that many SDS members receive scholarship aid from private and public sources, and many, of course, are students in publicly funded high schools, colleges, and universities.

XI. ACTIVITIES OF SDS IN NEW YORK CITY

SDS generally credits itself with escalating the ferocity of antiwar demonstrations commensurate with the escalation of the war in Viet-

nam. It takes credit for the first major demonstration against the U.S. involvement in Vietnam in the form of a march on Washington in April 1965.

The previous month, SDS had sponsored a large sit-in demonstration directed against the Chase Manhattan Bank. Both of these actions had been planned at a national council meeting in December 1964. The following national convention in June 1965 marked the beginning of the truly extreme radicalization of SDS.

In New York City, most of the SDS activities were confined to campuses until after the march on the Pentagon on October 21-22, 1967, in which SDS played a very prominent role in prolonging and sustaining the actual siege of the Pentagon itself.

Fresh from their success in Washington, SDS returned to New York confident they had convinced the movement that passive resistance as a tactic had ended. A mass demonstration was planned to disrupt a dinner of the Foreign Policy Association at the New York Hilton on November 14, 1967, at which Secretary of State Dean Rusk was the guest speaker. The principal demonstration was organized by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, but SDS never intended to go along with the recommended discipline of the sponsors.

Several hundred members of SDS, principally the Columbia chapter led by Ted Gold and Ted Kaptchuk, joined with other small radical groups and succeeded in creating a chaotic disorder in the vicinity of the hotel for several hours. Preparatory to the demonstration approximately 150 SDS members met at Columbia University campus and received instructions from Ted Kaptchuk, Ted Gold, and Mark Rudd.

They were told to create incidents wherever possible, confront police, refuse to cooperate, offer active resistance and above all, maintain mobility. During the disorders, the following tactics were employed:

- (a) Discharging devices similar to smoke bombs.
- (b) Spraying unidentified gaseous substances at police.
- (c) Throwing dangerous objects, such as bottles.
- (d) Terrorizing pedestrians.
- (e) Pelting expensive autos with bags containing a red fluid.
- (f) Pulling fire alarms.

As a result of the disorders, 41 arrests were made, and four members of the force, along with several innocent passersby, were treated for injuries. Demonstrators lodged the usual protests of police brutality, but considering the volatile nature of the SDS activities, injuries and property damage was minimal and no one succeeded in gaining entrance to the hotel, which was their ultimate objective.

Since the New York Hilton disorders, SDS has been involved in over 50 separate demonstrations, many of which have resulted in violent behavior, and all of which have been marked by total contempt for any recognized authority. In addition to the demonstrations, there have been countless incidents of campus protest which have gone unreported.

The major campus disorder which projected SDS into national prominence was the Columbia University takeover in late April and May 1968.

An excellent report of the Columbia disorders was published by the Columbia alumni in a 96-page magazine entitled "Six Weeks That Shook Morningside."

The SDS view of the Columbia revolt was printed in a 10-page booklet written by Paul Rockwell and distributed under the joint auspices of Columbia SDS and the strike committee, entitled "The Columbia Statement."

The CHAIRMAN. It may be made an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 555" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant COURTNEY. Examples of other recent activities of SDS in New York City are as follows:

January 23, 1968. Mentioned on page 2 of the Worker as a sponsor of an emergency rally for Dr. Spock on January 29, 1968.

January 24, 1968. Name appeared on a leaflet as a cosponsor with YAWF.

January 27, 1968. Delegates from SDS attended the International Cultural Congress in Havana. The congress closed with an appeal to intellectuals to boycott U.S. academic and cultural programs.

January 29, 1968. Cosponsored a rally at Manhattan Center in support of the "Boston five"—Spock, Coffin, Ferber, Goodman, Raskin—indicted on charges of conspiring to aid draft evaders. Sponsored a leaflet at the above rally.

February 9, 1968. Sponsored a leaflet by Brooklyn College chapter.

February 12, 1968. Sponsored a "garbage exchange" at Lincoln Center. Cosponsored by "Up Against the wall _____" to protest establishment art forms.

February 13, 1968. Sponsored a demonstration at the board of estimate budget hearings to protest an increase in transit fares. One demonstrator, Rick Rhodas, was arrested and charged with harassment, resisting arrest, and violation of the sanitary code.

February 20, 1968. Cosponsored a demonstration with the Harlem defense.

February 28, 1968–March 2, 1968. Committee at Columbia University to protest the construction of a new gym for the university in Morningside Park. These demonstrations have been marked with repeated acts of civil disobedience.

March 9, 1968. Cosponsored a demonstration with the resistance at the Army induction center, Whitehall Street to protest the induction of Joseph Barthel.

March 11, 1968. CCNY chapter sponsored a demonstration on campus to protest the presence of Dow Chemical Co. recruiters on campus. Demonstration also protested war in Vietnam.

March 11, 1968. Fordham University chapter sponsored a demonstration to protest the Dow Chemical Co. recruiter on campus by blocking the entrance to the interview room. Demonstration also protested the Vietnam war and the draft.

March 16, 1968. Columbia University Chapter plans to widen its protest demonstrations against Government recruiting on campus. The steering committee announced the chapter would demonstrate against recruiting efforts by any military-associated organizations including the National Security Agency. If the purpose of the recruiting organization is to prepare for or wage war, SDS will oppose.

March 20, 1968. Columbia University chapter caused a disturbance at a meeting sponsored by the University's Catholic, Protestant, and

Jewish draft counselors. Col. Paul Akst of the New York Selective Service Board had a pie thrown in his face by unidentified persons while speaking on "Students and the New Draft."

April 6, 1968. Cosponsored a demonstration and picket line in front of the 71st Regiment Armory, 34th Street and Park Avenue.

April 9, 1968. Sponsored a picket line demonstration in front of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to protest the chamber of commerce dinner which was not cancelled as a result of the death of Rev. Martin L. King. Demonstrators also stated that the persons and firms attending the dinner exploit racism.

April 18, 1969. Cosponsored a leaflet with YAWF.

April 25, 1968. Mentioned in a leaflet sponsored by YAWF for the purpose of getting supporters to join in a march.

April 25, 1968. Issued a leaflet with six other organizations to publicize a peace march on April 27, 1968, from Washington Square Park. Leaflet was distributed at the Free School and sponsored by the Workshop in Tactical Street Action.

April 24, 1968. Columbia University Chapter sponsored a demonstration on campus to protest school administration policies and the building of a gym in Morningside Park.

Spring 1968. Organization appears in the spring 1968 edition of Columbia College Today. This entire issue is a special report titled "Six Weeks That Shook Morningside" and deals with the spring 1968 riots at Columbia University.

April 11, 1968. Issued a leaflet announcing an antidraft march in Brooklyn, from Grand Army Plaza to the Washington Street draft board.

May 2, 1968. Fordham University Chapter sponsored an anti-ROTC demonstration on the campus parade field.

May 2, 1968. Cosponsored a leaflet with the Columbia University strike committee to announce a citywide demonstration at Columbia University for May 3, 1968. Leaflet was distributed by the Progressive Labor Party.

May 4, 1968. Name appears on a leaflet issued by the community committee to support Columbia University to gain support for a demonstration on May 4, 1968.

May 9, 1968. Name appears on a leaflet issued by the Coalition for an Imperialist Movement CO-AIM announcing a demonstration.

May 10, 1968. Issued a leaflet by Columbia University Chapter justifying the Columbia University liberation classes.

May 11, 1968. Issued a leaflet informing the public of the SDS organization policies. Distributed at a Central Park rally sponsored by Southern Christian Leadership Crusade.

May 4, 1969. Issued a sound device permit for a demonstration at the Transit Authority Building, 370 Jay Street, Brooklyn to protest a proposed fare increase.

May 20-21, 1968.¹ Brooklyn College disorders (42 arrests).

May 22, 1968. Large-scale arrests made at Hamilton Hall Columbia University, after an SDS takeover and sit-in.

May 22, 1968. Sponsored a rally at Columbia University to protest the arrests made earlier that morning.

¹ Elaborated at end of chronological list.

May 29, 1968. Name appears on a leaflet issued by CO-AIM announcing a demonstration. Leaflet obtained at the office of YAWF.

May 30, 1968. Coissued a leaflet with seven other organizations announcing a demonstration at the French Consulate on June 1, 1968. Leaflet issued at a meeting of the Workshop on Tactical Street Action held at the Free School, 20 East 14th Street, New York City.

June 1, 1968. Issued a leaflet at a demonstration at the French Consulate to gain support for the students of Greece.

June 4, 1968. Labor committee issued a leaflet announcing a rally to be held at 118th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, New York City, on June 4, 1968.

June 29, 30, 1968. Attended the National Continuations Committee meetings of the Student Mobilization Committee held at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43d Street, New York City. This meeting was an attempt to heal internal strife in the organization.

July 8, 1968. SDS Labor Committee held a meeting in home of Bob Dillon, 212 West 22d Street, New York City.

July 13, 1968. Free School Chapter of SDS participated in action conference by Coalition for Anti-Imperialist Movement (CO-AIM) at Hotel Diplomat.

July 23, 1968. Free School Chapter of SDS cosponsored demonstration at Waldorf against \$500 a plate fund-raising dinner for former Vice President Humphrey.

July 25, 1968. SDS Committee for Institutional Expansion, Columbia University Chapter, was cosponsor of rally at Columbia in support of students arrested in Columbia strike.

August 15, 1968. Columbia SDS participated in demonstration at Criminal Courts Building protesting activities of Legal Aid.

August 15, 1968. Columbia SDS cosponsored a meeting at 112th Street and Broadway protesting proposed demolition of two buildings on 112th Street to make room for Columbia expansion.

September 7, 1968. SDS sponsored a rally in Union Square Park to support SDS and SNCC members arrested in Texas.

September 10, 1968. SDS participated in a "Free Huey Newton" demonstration at the Chrysler Building.

September 11, 1968. SDS sponsored a meeting at St. John the Baptist Church in Bronx regarding riots.

September 17-25, 1968. Columbia University Chapter hosted an International Student Conference at Columbia which was one of various such conferences designed to convene radical students from around the world, National Guardian, September 7, 1968.

September 18-23, 1968. Columbia SDS sponsored activities on campus designed to disrupt registration and to plan SDS programs for fall term.

September 20, 1968. Columbia SDS participated with YAWF in picket demonstration at Mexican Mission to U.N. demanding release of political prisoners in Mexico.

September 19, 1968. SDS distributed leaflet at CCNY announcing a meeting at Finley Hall.

September 25, 1968. Columbia SDS distributed leaflets announcing their demands and rally to be held on September 26, 1968.

September 24, 1968. Mark Rudd of Columbia SDS was observed

at Black Panther Party headquarters, 780 Nostrand Avenue, Brooklyn.

September 30, 1968. SDS and YAWF demonstrated at Criminal Courts Building in support of Mark Rudd and Martin Kenner, defendants.

September 30, 1968. CCNY-SDS cosponsored leaflets with two other organizations seeking support for strike of cafeteria workers on campus.

October 3, 1968. CCNY chapter of SDS distributed leaflet demanding ouster of ROTC unit from campus and civil liberties argument.

October 4, 1968. SDS Labor Committee sponsored rally in garment center to support alleged abuses of ILGWU workers.

October 10, 1968. CCNY chapter leaflet to demand ouster of ROTC and to solicit signatures for petition to support demands.

October 11-14, 1968. NYU chapter called strike at NYU downtown campus protesting firing of John Hatchett as director of Afro-American Student Center.

October 14, 1968. SDS participated in mass demonstration at city hall sponsored by Oceanhill-Brownsville School District demanding community control.

October 20, 1968. Electoral Research Action project of SDS distributed leaflets announcing a teach-in at Earl Hall, Columbia.

October 19-20, 1968. New York Regional Council of SDS, 131 Prince Street, New York City, announced regional assembly in Weinstein subcellar, 5-11 University Place, New York City.

October 23, 1968. SDS distributed leaflets at CCNY announcing classes in leftist studies to be held every Tuesday at 4 p.m., in Finley Hall, CCNY.

October 31, 1968. SDS high school chapters demonstrated at United Federation of Teacher's headquarters denouncing Shanker and praising Oceanhill-Brownsville governing board.

November 1, 1968. Various chapters of SDS distributed leaflets calling for student faculty strike to protest elections, November 5, 1968—Long Island University, Pratt, Brooklyn College—and to demand an end to military recruiting on campus.

November 4-5, 1968. National Council of SDS called for high school and college student strike.

November 4, 1968. SDS joined anti-UFT demonstration at 260 Park Avenue South, New York City.

November 4, 1968. SDS-CCNY held forum on the elections at Finley Hall.

November 4, 1968. SDS held protest rally against presence of Dow Chemical recruiters on CCNY campus.

November 5, 1968. SDS sponsored rally and disorders in midtown Manhattan protesting elections.

November 8, 1968. CCNY-SDS leafleted for ouster of ROTC unit from campus.

November 8, 1968. SDS Labor Committee leafleted in support of UFT and against community control.

October 31-November 7, 1968. SDS participated with other leftist groups at CCNY in take-over of Finley Hall and granting sanctuary to Army deserter, Pvt. William Brokefield.

November 14, 1968. SDS was described as supporters of Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund in leaflet announcing solidarity demonstration in support of draft refusers in Puerto Rico at NYU club.

November 19, 1968. Brooklyn College SDS distributed leaflets announcing proposed organization of an evening school chapter.

November 21, 1968. LIU chapter leafleted against presence of military recruiters on campus.

December 4, 1968. SDS Labor Committee distributed leaflets announcing a forum on the monetary crisis to be held on December 5, 1968 at Finley Hall.

December 4, 1968. SDS participated in disruption of meetings at NYU Loeb Student Center featuring New York Times reporter, James Reston and South Vietnamese Ambassador Huu Chi.

December 5, 1968. NYC-SDS and Movement for a Democratic Society distributed leaflets announcing a series of forums from December 9 through December 14 at Loeb Student Center, described as a radical conference.

December 11, 1968. SDS joined three other organizations on a leaflet announcing a Latin-American teach-in at Barnard gym on December 13, 1968.

December 13, 1968. SDS at CCNY leafleted for support for radical high school students and called for demonstration at city hall and board of education on December 14.

December 18, 1968. NYU-SDS sponsored a demonstration at Washington Square campus protesting alleged "witch-hunt" activities of college administration.

Examples of other recent activities of SDS in New York City are as follows:

January 7, 1969. SDS labor project sponsored a picket line at the Figure Flattery Bra Co., 85 Tenth Avenue, New York City, to support fired shop steward Felipe De Jesus.

January 8, 1969. Same as above.

January 30, 1969. Cosponsored a demonstration at the Spanish Tourist Office and Spanish Consulate to protest the regime of General Franco. An effigy of General Franco was burned and resulted in five arrests.

February 2, 1969. Issued a leaflet discussing the welfare situation.

February 6, 1969. Sponsored a rally at the Columbia University sundial in support of the college library workers. The library workers were holding elections for the purpose of being unionized under local 1199.

February 8, 1969. Cosponsor of a demonstration at the office of the Cathedral Parkway Urban Renewal project to protest planned renewal of the area around Columbia University.

February 13, 1969. Issued a leaflet at CCNY for the purpose of recruiting membership.

February 15, 1969. Participated in a demonstration sponsored by the West Side Community Council to protest the urban renewal in the Columbia University and Morningside area.

February 15-16, 1969. Cosponsored with the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH) a picket line to protest the "Bridal Fair" at the Felt Forum, Madison Square Garden.

February 20, 1969. NYU chapter demonstrated at Washington Square campus to protest in support of suspended students who had taken part in disruptive school activities on December 4, 1968.

February 25, 1969. Columbia University chapter held a rally at the sun dial to protest the university expansion into the Morningside area.

February 27, 1969. Sponsored a demonstration and briefly occupied and disrupted classes at Dodge and Hamilton Hall at Columbia University. Purpose: End ROTC on campus; end government research by Columbia University; end military recruiting on campus.

March 5, 1969. Sponsored a protest demonstration against the New York City Police Department and CCNY for conducting a seminar concerned with the handling of family disputes.

March 15, 1969. Sponsored a rally at Columbia University to protest the planned urban renewal project for the area.

March 17, 1969. Sponsored a demonstration at the Russian Mission to protest Russian aggression against China.

March 25, 1969. Columbia University Chapter sponsored a campus rally and a march through the neighborhood for the purpose of: End ROTC on campus; end war research; no military recruiting; open 197 vacant apartments to the community; build low-income housing.

March 25, 1969. Columbia University Chapter sponsored a teach-in at Barnard College to protest Columbia University expansion policies into the Morningside community.

March 27, 1969. CCNY chapter sponsored a demonstration in support of Ron McGuire, a student who was arrested and suspended for his part in anti-ROTC demonstrations on campus.

April 4, 1969. Issue of New Left Notes states Columbia University chapter pledged \$100 at the Austin, Tex., SDS conference.

April 4, 1969. Sponsor of a demonstration outside the Criminal Building, 100 Centre Street, NYC, to protest the arrest of 21 members of the Black Panther Party.

April 4, 1969. Issue of New Left Notes states NYU chapter pledged \$100 at the Austin, Tex. SDS conference.

April 10, 1969. NYU chapter issued a sound device permit for use in Washington Square Park. Purpose unknown.

April 11, 1969. Participated in a mass demonstration in front of the Criminal Court Building, 100 Centre Street, New York City, in support of the 21 arrested members of the Black Panther Party.

April 12, 1969. Labor Forum of SDS sponsored a meeting to recruit help for the fight against the State Office Building in Harlem and fund cutbacks by the State legislature.

April 18, 1969. SDS Labor Committee cosponsored a demonstration at city hall to protest proposed budget cuts by the New York State Legislature for hospitals, welfare and city universities.

April 20, 1969. Cosponsored a march from 110th Street and Eighth Avenue to Columbia University to get community support for Black Student demands.

April 25, 1969. SDS Labor Committee held a rally in the garment district demanding a minimum wage of \$100 per week for garment workers.

April 26, 1969. Participated in a meeting at the NYU-SDS office, 10 West Fourth Street, New York City, for the purpose of coordinat-

ing the efforts of the Afro-American Student Society with SDS in planning future demonstrations.

April 30, 1969. Columbia University chapter sponsored a rally on campus to support the Student Afro-American Society and to make the following demands:

1. Open admission to Columbia University for all black, brown and white working students.
2. Open 197 vacant apartments held by the university.
3. End Morningside renewal plan.
4. Abolish ROTC.
5. Abolish all military recruiting.
6. End military research.
7. Free the Black Panther 21.

The rally was followed by a march to the math building to support students that have occupied the building and conducted a sit-in since 8:30 a.m. that day. The march continued to Fayerweather Hall and approximately 150 persons entered the building, stopped all classes and in doing so, assaulted three professors. This was followed by an occupation and sit-in at Fayerweather.

May 3, 1969. Sponsored a demonstration at the showroom of Gotham Ford, 1710 Broadway, Manhattan, to support the United Black Brothers of Mahwah, N.J., who have called a strike against the Ford Motor Co. for alleged acts of racism.

May 24, 1969. Sponsored a dance at Columbia University to raise bail for eight Columbia University students who were arrested for seizing a building on campus.

June 6, 9, 1969. SDS Labor Committee issued a sound device permit to hold a rally in the garment district to demand a minimum of \$100 per week for garment workers.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have any other comments about these matters you may make them.

Sergeant COURTNEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You certainly have a very interesting statement with the organization in the beginning and continuing on down.

I haven't read all these incidents but you state all of them are incidents that SDS precipitated or participated in?

Sergeant COURTNEY. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That fact is known to your police force in New York?

Sergeant COURTNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. I don't believe I have any further questions.

Do you, Senator?

Senator GRIFFIN. No. I just want to acknowledge that, particularly with respect to your statement on the Students for a Democratic Society, you and others, who have worked on this obviously have done a very painstaking and thorough job. You have a lot of very good information in this statement as well as in the earlier statement.

I want to join with the chairman in expressing to you the appreciation of our subcommittee for coming here and spending the full day with the subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN. For the record, Senator, I think they have done an

excellent job, documenting all these exhibits and documenting every statement relating to any happening.

I know it took a lot of work. With my experience in this investigative field I know it took a lot of hard work to put a document like this together and to be accurate, and I trust you are accurate.

Sergeant COURTNEY. We hope so.

The CHAIRMAN. We find very few inaccuracies. That could happen; one could be inaccurate on one point, trying to do all of this. But overall, I think we are receiving some very, very informative and very active and definitive statements about conditions that prevail.

Again, thank you very much.

Sergeant COURTNEY. Mr. Chairman, there is one exhibit that I omitted. What it consists of is a list of each and every SDS chapter in the city of New York, including eight high school chapters with the representatives.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received with an appropriate number.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 556" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 556

SDS N.Y. REGIONAL CHAPTER CONTACT LIST

Barnard—Ann Hoffman, 929 Amsterdam Ave., Apt. 3F, NYC 10025; 663-3818.
Briarcliff College—Carolyn Hines, Briarcliff College, Briarcliff Manor, N.Y. 10610; WI 1 6400.

Brooklyn College—Laurie Mamet, c/o Tenney, 915 Washington Ave., Bklyn. 11225; 222-0470. Ira Perelson, 204 E. 25th St., NYC 10010 (Apt 15); 683-4531; Daryl James, 173 Sullivan Pl., Bklyn; 287-0113.

Brooklyn Polytech—(no chapter) David Woodruff, 75 Ocean Ave., Bklyn, 11225; 287-8632.

CCNY—Ron Tabor, 419 W. 115th St., Apt. 53, NYC 10025; 666-3624; Peter Wilcox, 567 W. 191st St., Apt. 64; 927-9304.

Columbia—SDS Office, 200 W 108th St., NYC 10025; 663-4010; Juan Gonzalez, 635 Riverside Dr., NYC; 926-4344.

Fordham—SDS office, P.O. Box 806, Fordham University, Bronx, NY 10458; Ivo Banac 99-41 64th Ave., Rego Park, NY 11374; TW 6 5856.

Hofstra—Loren Blalek, c/o Steve Auk, 2717 Shore Dr., Merrick, NY 11566 516-MA 8 7016.

Hunter downtown—Paul Weinberg, 151 Daniel Low Terrace, 2F, Staten Island, N.Y. 10301; 961-3551.

Kingsboro Manhattan Beach—Gerry Tenney, 915 Washington Ave., Brooklyn, NY 469-1914.

Kingsboro Community West End—Jean Millman, 7701 Bay Pkwy., Brooklyn, NY 11214 236-9220.

Lehman College (Hunter College) Frank Lagana, 38 Parkway Court, Brooklyn, 769-9666.

Long Island University—John Sowinski, 54-16 11th Ave., Brooklyn, 11219, GES-7878.

Manhattan Community College—Helen Toccoe, 1435 Waivy Ave., Bronx 10469, 855-3658.

Manhattanville College—Louise Barrett, Founders Hall, Purchase, NY, 914-946-9600.

Mills College of Education—Nancy Schaer, Mills coll. of Ed., 66 5th Ave. NYC 10011.

Nassau Com. Col. SDS—Stewart Ave., Garden City, NY; Christopher Madigan, 209 Devinshire, New Hyde Park NY 11040 516-PL-2-4503.

New Paltz—Carlos Fernandez, 124 Huguenot St., New Paltz, NY 12561, 914-255-1278.

New Rochelle—Eileen Clavin, Box 111, New Rochelle, 10601.

New School Graduate—Naomi Jaffee, 109 Norfolk St., NYC 674-8712.

New York City Community College, N. Filizman, 605 W. 111 St. c/o Jon Katz MO2-1063.

NYU downtown—Steve Halliwell and Ann Summerfeld, 510 W. 109th St., NY, UN4-4345.

NYU uptown—Dave Katzman, Dennis O'Neil, Imre Kepes, John Fzcspanic, 1889 Sedgewick Ave., Bronx, Apt. 14C NY 878-9849.

Pace—Steve Mendel, 1100 Grand Concourse, Bronx, NY 992-3579.

Pratt—Arnold Levin, 175 W. 93 St. Apt. 3A, NYC 10025 R19-2613.

Queens College—Josh Feldman, 2939 Willson Ave., Bronx 10469 O12-6439.

Queensboro—Lora Kanin, 260-60 75th Ave., Glen Oaks 11014 F13-5421.

Richmond Coll.—Bob Feldman, 200 W. 106th St. NYC Apt 5A NYC.

Rockefeller Univ.—Rick Nagen, Rockefeller U. NYC 10021 860-1436.

Stoneybrook—David Gersh, James Coll. C-209, SUNY at Stoneybrook, Stonybrook, NY 11790.

Southampton College: Jon Lichtman, Southampton College of LIU, Southampton, Box 963.

Suffolk Community College: Thomas Hussey, P.O. Box 1019, Stonybrook, NY 11790 516-0613.

Bronx Community College: Marna Epstein, 3900 Greystone Ave., Bronx, NY 10463.

Sarah Lawrence College: Carmen Chow, 406 Riverside Drive, NYC, NY 663-3458.

HIGH SCHOOL CHAPTERS

East Meadow High—Carl Goldberg, 1516 Andrews Lane, East Meadow, N.Y. 11554.

James Madison High—Laurie Brandt, 1716 Ave. O, Bklyn, NY DE9-7031.

Jericho High School—Frank Sixt, 68 16th St, Jericho, NY.

Malvern High—Margie Steiner, 247 Rider Ave., Malvern, NY 11565 516-599-6287.

New Rochelle High—David Yohalem, 192 Beachmont Dr., New Rochelle, NY 10804 914-632-0658.

Roslyn High School—Lauren Berdy, 19 Hummingbird Dr., Roslyn, NY 11576, 516-626-0744.

Valley Stream High—Russ Halley, 65 Chestnut St., Malverne, NY LY 9-1436.

OTHER REGIONAL CONTACTS

Up Against the Wall [deleted]—10th St., near Ave B, NYC, NY 533-5930.

Rat—201 E. 4th St., NYC 228-4460.

Liberation News Service—c/o Jenks, 200 Claremont Ave. #51, NYC, NY 10027 749-2200.

Newsreel Project—Box 302, Canal Street Station, NYC, NY 10013 524-4570.

High School Union—17 East 17th St., NYC, NY 255-1075.

GAW—c/o Jerry Badenes, SDS regional office, 131 Prince St., NYC, NY 10012 674-8310.

MDS—225 Lafayette St., NYC, NY 10012; 962-0519.

Radio Free People—c/o Peter Suthelm, 622-4092.

NAOLA—Box 57, Cathedral Station, NYC, NY 10025 749-6518.

National SDS, 1608 W. Madison St., Chicago Ill. 60612 312-666-3874.

NY Regional SDS, 131 Prince St., NYC NY 10012 212-674-8310.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Call your next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Lieutenant Reichert.

The CHAIRMAN. Be sworn, please.

You do solemnly swear the evidence you shall give before this Senate subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Lieutenant REICHERT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LT. GLENN L. REICHERT

The CHAIRMAN. Identify yourself for the record, please, sir.

Lieutenant REICHERT. My name is Glenn L. Reichert, a lieutenant of police, Denver, Colo. Presently, I am in command of the intelligence division. I have been a police officer for 18 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You have prepared statements, have you?

Lieutenant REICHERT. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. The one I have before me is prepared with reference to Students for a Democratic Society.

Lieutenant REICHERT. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I will have the clerk present to the witness this statement. Examine it and state if that is your statement.

(Document handed to the witness.)

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the statement you have prepared?

Lieutenant REICHERT. This is the statement I prepared, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I present you another with the title written on it, "Black Panthers." Did you propose to testify with respect to the Black Panthers?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Yes, sir; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Present this statement to the witness, please.

(Document handed to the witness.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. This is the statement I prepared.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you now willing to state under oath with respect to each statement that the facts and information contained therein, the statements, are all true, according to the best of your knowledge and belief, and do you so state under oath?

Lieutenant REICHERT. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I ask unanimous consent that these statements may be printed in the record as presented by the witness under oath, subject to further interrogation of the witness by interrogatories, if you like.

Any member of the committee may have questions for clarification, or questions challenging anything in the statement.

We will undertake to submit questions to the witness in writing for him to reply to under the oath he has taken today.

Should anything develop that is highly controversial, if any member so thinks, we can have the witness return for interrogation.

I would like to do that in order to try to expedite the work of the committee. Otherwise, we couldn't get through today with all that we now have scheduled. We have advanced some testimony that we intended to hear next week in order to accommodate others who were interested.

If that is satisfactory, I would like to receive these statements and let them be printed in the record as the sworn testimony of the witness.

Then we can ask him a few questions, if there are any questions, and then let him be excused until or unless he is requested to come back.

Do I hear objection?

Senator GRIFFIN. No; Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank the Senator.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

Lieutenant REICHERT. The Students for a Democratic Society at the University of Denver first applied for a probationary charter, February 8, 1967, to be recognized as a student campus group. The group

never has achieved permanent status at the university. Presently, they are on a 1-year probationary status beginning February 11, 1969, and cannot be considered for a charter until February 1970.

The D.U. Chapter has never been large nor very effective. The same members have been active in the draft resistance, stop the war committees, and have done some work in attempting to organize high school chapters.

The significant incident in the history of the SDS at the University of Denver took place April 30, 1968, beginning at 9 a.m.

This was a takeover of the admissions and records office in the administrations building by approximately 60 persons, including some nonstudents. These individuals were sitting in and blocking fire access routes, and generally disrupting the university business.

At 9:15 a.m., the dean of students, Miss Barbara Mertz, made the following statement:

May I have the courtesy of your attention? You have a very important decision to make. You have made your point by being in this office. This is disruptive. You will be given 5 minutes to decide whether or not you want to remain.

If you remain, you will be considered dismissed from the university. Each person should give this serious individual thought. I know some of you have thought about it a great deal. We will wait 5 minutes for you to meditate and make your choice. Each person will want to decide for himself if it is worth it.

The group continued to disrupt the office.

At 9:30 a.m., Director of Security Wayne Littrell, addressed the group and informed the group they were in violation of certain city ordinances and furnished copies of the ordinance to all involved.

At 9:40 a.m., Mr. Littrell called Capt. John Hindes of the Denver Police Department and apprised him of the existing situation. Captain Hindes and the necessary units of police as had been previously arranged moved into position on campus.

At 9:55 a.m., Dean Mertz made another statement:

You have another important choice to make, we do not want to use the city ordinance, but we will if we have to. If anyone wants or chooses to leave now, you may do so and you will be given the following letter.

I quote the letter:

April 30, 1968: It has been clearly defined to you that cooperative non-disruptive behavior was expected in connection with activities today. In spite of such warning, you have chosen to continue actions out of line with expectations.

Therefore, you are to consider yourself dismissed from the University of Denver, effectively immediately. You may appeal this decision to the university of conduct review committee if you wish.

Request for such review should reach me by Friday afternoon, May 3. We regret that you have placed yourself in this position, and we mean this most sincerely.

A number of individuals accepted the letter and left at this time. Forty persons did not and were arrested at that time.

All students participating in this demonstration were expelled from school. Exhibit (1) News article: All appealed the decision and the result of the appeal resulted in a lessening of the severity of the decision but still netted 1-year suspensions.

The charges against the demonstrators were dismissed in court, however, the administrative action of the university regarding the suspensions has been upheld.

In response to school leaders who ask the question, "what can I do?" Here is a prime example of what direct action and a little courage can accomplish. From a police officer's standpoint, I cannot help but feel not only did Chancellor Mitchell establish the administration as the "one" in charge, he may have saved the police hundreds of man-hours in policing future demonstrations. There has been no further trouble.

Several students have told me that they feel because standards have been maintained, the degrees earned at the University of Denver will have greater value and significance than those degrees from schools where standards have been let down and disruption is the day-to-day practice.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

The SDS chapter at the University of Colorado is the strongest faction of all the State schools. At the recent SDS national council in Austin, Tex., the University of Colorado SDS was represented by 27 persons. At this same national council, Klonsky was reported to have stated that the Boulder SDS chapter is the strongest in the Nation, and has the largest national membership—64—in the country.

The SDS first applied for recognition as a campus group February 8, 1966. However, the fall of 1967 was the beginning of noticeable activity by SDS on the campus.

SDS is organized on a local, regional, and national basis. The structure of the organization is loose, with emphasis on organizing to meet local needs.

The local SDS chapters are fairly autonomous but do receive guidance from the regional and national SDS offices. The local chapters are not obligated to follow directives from the regional or national offices if they choose not to.

Chapters are expected, however, to operate within the broad limits of policy set by the national convention and the national council. Points of conflict should be referred to the national council and a procedure established to make the issue public to the organization.

A most important aspect of SDS is the fact that the local chapter is organized to derive the greatest response from the noncommitted. To be a member of a local chapter, you do not have to be a national member. Local chapters are normally structured around a few hard-core SDS national members who are committed to developing SDS ideology. The rest of the chapter generally represents a cross-section of "alienated" individuals. The "hard-core" has the responsibility of being the catalyst to radicalize others into action, that is to educate.

The regional SDS organization comprises a grouping of local chapters to coordinate their activities. The regional offices are in Ann Arbor, Mich.; Cambridge, Mass.; Newark, N.J.; 131 Prince, New York, N.Y.; upstate New York; 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, N.Y.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Chicago, Ill.; Dallas, Tex., and in Washington, D.C.

The prime responsibilities of the regional structure are to coordinate, organize new chapters and to educate—radicalize—within its area.

The regional office has officers elected at the SDS regional convention. The most important office is that of "regional traveler." The regional travelers tour the region at their own expense, subsidized by the sale of SDS literature.

Funds for the regional offices come from donations or levies from chapters within the region.

In between regional conventions, the regional business is conducted by an interim committee of delegates elected by the local chapters. This committee directs the actions of the regional travelers: John Buttney and Bruce Goldberg are regional travelers from the University of Colorado.

The national SDS structure serves as a forum for New Left Debate annual conventions, national council meetings, discuss and vote upon resolutions which delegates then take back to their local chapters for implementation. The national organization lacks power and must rely on persuasion to make local chapters conform to national policy. Probably, the most important function of the national structure in relation to SDS organization is radical education. The national SDS is a prolific pamphleteer. The national structure is also responsible for publishing the "New Left Notes." Exhibit 2, SDS and other documents.

Within the ranks of SDS are a variety of political positions, socialists, anarchists, Communists and humanist liberals.

National membership permits representation at the annual National Convention on the basis of one delegate for every five national SDS members in the chapter. The importance of national membership is reflected in the national annual convention because of members of the Progressive Labor Party and the Young Socialist Alliance who also hold national membership in SDS. These members are committed to radical causes, are more concerned about SDS policy, have a disproportionate attendance at the annual national convention. Because of this dedication P.L.P. and Y.S.A. have great influence in deciding who the national officers are to be.

The national council is the "Governing Board" of National SDS. The national council is composed of: (1) representatives from chapters based on a ratio of one representative for each 25 national members; (2) the 11 national officers; (3) elected liaison representatives from associated groups; (4) liaison representatives from fraternal organizations; (5) nonorganized SDS members' representatives certified by national or regional offices; and (6) national staff (without vote). "In all cases, national council members and liaison representatives must be members of SDS." The national council meets quarterly. The national council is responsible for budget, appointment of committee chairmen, appointment of representatives to other organizations, determine priorities, suspend chapters, and so forth.

Again, the greater interest of certain groups, P.L.P., in being national members, causes disproportionate representation on the national council.

The National Interim Committee is composed of the 11 national officers of SDS and their decisions are subject to approval by the national council. N.I.C. oversees the selection of publications of SDS and, therefore, has much influence of the radical education program.

National SDS has 11 officers, eight of which are honorary, including the president and the vice president. The three key positions are national secretary, education and interorganizational secretaries. The national secretary is responsible for implementation of SDS programs, organizing and leading SDS activity. The education secretary is

responsible for the radical education program. The interorganizational secretary has the duty of coordinating SDS and other organizations.

Special emphasis has been placed on developing cordial relationships with the Black Panther Party. The interorganizational secretary is also responsible for relations between SDS and the Cuban Government. SDS members are reported to be in Cuba the year around. The University of Colorado SDS member Bruce Goldberg recently reported to have returned from a trip to Cuba.

For any meaningful evaluation of local SDS chapters, it is important to have some idea of the aforementioned organizational and interchapter relationships involved.

The local chapters comprise both "hard-core" and local sympathizers who may or may not be national members. The local and regional chapters are extremely flexible. This is paralleled by the national organization, composed exclusively of hard-core dues-paying National members. The National organization is more rigid and demanding.

In reading SDS literature, it is readily apparent that SDS has no clear-cut ideology. About the only thing that is certain is it is a radical group that is anything but democratic.

The SDS chapter at the University of Colorado was host to the national council, October 11 through 13, 1968. Some of the workshop subjects were Czechoslovakia, Labor, Election Protests, Draft Resistance, Campus Organization, High School Organization and Expansion, Internationalism and G.I. organization.

Clark W. Bouton, a former professor at CU, was faculty sponsor of SDS and was active and participated in a demonstration against the Central Intelligence Agency on October 25, 1967. His contract with the university was not renewed. He is alleged to have accepted a teaching assignment at San Jose State College, Calif. Bouton is No. 12 on the chart and has not yet been uncovered.

Some high points of possible interest much as in the labor workshop were suggestions by the Progressive Party faction that SDS become involved in unions. The P.L.P. student labor action project, S.L.A.P. resolution was not passed by the national council.

The draft resistance workshop encouraged going into the ghettos to counsel Negroes and poor whites on how to avoid the draft. Rather than go to Canada, if draft was inevitable, members were encouraged to enter the Armed Forces and work for the SDS from within.

On high school and college campus organizations, it was proposed that SDS employ a full-time coordinator for high schools to operate out of the Los Angeles regional office. His job would be to assist SDS members doing high school work throughout the country and to publish regular reports on the national outlook. The east side service organization monopolized much of the college workshop. This group advocates violent disruption of the establishment.

The workshop on G.I. organization was quite lengthy and covered several points. Contact G.I.'s through the USO and once a G.I. is contacted inform him of his rights, explain the imperialistic, capitalistic aspect of the war in Vietnam, and so forth. Attacks against the ROTC were discussed and it was felt the better approach is to attack the institution and not individual members.

The aim of all contacts with G.I.'s is to bring about subversion from within. One method suggested to implement this subversion from

within would be to put sugar in the gas tanks of military vehicles during civil disorders to prevent the movement of troops.

A pamphlet was passed out at this meeting by the Progressive Labor Party individuals explaining sabotage. Exhibit 3, P.L.P. pamphlet.

The talk of disruption by SDS has been more than just talk. The night of July 12, 1968, dynamite was set off at Elmwood School and at the Denver Police garage. The prime suspect is an individual that has attended SDS meetings and the SDS national council meetings in October. We do not have sufficient evidence at this time to present a case to the district attorney.

The Boulder Police Department also considers this same party as responsible for a bomb set off on the roof of Boulder City Hall. City Hall. Exhibit 4 (Photo)

SDS has planned and carried out many disruptive activities in the Denver area. Protests against the war during a visit by Vice President Humphrey; SDS members were arrested for disrupting at the New Customs Building where recruiting and selective service inductees are processed. On one occasion, they chained and locked the doors.

At Colorado State University, November 18, 1968, students and nonstudents took over a building on campus. Fifteen students were arrested and charged with second-degree burglary. One of those arrested was Cameron David Bishop. Bishop was active in SDS at the Colorado State University. He was also well known to SDS students at the University of Colorado. He is now on the FBI list of 10 most wanted criminals.

January 18, 1969, a large explosion occurred at 5400 Brighton Boulevard, Commerce City, Colo. This is located just two blocks from Denver city limits. This explosion ruptured two 18,000-gallon above-ground storage tanks. Also destroyed was a nearby metal building.

[Exhibit 5—photo.] Monday, January 20, 1969, 12:10 a.m., at West 10th and Zenia Street, Jefferson County, just west of Denver, all four legs of a 230,000-volt electric transmission tower were blown in two. This caused the tower to fall into a 13,000-volt distribution line, causing an electrical outage for about 1 hour. [Exhibit 6—photo.]

Saturday, January 25, 1969, 2:25 a.m., one leg of a 230,000-volt electric transmission tower was blown in two. This tower was located at South Kearney and East Caley Avenue in Arapahoe County just southeast of Denver.

The other three legs had 14 sticks of dynamite attached to each leg but failed to detonate. [Exhibit 7—photo.]

Tuesday, January 28, 1969, at 1:40 a.m., at East 104th Avenue and the Platte River, all four legs of a 230,000-volt electric transmission tower were blown in two. [Exhibit 8—photo.]

This same date at 2:30 a.m., all four legs of a 115,000-volt electric transmission located at 16th and the Platte River were blown in two. [Exhibit 9—photo.]

Cameron David Bishop has been charged with sabotage as a result of the January 20 bombing and is currently on the FBI 10 most wanted list.

SDS at the University of Colorado has apparently completed a cycle, Dr. S. I. Hayakawa attempted to speak on the University of Colorado campus, March 3, 1969. The SDS, with considerable aid from the

Black Panther Party, were able to prevent Dr. Hayakawa from speaking.

The tactics used by these people brought about two things. One is that at a rally sponsored by SDS several hundred SDS types showed up, but also 700 or so other students were there and voted down most every demand set forth by the SDS.

This was a very demoralizing blow to the SDS chapter. [Exhibit 10—Newsletter.]

Of far greater consequence is the fact that on May 23 the board of regents announced they had voted to disaffiliate the SDS chapter from the university.

This may prove to be a crippling blow as most of the SDS chapters at other schools in the State are small and derived much of their strength from the University of Colorado chapter.

There should be no illusions that if SDS should fade away that the radicals will lessen their attack. They will take another name and resume as if nothing had ever happened.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Very briefly, I would like to present to the committee how the Denver Black Panther Party was formed and some of the party's pertinent activities. During the summer of 1967, Lauren Watson organized a Black Panther Party with meetings being held usually at 1737 East 31st Avenue. The meetings were attended by 25 to 35 persons. This group at that time was not allied with the National Black Panther Party in Oakland, Calif. The meetings consisted mainly of talk of violence and white hate.

A group known as "Sundiata" which is reported to mean "Hungering Lion" in Swahili, also met at 1737 East 31st Avenue. This group was supposed to teach Afro culture and history. [Exhibit I, copy of Sundiata.] In reality, it was spending much of its time teaching white hate. [Exhibit I.]

Membership in both the Panthers and the Sundiata dwindled to the point where they practically ceased to exist during the months of 1967-68. The lone exception was Lauren Watson and he insisted that he was still a Black Panther.

Early in 1968, the Intelligence Division of the Denver Police Department received information that black militants were holding meetings at least weekly and called themselves members of SNCC. We began a surveillance and were able to determine that the meetings were held principally at the following addresses: 3401 Franklin Street, a meeting place for a club called Au Natural. [See exhibit II, a news account of the formation of the club]; 3022 Williams Street, 3000 Filmore at that time the home of Joe Boyd, Sr., and 3335 Dexter, the home of Sorl Shead.

Security was maintained at these meetings. On two separate occasions, persons attending these meetings ran from the meeting place to check on police officers in the vicinity.

The nucleus of the Denver Black Panther hierarchy attended these meetings, Lauren Watson, Steve Shead, Sorl Shead, and James Young.

The SNCC group split up as an outgrowth of the promotion of a plan called CALM (community action by local marshals). This was

an effort by Joe Boyd, Sr., to establish separate patrols composed of minority people in minority areas to replace the police. The Denver Police Department vigorously resisted the proposal from its inception for many reasons, not the least of which was the participation of known militants. [Exhibit III, New Account, July 7, 1968.]

The patrols were instituted on an unofficial and unsanctioned basis the last week of June 1968.

On June 29, 1968, Denver police officers were involved in a confrontation with armed patrols in the Holly Shopping Center which is located in the 3300 block Holly Street. [Exhibit IV, news account relating the events of the arrest of Sorl Shead.]

Police were attempting to arrest a young Negro female running from a Safeway store carrying a frozen turkey. Sorl Shead was carrying a weapon on his hip and attempted to prevent the arrest. Numerous other individuals were observed carrying guns at this time. Shead was arrested and charged with interfering with the police and resisting arrest. Shead was acquitted in municipal court of the charge.

July 25, 1968, Lauren Watson sent a letter to the editors of several newspapers in which he announced that the Black Panther Party and SNCC were withdrawing from the CALM proposal. [Exhibit V, letter published in the Denver Chronicle, July 25, 1968.]

The Panthers recruited heavily and their membership rose to well over a hundred members. It was also during this time period that the Denver Black Panther Party became affiliated with the National BPP. [Exhibit VI, literature from Oakland retreat November 16, 1968.]

The Denver Black Panther Party first was headquartered at 2835 Welton Street in Denver. They moved from there to 3401 Franklin Street which was the address of the club "Au Natural" during November 1968. This is the present address of this organization. Chairman, Lauren Watson, DPD No. 71975 and his wife, Mary Lou Brooks Watson, deputy minister of culture reside at 2835 Welton. The deputy minister of defense is James Elbert Young, DPD No. 67152. The assistant deputy minister of defense is Young's wife, Virginia Young, DPD No. 115666. Gerald Dixon, DPD No. 71790 is deputy minister of treasury. Sorl Shead, DPD No. 87337 is deputy minister of finance, Ronnell Stewart is deputy minister of information. Russell Simpson, deputy minister of religion. Steve Shead, DPD No. 87339 is the deputy minister of labor. Judy Benton is the deputy minister of education. Marshall Chambers, DPD No. 153979, is the field marshal and Kenneth Franklin is the chief of staff.

See exhibit VII, news accounts from various papers, including the Panther News, and a bulletin announcing a coming demonstration to identify the following person: Lauren Watson, Ronnell Stewart, Russell Simpson, and Judy Benton.

Exhibit VIII, Rocky Mountain News photo taken March 7 at the University of Colorado at a rally demanding amnesty for protestors arrested at the Dr. Hayakawa incident, March 3.

This photo shows Gerald Dixon, Lauren Watson, Sorl Shead, and Yusuf.

Exhibit IX LETS bulletin from Cheyenne, Wyo., Police Department re Lauren Watson, Mylas Stokes, Joe Martin, Marshall

Chambers, and Mary Lou Brooks Watson traveling in a 1967 Ford, 1968 Colorado license BA 9899.

The data for identifying the officers comes from their own statements to the news media as well as from several confidential sources that have proved to be reliable in the past.

The Black Panther Party newspaper is being brought in and sold in Denver. The Panther Party in Denver is not a solvent group. One source of income is from the sale of this newspaper, which is sold for 25 cents each copy. The Panther headquarters had been without utilities, lights, gas, and a telephone for most of March 1969, because of nonpayment of bills. April 7, 1969, these utilities were paid up and operating. A confidential source informed us that the Oakland office had sent 500 copies of the Black Panther News to Denver without charge in an effort for the Denver group to bolster their finances.

At an antiwar demonstration held April 26 at the State capitol, several young Negroes were observed selling the Panther News.

There is a real danger that the type of propaganda set forth in this paper, over a period of time will completely alienate many young black people from the American society. This is certainly the aim of this paper. During January 1969, the Denver Black Panther Party had a membership of about 140. In line with a national purge of members, which was reported in the Panther News, January 25, 1969, the Denver party membership has been reduced to possibly 20 or 30. There is one point to note and that is that membership fluctuates greatly. The number of members seems to be proportional to the number of incidents the Panthers can create, and the amount of news coverage given the Panthers as a result of these incidents.

The Denver Police Department has had many confrontations with the Black Panthers. I would like to very briefly relate several minor ones, chiefly to show the national character of the party.

January 16, 1969, the Black Panthers became involved in a school boycott at Cole Junior High. This school is located one block from the Panthers' headquarters. Disturbances arose both in the morning and the afternoon, necessitating that arrests be made. A total of five Panthers were arrested. One party arrested gave his name as Charles Henry, address: 3401 Franklin, the Panther headquarters. His true name is Alfred Hassan, Jr., DPD No. 155542. He is a parole violator and is awaiting extradition to California. He is known as a Panther in Los Angeles.

Another party arrested at this time was one Marvin Williams, DPD No. 152273, wanted by the Des Moines, Iowa, police, and is a known militant in Des Moines. Williams was returned to Des Moines February 20, 1969, on a fugitive warrant. Williams' brother, Stanley, also from Des Moines, is an active member of the Denver Black Panther Party at this time.

June 5, 1969, Landon Robert Williams and Rory B. Hithe were arrested at the Panther headquarters, 3401 Franklin, on a Federal warrant, charging interstate flight to avoid prosecution. These parties are wanted in connection with a torture murder case in New Haven, Conn., of a suspected Black Panther informer.

Marvin Adam Johnson, DPD No. 153983, was arrested for interfering with a police officer, November 6, 1968. Johnson was with Lau-

ren Watson at the time of his arrest. Johnson is a known Black Panther in Jersey City, N.J. Johnson returned to New Jersey before his county court trial.

Johnnie Martin, DPD No. 154629, was arrested by the Denver police, December 4, 1968, for investigation of possession of narcotics and a hold for fugitive detail. Martin is also a known Black Panther in Jersey City, N.J. Martin was convicted in Denver, March 28, 1969, for possession of narcotics.

A major disturbance precipitated as a result of Panther activity, took place September 12 and 13, 1968, as a result of this confrontation. One man was shot and later died as a result of his wounds. Several other persons were injured, including three police officers. There were more than 40 arrests, including seven persons known to the intelligence bureau as Black Panthers.

A white businessman, operating a dry cleaning establishment at 2018 East 28th Avenue, had been involved in a dispute for several days with a young Negro high school student.

September 12, 1968, at 3:40 p.m., Panther member Stanley Lee Williams, entered the establishment and demanded to know what went on between him—the businessman—and the student. An argument ensued. Williams left and returned with about 15 other Negroes. Police were called but before they could arrive, the merchant was struck in the face and had to flee with a female clerk out the back door. Upon the arrival of the police, the business had been, to use the words of one officer, demolished. The windows were broken, the cash register and phone hurled into the street, clothes scattered on the floor, sidewalk, and street. The place was in a shambles.

Four arrests were made when the police arrived: Stanley Lee Williams, Steve Shead, Cornelius Webb, and Frank Bailey.

During this time a crowd gathered, Sgt. L. K. Ballinger observed four or five Negro males circulating through the crowd wearing the Panther insignia, a .50 caliber bullet. Exhibit XI—a bullet used by the Panther Party as a Panther symbol. These parties demand loudly to know who had been arrested and cursed the officers at the scene.

The officers managed to have the dry cleaner's boarded up and it appeared the crowd would disperse, so the officers left the area. Shortly afterwards, they had to return as the cleaner's was broken into again. What little clothing that had not been taken at first, was stolen at this time.

This period, the crowd was estimated at about 300 people and from this time on the disturbance escalated rapidly. Rocks and bottles were thrown at the officers. Officer M. L. Sorenson, while wearing a gas mask, was hit in the face with a brick. Glass had to be removed from his face. Officer R. D. Akins was hit by a brick. Upon Captain Smith's arrival at the scene, a fire bomb was thrown from a passing car and landed at his feet and began burning. Several Molotov cocktails were thrown but did no damage.

Before this disturbance was brought under control at 1 a.m., it was necessary to use 50 police officers and to use gas several times to disperse the crowd.

At approximately the same time, this disturbance began at 4 p.m., another incident was taking place at Panther Headquarters, 2835

Welton. A four-man police unit observed several parties getting into an auto at the rear of the Panther Headquarters and one appeared to be carrying a rifle. The officers immediately proceeded to check out the auto and its occupants. This caused quite a stir as people began running in and out of 2835 Welton, some carrying weapons. There were eight parties in the car, one adult and seven juveniles. Also found in the car was a loaded Winchester Model 70, caliber 30-06 rifle and many wine bottles and wicks for making Molotov cocktails. The driver of the car, Billy Hamilton, was arrested and the seven juveniles were placed in juvenile hall.

Officers obtained a search warrant for the premises and a search was made of 2835 Welton. A .38 Colt Cobra No. 234381, and a 6.35 automatic made in Czechoslovakia, No. 99450, were found as were two used gas masks and some ammunition. Most of the weapons described by the juveniles had been removed from 2835 Welton. Exhibit XII, weapons and gas masks seized at 2835 Welton.

As a result of the arrests of the seven juveniles and statements given by them to Detective Metzler, plus the circumstances surrounding the arrest, that is, the guns and the bottles and wicks, Lauren Watson, James E. Young and John A. Thomas were arrested at 2835 Welton and charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

Because of the disturbances September 12, all days off were cancelled for September 13 and rather than eight-hour shifts the men worked 12 hours. September 13 was comparatively quiet until about 11:00 p.m. At 11:12 p.m., firemen responded to a fire at 2755 Welton. Police responding with firemen reported unknown persons were shooting at the firemen. During the next two hours, there was a major confrontation between police and Panthers in the vicinity of 26th and Welton. This is primarily an older business area, near downtown Denver.

Some older homes and apartments are also located in this vicinity. Numerous incidents of vandalism and assaults were reported to police through the downtown area and northeast area of Denver. The police helicopter was hit by rifle fire.

Exhibit XIII news account of sniping. Before the disturbance was over, a sniper was shot by police and later died of his wounds. Pat Robert Steeley, operating with a four-man unit, saw a man with a rifle in the 800 block of 23rd Street at 2 a.m. This party had just shot and killed a dog which was the reason that the officers' attention was directed to this individual. As the officers drove towards him, this party fired at the police and then ran between some houses. Officer Steeley pursued and shouted for the party to halt and when he did not, the officer fired, wounding him with a shotgun. A .22 caliber rifle was found between the building near where this party identified as James Lee Sheppard fell wounded. Sheppard died one month later. A Grand Jury cleared Officer Steeley of any wrong-doing in this matter.

In a separate incident, Black Panther James E. Young was arrested and charged with assault on a police officer as a result of a sniping incident at 27th and Welton. Trial still pending at this time.

Frank Bailey was allowed to plead nolo contendere to section 152.12 as a result of the September 12 arrests. Cornelius Webb, Stanley Williams, and Steve Shead are awaiting trial. Lauren Watson was acquitted of a contributing to delinquency charge because of the refusal

of the juveniles involved to testify. The cases against James Young and John Thomas cannot be prosecuted without these witnesses.

The principal activity of the Denver Panther Party for the past several months has been on campuses at several area colleges.

At a speech at Colorado State College, April 4, 1969, Watson made his standard speech along Black Panthers Party lines. Blacks have to destroy the slavemaster, refers to police as pigs, and referred to the white American as the most unacceptable man on the face of the earth. Exhibit XV Report of Watson's speech from the college newspaper, "The Independent."

Paul Chambers is the head of the Black Student Alliance at Colorado State University at Fort Collins. Lauren Watson has advised the C.S.U. Black Students Alliance in demands made on the university by the BSA and MACE (Mexican-American Committee for Equality). Paul Chambers is the brother of Marshall Chambers of the Denver Black Panthers Party.

Watson and other Panthers have spent a considerable amount of time at the University of Colorado assisting the Afro-American Student Association headed by Charles Biggers. This activity has resulted in, among other things, the disruption of Dr. S. I. Hayakawa's speech at the university March 3, 1969. Exhibit XVI (photo).

This disruption began as an SDS function but did receive strong support from the Denver Black Panther Party. As a result of this disturbance, SDS members John Buttny and Brian McQuerry were expelled from school.

Through the planning stages of the model cities program in Denver, several Black Panthers were on the resident participation committees. The per diem payroll of July 25, 1968, reflects the following Panthers as receiving pay: Frank Bailey, Lauren Watson, and Stanley Lee Williams on the steering committee. Steve Shead was on the Economic Development Committee and his brother Sorl Shead is a member of the Police Community Relations Committee. Frank Gilford served on the Vocational Education Committee. Exhibit XVII.

Lt. L. C. Gebhardt during this period of times, was assigned to the Manager of Safety and Excise Office. Lt. Gebhardt worked as a liaison between the police department and the Model Cities Police Community Relations Committee. Lt. Gebhardt attended a meeting, July 13, 1968, and as a result of this meeting, wrote a letter to the then Manager of Safety, Howard Phillips. I would like to present a copy of this letter as Exhibit XVIII.

Partly as a result of this letter and partly because of Lt. Gebhardt's opposition to some of the resident proposals of the committee, Sorl Shead moved that Lt. Gebhardt be asked not to return to the Police Community Relations Committee. Exhibit XIX, See copy of minutes of August 20, 1968.

June 12, 1969: I received information from a confidential source that there was to be a BPP meeting in Oakland, California, from July 8 through July 21. This source stated that Denver Panthers were to attend and had been directed to bring as many guns as possible, primarily high-powered rifles.

June 15, 1969: During the early hours, Paternaks Loan Office, 1842 Larimer, was burglarized and 40 rifles were reported stolen.

Our sources indicated these rifles were intended to be taken to Oakland per the directive received from the National Black Panther headquarters. Denver police, acting on confidential information, were able to recover 32 of these weapons from 3340 Monroe Street. June 18, 1969, they were hidden in an apartment of a young woman reported to be the girl friend of a Panther. Several address books found in the apartment, listed the names of known Black Panthers.

I think from this, though admittedly short briefing of the Black Panther activities in my area, you can see they have intervened in almost every activity of the community, business, academic, and political. Before I close, I would like to quote a few figures taken from our data processing section.

The following figures are by no means the exclusive results of the Black Panther Party. However, the general atmosphere created by the Panthers and other militant groups, is reflected in these totals.

Since January 1968, in the city and county of Denver, there have been a total of 157 cases of malicious mischief involving firebombings, arson, or the use of explosives.

Ninety-three officers were assaulted during the same period of time.

May 14, 1969: Lauren Ralph Watson, DPD No. 71975, chairman of Black Panther Party.

Lauren Watson was born February 16, 1940, in San Francisco, Calif. His present address is 2835 Welton, where he lives with his wife, Mary Lou Brooks Watson. His wife is also a member of the Black Panther Party and is the deputy minister of culture. Watson has been a Denver resident for about 10 years. He also has a minor arrest record for various ordinance violations. Charges were filed against Watson for conspiracy to commit arson and conspiracy to inciting to the destruction of life and property in September 1968. Watson was acquitted when the witnesses in this case refused to testify against him.

Watson speaks extensively to school and college groups and is anti-United States in his line.

Watson has traveled to California several times on Panther Party business.

May 14, 1969: James Elbert Young, DPD No. 67152, deputy minister of defense.

James E. Young was born February 21, 1941, in Denver, Colo. He lives at 3645 Krameria Street with his wife Virginia. Virginia Young is the assistant deputy minister of defense of the Black Panther Party.

James Young has a 10-page record with the Denver Police Department dating back from 1958. A large number of these arrests involve weapons and resisting the police. Young has been convicted of the felony, assault with a deadly weapon.

Young has threatened the life of one Denver officer on two separate occasions.

Virginia Young, on March 29, 1969, purchased a .30-caliber M-1 carbine, serial No. 6349442.

James E. Young is considered extremely antiwhite and dangerous to any police officer that may have to arrest him.

May 14, 1969: Russell Calvin Simpson, deputy minister of religion.

Russell Simpson was born October 20, 1945, in Monroe, La. He has attended Wiley College in Marshall, Tex., and reported to be a student at Iliff School of Theology, a part of the University of Denver. Simpson lives at 2299 South University, apartment No. 3.

R. Simpson, speaking at a rally November 5, 1968, just prior to the election, stated that the changes to the social and economic systems that would free the black man, could only be accomplished through a bloody revolution. He also advocates two societies, one black and one white. If the whites want to help us, then let them buy some guns.

May 14, 1969: Sorl Shead DPD No. 87337, deputy minister of finance.

Sorl Shead was born October 14, 1939, in Indianapolis, Ind. Shead has a minor police record of arrests for disturbance, interference with police, occupying a hotel room with a member of the opposite sex, and carrying concealed weapons. We do not show recent convictions on these ordinance violations.

Sorl Shead has been involved in militant activity since 1966 and is a member of the Black Panther Party. Sorl Shead has been active on campuses in the Denver area and has traveled to Oakland, Calif., and Indianapolis, Ind., on Panther business.

Sorl Shead lives at 3358 St. Paul Street with his wife Carrie. His wife is also a member of the Black Panthers.

May 14, 1969: Gerald Leonard Dixon, DPD No. 71790, assistant deputy minister of finance.

Dixon was born in Denver, July 5, 1941. His last known address was 2821 Glenarm Street. Dixon has been arrested about two dozen times for charges ranging from investigation of assault, procuring, larceny from person, carrying concealed weapons to possession of narcotics. Dixon shows one conviction for possession of narcotics. He is presently in the Colorado State Reformatory at Buena Vista for parole violation.

Dixon is a close associate of Lauren Watson, Black Panther Party leader in Denver. He is very critical of the establishment, the courts, the parole department, and white people.

May 14, 1969: Steve W. Shead, DPD No. 87339, deputy minister of labor.

Steve Shead was born November 25, 1942, in Indianapolis, Ind. His last known Denver address was 3334 Albion Street. His arrest record shows one conviction for possession of narcotics (heroin) for which he was granted probation.

Steve Shead is a member of the Black Panther Party and is an active participant in disruptive activities in and around Denver.

Steve Shead is very antipolice and was active in the CAIM proposal to oust police from minority neighborhoods during the summer of 1968.

DENVER BLACK PANTHER LEADERSHIP

1. Chairman—Lauren Ralph Watson.
2. Deputy minister of defense—James Elbert Young.
3. Assistant deputy minister of defense—Virginia Young.
4. Deputy minister of treasury—Gerald Dixon.
5. Deputy minister of information—Ronnell Stewart.
6. Deputy minister of religion—Russell Simpson.
7. Deputy minister of culture—Mary Lou Brooks Watson.
8. Deputy minister of labor—Steve Shead.
9. Deputy minister of finance—Sorl Shead.
10. Deputy minister of education—Judy Benton.
11. Field marshal—Marshall Chambers.
12. Chief of staff—Kenneth D. Franklin.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any additional statements you would like to make?

Lieutenant REICHERT. I have some prepared exhibits, if they could be incorporated as part of the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. All of the exhibits, without objection, that the witness presents, will be received and appropriately identified and numbered, subject, of course, to any Senator objecting to any exhibit upon examination. The matter will be resolved by the committee and the material will either be admitted or excluded in the judgment of the committee.

I will ask that you present to the clerk your exhibits in the order that you have them numbered, and in the order that you present them in your statements beginning in your statement of Students for a Democratic Society.

Lieutenant REICHERT. The first exhibit I have is a news account regarding the ouster of 39 students at the University of Denver as a result of a sitin in the administrative offices of the university.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this: Do you identify them in your statement as you go along in your statement?

Lieutenant REICHERT. I do not identify them by name; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Will that be your exhibit No. 1?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Yes, sir.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 557" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 557

[From the Denver Post, June 2, 1968]

APPEALS FILED FOR 39 OUSTED DU STUDENTS

All 39 University of Denver students who were expelled Tuesday have appealed to the university's Conduct Review Committee for reinstatement, a spokesman said Thursday.

Adolph (Bud) Mayer, director of public relations, said the committee will begin hearing the students one by one next Wednesday. The process is expected to last three days, he added.

The students were expelled from the university Tuesday morning by Miss Barbara Mertz, dean of students, when they began a sit-in demonstration in the registrar's office. They were protesting the university's refusal to allow graduate students to hold student offices and to vote in student elections.

Soon after the protest began, Chancellor Maurice B. Mitchell called in Denver police to remove the students. They were charged under city ordinances prohibiting loitering around or disrupting a school or college. They are to appear in County Court Tuesday.

In addition to the 39 students, there were two former students involved, which brings the arrest total to 41, Mayer said.

The Conduct Review board is made up of seven faculty members and two students. It is an advisory board to the chancellor who may accept, reject or refer to the board of trustees any recommendations from the board.

PRAISE REPORTED

Meanwhile, Mitchell has received many recommendations for his quick, decisive action in stopping the student protest, according to his secretary, Mrs. Grace George.

Mrs. George said that probably more than 100 phone calls, roughly 30 telegrams and a "handful" of letters had been received.

Not one was unfavorable, she said.

Lieutenant REICHERT. My second exhibit—

The CHAIRMAN. Your exhibit 2 is "New Left Notes"?

Lieutenant REICHERT. That is correct, sir. These are articles that have received wide dissemination on campuses. As a matter of fact, the University of Denver, University of Colorado, Colorado State, Colorado College. I received the first pamphlet from so many sources. It has the title page "New Left Notes," and it is a pamphlet on sabotage.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 558 for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit 3 is a pamphlet that was passed out at the meeting of the Progressive Labor Party by members of the Progressive Labor Party explaining sabotage. Is that correct?

Lieutenant REICHERT. This pamphlet was passed out at the national conference at the University of Colorado. It was obtained by a student at the university by the name of Steve Schneider.

The pamphlet was in this form, a small pamphlet.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 559" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your exhibit 4 is a photo of what?

Lieutenant REICHERT. This is a photo of bomb damage in which the prime suspect is a member of SDS and has attended SDS meetings at the University of Colorado.

He also was an attendee at the national conference at the University of Colorado. This same party is also a suspect in two bombings in Denver, one of our police garage and one of a school in Denver. This is the photograph.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 560" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your exhibit No. 5?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Exhibit No. 5 is bomb damage to a gasoline bulk tank, in which the suspect, again, is an SDS member. This explosion took place on January 18, 1969, at approximately 11:20 p.m.

As clearly shown by the photographs, it ruptured two 18,000-gallon gasoline tanks, above-ground tanks.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 561" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your exhibit No. 7?

Lieutenant REICHERT. These are photographs of electrical transmission tower bombings, four separate instances.

The same person is suspected in all. However, in the one tower bombing, in Jefferson County, which is west of Denver, Cameron Davis Bishop has been charged in this tower bombing. He was active in SDS at Colorado State and also well known at the University of Colorado.

The CHAIRMAN. Is his name Bishop or is he a bishop of something?

Lieutenant REICHERT. His name is Bishop. These are the photographs.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be received and appropriately numbered.

Lieutenant REICHERT. This party is also on the FBI's 10 most wanted list at this time.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 562" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. What are exhibits 8 and 9?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Those were the photos that I just submitted.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

What is your exhibit 10?

Lieutenant REICHERT. This is a newspaper clipping, and it is entitled "Significant Date on the CU Scene," Colorado University. It has to do with the disaffiliation of SDS at the University of Colorado, and the fact that students at the university, so-called squares, turned out and voted down SDS demands.

They had a public meeting in the square at which time they voted on demands and students of the university voted the demands down. They turned out in greater numbers.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice you close your statement with these two sentences:

There should be no illusions that if SDS should fade away, that the radicals will lessen their tactics. They will take another name and resume as if nothing had ever happened.

Lieutenant REICHERT. That is my feeling.

The CHAIRMAN. Upon what do you base that?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Past experience, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been your observation?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When they get in trouble, they simply let that one slide and go into another organization, give it some other name and are still active?

Lieutenant REICHERT. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think our record reflects so far that they have gone from one group to another.

That may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 563" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, could I ask a question at this point?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Senator GRIFFIN. Lieutenant, on page 9, you refer to 15 students who were arrested and charged as a result of an incident on November 18, 1968.

Have they been tried yet?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Some have; some have not. Some are fugitives as of this time. Cameron Davis Bishop was one of the students. I think it is students and nonstudents.

That should have been students and nonstudents, sir. Some have been tried and some have not. This is in a jurisdiction 65 miles away. I don't have the dispositions with me.

Senator GRIFFIN. On page 7, you refer to a Clark W. Bouton as a former professor at Colorado University. You refer to the fact that he is a sponsor of SDS.

Lieutenant REICHERT. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. Is he the only faculty member that you have any personal knowledge about, who has been active in the SDS organization?

Lieutenant REICHERT. First, Clark Bouton is no longer a faculty member. I believe he is at San Jose State.

At that time, he was the public faculty member of SDS. There have been other members. There is an associate professor of law that defended SDS at this recent hearing on disaffiliation. While he is publicly not an SDS member, he has been very active with the SDS group.

Senator GRIFFIN. On page 7, you say that the draft resistance workshop encouraged going into the ghettos to counsel on how to avoid the draft rather than go to Canada.

If the draft were inevitable members were encouraged to enter the Armed Forces and work for the SDS from within.

Do you have any personal knowledge of this?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Only what was reported to me by informants that were at the meeting. This was at the national conference at the University of Colorado. This was one of the workshops and one of the topics that was discussed.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. In your Black Panther statement, I call your attention to page 9. According to my copy, you have it marked "omit," the last paragraph. Do you wish to omit it?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Yes, sir, I do.

The Chairman. That paragraph will not be printed in the record. It will be stricken.

You have a number of exhibits, quite a number of exhibits, to this statement.

I will let you proceed to present your exhibits and identify them. The clerk will be instructed now to receive them and number them appropriately. You may proceed now to make your presentation to her of the exhibits that you have to your Black Panther statement.

Lieutenant REICHERT. The first exhibit I have is a copy of a pamphlet or magazine called Sundiata. This was the name of a group that met at the same location that the Black Panther Party of Denver met at prior to the time they were affiliated nationally.

Sundiata no longer exists as a group. However, they do have a bookstore on Colorado Boulevard. This group basically was an antiwhite, antiestablishment group.

I offer this pamphlet in evidence as such.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 564" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. No. 2 is a newspaper article in which is outlined the formation of a book called "Au Natural" and this was hailed as a utopia. This is the present location of the Black Panther Party headquarters in Denver.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 565" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. Members of the Black Panther Party who were also part of a group called CALM, Community Action by Local Marshals.

This was an effort to replace police in minority areas. This is a newspaper article which relates the opposition to this group, this CALM group.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 566" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. This is a letter to the editor, signed by Lauren Watson, the head of the Black Panther Party in Denver. It has to do with the Black Panther Party and SNCC must withdraw from having anything to do with the CALM proposal which I just outlined.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 567" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. I have an article written by Lauren Watson, which appeared in the Black Panther News printed in Oakland.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 568" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. I have several documents from the Black Panther Party retreat, Oakland, Calif., on November 16, 1968.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 569" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee. Excerpts from Exhibit No. 569 follow:)

EXCERPTS FROM EXHIBIT No. 569

OAKLAND TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL



BLACK STUDIES

WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT AN EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND ROLE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

WE BELIEVE IN AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THAT WILL GIVE OUR PEOPLE A KNOWLEDGE OF SELF. IF A MAN DOES NOT HAVE A KNOWLEDGE OF HIMSELF AND HIS POSITION IN SOCIETY AND THE WORLD, THEN HE HAS LITTLE CHANCE TO RELATE TO ANYTHING ELSE.

Black Students Union

TEN-POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our school.

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. We want full enrollment in the schools for our people.

We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our black community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. We want decent educational facilities, fit for the use of students.

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

5. We want an education for our people that teaches us how to survive in the present day society.

We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

6. We want all racist teachers to be excluded and restricted from all public schools.

We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.

7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people. We want all police and special agents to be excluded and restricted from school premises.

We believe that there should be an end to harassment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all the police were pulled out of the schools, the schools would become more functioned.

8. We want all students that have been exempt, expelled, or suspended from school to be reinstated.

We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven't received fair and impartial judgment or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occurred outside of the school's authority.

9. We want all students when brought to trial to be tried in student court by a jury of their peer group or students of their school.

We believe that the student courts should follow the United States Constitution so that students can receive a fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by a jury of his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court would be forced to select a jury of students from the community from which the defendant came. We have been and are being tried by a white principal, vice principal, and white students that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black Community.

10. We want power, enrollment, equipment, education, teachers, justice, and peace.

As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school's destiny.

We hold these truths as being self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when

a long train of abuses and force, pursuing invariably the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

POWER TO THE STUDENTS AND BLACK POWER TO BLACK STUDENTS

We hold these truths as being self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and force, pursuing invariably the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

* * * * *

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 month's 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, P 38 will open prison gate, 357 will win us our heaven, If you don't believe in lead, You're already *dead*." (Huey P. Newton, Min. of Defense B.P.P.)

1. *Handguns*.—These are to be used for close range targets only 9 (0-25 yds.) 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 consideration is whether to get a revolver or a automatic. Revolvers tend to be more reliable than automatics 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 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 around with five of these shells in his head.
3. 32 cal. auto. Just enough power to kill a squirrel.
4. 80 auto. See above.
5. 38 short. (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 an 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 repair parts 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.

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 O Buckshot or rifled slugs should be used.

A. Short Barrels, use OOB.

1. 20 inches—24 inches effective up to 75 yds ($\frac{3}{4}$ block).

2. 18 inches—shortest legal length that can be bought in gunstore.

3. Sawed off—very effective for ripping off and close combat 0-25 yds ($\frac{1}{4}$ 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 $1\frac{1}{2}$ 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 equipped with scopes and used for special purpose weapons.

1. 808 British—Very popular piece the cost is about 40 dollars. Very good long range 0-500 yds (5 blocks).

2. 80-06—There are of these around, the cost is about the same as the 808. 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 equipped with good scopes and put in the hands of specially trained personnel.

4. Odd Calibers—7.7mm jap, 7mm molser, 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 availability large magazine capacity and fire power of these weapons and their relatively cheap cost make these weapons ideal for our purposes.

1. 80 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 80 rd magazine and sells for about 80-90 dollars.

2. 80 Cal M-1 Garand: This weapon fires the standard 80-06 ammo and with armor piercing bullets will pierce a bullet proof vest. Cost about 80-90 dollars, it uses an 8 rd clip. Effective range 0-500 yds. (5 blocks)

3. F.N. Assault: This is a 80-06 that was developed shortly after WWII. It is said to be the best 80-06 ever produced. It uses a 10 rd magazine that is loaded from the top. Effective range 0-900 yds. Will pierce a vest. Cost 80-90 dollars.

4. Santa Fe Trooper M-59: This weapon is about the size of a carbine it uses 808 ammo known as 7.62 nato ammunition which is the same as the M-14 that the Marines, U.S. Army and some National Guard Units have. Ammo resupply is not hard and the ammo is lighter than the 80-06. It uses either an 8 rd or 20 rd magazine and can be stripper loaded from the top. Cost about 80-90 dollars.

5. AR-15 (223): This weapon is the civilian model of the army's M-16 used in Viet Nam. The only difference being that this one is semiautomatic while the army's can be tuned to full auto. It weighs only $6\frac{1}{2}$ 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.

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. Mörtrars: 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. Gernades:

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 explöde using electric booby traps. Use your imagination here * * * If every porch and door way and toilet and walk way was bogby trapped that would eliminate house to house searches. (Note: Gunpowder that is used for reloading *will not explöde*. For making grenades and booby traps either TNT, dynamite or *Black Powder* must be used.)

SESSION No. _____ ; TIME _____ PLACE _____

Benny Stuart, Chairman of the National Advisory Cabinet to the Central Committee

I. Outline and lecture on advisory cabinet functions

A. The importance of an Advisory Cabinet:

1. Development of other levels of the Black Community

a. Older people

b. Bourgeoisie

2. Develop and execute concrete desire and need of the community

a. Local, state, national

II. Development and importance of BSU's

A. High schools

B. College BSU's

1. Political meaning of education

2. Tactics on dealing with racist administration in educational institutions

DISTRIBUTION LECTURE

By Virtual Murrell, Assistant to Andrew Austin, on procedures of distributing all Party materials across the country and internationally

1. All chapters and branches must build a strong distribution center.

2. A financial report from all distribution centers are due on all materials sold and purchased at the first of each month.

3. For those chapters and branches that need material—those must be paid for in advance.

4. Only those designated to work in distribution are allowed to work in that area.

5. The distributing of Party material must be spread throughout your area. This means:

a. bookstores on consignment

b. newspapers at all high schools, colleges, professional athletic events

c. no B.S.U. is to have any Party material on a consignment basis unless those chapters or branches are going to pay for loss of material

6. To be sure that books and materials are accurate you must implement an inventory system as delegated by the distributing officer.

Orders from,

VIRTUAL MURRELL,
Distribution Manager.

SIX-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 and 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 and capitalists play principal part and private ownership of natural wealth etc.
- Neo-colonialism—Maintaining control and oppression from outside the colony through puppet government.

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

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, mayors, senators, schools, teachers, store owners) and make them act in a desired manner.

Political power comes 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 an irreconcilable contradiction within it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, classes, with conflicting interests 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, honkies, 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.

RED BOOK READINGS: REQUIRED READINGS BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION

I. Curriculum Black Panther Party Political Education Classes Ideological self cultivation (237-250); Liberalism (245-248).

II. War & Peace, Pg. 58.

III. Discipline, Pg. 264.

IV. Imperialism & All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers, Pg. 72.

V. The Mass Line, Pg. 118.

VI. The Peoples War, Pg. 88.

VII. Criticism & Self-Criticism, Pr. 258.

VIII. Cadres, Pg. 276.

IX. Investigation & Study, Pg. 230.

X. Relations between the Army & the People, Pg. 153.

XI. Revolutionary Heroism, Pg. 181.

XII. Dare to Struggle & Dare to Win, Pg. 84 & 87.

XIII. Study, Pg. 304.

XIV. Culture & Art, Pg. 299.

ON SUBJECTIVISM

Subjectivism exists to a serious degree among some Party members, causing great harm to the analysis of the political situation and the guidance of the work. The reason is that subjective analysis of a political situation and subjective guidance of work inevitably result in opportunism or in putschism. As for subjective criticism, loose and groundless talk or suspiciousness, such practices inside the Party often breed unprincipled disputes and undermine the Party organization.

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organizational mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organizational mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical and to embarrass the comrades concerned. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that the Party members will concentrate entirely on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

The main method of correction is to educate Party members so that a political and scientific spirit pervades their thinking and their Party life. To this end we must: (1) teach Party members to apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analyzing a political situation and appraising the class forces, instead of making

a subjective analysis and appraisal; (2) direct the attention of the Party members to social and economic investigation and study, so as to determine the tactics of struggle and methods of work, and help comrades to understand that without investigation of actual conditions they will fall into the pit of fantasy and putschism; and (3) in inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulganzation of criticism: statements should be based on facts and criticism should centre on politics.

* * * * *

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS,
Oakland, Calif.**

POLITICAL EDUCATION KIT FOR BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS

Primary Objective of Our Party: To establish Revolutionary Political Power for Black People.

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.

AGENDA FOR RETREAT

Notice.—Report to Central Headquarters at 9:00 a.m., Saturday, Nov. 16th.

1. Military sessions, weapons, munitions, ammo, other technical equipment. (under Landin Williams, Bill Brent, Randy Williams), 3 Sessions.
2. Political Education sessions (under George Murray) at St. Augustine's church, 27th and West Sts., Oakland or the Black Church, 42nd and Grove street, Oakland.
3. National Organizational Structure (under Bobby Seale) Panther Responsibilities—Saturday Nov. 16, 1968 (under Bobby Seale and Captain Crutch). 2 Sessions.
4. Office procedures and coordination (under Captain Crutch).
5. Distribution (under Virtual Murrell).
6. Office material and equipment, movie equipment, sound equipment (under Warren Tucker). Bell & Howell 16 mm. sound projector, 1 Session.
7. Ten-Ten-Ten Program and implementation of it (under Wendall Wade, Landin Williams, Captain Crutch).
8. Advisory Cabinet (under Benny Stuart). 1 Session.
9. BSU (under George Murray, David Hilliard, Benny Stuart).
10. Information (under Eldridge Cleaver). 1 Session.
11. Ethnic Politics (under Eldridge Cleaver, David Hilliard). 1 Session.
12. "Goon Squads" (underground, secret sessions). 1 Session.
13. Security (handled in secret sessions under Crutch, Harvey, Tommy Jones, Warren Tucker, Landin Williams, June Hilliard).
14. Transportation (under Big Man and Jolly). 1 Session.
15. Communications (under Kathleen Cleaver). 1 Session.
16. Tape recorders and films (under Tucker and Wade at St. Augustine's or the Black Church).

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS, OAKLAND, CALIF.

Every member of the Black Panther Party throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. Central Committee members, Central Staffs, and Local Staffs, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the Black Panther Party will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rules or rules of the Black Panther Party were violated.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the Black Panther Party.

The following rules are :

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be *drunk* while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, and general meetings of the Black Panther Party, and meetings of the Black Panther Party, anywhere.
5. No party member will *use, point or fire* a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone other than the enemy.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the Black Liberation Army.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while drunk or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or Black people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people; not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested Black Panther Members will give only name and address and will sign nothing, Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten-Point Program and platform of the Black Panther Party must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person submit report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader, Section Leader and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who suspends or expels a member must submit this information, to the Editor of the Newspaper pertaining to suspension, so that it will be published in the paper and known by all chapters and Branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders and etc.
20. Communication—all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All branches must implement First Aid and or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the Black Panther Party must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and ideology laid down by the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party.
26. All branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.


Lieutenant REICHERT. The next item was authored by the deputy minister of information, which also appeared in the Black Panther newspaper.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 570" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. This is a pamphlet or poster that was passed out regarding a "Free Huey" rally. It identifies Benton of the Black Panther Party and Reverend Russ Simpson, of the Black Panther Party.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 571" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 571



**FREE
HUEY
RALLY**

**FEDERAL COURT BLDG.
19th and Stout, Denver**

**MAY 1st
3 p.m.**


HUEY P. NEWTON
**MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

Speakers:

Judy Benton, Black Panther Party
Rev. Russ Simpson, Black Panther Party
Corky Gonzales, Crusade for Justice
John Buttny, students for a democratic society
Harold Barry, Trinidad Junior College
Charles Biggers, Black Students Alliance

Sponsored by the Denver Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam

- BLACK PANTHER PARTY
- Black Students Alliance
- Black Students Coalition
- Clergy & Laymen Concerned about the Vietnam War
- Colorado Students Alliance
- Crusade for Justice
- Denver Stop the War Committee
- Mexican American Committee for Equality (MACE)
- Colo. chapter Nat'l Lawyers Guild
- Socialist Workers Party
- Students for a Democratic Society
- Young Socialist Alliance



Lieutenant REICHERT. Next is a newspaper account of a press conference called by the Black Panthers. A photograph was taken identifying Watson as leader of the Black Panthers, Deputy Simpson, deputy minister of religion.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 572" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. I have a photograph of Lauren Watson, Dixon, and other Black Panther Party members at a rally at the University of California.

The CHAIRMAN. What exhibit is that of yours?

Lieutenant REICHERT. This was just to identify several Black Panther Party members. This is exhibit 9.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a group of the Black Panthers?

Lieutenant REICHERT. That is correct. This is Lauren Watson, Sorl Shead and Gerald Dixon, Black Panther members at a rally of the University of Colorado.

The CHAIRMAN. What date was that?

Lieutenant REICHERT. May 5, 1969.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 573" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. The next exhibit is a law enforcement telegram from Cheyenne, Wyo., at which time they had Lauren Watson, head of the Black Panther Party of Denver, a Mylas Stokes, Marshall Chambers, Mary Lou Brooks, who is now Lauren Watson's wife, traveling east on the highway in a 1967 Ford.

This is primarily to identify Marshall Chambers as being with the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mylas Stokes in that picture, also?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Not in this picture; no, sir.

Mylas Stokes is in the law enforcement telegraph system.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 574" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. I have a newspaper account of Panthers involved in a junior high school boycott.

The CHAIRMAN. What exhibit is that of yours?

Lieutenant REICHERT. This is 10, sir.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 575" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. I don't find exhibit 10 in this statement.

Lieutenant REICHERT. Sir, we are going to omit several exhibits. I believe 10 was the Black Panther bullet. I don't think it is pertinent. It is not something to be printed in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not what?

Lieutenant REICHERT. It is a Black Panther .50-caliber bullet. It is a symbol that they use.

The CHAIRMAN. A symbol they use?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Yes, sir. They wear this on a chain around their neck identifying themselves as Panthers.

The CHAIRMAN. You can describe it sufficiently. We don't need the bullet.

Lieutenant REICHERT. I have the bullet.

The CHAIRMAN. We won't need it. You can lay it out on the table.

They wear that as a symbol?

Lieutenant REICHERT. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Make it an exhibit.

(The bullet referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 576" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. I have a report from the State college newspaper, Lauren Watson speaks to class at CSC.

It is a very militant speech. He relates, "The white American is the most unacceptable man on the face of the earth." This is very typical of his quotes.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 577" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant REICHERT. I have a per diem payroll of the model cities program in Denver showing six members of the Black Panther Party as having been paid on a per diem basis as resident participants of the model cities program.

The CHAIRMAN. Name them.

Lieutenant REICHERT. The first one is Frank Bailey, Frank Gilford—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what they were receiving?

Lieutenant REICHERT. They were receiving \$15 a day at that time, or a meeting, a maximum of four meetings per month.

The CHAIRMAN. They were helping plan a model city?

Lieutenant REICHERT. They were at that time. This was during the planning stages of model cities.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Lieutenant REICHERT. This was for a period of about 8 months last year.

The CHAIRMAN. Last year sometime?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Yes, sir. This payroll is for July 25, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought they wanted to tear down our cities instead of build model cities.

Lieutenant REICHERT. Sorl Shead is a member, Steve Shead, Stanley Williams, and Lauren Watson, the head of the Black Panther Party.

All were very active in the model cities program.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 578" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. ADLERMAN. Are their names checked by the authorities in the program of the model cities, are they checked with the police department?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Not to my knowledge. They have never checked with me.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be the one they would check with?

Lieutenant REICHERT. I would be the only one that would really have the information.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

That is six or eight out of how many?

Lieutenant REICHERT. The maximum number of participants was about 150. Not all participated.

The CHAIRMAN. About eight out of 100 or 150?

Lieutenant REICHERT. Six.

I have a letter from Lieutenant Gebhardt, who was the police de-

partment coordinator with model cities. In this letter, he discusses the militants or Black Panther participation in the model cities program. I would like to submit his letter as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. What is in there that is pertinent?

Lieutenant REICHERT. I think the opening paragraph and from there on.

He goes on to say:

I am concerned about the future of the model cities program as a result of a meeting I attended on Saturday, July 13, because of the impact of the CALM proposal and future impacts of the results of this meeting, I believe it is time for a critical review of the status of the model cities program.

The model cities program is currently doomed to fail if the Federal concept of resident participation (of militants) is a necessary element. The present concept of militant resident participation and the extremely dangerous people in key positions certainly does not reflect the thinking of the majority of our residents.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the letter be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 579" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 579

CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER,
July 15, 1968.

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

To: Howard K. Phillips, Manager of Safety and Excise.

From: Lt. L. C. Gebhardt.

Subject: Model Cities Program.

I am very concerned about the future of the Model Cities Program as a result of the meeting I attended on Saturday, July 13, 1968. Because of the impact of the CALM Proposal and the future impact of the results of this meeting, I believe it is time for a critical review of the current status of the citizen participation portion of the Model Cities program.

Even though federal grants for the Model Cities Program may not be funded due to budget cuts, the possible tremendous benefit to Denver dictates that we must do everything possible to make our plans for this program workable.

The Model Cities program is currently doomed to fail if the federal concept of resident participation (of militants) is a necessary element. The present concept of militant resident participation and the extremely dangerous people in key positions certainly does not reflect the thinking of the majority of our residents. Excluding the small College View area with a mixed Spanish surnamed and Anglo population, there is no representation of the more than 40 per cent poor white living within the boundaries.

The resident participation representing the Spanish minority with the exception of a few dangerously militant people, who should be removed from key positions, can be reorganized and expanded so as to provide a better balance between the self-seeking militant and those who with the proper technical guidance and assistance would work to make this program succeed.

The violently militant Negroes who dominate key positions in the resident participation must be removed from those key positions and their number greatly reduced. These people must be replaced with rational citizens who will, with technical guidance, work for the program. I am sure the Negro community can produce representatives who, with the \$15 per meeting incentive, will work hard to improve Denver, without converting the position into a vehicle for obtaining recognition and power for themselves.

I first became alarmed about this problem when the problem of recognition for and the licensing of Au Natural came to my attention. I was opposed to any continuance of this group under the leadership of the same violently militant people who created serious neighborhood and police problems in the fall of 1967. They were the leaders of the federally funded militant stronghold in the 3800 block of Franklin. It was my opinion that it would not be in the best interest of the city to provide a place that would attract irresponsible young people to be indoctrinated by the violent militant element. With city pledged cooperation

and about \$8,000 in private contributions this organization has failed to come alive, representatives have not yet obtained the necessary license, the money has been squandered for the personal benefit of the people involved and their organization, I suspect.

It is this same group of violent militants that now has control of the Model Cities resident participation. At the "retreat" mass meeting held July 13, this group, using the authority of their positions, the power of organization, and actual threats and intimidation, completely overwhelmed the non-militants, and the advisers at this meeting. Residents who did not agree with them were shouted down and when, either in committee meetings or the general meeting, a motion was made these people were afraid to vote against what they knew was wrong. Consequently everything sponsored by militants was passed. Mr. Lee Johnson, Miss Maxine Kurtz, and the city's technical advisors—who could not vote, and in most cases could not even express themselves to the loud militants—got their first look at where their efforts to date were leading.

The *purpose* of this meeting was to determine some priority for the various programs to be submitted, and give the residents some feeling of participation in these programs already developed. The *results* of this meeting were completely different.

The CALM Proposal, which should never have been given sanction of the Model Cities or any publicity without receiving approval from the affected agency and the city, was voted unanimous resident support as originally written with complete control designated to remain with the violent militants.

Disregarding the format of the meeting, the militants' establishment of power was the first order of priority voted. This resolution established in the minds of those who proposed it the idea that they would be able to dictate to the city exactly how the Model Cities program would be run, with their group in complete control of how and for what Model Cities money would be spent. They went so far as to censure the use of future money for the convention center and skyline renewal without their approval. In the committee meetings the resolution was adopted that education should be one of the high priority items. Education's purpose, to them, needs to stress Negro history; teach in schools that the concept of equal justice for all is wrong and ought not to be accepted; teach students nearing draft age methods of avoiding the draft and resist desegregation of the schools with the formation of a separate school district with black teachers and black administration.

The next demand on the police department is for a police review board composed of their selected people with access to all police Internal Affairs Bureau records.

I hope I have expressed the magnitude of this problem. You will see the results of this meeting in the article published in the Denver Post July 14 edition. These people have an elaborate program for news releases, demonstrations, and soliciting support among sympathetic citizens. The police will end up bearing the burden of public dissatisfaction because we will be damned if we do and damned if we don't and the militants have resolved not to compromise.

In my opinion there is no way out but to completely remove the violent militants from their established positions. This will be hard for the well-meaning liberal social scientist to accept. It will give the militant a chance to exploit the propaganda line: "We can't talk to the establishment because the establishment's mind is closed".

However, to give any more opportunity for encouragement to this group will only compound the problem and invite disaster. Members of this group repeatedly stated that if it is not run on their terms there will be no Model Cities Program.

Lieutenant REICHERT. The last exhibit is a recent seizure, only last week, of 32 rifles that were taken in a burglary. My sources within the Panthers informed me that the Black Panther Party of Denver had been directed to bring rifles to the retreat which will be held next month in Oakland, Calif.

Three days after I received this information, a loan company in downtown Denver was burglarized. Forty rifles were stolen. My sources indicated—

The CHAIRMAN. Did you recover the rifles?

Lieutenant REICHERT. I recovered 32 of the 40 rifles. This is a photograph of 32 of the 40. As of yet, no arrests have been made. The rifles were recovered from the apartment of a girl friend of a member of the Black Panther Party. We have a pickup on this person now.

The CHAIRMAN. You got them from an apartment, from someone associated with the Black Panthers?

Lieutenant REICHERT. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know what became of the others?

Lieutenant REICHERT. No, sir; we do not. We are assuming the Black Panther Party still has them.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 580" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 580



Lieutenant REICHERT. That concludes my exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you examined the chart that is now exposed with respect to the Black Panthers in Denver?

Lieutenant REICHERT. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you recognize it when it is exposed, do you think?

Lieutenant REICHERT. I believe it is exposed now, sir. It was prepared basically from information furnished by me.

The CHAIRMAN. What can you tell us about the names and the positions represented on that chart, whether or not it is accurate, according to your information and according to your testimony?

Lieutenant REICHERT. It is accurate.

The CHAIRMAN. So it is correct?

Lieutenant REICHERT. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the chart be received and numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 580A" for reference and faces p. 4442.)

The CHAIRMAN. I want to thank you very much. I wish we could have given you more time, but we do have the benefit of your testimony. I also have others that we are trying to accommodate. I did this to keep you from having to come back.

Lieutenant REICHERT. I appreciate your consideration and accommodation.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate your testimony just as much as if you had read your statement. We appreciate your cooperation. You have been very helpful.

Lieutenant REICHERT. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the testimony of this witness appear following the testimony of Mr. Courtney.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Lt. William McCoy.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear the evidence you shall give before this Senate subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Lieutenant McCoy. I do.

TESTIMONY OF DETECTIVE LT. WILLIAM R. MCCOY

Lieutenant McCoy. My name is William R. McCoy. I am a detective lieutenant with the Detroit Police Department, and I am testifying at the invitation of the subcommittee. I have been a police officer for 20 years. At the present time I am assigned to the special investigation bureau and I am in charge of the demonstration detail. The demonstration detail is charged with the investigation and prosecution of arrests arising out of public protest demonstrations and civil disobedience.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Are you going to testify with respect to different organizations?

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, I am, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Which one do you take up first?

Lieutenant McCoy. The Revolutionary Action Movement.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a prepared statement?

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed to read it and if at any point you feel that you can omit reading part of it, such as a lot of names that can be printed in the record, we will receive your testimony that way. It will help to expedite the hearing if you can do that.

We will try to stay here until you conclude so that you will not have to return to testify further before the subcommittee. We will cooperate with you as much as we can. You do the same with us and help us to expedite the hearing. Yet I do not want to omit anything that is material and that you are prepared to testify to as of value to the committee.

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

Lieutenant McCoy. Four of the former leaders of RAM are now officers in the Republic of New Africa:

Robert F. Williams, who was the international chairman of RAM, is the president of RNA.

Milton Henry, who was on the finance committee and the legal adviser of RAM, is the first vice president of the RNA.

Max Stanford, the field chairman of RAM and the editor of the RAM publication, "Black America," is the special ambassador of the RNA.

Herman Ferguson (an identified member of RAM in New York), is the minister of education of the RNA.

In my opinion, and in the opinion of other law enforcement officials with whom I have contact, RAM is no longer a functioning organization in this country.

On March 22, 1968, I appeared before this subcommittee and testified with regard to the RAM. At that time I introduced as exhibits the following items:

1. "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," exhibit No. 82 (p. 1402, part 6 of the hearings on riots, civil and criminal disorders);

2. An RAM publication entitled "Black America," exhibit No. 86 (p. 1406);

3. A "Black America" special entitled "Black America, Arm Yourself for a War of Self-Defense and Survival," exhibit No. 87 (p. 1406);

4. A publication titled "The Los Angeles War Cry—Burn Baby Burn," exhibit No. 88 (p. 1407); and

5. The black guard organizers' manual, exhibit No. 88 (p. 1411).

These documents are already in the record. I have them here for you for resubmission, if you desire.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received. But since you have identified them and they appear in the record, they may not again be made an exhibit. The clerk can check them out for accuracy. If there are any that are not now exhibits, she may receive them and number them accordingly.

Lieutenant McCoy. Thank you.

At this time I would like to submit another document which has since come into my possession, titled "Duties of the Black Guard."

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 581" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 581

DUTIES OF THE BLACK GUARD

1. The Black Guard is a dedicated man. He has no personal interests, no business affairs, no emotions, no attachments, no property and no name. Everything in him is totally absorbed in the single thought and the single desire for the victory of the World Black Revolution.

2. The Black Guard knows that deep inside of himself, not only in words but also in deeds, he has broken all the bonds which tie him to the ways of the western white world, with all its laws, and customs, and all its generally accepted ways. He is the white western world's determined enemy and if he continues to live with them, it is only in order to destroy them more rapidly.

3. The Black Guard hates all western doctrines and accepts only the doctrine of World Black Nationalism. He knows only one science; the science of World Black Revolution. For this reason, but only for this reason, he will study mechanics, biology, physics, electronics, chemistry, typing, and medicine. But all day and all night he studies the vital science of human beings, their characteristics and circumstances and all the phenomena of the present social order. The objective: The surest and quickest way of destroying the enemy's order.

4. The Black Guard hates public opinion and dares to uphold the truth at all times. He believes "All those who dare uphold the truth are never afraid of being in the minority for the time being" . . . For him, morality is everything which contributes to the success of the World Black Revolution. Immorality and criminal is everything that stands in its way.

5. The Black Guard is a dedicated man; unmerciful towards the enemy and toward his lackey uncle toms; and he expects no mercy from them. Between him and them exist—declared or concealed—war to the death. Every Black Guard must accustom himself to torture.

6. Uncompromising towards himself, he must be uncompromising towards others. All the gentle, bourgeois romantic sentiments of kinship (family) love, friendship, gratitude and even honor must be erased within him and replaced with values derived only through the single minded passion for World Black Revolution. For him there exists only one pleasure, one consolation, one reward, one satisfaction—the success of the World Black Revolution. Night and day he must have but one thought—one aim—total destruction of the enemy's society. Striving cold bloodedly towards this end, he must be prepared to destroy himself and to destroy with his own hands everything that stands in the way of the World Black Revolution.

7. The nature of the true Black Guard excludes all sentimentality, romanticism, infatuation, etc. All private hatred and revenge must also be excluded. Revolutionary passion, practiced at every moment of the day until it becomes a habit, is to be employed with cold calculation.

7. *At all times and in all places the Black Guard must obey, not his personal impulses, but only those which serve the CAUSE of the World Black Revolution.*

8. *The Relations of the Black Guard towards his brothers and sisters.* The Black Guard can have no relationship, friendship or attachment except for those who have proven by their actions that they, like him, are dedicated to World Black Revolution. The degree of friendship, devotion and obligation toward a brother, sister, parents, or loved ones is determined solely by the degree of his usefulness to the cause of World Black Nationalism.

9. Brothers and sisters who possess the same revolutionary passion and understanding should, as much as possible, deliberate all important matters together and come to collective conclusions. When the plan is finally decided upon, then the revolutionary must rely solely on himself. In carrying out revolutionary acts, each one should act alone or in small groups, never running to another for advice and assistance except when these are necessary for the furtherance of the plan.

10. All Black Guards should develop cadre (second or third line) revolutionaries, brothers and sisters who are not completely initiated. They should be seen as part of a revolutionary reserve for his use in organizing. But this reserve should be placed strategically and be spent as economically as possible in order to achieve the greatest results. A Black Guard should never put cadre in a situation that the cadre can't handle without sending him help and being able to take him out of the difficult situation if he can't handle it.

11. When a brother or sister is in danger and the question arises whether he should be saved or not saved, the decision must not be arrived at on the basis of sentiment, but solely in the interest of the revolutionary cause. Therefore, it is necessary to weigh carefully the usefulness of the brother or sister against the expenditure of revolutionary forces necessary to save him and, the decision must be made accordingly.

12. The new recruit, having given proof of his loyalty, not by words, but by deeds can be received into the Black Guard only by approval of the Vanguard, R.A.

13. The Black Guard lives and exists in the white world of racist oppression, exploitation, so-called western civilization only for the purpose of bringing about its speedy and total destruction. He is not a Black Guard if he has any sympathy for the white man's world. He does not hesitate to destroy any position, place, or any cracker in this world.

He must hate all the enemy and everything that the enemy has created. If he has any relations with parents, friends or lovers who are not revolutionary,

then he is no longer revolutionary if he is swayed, influenced by these relationships.

14. Aiming at victorious World Revolution, the Black Guard may and frequently must live within society while pretending to be completely different from what he really is; for he must penetrate everywhere. Therefore, at all times he will have to cover his true self for infiltration.

15. The enemy's system can be split into several categories. The first category is those who must be condemned to death without delay. Brothers should compile a list of those to be condemned according to their crimes: executions should be carried out in order.

16. When a list of those who are condemned is made and the order of execution is prepared, no private sense of outrage should be considered. The decisions made must be political. It is necessary to be guided only by the usefulness of these executions for the sake of the revolutions. Above all, those who are especially dangerous to the vanguard-RA, must be destroyed; their violent and sudden deaths will produce panic and utter chaos in the enemies ranks depriving it of its will to action by removing its most cleverest and energetic pawns.

17. The second group consists of a great many lackey (toms) in high positions enjoying riches, influence, power, and high positions by their collaboration and selling out to the enemy. These traitors must be used and exploited in every possible way; they must be implicated and tied into our public fronts, their secrets must be made public, their image destroyed, and their real self exposed to the masses of our people. In doing this we will bring them under our control. Their power, influence and connections, wealth and energy will be used for the benefit of our people.

18. The third group consists of those who will be spared for the time being in order that, by a series of moves, they may drive our people into inevitable revolution (ex: King).

19. The fourth group is those ambitious office holders, would be (opportunistic) leaders and new emerging black bourgeoisie. The Black Guard must pretend to collaborate with them, appear to be following them at all times, while at the same time prying out their secrets until they are completely in our power. They must be put in a position of where there is no way out for them; and then they can be used to create disorder and confuse the enemy.

20. The fifth group are those who profess to be revolutionaries while reaping all the spoils of the enemy system and not supporting the vanguard-RA. These people must be driven to make revolutionary stands; as a result the majority of them will be destroyed, while a few will become true revolutionaries.

21. The sixth group is women. They can be divided into three (3) groups:

(1) Those who are fickle minded, hung up on chuck's values, system and ways;

(2) Those sisters who are capable and devoted, but who do not belong to us because they have not yet achieved a passionless and true revolutionary understanding;

(3) Those sisters who are completely on our side i.e. those who are totally dedicated and who have accepted our program in its entirety. We should regard these sisters as the most valuable of our treasures; without their help we will never win.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE BLACK GUARD TOWARD OUR PEOPLE

22. The Black Guard has no aim other than the complete liberation of the masses of our people.

23. By a World Black Revolution the Black Guard does not mean an orderly revolution that spares the destruction of the enemy's civilization, stopping short of destroying property and the traditional social institutions of so-called European American civilization and morality. Until now such a revolution has always limited itself to the overthrow of one political form in order to replace it by another, attempting to bring about a revolutionary state. The only form of revolution capable of liberating the Black underclass is a Black Cultural Revolution which destroys the entire state to the roots and exterminates western (European-American) cultural, traditions, institutions, castes, classes, and civilization entirely.

24. With this end in mind, the Black Guard is dedicated to the formation of a "New World," universal world government under the dictatorship of the Black underclass.

25. Being united with the vast majority of the world's population (95%),

the Black underclass, We the Black Guard pledge ourselves in a blood oath to purge the planet of all enemies of the Black underclass for the birth of the New World.

28. We, the Black Guard, dedicate ourselves to uniting our people into one single unconquerable force, whose aim is liberation or death!

We will win:

The CHAIRMAN. What are the duties of the Black Guard in this document? Identify the document; where did you get it?

Lieutenant McCoy. The Black Guard was the vanguard of the black revolution. It was their aim to conduct guerrilla warfare. As I say, it is the vanguard of the revolutionary action movement.

Senator GRIFFIN. Lieutenant, if I can interrupt for a moment, I am very glad to join in welcoming you before the subcommittee, particularly since you are from Detroit. Moving to your testimony, you have said that RAM is no longer a functioning organization. Do you believe that the exhibit that you are asking us to receive now—the duties of the Black Guard—therefore, has any relevance to our inquiry?

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, sir; I do because the Black Panther Party often refers to that part of the party as the Black Guard. They have taken many of these like the "Black Guard Organizers' Manual" and put them to their own use.

Senator GRIFFIN. In fact, when the Powells were here and testified, the black couple who had been Black Panther members, they talked about the guard. We showed them at that time the "Black Guard Organizers' Manual" which you submitted earlier. They identified it as a manual which they had been using in California in connection with the Black Panthers.

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. I think your testimony is certainly consistent with the testimony we had last week.

Lieutenant McCoy. That concludes my testimony on RAM. I will move along to the Republic of New Africa.

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

On March 30 and 31, 1968, the Malcolm X Society held a national convention in Detroit to set up a separate black government. This conference was conducted at the "Shrine of the Black Madonna"—formerly Central United Church of Christ—7625 Linwood, the Rev. Albert Buford Cleage, Jr., pastor.

There were three categories of persons who were permitted to attend:

1. Participants who are black nationalists ready for separation now;
2. Observers—black people who are genuinely interested in separation as a possible solution to our problems in America; and
3. Technical advisers—black people, whether nationalists or not, who have something to offer the new government and its founding efforts; such as lawyers, scientists, economists, and industrialists.

Exhibit 1, article in the Michigan Chronicle, dated March 23, 1968, entitled "Black Government Parley Called."

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 582" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 582

[From the Michigan Chronicle, Mar. 23, 1968]

BLACK GOVERNMENT PABLEY CALLED

Top leaders of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party (MFDP) including Robert Clark, the first black man elected to the Mississippi House of Representatives since Reconstruction, will convene in Detroit in a national convention to set up an independent Black government on Saturday and Sunday, March 30 and 31.

Lawrence Guyot, chairman of the MFDP, will join Clark in addressing a mass rally at the convention headquarters, Detroit's Shrine of the Blacks Madonna, on Saturday, March 30. Ron Karenga, Los Angeles black nationalist; Atty. Milton R. Henry, founder of the Malcolm X society; Baba Oseljeman Adefumi, of the Yoruba society other black nationalists from (New York and Gary), and all over the country will also participate.

Sponsored by the Malcolm X society, the convention is designed to create "for black people who wish it" a separate, independent government that will seek reparations and land. As outlined in a new book, "War in America," by Brother Imari, a Malcolm X disciple and coordinator of the convention, the land which the new government will seek is Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina—land that "we can take and hold." However, according to Henry, the black government will undertake to acquire the land—and reparations, several billion dollars for injury done to black people by reason of slavery and subsequent discrimination—through negotiations.

Three categories of persons will be permitted to attend the convention, according to the organizers:

1. Participants—black nationalists who are ready for separation now;
2. Observers—black people who are genuinely interested in separation as a possible solution to our problems in America, and
3. Technical Advisers—black people, whether nationalists or not, who have something to offer the new government and its founding efforts: such as lawyers, scientists, economists and industrialists.

Persons planning to attend can contact Brother Milton Henry, the Malcolm X Society, at Box 697, Detroit, Michigan 48090.

Henry said that working sessions of the convention, which will run all day Saturday and Sunday, will tackle such political and legal questions as citizenship, form and amount of reparations, form and timing of the Black Declaration of Independence, opening of negotiations with the U.S. government for settlement of key questions, and status under the Geneva conventions for Black guerrillas who swear allegiance to the new government. Economic development questions will also be studied.

Henry said the convention and the new government which comes from it can be expected to open diplomatic relations immediately with foreign governments and seek admission to the U.N.

"Although we know that in many areas we will only make tentative approaches toward solutions, at the two-day convention," Henry said, "the organizers of the convention fully expect that we will at this time announce formation of the new, separate black government without awaiting definitive solutions in every area."

Lieutenant McCoy, Exhibit 2 is the agenda of convention which lists the Malcolm X Society as host.

The Malcolm X Society is an organization utilized by Milton Robinson Henry (Brother Gaidi), Richard Bullock Henry (Brother Imari) and the Reverend Albert Buford Cleage, Jr., as a vehicle to promote various black nationalist activities. They use this name for their society because of Malcolm X Little, the slain former leader of the Nation of Israel, the organizer of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and the organization of Afro-American unity. Malcolm X was known nationally as an advocate of black power, and after his assassination

February 21, 1965, any organization using this name receives wide-spread publicity.

Exhibit 2, page 1, is a list of officers for the RNA conference.

Exhibit 2, pages 2 and 3, agenda of activities for March 30 and 31, 1968.

Exhibit 2, pages 4 and 5, draft of the declaration of independence of the RNA.

Exhibit 2, page 6, chart of the "Proposed Provisional Government."

Exhibit 2, pages 7, 8, and 9, "Proposed Provisional Government."

Exhibit 2, pages 10, 11, and 12, "Proposals on Key Problems."

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received as exhibit 583.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 583" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 583

HOST: THE MALCOLM X SOCIETY

Brother Milton R. Henry, National Chairman.
 General Conference Chairman: Brother Imari.
 Conference Coordinator: Charles W. Enoch.
 Assistant Conference Coordinator: Shamba Bolongongo.
 Discussion Chairman: Raymond A. Willis.
 Security: Thomas X Lockett.
 Press: Umbaji Mfalme.
 Research & Reproduction: Willlam Hill.
 Housing: Rita White Butler.
 Registration: Mary Kuhn, Clara Lockett.
 Credentials: Ronald Pugh.

SPARE US

Great Leaping Legba, Brothers, Spare us!

This is a working conference, brothers and sisters: we came to get something done. So please spare us—

- a. Your swinging "I'm blacker than you are" speech.
- b. Your passionate "Let's get guns and undo our castration" speech.
- c. Your matchless "Black Is Beautiful", speech.
- d. Your trobbing "If you're over thirty, forget it baby", speech.

Honestly, we've already heard it.

YOUR HOSTS,
 (For your brothers and sisters in pain).

AGENDA

SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1968

1. Opening Remarks: 8:00 a.m., Raymond Willis (Includes Introduction of Delegates).

2. Keynote Remarks: Brother Imari.

3. Vote on Powers and Objectives of the Convention.

4. Vote on Agenda.

9:00 AM to 11:00 AM

Subjects.—Citizenship, Sovereignty, Declaration of Independence, Creation of Government.

5. The Question of Sovereignty.

6. Approaches on Citizenship.

7. The Declaration of Independence.

8. Name of Country.

9. Creation of the Government (Includes Decision on When & Where Officials take up duties.

11:00 AM to Noon

10. Delegates May Meet with Press (No Official statements unless authorized by Convention).

Noon to 1:00 PM

11. Lunch.

1:00 PM to 2 PM

12. Election of Government Officials.

2:00 PM to 4 PM

Subjects.—Opening of Diplomatic Relations, Opening Reparations & Land Negotiations.

13. Reparations: Guidance to the Executive Branch.

14. Diplomatic Relations: Guidance to the Executive Branch.

4:00 PM to 6:00 PM

Subjects.—Status for Black Guerrillas, Defence Against Military Service.

15. Status for Black Guerrillas.

16. Defending Youth of Our Nation Against Service in the U.S. Military.

6:00 PM to 7:30 PM

17. Dinner.

8:00 PM

18. Extended Sessions (Place to be Announced).

SUNDAY, MARCH 31, 1968

8:00 AM to 10:00 AM

Subjects.—Taxing and Finance, Creation of Industries.

19. Taxing.

20. Proposals for Financing Government (Includes Projected Budget) (Includes Foreign Aid Philosophy).

21. Creation of Industries (Includes Establishing Priorities).

10:00 to Noon—1:00 PM to 3:00 PM (Location to Be Announced)

22. Sub-Committees Write Final Position Statements

a. Declaration of Independence Committee

b. Financial Program

c. Foreign Policy

d. Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

e. Policy on Guerrillas, Self-Defense, and Retaliation

f. Policy on Youth and Military Draft

g. Policy on Citizenship

h. Special Instructions to Government Officials

5:30 PM to 6:00 PM

23. Ratification Meeting.

5:30 PM to 6:00 PM

24. Press Conference for Government Officials.

6:00 PM

25. Mass Rally.

DRAFT: DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

We, the Black Nationalists in America, in consequence of arriving at a knowledge of ourselves as a people with dignity, long deprived of that knowledge; as a consequence of revolting with every declinal of our collective and individual beings against the oppression that for three hundred years has destroyed and broken and warped the bodies and minds and spirits of our people in America; in consequence of our raging desire to be free of this oppression, to destroy this oppression wherever it assaults mankind in the world, and in consequence of our inextinguishable determination to go a different way, to build a new and better society in a new and better world do hereby declare ourselves forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United States of America and the obligations which that country's unilateral decision to make our ancestors and ourselves paper-citizens placed upon us.

We claim no rights from the United States of America other than those rights belonging to human beings anywhere in the world, and these include the right to damages, reparations, due us for the grievous injuries sustained by our ancestors and ourselves by reason of United States law.

Ours is a revolution against oppression—our own oppression and that of all people in the world. And it is a revolution for a better life, a better station for

mankind, a surer harmony with the forces of life in the universe. We, therefore, see these as the aims of our revolution—

- To free black people in America from oppression ;
- To support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free ;
- To build a new Society that is better than what we now know and as perfect as man can make it ;
- To assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum ;
- To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship, and service ;
- To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and man's pursuit of God and/or the destiny, place, and purpose of man in the Universe will be without hindrance.

To build a Black Nation and a New State Government where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the New Society, the New State Government, or the achievement of the aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration ;

- To end exploitation of man by man or his environment ;
- To assure equality of rights for the sexes ;
- To end color and class discrimination, while not abolishing salubrious diversity, and to promote self-respect and mutual respect among all people in the Society ;
- To protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual, and his natural rights ;
- To assure justice for all ;
- To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the State to assure the benefits of this earth and man's genius and labor to Society and all its members, and
- To encourage and regard the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devotion to the Revolution.

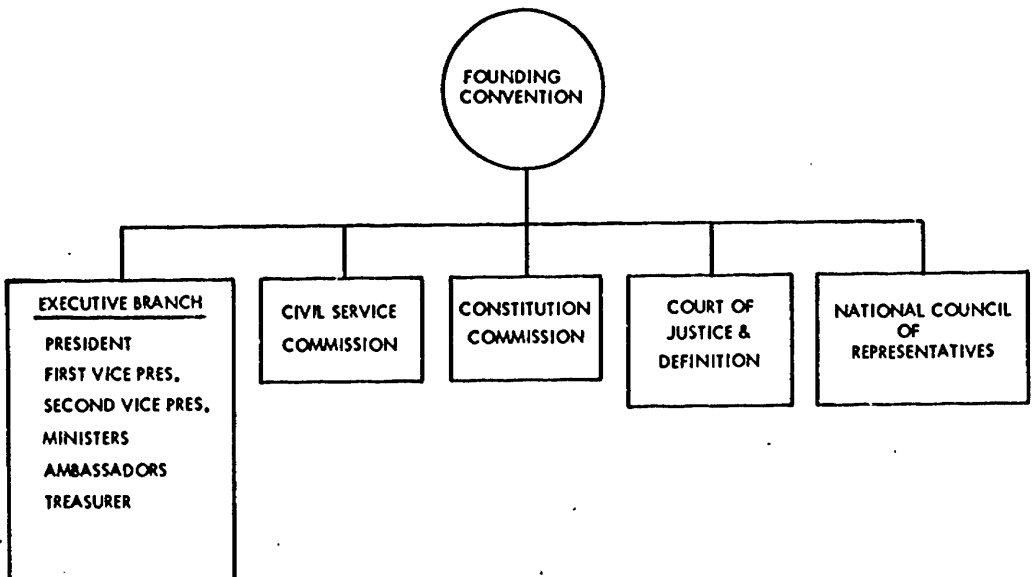
In mutual trust and great expectation, we the undersigned, for ourselves and for those who look to us but who are unable personally to fix their signatures hereto, do join in this solemn Declaration of Independence. And to support this Declaration and to assure the success of our Revolution we pledge without reservation ourselves, our talents, and all our worldly goods.

PROPOSAL

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

2 APRIL 1968 thru 1 JANUARY 1970

(unless sooner terminated by the constitution)



PROPOSED PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Executive Branch

Composed of President, First and Second Vice Presidents, and Ministers and Ambassadors chosen by the Founding Convention, for term running 2 April 1968 thru 1 January 1970, unless sooner terminated by the Constitution. Although appointed by the National Council of Representatives, the Ministers and Ambassadors are responsible to the President. The President is the Chief Executive Officer.

Powers

1. Appoints those Cabinet Ministers, Ambassadors, their deputies, and heads and assistant heads of government corporations not selected by the Founding Convention, with the advice and consent of the National Council.

Proposed First Cabinet

President

First Vice President

Second Vice President

Minister of State & Foreign Affairs

Minister of Finance

Minister of Defense

Minister of Information (Runs Government Printing Facility, Among other Duties)

Minister of Culture and Education (Also runs Government's Motion Picture, Broadcast, and Graphic Arts Facilities)

Minister of Justice

Treasurer

The Ambassadors

2. Carries out legislation and directives of the National Council of Representatives.

3. Carries out aims of the Revolution, initiating necessary actions not prohibited to the President by the Constitution or the laws of the National Council.

4. Prepares and submits to National Council a budget reflecting his government's program.

5. Serves as Commander-in-Chief of the Military Forces.

Legislative Branch (National Council of Representatives)

Consists of members elected by the Founding Convention (all delegate-participants) for a term running from 2 April 1968 thru 1 January 1970, unless sooner terminated by the Constitution.

Powers

1. Levies taxes (sole power); approves and funds budget, on an item-veto basis.

2. Sets policy for the Revolution and makes laws affecting all areas of life, pursuant to the Declaration of Independence.

3. Approves (or disapproves) appointments made by the President, after conducting hearings (two-thirds vote necessary to reject and appointment).

4. Ratifies treaties.

5. Has sole power to declare war (requires two-thirds vote); authorizes military establishment and regulates its size.

6. Audits all operations of the Government, except its own, which are audited by the Court.

7. Meets once every four months for period not exceeding eight days, at call of the Speaker of the Council.

Speaker of the Council is chosen by the Founding Convention.

The Judicial Branch (The Court)

Chosen by the Founding Convention or, for those Justices not chosen at the Convention, by the National Council of Representatives. Composed of three Justices, who will write their rules, and sit as body on questions involving definition of the aims of the Revolution, legality of acts of Government Officials, or impeachment of government officials. May sit individually, on a territorial basis, on other matters.

Powers

1. Rules on constitutionality of laws and acts of government officials (including President and Representatives).

2. Has jurisdiction in all criminal, civil, and maritime matters.

The Constitutional Commission

Appointed by Founding Convention.

Writes Constitution and conducts vote on it before 1 December 1969 (direct vote by all members of nation or by conventions in each Black Nationalist geographic district, simple majority governing).

The Civil Service Commission

Appointed by the National Council of Representatives.

Hires all government employees under the rank of Minister, Deputy Minister, or Corporation Head.

PROPOSALS ON KEY PROBLEMS

(NOTE.—Proposals have same numbers as Agenda Items.)

5. **Sovereignty.**—The essence of sovereignty is to have territory over which one has complete control and makes the final law. An objective of the government must be to acquire land on what is now the U.S. land mass over which have complete control; this is to be done through negotiations with the U.S., through political activity and cessation, and/or through a combination of these moves supported by appropriate military action. In the meantime, the government should attempt to acquire from a friendly country a small bit of land, perhaps an island, over which we would be completely sovereign and on which we would erect our temporary capital. Possession of such land, even though outside the U.S. land mass, would entitle us to seek admission to the U.N. and substantiate our claim to nationhood. (The Campaign to acquire land on the U.S. land mass would, of course, continue.)

6. Citizenship:

a. Citizens of our nation must have allegiance to our nation only. This means that in signing the Declaration of Independence a person renounces his American "paper" citizenship.

b. This act does not leave the citizen of our nation completely unprotected while he or she continues to live in America. All people have basic rights to which they are theoretically entitled anywhere in the world. We suggest that the legal defense, in American courts, against pernicious persecutions by the American government, could be based on rights accorded Phillippinos during their period of subjugation by the U.S. the Philippines were citizens of the Philippines during this period, not of the U.S. (U.S. law termed them U.S. "nationals".)

c. Our nation would issue its own passports and other state documents, which would be honored by countries who extend us diplomatic recognition.

d. All delegates need not sign the Declaration of Independence today. But all officers of the Government must take the oath of allegiance to our new nation *before* the government officially goes into business. (Recommend this date be 30 but no more than 60 days off.)

7. **Declaration of Independence.**—A draft Declaration is attached.

8. **Name of Country.**—Recommend the Songhay Republic.

9. **Creation of Government.**—A draft government structure is attached. Recommend that the government start full-fledged business officially on 1 May 1968. During the intervening time, we would prepare necessary state documents (passports, credentials, etc.), accumulate tax, bond, and foreign aid funds, acquire land or island from a friendly country, and purchase and equip the facilities to be used as headquarters in the U.S. Recommend that the primary headquarters in the U.S. be in Mississippi or South Carolina and that government officials who are to remain in this country operate from there. (Our first industrial and commercial facilities would be on the same site, along with adequate military force for defense.) It is essential that every member of the Executive Branch be on salary and have no other employment; anything else is a Jeff government.

10. **Status of Black Guerrillas.**—Blacks who go into the street, fight for freedom, and fall into the hands of American authorities, should, if they then say they have allegiance to our nation, be treated as prisoners of war, rather than common criminals. This proposition must be discussed by the delegates. It seems clear, that even without a declaration of war against the U.S. (and we recommend no declaration of war), members of our military forces would have rights under the Geneva Conventions. The U.S. claims rights for U.S. military personnel now

held in North Viet Nam even though the U.S. has no declaration of war against North Viet Nam. Our situation would be parallel.

16. *Defending our youth against military service.*—Obviously youth of our nation should not be forced to fight in another nation's (the U.S.'s) wars. If the U.S. fails to recognize our government (as it has failed to recognize the government of The People's Republic of China, for 20 years), we will have to use a variety of means to protect our youth. Delegates should set national policy.

TAXING AND FINANCE

(Items 19, 20 and 21)

Recommended sources of government funds

a. *Tax Money.*—A 2% tax on taxable income of citizens and other black people who voluntarily wish to be in the "Taxing Community".

b. *Bonds.*—A one-hundred dollar bond sold to minimum of 1,000 persons, for first \$100,000 for Government's capital investment. Payable by 1 May 1968.

c. *Foreign Aid.*—Negotiated with friendly nations. (But being a relatively rich people, we should largely support our own Revolution.)

d. *Industry and Commerce.*—The primary industry which is within our reach is the entertainment industry; this means the publishing of records. Also, the Cultural Revolution has created another industry; the publishing of books, magazines, pictures, movies, and the making of Afro clothes. Therefore, recommend the immediate creation of a small commercial/industrial complex in the south, on a 100 (or more)-acre site, where we would establish:

1. A printing plant, color processor, and bindery
2. A recording facility
3. A motion picture lot
4. A clothing factory (specializing in Afro clothes)
5. A crafts plant (tikis, ceramics, plastics, sculpture, etc.)
6. A food laboratory, deep freeze facility, bottling and canning facility

Outside of the southern site, to support the above production units, the government must establish the following:

7. Book stores (also selling Afro clothes and other products), one in every major city where there is not one now (approximately 32 cities); these would be under the Ministry of Information.

8. Theatres, one in each of 50 major cities: this means purchasing and re-furnishing movie theatres now sitting idle in black communities; these would be under Ministry of Culture (But Ministries of Information and Culture would always work together in printing and theatre activities and in use of the facilities for many purposes: i.e. culture and education meetings in the book stores; rallies in the theatres.)

Further income producers from complex in the South are—

9. Resort Area.

10. Black Power Exposition.—To open 2 April 1972, involving Afro-Americans, Africans, Asians, and any friendly European Countries, emphasizing black life, achievements, and aspirations.

(NOTE.—Southern Complex would also include schools, hospitals, housing, to serve new Government's personnel and people living in the area.)

Lieutenant McCoy. A confidential source indicates that approximately 2,000 to 3,000 people registered for the convention—registration fee, \$1.

The only persons allowed to take part in the discussions, elections—and to vote on issues—were the delegates (150–200). Discussion Chairman Raymond A. Willis introduced 126 delegates at the opening of the convention.

The following officials were elected: president, Robert F. Williams, first vice president, Milton R. Henry, second vice president, Betty Shabazz (widow of Malcolm X Little), treasurer, Obaboa Alowo (Edmund Bradley, Los Angeles, Calif., businessman), minister of state and foreign affairs, Charles P. Howard, minister of defense,

H. Rap Brown (Hubert Geroid Brown), minister of finance, Raymond E. Willis (local accountant), minister of justice, Joan Franklin (New York attorney), minister of culture and education, Baba Oseijeman Adefummi (Serge Eugene King, chief priest of the Yoruba Temple, New York City), minister of health and welfare, Queen Mother Moore (Audley Moore, New York), minister of information, Brother Imari (Richard Bullock Henry, Detroit), ambassadors were nominated, but elections were not held. Nominated as ambassadors to East Africa:

1. Betty Shabazz;
2. Majile Adefunmi (one of Baba Oseijeman Adefunmi's three wives); and
3. George P. Martin.

Nominated as ambassadors to the Far East (China):

1. Robert F. Williams;
2. Mae Mallory; and
3. Henry (Papa) Wells.

The March 30, session at the Shrine of the Black Madonna adjourned at 5 p.m. and reconvened at 8 p.m. at the Helen Deroy Memorial Auditorium on Wayne State University Campus. A capacity audience of approximately 500 persons attended the 8 p.m. session.

Points 15 and 16 of the agenda were discussed (exhibit No. 2, pages 2 and 11).

The platform participants were:

Raymond Willis, chairman, Brother Imari (Richard Henry), Joan Franklin, Mae Mallory.

Lawrence Guyot (of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party), Ron Karenga (Ronie McKinley Everett, leader of U.S. Los Angeles Caucus), Queen Mother Moore.

The points of discussion to which some of the platform participants addressed themselves are as follows:

Attorney Joan Franklin undertook a discussion of the international law that confronts guerrillas as "Prisoners of War" versus "Prisoners of State."

Mae Mallory commented on the civilian militia, stating that the goal was to have a militia of both male and female members, to be comprised of "22 million" trigger fingers, and with definite emphasis on the role of women in the militia.

Lawrence Guyot spoke of the right to dissent and the role of the black man in his attempt to deal with "the beast" (United States). He said, "This country must be brought to its 'knees' and it will not be done by hope and sympathy."

He further stated the plight of the Negro in the Delta of Mississippi, who averages less than \$2,000 a year, compares only to the Negro in South Africa. Guyot said his party formally identifies with the purposes of the convention.

A proposal was made to the chair (subject to funding of the guerrilla army) that: The Government aid and support all black people in the Government with emphasis on black guerrillas.

This aforementioned proposal was sent to the committee for study.

Richard Henry (Imari) made a motion, which was carried, that the convention and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party identify and affiliate with each other.

The next issue taken up by the conference was point 16 of the agenda: Defending youth of our nation against service in the U.S. Military.

The proposal was made that: According the black draftdodger the same status and protection as black guerrillas.

There was discussion on the case of 14 black GI's in "Sam Houston" (presumably Fort Sam Houston, Tex.) who refused duty in Vietnam—as a test case—to be undertaken by the new black government.

The proposal was amended to read: Support black people who seek to avoid the draft. (Passed as amended.)

Proposal 16-A was made and passed that: The new government support all black people who are against racist war.

This session (March 30, 1968) adjourned at 11:10 p.m.

During the morning and early afternoon of March 31, 1968, a meeting took place at the 20-Grand Motel. Between 150 and 200 people at this meeting signed the Declaration of Independence. (Exhibit No. 2, pages 4 and 5.)

On March 31, 1968, agenda scheduled for 6 p.m. session was held at 7625 Linwood, Shrine of the Black Madonna (Central United Church of Christ.)

At approximately 7:50 p.m. the mass rally got underway and was led by Raymond Willis. He opened the session by announcing that the delegates had named a new government, the "new government" to be called "The New Republic of Africa."

Willis introduced several rally speakers (names and appropriate comment listed below):

Mae Mallory was introduced by Raymond Willis as head of the Monroe Defense Fund for Robert Williams. She stated that her home was under siege and fired upon by North Carolina State Troopers when they attempted to arrest Robert Williams. Mae Mallory made the following points in her talk:

1. Under the "new government" black children would no longer be taught by white teachers and brainwashed with white doctrines.

2. Blacks have become a social problem to this Government; that the Negro is antiquated machinery; and that the Government is planning to get rid of the Negroes.

3. She charged that the U.S. Government stole from the Indians by genocide and intend to do the same thing with the Negroes; and that, in fact, genocide of the Negroes is now being practiced by:

(a) Starvation of Negro babies;

(b) Drafting of husbands and sons; and

(c) Taking away poverty programs.

4. The new government proposes to petition for new statutes and attempt to negotiate for them, and "When they don't accede to our demands, do the next best thing." She said, "If viruses can kill 'em, we are bigger and we can kill 'em, too."

5. She commented upon urban warfare as a mean of accomplishing the aims of this government, and she spoke of the writings of Robert Williams who is now in China. His writings deal with urban warfare, and the effect it has on the economy by complete work stoppage and suspension of consumer trade.

6. Mae Mallory further stated that the most effective way for the new government would be to pursue the kind of "tactics" being used

in the war in Vietnam. She pointed out that the Vietnamese sharpen "bamboo shoots" and camouflage these "shoots" in pits and lure GI's into these traps with "sniper fire."

7. She exhorts that this is a new era. Fear in the black man is gone! The role of the black woman in this warfare is a highly significant one, as has been her role in previous riots and disturbances. (In other riots and disturbances she has used lure tactics to lead riot control forces into ambush.)

The second speaker was introduced by Willis as Brother Baba (Osei-jeman Adefunmi) of the Yoruba Nation of North America.

He spoke of a culture revolution, "The resurrection of African Heritage in America: An Address on the Regaining of Freedom for the Black Man."

New institutions of American law, American politics the new nation will adopt, were themes covered in his speech. The new nation will adopt African attire, African names, proclaim their own holidays, heroes, and festivals; and will pay homage to Malcolm X and other great leaders who will be deified. These great leaders will be made saints and will be part of the "voodoo." (They are the great ancestors and heroes of African history.)

He said that political revolution is empty without cultural revolution. That even though they may have to kill all white Europeans, they must, because they have to throw off white European culture.

Then Willis introduced the Queen Mother Moore of New York. She attacked courts as being biased and of railroading thousands of Negroes to their deaths.

The next speaker was introduced as the Mother of the black nation, Mrs. Betty Shabazz.

Mrs. Shabazz spoke about the Negro never having had political freedom, or having never been his own master. She talked of the tactics employed by the whites to obtain information about the black revolution. She spoke of the weapons the whites would use in the event of riots—use of surgical glue, Stoner rifles and how they are able to stay on top of things through "black informers."

She warned that the white man doesn't protect the "informer" when he is through with him, that he will have to find his own hole to crawl into.

At this point, Raymond Willis (conference discussion chairman) read the final draft of the declaration of independence, adopted by the convention (exhibit No. 2, pp. 4 and 5).

The convention ended at 10 p.m.

Exhibit 3 is a letter from Milton Henry to citizens and delegates with regard to (1) resolution on citizenship, (2) request for bond chairmen of different areas to serve as caucus chairman, (3) announcing the convention of the national council of representatives in Chicago, Ill., on May 30, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 584" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. On May 30, 31, and June 1, 1968, the national council of representatives of the Republic of New Africa convened at the Urban Training Center, 40 North Ashland, Chicago, Ill. Approxi-

mately 75 persons attended this convention. Approximately 55-60 were delegates, the rest were observers. (Observers are not allowed to take part in discussions, to vote or to attend closed sessions.)

Included in attendance were the following: Milton Henry, Ray Willis, Obaboa Alowo, Baba Osejeman Adefunmi, Queen Mother Moore, Joan Franklin, Richard (Imari) Henry, Henry (Papa) Wells, and Mwesi Chui (John F. Taylor, Dayton, Ohio).

Raymond Willis was elected chairman of the convention and Henry Wells, vice chairman.

The following exhibits were obtained from the convention :

Exhibit No. 4.—Agenda of the convention.

Exhibit No. 5.—Birth of our nation.

Exhibit No. 6.—The income tax act of the RNA, calling for a 3-percent tax on income.

Exhibit No. 7.—Resolution establishing the black legion (military arm of the RNA).

Exhibit No. 8.—Proposal for organizing caucus centers in major cities.

Exhibit No. 9.—Objectives of the government through October 30, 1968.

On May 28, 1968, Richard Henry (minister of information) delivered to the U.S. State Department a letter addressed to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, calling for negotiations between the United States and the RNA governments. This letter called for the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina—and \$10,000 reparations for each black person—to be given to the RNA. This letter was signed by Milton Henry.

Exhibit No. 10 is a copy of the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, it may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 585" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. On June 3, 1968, Richard and Milton Henry departed Detroit (Metro Airport) en route to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to confer with Robert F. Williams and Mae Mallory.

Exhibit No. 11.—Picture of Milton Henry, Robert F. Williams and Richard Henry.

Exhibit No. 12.—Picture of Robert F. Williams, Mabel Williams (tentative) and Mae Mallory.

Exhibit No. 13.—Picture of Robert F. Williams, T. T. Letlaka (national executive committee, Pan African congress), Milton Henry and Richard Henry.

These pictures were taken at Dar es Salaam.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received and marked appropriately, all of those pictures.

(The documents referred to were marked "exhibit No. 586" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. The purpose of this trip was to secure financial help for the RNA from Red China through Robert F. Williams.

The Henry brothers returned to the United States on June 10, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know the purpose of the trip was to secure financial help?

Lieutenant McCoy. Source information, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You have that source information? That was the purpose of the trip to get financial help from Red China through Williams?

Lieutenant McCoy. That is correct.

On June 16, 1968, a cabinet meeting was held at the home of Richard Henry, 16585 Muriland, Detroit. This meeting was attended by: Milton and Richard Henry, Betty Shabazz, Queen Mother Moore, Obaboa Alowo, Joan Franklin, Ray Willis, Mwesi Chui (newly elected minister of security), and various unidentified persons from the Detroit, Dayton, and Cleveland, Ohio caucuses.

During the meeting, Richard and Milton Henry advised that during their recent trip to Tanzania, Robert F. Williams stated he did not intend to make any statement re: the Republic of New Africa—or do anything in behalf of the RNA. He stated he had no funds for the RNA; and had, in fact, expected the RNA to bring funds to him to help in the establishment of a hospital in Tanzania that he was interested in.

The intentions of Robert F. Williams—as stated above by Milton and Richard Henry—caused a great deal of consternation among the members at the cabinet meeting. It was decided by the cabinet, if this were to reach the general membership of the Republic of New Africa, the republic would probably fail.

Robert F. Williams apparently did tell the Henrys to push for reparations from the United States and to obtain a large number of signatures to show the United States—that the RNA has a large following.

On June 29, 1968, Richard Henry announced a petition drive to the members of the Detroit caucus of the RNA. The Detroit caucus was to obtain 30,000 signatures by August 8, 1968. The petition was then to be presented to the United Nations. The petition insisted that the RNA be recognized as a “free black government” empowered to negotiate for reparations.

A placard pointing out the aims of the RNA and its background was utilized in the petition drive to obtain signatures. (Exhibit No. 14—copy of petition; exhibit No. 15—copy of placard.)

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked “exhibit No. 587” for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. In late July, copies of the petition were mailed to RNA consulates in Ohio, New York, and California, with instructions to obtain 50,000 signatures by August 18, 1968.

On August 17, 1968, Richard Henry told the Detroit RNA members that the target date of the petitions had been postponed to August 31, 1968, because only 4,500 signatures were obtained of the number required in Detroit. This drive is still continuing.

Senator GRIFFIN. All right, your testimony there relates to August 17, 1968. As of that time there were 4,500 signatures. The drive is still continuing. Do you have any later information as to how it has gone since then?

Lieutenant McCoy. I do not, Senator. All I can say is that the petition drive has not been successful.

On October 8, 1968, a delegation of Detroit RNA members left Detroit enroute to New York. Their purpose was to assist the militant

teachers' strike in the Oceanhill-Brownsville School District and to distribute the pamphlet entitled "Now We Have a New Nation." (Exhibit 16.)

Exhibit 16 has already been entered into the record. In fact, information on the arrests was provided for the record previously.

On October 8, 1968, the New York State Police at Oneida, N.Y., stopped a speeding 1965 Mustang convertible. Occupants of the automobile were:

1. Leroy Wilds, Jr., Negro male, age 20, of 3300 Ewald Circle, Detroit, Mich.

2. Warren Galloway, Negro male, age 26, of 9656 Monica, Detroit, Mich.

3. Dorothy Louise Sanders, Negro female, age 40, of 4045 Burlingame, Detroit, Mich.

4. Salena Dorothy McCutcheon aka Salina Howard, Negro female, age 28, of 3227 West Euclid, Detroit, Mich.

All active members of the Detroit consul of the RNA.

Leroy Wilds had in his possession, a loaded .38 caliber five-shot S. & W. revolver.

Found in the trunk of the auto was a .30 calibre M-1 carbine; eight, eight-round clips .30 caliber ammunition (64 rounds); four 20-round boxes of .30 caliber ammunition (80 rounds); 16 rounds of .30-caliber ammunition; 21 expended rounds of various ammunition (11 .30-caliber; nine .308; one .22-caliber).

The four subjects were arraigned and placed under \$10,000 bond. Charges against all but Leroy Wilds were later dropped. On October 29, 1968, Leroy Wilds pled guilty to illegal possession of firearms, and was given an unconditional discharge on December 9, 1968.

On October 13, 1968, a cabinet meeting of the RNA was held at the New York apartment of Charles Moore (New York consul of the RNA), 666 West End Avenue. Approximately 18 persons attended, including: Milton Henry, Joan Franklin, Nwesi Chui, Warren Galloway (Detroit RNA), Dorothy Sanders (Detroit RNA), Salina Howard (Detroit RNA), Wilbur Grattan, Sr. (Cleveland RNA), Richard Henry, Raymond Willis, Calvin Harbour (Detroit RNA).

At this meeting, Wilbur Grattan was named as the new minister of state and foreign affairs, replacing Charles P. Howard (recently deceased).

Richard Henry discussed "open conflict with the police," including "open guerrilla warfare and attacking police stations."

Richard Henry expressed a desire for a meeting within 2 weeks of all militant groups, including RAM, and the Black Panther party from the Eastern United States, who have sworn allegiance to the RNA.

An argument developed between Richard and Milton Henry. Milton (and others present) charged that Richard has been exercising dictatorial powers and was involving the RNA in causes that will harm the RNA. An example was: Richard Henry's attempt to get the RNA involved in matters in New York City (Ocean Hill-Brownsville School District), without even consulting the RNA's New York consulate.

On October 14, 1968, Richard Henry held a public meeting at the Varick Memorial African Methodist Church, 806 Quincey, Brooklyn.

The CHAIRMAN. You have that source information? That was the purpose of the trip to get financial help from Red China through Williams?

Lieutenant McCoy. That is correct.

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A placard pointing out the aims of the RNA and its background was utilized in the petition drive to obtain signatures. (Exhibit No. 14—copy of petition; exhibit No. 15—copy of placard.)

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked “exhibit No. 58.” for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. In late July, copies of the petition were mailed to RNA consulates in Ohio, New York, and California, with instructions to obtain 50,000 signatures by August 18, 1968.

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On October 14, 1968, Richard Henry held a public meeting at the Varick Memorial African Methodist Church, 806 Quincy, Brooklyn.

Among the approximately 75 persons in attendance were: Robert (Sonny) Carson (Independent Brooklyn CORE) and Charles Moore (RNA of New York).

Henry gave his views on the New York school situation and attempted to recruit members into the RNA.

On October 23, 1968, at the regular weekly meeting of the Detroit RNA counsel, Richard Henry stated that the RNA "immediately open a New York office to take advantage of the unrest in the area, due to the teacher strike." He requested that the RNA Detroit consul furnish him with \$250 a month for office space in Brooklyn.

Richard stated that the RNA is abandoning efforts to obtain the five southeastern States for at least 3 years and concentrate on establishing an enclave in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Exhibit 17—Pamphlet entitled, "The Black Institution's Role in the Black Revolution for Land and Power in America." (By Brother Imari, Richard Henry.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 588" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. On December 7 and 8, 1968, a strategy meeting was conducted by the RNA at "The School of Common Sense," 7 Monroe Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. The purpose of this meeting was to formulate plans for conducting a plebiscite vote in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville District and for declaring Ocean Hill-Brownsville as an independent state.

Exhibit 18 is a letter from Brother Imari (Richard Henry), containing the session schedule.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 589" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. Exhibit 19 is working papers for the "Projection of Problems and Solutions for Ocean Hill-Brownsville as an Independent State."

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 590" for reference and may be found in the files of the Subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. The following people were in attendance at one or more of these sessions: Milton and Richard Henry; Wilbur Grattan; Joan Franklin; Mwesi Chui (John F. Taylor); Obaboa Alowo; Leroi Jones; Herman Ferguson; and Baba Oseijeman Adefunmi.

On January 18 and 19, 1969, a steering committee conference was held by the RNA at the Twenty Grand Motel in Detroit. Approximately 200 persons attended this conference.

Exhibit 20 is a booklet entitled "To Build a Nation, the Freedom Corps Working Papers."

Exhibit 21 is a pamphlet entitled "The Freedom Corps."

Exhibit 22 is a handbill urging the brothers and sisters to serve in the Freedom Corps.

In the January 1969 issue of Esquire magazine appeared an article re: The RNA. This article was written by Robert Sherrill. (Exhibit 23.)

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 591 to 594" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. In the interview of Milton Henry by Sherrill, Henry stated that RNA has 100 acres in Mississippi, that the method to be used to take over Mississippi would be by electing sheriffs in counties with a black majority. That—

Having a majority isn't meaningful until the day comes when we have enough people standing at the polls, with guns, to protect our vote. The reason we are setting up a Black Legion is so we will get our votes counted. Henry stated, then we will have a legitimate military force, legitimate under U.S. law, made up of people who can be deputized and armed. If we had only four sheriffs down there, with all that can be done with deputizing, we could change the State of Mississippi.

The real question is not whether we control the governors (Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana) but whether we control the land; and we can do that by controlling the sheriffs. That's the important thing, having physical control of the land. In terms of real control of the land and real confrontation, there will be other things going on in this country. It could be burned to the ground while U.S. officials are playing games with us. They could be engaged in very costly guerrilla activities.

Henry went on to say that they could beat the U.S. Army with aid of nuclear weapons from their allies, such as China.

We've got a second strike power right now in our guerrillas within the metropolitan areas, black men armed. Say we started taking over Mississippi, which we are capable of doing right now, and the United States started to interfere. Well, our guerrillas all over the country would strike. Our second strike force capability would be to prevent the United States Armed Forces from working us over, not the local forces. The local forces couldn't compete with our forces.

Henry went on to say:

If the white defeat our objectives, the country will be ruined in the process. They aren't going to win in Vietnam, and they can't win in the United States. We can fight from within. The United States can be destroyed.

We are within the country. This country will either talk to the separatists today or will talk to them later, at which time, perhaps this country will have lost a great deal, in terms of lives and property.

Henry showed the interviewer two AR-15 rifles and stated: "We train regularly."

On February 21, 1969 (anniversary of Malcolm X's slaying), a rally was held at Northwestern High School in Detroit. The purpose of this rally was to lower the flag of the United States, raise the separatist flag (which is utilized by the RNA); and to rename Northwestern High School, the Malcolm X High School.

At approximately 4 p.m., 250 persons assembled; among them were members of the RNA. (The U.S. flag was lowered by the school officials earlier when school closed.) The people at the rally did raise the green, red, and black separatist flag, then cut the lanyards. (Exhibit 24.)

This is the flag that they raised at that time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the flag of the separatists?

Lieutenant McCoy. That is a separatist flag.

In an article I have here from the State Journal dated Sunday, February 1, 1969, Milton Henry and Brother Guyot explained what

the different colors mean. It said the green is for the land, for grass, trees, crops. The black is for the dignity of the black man. He said:

You know, we have to go through blood, there can be no land, no nation without bloodshed. That is what the red is for.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be made an exhibit.

(The article referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 595" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. A letter dated March 3, 1969, and signed by Ray Willis, National Council of Representatives, was mailed to "citizens" of the RNA. This letter announced that the second national legislative convention of the council of representatives of the RNA would be held in Detroit, Mich., on March 28, 29, and 30, 1969. (Exhibit 25—copy of letter.)

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 596" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. Exhibit 26 is a copy of the legislative workbook for this convention.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 597" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. On Friday, March 28, 1969, 225 persons from various parts of the country registered for the convention held at 13305 Dexter.

The cabinet ministers met with their assistants and set up rules to govern the introducing of new laws to the Congress.

On Saturday, March 29, 1969, the Congress convened at 13305 Dexter and laws were passed relative to health and education, also state and foreign affairs.

At 7 p.m., March 29, 1969, the meeting at 13305 Dexter adjourned and an announcement was made that everyone was to meet at the New Bethel Baptist Church, 8450 Linwood at Philadelphia.

The meeting at New Bethel started at 8:30 p.m. and the following persons were speakers: Queen Mother Moore; Obaboa Alowo; Hakim Jamal (Allen Eugene Donaldson, Compton, Calif.); Virginia Collins; Milton Henry.

Milton Henry was the last speaker and concluded the meeting at approximately 11:30 p.m., and as ministers of the RNA left, they were escorted by two armed members of the black legion. (There were approximately 15 uniformed and armed members of the black legion present at the convention.)

Milton Henry left the church at approximately 11:40 p.m.

At 11:42 p.m., scout car 10-5, manned by Patrolman Michael Czapski (22) and Patrolman Richard Worobec (28), reported that there were men with rifles at Linwood and Euclid. The two officers left their car to investigate the armed men, who had their backs toward the officers walking away. The men suddenly turned and opened fire on the officers. Patrolman Czapski, slightly ahead of Patrolman Worobec, was shot seven times and fell mortally wounded to the pavement. Patrolman Worobec, who was struck twice in the back and once in the leg, crawled back to the scout car seriously wounded and still under fire. He was able to press the car accelerator and the car careened into a pole a short distance away.

One hundred and fifty-two persons inside the church were arrested and conveyed to police headquarters. Among those arrested were:

Three from the State of California, including Obaboa Alowo, Treasurer of the RNA.

Thirteen from Chicago, Ill., including Omar Bey (Edmund Wardell Arnold), leader of the Chicago caucus of the RNA.

One from Louisville, Ky.

Six from the State of Massachusetts.

One from Linden, N.J., a Kirkwood Marshall Hall, close associate of H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, and is associated with SNCC and draft resistance groups.

Four from the State of Louisiana, including Virginia Everlina Collins, one of the speakers at the church.

Twenty-nine from the New York City area, including Baba Osejeman Adefunmi (Serge Eugene King), the minister of culture of the RNA and two of his wives, Fabunmi and Majile Adefunmi; Herman Ferguson, minister of education for the RNA. Ferguson was one of the 16 members of RAM who were indicted by a Queens County grand jury on June 21, 1967, for advocating criminal anarchy and conspiracy to advocate criminal anarchy. This involved a plot to assassinate conservative Negro leaders, including Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and Whitney Young of the National Urban League.

Also indicted on these charges (and among those arrested were Mendola Gale McPherson; George Edward Samuels; and Arthur Harris. Ferguson and Harris were convicted of conspiracy to commit murder—first).

Twenty-eight from the State of Ohio, including Mwesi Chui (John F. Taylor), the minister of defense of the RNA.

Seven from the State of Pennsylvania, including David Owens of 7218 Race Street, Pittsburgh, who is presently under indictment in Pittsburgh for attempted murder of a police officer.

Five from Washington, D.C.

The remainder of those arrested were from the Detroit area, including:

Imari Obadele (Richard B. Henry), the minister of the interior for the RNA.

Leito Franklin Durley, deputy minister of information for the RNA, and the editor of their paper, the New African.

Warren Galloway, who was arrested October 8, 1968, in Oneida, N.Y.

Selina D. Howard, who was arrested October 8, 1968, in Oneida, N.Y.

Janet Johnson, leader of the women's branch of the Black Legion.

Dorothy L. Sanders, who was arrested October 8, 1968, in Oneida, N.Y.

Leroy Wilds, who was arrested October 8, 1968, in Oneida, N.Y.

All but two of the arrested were released, with the exception of David Brown, Jr. (19), of Compton, Calif., who was held for assault with intent to commit murder; and Kirkwood Hall, for possession of a gas-ejecting device.

The CHAIRMAN. Have the people who did the shooting and killed the officers been arrested?

Lieutenant McCoy. There are people in custody now, one charged with murder and one charged with assault to commit murder.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they in custody or out on bail?

Lieutenant McCoy. Two are in custody and one is out on bail.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Lieutenant McCoy. Subsequently, warrants were issued against three RNA members in the shooting of the officers:

1. Rafael Viera of New York, for first degree murder.
2. Alfred Hibbitt of Detroit, for assault with intent to murder.
3. Clarence Fuller of Detroit, for assault with intent to murder.

The following weapons were confiscated from the church:

(1) 22 long rifle, Montgomery Ward, Hawthorne, sentry single shot rifle, no serial number.

(2) 308 Win. Winchester model 100 semiautomatic rifle, Serial No. 140692.

(3) 8 mm. German Kar model 98 military bolt action rifle, Serial No. S-1855.

(4) 25 German Reck model P 8 semiautomatic pistol, Serial No. 100692.

(5) 22 LR Harrington & Richardson model, 923 revolver, Serial No. P-6352.

(6) 7.65 mm. Belgium F.N. military bolt action rifle, Serial No. 0-4414.

(7) 32 Italian Beretta model 70 semiautomatic pistol, Serial No. A-58030.

(8) 22 LR Marlin model 88 semiautomatic rifle, no serial number.

(9) 32 Italian Bernardelli model 60 semiautomatic pistol, Serial No. 54054.

(10) 30-06 Springfield M1 military semiautomatic rifle, Serial No. 3289755.

(11) 38 Special German Rohn RG-38 revolver, Serial No. C-104500.

Exhibit 27 is a picture of weapons confiscated.

Exhibit 28 is a picture of the scout car.

The CHAIRMAN. Those may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 598" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. After the shooting at the New Bethel Church, Milton Henry declared a state of emergency and appointed four regional vice presidents:

Region A—Embracing all of the eastern coastal area of the United States, and including the cities contained along the coast from Maine to Florida. Vice president—Herman Ferguson.

Region B—Embracing all the Middle West and western portion of New York and Pennsylvania. Vice president—Brother Imari (Richard Henry).

Region C—Embracing all of the South, including Louisiana and Texas. Vice president—Virginia Collins.

Region D—Embracing all of the Far West, including Arizona. Vice president—Obaboa Alowo.

The Republic of New Africa publishes a newspaper, The New

African. The editor is Leito Durley. Only three issues of this paper have been printed.

Exhibit 29 is three issues of the New African newspaper.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 599" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. The next several pages contain information on background of RNA officers.

The CHAIRMAN. That can be printed in the record.

Lieutenant McCoy. There are several exhibits that were going to be introduced with the background information.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the exhibits be presented and numbered in the order of your presentation and the background on each one of these as contained in your statement may be printed in the record at this point. You get your exhibits in order there and present them and they will be received in the order submitted and numbered accordingly.

Lieutenant McCoy. *Robert F. Williams, president.*—Date of birth, February 26, 1925; birthplace, Monroe, N.C.

Williams served in the Marine Corps during World War II. He returned to Monroe, N.C., in 1953, and there joined the local chapter of the NAACP, soon becoming their president.

A Federal warrant was issued on August 28, 1961, at Charlotte, N.C., charging Williams with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for kidnaping.

Williams fled to Cuba, where he resided from 1961 until 1966, when he moved to Peking, China, where he presently resides with his wife, Mabel.

Williams is the author of the book, "Negroes With Guns." (Exhibit 29.)

Williams is also the author of "The Crusader."

It is reported that Williams may attempt to return to this country in the near future.

Milton Robinson Henry (Brother Gaidi), first vice president.—In my testimony of March 22, 1968, I gave background information on Milton Henry (pp. 1427-1429, pt. 6).

On April 26, 1969, at the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit, on April 25 through 27, 1969, Milton Henry made a speech entitled, "Land Reform: The Ownership and Control of Land Is Basic to Economic Growth and Freedom."

Henry started his speech by giving a synopsis of his life, how he tried to be a "good nigger".

His dishonorable discharge from the Army, and his role in politics in Pontiac, Mich., his election to city council in Pontiac and during his term, finding out how dirty the "white man" could be and the extent the "white man" would go to oppress the "black people."

He then went on to talk of the RNA and its potential in obtaining the five Southern States. That when the black legion becomes effective and efficient as a military force, no sheriff in Mississippi will dare tamper with votes or ballots in the box. At the conclusion of his speech, he requested everyone present to stand and raise his right hand.

The people did so, not knowing what Henry's intentions were. Henry then asked everyone to repeat after him, and then gave everyone the

RNA pledge of allegiance and advised all present that they were officially RNA members.

Betty Shabazz (also known as Betty Little and Betty D. Sanders).—Betty Shabazz was born on May 28, 1934, and is a Negro female and the widow of the late Malcolm X Little. She is the mother of six children and presently resides at 234 East Fifth Street, Mount Vernon, N.Y. She reportedly operates a boarding house at her residence.

Betty Shabazz graduated from Northern High School in Detroit, Mich., and attended Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Ala., taking nursing training. Betty Shabazz is currently a registered nurse by profession.

Betty Shabazz is a member of the Republic of New Africa and at one time held the title of second vice president but since has resigned that position.

On June 2, 1958, Betty Shabazz and several others were indicted by the Queens County grand jury, Long Island, N.Y., charged with four counts of assault, two counts of conspiracy resisting an officer, and two counts of attempt to prevent an officer from performing duty.

Edmund Bradley, aka Obaboa.—Edmund Bradley was born in Pontiac, Mich., on May 11, 1911, and currently resides at 5335 11th Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif. He is a west coast businessman who has been very active in the Republic of New Africa since its inception, and serves as its treasurer.

Bradley was arrested in Detroit on a armed robbery charge in October of 1928. He was sentenced to serve a 10- to 20-year term at Michigan State Prison, Jackson, Mich. He was paroled to Chicago, Ill., May 25, 1936.

Bradley is quoted in the January 1969 issue of Esquire magazine as saying, "My concern is bookkeeping, debits and credits. For example, in a single year, 1850, 50 million bales of cotton were produced by slave labor. At a price of \$5 per bale, and 6 percent annual compound interest from 1850 to 1960, it adds up to an indebtedness of \$12,800 million owed the republic. Slave labor also built, then rebuilt the White House in 1937. The descendants of each slave are entitled to \$882,000."

Richard Bullock Henry (Imari Obadele), minister of the interior.—In my testimony of March 22, 1968, I furnished background information on Richard Henry (pp. 1430 and 1431, pt. 6).

Richard Henry is no longer employed as a technical manuals editor at the U.S. Army Tank Auto Command, Warren, Mich. He resigned from this position October 4, 1968.

After his apprehension at the New Bethel Baptist Church shooting, Henry ordered the members of the RNA—in the cell block where he was lodged on the ninth floor of police headquarters—to stand, then he stated:

"Black power for black people. We accomplished more than during the 1967 riot. One pig down, and the other one will never be any good."

Baba Oseijemen Adefunmi aka (Serge Eugene King).—Baba O. Adefunmi is a Negro male and was born in Detroit, Mich., on October 5, 1928. Baba Oseijeman Adefunmi is the minister of culture and education for the Republic of New Africa and presently resides at 123 West 142d Street, New York.

Baba Adefunmi is the chief priest of the Yoruba Temple and dean of the Yoruba Academy, 28 West 116th Street, New York, N.Y.

In the January issue of the *Esquire* magazine, Adefunmi was quoted as saying, "My prime commission is to see that false and alien ideas and institutions are discarded. For 15 years, a process of re-Africanization has been going on. Manifestations of this have been the taking of African names and learning African languages. We must become a completely separate nation mentally, spiritually, politically, even in ways of marriage and burials."

Le Roi Jones.—Le Roi Jones is a Negro male, and was born in Newark, N.J., on October 7, 1934. Le Roi Jones is the minister of culture for the Republic of New Africa and presently resides at 33 Sterling Street, Newark, N.J.

Le Roi Jones is a well-known militant author-playwright and poet. (Exhibit Black Arts by Le Roi Jones.)

He was arrested during the Newark, N.J., riots on July 14, 1967, and charged with possession of dangerous weapons.

Maulana Ron Karenga, also known as Ronie McKinley.—Karenga is the former minister of culture for the Republic of New Africa.

Karenga was born in Parsonburg, Md., on July 14, 1941, and presently resides at 6325 Eighth Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.

Karenga graduated September 1964 from the University of California, Los Angeles, with a master's degree in political science.

Karenga is a national leader of "US," a group that is antiwhite, anti-Christian, culturally oriented for the purpose of giving blacks a frame of reference.

Karenga was dropped as a minister of culture when he was unable to give a satisfactory explanation to his organization's (US) involvement in the killing of two Black Panthers on the UCLA campus in January 1969. These killings were evidently a result of a struggle between "US" and the Black Panther Party in order to take over the leadership of the BSU.

Herman Benjamin Ferguson.—Herman Benjamin Ferguson is a Negro male, and was born in Fayetteville, N.C., on December 31, 1920. Herman Benjamin Ferguson is the minister of education for the Republic of New Africa.

Herman Benjamin Ferguson was arrested in New York for conspiracy to commit homicide and anarchy.

Wilbur Grattan, Sr.—Wilbur Grattan, Sr., lives at 12719 Speedway Overland, Cleveland, Ohio, and is the minister of state and foreign affairs.

Grattan was quoted in the January 1969 issue of the *Esquire* magazine as saying, "Our colonized nation existed before the establishment of our government, and those five states are ours. At present, this territory is subjugated. Even before we gain sovereignty over our occupied nation, my ministry serves as guardian over all persons who sympathize with the republic. Our first task is to negotiate treaties of understanding and establish diplomatic relations."

Joan Franklin.—Joan Franklin is the minister of justice for the Republic of New Africa and was born in Detroit, Mich., on January 22, 1938. She presently resides at 150 West 21st Street, New York. Joan Franklin graduated from Wayne State University in Detroit, Mich., and is an attorney by profession.

Joan Franklin is quoted in the January 1969 issue of *Esquire* magazine as saying, "Before appropriate international tribunals, we shall submit these propositions: The United States is exercising an illegal trusteeship over us, is imposing systematic tyranny, has failed to incorporate us into the United States as citizens, and reparations are due us as a result of past and continuing oppressions. The responsibilities of my portfolio include formulation of a legal system and prosecution of spies."

Queen Mother Moore, also known as Audrey Moore, Audley Moore, Audley Warner, Mrs. Jese Angel Cuevas.—

Queen Mother Moore was born in New Orleans, La., on July 28, 1898, and is a Negro female and has one son, born of a common law marriage to a Frank Warner. Moore has been separated from Warner since 1934.

Queen Mother Moore presently resides at 927 Caldwell Avenue, apartment B-4, Bronx, N.Y., and also owns property at Mount Addis Abbaba, Parkville, N.Y.

Queen Mother Moore was active in the Communist Party from 1936 through 1949. The following activities were undertaken by Queen Mother Moore during this period:

November 1938: Candidate for the State assembly, 21st District, on the Communist Party ticket;

1940: Candidate for alderman from the 19th Assembly District on the Communist Party ticket;

March 1941: Executive secretary of the 21st Assembly District, Harlem section, Communist Party;

1942: Campaign manager of the Citizens Nonpartisan Committee to elect well-known Communist, Benjamin Davis, Jr., to the city council;

August 1942: Chairwoman of the Young Communist League, Harlem;

August 1942: Elected member of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party;

December 1942: Member of the New York County Committee of the Communist Party;

May 1944: Member of the resolutions committee at the New York State Communist Party convention;

May 1944: Elected secretary of the Communist Party at New York State convention; and

February 1948: Speaker at the women's State committee convention of the Communist Party.

In more recent years, Queen Mother Moore has attended rallies and meetings of black power groups, including the Malcolm X Society, the Black Panther Party and presently holds Cabinet rank in the "Republic of New Africa" as minister of health and welfare.

Raymond E. Willis also known as Baba Alfunmi.—Raymond E. Willis is a Negro male, and was born in Kansas City, Mo., on August 7, 1936. Raymond E. Willis is the minister of finance for the Republic of New Africa and presently resides at 2667 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.

Raymond E. Willis is presently employed as an accountant at the Detroit Department of Water Supply.

In an explanation in the January 1969 issue of *Esquire* magazine of his role as minister of finance, he was quoted as saying, "In essence,

I'm a comptroller over finances; eventually, we'll have to mint coin and have our own currency. My ministry will also receive and distribute reparations. The tentative figure we have decided upon is that every person is entitled to \$10,000 for past wrongs and damages. Of this, \$4,000 will go to the individual and the other \$6,000 will go to the Republic of New Africa.

Charles W. Enoch.—Charles W. Enoch is a Negro male, and was born on March 27, 1926. He is the deputy minister of information for the Republic of New Africa and presently resides at 18646 Anglin, Detroit, Mich.

Charles W. Enoch is presently employed as a commercial engineer at the U.S. Army Tank Auto Command, located in Warren, Mich.

Charles W. Enoch was the conference coordinator of the national convention of the Malcolm X Society held in Detroit, Mich., on March 30 and 31, 1968.

Leito Franklin Durley.—Deputy minister of information for the Republic of New Africa. Leito Durley was born in Independence, Kans., on March 12, 1933, and presently resides at 9664 Manor, Detroit, Mich.

Durley graduated from Boston University in 1958 with a B.S. degree in public relations, and is the editor of *The New African*, the newspaper of the Republic of New Africa.

Mwesi Chui (also known as John F. Taylor).—Mwesi Chui is the minister of defense for the Republic of New Africa, and was born in Indianapolis, Ind., on December 6, 1926. He is presently residing at 5147 Derby Road, Dayton, Ohio.

He is presently employed as an aerospace engineering technician at Wright Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio.

On July 4, 1968, Taylor was arrested in Detroit for carrying a concealed weapon (CCW). This case is still pending. Taylor had in his possession, when arrested, the following:

1. A pamphlet giving detailed instructions for the manufacture of explosives from readily available chemicals—including construction of simple bombs, thermite, napalm, dust bombs, satchel charges, fuses (both standard and delayed action), et cetera. He also had detailed instruction for converting a 16-gage shotgun into a molotov cocktail launcher and a description of an M-103 heavy tank, its vulnerable points and how to disable or destroy it using molotov cocktails, bazookas, or electric land mines. He also had instructions for derailing or blowing up trains. (Exhibit.)

2. Sketches of proposed uniforms and rules for a newly formed black security group to be known as Mwesi Ndugu. All commands are given to members in Swahili. The purpose of this group is, "To give protection and support to any black group or individual leader working for the black cause." Taylor is a colonel in this group. (Exhibit.)

3. A list of suggested targets was also in the possession of Taylor when he was arrested, and are listed as follows: Government or public buildings, especially police stations, banks, courthouses, post offices, schools, transportation systems themselves and their depots, gas stations, radio and telephone buildings, newspapers, all communication facilities.

Taylor is quoted in the January 1969 issue of *Esquire* as saying—

Our function is to protect ministers, citizens, and property. Our ministry has approval for expansion of the Black Legion, and establishment of an officers' training school. We will raise an army, a police force and navy. If necessary, we'll train abroad, then return with aircraft and missiles. We're preparing, defensively, for the war that will surely take place.

Maxwell Curtis Stanford, Jr.—Maxwell C. Stanford, Jr., is the special ambassador for the Republic of New Africa, and was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on July 31, 1941.

Maxwell Stanford is a former RAM leader and was among those arrested for "conspiracy to murder" nationally prominent civil rights leaders, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young.

Virginia Everlina Collins.—Virginia E. Collins is the vice president of "Region C" and presently lives at 9130 Fig Street, New Orleans, La.

Collins was born on March 4, 1915, in New Orleans, La.

Collins was arrested on November 11, 1963, for taking temporary possession of a business and refusing to move on, and again on February 11, 1969, for interfering with a police officer, resisting arrest, and disturbing the peace.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 600 to 602" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Senator GRIFFIN. In connection with Milton Henry and your biographical data here concerning him, is it a fact that he renounced his U.S. citizenship?

Lieutenant MCCOY. He has never renounced his American citizenship, never officially. Publicly he has never been a citizen of the United States of America.

Senator GRIFFIN. You don't have any documentation on that, do you?

Lieutenant McCoy. I believe in one of the previous exhibits he explains his position, Senator Griffin.

In exhibit 3 from Milton Henry to citizens and delegates, part of the letter dealt with resolution on citizenship. In the third paragraph he wrote:

The news media in many areas have misrepresented the resolution on citizenship passed by our convention. We have taken a position based on a written legal opinion that black people in America have never been citizens of the United States. Therefore, it is impossible to have renounced citizenship since we never have had it before to begin with.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you very much.

Lieutenant McCoy. This concludes my statement on the Republic of New Africa, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. The rest of your statement may be printed in the record.

Lieutenant McCoy. The next is the Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Senator GRIFFIN. Are you moving to another organization?

Let me probe a couple of points here.

On page 27 of your statement, a fellow named Charles W. Enoch, deputy minister of information for the Republic of New Africa, it is noted that he is presently employed as a commercial engineer at the U.S. Army Tank Auto Command, located in Warren, Mich.? Is that correct?

Lieutenant McCoy. From my last check, that I ran on him, that is where he was employed; yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. Then another is John F. Taylor, minister of defense for the Republic of New Africa. I am looking now at the bottom of page 27. Is he presently employed as an aerospace engineering technician at the Wright Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio?

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. He is a minister of defense of the Republic of New Africa.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct the staff to check that out with the Department of Defense and ascertain if this is correct with respect to the two individuals that the Senator has referred to as being presently employed by the Government.

(As of July 1, 1969, Charles W. Enoch was still employed by the U.S. Army Tank Auto Command, Warren, Mich. John F. Taylor was reported to be still employed at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio.)

Senator GRIFFIN. Then on page 26 of your statement, Raymond E. Willis is identified as minister of finance for the Republic of Africa and is listed as being employed at the Detroit Department of Water Supply. Is that right?

Lieutenant McCoy. That is correct.

(Additional information supplied by Lt. William McCoy re Raymond E. Willis follows:)

As of July 1, 1969, Raymond E. Willis is no longer employed by the Detroit Department of Water Supply as an accountant. Willis is presently employed as a senior accountant with the City's Comptroller's Office, Detroit, Michigan.

Senator GRIFFIN. Has there ever been any information testified to indicate that part of the tactics of this or any other group that you are testifying about might be to in some way disrupt or do anything to the water supply of the city?

Lieutenant McCoy. Along with the rest of the utilities; yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. You have some information that that is their tactics?

Lieutenant McCoy. This is contained in many of their publications, when they conduct their urban guerrilla warfare, to attempt to knock out the utilities of the various cities.

Senator GRIFFIN. To get control they knock out the utilities and the water department?

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Lieutenant McCoy. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The local chapter of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) closed their office located at 13323 Dexter in the late spring of 1968. It has been inactive as an organization since that time.

On April 25 through 27, 1969, the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizations (IFCO) sponsored a National Black Eco-

conomic Development Conference (NBEDC) in Detroit on the campus of Wayne State University. Approximately 500 persons attended this conference. The majority in attendance were from out of State.

Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizations is a coalition of Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic leaders who have joined together to raise funds to finance the establishment of black businesses in the inner city.

On April 26, 1969, James Forman, the director of international affairs of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, delivered to the conference the "Black Manifesto."

When Forman spoke, many of the conferees had left to attend a workshop in a different area. Consequently, Forman was able to pull off a "coup" in passing a resolution to adopt the "Black Manifesto" as the basis of the conference. Forman's followers shouted down any opposition to the "Manifesto" amongst the conferees.

Exhibit No. 1 is a copy of the South End, the Wayne State University student newspaper, dated May 1, 1969, which contains James Forman's introduction of the "Black Manifesto" and the "Black Manifesto" in their entirety.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 603" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant McCoy. In the introduction Forman refers to the militant black nationalist as black power pimps and fraudulent leaders.

We live inside the United States which is the most barbaric country in the world and we have a chance to help bring this country down; no oppressed people ever gained their liberation until they were ready to fight to use whatever means necessary including the use of force and power of the gun to bring down the colonizer.

The manifesto demands \$500 million, which is now \$3 billion from the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. "This total comes to \$15 per nigger."

The CHAIRMAN. He did not use that term, did he?

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, he did, sir. Those are not my words. Those are his words.

The following persons were elected to the "steering committee," and I will give the background information available to me on each as I go down the list.

The CHAIRMAN. The names may be printed in the record and the background as part of your testimony.

Lieutenant McCoy. *Steering Committee—National Black Economic Development Conference.*—Lucious Walker; Renny Freeman; Luke Tripp; Howard Fuller; James Forman; John Watson; Dan Aldridge; John Williams; Ken Cockrell; Chuck Wooten; Fannie Lou Hamer; Julian Bond; Mark Comfort; Earl Allen; Robert Brown; Vincent Harding; Mike Hamlin; Len Holt; Peter Bernard; Michael Wright; Muhammed Kenyatta; Mel Jackson; Howard Moore; Harold Holmes.

Rev. Lucious Walker.—Lucious Walker is a Negro male, born April 8, 1930. In 1967 he moved from Wisconsin to New York City, address unknown.

On April 25-27, 1969, he was the chairman and moderator at the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

Lorenzo Freeman.—Lorenzo Freeman is a Negro male, 5 foot 9 inches, 155 pounds, born April 2, 1934, and presently resides at 4224 Commonwealth, Detroit. He was born and raised on the South Side of Chicago, Ill., and attended Carver High School.

Lorenzo Freeman worked several years with Chicago's Saul Alinsky's group, the Woodlawn organization, and its sister association, the North West Community organization.

He came to Detroit in 1964 to finish his education at Wayne State University. While at WSU, he joined the West Central organization (WCO) and quit the University. In 1967, he became staff director of WCO.

In 1967, Freeman was appointed to the New Detroit Committee and was also vice chairman of an organization, federation for self-determination headed by Rev. Albert Cleage. In January 1968, the federation refused to accept a \$100,000 grant from the New Detroit Committee because of the strings attached.

A reliable source reported that Freeman was active in the sanitation strike in Tampa, Fla., in July of 1968.

Lorenzo Freeman joined the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizations (IFCO) in New York as the assistant director in October of 1968, after resigning from WCO.

On April 25-27, 1969, he was the director on the national planning board for the national black economic development conference held at Wayne State University.

On May 24, 1969, he attended a meeting of the steering committee of the national black economic development conference (NBEDC) at the Metro Inn, 8600 Merriman. He was with Kenneth Cockrell, Michael Hamlin, and John Watson.

Luke Tripp.—Luke Tripp is a Negro male, 5 feet 10 inches, 170 pounds, born February 6, 1941, in Atoka, Tenn. He presently resides at 9363 Richter, Detroit.

In June 1959, Tripp graduated from St. Catherine High School, Detroit. In December 1966, he received a B.S. degree from Wayne State University.

The first contact with Luke Tripp came June 29, 1963, when he and his organization Uhuru (Swahili for freedom) picketed Kroger Stores, protesting discriminatory hiring policies. On July 13, 1963, subject participated in a demonstration in front of police headquarters with GOAL, (group on advanced leadership). On August 1, 1963, his group Uhuru staged a sit-in at the mayor's office, protesting police brutality. On October 15, 1963, Tripp was arrested for creating a disturbance at a public meeting on October 11, 1963, for jeering at the playing of the national anthem during a rally involving Olympic torch runners, at the city county building, Detroit.

In June 1964, subject traveled to Cuba in violation of the U.S. Department of State ban, at which time he denounced the United States.

On July 15, 1966, Luke Tripp filed as a conscientious objector with his local draft board No. 90, Detroit, indicating he believed in Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse Tung.

In 1967, he went to Montreal, Canada, to evade the draft.

In 1968, he was the news editor of the Inner City Voice newspaper located at 8661 Grand River, Detroit. On October 24, 1968, he ad-

dressed the South End Forum (Wayne State University newspaper), as the minister of information of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and local coordinator of the Eldridge Cleaver for President campaign.

On April 25-27, 1969, he attended the national black economic development conference NBEDC at Wayne State University, and was listed as a staff member.

Luke Tripp has been associated with known militants General Gordon Baker (drum-dodge revolutionary union movement) and Charles Simmons III (Uhuru-Swahili for freedom). Simmons and Baker both went to Cuba with Tripp. He also has been associated with the congress of racial equality (CORE), revolutionary action movement (RAM) and the Friday night socialist forum (FNSF).

Howard Fuller.—Howard Fuller is from Durham, N.C. and on April 25-27, 1969, was in attendance at the national black economic development conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit. Further, he is listed on the national planning board of the NBEDC.

James Rufus Forman.—James Forman is a Negro male, 40, born in Chicago, Ill., on October 4, 1928. He resides at 274 East 10th Street, New York City, N.Y.

Aliases of James Forman are James Forman, Jr., James Foreman, Jim Forman, James Fourman.

James Forman was the executive secretary of SNCC from 1961 to 1966. Presently, he is director of international affairs of SNCC. Their headquarters are at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N.Y.

On September 2, 1967, he addressed the black caucus meeting of the National Conference of New Politics in Chicago, Ill., concerning need for revolution in Africa.

In 1967, he visited Russia and then went to Tanzania, Africa with Howard Moore. SNCC is reported to have an office in Tanzania.

On February 2, 1968, he spoke at a rally at the Los Angeles sports arena, Los Angeles, Calif., for Dr. Benjamin Spock. He called for the right of the Vietnamese to have a war of liberation and for the replacement of the peace movement with the antiwar movement. Also, in February 1968, he announced plans to merge SNCC into the Black Panthers during a speech in Oakland, Calif. Then in August 1968 with the expulsion of Stokely Carmichael from SNCC, the end of the merger was announced.

On April 25-27, 1969, he attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit, and there delivered the Black Manifesto.

John Kenneth Watson.—John Watson is a Negro male, 5 feet, 9 inches, 135 pounds, and was born in Detroit, Mich. on January 11, 1944. He presently resides at 106 Puritan, Highland Park, Mich.

He graduated from Cass Tech High School in Detroit in 1961. He has attended Wayne State University, studying prelaw for two terms and left the university in 1966.

In 1962 John Watson was arrested in Charleston, Mo., during a civil rights demonstration, but was not prosecuted. On October 15, 1963, he was arrested in Detroit along with Luke Tripp and John Williams for jeering at the playing of the national anthem during a rally involving Olympic torch runners at the city county building, Detroit, on Octo-

ber 11, 1963. He was acquitted at his trial. On February 14, 1969, he was arrested for assault and battery at 90 West Warren (office of the South End), for striking a TV news reporter. He was found not guilty at a jury trial.

He has been associated with Gen. Gordon Baker (Drum-Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement), Charles Simmons III (Uhuru-Swahili for Freedom), Luke Tripp (BPP-Black Panther Party), and Mike Hamlin (NBEDC-National Black Economic Development Conference).

During 1968, Watson was editor of the Inner City Voice newspaper located at 8661 Grand River. Also in 1968, he was appointed editor of the South End, the Wayne State University newspaper.

On December 18, 1968, Watson attended the Second National Congress of the Italian Proletarian Party for Socialist Unity (PSIUP) that was held in Naples, Italy.

On December 24, 1968, he attended a student protest meeting at Turin University, Turin, Italy. Reportedly, he illustrated to student the mechanics of making a Molotov cocktail bomb.

On February 6, 1969, the South End newspaper reported, John Watson and Mike Hamlin (central committee members of Drum and editor in chief and senior editor, respectively of the South End) had met with National Liberation Front (NLF) representatives in Windsor, Canada. Both groups expressed solidarity with each other's struggles.

On April 25-27, 1969, Watson was in attendance at the National Black Economic Development Conference at Wayne State University where James Forman delivered the Black Manifesto.

On May 24, 1969, John Watson attended a meeting of the steering committee of the NBEDC at the Metro Inn, 8600 Merriman. Also at the meeting were Kenneth Cockrell, Lorenzo Freeman, and Michael Hamlin.

On June 7, 1969, Watson in company with Mike Hamlin, had a meeting with the board members of the Presbytery at 10600 Puritan, where demands were made regarding the NBEDC being given the Vacant Redeemer Presbyterian Church at 2764 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit, for the national headquarters of the NBEDC. They further demanded \$50,000 in order to fix the church and to start a school, kindergarten to 12th grade. The demands were refused.

Daniel W. Aldridge.—Daniel Aldridge is a Negro male, 5 feet 11 inches, 175 pounds, born February 23, 1942, and is presently living at 12659 Monica, Detroit.

In 1966, Aldridge graduated from Tennessee A & I with a B.S. degree. In September 1966 he was doing postgraduate work at Wayne State University in urban planning.

On August 30, 1967, he was a speaker at a citywide citizens, action committee (CCAC) meeting held at 7625 Linwood (Reverend Cleago's Church).

In 1967, Dan Aldridge was a substitute teacher for the Detroit Board of Education.

On November 8, 1967, he applied to Civil Service Commission for a position as junior community services assistant. He gave references of Lonnie Peek (militant associated with SNCC and ABS) (Association of Black Students) and Dorothy Dewberry (militant associated with SNCC).

On January 7, 1968, Daniel Aldridge was a speaker at the West Central organization fund raising benefit at the Teamsters Hall, 2740 Trumbull, Detroit. In this speech, Aldridge remarked: "I would go back to Africa but I would have to fight there also. Here is the best place to fight. If you have to fight don't wait for leftists to bring you arms. Whites and blacks cannot get along. Black people had better think about destruction." "We cannot be by ourselves as long as the 7th Fleet, the 1st Cavalry, and the 101st Airborne exists." "Third world—black nations must unite internationally. Black revolutionaries, don't depend on white corporations. Self-examination is needed. Form something similar to the National Liberation Front in North Vietnam. Recruit specialists in guns and demolition from black GI's returning home from Vietnam." "America must be destroyed for the sake of the rest of the world."

On February 8, 1968, he was the chairman of the Malcolm X memorial day committee.

On March 20, 1968, he participated with SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) during a demonstration at Kennedy Square and the J. L. Hudson Co.

Information was received from a reliable source, that on August 15, 1968, Aldridge was a leader of SNCC.

On October 12, 1968, he attended a Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) meeting at Wayne State University.

On April 3, 1969, he was the chairman for the Black United Front (BUF), and along with 400 members of various groups, demonstrated in Kennedy Square, Detroit, in support of Judge Crockett.

On April 25-27, 1969, he attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

On April 25, 1969, he spoke at the conference, advocating the overthrow of the present system of government in the United States, saying the only way we are going to achieve success is by taking such action, including the use of violence if necessary. He further stated that black people ought to be engaged in projects such as the LRBW (League of Revolutionary Black Workers). (The league is a black militant labor union attempting to oust the UAW and teamsters unions as bargaining representatives for black workers.) That the goals of the LRBW are to learn the total management and operation of the automobile industries, to eventually take them over, run them for a while and then close them down. That the plants have to be closed to destroy capitalism.

On May 1, 1969, he participated in a free Huey Newton Black Panther Party rally at the Detroit Federal building.

Presently, Daniel Aldridge is working for the city of Detroit on the Mayor's Commission for Human Development.

John Williams.—John Williams is a Negro-male, 5 feet, 10 inches, 175 pounds, born August 25, 1939, in Lake Charles, La. He is presently living at 16566 Stoepel, Detroit.

On October 14, 1963, John Williams was arrested for disturbing the peace at a public meeting on October 11, 1963, for jeering the playing of the national anthem at a rally involving Olympic torch runners at the city county building, Detroit. At the time of the disruption of the rally, he was in the company of John Watson and Luke Tripp.

John Williams is the minister of research for the Black Panther Party in Detroit. He is active in the Young Socialist Alliance and the Friday Night Socialist Forum and the Dodge Revolutionary Union movement. He was also active in group on advanced leadership and the Revolutionary Action Movement when they were active.

On February 14, 1969, Williams was in attendance at a Black Panther meeting at St. Josephs Church, 31 King, Detroit.

On April 25-27, 1969, subject was in attendance at the National Black Economic Development Conference at Wayne State University, where James Forman delivered the Black Manifesto.

John Williams is presently the principal of the Santa Marie School at 11363 Cardoni, Detroit. The school has 30 students and 5 employees, including general Gordon Baker (in exile), who was the bus driver. This school was given a \$100,000 grant from the Archdiocese of Detroit.

Kenneth Vern Cockrell.—Kenneth Cockrell is a Negro male, 6 feet, 152 pounds, born November 5, 1938, and resides at 2956 Leslie, Detroit.

Kenneth Cockrell from 1955 to 1959 was a member of the U.S. Air Force.

In 1964, Cockrell graduated from Wayne State University with a B.A. degree in political science. Then in 1967 he graduated from WSU Law School.

In January 1966, he unsuccessfully ran for State representative from the 11th Congressional District.

On October 11, 1968, Cockrell was a speaker at a Black Panther meeting at St. Josephs Church, 31 King, Detroit.

On April 25-27, 1969, he was listed as being on the national planning board of the National Black Economic Development Conference and was in attendance at this conference at Wayne State University.

On May 1, 1969, he took part in the Free Huey Newton rally at the Detroit Federal Building, sponsored by the Black Panther Party.

On May 24, 1969, Cockrell, along with John Watson, Lorenzo Freeman, and Michael Hamlin, attended a meeting of the steering committee of the NBEDC at the Metro Inn, 8600 Merriman.

Kenneth Cockrell is one of the attorneys representing Alfred Hibbitt for the shooting of a Detroit police officer during the New Bethel Church incident (RNA rally). On May 26, 1969, he was cited for contempt of court for the names he called the court and the judge, regarding procedures of Hibbitt's examination. (Racist pirate judge.) Each day after the contempt hearings, he held a rally in Kennedy Square, Detroit, telling people how racist the white courts are. Some of the persons in attendance at these rallies were Milton Henry, lawyers from the National Lawyers Guild, Black Panthers, members of the RNA, Frank Ditto, and Peter Werbe (editor of the 5th Estate newspaper).

Kenneth Cockrell is associated with various members of the RNA, BPP, NBEDC, and he is an ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) board member.

Kenneth Cockrell is attached to the law firm of Revitz, Moore & Pitts, located at 1756 Penobscot Building, Detroit.

Charles Jesse Wooten.—Charles Wooten is a Negro male, 28, 5 feet 8 inches, 148 pounds, date of birth September 21, 1940. He presently lives at 20048 Monte Vista.

He is one of the original founders of DRUM, an organization of militant black workers at Chrysler's Dodge main plant, Hamtramck, Mich.

He is now connected with the League for Revolutionary Black Workers, an organization comprising DRUM and ELRUM (Eldon Avenue Revolutionary Union Movement). Wooten filed the petition with assumed names in the city of Detroit for the LRBW located at 9049 Oakland, Detroit.

In July 1968, he participated in a demonstration sponsored by DRUM at the Hamtramck assembly plant.

On July 12, 1968, he was named in a restraining order to keep from picketing and harassing employees at the Hamtramck assembly plant.

On February 13, 1969, he was discharged from Dodge main assembly plant for misconduct. He struck a supervisor.

Fannie Lou Hamer.—On April 25–27, 1969, she attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

She is one of the originators of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in 1964 who attempted to unseat the regular delegates to the National Democratic Party Convention in Atlantic City, N.J.

Julian Bond.—Julian Bond is presently a Georgia State legislator and on April 25–27, 1969, attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

On April 26, 1969, during the conference, he delivered a speech entitled "Modernization of Agriculture: The Significance of Economic Growth for the Southern Black Man."

During the speech he talked about the role of landownership in its relationship to freedom. He stated that the racist FHA refused to provide money for land procurements by requiring ridiculous credit standards, and the farmers in southwestern Alabama have formed their own co-op. He also stated that racism would almost impede any progress of black people in obtaining land and economic independence.

Mark Comfort.—On April 25–27, 1969, he attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

From a reliable source, it was learned Mark Comfort is involved in the Oakland Defense Action Committee.

Earl E. Allen.—Earl Allen lives at 2751 Lyons Avenue, Houston, Tex.

On April 25–27, 1969, he attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

In June 1969, he was elected president of Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizations.

Robert Browne.—Robert Browne lives at 214 Tryon Avenue, Teaneck, N.J.

On April 25–27, 1969, Prof. Robert Browne of Farleigh-Dickinson College, New Jersey, speaking on economic matters, gave the keynote address at the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

Vincent Harding.—On April 25–27, 1969, he attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

Michael C. Hamlin.—Michael C. Hamlin is a Negro male, 6 feet 1 inch, 205 pounds, born October 17, 1935, and presently resides at 3700 South Ethel.

Subject is presently employed as a truckdriver for the Detroit News.

On July 16, 1968, Hamlin was the business manager for the Inner City Voice newspaper at 8661 Grand River, Detroit.

On February 6, 1969, the South End newspaper reported, John Watson and Mike Hamlin (central committee members of DRUM and editor in chief and senior editor, respectively, of the South End) had met in Windsor, Canada, with the National Liberation Front representatives to Havana. Both groups expressed solidarity with each other's struggles.

On April 25-27, 1969, Hamlin was in attendance at the National Black Economic Development Conference at Wayne State University where James Forman delivered the Black Manifesto.

On May 24, 1969, subject attended a meeting of the steering committee of the NBEDC at the Metro Inn, 8600 Merriman. Also in attendance were Kenneth Cockrell, Lorenzo Freeman, and John Watson.

On June 7, 1969, Hamlin, in company with John Watson, had a meeting with the board members of the Presbytery at 10600 Puritan, where demands were made regarding the NBEDC. They further demanded \$50,000 to repair the church and to start a school, kindergarten to 12th grade. The demands were refused.

Michael Hamlin is the education chairman on the executive and central committees of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

Len Holt.—On April 25-27, 1969, he attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

Peter Bernard.—On April 25-27, 1969, he attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

Michael Wright.—Michael Wright is reported to be a student at San Francisco State College and on April 25-27, 1969, attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

Muhammed Kenyatta.—Kenyatta lives in Jackson, Miss., and on April 25-27, 1969, attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

Mel Jackson.—Mel Jackson is a Negro male living at 1713 Third, Dayton, Ohio.

On April 25-27, 1969, representing the Dayton organization, he attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

Howard Moore.—Howard Moore is a Negro male, born February 28, 1932, and resides at 859½ Hunter Street NW., Atlanta, Ga. He is an attorney in Atlanta, Ga.

From a reliable source, Howard Moore has represented SNCC officials in the past, such as H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael.

In March 1967, he held a fundraising party at this home for SNCC.

In July 1967, he and James Forman traveled to Africa together.

On April 12-14, 1968, he spoke at the National Black Anti-War,

Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU) at the Diplomat Hotel, New York City, N. Y., regarding resisting the draft.

On July 19-21, 1968, a meeting of NBAWADU was held in Atlanta, Ga., which was sponsored by the Southern Legal Aid project of which Moore is the leader.

On October 23-30, 1968, he with a group of clergymen and laymen visited Paris, France, and Stockholm, Sweden, in connection with Americans who deserted from the military and are now living in France and Sweden.

On May 26, 1969, Kenneth Cockrell was cited for contempt of court regarding names he called the court. Howard Moore was one of the attorneys representing Cockrell during this contempt hearing.

On April 25-27, 1969, he attended the National Black Economic Development Conference at Wayne State University, Detroit.

Harold Holmes: Subject lives in Chicago, Ill., and on April 25-27, 1969, attended the National Black Economic Development Conference held at Wayne State University, Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed with the next group.

Lieutenant McCoy. The next group is the Black Panther Party. The Detroit chapter of the Black Panther Party was organized in the late summer of 1968.

On December 18, 1968, a reliable source furnished me with the following list of the "Central Committee of the Detroit Black Panther Party" and the positions these people held:

Deputy chairman, Victor Stuart, colored male, date of birth, February 5, 1952; deputy minister of defense, Edward R. Harrison, Jr., colored male, date of birth, December 6, 1937; deputy minister of information, Luke Samuel Tripp, colored male, date of birth, February 6, 1941; deputy minister of education, Leonard Duane Brown, colored male, date of birth, July 27, 1945; vice deputy minister of education, Marian Kramer, colored female, date of birth, June 16, 1944; deputy minister of finance, Cassandra Smith, colored female, date of birth, September 29, 1944; deputy minister of justice, Ronald Carey Scott, colored male, date of birth, May 9, 1947; communications secretary, Joan Huckstep (Joan Hardy), colored female, date of birth, June 16, 1951; minister of research, John Williams, colored male, date of birth, August 25, 1938-39; field marshal, George Sams, colored male, date of birth, April 23, 1946.

The following pages include background information I have on the following people.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received and printed in the record as part of your testimony.

Lieutenant McCoy. *Victor Stuart, deputy chairman.*—Victor Stuart was born on February 5, 1952 and is a Negro male, he resides at 1438 West Euclid, Detroit, Mich.

Subject is presently an 11th grade student at Cass Tech High School, Detroit, Mich., and is a member of the Afro-American Club at the school.

Stuart was a guest speaker at the "militant forum" on February 28, 1969 held at 3737 Woodward, headquarters of the Young Socialist Alliance and the "Socialist Labor Party."

On May 1, 1969, subject was observed at a Black Panther Party demonstration held at the Federal Building, Detroit, Mich. Purpose of this demonstration was to demand the release of Huey Newton on bond pending his appeal of a manslaughter conviction in the slaying of an Oakland, Calif. police officer. At the time of Newton's arrest he was minister of defense, Black Panther Party central headquarters, Oakland, Calif.

Victor Stuart is reported to be deputy chairman, Black Panther Party, Detroit area.

Edward Ray Harrison, Jr., also known as "Cali", deputy minister of defense.—Edward Harrison, Jr. was born on December 6, 1937 and is a Negro male, 6 feet and 185 pounds.

Harrison presently resides at 26410 Hopkins, Inkster, Mich., and is employed at the Ford Engine Plant (Rouge department 6612).

Harrison is known as an organizer for the Detroit area Black Panther Party and is also reported to be the deputy minister of defense.

Subject participated in Malcolm X Society Convention held in Detroit, Mich. on March 30 and 31 of 1968, and also took part in a Black Panther Party demonstration to "Free Huey Newton" at the Federal Building, Detroit, Mich. on May 1, 1969. Harrison also took part in a demonstration in recorder's court in the city of Detroit on May 21, 1969, in support of Negro attorney Kenneth Cockrell, charged with contempt of court.

Luke Tripp, deputy minister of information.—Luke Tripp is a Negro male, 5 feet 10 inches, 170 pounds, born February 6, 1941 in Atoka, Tenn. He presently resides at 9363 Richter, Detroit.

In June 1959, Tripp graduated from St. Catherine High School, Detroit. In December 1966, he received a B.S. degree from Wayne State University.

The first contact with Luke Tripp came June 29, 1963, when he and his organization Uhuru picketed Kroger Stores, protesting discriminatory hiring policies. On July 13, 1963, subject participated in a demonstration in front of police headquarters with GOAL. On August 1, 1963, his group, Uhuru, staged a sit in at the mayor's office, protesting police brutality. On October 15, 1963, Tripp was arrested for creating a disturbance at a public meeting on October 11, 1963, for jeering at the playing of the national anthem during a rally involving Olympic torch runners, at the City-County Building, Detroit.

In June 1964, subject traveled to Cuba in violation of the U.S. Department of State ban, at which time he denounced the United States.

On July 15, 1966, Luke Tripp filed as a conscientious objector with his local draft board No. 90, Detroit, indicating he believed in Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung.

In 1967, he went to Montreal, Canada, to evade the draft.

In 1968, he was the news editor of the Inner City Voice newspaper located at 8661 Grand River, Detroit. On October 24, 1968, he addressed the South End Forum (Wayne State University newspaper), as the minister of information of the Black Panther Party and local coordinator of the Eldridge Cleaver for president campaign.

On April 25-27, 1969, he attended the National Black Economic Development Conference at Wayne State University, and was listed as a staff member.

Luke Tripp has been associated with known militants General Gordon Baker (Drum-Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement) and Charles Simmons III (Uhuru). Simmons and Baker both went to Cuba with Tripp. He also has been associated with the Congress of Racial Equality, Revolutionary Action Movement and the Friday Night Socialist Forum.

Leonard Duane Brown.—Leonard Brown was born in Memphis, Tenn., on July 27, 1945, and is a Negro male, 5 feet 9 inches, 195 pounds. Brown now resides at 2701 Sturtevant and is a student at DIT (Detroit Institute of Technology).

Subject is reported to be deputy minister of education for the Black Panther Party, Detroit area.

Brown conducts classes in political education for new Black Panther Party members in MacKenzie Hall of Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich., and is also reported to be giving instruction in self-defense.

Marian Jeanette Kramer.—Marian Kramer was born in Baton Rouge, La. on June 16, 1944 and is a Negro female, 5 feet 2 inches, 115 pounds. Subject is married to David Kramer and resides at 4708 Lincoln, Detroit, Mich.

Subject formerly worked for CORE while living in the New Orleans-Jonesboro area of Louisiana.

Subject Kramer first came to the attention of this department in September of 1966 during a WCO demonstration conducted at 5778 Hobart against the Detroit Housing Commission. On September 19, 1966 subject was arrested for felonious assault during one of these demonstrations and a warrant was secured. This charge was subsequently dismissed without prejudice by Judge Robert Colombo of recorder's court on June 7, 1967.

Subject is now reported to be vice minister of education for the Black Panther Party, Detroit area, and is on the subscription staff of the militant Detroit newspaper, "The Inner City Voice."

Cassandra Smith.—Cassandra Smith was born on September 29, 1944 and is a Negro female. She now lives at 8771 Dumbarton, apartment 409, Detroit, Mich.

Subject is reported to be deputy minister of finance for the Black Panther Party of Detroit and is presently a full-time employee of the NBEDC.

Subject has also been affiliated with the "South End" newspaper of Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich.

Ronald Carey Scott.—Ronald Scott was born on May 9, 1947 and is a Negro male, 5 feet, 11 inches, 175 pounds.

Scott now resides at 3501 John C. Lodge (Jeffries Projects), Detroit, Mich., and is a former employee of the National Bank of Detroit, computer section.

On December 13, 1968 subject drove to Toronto, Canada, with known militants John Belfon, Theodore Guss and Leonard Brown. It is believed they attended a Black Power Conference held in that city on December 14 and 15, 1968.

On February 3, 1969 subject was picket captain at the Jeffries Project during a demonstration to protest rent increases. This demonstration was sponsored by the "Jeffries Action Committee."

Subject is reported to be deputy minister of justice for the Black Panther Party, Detroit area.

Joan Huckstep also known as Joan Hardy.—Joan Huckstep was born on June 16, 1951 and is a Negro female, 5 feet, 6 inches, 125 pounds.

She is presently living at 12605 Stoppel (Upper), telephone 931-2295, and is employed as a dance instructor at Martin Luther High School, Detroit, Mich., under a Federal grant.

Subject is reported to be communications secretary of the Black Panther Party, Detroit area, and has been associated with known militants General Gordon Baker and Stuart House and his wife, Gloria House.

Subject took part in a demonstration on March 18, 1969, at the Board of Education, Detroit, Mich., at which time a confrontation took place between the demonstrators and the police. Five Negro males were arrested at this time, and one warrant was secured for trespass against a Danny Williams, Negro male, 18, of 1967 Gladstone, same address as that of General Gordon Baker.

John Williams.—John Williams is a Negro male, 5 feet 10 inches, 175 pounds, born August 25, 1938 or 1939, in Lake Charles, La. He is presently living at 16566 Stoppel, Detroit.

On October 14, 1963, John Williams was arrested for disturbing the peace at a public meeting on October 11, 1963, for jeering the playing of the National Anthem at a rally involving Olympic torch runners at the City County Building, Detroit. At the time of the disruption of the rally, he was with John Watson and Luke Tripp.

John Williams is the minister of research for the Black Panther Party in Detroit. He is active in the Young Socialist Alliance and the Friday Night Socialist Forum and the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement. He was also active in Group on Advanced Leadership and the Revolutionary Action Movement when they were active.

On February 14, 1969, Williams was in attendance at a Black Panther meeting at St. Josephs Church, 31 King, Detroit.

On April 25-27, 1969, subject was in attendance at the National Black Economic Development Conference at Wayne State University, where James Forman delivered the black manifesto.

John Williams is presently the principal of the Santa Marie School at 11363 Cardoni, Detroit. The school has 30 students and five employees, including General Gordon Baker—in exile—who was the busdriver. This school was given a \$100,000 grant from the Archdiocese of Detroit.

George Sams, Jr.—George Sams, Jr., was born on April 23, 1946, and is a Negro male, 5 feet 8 inches, 160 pounds. His last known address was at 367 Monterey Ave., Highland Park, Mich.

On February 12, 1963, Sams was committed to a mental hospital as a deranged person. In the period of 1966 through 1968 Sams has been arrested for several offenses, including tampering with an auto, breaking and entering a business place, drunk, possession of an unregistered firearm, and at the present time is wanted by Canada for an immigration violation. Sams currently is also wanted by the New Haven, Conn., Police Department for the murder of a Black Panther member in the New Haven area.

On January 13, 1968, Sams attended a Black Panther meeting in

Toronto, Canada, and is reportedly a field marshal for the Black Panther Party, Detroit area.

Black Panther Party: The following people are some of the members of the Detroit Black Panther Party chapter:

Jackie Spicer, Leonard Le Andre Allen, Charles Cole Diggs III, Frankie Willie Myers, Stuart William House, Theodore Cornelius Guss, Anita Hartman.

Jacquelyn Eugenia Spicer also known as Jackie Spicer.—Jacquelyn Spicer was born on February 14, 1942, and is a Negro female, 5 feet 8 inches and weighs 142 pounds. Spicer presently lives at 13529 Dequindre, Detroit, Mich.

Spicer is reported to be the girl friend of George Sams, national enforcer for the Black Panther Party, and now wanted for murder in New Haven, Conn.

On June 12, 1969, Michael Baynham, Negro male, 20, defense captain of the Black Panther Party, Detroit area, shot and killed himself in the hallway of 13529 Dequindre while with the subject Spicer and using her gun. The gun used however has not been recovered and Baynham's death is still being investigated.

It is reported that as of June 19, 1969, subject has taken over as minister of communications, Black Panther Party, Detroit area, and high level meetings are being held in her home.

Leonard Le Andre Allen: Leonard L. Allen was born on August 2, 1947, and is a Negro male, 5 feet 8 inches and 145 pounds. Allen presently resides at 3023 Clements, Detroit, Mich.

Allen is now enrolled as a student at Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich., as a math major. On November 5, 1968, Allen wrote an article in the Wayne State University newspaper, *The South End*, titled "Revolutionary Reflections." February 18, 1969, Allen was guest speaker at an association of black students meeting held at Wayne State University.

Allen is a former employee of the "United Parcel Service," a package delivery firm in Detroit, Mich. While employed there, Allen was an active member in a group known as UPRUM (united parcel revolutionary union movement). UPRUM is a branch of several revolutionary union movement organizations located in Detroit area auto plants who take a strong militant and antiemployer type position. Allen has written articles in Wayne State University's newspaper, *The South End*, in favor of UPRUM and their activities.

Charles Cole Diggs III.—Charles Cole Diggs III is a Negro male, 5 feet 8 inches, and presently resides at 2522 West Boston Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.

On May 1, 1969, Charles Diggs III took part in a Black Panther rally and demonstration at the Detroit Federal Building to support the release on bond of Huey Newton, minister of defense for the Black Panther Party headquarters, Oakland, Calif.

On May 21, 1969, Charles Diggs III took part in a Black Panther demonstration at recorder's court in the city of Detroit in support of attorney Kenneth Cockrell. Attorney Cockrell had been charged with contempt of court.

On April 18, 1969, a Black Panther Party newsletter listed Diggs as the "lieutenant of information."

Frankie Willie Myers.—Frankie Myers was born on February 19, 1938 and is a Negro male, 152 pounds, 5 feet 11½ inches, and presently lives at 2550 Stanley, Detroit, Mich.

Frankie Myers is a member of the Black Panther Party, Detroit area, and has the responsibility for the distribution of the Black Panther newspaper in the Detroit area.

Stuart William House also known as William Stuart House.—Stuart William House was born on September 11, 1946 and is a Negro male, 5 feet 10 inches, 160 pounds and presently resides at 16595 Baylis, Detroit, Mich.

In March 1965, House was a member of the council of federated organizations and was arrested for disturbing the peace during a protest demonstration in Tallulah, La. House is reported to be a member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and has spent several years in Selma and Lowndes County, Ala., taking part in protest demonstrations and independent black political campaigns.

House has been employed by the "Mayor's Committee for Human Resources," Detroit, Mich and for the Office of Economic Opportunity, Pontiac, Mich.

House is reported to be a member of the Black Panther Party, Detroit area.

Theodore Cornelius Guss.—Theodore C. Guss was born on October 21, 1947, and is a Negro male, 5 feet, 8 inches and 165 pounds. Guss is presently living at 18025 Warrington, Detroit, Mich. Guss is employed at Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich. and is reported to be a member of the Black Panther Party, Detroit area, and the Afro-American Association.

Guss is an associate of General Gordon Baker, Detroit area militant, and has taken part in protest demonstrations at Detroit area schools.

On December 13, 1968 Guss was identified as taking part in a Black Panther rally and meeting in Toronto, Canada.

On August 14, 1968 Guss was arrested for larceny from a store in Detroit, Mich.

Anita Dianne Hartman.—Anita Dianne Hartman is a Negro female, born on February 14, 1947 and presently resides at 188 East Buena Vista, Detroit, Mich.

Hartman is currently a student at Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich.

On June 5, 1969 Anita Hartman was arrested at the Black Panther Party headquarters in Detroit, Mich. for possession of stolen property. (Warrant was denied.) Anita Hartman has been identified as an office worker in the Black Panther Party headquarters, Detroit, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any exhibits?

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the exhibits be received. You may present them and let them be received and appropriately numbered.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 604" for reference, and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. All right, have you examined the chart of the Black Panther organization in Detroit that the committee has? Have you examined that chart?

Lieutenant McCoy. I believe I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you see the chart from there?

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, I can.

The CHAIRMAN. Examine it and state if it is accurate.

Lieutenant McCoy. It is accurate.

The CHAIRMAN. You have examined it before?

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the chart you have examined and found to be accurate with respect to the names of the officials and their positions?

Lieutenant McCoy. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the Black Panther Party of Detroit, is that correct?

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Let the chart be received as exhibit 605.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 605" for reference and faces p. 4442.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other exhibits that you wish to present?

Lieutenant McCoy. No, sir; that is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Lieutenant McCoy, I want to express to you our appreciation. Your cooperation has been very helpful and your statement is most informative. I know it took a great deal of effort on the part of you and your assistants to present a statement that would cover as much as you have included in it.

Are there any questions, Senator Griffin?

Senator GRIFFIN. Lieutenant, I notice one of the names included in the list of Black Panther members, according to your testimony, is Stuart William House. You say House is reported to be a member of the Black Panther Party in the Detroit area. Then you say that House has been employed in the Office of Economic Opportunity, Pontiac, Mich. When you say he has been employed, do you mean—

Lieutenant McCoy. The last contact we had with Stuart House was fairly recently. I think it was in February or March. That is where we contacted him, at that office in Pontiac, Mich.

Senator GRIFFIN. At that time he was—

Lieutenant McCoy. An active member of the Black Panther Party.

Senator GRIFFIN. And he was employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity?

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. Which is funded with Federal funds.

Lieutenant McCoy. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you very much. I have no further questions. I share the Chairman's gratitude, however, for your spending a good deal of effort in preparing the statement and taking the time to come down here and giving us the benefit of your experience on this very difficult subject. Thank you.

Lieutenant McCoy. Thank you, Senator Griffin.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. That concludes the committee's work for this week. We will recess until Monday morning at 10:30 a.m.

(Whereupon, at 4:40 p.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10:30 a.m., Monday, June 30, 1969.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Senators McClellan and Griffin.)

RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1969

U.S. SENATE,
PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a.m., in room 1202, New Senate Office Building, pursuant to Senate Resolution 26, as amended, agreed to February 17, 1969, Senator John L. McClellan (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas; Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican, South Dakota; and Senator Charles H. Percy, Republican, Illinois.

Also present: Jerome S. Adlerman, general counsel; Philip Morgan, counsel to the minority; Perman H. Clay, investigator; Paul V. Kirby, investigator; Fred R. Miller, detailed from Metropolitan Police Department; Daniel Harris, investigator, General Accounting Office; Joseph Honcharik, investigator, General Accounting Office; and Ruth Y. Watt, chief clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of convening: Senators McClellan and Percy.)

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Lt. Lawrence H. Bearse, Jr.

The CHAIRMAN. Be sworn, please.

You do solemnly swear the evidence you shall give before this Senate subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Lieutenant BEARSE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LT. LAWRENCE H. BEARSE, JR.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify yourself for the record, please, sir?

Lieutenant BEARSE. I am Lawrence H. Bearse, Jr., lieutenant in the Jersey City Police Department.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in the police department and how long have you been a lieutenant?

Lieutenant BEARSE. I have been in the police department 18 years. I have been a lieutenant since 1961.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a prepared statement?

Lieutenant BEARSE. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the gentleman accompanying you going to testify?

Lieutenant BEARSE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, you may proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE. At this time, I wish to submit to the subcommittee a summary of Black Panther activities in the city of Jersey City.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say to the reporter to let any part of your prepared statement that you do not read be printed in the record.

To expedite your testimony, if there is any part that you can skip in reading, it will be placed into the record.

Very well, proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE. I think the first thing we should state is that the Black Panther Party started in the city of Jersey City on August 25, 1966.

Stokely Carmichael, then national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), addressed a press conference called by the ad hoc committee for a better antipoverty program. This ad hoc committee was a dissident city group trying to take over the control of Can-Do, the city's recognized antipoverty program.

During the press conference, ad hoc committee spokesman John Bell announced the setting up of a Black Panther political movement. The Black Panther slogan, "Move on over or we'll move on over you."

Mr. Chairman, I wish to submit as an exhibit a newspaper article in which these words were stated.

The CHAIRMAN. What paper?

Lieutenant BEARSE. The Jersey Journal.

The Chairman. What is the date of it?

Lieutenant BEARSE. August 25, 1966.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and appropriately numbered. (The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 606" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. The earliest Black Panther membership application is for Joseph Allen Cypress, residence 138 Van Nostrand Avenue, signed and dated March 5, 1967.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to submit a copy of his application.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 607" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. We have copies of lists on May 18, 1967, in which the initial chairman was formed. The chairman was Nathaniel Walker; vice chairman, James Brown; secretary, James Addison; treasurer, Frank Jordan. Members present: Isaiah Rowley, Nathaniel Pettiford, James Hobson.

I wish to submit this list, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 608" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. What are those lists from?

Lieutenant BEARSE. These are documents that we received from confidential informants. One shows the dedication committee of the Black

Panther Party of Jersey City. Mr. Nathaniel Walker was chairman of the subcommittee and it lists various members at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 609 for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. I wish to submit a list for a dedication committee. Mr. Chairman, this is a copy of this list, the membership list.

The CHAIRMAN. A copy procured from their records?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 610" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. Another list of names mentioned a meeting at 777 Bergen Avenue at 7 p.m. in July.

The ad hoc committee community center had been opened at 384 Pacific Avenue on August 17, 1966. The chairman was listed as Isaiah Rowley and his address was given as St. John's Church, Rev. Robert W. Castle, pastor.

On February 22, 1967, the "ad hoc" offices located at 384 Pacific Avenue were completely renovated and projected a "New Image." Heretofore, the participating organization thereat were: Jersey City Black Panther Party; Jersey City union project (JCUP); Jersey City Welfare Union; Jersey City ad hoc committee.

Effective that date, the organization was advertised as "Stand"—community improvement alliance. The rent for the Stand office at 384 Pacific Avenue was \$80 per month, which was paid by check on the account of Jersey City union project.

Social functions of Stand were conducted at the Parish Hall of St. John's Episcopal Church, 120 Summit Avenue. Stand also opened up branches at 777 Bergen Avenue and 70 Baldwin Avenue, Jersey City, during the month of May 1967.

During the riot in Newark, July 1967, various incidents occurred in Jersey City. A male Negro, a passenger in a cab, was burned and subsequently died as a result of a Molotov cocktail being thrown. Investigation revealed two juveniles had thrown the missile. They were apprehended.

On July 18, a large group of Negro males began to loot a luncheonette at 452 Pacific Avenue. Isaiah Rowley and his brother, Irving, were among the 15 persons arrested. During the lengthy hearings, Joseph Cypress was a character witness for Isaiah Rowley. Roy Kennix was fined \$200 for contempt of court.

The CHAIRMAN. That was on July 18, 1967?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That was 2 or 3 months after the organization was formed?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You say they began to loot a luncheonette. Is that correct?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct. They were subsequently apprehended and arrested.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any convicted?

Lieutenant BEARSE. They were, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they do? Was there any provocation or was it just plain vandalism?

Lieutenant BEARSE. This was just plain vandalism. This group of 15 that were arrested were harassing the people in Jersey City for approximately 2 or 3 hours.

The CHAIRMAN. They did what?

Lieutenant BEARSE. They were harassing the people in Jersey City, trying to get something started.

The CHAIRMAN. They were trying to incite some action?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE. July 18, 1967 a protest rally was conducted at St. John's Episcopal Church, 120 Summit Avenue, Jersey City, wherein H. Rap Brown, national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was the principal speaker, having been invited by the Rev. Robert W. Castle and Mr. Roy Kennix, at which rally he threatened to burn Jersey City down. H. Rap Brown, Roy Kennix, Rev. Castle later marched on the fourth and seventh precincts and picketed.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you better go on read what you have, until we get to a list of names. Proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE. I would like to present, Mr. Chairman, as an exhibit, a black newsletter that shows that Mr. Brown was at St. John's Church on that day, and some of the words that he stated. This letter was composed and distributed by the Black Panther organization in Jersey City.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the significance of it?

Lieutenant BEARSE. It shows that Mr. Brown was in for the specific purpose of trying to incite a riot in our city.

(At this point Senator Mundt entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. It will speak for itself. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 611" for reference, and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. On September 20, 1967, a representative of PAR held a meeting with Police Director Whelan. PAR is Project Anti-Recidivism. Representing PAR were Kennix, Rowley, Cypress. They requested that Director Whelan give his assistance in the issuance of canvassers' permits to members of PAR who were going into door-to-door sales of assorted dry goods, et cetera, which they were to obtain from an outlet in Newark, N.J.

Director Whelan gave every assistance possible. On September 27, 1967, Mr. Joseph Cypress of PAR sent a letter of thanks for the ready assistance given by the Jersey City Police Department.

On December 2, 1967, a benefit show for LeRoi Jones, Negro poet playwright, was conducted at St. John's Episcopal Church Hall, 130 Summit Avenue. The program was sponsored by Jersey City Stand organization. Isaiah Rowley appeared to be in charge.

On February 28, 1968, information was received from a confidential informant to the effect that a meeting was conducted on Gardner Avenue, Jersey City, which was attended by Isaiah and Irving Rowley and Joseph Cypress. The meeting concerned the use of guns, the care of guns, how to start and keep a riot going, and how to harass the po-

lice. Other meetings were conducted on Gardner Avenue and they were then moved to the ANKH coffee house located in the basement of St. John's Episcopal Church, 120 Summit Avenue.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean at meetings in the church they were discussing how to start a riot and how to keep it going? Is that what you are saying?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct; in the church hall.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator MUNDT. Is that just an abandoned church building, formerly used as a church, or is that a church which is still functional?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That was a church that was functioning. At that time it was under the direction of Rev. Robert Castle.

Senator MUNDT. Was he present at the meeting, do you know?

Lieutenant BEARSE. We believe he was.

Senator MUNDT. He knew about it?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE. On May 10, 1968, a dance was conducted at St. John's Episcopal Church, and at its termination at 11:15 p.m. a disturbance occurred. Police equipment and personnel were the recipients of thrown bottles, rocks, and like missiles.

On May 13, 1968, the board of vestrymen of St. John's Episcopal Church apologized for the disturbance in their parish hall on May 10, 1968. It was further stated that effective April 20, 1968, the Rev. Robert W. Castle, Jr. resigned as rector of St. John's Episcopal Church and that by Friday, May 17, 1968, he would be moved out of the parish house and would no longer be connected with the church.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that occasioned because of his permitting these things to which you testified to happen in the church.

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the church did act after they discovered what was occurring?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, Mr. Chairman; they did. Definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. The church took affirmative action.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Right. Very cooperative.

The CHAIRMAN. And they moved him out?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I commend them for it.

He admitted knowing these things happened. I can't conceive of it. Go ahead.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Following the meeting with the vestrymen, the fourth precinct commander was permitted to inspect the church premises. It was discovered that in addition to the "coffee house," a meeting hall for Stand, a room was especially set aside for karate equipment and practice. These activities were conducted without the knowledge or permission of the board of vestrymen of St. John's Episcopal Church.

On May 1, 1968, the Stand organization, 384 Pacific Avenue, issued their first publication, "The Voice of the Black Discontent—Stand." On page 3 they refer to the Jersey City Police Department as "the face of the enemy," in which they state in part that the police are the armed forces of radical oppression that daily occupy our communities, and

whether they raise their hands to shoot us down or to pat us on the head and tell us they want to be friends, they must be viewed as a force of violent repression and dealt with as such. Let no black man be fooled—the police are our enemies. They enter our communities only as an occupying force or as agents provocateur, but never as friends. We cannot afford to forget the lesson of Troy. The safest position a black man can take as the forces of nation clearly indicate is to paraphrase yet another historic adage and assume that the only good cop is a dead cop.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that in their literature?

Lieutenant BEARSE. I would like to present that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the author of the article?

Lieutenant BEARSE. We have no idea who the author is.

The CHAIRMAN. It doesn't identify him?

Lieutenant BEARSE. No. It is a Swahili name.

The CHAIRMAN. But this is the publication?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct. I would like to offer that in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 612" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Senator MUNDT. Exactly the same phrase is used in the coloring book given in the basement of a church in San Francisco the same phrase, "The only good cop is a dead cop."

The CHAIRMAN. That seems to be their theme from the beginning. This is shortly after they were organized.

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct. This was in May and June of 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE. At 7 p.m., August 2, 1968, the Stand organization, under the sponsorship of Isaiah Rowley and David Bell, conducted a black youth movement at Arlington Park, Jersey City. The program started with 15 minutes of music and poetry allegedly written by LeRoi Jones, after which persons connected with the Stand organization tried to incite the crowd of about 200 persons present by the use of filthy terms, such as M.F. cops, and also urged the bombing of the "white" Statue of Liberty, the Bank of America and police stations. David Bell gave an antipolice speech and concentrated on the idea that the Negro policeman was not a friend of the black man and should be treated with mistrust. All speakers used loud and offensive language and the central complaint room of the Jersey City Police Department and the fourth precinct desk officer received dozens of telephone complaints from the people residing in the area of Arlington Park regarding the use of the loud and offensive language by the many people present.

I have a report of the acting captain in the fourth precinct at the time. I would like to submit this in evidence to attest to the language that was used.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 613" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. At 10:30 a.m., August 15, 1968, Isaiah Rowley, David Bell, and Louis Mays of the Stand organization, 384 Pacific

Avenue, gave an interview to Miss Helen Bensimon, newspaper reporter for the Jersey Journal, concerning the formal establishment of the Black Panther Party in Jersey City, to work for complete black takeover of all facilities of the Negro sectors, including police, welfare, housing, and stores. Bell, spokesman for Stand, said his followers are ready to achieve their goals by "whatever means necessary."

On September 9, 1968, a placard depicting the 11-point program of the Black Panther Party was being distributed throughout the Bergen-Lafayette area by Isaiah Rowley, David L. Williams, and David Bell, stating:

Black Panther Party—We Demand

1. Power to control our destinies.
2. Full employment.
3. The expulsion of slum landlords.
4. Black control of our schools.
5. The expulsion of white pirate merchants.
6. Black control of the welfare system.
7. The exemption of all black men from military service.
8. An immediate end to police occupation of our communities.
9. The release of all black men presently held in all jails.
10. The right of the black community to defend itself against repression.

11. A referendum to be held throughout the black community to determine the will of the people.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the committee has already seen this 11-point program. At the time of the newspaper—

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is already in evidence as an exhibit. We will identify the number so it can be referred to.

Lieutenant BEARSE. These were being distributed all over the area around August 15.

The CHAIRMAN. Right.

Lieutenant BEARSE. On October 9, 1968, Police Director George Whelan received a communication from David Bell, executive director of the Stand organization requesting the use of Arlington Park for a political rally for presidential candidate Dick Gregory. On Saturday, October 12, 1968, from 2 to 5 p.m. the rally was conducted as scheduled under the sponsorship of the Stand organization, which is synonymous with the Black Panther Party of Jersey City.

At 3 p.m., September 24, 1968, a police radio car attempted to drive through the intersection of Myrtle and Jackson Avenues, where at 285 Jackson Avenue is situated a second Stand organization office which has now become the main office for the Black Panther Party of Jersey City.

The CHAIRMAN. The document you held a moment ago, I am advised, is somewhat different from the other 10-point program that had been previously submitted. This, apparently, is an 11-point program. It may be received as an exhibit.

You testify here, in your prepared statement, to what the demands were.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 614" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE. One William Davis, age 18, of 520 Bergen Avenue, a member of the Black Panther Party, stood in the street and interfered with the orderly flow of traffic. He was directed to clear the intersection but, instead, refused and was summarily placed under arrest. At that time, Isaiah Rowley, captain of the Black Panther Party in Jersey City, and Ralph Walker, age 23, residence 140 Orient Avenue, who runs the ANKH coffee house at St. John's Church, 120 Summit Avenue, ran out of the Black Panther headquarters and interfered with the arrest. Rowley threatened the lives of the police and Walker struck at the police with a sawed-off pool cue. They were summarily arrested at the fifth precinct and remanded to the city prison.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to present a picture of the three previous named in their Black Panther uniforms the day they were arrested.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and appropriately marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 615" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. That night, September 24, 1968, incidents increased and during the evening one Victor Perez, Puerto Rican male, age 19, of Brooklyn, was arrested in the vicinity of Bostwick and Jackson Avenues, Jersey City, on a disorderly person charge. At that time he was carrying a walkie-talkie. The following day all parties were arraigned before Jersey City Municipal Court and were held in bail. During the court arraignment, at least 40 Black Panthers in their black military uniforms and black berets marched to police headquarters where the municipal court is located. All defendants were subsequently released on bail.

On the evening of Friday, September 27, 1968, a confidential informer gave the following information to members of the Jersey City Police Department. This information has been recorded in his own (tape) voice; it has been given in a statement form, which I would like to present. I have the statement form; also a copy of a polygraph examination that was given to the informant at the time to testify to his veracity.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received and appropriately numbered.

(The documents referred to were marked "exhibit No. 616" for reference, and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. The subject stated he was at the scene of the incidents involving members of the Black Panther Party and the police located at the Stand organization on Jackson Avenue. His statement, in essence, was that at 2:45 p.m., September 24, 1968, at which time certain members of the Black Panther Party, including Isaiah Rowley and Ralph Walker, were arrested. The confidential informer, a Black Panther Party member, was assigned as a defense man of the Black Panther Party of Jersey City Defense Bureau, squad one, and that he did not take any action against the police at the time of the said incident, and as a result he was brought up on charges before David Bell on the evening of Tuesday, September 24, 1968, was suspended from the Black Panther Party and ordered to get out of town or be killed for his failure to participate in the incident against the police. During the course of his interview, the informant stated that

a rental office at 392 Jackson Avenue which was bombed at approximately 6:35 a.m., Sunday, September 23, 1968, was the result of a bomb planted by a Black Panther Party member. He also stated in part that the Black Panther Party has secret meetings in the coffee house in the basement of St. John's Episcopal Church, 120 Summit Avenue, that he had actually seen handguns, a rifle, and another gun which looked like a "BAR machinegun or automatic rifle," and that Black Panther members had to learn how to use them.

The informer further stated that the Black Panther Party was organized sabotage, sniping, and blowing things up and taking control of the schools and political things.

The CHAIRMAN. For the record, let's clarify something. This church is still not being used by them, is it?

Lieutenant BEARSE. No, sir; it is not.

The CHAIRMAN. Since they got rid of the pastor, this situation has been cleaned up?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I wanted to make that very clear. Proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE. The informant also stated that the Black Panther Party conducts secret meetings and that some of the subjects covered are self-defense, firearms, training, firearms capabilities, karate, bomb making, firearms laws, and the use of weapons. He also stated that the Black Panther Party had been underground for over 2 years and will be organized strong enough that by Christmas 1968 "the — will hit the fan in Jersey City." He stated there will not be any riots like in 1964; instead there will be guerrilla-type warfare and sniping at a cop on his beat and at radio cars after timing their patrol schedules. He further stated that they would like to bomb or shoot up the fifth and fourth precinct police stations. Also, if necessary, they will get help from the Black Panther Party in other cities, such as Newark, Paterson, Plainfield, and Brooklyn, N.Y.

The informant further stated that the incident which occurred at Stand, Jackson and Myrtle Avenues, was a mistake; it was not planned and they wish it had never happened. Also, that the Black Panther Party has a copy of the police call code, a copy of which was given to Isaiah Rowley. Also, that the Black Panther Party has two Lafayette walkie-talkies which are capable of monitoring Jersey City police calls.

The informant also stated that David Bell signs all the checks for Stand, which is the Black Panther Party under the "community improvement alliance," which is connected to "Project Anti-Recidivism" and the Jersey City Council of Churches.

During the interview, the informant stated that Cullen "Colt" Darby, who shot three Bayonne policemen in the late evening of September 20, 1968, was also a member of the Black Panther Party but that the shooting was not planned by the Black Panther Party, and that he did it on his own.

In closing, the informant stated that he was leaving Jersey City because his life had been threatened and he cannot stay here.

(NOTE.—This interview was taken on September 27, 1968. On November 29, 1968, the fifth precinct police station was riddled by automatic gunfire.)

The CHAIRMAN. Some 2 months later?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was after the informant had reported this information?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So apparently they carried out a part of their plans.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

I would like to now present the statement of our confidential informant and also the polygraph examination statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand they have already been admitted.

Lieutenant BEARSE. At 4:30 p.m., October 29, 1968, members of the Jersey City and Bayonne Police Departments arrested one Cullen Darby, Negro, male, age 26, residence 151 Pine Street, Jersey City, in an apartment at 70 Summit Avenue which was maintained by Joseph Cypress, Negro, male, age 25. Cullen was charged with shooting three Bayonne policemen on the night of September 20, 1968, and Cypress was charged with aiding a fugitive. Cullen Darby was found guilty. He was sentenced to 29 to 36 years.

At 8 p.m., November 26, 1968, members of the Bergen Lafayette community conducted a meeting on the subject of school decentralization at Lincoln High School. Members of the Black Panther Party of Jersey City were in attendance. The speakers were William Omar Pearson and Miss Clara Vincent of the Black Panther Party.

At 11:25 a.m., November 27, 1968, Patrolman George Russell, Jersey City Police, arrested seven members of the Black Panther Party of Jersey City and Newark. At the time of their apprehension at Clendenny and Bergen Avenues, a search of the vehicle disclosed a fully loaded .32 caliber foreign-make revolver. All persons were booked for possession of a stolen motor vehicle and possession of a dangerous weapon. Prisoners had in their possession business cards depicting the Black Panther Party of 321 Hawthorne Avenue, Newark, N.J., "Carl C. Nichols, local captain" and a book entitled, "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

I would like to present a picture in evidence, Mr. Chairman, depicting the seven people arrested in their Black Panther uniforms.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened to them after their arrest?

Lieutenant BEARSE. They are under indictment.

The CHAIRMAN. They are now under indictment?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That picture will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 617" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. At approximately 11:30 p.m., Friday, November 29, 1968, the fifth precinct police station, located at 181 Bergen Avenue was riddled by automatic gunfire, causing heavy damage and coming just short of killing police and civilian personnel in the area. Approximately 24 shots were fired.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the same station you spoke of a while ago?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The same one. Very well.

Lieutenant BEARSE. In a newspaper interview in the Hudson Dispatch, on the date of December 3, 1968, Isaiah Rowley and David Bell

of Jersey City Black Panther Party, 285 Jackson Avenue, denied any knowledge or responsibility for the shooting up of the fifth precinct station. They accused Mayor Whelan of unfounded and unproven accusations against the Black Panther Party.

In closing out his interview, Isaiah Rowley stated :

If a Panther dies, someone else will die ; if a Panther is attacked, someone else will be attacked.

On the morning of December 15, 1968, members of the Jersey City Police Department, armed with search warrants, entered the apartment of Isaiah Rowley, 110 Arlington Avenue, where Isaiah Rowley and Victor Perez—Perez was previously arrested on Jackson Avenue on the night of September 24, 1968—were arrested and charged with the shooting up of the fifth precinct police station. Also arrested at his apartment at 75 Bostwick Avenue, was one Charles Hicks, age 36, Negro, charged with assaulting a police officer. At the time of Rowley's arrest, police confiscated two .45 caliber guns, a large quantity of .32 and .45 caliber ammunition, including two fully loaded clips for a .45 and explosives. Also found in Rowley's apartment was a slip of paper with the name and address of Patrolman George Russell, Jr., who had arrested seven members of the Black Panther Party in a stolen car chase two days prior to the strafing of the police precinct. In the raid on Hick's apartment, police uncovered a loaded .38 snub-nosed revolver and a Black Panther uniform. Also located were handwritten instructions and a diagram on how to make acid bombs.

At 8 p.m., December 6, 1968, a board of directors meeting of Jersey City Can Do was conducted at the public library, Clinton and Bergen Avenues, at the request of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to discuss whether "Project Anti-Recidivism" in Jersey City should be refunded by the Office of Economic Opportunity under the sponsorship of Jersey City Can Do. This problem came about as the result of OEO allegations of a too close association of PAR with the Black Panther Party of Jersey City under the leadership of Isaiah Rowley and David Bell. Following a hectic 2-hour session, the board of directors of Jersey City Can Do refused to sponsor PAR and instead, voted to recommend the refunding of PAR under the sponsorship of the Jersey City Council of Churches. It was further recommended that the Jersey City Council of Churches eliminate all irregularities in PAR as outlined by a task force inspection by Office of Economic Opportunity officials, to wit :

1. Change present administrative structure.
2. Discontinue use of walkie-talkies.
3. Discontinue use of PAR equipment by all other agencies.
4. Disassociate close liaison with the Black Panther Party.
5. Proper administration of controls and reporting system.
6. Proper control of project funds.

At that meeting the members of the Black Panther Party were present but very conspicuous by their hesitancy to take part in the meeting or to identify themselves.

On Friday evening, December 6, 1968, Black Panther Lieutenant Mark Daniels, Negro male, age 23, allegedly of 194 Stegman Street, Jersey City, was involved in a stabbing in Dover, N.J.

The scope of this organization is evidenced by the fact that one Johnny Martin, Negro, male, age 19, residence unknown, a known Black Panther Party member, wanted by Bergen County police on a charge of bail jumping for armed robbery, was apprehended in Denver, Colo., at the Black Panther headquarters in that city, as a result of information supplied by local informant of the Black Panther Party, who stated that this subject has been transported, in company with a local Black Panther Party member to Denver, where he was to be harbored to avoid apprehension.

Senator MUNDT. Does this indicate to you that the Black Panthers are operating across State lines?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes. I have copies of two telephone notebooks I would like to present as evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received and appropriately marked as exhibits.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 618" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. They show the headquarters in Berkeley, the Newark Panther Party, Captain Watson, of Denver, Colo., the Puerto Rican Panthers in New York.

Copies of the other shows George Ponti, a Panther in Brooklyn; Captain Ford, Brooklyn; in Albany, a Capt. Bill Gibson; in Boston, Chick Nesbitt; Chairman Brothers, of Brooklyn; David Hilliard, chief of staff in California, Chairman Bobby Seale; Captain Nichols, of Newark.

Senator MUNDT. Was that telephone book picked up in Black Panther Party headquarters in New Jersey?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct. They have established contact throughout the United States with different Panther ports.

Senator MUNDT. And in the instant case you were talking about, Johnny Martin, it appears that he was transported from Jersey, where he was wanted, over to Denver, where he would be concealed?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct. We had received information that he was going to Denver, Colo. We passed it on to the Hackensack authorities. The Hackensack authorities contacted Denver and he was apprehended at the Black Panther headquarters.

Senator MUNDT. Thank you.

Lieutenant BEARSE. On December 10, 1968, a newspaper article appeared in the Jersey Journal to the effect that the Black Panthers will file a \$35 million court suit against Jersey City within the next 2 weeks, "for continuous harassment of the organization and for framing us for crimes they know we did not commit." The announcement was made at the Panther headquarters in Newark by John David Hall, regarded as one of the five Panther leaders in the State of New Jersey.

On December 12, 1968, an article appeared in the Hudson Dispatch which stated:

David Bell, a spokesman and community leader of the Jersey City Black Panther Party, was recently a featured speaker at a meeting of Afro-American Student Union of the campus of Jersey City State College, wherein he asserted that the Panthers made it clear that they would not harm any individual unless he interfered with the liberation of the black people.

He also stated that the goals of the Panther Party are threefold. The primary aim of the party was the protection of the black people and their property; to

establish political and economic powers for black people and to free black people from the white racists chains and castrations that bind them.

Bell also stated that those people and forces that try to impede black liberation would be the direct object of any force that would be necessary during a revolution. *New York News*, Sunday, December 5, 1968.

At 12:25 a.m., January 1, 1969, the fifth precinct, located at 191 Bergen Avenue, was bombed with an explosive device that was thrown by an unknown person through the front window.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Is this the second time?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes. The original time was when it was machine gunned and on New Year's Day they threw a bomb through the window.

Mr. ADLERMAN. This is the second time that that station was the object of either gunfire or bombing?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The nationwide structure, as I have stated before, can be seen with a letter I would like to introduce as evidence. It was written by Johnnie Martin to Duberry. This is the alias for Isaiah Rowley. It states:

I do appreciate what you and the Panther Party have done for me. As for getting me out of town and State is more than appreciated. I do hope I can repay the party in some way in the near future. Tell all the brothers and sisters to keep up the good work, and I hope to see some of them in Oakland November 15. Tell Brenda and Alma I said keep it hot. Power to the people. Johnnie.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received and marked with an appropriate number.

Lieutenant BEARSE. This is also with a copy of Johnnie Martin's record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 619" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. A bench warrant was issued when he failed to appear for sentencing—Mr. Martin. We received information that he was in Colorado. These were the address books that I have presented in evidence.

The membership of the Black Panther Party has been about 225. Captain is Isaiah Rowley, also known as Duberry. Jersey City No. 41. Date of birth, January 12, 1944, B.C.I. No. 22011, State Bureau No. 722445; FBI No. 273555E. Sisters, Cynthia, age 18, Viola, age 13, brother Irving. Jersey City No. 41.

Arrested: May 19, 1962, material witness; September 3, 1962, disorderly person, assault and battery; December 26, 1962, armed robbery; February 14, 1964, breaking, entering, and larceny; July 18, 1967, disorderly person, looting; June 13, 1968, Atlanta on narcotics charge; September 14, 1968, possession of starter's pistol, Newark; September 24, 1968, charges assault on police officer, threatening life of police officer; December 5, 1968, arrest on 2A:151-41, 2A:151-56.

That is a weapons charge for shooting a person.

The CHAIRMAN. Any convictions?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Which ones?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Material witness, disorderly person, armed robbery. He is now under indictment on a narcotics charge in Atlanta; on a charge in Newark, the charge of assault on a police officer, and the charge of shooting a police station.

The CHAIRMAN. He is indicted for those now?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He has been convicted of armed robbery?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That was five charges in 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. He was convicted on five charges?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He seemed to be out again in 1964.

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1964 he was arrested for what?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Breaking, entry and larceny.

The CHAIRMAN. What disposition was made of that?

Lieutenant BEARSE. He went to the Bordentown Reformatory.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator MUNDT. How much time did he serve altogether in 1968 for the whole series of crimes and convictions?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Approximately 3 years.

Senator MUNDT. He served approximately 3 years?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

Senator MUNDT. Read the next sentence and then I want to ask you a question about it.

Lieutenant BEARSE. He is employed as a rehabilitation assistant for Project Anti-Recidivism in Jersey City.

Senator MUNDT. What year are you talking about there?

Lieutenant BEARSE. This past year.

Senator MUNDT. Last year?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

Senator MUNDT. Is that a tax-supported enterprise?

Lieutenant BEARSE. This was supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Senator MUNDT. The Office of Economic Opportunity?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Correct.

Senator MUNDT. Federal tax dollars supported the operation?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct, Federal money.

Senator MUNDT. And he was a rehabilitation assistant?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

Senator MUNDT. In 1968?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

Senator MUNDT. And he was arrested in 1968, in December, on December 5 on a 2A :151-41—what is that?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is a 2A-41. He was arrested for shooting up the fifth precinct.

Senator MUNDT. At that time, was he employed by OEO?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

Senator MUNDT. Did he get fired?

Lieutenant BEARSE. The OEO is not funding the Project Anti-Recidivism anymore.

Senator MUNDT. Let us go back to September. Was he working for OEO on September 24?

Lieutenant BEARSE. As far as we know; yes.

Senator MUNDT. At which time he threatened the life of a police officer. Was he arrested for that?

Lieutenant BEARSE. He was. He is under indictment for that.

Senator MUNDT. Was he summarily dismissed by the Federal employer at the time he was indicted?

Lieutenant BEARSE. No; he was not.

Senator MUNDT. After he got indicted, they continued to keep him on the payroll?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Correct.

Senator MUNDT. Could you give us the name of the OEO project director at that time?

Lieutenant BEARSE. No; I don't know who the OEO project director was.

Senator MUNDT. Would you have access to that information so you could supply it for the record? This is an awesome and a highly revolting misuse of the taxpayers' dollars, when they continue to keep on the payroll a man who not only was arrested for threatening the life of a police officer but indicted for it.

Lieutenant BEARSE. I know of six members of the staff on Project Anti-Recidivism who were members of the Black Panther Party, who were employed by Project Anti-Recidivism.

Senator MUNDT. Were any of them arrested or indicted?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Mr. Isaiah Rowley, Mr. James Addison, Mr. Joseph Cypress, Mr. James Brown were just arrested again.

Senator MUNDT. May I suggest to our staff that we should be able to ascertain the name of the Federal official in charge of the project at this date and time. If we are ever going to clean up this can of worms, certainly we will have to find out who is responsible for such a misuse of the taxpayers' dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. We had the same thing in the Blackstone Rangers in Chicago.

Senator MUNDT. This idea of subsidizing crime with the American taxpayers' dollars as part of the OEO program is just too revolting for words. It ought to be stopped. The only way you can stop it is to get the Federal man in charge to go down through channels to the fellow who is in charge of the project in Jersey City and send him out someplace where he can grow radishes or fish for carp, or peddle pencils in a tin cup or something. This is terrible.

It is bad enough to hire them. They must have known the record. Then they give you the old pitch that they are going to rehabilitate these persons. When the rehabilitation fails, and they are arrested and convicted, the officials close their eyes and say, "Give them the Federal check anyhow." No wonder the country is up in arms against such maladministration of OEO. This doesn't help anybody.

It is a horrible example of improper use of funds for Jersey City. He is the assistant rehabilitation officer. He is probably a recruiting officer for the Black Panthers.

Lieutenant BEARSE. He was the captain of the Black Panther Party in Jersey City.

The CHAIRMAN. He was the what?

Lieutenant BEARSE. He was the captain.

The CHAIRMAN. The captain?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you said chaplain.

Senator MUNDT. Let us find out who this fellow is and take appropriate action.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say, I think you will find that many of the officials out on these projects do not have the authority to discharge. They have to come to Washington to get approval for any action that they take.

I think one of the faults is right here at the top.

Senator MUNDT. Wherever it is, let us find it, expose it, and get rid of it.

The CHAIRMAN. We exposed it in the Blackstone Rangers matter.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Mr. Chairman, I was going to ask to have presented for an exhibit a document which shows the staff members of the board of directors and the Federal grant number of Project Anti-Recidivism in Jersey City. It shows the total amount of the moneys given to Project Anti-Recidivism.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the total amount of money given it?

Lieutenant BEARSE. The Federal grant was \$164,148. The non-Federal was \$27,400, for a total of \$191,548. That was from December 1, 1967, to November 30, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Joseph Cypress, lieutenant:

Underground (notebook). Date of birth, April 3, 1943, BCI No. 23036. FBI No. 453995E, residence 70 Summit Avenue, apartment 41.

Arrested: January 23, 1963, armed robbery, April 5, 1963, four charges (1) armed robbery, (2) carrying dangerous weapon with unlawful intent, (3) A.A. & B., (4) assault with intent to rob. October 29, 1968, harboring a fugitive.

Black Panther application, March 5, 1967.

Senator MUNDT. If you come across any others who were part of this Federally subsidized school for crime called OEO's rehabilitation project in Jersey City, I wish you would identify them.

The CHAIRMAN. The staff is exhibiting a chart entitled "New Jersey State Central Committee of the Black Panthers." I will ask you if you have previously examined this chart?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir, I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you checked the names on it, the pictures and the positions the people hold as portrayed by the chart?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that chart accurate according to your knowledge and information?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Entirely correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Entirely correct.

Who is the head of the Black Panthers there in New Jersey?

Lieutenant BEARSE. At that time it was Capt. Isaiah Rowley.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time.

Do you identify all of them, each name on the chart, and the position they hold?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, I can.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if you have already examined the chart, I just want to know that you have examined it, and you so state now that you identify all of them and the chart is accurate?

Lieutenant BEARSE. The chart is accurate. They are members.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. The chart will be received in evidence and marked "Exhibit 620."

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 620" for reference, and faces p. 4442.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now you may proceed.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Can you tell us what percentage of the people on that chart have been arrested and convicted of crimes?

The CHAIRMAN. Just name them as you go along, beginning with the top.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Isaiah Rowley has been arrested. Maj. David Bell is now under indictment.

The CHAIRMAN. Where they have been convicted, make mention of that, too.

Lieutenant BEARSE. James Addison has been convicted. He is now under indictment. Cullen Darby has been convicted. Marvin Johnson, convicted. Franklin Jenette, convicted. Edward Grant, convicted. Robert Smith, under indictment. Edward Mullen, convicted. Charles Hicks, convicted, under indictment. Ralph Walker, under indictment. James Edward Brown, convicted. Joseph Cypress, convicted, now under indictment. Aaron Thomas Jones, convicted, now under indictment. Gregory Evans, convicted. Haywood Hawkins, convicted.

On the Lakewood, Hogan, Fowlkes—

The CHAIRMAN. What is Lakewood?

Lieutenant BEARSE. This was a chapter in Lakewood, N.J.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Lieutenant BEARSE. A chapter in Lakewood, N.J.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you examined that part of the chart?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you testify to its accuracy?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It is in as part of the whole exhibit.

Have you named all of them yet?

Lieutenant BEARSE. In Lakewood we had Mr. Harvey and Mr. Fowlkes convicted of a fire bombing.

The CHAIRMAN. How many on the chart—the Jersey chart and the Lakewood chart—by count have not been convicted of some crime, so far as you know?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Approximately 10.

The CHAIRMAN. How many are on the chart?

Lieutenant BEARSE. I believe there are 38.

The CHAIRMAN. About 28 out of the 38 have been convicted of crimes?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, those you know about.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is pretty much an organized band of criminals, is it not?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Very.

The CHAIRMAN. Very much so.

You may proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE. I would like to present an exhibit, Mr. Chairman, some lists and records substantiating the chart.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you them in chronological order?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received as exhibit 621.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 621" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. You verify the accuracy of this exhibit, do you, personally and under oath?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that take up the next several pages of your prepared statement?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes. I would like to proceed to page 22.

Senator MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the staff to supply us with information on Capt. Isaiah Rowley whose record we have been discussing at the top of page 14, to ascertain when he was employed as rehabilitation assistant and by whom; when he was removed as rehabilitation assistant and by whom; and the salary that he drew, to have the record complete.

I would like to know the total salary he drew from the American taxpayers.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel will be instructed to have one of the staff members check it out, one of the staff members who has already been sworn and testified, and let him insert it into the record under oath.

(The following information was submitted by Philip Manuel of the subcommittee staff:)

On September 3, 1969, the Office of Economic Opportunity advised that Isalah Rowley was employed by project Anti-Recidivism (PAR), a federally financed project in Jersey City, N.J., in April of 1967. Rowley was hired by Roy H. Kennix, the project director of PAR. Rowley was paid a salary of \$550 per month. Rowley resigned this position on December 20, 1968. At the time of his resignation, Rowley was incarcerated in Jersey City on criminal charges. Prior to his resignation, the OEO regional office had advised PAR that Rowley's contract would be terminated in the near future. Federal funding of the entire

PAR project was terminated January 31, 1969. Total Federal funds expended in this program, April 1967 through January 1969, amounted to \$325,867.

The above information was supplied by OEO in response to a direction to the staff by Senator Mundt at the time of testimony by Lt. Lawrence Bearse of the Jersey City Police Department before this Subcommittee on June 30, 1969.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Clara Vincent, lieutenant, Jersey City. No. 53. Residence, 151 Pine Street, Jersey City, secretary at STAND office, 384 Pacific Avenue. In charge of squad No. 1, members of the propaganda bureau. Pictures at Plainfield September 21, 1968, Jersey City. Nos. 48, 49, 50.

Boland Street, September 25, 1969, Jersey City. No. 51.

James Franklin Addison, lieutenant, also known as Tree; date of birth, September 18, 1946, Columbia, S.C., BCI No. 27074, State Bureau No. 885448, FBI No. 478914F. Residence, 70 Summit Avenue, apartment 41, Defense bureau in charge of squad No. 2, Jersey City. No. 52.

Cullen Darby, Jr., lieutenant, Jersey City. No. 53. Date of birth February 14, 1942, Detroit, Mich. BCI No. 20646, State Bureau 665013, FBI No. 863606D. Member of defense bureau in charge of squad No. 3.

Arrested: May 9, 1961, A.A. & B., Jersey City. No. 54; June 7, 1962; B.E. & L.; May 13, 1963, A. & B.; June 20, 1963, possession of burglar tools; January 6, 1966, possession of stolen vehicle; July 29, 1966, receiving stolen property; October 29, 1968, assault with gun on police officer. Fugitive justice, violation of parole.

David Bell, lieutenant. Residence, 97A Claremont Avenue. FBI No.

261069F. Member of propaganda bureau. In charge of squad.

Arrested: October 9, 1964, failure to report for induction, Jersey City No. 55; June 4, 1965, violation Selective Service Act; pictures Plainfield, Jersey City Nos. 49, 50, 56, 57, 58; Boland Street, September 25, 1968, Jersey City No. 59.

Gregory Johnson, also known as Crime; date of birth December 15, —, has juvenile record. Residence 366 Jackson Avenue. Section leader under Lieutenant Darby of squad No. 3. Member of defense bureau. Picture in Panther uniform at Boland Street, September 25, 1968. Jersey City No. 59; picture in Plainfield, Jersey City Nos. 49, 56, 57,

James Washington, also known as Butch; date of birth March 28, 1950. Residence 28 Stegman Street, member of squad No. 3 and defense bureau.

Arrested: September 14, 1968, possession of starters pistol (Newark) Jersey City No. 63A; picture taken at Newark Evening News office September 12, 1968. Jersey City No. 60.

Marvin Johnson, also known as Mojo; date of birth January 13, 1945, Jersey City. Residence 259 Jackson Avenue, apartment No. 3. Member of squad No. 3 and defense bureau. B.C.I. No. 23123, FBI No. 492846E.

Arrested: February 19, 1963, B.E. & L., Jersey City No. 61; June 4, 1963, A. & B.; January 1, 1964, possession of stolen M.V.; January 9, 1964, disorderly person; August 4, 1964, disorderly person; August 10, 1964, disorderly person; April 18, 1966, two warrants, A.A. & B.; September 9, 1967, disorderly person; February 7, 1968, disorderly person; February 14, 1969, receiving stolen M.V.; March 20, 1968, Scotch Plains, armed robbery, possession of dangerous weapon; receiving stolen property; September 2, 1968, robbery and possession of stolen property; November 6, 1968, Denver, Colo., disturbance, resistance, interference; December 30, 1968, disorderly person.

Franklin Marshall Jenette; date of birth April 16, 1945, Brooklyn, N.Y. Residence 150 Stegman Street, Jersey City. Squad leader. Squad No. 3 under Lieutenant Darby and member of defense bureau. B.C.I. No. 23524, State Bureau No. 778450, FBI No. 554606E.

Arrested: May 24, 1963, disorderly person; Jersey City No. 62; July 14, 1963, breaking and entering; August 5, 1964, attempt to enter and possession of burglar tools; June 28, 1966, B.E. & L.; September 20, 1966, nonsupport and possession of marihuana cigarette; September 11, 1967, possession of stolen property.

Edward Grant, also known as Big Boy Clarence Chapple; date of birth March 20, 1939, Charleston, S.C. Residence 57 Oak Street, Jersey City. Member of squad No. 1 and defense bureau.

Arrested: July 8, 1957, Charleston, S.C., housebreaking, Jersey City No. 63; August 7, 1962, assault with intent to rob; December 19, 1965, Atlantic City, possession of dangerous weapon; May 9, 1968, false pretense; August 2, 1968, disorderly person.

We are in possession of a tape voluntarily given support by statement and polygraph statement of Black Panther activities. Picture taken at Plainfield September 21, 1968, in uniform. Jersey City Nos. 49, 58, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68.

W. Dorris; member of defense bureau. Jersey City No. 53.

Robert Allen, also known as Undertaker, also known as Robert Smith; residence 204 Stegman Street, date of birth May 21, 1950, New York City. B.C.I. No. 30130.

Arrested: January 9, 1969, robbery. Jersey City No. 69; squad leader No. 3, member defense bureau. Jersey City No. 53.

Edward Cicero Mullen, also known as Eddie Boy, Orange Juice Eddie; date of birth June 19, —, Jersey City, member of defense bureau. B.C.I. No. 21564, State bureau No. 708322, FBI No. 142720E.

Arrested: February 23, 1962, disorderly person; Jersey City No. 70; October 26, 1962, interfering and molesting; August 23, 1963, disorderly person; October 20, 1963, possession of stolen motor vehicle (Newark); April 4, 1964, rape; September 8, 1964, entering; September 18, 1964, B.E. & L.; February 1, 1965, disorderly person; February 23, 1965, B.E. with intent; August 13, 1966, disorderly person; September 8, 1966, C to D of M; March 5, 1967, Fort Valley, Ga., assault with intent to murder; September 25, 1968, disorderly person.

Fred Edmund Hilsman, also known as Doc; date of birth January 28, 1949, member of squad No. 3 and defense bureau.

Arrested: September 14, 1968, Newark, possession of starters pistol. Jersey City No. 71; picture in Newark Evening News office September 12, 1968. Jersey City No. 60. Picture September 25, 1968, at police headquarters. Jersey City No. 76. We have answer sheet to questions asked. Jersey City No. 72. Plainfield pictures Jersey City Nos. 48, 56, 57, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80. Question sheet, Jersey City No. 73.

Charles William Hicks, also known as Count, residence 75 Bostwick Avenue, B. C. I. No. 14017, State Bureau No. 427117, FBI No. 123655B. Section leader squad No. 2 under Lieutenant Addison.

Arrested: September 23, 1951, fighting, Jersey City, No. 74; January 11, 1952, B. E. & L.; October 10, 1956, fugitive, Newark; January 27, 1958, C to D of M; February 14, 1959, disorderly person; September 29, 1959, disorderly person, A & BB; July 16, 1960, bastardy; February 1, 1961, Long Beach, Calif., sleeper; July 23, 1961, armed robbery; March 23, 1964, receiving stolen property.

Pictures at Plainfield. September 21, 1968, and Newark Evening News September 12, 1968. Jersey City No. 60, 56, 57, 58, 65, 67, 75.

Dwight Raines, member squad No. 2 and propaganda bureau.

Addie Johnson: Residence 131 Woodlawn Avenue, Jersey City. Wife of James "Jeff" Johnson. section leader of squad No. 1 under Lieutenant Vincent. Member of culture bureau. We have answer sheet Jersey City No. 81.

James Jeff Johnson: Date of birth: November 19, 1944. Residence 131 Woodlawn Avenue. Karate instructor. Member of underground. We have answer sheet. Jersey City. No. 82.

Ralph Walker, also known as Preacher, Poet: Date of birth: February 21, 1945, Jersey City. Residence 140 Orient Avenue. Section leader under Lieut. David Bell. Member culture bureau.

Arrested September 24, 1968—Assault on police officer. Jersey City. No. 83, 14A.

Possesses card naming him section leader. Jersey City No. 84, Check from community improvement alliance. Picture at Plainfield, September 21, 1968. Jersey City Nos. 48, 64, 67, 68.

Alma Fuller: Residence 48 Van Nostrand Avenue, Jersey City., member squad No. 1 and culture bureau.

Jeffrey Stanberry: Residence 91 Ege. Avenue. Member of squad No. 3 and culture bureau.

James Edward Brown, also known as Smoe.—Date of birth: December 12, 1944 Jersey City. Residence 463 Pacific Avenue. Member squad 11 and culture bureau.

Arrested: February 7, 1963, disorderly person; Jersey City, No. 85; February 15, 1963, assault with intent to rape; December 2, 1963, material witness; May 2, 1966, disorderly person; January 21, 1969, illegal use of narcotics; February 13, 1969, (1) trespassing, (2) illegal use of narcotics, (3) illegal type needle, (4) failure to register narcotics, (5) C.C.W.

On October 11, 1968, he wrote a letter to Mr. Frank Jordan, Yardville, N.J., telling how easy it was working for PAR. He didn't have to go to the office for a week and he still got paid.

His letter is:

Hi Click: Just a few lines to let you hear from me on how you are. Fine, I hope. I hope when these few lines reach you, you will be fine and in the best of health. Well, Click, I don't have very much to say, but a few things are happening out here. We are still working at PAR.

Senator MUNDT. What is PAR?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Project Anti-Recidivism.

Senator MUNDT. That was the federally-supported organization until the Jersey City Council of Churches took it over?

Lieutenant BEARSE. This is the same one.

Senator MUNDT. This is where Rowley was the assistant rehabilitation director.

Lieutenant BEARSE. "But it is a layup now more than ever because Duberry"—the nickname for Isaiah Rowley—"Tree"—the nickname for James Addison—"Joe"—the nickname for Joseph Cypress—"and myself don't even have to come to the office in a week and still gets paid."

The CHAIRMAN. That was a very efficient operation, wasn't it?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Extremely.

Senator MUNDT. It might be much better for the community if they paid them for not coming to the office instead of being there stirring up mischief.

Lieutenant BEARSE. I don't believe the rest of the letter—that is just on another incident. I just want to bring in that these people—

The CHAIRMAN. Let the letter be filed as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 622" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Apparently they didn't have to go to the office. They just drew their pay.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Just collected their money.

Senator MUNDT. The letter would imply that once Duberry or Rowley got in charge, he hired the rest of them.

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

Senator MUNDT. He was the supervisor.

Lieutenant BEARSE. He was one of the men who signed the checks.

Senator MUNDT. He had a self-perpetuating crime ring.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter apparently is written in longhand, is that correct?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Harry Harrison: Member of squad 1 and culture bureau.

Anne Ruth Rowley: Wife of Isaiah Rowley. Date of birth, November 8, 1946, Lexington, Miss. Residence 110 Arlington Avenue. Member of squad 1 and culture bureau.

Arrested: December 5, 1968, contributing to delinquency of minors, Jersey City No. 87; picture at Boland Street, on September 25, 1968, in uniform, Jersey City No. 51, 88.

Jacqueline Payton: Residence, 139 Bayview Avenue. Member political bureau.

Earl Morgan: Residence, 127 Summit Avenue, member squad No. 11 and political bureau. Employed PAR, employment specialist.

Venelia Mainer: Residence, 163 Claremont Avenue, member of underground. Squad leader in notebook.

Valerie Hall: Residence, 365 Halladay Street. Section leader in notebook. Member underground. Section leader. Valerie Hall spoke at the August 2, 1968, meeting in Arlington Park using filthy language (report of Lieutenant Carter). Jersey City No. 10. Pictures at Plainfield, September 21, 1968, Jersey City No. 76.

Timothy Melvin Jones: Date of birth, February 22, 1949, Goldsboro, N.C. Residence, 507 Jackson Avenue. Member of underground. Squad leader No. 11 in notebook No. 46.

Ruth Dickerson: Member of underground.

Cynthia Rowley: Sister of Isaiah Rowley. Residence, 94 Fremont Street. Member of underground. Squad No. 1 in notebook, Jersey City No. 46.

Aaron Thomas Jones also known as Du Sino: Residence, 57 Clinton Avenue. Date of birth, April 10, 1946. We have answer sheet. Jersey City No. 89.

Arrested: September 26, 1965, possession of stolen auto; January 17, 1967, larceny of motor vehicle; January 9, 1969, robbery; April 14, 1969, disorderly person; rap sheet Jersey No. 90.

Gregory Evans: 150 Stegman Street. Member underground squad No. 11 in notebook. Date of birth, February 28, 1948, Jersey City. B.C.I. No. 28281, State Bureau No. 964473.

Arrested: May 2, 1967, abusive of police officer, Jersey City No. 91; May 26, 1968, disorderly person; January 19 1969, disorderly person.

Senator MUNDT. Would you explain what he means when he says he shot at a cat three times?

Lieutenant BEARSE. No; he is talking about shooting a person.

Senator MUNDT. Presumably a policeman, maybe?

Lieutenant BEARSE. I have no idea. We tried to investigate that and we ran into a dead end on it.

Senator MUNDT. He says he shot at him three times and missed him.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Leroy Judge: Residence, 199 Stegman Street. Squad No. 11—underground in notebook. Jersey City No. 46. Answer sheet No. 92.

Louise Green: 136 Manning. On squad No. 1—underground in notebook. Jersey City No. 46.

Haywood Lee Hawkins, also known as Hawk: Residence, 93 Claremont Avenue, B.C.I. No. 27533, State Bureau No. 906693, squad No. 1. Underground in notebook. Jersey City No. 46.

Arrested : June 6, 1966, B.E. & L. ; Jersey City No. 93 ; June 13, 1966, larceny.

Membership lists from October 10, 1968, are apparently classes in defense. One with crime also known as Gregory Johnson, apparent leader. Lists 17 names of Panthers. (Wrote reports on various cities.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have that documented?

Lieutenant BEARSE. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The membership lists?

Lieutenant BEARSE. These are membership lists. I have listed who they are and if they have been convicted of anything, and what they are in the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 623" for reference, and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. You have a report on Newark, signed by Donna. Who is Donna?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Donna McCreadie.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did she hold?

Lieutenant BEARSE. She was appointed a Panther captain.

The CHAIRMAN. I have before me a report from her in your document No. 94, which is exhibit 623. On the third sheet from the top, it says "Report on Newark." Do you have it before you?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Read it.

Lieutenant BEARSE (reading) :

Newark must be changed. The Panther brothers are getting out of hand, fighting and shooting guns in the office is no good.

The CHAIRMAN. Fighting and shooting what?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Guns.

The CHAIRMAN. In the office?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Had they been fighting and shooting in the office? Is that right?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct. There was a bomb that exploded in the Newark office previously.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE (reading) :

They should be taken up with the Central Committee. The Captain, C.C.N., he be put out of the Black Panther Headquarters as soon as possible, and the brothers and sisters of the Newark Panther can learn to act like Panthers and not like pigs, and stop fighting around each other.

The CHAIRMAN. I see a series of reports from this person.

Lieutenant BEARSE. We believe that these reports were made up by Isaiah Rowley and dictated to Donna McCreadie.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Lieutenant BEARSE. She gave a report on Oakland, Calif.; Paterson, New York, and Boston.

The CHAIRMAN. They are all in the record.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This would clearly indicate that there is a connection between all of the chapters or groups in the different cities throughout the country, would it not?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Mr. Chairman, we firmly believe this.

The CHAIRMAN. These reports indicate it. This same person was reporting on other chapters.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a number of those reports.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

Donna McCreadie: Residence 79 Jewett Avenue, appointed captain when Isaiah Rowley was arrested; also sent Duberry a list of alias that girls Jersey City No. 95 were to use.

Maria Finley: Secretary of Stand 285 Jackson Avenue. We have answer sheets to questions. Jersey City No. 97.

Charlotte Payton: A juvenile sentence October 29, 1968, after pleading guilty to A.A. & B. Assault on police officer, violation of probation to indeterminate sentence State home for girls.

Yvonne C. Scott.

Andrea Owens: Arrested December 5, 1968, at 110 Arlington Avenue, charge material witness. Have picture taken September 25, 1968, at Boland Street, Jersey City No. 98, Plainfield, Jersey City No. 68. Have answer sheet. Jersey City No. 99.

Arrested: May 17, 1968, Bloomfield, N.J., possession stolen property; Jersey City No. 100.

Penny Lewis.

Willie Davis also known as Zag. Residence 520 Bergen Avenue, date of birth, May 27, 1950, Rayfort, N.C.

Arrested: September 24, 1968, A. & B., D.P. Jersey City No. 101, 14A; have pictures when arrested while in Black Panther outfit and taken in Plainfield, September 21, 1968. Jersey City No. 48, 64, 62.

Robert Allen also known as Undertaker: Previously mentioned.

Johnny Martin: Previously mentioned.

Edward Mullen: Previously mentioned.

John Maxwell also known as Tank: Reported to be a squad leader and a member of propaganda bureau. Have picture taken with David Bell and David Williams. Jersey City No. 102.

Gregory Evans: Previously mentioned.

Timothy Jones: Previously mentioned.

Ralph A. Cobb also known as Budda: Residence 221 Grand Street, Jersey City. Date of birth, October 22, 1948.

Arrested: May 1, 1969, Linden, N.J., violation of curfew; May 12, 1969, fugitive warrant from Newark, two charges; newspapers articles. Jersey City No. 103.

William Best: Have answer sheet. Jersey City No. 104.

Gerald Pitchford: Another list with Count, real name Charles Hicks as leader on October 10, 1968, of defense classes. Jersey City No. 105.

Jeanette Cunningham also known as Mabel Thompson: Name given by Donna McCreadie. Residence 56 Park Street. Jersey City No. 95.

Sheila Cunningham: Residence 56 Park Street.

Arrested: December 6, 1968, disorderly person when B.P. Lt. Mark Daniels was cut. Jersey City No. 32.

Jeannie Wilson: Real name Aletta Imogene Wilson also known as Mary Murphy. Name given by Donna McCreadie. Jersey City No. 95. Arrested New Haven, May 23, 1969. Jersey City No. 106.

Margaret Leavell.

Barbara Cunningham: Residence 56 Park Street.

Arthur Thomas, Jr: Previously mentioned.

Bernard Wilson: Residence 261 Whiton Street. Have answer sheet. Jersey City No. 107.

Leo Wilkerson: Residence 100 Armstrong Avenue. Jersey City No. 108.

Arrested: May 28, 1964, possession stolen auto; August 27, 1967, disorderly person.

Edward Williams:

Theodore Martin: Residence 165 Wilkinson Avenue. We have answer sheet. Jersey City No. 109.

Tommy Coleman: Residence 221 Fairmont Avenue. Date of birth, August 23, 1943. Jersey City. B.C.I. 29657, F.B.I. No. 203437F.

Arrested: April 14, 1969, Greenville, S.C., investigation Jersey City No. 110; April 13, 1964, Greenville, S.C., H.B., & G.L.; August 18, 1968, disorderly person; we have answer sheet. Jersey City No. 111.

Tony Hawley.

James Washington: Previously mentioned.

Dennis Harrington: We have answer sheet. Jersey City No. 112-113.

Jeff Johnson: Previously mentioned.

Haywood Hawkins: Previously mentioned.

Robert Smith also known as Allen: Previously mentioned.

Yvonne C. Scott: Mentioned other page.

I would like to have exhibits made of pictures in Plainfield and Jersey City, of various people in their Black Panther uniforms.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the persons identified?

Lieutenant BEARSE. They are identified in a sheet attached to the picture.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It will be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 624" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. Our latest membership book is dated from March 25 to April 17, 1969, giving the times of persons entering and leaving the office. This book also gives new committee of Black Panther Party dated April 12, 1969. Also five new time sheets with the heading "Stand—For Black Liberation" from April 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 1969, with members' names and apparent aliases. We have also juvenile reports wherein various Black Panthers are named as being at Isaiah Rowley's house on 110 Arlington Avenue. At these times, guns were exhibited, how to make bombs, acid brought to house, and lessons on assassinations.

The CHAIRMAN. These documents show that—they were being taught how to commit murder?

Lieutenant BEARSE. We have statements from juveniles who were present at the time these lessons were given.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, they will be received.

Lieutenant BEARSE. I would first like to introduce the membership book.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 625" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. I would then like to introduce the juvenile statements on how to make bombs, bringing the acid in.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 626" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. These are statements from juveniles who were present?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And your police department received them from the juveniles?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The aims of the organization seem to be to stir up as much trouble and cause as much discontent as possible. During the latter 6 months of 1968, various people who walked past the Black Panther office at 285 Jackson Avenue were harassed and cursed at. At times they had to walk in the street to get past. The people who did complain were afraid to give their names. On November 1, 1968, a public service employee on a call in front of 46 Wilkinson Avenue was forced by Negro males, dressed in Black Panther garb, to accompany them to 285 Jackson Avenue and look at their heating unit. Before allowing to enter the cellar, he was searched and his pockets emptied. After checking the gas unit he informed them he could not repair it and was allowed to leave. On November 2, 1968, a gas repairman responded to 285 Jackson Avenue to install a gas meter. As on the previous day, he was also searched before he could enter the premises. Both men and the company refused to make a complaint.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would the company refuse to make a complaint?

Lieutenant BEARSE. We have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they afraid of reprisals, vandalism?

Lieutenant BEARSE. In my own personal opinion; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Information reveals a Federal Grant No. CG1328 was given to PAR for \$164,148 for the period of December 1, 1967, to November 20, 1968.

Senator MUNDT. Was that the time that this was run by the OEO, or by the Jersey City Council of Churches?

Lieutenant BEARSE. The Federal Government gave a grant and the Council of Churches also contributed money.

Senator MUNDT. You described a meeting earlier when it was decided to take it away from the Federal Government and have the Council of Churches take it over.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes. The Federal Government gave them a partial grant for them to phase out. It is not being funded by the Government at this time.

Senator MUNDT. And this list of names, was the staff at the time it was run by the Federal Government?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

I would like to present that exhibit. These are the staff members of Project Anti-Recidivism, the board of directors.

There is an application for a citizens radio station license, and a copy of the cost and grant number.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, they may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 627" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. During that time, non-Federal funds amounted to \$27,400; total for that date \$191,548.

List of staff members, board of directors, C. B. radio license, partial breakdown of moneys.

Copies of following cancelled checks from Community Improvement Alliance.

No. 801, Ralph Walker, September 23, 1968, \$60.

No. 808, Isaiah Rowley, September 26, 1968, \$100.

No. 809, Joseph Cypress, September 26, 1968, \$100.

No. 810, James Addison, September 26, 1968, \$100.

No. 811, James Brown, September 26, 1968, \$100.

No. 848, Gloria Nelson, September 24, 1968, \$105.

No. 840, Maria Finley, October 24, 1968, \$85.

No. 852, David William, October 30, 1968, \$110.

No. 853, Clara Vincent, October 30, 1968, \$105.

No. 854, David Bell, October 30, 1968, \$130.

The aims of the Black Panther Party are stated in their 11-point program.

Copy of Black Panther Party program and platform.

Black Panther Party rules and regulations.

Resolution establishing the revolutionary committee.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received and appropriately numbered as exhibits.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 628" for reference and follow :)

EXHIBIT No. 628

BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM AND PLATFORM

We believe that

The Black people in America comprise a distinct nation with a unique national character and should, therefore, enjoy the sacred right of all nations to self-determination; and that

The nature of the white American power structure is to impose colonial bondage upon our people and subordinate their will to that of its agencies of oppression: its military, para-military and police forces; and that

White Americans dominate our people not because they are our rightfully elected representatives, but on the contrary, their governing power rests solely in their ability to maintain colonial oppression and resist opposition; and that

Our people desire a free society dedicated to the economic, political and social advancement of all Black people; and that

No oppressed people can be considered free until and unless they attain a base of power which serves to represent their interests; and that

True liberation will require a total change in the political, economic and social philosophies, institutions and relationships of the country, primarily the self-determination of Black people must be recognized with all its political, economic and social implications; and that

Significant change cannot be built on compromise and alliance with the existing institutions of political, economic and social power; and that

Although the realization of our aspirations cannot be expected through the racist democratic social institutions and philosophies, temporary and partial, tactical involvement in open, legal political struggle can achieve certain intermediate aims related to the total struggle; pursuant to this disposition, we demand the following:

1. We demand power. Power is law and only power can decide the conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed. We demand the power to determine the destiny of our community.

2. We demand full employment. We demand the establishment of a Black Labor Board composed of Black people from the community to insure the equitable employment of Black people in the city's industries.

3. We demand the expulsion of the white pirate merchants from our communities. Our community can become economically healthy only if our capital remains there and is used for its development. We demand that white merchants in the Black community be forced to sell their businesses either to individual Black people who live in the community or to the community collectively. Those businesses that refuse should be expropriated by the community and operated cooperatively.

4. We demand the expulsion of slum landlords. White landlords have consistently refused to provide decent housing for Black people. We demand that these slumlords be forced to sell their property to the community so that we can provide our own decent housing. We demand the establishment of Public Housing Councils consisting of tenants with absolute authority over all aspects of control and allocation of funds for public housing.

5. We demand quality education which reveals a true picture of the Black man in America. White controlled Boards of Education have consistently perpetuated the concepts of white supremacy and Black self-hatred by providing an inferior and self-degrading mis-education for our children. We demand the establishment of community Boards of Education composed of the parents of the children enrolled in each school with absolute authority over the curriculum, hiring and firing of teachers and administrators and all allocation of funds.

6. We demand a restructuring of the welfare system to more adequately and more humanely reflect the needs of Black welfare recipients. We demand the establishment of a Black Welfare Board composed of Black welfare recipients to develop a system of guaranteed income to meet their needs and that this Board control the administration of all welfare programs.

7. We demand the exemption of all Black men from military service. Until such time as Black men can establish a base of power that represents their needs and interests, there can be nothing for Black men to protect.

8. We demand an immediate end to the police occupation of our community and the brutality that it brings. We demand the establishment of a separate Black Police Force responsible to the Black Community to protect our interests rather than those of the white power structure.

9. We demand the release of all Black men presently held in city and county penal institutions and that no further imprisonment of Black men be permitted until a fair and equitable system of justice can be established in the courts. We demand that Black people be tried by a jury of Black people from their own community.

10. We demand the right of the Black community to defend itself against repression. We demand the Second Amendment right to bear arms and establish self-defense leagues to protect our communities.

11. We demand a referendum to be held throughout the Black community in which only Black people may participate to determine the will of the people as to their destiny.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Central Committee.—The central committee is the administrative body of the party. It is responsible for the daily work of the party and shall administer the general will of the party.

To facilitate the operation of the Party, it is divided into four Bureaus with the following functions:

Bureau of Political Affairs.—Recommends operations on four levels:

1. Pursuit of a policy of instigation and activities which lead people toward an awareness of the necessity for control or destruction of both government and private programs which bear upon their lives, particularly those that are nation-based; e.g., Model Cities, Urban Renewal, and Anti-poverty.

In terms of those programs which are not nation-based, we should seek to control that portion which effects our community.

2. Movement towards establishing control over specific government agencies which effect our people, for example: City and County Welfare, Housing Authority, Sanitation Department, Public Works, Education, etc.

3. Movement to secure maximum "real" political representation at all levels, i.e., legislative, executive and judiciary.

A. Our method should be to run, or to support, political candidates who have the ability and the will to function as a nationalist.

B. In those offices where it is impossible for us to control, for example, at this point in time, the office of Mayor, a policy decision must be reached.

4. Movement to establish a separate municipality in the area now regarded as the ghetto, particularly Bergen-Lafayette.

Bureau of Culture.—It is the purpose of this Bureau to develop Black consciousness through Black Arts and Culture. All Black art and culture will be relevant to the revolution. It will be the Bureau's obligation to create, develop and present programs regularly so that there will be a continuous run of projects designed to enhance the level of Black consciousness. It is important that the Bureau bring forth bold Black images for Black people through arts and culture.

Areas of involvement:

1. History and heritage of Black people.
2. Orientation workshops and classes.
3. The study of revolutions and revolutionaries.
4. Black revolutionary theatre.

Bureau of Defense.—This Bureau is responsible for the development of tactics and strategies of defense to protect our community from the force and violence of racist police and vigilantes. It shall assume the responsibility for establishing self-defense leagues. Together with the Propaganda Bureau it shall launch a campaign to insure the Second Amendment right to bear arms and will advise all Black people to arm themselves for self-defense.

Bureau of Propaganda.—This Bureau shall act as an interface between the action bureaus and the masses of people. In addition, it shall serve as a center of information providing for intra-party communications and informational needs.

To facilitate its operation, the Bureau shall be divided into three offices with the following functions:

1. **The Party Press Office:** responsible for the propagation of a revolutionary ideology and the translation of party program and policy. Through the development and distribution of a party newsletter, leaflets, party position papers, and documents, it will constantly and continually advance a revolutionary line and present a clarification and explanation of party actions.

2. **The Education Office:** responsible for the establishment of a formally structured apparatus for political education and orientation. Specifically, this office will seek to establish a Liberation School to provide this education for both party and non-party members. This office will arrange for speakers and guest lecturers of national and international prominence to address the school. Toward the development of a meaningful curriculum for the liberation school, the Bureau shall work closely with the Bureau of Culture to insure a balanced integration of the benefits of both cultural and political enlightenment.

3. **Research Office:** shall make itself available to all party bureaus and committees to provide any and all research and/or resource materials necessary to implement any party program.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY RULES AND REGULATIONS

1. No individual will act on any party business without authorization of Bureau he is a part of or the party as a whole.

2. No Bureau to act as an independent agent without the knowledge or authorization of the general party.

3. Party business discussed at all meetings will not be discussed with anyone except those officers in charge of a bureau, for either information or clarification.

4. Any person missing three (3) meetings within a thirty (30) day period without a legitimate excuse will be expelled.

5. Meetings will begin at eight o'clock (8:00) unless otherwise posted, and the doors will be locked a half hour (½ hr.) later, no one will be admitted unless prior notification was given another party member to notify the party of intended lateness.

6. If any person betrays the party in any way they will be dealt with according to the circumstances and position of the Party to the extreme and ultimate penalty.

7. Those of us with special talents will be called upon to teach and perform their specialty for the liberation of the black people as needed.

8. You will be ready at all times to defend the party, at all cost, this meaning if you have to die.

9. All members will learn how to use and maintain firearms plus take lessons in the general handling of weapons, and how to use them.

10. All Black Panthers will take a militant stand on any subject, and their views will be of a militant nature.
11. All Black Panther personnel will be responsible to the defense unit, and the defense unit will be responsible to all personnel.
12. From this point on your main concern as a Black Panther is in liberating the black people of America then Africa and Asia.
13. You can no longer think of yourself as an individual but you have to think of yourself as an independent nation of an oppressed people; and act accordingly.
14. To defend the independence and security of the people.
15. No personal or sexual fraternization of any party member with white people without party authorization.
16. All General Meetings are restricted to the knowledge of the Black Panther Party.
17. All Black Panther men to show respect to Black Panther women and no running games at Party Meetings.
18. No narcotics on anyone at Party Meetings and on Office premises.
19. Any Press or News release to be given by Black Panther Officers, Lieutenants and up; although members may participate.
20. No Black Panther should run over or steal from Black People, do it to the devil.
21. Black Panthers show interest and respect to Black people, where interest and respect is due.
22. Black Panthers should always denounce the pig (white Man), his system, government, religion, and racism.
23. Black Panthers to watch and protect the interest of his brothers and sisters. (Example) If a Panther got busted, then the Black Panthers should try to take care of him and family.
24. No Panther who gets busted should be allowed to stay in Jail.

RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

Realizing that

The Black People in America comprise a distinct nation with a unique national character and should, therefore, enjoy the sacred right of all nations to self-determination; and that

The nature of the White American power structure is to impose colonial bondage upon our people and subordinate their will to that of its agencies of oppression: its military, para-military and police forces; and that

White Americans dominate our people not because they are our rightfully elected representatives, but on the contrary, their governing power rests solely in their ability to maintain colonial oppression and resist opposition; and that

Our people desire a free society dedicated to the economic, political and social advancement of all Black People; and that

No oppressed people can be considered free until and unless they attain a base of power which serves to represent their interests; and that

True liberation will require a total change in the political, economic and social philosophies, institutions and relationships of the country, primarily the self-determination of Black People must be recognized with all its political, economic and social implications; and that

Significant change cannot be built on compromise and alliance with the existing institutions of political, economic and social power; and that

Although the realization of our aspirations cannot be expected through the racist democratic social institutions and philosophies, temporary and partial, tactical involvement in open, legal political struggle can achieve certain intermediate aims related to the total struggle; and that

Mass activity unless well organized by a strong central core can be neither sustained long nor developed to a higher level; and that

Given sufficiently disturbed conditions, a cadre consisting of a relatively small number of self-dedicated professional revolutionaries could initiate the processes of change; and that

Since our struggle cannot, however be won by a small group of individuals, that cadre is obligated to knit our people into a resolute force capable of confirming the struggle which it initiates;

We do, therefore, herewith establish

This Revolutionary Committee of dedicated professional organizers, which through conspiratorial methods of organization for purposes of agitation and the

propagation of a revolutionary ideology, seeks to create a situation of social dislocation which will combine with the increasing fascism of white America to overcome the false alienation of Black people and instill a social and national consciousness and a revolutionary spirit conducive to revolt.

The two basic concepts which motivate the establishment of this committee are 1) that politically and morally, conspiracy is justified; that morality means doing what has to be done to make a revolution; that the end—the accomplishments of the revolution—determines and justifies the means of the revolution and, 2) that a disciplined, tightly-organized cadre can act as a vanguard of their people as the historical agency of revolution.

It then becomes incumbent upon those who accept the first of these concepts to create an organizational principle upon which one can construct the disciplined cadre demanded by the second concept.

It is the Committee's duty to lead the masses and not to follow their wishes since these will be limited by inevitable compromise in order to obtain the satisfaction concrete demands and will always stop short of revolution. The Committee has been established, therefore, as a secret conspiratorial body within the structure of a larger party as the decisionmaking machinery in order to fulfill several well-defined demands:

First, to insure the correctness of the policy and decisions of the larger party.

Second, to prevent the control of the party from falling into the hands of the advocates of compromise.

Finally, to insure that decisions are made efficiently and speedily.

Pursuant to this disposition, the committee will act to develop a hidden agenda prior to all party and/or bureau meetings to insure the direction of those meetings. It shall direct the entire work of the party and make all significant decisions. Ultimate determination of the party line and policy will rest exclusively with this committee. It follows that the existence of factions is incompatible with this concept. It need hardly be emphasized that the existence of factions leads to the creation of a number of leadership centers which connote the absence of a common central authority, a breach in the unity of will.

Reformist organizations can permit themselves the luxury of such democratic liberalisms as freedom for factions, for they have no need whatever of discipline. But a party which organizes its activities on the basis of the task of achieving revolutionary change, cannot afford to be liberal or to permit the formation of factions.

To facilitate the operation of the Committee and the larger party, it is divided into three Bureaus with the following functions:

Bureau of Culture.—It is the purpose and necessity of this Bureau to develop Black consciousness through Black Arts and Culture. All Black art and culture will be relevant to the revolution. It will be the Bureau's obligation to create, develop and present programs, regularly so that there will be a continuous run of projects designed to enhance the level of Black consciousness.

It is important that the Bureau bring forth bold Black images—for Black people through arts and culture.

Areas of Involvement.—

1. History and heritage of Black people.
2. Orientation workshops and classes.
3. The study of revolutions and revolutionaries.
4. Black revolutionary theatre.

Bureau of Propaganda.—The Bureau of Propaganda shall act as an interface between the action bureaus and the masses of people. In addition, it shall serve as a center of information providing for intra-party communications and informational needs.

To facilitate its operation, the Bureau shall be divided into three offices with the following functions:

1. *The Party Press Office:* responsible for the propagation of a revolutionary ideology and the translation of party program and policy. Through the development and distribution of a party newsletter, leaflets, party position papers and documents, it will constantly and continually advance a revolutionary line and present a clarification and explanation of party actions.

2. *The Education Office:* through the publications of the Party Press Office, the Bureau will provide a general political education and orientation of people on a large scale, but a more specific, formally structured apparatus shall be established by the Education Office. Specifically, this office will seek to establish

a Liberation School to provide the political education and orientation of both party and non-party members. This office will arrange for speakers and guest lecturers of national and international prominence to address the school. Toward the development of a meaningful curriculum for the Liberation School, the Bureau shall work closely with the Bureau of Culture to insure a balance integration of the benefits of both cultural and political enlightenment.

3. **Research Office:** shall make itself available to all party bureaus and committees to provide any and all research and/or resource materials necessary to implement any party program.

Bureau of Public Affairs.—Recommend operations on four levels:

1. Pursuit of a policy of instigation and activities which lead people toward an awareness of the necessity for control or destruction of both government and private programs which bear upon their lives, particularly those that are nation-based; e.g., Model Cities, Urban Renewal, and Anti-poverty.

In terms of those programs which are not nation based, we should seek to control that portion which effects our community.

2. Movement towards establishing control over specific government agencies which effect our people, for example: City and County Welfare, Housing Authority, Sanitation Department, Public Works, Education.

3. Movement to secure maximum "real" political representation at all levels, i. e., legislative, executive and judiciary.

A. Our method should be to run, or to support, political candidates who have the ability and the will to function as Nationalist.

B. In those offices where it is impossible for us to control, for example, at this point in time, the Office of Mayor, a policy decision must be reached.

4. Movement to establish a separate municipality in the area now regarded as ghetto, particularly Bergen-Lafayette ward.

Lieutenant BEARSE. They distributed a brochure describing books and manuals on explosives, guerrilla warfare, and weapons that can be purchased from Panther Publications, Box 369, Boulder, Colo.

A memo book entitled Urban Warfare is distributed. It describes the duties of the revolutionary. The duty of Urban Warfare. Weapons and molotov cocktails, how to cause panic and how to attack military vehicles and police cars and steal the guns from them; the sniper and his weapon, propaganda, demonstration, and strikes.

Copy of Urban Warfare.

I would like to present this manual, and also the booklet entitled Urban Warfare.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 629" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. You say they distributed a brochure describing books and manuals on explosives, guerrilla warfare, and weapons that can be purchased from Panther Publications, Box 369, Boulder, Colo.

Is that a Black Panther publication?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

You can write to this Black Panther publication and receive any of these manuals.

The CHAIRMAN. The Black Panthers don't necessarily publish the manuals but they make them available there? They can be purchased there?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct. They have collected them so they can be distributed.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they encourage their members to purchase these manuals?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir. These were distributed in the city and they requested that the Black Panther people send for these books and learn how to use them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Black Panthers actually publish these documents or are they published by some other organization?

Lieutenant BEARSE. From what I can understand, they are published by the Government. They are Government publications.

The CHAIRMAN. They are what?

Lieutenant BEARSE. They are Government publications.

The CHAIRMAN. You used here the word "Panther Publications."

Lieutenant BEARSE. This is the place, this is the area that you can send to, to Panther Publications.

The CHAIRMAN. So they are buying Government documents at this address?

Lieutenant BEARSE. They are not all Government documents. In this they give you the Dupont Handbook—these are books published by the different companies for their own personal list, but they can be published by other people.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to understand is this—are these documents that are published similar to manuals you might get when you buy a gun from a manufacturer, telling you how to use it? Is that what you are talking about?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Instructions about how to use it?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Government publications, what are they related to?

Lieutenant BEARSE. We have explosives and demolitions.

The CHAIRMAN. How to make explosives and how to demolish?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Safer handling and storage.

The CHAIRMAN. What else do they refer to?

Lieutenant BEARSE. They also make available leaders' guides for operations in Southeast Asia, a guide to the war in Vietnam, some aspects of guerrilla warfare in Vietnam, teaching kids to shoot, demolitions—"The Royal Engineers Supplementary Pocketbook," "Principles of Small Arms on German Infantry Weapons," "Japanese Infantry Weapons."

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Lt. Lonnie McLucas was arrested by Ohio State Police, December 1968. He was carrying a copy of "Urban Warfare Book," that details how to make molotov cocktails, acid bombs, incendiary bombs, and so forth, and how to use them.

Copy of booklet with letter.

In this booklet it shows the correct way of making a molotov cocktail and how to throw it. It says:

Practice makes perfect. Practice with an empty coke bottle. Practice till you can hit anything you aim at.

It describes on where to hit a police car or a jeep.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 630" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. We also have a copy of a pamphlet that was found on how to make a molotov cocktail, telling how to use a wine bottle. At the bottom of the page it shows a building burning, and on the top of it it says "Bambergers."

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 631" for reference, and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant BEARSE. We have various copies of pamphlets that the Black Panther Party has distributed, mandatory reading by the minister of education, definitions of the minister of education, a letter to the black community, Stand for Liberation, the Black Panther Party reading list. It gives 18 books. Also, the red book readings and curriculum for Black Panther Party political education classes. We have pamphlets where they are getting programs together for three to three.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice your exhibit 126, "How To Make a Molotov Cocktail"; then it says, "one-fifth size is cool."

I notice at the bottom it shows a bottle. It says: "Fill bottle with gasoline. Tie around it a rag soaked with gasoline. Tie it tightly."

Then it shows underneath that "Bambergers." What does that mean?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is a store in Newark. It is part of the Macy's chain.

The CHAIRMAN. Suggesting that they be thrown at these buildings?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Then over here it says:

Light rag, throw bottle at some white person or some white person's property.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They were specifically instructed to make war on white people. Is that what it amounts to?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is just what it does amount to, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this a part of the instructions given to children? What ages?

Lieutenant BEARSE. There are young children in the Black Panther Party. They have been recruiting them from 13 years up.

The CHAIRMAN. Recruiting them from 13 years up?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Have you anything else on your prepared statement?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Just some of the mandatory readings. I have a copy of them.

The CHAIRMAN. The what?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Some of the pamphlets that they hand out in our city.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they been handed out recently?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How recently?

Lieutenant BEARSE. A couple of weeks ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 632" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything else?

Lieutenant BEARSE. That is the completion of the statement, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, have you any questions?

Senator Mundt?

Senator Percy?

Senator PERCY. In the Chicago area the Black Panthers have been very active in connection with campus and college activities. Do you have evidence that in the State of New Jersey or in the area of Jersey City they have been active in campus disorders or riots?

Lieutenant BEARSE. We have had some slight incidents in St. Peter's College. The Panthers were invited to come. The Panthers were given a time to talk there. They have been active in all of the demonstrations at St. Peter's College. They were trying to start an SDS in the Jersey City State College and at the meetings there, known Black Panthers are in attendance at all times.

Senator PERCY. How important were their activities in these campus disorders? Would you say they were the prime instigators of them, or did they simply participate?

Lieutenant BEARSE. In our city they just participated.

Senator PERCY. Are they directly linked up with and do they work closely with the SDS on campuses in your community?

Lieutenant BEARSE. Yes, sir.

Senator PERCY. At page 6 you mention Dick Gregory, in the center of the page:

On October 9, 1968, Police Director George Whelan received a communication from David Bell requesting the use of Arlington Park for a political rally for Presidential candidate Dick Gregory. On Saturday, October 12, the rally was conducted as scheduled under sponsorship of Stand organization, which is synonymous with the Black Panther Party in Jersey City.

Do you have any evidence, that this constituent of mine has associated himself with the demands of the Black Panther Party, which include the exemption of all black men from military service and the release of all black men presently held in all jails?

Lieutenant BEARSE. To our knowledge, he was asked into the city under the sponsorship of Stand, which is the Black Panther Party. To our knowledge, he does not go along with what they say.

Senator PERCY. I see. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

If not, thank you very much. We appreciate your cooperation.

Lieutenant BEARSE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Manuel.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been previously sworn and identified. You may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP R. MANUEL—Resumed

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Manuel, you were present during the testimony of Lieutenant Bearse?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. When the discussion arose concerning the Panther Publications, Inc., of Boulder, Colo.?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Have you conducted an investigation of that?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. And can you tell us whether or not that company is connected with the Black Panthers?

Mr. MANUEL. The Panther Publications, Box 369, Boulder, Colo., is not connected with the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Would you describe who they are?

Mr. MANUEL. Based on information which we received in the form of a catalog put out by Panther Publications, this catalog is a list of booklets and catalogs, and so forth, which have to do with guerrilla warfare, training in weapons, electronic espionage, and so forth. There are about five or six pages of publications.

We went to the Post Office Department to establish identifying data with regard to Box 369, Boulder, Colo. The Post Office Department informed us that this box office is in the name of a Kenneth Robert Brown, of 735 39th Street, Boulder, Colo.

Further information provided by the Department indicated that this organization is in no way connected with the Black Panther Party of Oakland, Calif. They use the name Panther Publications, but they are not a part of nor affiliated with the Black Panther Party in Oakland.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Is it a group of white persons?

Mr. MANUEL. As far as we know, it is.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Would you describe what the nature of their organization is, or its policy?

Mr. MANUEL. They seem to be just what has been testified to here, with regard to having supplies of booklets on guerrilla warfare. They publish lists of books that they have and these books can be readily ordered by anyone on the right or on the extreme left.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Is it a rightwing organization?

Mr. MANUEL. It is our information that they are, as described by the Post Office Department, an extremely anti-Communist organization who put these booklets out. Our information further is that the organization known as the Minutemen make extensive use of these publications.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Some of these publications—are they reprints from Government printings?

Mr. MANUEL. According to the catalog, they have several manuals which appear to be Government manuals, not only U.S. Government, but British Government, manuals on certain types of weapons, anti-tank guns, automatic rifles, ranger training, hand-to-hand combat—these appear to be Government publications.

Mr. ADLERMAN. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

That will be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 633" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee. An excerpt from exhibit No. 633 follows:)

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GERMAN ANTIGUERRILLA OPERATIONS IN THE BALKANS (1941-1944)

This Panther Publications reprint of Department of the Army Pamphlet No. 2-243. This heretofore impossible-to-get work presents an accurate account of the protracted attempt by German occupation forces to destroy their elusive guerrilla enemy in his secondary theater of war from 1941 through 1944, maps, 82 pp., \$2.50.

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Prepared by a committee of former German generals and general staff officers, this Panther Publications reprint of DA Pamphlet #20-231 details the peculiarities of forest and swamp fighting. Chapter headings include "Military Aspects of Russian Forests and Swamps," "General Tactical Principles," "Combat Intelligence, Reconnaissance, and Observation," "Troop Movements," "Development and Deployment," "Attack," "Defense," "Retrograde Movements," "Combat Under Special Conditions." 39 pp., \$1.50.

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The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Lieutenant Olsen.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Lieutenant Olsen here?

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Grubisic.

I understand he will be right in.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p.m. the same day.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Senators McClellan, Mundt, and Percy.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The subcommittee reconvened at 1:40 p.m., Senator John L. McClellan, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of reconvening: Senators McClellan and Percy.)

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Lieutenant Olsen.

The CHAIRMAN. Be sworn.

You do solemnly swear the evidence you shall give before this Senate subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LT. WILLIAM L. OLSEN

The CHAIRMAN. Identify yourself for the record, please.

Lieutenant OLSEN. My name is William L. Olsen. I am a lieutenant with the Chicago Police Department.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been a lieutenant?

Lieutenant OLSEN. For approximately 2 years, a little over 2 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been on the police department 13 years?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. At the present time you are in command of what unit?

Lieutenant OLSEN. The subversive unit of the intelligence division.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in charge of that unit?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Approximately 9 months.

The CHAIRMAN. About 9 months.

Do you have a prepared statement?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with it.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

HISTORY, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Lieutenant OLSEN. I intend to testify first on the Black Panther Party.

The Black Panther Party had its origin in Chicago, as best we can tell, on about November 1, 1968. It is our understanding that sometime

in June 1968 several people got together and began making their inroads to the Black Panther Party national headquarters in Berkeley, Calif., seeking a charter for Chicago, Ill. Further, our information is that about October 1968 one of the current Black Panther Party members, a high official within the Black Panther Party in Illinois, traveled to California, sometime in October 1968, and at this time established contact with the National BPP office. The Illinois BPP chapter was subsequently recognized by the national central committee and officially opened their party headquarters at 2350 West Madison on November 1, 1968.

Within the party itself, the highest ranking official is the minister of defense, the imprisoned Huey P. Newton. Bobby Lee Rush, the Illinois deputy minister of defense, has stated that this rank is highest because the Panthers are at war with the power structure. During "peacetime," the chairman of the party will assume the No. 1 position. Currently, the national chairman of the party is Bobby George Seale, and locally it is Fred Allen Hampton. Fred Hampton is currently doing a 2- to 5-year term in the penitentiary for robbery.

Below the above ranks come, in descending order, the minister of information, the chief of staff, the communication secretary, the field secretaries or field marshals, and the various ministers. Except for those on the national central committee, all officers at the chapter level have their titles preceded by the qualifying term "Deputy."

The Black Panther Party has openly adopted the philosophy of the Chinese Communists.

I offer in exhibit an article that appeared in the Chicago Sun Times on May 25 wherein Fred Hampton was quoted as saying:

Question: Your goal is the socialist society?

Answer: That's our goal. That would be our first move.

The CHAIRMAN. What? I didn't quite understand you. What would be his first move?

Lieutenant OLSEN. The question by the reporter was "Your goal is a Socialist society?"

Fred Hampton replied:

That is not our goal. That would be our first move. When we got into a socialist society, then that would have to evolve into a Communist society.

The CHAIRMAN. So the so-called new social order is a step toward a Communist society?

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is according to the highest ranking leader in Chicago at this time?

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is correct, sir.

The next question that was asked by this reporter was:

You are Maoists, aren't you? You prefer Chinese socialism to Russian socialism?

His reply was:

Russia is not a people's republic. We think that China is a people's republic.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 634" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 634

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 25, 1969]

THE ILLINOIS BLACK PANTHERS: LEADER TALKS ABOUT HIS AIMS

(By William Braden)

The Illinois Black Panther Party appeared on the Chicago scene last Nov. 1, when it opened a headquarters office at 2350 W. Madison.

The Panthers are a national phenomenon, and it is possible they represent a significant shift in the strategy and philosophy of at least some militant blacks—a new phase in the post civil rights movement.

They have armed themselves. And they speak of revolution.

But what kind of revolution?

An answer to that question might be found in some of the alliances the Panthers have recently formed with other Chicago groups—with Puerto Ricans and (improbable as it might seem) with Appalachian whites.

To find out what the coming of the Panthers might mean for Chicago, a Sun-Times reporter visited their heavily guarded office and interviewed 20-year-old Fred Hampton, state chairman of the Panthers. Here is part of that interview.

Q. What are the Black Panthers?

A. The Black Panthers Party is an armed propaganda unit. People need to understand politics better, so we're out there every day trying to educate them to the works of politics. There have been many attacks made upon the Black Panther Party, so we feel it's best to be an *armed* propaganda unit. But the basic thing is to educate.

Q. You're also a revolutionary unit, aren't you?

A. Whenever you talk about educating people, then you're a revolutionary party. Revolution is nothing but a change, because man is always evolving. And we're saying that the state has to evolve at the same level that man has evolved, and the contradiction now is capitalism and socialism. We think it's time for the state to evolve into a socialistic state.

Q. Your goal is a socialist society?

A. That's not our goal—that would be our first move. When we got into a socialist society, then that would have to evolve into a Communist society.

Q. You're Maoists, aren't you? You prefer Chinese socialism to Russian socialism?

A. Russia is not a people's republic. We think that China is a people's republic.

Q. Are you necessarily talking about an armed revolution?

A. No. But, by what this country has done to nonviolent leaders like Martin Luther King—I think that objectively this says there's going to have to be an armed struggle. People have to be armed to have power, you see.

Q. The Panthers say they reject black racism. Aren't you trying now to ally yourself with radical whites?

A. We're saying there's a difference between people that are white and people that are radical whites. We say that if a man can take on revolutionary ideologies, if he can take on the Marxist-Lenin theory—not only in theory but also in practice—then that man can be a friend to us. We believe that the reason we have not been successful in the revolutionary struggle in this country is because—in the past—we've failed to unite with real friends for the purpose of attacking real enemies.

Q. Along those lines you recently formed a coalition with the Young Lords, who are Puerto Rican, and the Young Patriots, a group of white Appalachians from the Uptown area. Is that correct?

A. That's correct. This coalition took place, I'd say, around four or five months ago. We had a section chief who was working out on the North Side, and he ran into these people. He worked with them. We gave them books to read, and things like that, and they started, you know, to come along those lines. We talked about common interests, and common enemies, and when we found we had these things in common we decided to form a coalition.

The coalition was also to show that we believe in solidarity in practice. A lot of people are running around talking about fighting fire with fire. They say they're going to fight racism with racism. But we claim that you fight fire best with water. We say you fight racism with solidarity. We say you don't fight capitalism with black capitalism. You fight capitalism with socialism.

This race question has got people so divided they don't even have a chance to come together and talk. If they did come together, they'd understand very clearly that this is a class struggle.

We're all in that same class. That makes us all friends. The other people who are oppressing us are all in the same class. That makes them real enemies.

Q. Is it true you purge Panthers who show racist tendencies?

A. Right. Because many people in the Black Panther Party can't make the move. They can't step up when the party's ideology steps up. A lot of times we have to regear our program as the time changes, you see, and people that can't make these changes are purged from the party. A lot of people have been purged, and a lot of people are being purged, and there are many more who are going to have to be purged.

Why? Because the people are educated by the vanguard. So that makes the vanguard the elite group of the revolutionary struggle. All the people may form an army one day, but the Black Panther Party will be the vanguard of that army. So what we're saying is that everybody can not be in the vanguard. And there's nothing wrong with that.

Q. You're an elitist group?

A. Right.

Q. Another newspaper reported that your coalition includes the Students for a Democratic Society, the SDS. That's not true, is it?

A. They're not part of our coalition. We work very close with the SDS, and they help us out in many ways, and we try to help them out in as many ways as we can. On many political questions and on many methods we and SDS go down the same path—as far as theory goes.

Q. But you're basically trying to put together a coalition of poor people. Is the SDS—a student movement—really fundamental to what you're doing?

A. I see anybody that recognizes the vanguard party—the Black Panther Party being the vanguard party. And you understand what that means? It means that . . . provide the leadership for all oppressed people. It's up to us what happens. We paid the cost of being the boss. We were the ones in this class that were oppressed the most. But we've never had any hangups with the SDS over this.

Q. What do you think of the Rev. Jesse Jackson and his Operation Breadbasket approach?

A. In operation Breadbasket, most of the things they have—Black Easter and Black Christmas—these programs are to benefit businessmen. It's not geared toward the masses. It couldn't be geared to the masses, because it's capitalistic.

They need a program that's geared toward some good issues—like our free school breakfasts for children program. We're feeding almost 3,000 children a week at our three centers—1441 N. Cleveland, 500 E. 37th and 1512 S. Pulaski—and we're opening up another center now at 3906 W. Lexington. They're open from 7 a.m. to 9 a.m. every school day. Anybody who comes there we'll feed.

Q. When did you start this?

A. We started April 1. We started because it's a primary way of teaching the people the works of socialism. And people might say it's fundamental. But that's the way you start off—fundamentally.

Q. Somebody in the Blackstone Rangers [renamed the Black P Stone Nation], said recently that all Black Disciples are Panthers and all Panthers are Black Disciples.

A. Right.

Q. You have a coalition?

A. We have a coalition.

Q. What is the nature of that coalition?

A. The Black Disciples recognize the Black Panther Party as being the vanguard party of the revolutionary struggle.

Q. Some people are saying you've recruited the Disciples in opposition to the Rangers, or the Black P Stone Nation Organization.

A. We're not at war with the Black P Stone Rangers. As a matter of fact we're at peace with the Black P Stone Rangers, contrary to what a lot of people might try to interject. The problem is, the pigs (police) are trying to make us believe that the Black P Stone Rangers are our enemies and they're trying to make the Black P Stone Rangers believe that we're their enemies. But from what I hear from the leaders of the Black P Stone Nation, when I talk to them myself, these attempts by the pigs are failing.

Q. Why would the police want to set you against each other?

A. It sets up a better atmosphere for breaking into the office. And it sets up a better atmosphere for shooting Panthers in the back when the people believe that the Panthers and the P Stone Rangers and the Disciples are nothing but gangs. None of these organizations is a gang. But they put this gangland image on us and tell people we're out killing each other. Then when one of us gets shot in the head by the pigs, the pigs say: "Well, they were nothing but a gang anyway." And the people say: "That's right. I read about it."

I just went to a wake where a young man had been shot in the head by a pig. And you know, this is bad. But it heightens the contradictions in the community. These things a lot of times in fact organize the people better than we can organize them ourselves.

Q. Do the Panthers believe in forcing confrontations for that purpose, to radicalize people?

A. Well, we believe in heightening contradictions. Because when you heighten contradictions it heightens the awareness of the people, you know. But I don't see where any confrontation has to be forced—in the city of Chicago or anywhere else. I think that Mayor Daley's a walking contradiction himself.

Q. On the Rangers, though. The Rangers are here. Then you come to town. And you say you're an elite, a vanguard unit. Isn't there inevitably going to be some friction in a case like that?

A. No, no, no. That's not true. I'm saying that we're all about the same thing. That's one of the largest groups of young warriors in the city. And we're talking about war. How would we come into conflict with people with the same interests? I'm not afraid to admit that I'm at war with the pigs. Why would I be afraid to admit that I'm at war with the Black P Stone Rangers? There's more pigs than P Stone Rangers.

Q. Your coalition with the Young Patriots and the Young Lords is basically a coalition of poor people, isn't it? And aren't the poor a minority in this country? In this class struggle you talk about, how can a minority win a revolution without enlisting the nonpoor working class and a labor movement that is more interested in shop issues than it is in political abstractions?

A. The people haven't really turned away from class struggle. They've never been turned on to class struggle. And racism is what has put the laboring forces in the situation they're in. Now we're out here in an attempt to eliminate priority being placed on the race question and to place that same priority on the class question.

But we are fighting some tremendous forces of pigs. We are fighting forces that come out in the papers and say that the Black Panther Party is a racist organization. They say we believe in black supremacy, and they talk about the Black Panther Party as a gang, and they try to make the Black * * * gangs. We understand what a problem this is.

It's going to take some time. Nobody's trying to fool themselves. It's going to take some time to educate these people right out here on streets.

But we're saying that as soon as these people come together and unite with real friends, for the purpose of attacking real enemies, that will be the end of all this racism within the labor unions.

You have to understand, it's just like trying to convince somebody that he's tall and short at the same time, or he's fat and skinny at the same time. You can not be a capitalistic society and have the masses benefit. And whether you want to believe it or not, the Black Panther Party is a humanitarian organization. We deal with the masses of the people. And we know where the masses are at.

We have not, you know, made overwhelming amounts of progress in the laboring front right here in Chicago. But I am saying very simply that we do have plans, and some of these plans can not be exposed. We do have ways of revolutionizing unions. But that's a subjective thing. We have to be believed on what we say.

Q. You say Panthers have to purge themselves of racism or be purged from the party. Did you have to do it personally?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you do it?

A. I did it after the line of the party was run down, and after we did a lot of intensive studying. We all study together. And we studied the Marx and Lenin theory and put their theory in practice, and we didn't have any trouble doing it.

Q. It wasn't hard to do?

A. It was nothing. If you've got an open mind, and somebody tells you something that's true then you find out it's true—you just do it. There ain't no big thing about that.

Lieutenant OLSEN. Most of the 6-week political orientation classes that all members must attend is taken up with the study of Mao Tse-tung's collective speeches and writings.

I offer an exhibit, a mimeographed form that was put out by the Black Panther Party, or allegedly put out by them. It indicates the various pieces of literature that they must read and commit to memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 635" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. Parts of the book, "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung," are required to be memorized by Black Panther Party members.

I understand that has already been admitted to evidence. In Chicago, also, this book is a part of their required reading material.

The Black Panther Party motto, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," is one of Chairman Mao's most oft-heard quotes.

This is a newspaper article that appeared in the Daily Cardinal, the University of Wisconsin, Madison, on May 21 where he is quoted as saying essentially the same thing, that political power flows from a gun.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 636" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. In addition to this precept, the Black Panther Party has what they call a 10-point program. That, too, is reflected in a mimeographed form that was picked up by one of the party members in Chicago some time ago.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received. I wonder if it isn't identical to the 10-point program already received.

Lieutenant OLSEN. I am certain it is.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received. If there is any dissimilarity, it may be made an exhibit.

Lieutenant Olsen. Some of the demands mentioned in this 10-point program are such wants as housing, food, and education for the black people. Other demands, however, are such as to set free all black men from all the jails and prisons in this country and to exempt all black men from military service.

Working from their premise that none of their demands are being met by the so-called "Establishment," Black Panther speakers have, on numerous occasions, castigated the Federal Government as being imperialistic and oppressive.

On May 20, 1969, Fred Hampton, deputy chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party, delivered a speech on the University of Wisconsin campus, Madison, Wis. Some of the statements reportedly made by Hampton at this time—at this time I offer in evidence a newspaper article that appeared in the Madison Journal, Madison, Wis.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 637" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. Some of the excerpts are as follows:

Start demanding to be allowed to practice Marxist-Lenin theory.

You don't fight capitalism with black capitalism, you fight capitalism with socialism.

Socialism is just a step on the way to communism.
China would come closer to being my ideal social system.

The CHAIRMAN. All of this simply indicates he is a Red Communist.
Lieutenant Olsen. It does to me, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And so admits it.
All right.

MEMBERSHIP

Lieutenant OLSEN. Total membership in the Chicago Black Panther Party may well exceed 100 persons. However, hard-core members, including the Illinois central staff, is estimated at 25 to 30 persons. The identity of the central staff is revealed in the Black Panther Party's official letterhead.

I would like to offer that at this time in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

We will let that one be printed in the record.
(The letterhead referred to follows:)

ILLINOIS BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Central Headquarters, 2350 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

CENTRAL STAFF

Deputy minister of defense, Bobby Rush; deputy chairman, Fred Hampton.

Communications secretary: deputy minister of information, Rufus "Chaka" Walls; deputy minister of education, Billy "Che" Brooks; deputy minister of culture, Christina May; deputy minister of labor, Yvonne King.

Deputy minister of finance: field secretaries: Nathaniel Junior; Jewell Cook; Bob Lee; Ted Boston.

Lieutenant OLSEN. In connection with that letterhead, the position of the communications secretary is now held by Ann Campbell. The office of the deputy minister of finance, vacated by the resignation of Alvino Shinn (along with his wife, Iris, the former communication secretary) is temporarily held by Christina May, the current deputy minister of culture.

It should also be noted that field secretary Ted Boston (also known as Robert Stanley White) is currently in Detroit, Mich., on trial for an armed robbery he allegedly committed there. A list of the key members of the Black Panther Party in the Chicago area, and their positions within the party, is as follows:

Brown, Robert A.: 11400 South Vincennes Avenue, Midwest coordinator of the BPP. Also known as Mahdi, date of birth, June 5, 1948, IR No., none. (Recently not very active in the Chicago area.)

Rush, Robert "Bobby": Also known as Shala, 2030 South State Street, apartment 1408, deputy minister of defense for BPP—Date of birth, November 23, 1946, IR No. 226720.

Hampton, Fred: Also known as Slick, 804 South 17th Avenue, Maywood, Ill.; deputy chairman of the BPP; date of birth, August 30, 1948, IR No. 226927.

Brooks, Billy L.: 1320 South Kedvale, also known as Che: deputy minister of education for BPP: Date of birth, July 18, 1948, IR No. 181665.

Walls, Rufus: Also known as Chaka, 1530 North Orleans, deputy minister of information for BPP: Date of birth, September 6, 1948. IR No. 161595.

Satchel, Ronald J.: 6848 South Clyde, deputy minister of health for BPP. Date of birth, June 22, 1958 (not too active publicly).

Shinn, Iris: 3210 West Fulton Street, deputy minister of communication for BPP—(wife of Alvino Shinn; allegedly quit).

Shinn, Alvino: 3210 West Fulton Street, deputy minister of finance for BPP—(student at Northeastern College—allegedly quit).

May, Christina: 11358 South Bishop Street, deputy minister of culture for BPP. Date of birth, October 20, 1949.

Dunn, Diane: 7351 South Princeton or 8046 South Laflin, deputy minister of labor for BPP.

Childs, Cephus: 862 North Sedgwick Street, deputy minister of religion for BPP—Date of birth, November 23, 1947, IR No. 214317—(unheard of lately; might be in California).

Barker, Jewel: 7703 South East End Avenue, senior adviser for the BPP.

Patterson, Ronald: 2030 South State Street, Apartment 1302, deputy minister of economical development (allegedly kicked out).

O'Neal, William: 1544 South Springfield, chief of security for BPP. Date of birth, December 8, 1948, IR No. 134285.

Dunn, William: Also known as Billy Bones, 7351 South Princeton (lieutenant for BPP. Date of birth, December 18, 1946).

Stewart, James: 1431 South Throop Street. Date of birth August 22, 1949, IR No. 226014—(lieutenant for BPP).

Young, Eric: 7527 South Morgan. Date of birth, January 8, 1949, IR No. 177197—student at Wilson Junior College.

Reed, Robert: 13024 South Drexel. Date of birth, March 8, 1949, IR No. 225771—section leader in the Altgeld Gardens area.

Dunbar, William: 512 East 89th Place, student at Chicago State College.

Lee, Bob: North section of city (liaison man with Young Patriots and Young Lords).

Junior, Nathaniel: 7501 West 64th Street, Argo, Ill. Date of birth, October 21, 1946, IR No. 226716, Summit area.

White, Michael: 7500 West 64th Street, Argo, Ill., junior assistant.

Bruce, Robert: 28 South 15th Avenue, Maywood, Ill. Date of birth, November 28, 1947, IR No. 226015—Maywood area.

Harris, John: Also known as Smogy, 1208 Madison, Maywood Ill. (allegedly Hampton's local replacement in Maywood).

Harrison, Michael: 3605 West Cermak Road—St. Mel Providence School, 116 South Central Park.

The CHAIRMAN. Now I ask you to examine a chart just revealed on the board up there for Chicago, Ill. I ask you if you have heretofore examined that chart?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I have just looked at it now, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't seen it before?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. You can't verify it, then, can you?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir. I can look at it and see.

The CHAIRMAN. Make an examination of it now, with your list, and advise us if it is correct, if it is accurate.

Lieutenant OLSEN. It is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many names are up there? I only see five or six.

Lieutenant OLSEN. There are six. You don't list all the key positions of the Black Panther Party on that chart. There are additional members that hold key positions that are not reflected on the chart you have there.

The CHAIRMAN. But as far as the chart goes, it is accurate?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir; as far as the chart goes, it is.

The CHAIRMAN. That is according to the testimony you are giving and your prepared statement?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The chart will be received as Exhibit 638.

(The chart referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 638" for reference and faces this page.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, go back to your prepared statement.

Are there any of the members that you want to speak of in particular, or any information you want to give in respect to any of them? You may do so.

Lieutenant OLSEN. I think you will find as I continue my statement that I will reflect on some of the members within the party as I go on.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. They have all been placed in the record.

AFFILIATIONS

Lieutenant OLSEN. When the Black Panther Party first began delivering speeches on college campuses in the Chicagoland area, their approach was highly militaristic and terroristic. Whenever they were invited to address an audience, they would march in as a group and convey to the assemblage, by these tactics, that they were taking over. Members of the Black Panther Party, apart from those invited to speak, would station themselves in a military parade dress position at all entrances. Anyone choosing to leave the assemblage during one of their speeches will be firmly advised to return to their seat.

In the past few months their tactics have mellowed considerably. Since that time the BPP has formed a coalition with the Young Lords organization—a Latin American youth gang—and the Young Patriots—an Appalachian white youth group from the uptown area of Chicago—and a working agreement with the Students for a Democratic Society.

At this time I offer in evidence an exhibit which indicates a talk to some of the leaders within the Black Panther Party, the Young Patriots, and the Young Lords. It is a newspaper article that appeared in the Chicago Today newspaper on Friday, May 9, 1969.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the cover title there. "Odd Coalition"?

Lieutenant OLSEN. The title of this particular article is "Odd Coalition For a Revolution."

The CHAIRMAN. That appeared in what paper?

Lieutenant OLSEN. The Chicago Today newspaper, on May 9, 1969, wherein the Black Panther Party admits that they have formed a coalition with the Young Patriots and the Young Lords, and that they have a working agreement with SDS.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the pictures of?

Lieutenant OLSEN. The center picture is Bobby Rush. To the right of him, to the left in the picture, that is Jack Boykin, known as June

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EXHIBIT No. 580A

COLORADO

DENVER

CHAIRMAN
LAUREN RALPH
WATSON



DEP. MIN. OF DEFENSE
JAMES ELBERT
YOUNG



ASS'T. DEP. MIN. OF DEFENSE
VERONICA
YOUNG



DEP. MIN. OF TREASURY
GERALD
DIXON



DEP. MIN. OF INFORMATION
RONNELL
STEWART



DEP. MIN. OF RELIGION
RUSSELL
SIMPSON

DEP. MIN. OF CULTURE
MARY LOU
BROOKS WATSON

DEP. MIN. OF LABOR
STEVE
SHEAD



DEP. MIN. OF FINANCE
SCRL
SHEAD



DEP. MIN. OF EDUCATION
JUDY
BENTON

FIELD M.
MARSHA
CHAMBERLAIN

CHIEF - C
KENNETH
FRANKLIN

EXHIBIT No. 605

MICHIGAN

DETROIT

DEP. MIN. OF DEFENSE
MARRISON

DEP. CHAIRMAN
VICTOR
STUART

DEP. MIN. OF INFORMATION
LUKE SAMUEL
TRIPP, JR.



MIN. OF EDUCATION
LEONARD
BROWN

VICE MIN. OF EDUCATION
MARIAN
KRAMER



DEP. MIN. OF FINANCE
CASSANDRA
SMITH

DEP. MIN. OF JUSTICE
RONALD
SCOTT



COMMUNICATIONS SECRETARY
JOAN
HUCKSTEP

EXHIBIT No. 638

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO

CHAIRMAN
FRED
HAMPTON



DEP. MIN. OF DEFENSE
BOBBY
RUSH



FIELD SECRETARY
JEWEL
COOK



DEP. MIN. OF INFORMATION
RUFUS "CHAKA"
WALLS



DEP. MIN. OF HEALTH
RONALD "DOC"
SATCHEL

COMMUNICATIONS SECRETARY
ANN
CAMPBELL

EXHIBIT No. 620

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EXHIBIT No. 580A

COLORADO DENVER










| | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| PH ASS'T. DEP. MIN. OF DEFENSE  VERONICA YOUNG | DEP. MIN. OF INFORMATION  RONNELL STEWART | DEP. MIN. OF CULTURE  MARY LOU BROOKS WATSON | DEP. MIN. OF FINANCE  SORL SHEAD | FIELD MARSHAL  MARSHALL CHAMBERS |
| ENSE T DEP. MIN. OF TREASURY  GERALD DIXON | DEP. MIN. OF RELIGION  RUSSELL SIMPSON | DEP. MIN. OF LABOR  STEVE SHEAD | DEP. MIN. OF EDUCATION  JUDY BENTON | CHIEF - OF - STAFF KENNETH D. FRANKLIN |

EXHIBIT No. 605

MICHIGAN DETROIT

| | | | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| IN. OF INFORMATION  SAMUEL JR. | MIN. OF EDUCATION LEONARD BROWN | VICE MIN. OF EDUCATION  MARIAN KRAMER | DEP. MIN. OF FINANCE CASSANDRA SMITH | DEP. MIN. OF JUSTICE  RONALD SCOTT | COMMUNICATIONS SEC. JOAN HUCKSTEP | MIN. OF RESEARCH  JOHN WILLIAMS | MIN. OF ORDINATION WILLIAM CHAMBERS |
|---|------------------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------------------------|--|--|

EXHIBIT No. 638

ILLINOIS CHICAGO




| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|--|---|
| DEP. MIN. OF DEFENSE  BOBBY RUSH | FIELD SECRETARY  JEWEL COOK | DEP. MIN. OF INFORMATION  RUFUS "CHAKA" WALLS | DEP. MIN. OF HEALTH RONALD "DOC" SATCHEL | COMMUNICATIONS SECRETARY ANN CAMPBELL | DEP. MIN. OF CULTURE CHUCKLES MAY "Little Mao" |
|---|--|--|---|--|---|

EXHIBIT No. 620

NEW JERSEY

NEW JERSEY STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

CAPT. JAMES DULLY

DEP. MIN. OF DEFENSE

LT. COL. ISAAH ROWLEY



LT. WILLIAM E. McINTYRE

DEP. CHAIRMAN

LT. COL. CARL C. NICHOLS

LT. MARK A. SMITH

DEP. MIN. OF EDUCATION

MAJ. DAVID BELL



CAPT. CURTIS PRIMUS

DEP. MIN. OF CULTURE

LT. PRICE GOOSBY

LT. FRED ADDISON, JR.

FIELD SECRETARY

LT. FRANK KAISER

WILLIE PRIMUS

JERSEY CITY

CAPT. ISAAH ROWLEY



LT. DAVID BELL



DEFENSE

LT. JAMES ADDISON "Tree"



MARVIN JOHNSON



LT. CULLEN DARBY "Colt" "Coke"



FRANKLIN JENETTE



SEC. LDR. GREGORY JOHNSON "Crime"

EDWARD GRANT



JAMES WASHINGTON

W. DORRIS

ROBERT SMITH "Robert Allen"



EDWARD MULLINS



FRED HILLSMAN



CHARLES W. HICKS "Count"



PROPAGANDA

LT. CLARA VINCENT

DWIGHT RAINES

CULTURE

SEC. LDR. ADDIE JOHNSON

SEC. LDR. RALPH WALKER "Preacher" "Poet"



AHMER FULLER

JEFFREY STANBERRY



JAMES "ED" BROWN



HARRY HARRISON

ANNE MOORE ROWLEY



POLITICAL

JACQUALINE PAYTON



EARL MORGAN

LT. JOSEPH CYPRESS "Jo J"

VENELIA MAINOR

VALERIE HALL

TIMOTHY JONES

NEWARK

DEFENSE CAPTAIN
CARL C. NICHOLS

FIELD LT.
WILLIAM EDWARD McINTYRE

FIELD LT.
MARK A. SMITH

FIELD LT.
MARKI DANIEL

FIELD LT.
ANGELO LUIS RUIZ "Angelo Cruz"

FIELD LT.
FRED ADDISON, JR.

FIELD LT.
HERBERT MOORE

LAKEWOOD

CAPT. JOSEPH D. HOGAN



CHIEF OF SECURITY
LT. EARL B. FOWLKES



CHIEF OF SECURITY ENFORCEMENT
LT. BENNY HARVEY



ARTS AND CULTURE
LT. TED DUDLEY, JR.



SECURITY
LT. SOLOMON FOWLKES

CH. OF WOMENS' SECURITY
LT. DELORES P. HOGAN

SECURITY OF FINANCE
LUCINDA A. ANDREWS

NEW JERSEY

NEW JERSEY STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

CHIEF OF DEFENSE
ISAIAH ROWLEY
AM E.
RE



DEP. CHAIRMAN
LT. COL. CARL C. NICHOLS
LT. MARK A. SMITH

DEP. MIN. OF EDUCATION
MAJ. DAVID BELL
CAPT. CURTIS PRIMUS



DEP. MIN. OF CULTURE
LT. PRICE GOOSBY
LT. FRED ADDISON, JR.

FIELD SECRETARY
LT. FRANK KAISER
WILLIE PRIMUS

JACK CAWLEY

JERSEY CITY

CAPT. ISAIAH ROWLEY



LT. DAVID BELL



PROPAGANDA

LT. CLARA VINCENT
DWIGHT RAINES

CULTURE

SEC. LDR. ADDIE JOHNSON
SEC. LDR. RALPH WALKER "Teacher" "Foot"
AHMER FULLER
JEFFREY STANBERRY



JAMES "ED" BROWN
HARRY HARRISON
ANNE MOORE ROWLEY



POLITICAL

JACQUALINE PAYTON
EARL MORGAN



LT. JOSEPH CYPRESS "Jo Jo"
VENELIA MAINOR
VALERIE HALL
TIMOTHY JONES



UNDERGROUND

RUTH DICKERSON
CYNTHIA ROWLEY
AARON THOMAS JONES
GREGORY EVANS



LEROY JUDGE
LOUISE GREEN
JAMES "JEFF" JOHNSON
HAYWOOD HAWKINS



NEWARK

FIELD LT.

MARK A. SMITH

FIELD LT.

MARKI DANIEL

FIELD LT.

ANGELO LUIS RUIZ "Angelo Cruz"

FIELD LT.

FRED ADDISON, JR.

FIELD LT.

HERBERT MOORE

FIELD LT.

WARREN THOMAS

LAKEWOOD

SECURITY ENFORCEMENT
NY



ARTS AND CULTURE
LT. TED DUDLEY, JR.



SECURITY
LT. SOLOMON FOWLKES

CH. OF WOMENS' SECURITY
LT. DELORES P. HOGAN

SECURITY OF FINANCE
LUCINDA A. ANDREWS

SGT. TYRONE PAYNE

SGT. LAWRENCE GOODRICH



Bug. He is a member of the Young Patriots. Then the person to the left of Bobby Rush, appearing in the right in the picture, is Louis Cooza, of the Young Lords.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and appropriately marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 639" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. At the SDS National Council Meeting held in Austin, Tex., between 28-30 March 1969, the delegates passed a resolution supporting the Black Panther Party and its programs. Ed Jennings, SDS chapter leader at the University of Illinois Circle Campus, presented the resolution, maintaining that blacks are subjects in an oppressed colony fighting for liberation and self-determination and that SDS should actively support their anticolonial struggles. Jennings stated that the role of the revolutionaries in a struggle for self-determination is to push revolutionary leadership to the forefront through whatever influence they have. In this case, support for the Black Panther Party as the vanguard of the liberation struggle would help prevent reactionary or black capitalism supporters from assuming leadership.

In Chicago, the SDS chapter at the University of Illinois Circle Campus, led by Ed Jennings and the chapter at Northeastern State College led by Les Coleman are the most active supporters of the Black Panther Party program. On several occasions these chapters have sponsored Black Panther speakers on their respective campuses.

The printing equipment at the SDS national headquarters office, 1608 West Madison, is at the disposal of the Black Panther Party for its leaflets and various newsletters. Some of the leaflets lately distributed bear the dual authorship of the Panthers and SDS.

In connection with that, I offer in evidence some publications that have been issued bearing the dual authorship of SDS and the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received. Are these late publications?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I believe they are, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't want you to "believe" about it. Check it.

Lieutenant OLSEN. One of the exhibits—the front page—indicates a rally to be held on April 9, 1969. That is the only date indicated on there, sir.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 640" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. The one I have doesn't say 1969.

Lieutenant OLSEN. I know as a matter of fact that this is 1969, because this was to indicate to the people that there was to be a trial at the Federal Building at Jackson and Dearborn on Wednesday, April 9.

The CHAIRMAN. That is when the trial began?

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The SDS joined with them in this demonstration?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Lieutenant OLSEN. Although not a part of the BPP coalition, SDS has—according to Chairman Fred Hampton—recognized the Black Panther Party as the "Vanguard Party" in the revolution. In a news-

paper article—Chicago Sun-Times, May 25, 1969—Hampton discussed the relationship with SDS as follows:

We work very close with the SDS, and they help us out in many ways, and we try to help them out in as many ways as we can. On many political questions and on many methods we and SDS go down the same path—as far as theory goes.

I offer this particular article which I have just quoted from in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 641" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. Other indications of the alliance between SDS and the Panthers can readily be seen in the several articles that appear in the SDS newspaper, "New Left Notes," hailing the Panther program and denouncing the so-called continuous harassment of BPP members by police.

The Young Lords organization has recently, under the influence of the BPP and the SDS, appointed itself the "champion" of the "oppressed" Spanish-speaking people. They have imitated the BPP by wearing a purple beret. Their organization structure is similar to that of the Panthers and their demands are much the same. The leader of the Young Lords organization, Jose "Cha Cha" Jimenez, a frequent speaker at Panther rallies and demonstrations, first came to prominence when he disrupted a police-community workshop. Since then, Jimenez has led a march on a local welfare station where he caused a disturbance and was arrested. (He was subsequently convicted of disorderly conduct.) Most recently, the Young Lords, along with the Young Patriots, forcibly occupied a building for 3 days at the McCormick Theological Seminary campus in Chicago. The school officials refrained from calling upon the police to take any action, and after the 3 days of occupancy they left peacefully. No arrests were made.

The CHAIRMAN. What denomination is the McCormick Theological Seminary?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I don't know what denomination it is, but it is a theological seminary located on the near north side of Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. They took charge of it and occupied it for three days?

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. There are statutes in some States making it a violation of law to disturb a religious congregation. I don't know if they have any laws like that in Chicago or not. Apparently not, if people can walk into the church and take over the service, demand reparations, do a lot of other things, and seem to be immune from any punishment for it. That seems to be what occurred here.

Lieutenant OLSEN. It is, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

Lieutenant OLSEN. At about the same time the Young Lords organization was being recruited for coalition, one of the Black Panther Party field secretaries, Robert Lee, was holding meetings with the Young Patriots, a small group of Southern whites. Through Lee's influence, the Panthers were able to organize the Young Patriots in the uptown area of Chicago.

Like the Young Lords' organization, the Patriots have patterned themselves after the Black Panther Party. They now wear a gold beret.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the number of members in that group?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I don't have it available to me right now.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have such information, please submit it for the record.

Lieutenant OLSEN. We will be happy to.

(The Young Patriots number approximately 50.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. The Black Panther Party has attempted to recruit various large youth gangs in the Chicago area. Attempts were made to recruit the Black "P" Stone Rangers, perhaps the largest youth gang in Chicago, without success.

The CHAIRMAN. What does the "P" mean?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Peace, p-e-a-c-e.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Lieutenant OLSEN. However, on April 18, 1969, an article appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times newspaper quoting Fred Hampton, chairman of the Black Panther Party,

* * * the Black Disciples are no longer a street gang * * * they are a working coalition with the Black Panther Party.

Hampton went on to say :

The working coalition began about three weeks ago * * *

A similar article appeared in the "Daily Defender," a Chicago newspaper, also quoting Hampton in essentially the same manner.

The CHAIRMAN. You have an exhibit there. Did you want to place it into the record?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I made an error, Mr. Chairman.

If you go back, sir, on page 5, the last paragraph toward the bottom, it says "see exhibit 1." At that time I was referring to a previous exhibit that I have turned in.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Lieutenant OLSEN. So now, to bring this up to date, this article that appeared in the two newspapers which I have just quoted, I now offer in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. It may be received.

(The newspaper articles referred to were previously introduced as exhibit No. 641.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. It is estimated that there are perhaps between 1,000 to 2,000 members in the entire Disciple Nation in the Chicago area.

Senator PERCY. You say the Black Panther Party tried to organize the Blackstone Rangers but did not have success?

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is correct, sir.

Senator PERCY. You did not make any statement about the Black Disciples. Were they successful in trying to organize them?

Lieutenant OLSEN. According to the article that I offered in evidence just a moment ago, on the word of Fred Hampton, he admitted that they had formed a coalition. I have no intelligence or information from the Black Disciples that have said, "Yes, we have this coalition."

Senator PERCY. From your own evidence, are they influenced by or under the control now of the Black Panther Party? If so, is the

Black Panther Party considerably larger in its influence, than the 25 to 30 hard-core members?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Sir, it does not have that appearance. Just in viewing the whole situation, and in view of the fact that Hampton said he had this coalition, I have seen no physical evidence of this in Chicago.

Senator PERCY. For what purpose would Hampton try to claim that he had that kind of influences, if he didn't?

Lieutenant OLSEN. It is a method of their power struggle.

Senator OLSEN. To show that he is bigger and more inclined than he actually is?

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is right.

Senator PERCY. Do you have any evidence to tell us why they were unsuccessful in recruiting them, while they were successful, in the Young Patriots and the Young Lords organizations? Their obvious strategy is to try to take over and influence the existing organizations; is that right?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir.

Senator PERCY. Why were they unsuccessful in these two youth organizations?

Lieutenant OLSEN. With the "P" Stone Nation in Chicago?

Senator PERCY. Yes.

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is a different area, one that I am not close to. It is handled by the gang intelligence unit within the Chicago Police Department.

But as an observer and a police officer looking at things, I would have to say that the Black "P" Stone Nation is too well entrenched in the community. They would probably feel that the Black Panther Party can offer them nothing, but they can offer them something.

Senator PERCY. And they refuse to be taken over?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Right.

Senator PERCY. And the same thing of the Disciples, even though the Black Panthers claim to have control and influence over them.

Lieutenant OLSEN. Right.

Senator PERCY. But you have no evidence that they have?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No evidence.

FINANCES

The party is supported by a variety of means, ranging from speakers' fees to income received from the sale of the Black Panther, the organization's newspaper, published in California. Sympathetic white organizations like the Chicago Peace Council and the Chicago Legal Defense Committee have contributed sums of money to the Black Panther Party. The Chicago Peace Council is Communist infiltrated and administratively controlled by identified members of the Communist Party. Sylvia Kushner, secretary-treasurer of the Chicago Peace Council, has had many affiliations with the Communist Party U.S.A. She stated on September 26, 1968, that the Communist Party U.S.A. pays its \$5 yearly membership dues regularly.

I wish to offer this article in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 642" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. Jack Spiegel, cochairman of the Chicago Peace Council, along with John Pierce—also a member of the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam—was cited as a Communist before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in February 1959. Other members identified as Communists before the House Committee on Un-American Activities are Ben Max Friedlander, Eva Friedlander, and Emma Johnson.

Locally, the BPP has instituted political prisoner defense funds, to receive contributions which are being used to defray the costs of various trials involving local Black Panthers.

On January 24, 1969, Fred Hampton was arrested on a warrant for mob action, and in his possession were various checks.

I offer at this time an exhibit indicating three checks that were in his possession.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 643" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Senator PERCY. Could I go back to the first paragraph under "Finances" for definition purposes?

Jack Spiegel, cochairman of the Chicago Peace Council—what we are trying to determine is whether this organization is truly a Communist organization or influenced strongly by Communist people who are Communists.

It says that John Pierce was cited as a Communist before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. What does it mean by "cited"? Has he been proven conclusively to be a Communist?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir.

Senator PERCY. Just charged with being a Communist?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Right.

Senator PERCY. Was a committee determination made that he was a Communist and did they come to an opinion?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Not to my knowledge.

Senator PERCY. So he is charged with it?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Lieutenant OLSEN. One check was made out in the sum of \$15 and bore the signature of Paul Booth, one of the original organizers of SDS and a former national secretary of SDS. Also in that exhibit there was a check made out to the sum of \$10 and bore the signature of Daniel J. Stern, a professor at Northeastern Illinois State College in Chicago, whose teaching contract has not been renewed for the fall term, and an ardent supporter of SDS on the college campus.

On March 28, 1969, five Black Panther members were arrested in the 18th district for unlawful use of weapons after being stopped for a traffic violation. One of the arrestees had in his possession a paid gas bill for an office at 2350 West Madison Street (Black Panther Party headquarters) and it listed the subscriber as Robert Rush.

Senator PERCY. This completes your section on finances, Lieutenant Olsen. It is not a very impressive balance sheet or income statement for an organization that carries on the kind of activities that this is presumed to carry on.

As I look at this, the inference is that it is Communist infiltrated because the Communist Party of the United States pays the \$5 membership fee. For that \$5, I presume they get on a mailing list, get all the material and literature. It may be their way of surveying and keeping up to date with a lot of organizations. They may pay \$5, I don't know, to the NAM or the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to get on their mailing list to see what to take over at some point.

It doesn't mean that they are necessarily financing NAM or the U.S. chamber. The same thing might be true about Prof. Daniel Stern. But I am wondering whether or not it could be.

Do you have information that he sent his \$10 in for the purpose of financing the activities of the Black Panthers, or did he send his \$10 in to get on the mailing list? Maybe he teaches a course in this type of activity and wants to have the latest literature. I wouldn't want to assume that he is financing the organization—maybe he is, but maybe he isn't.

I think we ought not to leave the inference, unless you can tell us that you know for a fact that it is the intention of Professor Stern to finance the Black Panthers, by means of sending them \$10. Do you have information on that?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir.

Senator PERCY. Do you have any other evidence as to where they get their money? Are speaking fees adequate to finance this organization? We only have a few checks which don't add up to enough to make one mailing.

Lieutenant OLSEN. I cannot document it at this particular hearing, but we do have information, and I could document it, that they do seek speakers' fees when they are invited to talk on a college campus.

Senator PERCY. And those speakers' fees go into a bank account?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Presumably.

Senator PERCY. Do you know where they keep a bank account? Are you able to keep track of it at all? Is it a substantially financed organization?

Lieutenant OLSEN. The information I have is that it is not.

Senator PERCY. Do they have much financial clout? Are they able to really work with something and make an impact?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No; because so many Black Panthers have been arrested in the Chicago area in the past 8 or 9 months since they have gotten a foothold in Chicago, that they are constantly pleading for funds to help them defray the bond costs of their charged members.

Senator PERCY. Are you able to trace at all how much they spend, so we can try to learn where their income comes from?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir.

Senator PERCY. You have no evidence on that.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. According to the sworn testimony of other witnesses in the San Francisco area, they have their members go out and rob and steal to bring in money. Do you have any information about that in Chicago?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir; I have not. Again, I would like to point out that they have only been in Chicago for the past perhaps 9 or 10 months. They were given their charter on November 1, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You may proceed.

NOTABLE INCIDENTS

Lieutenant OLSEN. One of the first incidents involving an Illinois Black Panther Party member occurred on Friday, November 8, 1968. A female student at Wilson Junior College was assaulted by Billy Brooks, deputy minister of education for the BPP, in the school cafeteria. At a later trial, Brooks pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 21 days in the house of correction.

I offer in evidence a newspaper article that indicates the fact that he did receive the 21 days as a result of the charges placed against him.

The CHAIRMAN. He did what?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I said that he assaulted this girl in the school cafeteria and received 21 days in the house of correction. I have a newspaper article which indicates his arrest and the fact that he pleaded guilty and was given the 21 days in the house of correction.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. That will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 644" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. In the week following this incident, tensions at the junior college heightened. Black students at Wilson demanded the ouster of two white faculty members who taught black history. The black group sought to have the teachers replaced by black instructors. On November 13, 1968, a male Negro, later identified as Billy Brooks, accompanied by four unknown youths attired in the Black Panther uniform, assaulted one of the school's history teachers. Charges were not pressed.

The CHAIRMAN. Why were not charges pressed?

Lieutenant OLSEN. The instructor who was assaulted refused to sign a complaint.

The CHAIRMAN. When they refuse to press charges, are they intimidated or are they afraid?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I think in some instances this is the case; that they do feel fear.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to Professor Stern, you said his contract was not renewed. Do you know why?

Lieutenant OLSEN. This was a school matter, sir, and I do not know what reasons the school projected for not renewing his contract.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Is this Brooks the same one who committed the other offense?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Absolutely, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And this was a short time afterward. It is barely 5 days afterward.

Lieutenant OLSEN. Right, sir. I go on to say that on December 12, 1968, the dean of Wilson Junior College, Charles Monroe, was assaulted by this same Billy Brooks, who had attempted to take over a student-faculty meeting at the school. Dean Monroe notified police, who later took out a warrant for Brooks' arrest on a charge of aggravated battery, which, incidentally, can be a felony in the State of Illinois. In a later trial, Brooks was given a year's probation for this assault.

The CHAIRMAN. There are three assaults: November 8, November

13, and December 12, and then he gets probation. No wonder they feel like they can get by with anything in the country today.

Proceed.

Lieutenant OLSEN. Mr. Chairman, would you care for me to submit this in evidence?

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 645" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. On November 26, 1968, a public Huey Newton defense rally was held at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus. A transcription—tape—was made of the key speeches given on that date.

I would like to introduce in evidence a transcription of that tape. From the tape, I have reduced to writing two of the key speeches that were given.

The CHAIRMAN. These are excerpts?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, this is word for word the two speeches given on that day by Fred Hampton and Robert Brown. If you wish, I can quote some of the excerpts.

The CHAIRMAN. Did I misunderstand you? I don't know that it is all important. I understand you have tapes of these speeches. Have you?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I have the tape, sir; which is the entire proceeding on that day.

The CHAIRMAN. And you took the speeches from the tape?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I took two. There were about five or six speakers that spoke on that particular occasion.

The CHAIRMAN. So you do have the actual voice on the tape of what you have here in the transcript?

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is right, sir. And then from that tape, I have reduced to writing two of the perhaps five or six speeches that were given that day. One speech was given by Fred Hampton and the other by Robert Brown.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that Robert Moe Brown?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Robert Brown, as I understand it, was a previous member of SNCC and later moved on to the Black Panther Party. He has the title—you don't indicate him on the chart up there—of Midwest coordinator. He was the one, I think, who was instrumental in getting the Panther movement going in Chicago, and has since dropped out of the picture.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of the other Brown? Was it Moe Brown?

I am told it was Smoe Brown, from this morning.

Is this the same Brown, do you know?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I can't document that.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Lieutenant OLSEN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce the two statements.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received as exhibits, and you may quote from them.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 646" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. Due to the continuously profane language used

by these individuals, it would not be prudent to relate word for word the content of their speeches in an open hearing.

As previously mentioned, one of the featured speakers that particular day was Robert Brown, Midwest coordinator of the BPP.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, you have the exact quotes on tape. Lieutenant OLSEN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. And these speeches were made in public?

Lieutenant OLSEN. In public.

The CHAIRMAN. And you feel constrained not to make use of the same language here.

Lieutenant OLSEN. I wouldn't care to.

The CHAIRMAN. You may indicate where the language is so vile that you don't want to repeat it, and then continue with the quote that you have.

Lieutenant OLSEN. All right, sir.

Some of the excerpts from his speech are as follows:

We are going to clean this ——— town out.

I mean we're dealing with strategy. The only way for America to be free is to ——— up this country. The only way to ——— up this country is to cut off the vital supply lines. The damn airlines go through Chicago. The pipe lines for gas and everything go through Chicago. The ——— guns and ammunition is made in Chicago, understand that.

(At this point Senator Percy withdrew from the hearing room.)

And an educated man frees himself by whatever means necessary. And if you ain't got the bomb use the gun. And if you ain't got the gun, use the pen knife, and if you ain't got a pen knife, you get yourself some steel-toed shoes and kick the ——— to death. It's just that simple.

We are talking about creating a mass movement that is built on revolution and guns.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have to take a few minutes' recess.

(At 2:35 p.m. the committee recessed with Senator McClellan present.)

(At 2:40 p.m. the committee reconvened with Senator McClellan present.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Madam Clerk, you may place this letter into the record, signed by Senator Mundt and myself.

(The document is as follows:)

Pursuant to Rule 5 of the Rules of Procedure which was amended by the Committee on Government Operations for its Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations on June 3, 1965, and reaffirmed on January 17, 1969, permission is hereby granted for the Chairman to conduct hearings in open session without a quorum of two members for the purpose of taking testimony in the matter of militants, riots, civil and criminal disorders on June 30, 1969.

JOHN M. McCLELLAN, *Chairman.*

KARL E. MUNDT, *Ranking Minority Member.*

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Lieutenant OLSEN. On December 10, 1968, the Panthers were invited to speak on the Northeastern Illinois State College campus in Chicago by various student groups. Approximately 200 persons, mostly white, watched as 20 Black Panther Party members marched into the auditorium in a military fashion, and positioned themselves around the room.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we proceed further, these quotes from a speech of Robert Brown, were they at a public assembly?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I was not there, but from the information that I have obtained, this was a public assembly. It was a rally, "Free Huey P. Newton" fundraising type of a rally.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people were present? Do you have any information about the size of the audience?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I would have to go by memory, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. By what?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I have to go by memory. I don't have a figure with me, but I would judge that on that particular day—I was told that it was a full assembly. I would have to estimate that the crowd was somewhere up around 300.

The CHAIRMAN. Around 300?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Lieutenant OLSEN. One of the speakers, previously mentioned, Robert Brown, stated that their fight is not in Vietnam, but in the streets of Chicago, and they intend to "—— up the whole country." While Brown was speaking, Rufus Walls, deputy minister of information, removed the American flag from its stand and placed it on the floor. The speaker at this time was Robert Brown and he related to the audience that they always remove the flag (American); that if he had more time he would have brought the real black flag down here. Offered in evidence at this time is a recording (tape) of some of the speeches made at this meeting.

We have not reduced any of these speeches to writing because they are essentially the same as indicated in the previous transcript I submitted.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 647" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. There were two altercations at this meeting. One between an unidentified Black Panther member and a college student; and another, between an unidentified Black Panther member and a faculty member. Identifications could not be made by either the student. At this time, 11 Black Panthers were arrested on charges ranging

On February 7, 8, 9, 1969, members of the Illinois Black Panther Party visited the University of Illinois campus, but not without incident. At this time, 11 Black Panthers were arrested on charges ranging from disorderly conduct to unlawful use of a weapon. Nine of these Panthers later pleaded guilty as charged and were given fines.

I would like to offer in evidence a group of articles that appeared in various publications in downstate Illinois, which indicate the arrests.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 648" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. On March 10, 1969, several Puerto Rican groups, including the militant Latin American Defense Organization (LADO), marched to the Wicker Park welfare station, 1567 North Milwaukee Avenue, in protest to alleged inadequacies of the welfare

department. Fred Hampton and approximately nine other Panther members acted as parade marshals for this march. A confrontation resulted at the Wicker Park welfare office and Fred Hampton was later arrested on a warrant for mob action. That case is still pending.

On April 11, 1969, Nathaniel Junior, one of the field secretaries for the Panthers, along with another Black Panther member by the name of Michael "Mickey" White, were arrested by Federal agents, aided by Chicago police, for violation of Federal firearms statutes. At the time of this arrest, White was out on bond for the charge of attempted murder of an off-duty Chicago policeman. Neither of these cases have come to trial as yet. Both of these arrestees failed to appear in court, after making bond, and are currently fugitives.

On April 2, 1969, fourth district officers of the Chicago Police Department stopped a vehicle for a traffic violation. The vehicle was registered to Gerry Tyler, self-admitted member of the BPP. Driving the vehicle was Michael McCarty. McCarty refused to identify himself and was subsequently arrested. Besides a quantity of Panther newspapers in the car, officers found sales orders made out to Bobby Rush, the deputy defense minister of the BPP, by China Books and Periodicals, 2929 24th Street, San Francisco, Calif., for numerous copies of BPP literature and required reading material.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, if I may, I would like to offer in evidence copies of the purchase order.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 649" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. I notice one is \$140.09 and the other \$105.38. Is that correct?

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. One is dated March 11, 1969, and the other March 10, 1969. It gives a list of the literature offered.

Lieutenant OLSEN. Right, sir.

Pamphlets or newsletters published by the local party appear irregularly, usually in response to the arrest of a Panther or announcing an upcoming rally or demonstration.

That, essentially, sir, concludes my testimony with reference to the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. You have another gang in Chicago called the Deacons, is that right?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Sir, if you ask me questions on gangs in the Chicago area, I am not equipped to answer you, because that is a different police entity. That is handled by the gang intelligence section.

The CHAIRMAN. That doesn't come under your direction?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I remember we had the Disciples, I believe it was, and the Blackstone Rangers, two that were rival gangs, both being supported by OEO, the Office of Economic Opportunity.

A year or two ago they shared a grant. Most of their officers were ex-convicts or people who were habitually engaged in crime.

I wondered about the Black Panthers. You say they were unable to take over—which was it?

Lieutenant OLSEN. The Black "P" Stone Nation. They attempted,

from the information I had, to obtain a coalition with the "P" Stone Rangers.

Again from the information I have, they were unable to do so.

(At this point Senator Percy entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are you permitted to go in and search their records, to find out about their money?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Not without cause, sir. We would need probable cause in order to go in and make such a search.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have to get a search warrant?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. These three or four checks you made reference to were found on one of the persons arrested?

Lieutenant OLSEN. On a search subsequent to an arrest, this information was obtained.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that any indication as to the amount of funds they received, or did they just happen to be an indication of contributions from these sources?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Contributions from those sources.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Are there any further questions?

Senator PERCY. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Lieutenant Olsen, you are aware, of course, of the comments made by the Black Panthers themselves in Chicago about the harassment, the raids made on their headquarters, and so forth.

Would you care to comment as to the legal procedures used before such raids are made and the nature of the raids, what was being looked for, and the support and justification for the actions taken to answer these charges of harassment?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I did not participate in the raid or raids that you are questioning about. The only raid on the Black Panther Party that comes to my mind is the one that was made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

As a matter of fact, the Chicago Police Department did not assist in the actual raid so I could not comment on that.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will have to recess for a vote. We will return as soon as we can.

(Whereupon, at 2:40 p.m., the subcommittee recessed for a vote.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Senators McClellan and Percy.)

(Whereupon, at 2:53 p.m. the subcommittee reconvened after a brief recess for a vote.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of reconvening: Senators McClellan and Percy.)

The CHAIRMAN. Where were we?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Mr. Chairman, if I may, I have done a little research in the recess that we have had—

The CHAIRMAN. A little what?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I have done a little research in the time that we have had for a recess.

Getting back to that question you had before about Smoe Brown and Robert Brown, are they one and the same, I have found in reading the statement that was given by Lawrence H. Bearse, prior

to my testimony, today, that he refers to this James Edward Brown also known as Smoe in Jersey City. It is not the same Brown that I referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a different Brown?

Lieutenant OLSEN. It is a different Brown.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Percy.

Senator PERCY. Lieutenant Olsen, you have now made an intensive study of the Black Panthers in Chicago. They have only been there 8 or 9 months.

What is your assessment to the danger and the threat they pose in the Chicago community? Do you feel that the threat is such that it can't competently be dealt with by the Chicago police?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I think that it can be dealt with by the Chicago police. It certainly is a threat. There is no question in my mind that if they could implement the philosophies and ideas that they have, we wouldn't be too much longer safe in Chicago. But I think the Chicago Police Department is up to the challenge and can handle the situation in Chicago.

Senator PERCY. Are you rather surprised that in the 8 or 9 months they have been there, they have not been able to get more than a maximum of 100 members, and only 25 to 30 hard-core workers?

Lieutenant OLSEN. My information is that they are somewhat skeptical in taking on new recruits. My information is that they put the potential candidate through a rigorous screening process. They just don't accept anybody.

Senator PERCY. In other words, they want to be very careful to have dedicated people who believe in their 10 demands and are willing to go to every extreme to carry them out?

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is true, sir. In addition to that, they are deathly afraid of so-called police infiltrators.

Senator PERCY. Right. Do you feel that you have adequate legislation? Is more legislation needed to give you whatever authority you might need to cope with this problem, or do you feel that adequate legislation and resources exist to deal with it in Chicago?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I think adequate legislation is available to us right now. I just offhand can't think of any additional legislation that would be required to handle the problem. I would like to see the apathy that I have noticed among the populace erased.

Senator PERCY. A reasonable person might say that several of the demands they make are just simply ridiculous. Freeing every black man from every prison and jail, exempting men from military service simply because they are black—no other reason, just because they are black. Buried in with those they have other demands which are not as excessive as those.

Do you see the technique used by this organization where they try to attract dissidents who are moderate, as a means of bringing more people in and broadening their ranks?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I think this is demonstrated by the coalition that they have made with the Young Patriots and the Young Lords in the Chicago area.

Senator PERCY. In other words, they take up legitimate grievances, and dissatisfactions that are more constructive, and try to espouse those.

Lieutenant OLSEN. Absolutely, sir.

Senator PERCY. What are some of those? Would you categorize that as the intention and purpose of, say, the hot breakfast program? Who could be against a hot breakfast for a hungry child?

Is the whole purpose, in your judgment, to simply use that as a screen for their real purpose, which is overthrow?

Lieutenant OLSEN. As an individual, I would say that this is correct, that they use this type of program to elicit the support of the community.

Senator PERCY. But you have no evidence to support the fact that this is a cynicism, but it is just the impression on your part?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Right.

Senator PERCY. Can you think of any of their demands, or appeals to people, showing dissatisfaction with society that are particularly appealing, and where you feel that they even have justification for what they are espousing? Is it an attractive appeal to try to bring in more people into their movement?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I can think of none offhand.

Senator PERCY. None that has any particular appeal?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir.

Senator PERCY. Do you have any evidence to support the belief that some might have that the Black Panthers were connected with any of the Chicago riots that we experienced?

You have pointed out certain disturbances at a local police station. Do you have any evidence that they were connected with the big riots that we had on the West Side of Chicago, and particularly the day following Martin Luther King's death?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir. Other than one of the members of the Black Panther Party, I believe Bobby Seale, is currently under indictment in the Federal courts in Chicago for conspiracy action that the U.S. Government is going against eight conspirators.

It wouldn't be within my realm to comment on that because the case is still pending. I do know that Bobby Seale is a Black Panther, and to that extent there is some connection.

Senator PERCY. You indicate they have been very active on campuses, that is this part of their activity in Chicago. The most serious uprising we had was on the University of Chicago campus where a building was seized and held for a number of days by students, and property damage resulted.

Do you have any evidence that the Black Panthers have had anything to do with any of the members who were in the building?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I have nothing with me to document that, Mr. Senator. I cannot comment on that at this particular time.

Senator PERCY. The last question: On the bottom of page 4, Lieutenant Olsen says, Mr. Chairman, that in the past few months their tactics have mellowed considerably.

Do you know why, Lieutenant?

In other words, have the tactics that they used before failed and have they now mellowed them for some reason?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Again, I am speaking as an individual as opposed to being a spokesman for the Chicago Police Department.

As an individual, who has had a chance to observe the efforts of the Black Panther Party, I would have to say that by virtue of the

move that they made and their coalition with the Young Patriots and the Young Lords, that if they were appealing to the white community for support, then they would have to mellow their tactics or they would alienate them.

(At this point Senator Mundt entered the hearing room.)

Senator PERCY. As I understand it, the Black Panthers is a black organization,

Lieutenant OLSEN. To my understanding, yes.

Senator PERCY. Why do you suppose they have to seek out the support and coalition with white organizations?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Because they weren't going anyplace.

Senator PERCY. In other words, the black community was not responsive enough to them, and they had to seek out radicals within the white community?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Absolutely.

Senator PERCY. And they were able to because the Spanish-speaking people in Chicago felt they were going no where unless they got a little more demanding?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I would presume that.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much, indeed. I think, really, your testimony is the revealing insight into the failure of the Black Panthers, and the fact that in a community of 5 million people, they could only get 25 to 30 hard-core workers and 100 so-called members.

They look like a bankrupt organization, financially. We can't trace much to them. They haven't had much to do. They haven't had any provable relationship with any of the campus or city riots that we have had, except that one instance.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you say they were organized in Chicago?

Lieutenant OLSEN. When were they organized?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Lieutenant OLSEN. As best we can pinpoint it, it would have been about November 1, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. That was after Martin Luther King's death, wasn't it?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir; it is.

The CHAIRMAN. So they didn't have an organization there at that time?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you to say you don't consider the organization dangerous?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I never said that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say about it?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I said that if they were able to initiate the precepts and philosophies that they have, if they were able to implement them in society, it would be a terrible danger to the community.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they need watching?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I certainly do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you can deal with them. How do you propose to deal with them?

Lieutenant OLSEN. As we have been. They make mistakes. They commit crimes. Routinely, police agents or officers go after them and they are arrested and duly charged.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you regard them as a lawless element or a lawless mob?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So they are a criminal organization to all intents and purposes; are they not?

Lieutenant OLSEN. It would appear that way.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, so far as you can tell, from what you have observed, and the documents you have from them.

Lieutenant OLSEN. Judging from the number of arrests that Black Panther Party members have been involved in in the past 8 or 9 months that they have been involved in Chicago, that would show it.

The CHAIRMAN. What about their teachings? What do they teach?

Lieutenant OLSEN. They teach violence, as I mentioned earlier.

The CHAIRMAN. You wouldn't call that a peaceful organization.

Lieutenant OLSEN. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. They also teach murder; don't they?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't call that peaceful, do you?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They also follow the theory that first you get socialism and that is just a step and then you have communism; is that correct?

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And their leaders declare their allegiance to Mao Tse-tung; is that correct?

Lieutenant OLSEN. As I have indicated in my statement, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is an organization that needs watching; isn't it?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Have you anything, Senator Mundt?

Senator MUNDT. Speaking of the evil that they teach, they also teach communism, do they not?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir.

Senator MUNDT. That is according to the deputy chairman. Speaking in Wisconsin, he said:

You don't fight capitalism with black capitalism; you fight capitalism with socialism.

Then he says:

Socialism is just a step on the way to communism.

So it seems to me in addition to teaching violence, they also teach the overthrow of our democratic processes and our constitutional Government.

Lieutenant OLSEN. They do, sir.

Senator MUNDT. That makes them dangerous, if they did nothing else besides that.

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir.

Senator MUNDT. I am glad you are watching them. I am glad you are on top of the effort. I noticed in reading your paper that they had formed some kind of coalition with the Black Disciples, which, as I recall, was one of the two rival gangs in South Chicago. They had the Blackstone Rangers and Black Disciples.

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is correct, sir.

Senator MUNDT. The Black Disciples in itself was an organization vastly greater than 100 members. If this was an effective coalition, they would have a lot more members than 100.

Lieutenant OLSEN. The P Stone Nation or the Disciples?

Senator MUNDT. The Disciples.

Lieutenant OLSEN. I think I have indicated in my testimony they have between 1,000 and 2,000 members as submitted in the entire Disciple Nation.

Senator MUNDT. Do you feel the coalition they have formed with the Black Disciples is a coalition primarily at the top level rather than the members themselves?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Again, Senator, we have no outward evidence that there has been a real, solid coalition between the Disciples and the Panther Party.

The only evidence that we have is the statement that Fred Hampton made to the press that a coalition in fact had been formed.

To my knowledge, the Disciples have not, by way of return questioning, reaffirmed Hampton's statement that there is, in fact, this coalition.

Senator MUNDT. The only evidence you have, then, is what might very well be the self-serving declaration of Fred Hampton?

Lieutenant OLSEN. That is correct.

Senator MUNDT. Have you heard any rumbles or have you any information that they tried to make a coalition with the Blackstone Rangers?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes. Again, I testified there earlier and I indicated that the intelligence, the knowledge we have, they were unsuccessful in their move to form a coalition with the P Stone Nation. The P Stone Nation, from what information I have, felt that they could fairly well get along without them.

Senator MUNDT. The Blackstone Rangers have a new name now?

Lieutenant OLSEN. They call them the Black "P" Stone Rangers. The P stands for peace.

Senator MUNDT. Do they have the same leadership they had when we were investigating them before?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Again, sir, as I testified earlier, I don't handle the gang problem in Chicago. This is handled by another police entity. I am charged with the responsibility of the subversive section of the Chicago Intelligence Division.

Senator MUNDT. Thank you.

Senator PERCY. Senator Mundt, I would like to comment here. It was new knowledge to me that Lieutenant Olsen has given today that the attempt to take over these two very large and powerful and well armed youth gangs, the Disciples and the Blackstone Rangers, has been notably unsuccessful.

Lieutenant Olsen felt that they felt they were going to be used. They are well established. They had nothing to gain by throwing themselves in with the Black Panthers, whereas, the two organizations that they have been able to assume control over were the Young Lords organization, which is a Spanish-speaking group championing the Mexican and Puerto Rican people in Chicago, and the Young Patriots, which is a small group of Southern whites.

This was new evidence to me and I think exceedingly interesting. But they have been very unsuccessful, apparently, in the black community, in carrying this Maoist extremist viewpoint forward and have remained relatively small in that community despite their organizing attempts.

And on SDS they have been successful in aligning themselves with them, is that right?

In Illinois and in Chicago, what proportion of SDS would be black and what proportion would be white?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I couldn't answer that, Senator. I don't have those figures with me.

Senator PERCY. The SDS would be a lot larger than 100 members, wouldn't it?

Lieutenant OLSEN. There is no question about it.

Senator MUNDT. What evidence is there, as Senator Percy suggests, that they either have tried and failed, or tried and succeeded, or are presently trying to form a coalition in Chicago with the SDS?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I indicated earlier that the Black Panther Party admitted, in effect, that they had a coalition with the Disciples, the Young Patriots and the Young Lords, and that they had a working agreement with SDS, and that SDS has recognized the Black Panther Party as the vanguard in the revolution.

Senator MUNDT. We had earlier testimony from earlier witnesses to that same effect, that they work together, kind of in and out. But you don't have any statistics on the SDS?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir; I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything on the recent convention of the SDS in Chicago? I didn't see anything in your statement about it.

Lieutenant OLSEN. One of my sergeants, who I presume will follow my testimony, Sergeant Grubisic, I think will offer testimony in that area.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will cover that?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a statement here on the Republic of New Africa, a short statement? Do you want to comment on that?

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Lieutenant OLSEN. The Republic of New Africa in Chicago and the Chicagoland area, to the knowledge of the Chicago Police Department, has not been too active, at least they have not been vocal.

The RNA consulate in Chicago has no regular meetingplace; they have used, on occasions, the Afro-Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel, the Abraham Lincoln Center, 700 E. Oakwood, and allegedly the Black Peoples Typographical Center, 633 East 75th Street. Approximately 12 persons attended meetings on a regular basis, and on one occasion they had 27 persons in attendance. The Chicago consulate has been unable, as best we can tell, to draw any support for new membership from the other militant factions in the city, and therefore, they have not been involved in any disturbances or incidents as a group, or in connection with any other militant groups, as far as we can tell, in the Chicago area.

The CHAIRMAN. When was this group organized in Chicago?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I don't believe I could document the exact date they started. As I said earlier, Senator, they haven't even gotten off the ground. By that, I mean they have not indicated to the Chicago Police Department that they are violating the laws in any sense so that we would engage in observing their activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a recent organization? You said the Black Panthers were organized sometime last fall; November, I believe. You don't have to be accurate. If you don't know, just say so.

Lieutenant OLSEN. I can't document that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed with your statement.

Lieutenant OLSEN. On May 30 to June 1, 1968, the Republic of New Africa held a legislative convention in Chicago at the Urban Training Center, 40 North Ashland. The purpose of the convention was to discuss possible changes in their constitution, the key proposals, and their declaration of independence.

In connection with that, I have some written matter which indicates their constitution, the proposals that they discussed, and if I am not mistaken, this may have been offered in evidence by the person who testified in behalf of Detroit, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. The clerk may examine it. If it is the same, it may be referred to as the exhibit already in the record.

If not, you may make it an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 650" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant OLSEN. When the Republic of New Africa was first formed, its founders prepared a draft of the proposed provisional government.

In this draft they indicated the branches of government, along with the responsibilities and duties of each.

The consulate in Chicago, as best we can tell, is currently operated by a staff of five officers:

President, Huff, Byron J., also known as Songo, Sonya, 1414 East 66th Place.

Vice counsel, Arnold, Edmund, also known as Omar Bey, 621 East 41st.

Treasurer, Miller, Lawrence, also known as Abdul Babo, 3768 South Wabash Avenue.

Secretary, Holmes, Omega F/N, 4922 South Blackstone Avenue.

Corresponding secretary, Huff, Sandra, also known as Songo, Sandra, 1414 East 66th Place.

The following are active members in the Chicago Consulate:

Barber, Howard, 6024 South Champlain Avenue (civil rights activist).

Barber, Athedore, 6024 South Champlain Avenue (civil rights activist).

Davis, Philip, 548 East 49th Street—Uses name of Ali Baba.

Wilkerson, Willie, 3700 South Indiana Avenue—also known as Olodele Ellhube.

Smith, Dennis L., 3403 South Giles Avenue—also known as Ashuba Esu.

Fitzhugh, Carlos, 7900 South Paxton Avenue.

McWilliams, Gregory 1536 South Kedzie Avenue.

Coley, Mathew, 546 North Hamlin Avenue.

Senator PERCY. Do you consider the Republic of New Africa as organized in Chicago a subversive activity?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Would you repeat that question?

Senator PERCY. Do you consider the Republic of New Africa, the Chicago chapter, which you have been following and reporting on today, a subversive activity?

In other words, is it followed by your unit?

Lieutenant OLSEN. No, sir, it is not.

Senator PERCY. Then on what basis was this report made today?

Lieutenant OLSEN. Just on information that we have currently in the intelligence division files. I am simply telling you, Senator, that we do not actively engage in any observation of this group.

Senator PERCY. You do not. Do you have any knowledge as to the Chicago chapter purpose and objectives?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I know so little about this organization I couldn't give you a comprehensive answer on that, sir.

Senator PERCY. You make the statement that the Chicago consulate has been unable to draw any support for new membership from the other militant factions in the city.

Do you know why they have not been able to?

Lieutenant OLSEN. I don't, sir. This information comes from our files.

Senator PERCY. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Thank you very much.

Call the next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Sgt. Joseph Grubisic.

The CHAIRMAN. Be sworn.

You do solemnly swear the evidence you shall give before this Senate subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SGT. JOSEPH P. GRUBISIC

The CHAIRMAN. You may identify yourself.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. My name is Joseph P. Grubisic. I am a sergeant of police with the Chicago Police Department. I have been a member of the department for over 9 years and am presently assigned to the subversive unit of the intelligence division. I have been invited to testify before this committee on three organizations: The Students for a Democratic Society, SDS; the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, SNCC; and the Revolutionary Action Movement, RAM.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Students for a Democratic Society, SDS, developed in 1962 when members of the executive committee of the Student League for an Industrial Democracy, SLID, voted to change its name to SDS. SLID was a student affiliate of the League for an Industrial Democracy, LID, a Socialist-oriented nonprofit educational institution founded in 1905 by Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and Clarence Darrow (New York Times, Mar. 15, 1965, p. 26, sec. c).

The decision made by the executive committee of SLID to change its name to SDS was based upon the assumption that a tax-exempt youth group of LID would be prohibited from conducting any overt activities, therefore, to enable it to participate more vigorously in activities as a group, it was necessary to disassociate itself from the LID.

Even though the executive committee of SLID announced its independence of LID, it was not until the SDS National Convention in 1966 that they became totally independent of LID. The delegates to this convention passed amendments which deleted all reference to LID from the SDS constitution.

The specific phrases deleted from the constitution were:

1. "SDS shall be affiliated with LID * * *" (taken from art. II).

2. "* * * that the SDS shall be autonomously constituted, though its policy and functioning shall be within the broad aims and principles of the LID * * *" (taken from art. IX, sec. 1).

3. "The determination of policy, programs, administrative procedures of SDS shall be subject to review of LID * * *" (taken from art. IX, sec. 2).

The founding convention of SDS was held in Port Huron, Mich., on June 11-15, 1962. The majority of those in attendance were students from the University of Michigan, including Rennie Davis. Tom Hayden was elected president and Paul Booth vice president.

During the fall of 1967, Rennie Davis, a former national council member of SDS in 1963, visited North Vietnam at the invitation of the Hanoi government (Chicago Daily News, Sept. 9, 1968). Upon his return to Chicago, Davis gave several talks to various groups concerning his trip and placed particular emphasis upon supposed American atrocities committed in Vietnam.

Tom Hayden, Prof. Staughton Lynd, and the Communist Party theoretician Herbert Aptheker, traveled to North Vietnam in defiance of U.S. travel restrictions after Aptheker received an invitation from Hanoi for himself and two others. Hayden represented SDS while Lynd represented the Viet Report, of which he was an advisory board member.

The Viet Report is a monthly publication critical of U.S. policy in Vietnam. It is published at 133 West 72d Street, New York City, N.Y. Viet Report sales are primarily confined to college campuses.

Promoting sales are such groups as SDS, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the American Friends Service Committee. The editor and founder is Carol Brightman, who is originally from Winnetka, Ill. Carol Brightman visited North Vietnam in February 1967. In September 1967, she met with North Vietnamese and Vietcong representatives in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. She is also listed as a speaker for REP—Radical Education Project of SDS (refer to "Movement Speakers Guide," fall 1967, published by REP).

REP describes itself as "an independent educational research and publication program, initiated by SDS, dedicated to the cause of democratic radicalism and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America" (a radical education project paper "Towards a Democratic History" by Jesse Lemisch, dated February 1967). Sponsors of the radical

education project included such persons as Prof. Staughton Lynd and David Dellinger of the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, NMC, a national coalition of local antiwar, pacifist, and other radicals that issued a call for demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, 1968.

Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden, and David Dellinger were recently indicted by the Federal grand jury in Chicago stemming from their roles during the Democratic National Convention. This case is still pending in the Federal courts and I would rather not make any further comments.

In July of 1968, our sources indicate that at an American Friends Service committee meeting, presided over by Staughton Lynd, Lynd defended the right of every American to violently overthrow the present form of government if they so desired. Professor Lynd also described the three types of communism prevalent in the United States and stated that he follows the Moscow brand of communism.

Staughton Lynd and Paul Booth were associated with the Union of White Organizers also known as the Union of Organizers. A 2-day conference of the Union of Organizers was held September 21 and 22, 1968, at the Campbell Conference Center, Lake Villa, Ill. Staughton Lynd handled the reservations. I would like to submit a copy of the reservation form.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 651" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. A printed statement by Pat McGauley and Harriet Stulman entitled "Whither the Union?" was obtained from this conference site. The statement describes the nine purposes of the union and also lists the 11 priorities. I would like to quote from the purposes and priorities and submit a copy of the entire statement.

The CHAIRMAN. The entire statement may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 652" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC (reading):

PURPOSES

1. To make contacts and share and evaluate experiences among white radical organizers in Chicago.
2. To get organizers with different political perspectives to resolve their conflicts sufficiently to begin to work more closely together.
3. To get the staffs of various projects to be responsible and accountable to fellow organizers as a group as well as to their organizing constituencies.
4. To provide internal education for organizers.
5. To set up a recruitment process through which new people could get information on Chicago movement activity and get help in determining what they could do.
6. To create a model of coordinated white movement activity to be used, if applicable, in other cities.
7. To develop ties, where possible, with black movement activities.
8. To create a collective long-range political analysis and strategy among organizers in the city.
9. To make the union the structure which would begin to carry out this strategy for Chicago.

PRIORITIES

1. Organize a community organization in every white community in metropolitan Chicago—work toward the Free Chicago Council, taking over Government functions, and secession from the city—organize against racism and police excesses—stress the illegitimacy of private ownership.

2. Work out a strategy around elections and candidates: Free Chicago Council ward representatives and eventually alderman; replace government functions such as police and building inspection—third party State representative candidates—specifically this year. The Pig versus Cleaver versus boycott versus disruption—stress the illegitimacy of private ownership.

3. Have a group working with unorganized and unrepresented white workers toward seizing control of target industries—set up an independent labor body—stress the illegitimacy of private ownership.

4. Put an organizer in every white high school working toward seizing control—get a citywide high school organization—stress the illegitimacy of private ownership.

5. Have a group working with white collar and professional workers toward seizing control—stress the illegitimacy of private ownership.

6. Establish a counter media group working on local papers, a metropolitan paper, a print shop, and a radio station—also simple leaflets and comic books for community work and a press or mimeograph for each project—stress the illegitimacy of private ownership.

7. Increase work on military organizing and draft resistance—stress the illegitimacy of private ownership.

8. Have a group organizing artists to do community work, people's theater, and coffeehouses—stress the illegitimacy of private ownership.

9. Have a group working with college student organizations, especially free universities—stress the illegitimacy of private ownership.

10. Have a group working with different women's groups on women's liberation—stress the illegitimacy of private ownership.

11. Work in support of black demands, such as the striking transit workers—disrupt, kidnap, and sabotage—stress the illegitimacy of private ownership.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't quite get 11:

Work in support of black demands, such as the striking transit workers—disrupt, kidnap, and sabotage.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. This is one of their priorities that Harriet Stulman and Pat McGauley suggested that the organization take on.

The CHAIRMAN. This was quoted out of their purposes?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. And kidnap and sabotage, particularly, are high crimes.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes, they are.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is part of their priorities?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes; according to their literature.

The CHAIRMAN. I note, of course, they stress the illegitimacy of private ownership. That is simply communism. They keep emphasizing that.

Then they finally get down to admi. They want to support the black demands such as the striking transit workers—disrupt, kidnap, and sabotage.

Proceed.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Harriet Stulman is a close associate of Clark Kissinger, who was elected national secretary of SDS at its national convention in Pine Hill, N.J., in June 1964. Stulman is presently on the staff of the weekly publication FRED, a creation of Clark Kissinger. FRED describes itself as the "Socialist News Service" and is located at 2744 North Lincoln Avenue, Chicago.

Also associated with the Union of Organizers was Richard Rothstein, who in 1966 was associated with JOIN—Jobs or Income Now. JOIN was a project of ERAP—Economic Research and Action Project of SDS. The ERAP program was motivated by “a belief that fundamental rearrangements of American priorities are needed if the problems of poverty are to be solved.” (National Guardian, Apr. 1, 1967, pp. 6, 7, by William Price.) The targets were rats, cockroaches, and slum landlords. During the summer of 1964, ERAP placed 125 student organizers in nine projects in urban areas: Boston, Mass.; Trenton, N.J.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Chester, Pa.; Louisville, Ky.; Chicago, Ill.; and Cleveland, Ohio. Only a couple of these projects survived. One was JOIN in Chicago, an attempt by young radicals to organize the unemployed whites in the uptown area, and the other NCUP—Newark Community Union Project of Newark, N.J., operated by Tom Hayden.

The CHAIRMAN. Going back to the purpose, are those the purposes announced in September 1968?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes, they were.

The CHAIRMAN. As recent as September 1968?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes, they were.

The CHAIRMAN. And this is what organization, the purposes of what organization?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The Union of Organizers.

The CHAIRMAN. The what?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The purposes and priorities were part of the union of organizers.

The CHAIRMAN. Union of Organizers of what? Is that the name of the group?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. That is the name of the group, Union of Organizers. In my testimony, I am trying to show the association of some members of SDS with the Union of Organizers.

Others associated with JOIN were Todd Gitlin, who was elected national secretary of SDS at its annual convention in June 1963, at Camp Gulliver near Pine Hill, N.Y., his wife Nanci, and Mike James, presently a national council member of SDS.

On May 23, 1966, three staff members of JOIN were arrested on charges of criminal trespass during a JOIN-sponsored demonstration at a public aid office located at 318 West Adams Street, Chicago. The three were Dovie Coleman, Dovie Thurman, and Harriet Stulman. Richard Rothstein, Dorothy Perez, David Wheeler, and Sandra Hayden, all associated with JOIN, were arrested for disorderly conduct on June 22, 1965, during a JOIN-sponsored demonstration at a public welfare office at 1951 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Lonece “Peggy” Terry, an active member of JOIN, has a record of five arrests from October 1963 to June 1965, including disorderly conduct, criminal trespass to property, and resisting arrest.

Peggy Terry was the vice-presidential candidate and Eldridge Cleaver the presidential candidate on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket in the fall, 1968, national elections. I will identify later the Peace and Freedom Party. Eldridge Cleaver was the minister of information for the Black Panther Party at that time.

Rennie Davis, also a principal officer of JOIN, was arrested with 13 others on June 24, 1965, at 5030 North Winthrop, Chicago, where

Davis resided. Davis was charged with being an inmate of a disorderly house. Stephanie Freedman, a JOIN organizer, was charged with keeper of a disorderly house and possession of dangerous drugs while the others were charged with disorderly conduct.

A printed copy of the first draft of the police statement of the Union of Organizers was written by Clark Kissinger, former national secretary of SDS, elected June 1964, Noel Ignatin, and Mike Goldfield, a functionary of the Chicago regional office of SDS.

I would like to submit a copy of this draft.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received. Was it adopted?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. According to my sources, they were.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 653" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Noel Ignatin is a member of POC, the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Party. POC is a Communist splinter group comprised of hard-core dedicated Communists expelled from the Communist Party because of their disruptive activities.

Noel Ignatin's wife Hilda, and Mike Goldfield's wife, Evelyn, advertised in several past issues of FRED as being available to speak on their trip to Cuba in the summer of 1968. Hilda Ignatin was identified in attendance at the national council meeting of SDS held in October 1968 at Boulder, Colo. Noel Ignatin attended the national council meeting of SDS held during the latter part of December 1968 at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. I would also like to submit a printed copy of the minutes of a steering committee meeting of the Union of Organizers dated September 11, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 654" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The minutes describe as being present Ed Bouchard, Jim Penney, Warren Friedman, Sue Munaker, Ken Burg, Noel Ignatin, and Staughton Lynd.

Ed Bouchard is married to Pat McGauley, previously described. Bouchard is presently employed with the city of Chicago Department of Mental Health. He is also a member of the board of supervisors for the Root Teen Center, located at 3260 West Armitage, Chicago. The Root Teen Center is a community teenage center that sponsors social activities for the teenagers.

Ken Burg, in July 1966, headed an SDS chapter for nonstudents in Hyde Park area of Chicago. Sue Munaker is identified in the May 30, 1969, issue of New Left Notes as being a member of SDS at large, New Orleans, La.

Further relating to the Union of Organizers, I also would like to submit a printed copy of a proposal for a new, citywide, radical membership organization. The author is believed to be Lowen Berman. The first sentence of the last paragraph of the proposal reads as follows:

I am especially impressed by the role of the New Left Notes as a vehicle of internal organization which provides both new and analytical articles.

The New Left Notes is the official publication of SDS.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 655" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Lowen Berman is an associate of Clark Kissinger and a staff member of Kissinger's FRED. Prior to the Democratic National Convention in Lincoln Park, Lowen Berman was observed participating in the "self-defense" training sessions sponsored by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The training sessions included instruction in the warding off of blows, kicks to the groin, and the uses of the Japanese "snake dances," a method used effectively by Japanese students in breaking police lines. The snake dance is comprised of a group varying in number, usually 10 abreast and five or six lines deep, with the lead man carrying a pole about 10 feet long. All would lock arms and those on the periphery with one arm would grab the person directly in front and about the waist. The group would advance slowly, alternating in unison from left to right foot shouting "Wo Shi."

Further relating to the Union of Organizers, I would like to submit as an exhibit a printed copy of "A Voting Proposal to End All Voting Proposals" authored by Mel McDonald.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 656" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Again with reference to the Union of Organizers, I would like to read a few excerpts from a leaflet dated May 1968, entitled "A Program for Chicago," obtained from the Union of Organizers conference site previously mentioned. The author of this program is not known.

I. PREFACE

This program is presented for discussion in the hope that we can transcend the interminable musings on the new politics, the working class (old and new), black power, counter institutions, and resistance, and begin consideration of a concrete plan of action for metropolitan Chicago. . . .

Two obvious words of caution: First, there is no assumption that fundamental changes can be wrought on Chicago without simultaneous basic change in the country as a whole.

Part II, "Stage 1: 1968 and 1969" lists the potential areas and persons for organizing primarily on the community level. Mentioned are ethnic groups, high school students, nonunion industrial workers, white collar workers, and professionals.

III. STAGE 2: 1970

(1) Early 1970 should see the creation of the Free Chicago Council (FCC) consisting of one representative from each ward in Chicago. This step presupposes both the effective organization of the white communities as well as a working arrangement with the black community made possible by the organization of an anti-racist white left in the city.

The FCC would be the public embodiment of political opposition in Chicago. In some cases the representative might be the existing alderman of the ward. . . .

(2) Early in 1970 the preparations should begin to run third party candidates in every state representative district in the city (there are about 20). These campaigns would build a left electoral coalition outside the Democratic Party and provide a forum for attacking the machine and the legitimacy of the existing government. Two situations might arise.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if we couldn't let that be printed in the record.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I would like to submit a copy of the program as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 657" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement may be printed in the record down to the bottom of page 11.

Sergeant GRUBISIC (reading):

(a) The new party candidates are thrown off the ballot. In this case our response would be to denounce the November elections as fraudulent, bring massive legal action, attack the offices of the Board of Election Commissioners, and disrupt the election by the destruction of polling places and by counter-elections.

(b) We are allowed to run. We try to win. Illinois election laws permit weighted voting for the State's reps so that a minority can actually elect a State representative. A block of 10 independent radical representatives could wreak havoc in Springfield. They might even hold the balance of power in the House. And every district in which we get better than 5 percent of the vote we are on the ballot automatically in 1972.

(3) In certain areas of government we should seek to replace the city government in its functions. Example 1: Law currently permits licensed detectives to establish agencies whose employees may carry guns. Through this mechanism many areas of the city are privately policed (for example, Hyde Park by campus cops). We would set up our own agency and be engaged by certain communities to begin police functions. When the law is changed to put us out of business, we launch an attack against all the Hertz-rent-a-cop agencies in the city, demanding that they all be put out of business. Example 2: The FCC set up its own building inspection department.

(4) Throughout this year we engage in a number of flashy strikes and school seizures revolving around shop control and student-faculty-community control of the schools. We seek to win functional control of at least one business or school. We stage selected disruptions of conventions, kidnappings and work sabotage in support of demands of the black community. . . .

IV. STAGE 3: 1971

(1) The major event of early 1971 will be the aldermanic election in February (followed by the mayoral election in April). Insurgent candidates should be run in every ward in the city, each pledged to take his seat in the Free Chicago Council, win, lose, or draw. . . . Without claiming de jure power, the FCC should move to take functional control of many aspects of life in Chicago. This power would result from a repudiation of the machine and a primary loyalty to the FCC by thousands of people at the grass roots. If the FCC decided that a certain school would close on a certain day, would, because the students and teachers saw the FCC as being at least as legitimate as the machine. If the city didn't want massive demonstrations to occur on a certain day it would have to bargain with the FCC and make specific concessions. . . . Much of the city would function at the sufferance of the FCC. . . .

* * * * *

(3) Major sections of the city would initiate legal proceedings to secede from Chicago and form independent municipalities. This would be particularly important in the black community. It would both lend reality to self-determination, while shattering the structure of the city by legally dismembering it. To build a new Chicago, it may literally be necessary to take it apart and put it back together again. . . .

(4) The functional control exerted on token institutions during the previous year should be extended with the conscious goal of functional control of a large segment of the private economy and public programs. Propaganda and actions should stress the illegitimacy of private ownership. Legal ownership and control should be ignored—stress should be on functional control of decisionmaking. Aspects of this struggle will be both real and violent.

Part V lists the technical services needed to implement such a program described above. Section 1 of part V mentions fundraising.

(2) Counter-media. There are currently a half dozen insurgent community newspapers in Chicago. Experience has shown that they are not difficult to establish and they do in fact reach people. One, the "Hyde Park-Kenwood Voices," has succeeded in replacing the establishment community newspaper in that area.

(3) Legal defense. The principal legal needs of the movement are not fancy precedent-setting work (a la ACLU), but continuous defense work for misdemeanor charges, bail reductions, and advice on business matters and possible ordinance violations. Given the nature of Chicago courts, defense is often more a political matter than a legal one.

What is needed is a political defense arm similar to the old IID (the Communist Party's International Labor Defense). Legal strategy must be subordinated to political strategy.

Defense consists of press coverage, demonstrations, petitions, exposé of the judge's political background and previous decisions, and harassing legal tactics. This requires a professional staff and lawyers who do not have to depend on a private practice for a livelihood (and can hence afford to antagonize the court when necessary).

(4) Intelligence and counterintelligence. The struggle in which we are engaged is for keeps. Often we act stupidly because we simply don't know what is going on. For example, for this summer city has prepared a massive counterinsurgency campaign. The unexpected assassination of King caught the planners unprepared, but even so we should have known the exact details of this program. It entailed the expenditure of millions of dollars and utilized the services of virtually every private and government agency in the city, from the precinct captain spy activity to the fire department taking kids to the country. A series of well-placed friends throughout the city's agencies could have put the entire picture together for us.

Throughout the city today in both public and private agencies are hundreds of individuals who sympathize with our work and who are willing to fill us in on everything they know. * * *

But far in advance of our meager efforts are the extensive efforts of the city to observe and infiltrate radical organizations with spies and agents provocateur. We must begin to deal with this problem now in a serious way. At least two organizers should begin to design a security program. This might entail (1) background checks on new or suspected activists, (2) compilation of names, photographs, and license plate numbers of known police agents and, (3) placing of our own people as double agents or students in the police academy. Unfounded rumors and suspicious play into the hands of the enemy and should be quashed.

I would like to submit a copy of this proposal as an exhibit. (Exhibit No. 657.)

I have covered the most significant items of the above program. The Union of Organizers met several times during the latter part of 1968 resulting in the creation of the Free Chicago Council. The steering committee of the FCC met January 27, 1969, and voted to make a contribution to Kissinger's FRED. The following named persons were the steering committee of the FCC:

Clark Kissinger, Howard Machtinger, a regional officer of SDS; Ishmael Flory, who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by the former House Committee on Un-American Activities now Committee on Internal Security, and also a member of the National Negro Commission of the Communist Party, Henry Wineberg, Frances Gabow, former State secretary of the Pennsylvania Communist Party; Sidney Lens, a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and a visitor of Cuba in 1961, and Staughton Lynd.

Presently, the FCC is inactive, but some of the members are conducting a campaign to get Paul Booth elected as a delegate to the

forthcoming Illinois Constitutional Convention December 8, 1969, in Springfield, Ill. It should be noted that Booth does not meet the 5-year Illinois residency requirement for this election. One of the leaders in this campaign is Henry Wineberg of Peoples Policy, Box 141, Evanston, Ill. I would like to submit as an exhibit a printed copy of a letter describing the purpose of Peoples Policy, by Henry Wineberg and a copy of a Peoples Policy letter dated May 22, 1969, supporting Paul Booth as a delegate to the constitutional convention.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and appropriately marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 658," for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Also distributed at the Union of Organizers Conference was a printed flyer announcing a countywide meeting of PFP, the Peace and Freedom Party, to be held Monday, September 23, 1968, at CIPA, the Committee for Independent Political Action, office, 1903 West Howard Street. The same flyer also announces a PFP party at the home of Mike Marcus, 1016 Wesley Avenue, Evanston, Ill., on September 28, 1968. Mike Marcus is a member of the Northwestern University, Evanston campus, chapter of SDS.

I would like to submit a copy of this flyer as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and marked with the appropriate number.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 659" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. In discussing SDS, I have mentioned the Committee for Independent Political Action, CIPA. Article 2 of the Committee for Independent Political Action's constitution states:

The purpose of this organization shall be to initiate independent electoral activity consonant with the aims, goals, and methods of the protest movement for civil rights, peace, jobs, and civil liberties.

Such electoral action shall include campaigns in the primaries of the major parties, as well as on an independent ticket, and shall be designed to win representation for the protest movement in the legislative and executive bodies of the city, county, State, and Nation, as well as to deepen the concern of the populace through proper education.

CIPA had a mass meeting on January 15, 1966, at McCormick Place, Chicago. The results of this meeting were negative.

Sponsors of CIPA have included Lucy Montgomery, Paul Booth, Lee Webb, Rennie Davis, Robert Lucas, Richard Rothstein, Todd Gitlin, Dick Gregory, Sidney Lens, Henry Wineberg, Jack Spiegel, Irving Birnbaum, and Dr. Quentin Young.

The headquarters for CIPA at this time was located in Irving Birnbaum's law offices at 11 South La Salle Street, room 1219, Chicago, Ill.

Robert Lucas was the former chairman of and participant in Chicago CORE—Congress of Racial Equality—and presently national chairman of the Black Liberation Alliance, a splinter group of CORE.

Dick Gregory is a civil rights leader and an organizer of CCO, Coordinating Council of Community Organizations—which conducted the marches led by Dr. King in the summer of 1965 into the all-white area of Gage Park, Chicago.

Sidney Lens was previously identified and also is a spokesman for the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam—MOB.

Jack Spiegel was identified as a member of the Illinois Communist Party by Carl Nelson, at the 1959 House Committee on Un-American Activities' hearings, now HCIS.

Dr. Quentin Young repeatedly evaded questions regarding his Communist associations during the House Committee on Un-American Activities' hearings in October 1968, Washington, D.C.

Other identified Communists in attendance at the CIPA meeting were Ishmael Flory, Ben Friedlander, Sylvia Woods, Al McPherson, Milton Cohen, and Daniel and Helen Queen.

Robert Ross and Prof. Richard Flacks, both of whom have had associations with SDS, were present and will be dealt with in detail later.

A branch of CIPA came into being on the far North Side of Chicago. This branch was known as the 49th Ward Committee for Independent Political Action. It was formerly located at 1903 West Howard Street, and is now at 7642 North Paulina. Clark Kissinger was in charge of this branch. The 49th Ward CIPA ran independent candidates on State and local tickets against party regulars. CIPA participated and sponsored several demonstrations which resulted in several arrests ranging from disorderly conduct to criminal trespass to property. An example, on September 2, 1966, Clark Kissinger, Arthur Vazquez, Susan Robbin, and Kathleen Kearney were arrested for disorderly conduct and criminal trespass to property in front of the board of election commissioners office, room 308, City Hall, Chicago. The arrestees were protesting the refusal of the board of election commissioners to place the names of Vazquez and Kearney on the ballots for the local elections of that year.

It is interesting to note that Kissinger was a sponsor and attended the Herbert Aptheker dinner affair held April 28, 1966, in New York City. Herbert Aptheker, as previously described, is the chief theoretician for the Communist Party.

The 49th Ward CIPA has a publication called rogerSPARK. Staff members include Lowen Berman, previously mentioned, and Jerry Tritz, a member of the Loyola University chapter of SDS.

I would like to submit as exhibit a copy of the rogerSPARK dated October 28, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 660" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Clark Kissinger was selected to take the office of national secretary at the SDS national convention in June 1964. At this same convention, Vernon Grizzard was elected to the office of vice president. Vernon Grizzard is affiliated with the Boston resistance movement and traveled to Budapest, Hungary, in September 1968 to meet with representatives of North Vietnamese and the Vietcong.

I would like to add to this our sources indicate the meeting in Budapest, Hungary, centered on the Paris peace talks, on prospects for further student unrest in the United States, and on furthering unrest on American servicemen.

This trip was organized by David Dellinger.

Our sources indicate that Vernon Grizzard came to Chicago prior to the Democratic National Convention to assist John Froines in overseeing the training of marshals in Lincoln Park. On September 10,

1968, over FM radio station WBAI in New York City, Grizzard made certain implications that violent confrontations with the police were intended during the Democratic Convention. A tape of this broadcast is in the custody of the U.S. Justice Department. It should also be noted that John Froines has also been indicted by the Federal grand jury for activities stemming from the Democratic National Convention. Again, I would rather not make any further comments about this matter since the case is still pending in the Federal courts.

I would like to briefly mention NUC, New University Conference. NUC was founded in March 1968 at the University of Chicago. The founders conceive of it as a postgraduate Students for a Democratic Society. Many of them are former SDS members. Sponsors of the New University Conference include such people as Heather Booth, Carol Brightman, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Flacks, Tom Hayden, Jesse Lemisch, Leo Webb, and Naomi Weisstein.

(At this point Senator Mundt withdrew from the hearing room.)

Sergeant GRUMSTIC. Heather Booth is the wife of Paul Booth. She was active with the University of Chicago SDS, and formerly head of University of Chicago Friends of SNCC, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

I would like to add at this point that Heather Booth is also a teacher at the Central YMCA High School located in Chicago.

Carol Brightman and Tom Hayden were previously identified.

Norman Birnbaum is listed in the Movement Speaker's Guide for REP, Radical Education Project of SDS, and his background is given as follows in that guide dated 1967:

Birnbaum, Norman, 478 West End Avenue, New York, N.Y. Grad faculty, political and social science, New School, 66 West 12th Street, New York, N.Y. Editor, *Universities and New Left Review*, founding editor of *New Left Review*, editor of *PRAXIS* (International Marxist Journal published in Yugoslavia), has taught at Harvard, London School of Economics, Oxford, Strasbourg; presently at New School.

Richard Flacks, also a movement speaker for REP and described in the same guide. He was active in SDS for 5½ years, a past national council member in 1963, and recently, in September 1967, met with representatives of the National Liberation Front and Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. Flacks was also a regional coordinator of NUC. Richard Flacks was also a member of one of the task forces of the President's National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower (Chicago Tribune, Jan. 31, 1969, by Russell Freeburg).

SDS created a Peace, Research, and Education Project, PREP, with offices in Ann Arbor and Dick Flacks as Director. PREP was responsible for the preparation of SDS's foreign policy literature. (New Left Notes, June 10, 1968, page 20.)

Leo Webb is former national secretary of SDS, elected at their national convention in June 1963. He is also a movement speaker for REP, Radical Educational Project.

Jesse Lemisch was an active member of the University of Chicago chapter of SDS and wrote a paper for REP entitled "Toward a Democratic Left." On May 21, 1965, he was arrested for disorderly conduct during an antiwar demonstration.

Naomi Weisstein is presently the active faculty adviser to the Loyola University chapter of SDS.

The national director of NUC, New University Conference, is Robert Ross. He is a movement speaker for REP, Radical Education Project, and assisted Clark Kissinger in writing the history of SDS that appeared in the SDS publication *New Left Notes* on June 10, 1968. Ross was also a national officer of SDS in 1967.

The national office of the New University Conference is located at 5810 South Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, and describes itself as being:

• • • a national membership organization of radical faculty members, graduate students, and movement intellectuals involved in the transformation of American academic and political life. It is working to—

1. Organize local chapters across the Nation to help overcome the isolation and impotence now afflicting campus-based radicals. Such chapters provide the framework for helping radical faculty members and graduate students to: define their political roles on and off campus; engage in mutual support and self-criticism concerning teaching and intellectual activity; create centers for radical initiative on the campus.

The NUC newsletter and regional and national conferences serve to connect local groups to a developing national community of radicals in the universities.

2. Encourage the formation of radical caucuses within professional disciplines and associations.

3. Organize so that we may eventually be prepared to defend campus radicals against politically motivated harassment and firings; in these early stages this consists primarily of collecting and publicizing case material.

4. Aid in establishing a new magazine of analysis and research for the movement.

5. Form alliances with student activists seeking to expose and dislocate university collaboration in war research and social manipulation, and join with black and white radicals who are demanding that the universities become responsible to the needs of the black communities which surround them and from which they now seek protection, not insight.

I would like to submit the leaflet entitled "Introducing the NUC" as the source for the above.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 661" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The New University Conference steering committee met in Ann Arbor, Mich., May 24, 25, and 26, 1968. In attendance were Richard Flacks, Mike Goldfield, Robert Ross, and Dan Friedlander. Dan Friedlander is the son of Ben Friedlander, who was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Lola Bell Holmes of the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings in Chicago, May 1965. Dan Friedlander was also a member of the University of Chicago SDS chapter in 1966. He returned to Chicago in October 1968 after spending several weeks in Communist Cuba.

The Interim Committee of the NUC, New University Conference, held a meeting August 3-4, 1968, in Chicago. Attending this meeting was Marlene Dixon, who at that time was with the Sociology Department of the University of Chicago. Mrs. Dixon brought up the problem of representation of the Women's Caucus on the Interim Committee. The committee formally recognized the caucus and gave it a position on the committee. Marlene Dixon publicly admitted on a Chicago TV program in 1969 that she was a Marxist and taught Marxism in her classes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that at the University of Chicago?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes, sir.

The Women's Caucus is concerned with "antiwomanism" within college curriculums, discrimination against women in admissions, and so forth.

The New University Conference sponsored a conference on militarism during the latter part of April 1969, in Chicago. Listed speakers were Marvin Stodolsky, an assistant professor of microbiology, speaking on "Biological Warfare"; Daniel Janzen, assistant professor of biology, speaking on "Ecology of Mass Defoliation"; Richard Levins, associate professor of mathematical biology and zoology, and Theodore Rosebury, professor emeritus of bacteriology, Washington University.

Other topics discussed at the conference were "New Perspectives on the Resistance" by Rob Skeist and "Community Organizations" by Vivian and Richard Rothstein.

Rob Skeist is a member of CADRE, Chicago Area Draft Resisters, located at 519 West North Avenue, Chicago. CADRE defines its purpose as to advise young men of their rights under selective service laws.

I would like to submit as an exhibit a leaflet published by CADRE.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 662" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. One section of this leaflet says:

We speak about draft resistance, encourage other men to consider it, and give help to those who decide to resist the draft or to refuse induction.

On June 23, 1967, Skeist was arrested for disorderly conduct during a SDS-sponsored demonstration in the downtown area of Chicago. On June 11, 1967, Rob Skeist along with Miles Mogulescu and Steve Kindred were arrested for possession of narcotics. Mogulescu and Kindred were very active members of the University of Chicago chapter of SDS.

During the latter part of March 1969, a national conference of draft resistance organizations was held at the East Bay Camp, Lexington, Ill. Among those identified at this conference were Bob Ross, national director of the New University Conference; Rick Boardman, Rob Skeist, Evelyn Goldfield, Staughton Lynd, and Greg Calvert, former national vice president of SDS, 1967. The conference name was "The Resistance." Staughton Lynd gave the major address.

I would like to submit as an exhibit an article that appeared in the publication "National Guardian" January 7, 1967, regarding a SDS antidraft resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and appropriately marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 663" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I would like to submit as an exhibit the April-May 1969 issue of "The Inside Agitator" published by CADRE.

I would also like to read a paragraph on page three of this publication, regarding Lynd's address before the resistance conference. [Reads:]

But Lynd suggested that people in the Resistance develop ideas about alternatives to the present social and economic system.

"The Resistance should explicitly condemn capitalism as the ultimate source of America's aggressive foreign policy," Lynd recommended.

"I don't see what sense it makes to talk about resisting capitalism," he added, "without affirming an alternative. We should explicitly be socialists, or anarcho-syndicalists.

"The words are less important than the spirit. My intuition is that the movement will eventually come down on a political perspective intermediate between middle-class moralism, on the one hand, and Leninism, on the other.

"The Resistance, as a current in the movement intermediate between traditional pacifism and Marxism-Leninism, is uniquely situated to affirm that perspective," he noted.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 664" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Rick Boardman dominated the "violent and nonviolent" workshop of the conference. He said that the acts of the Catonsville 9 and Milwaukee 14 destroyed the mysticism of the sanctity of property. He considers these in the category of exemplary acts and feels that this is the coming thing. Boardman stated that non-violence has proved useless and now that persons have seen lightning doesn't strike when you destroy property there will be more acts of this type. (Note: The Milwaukee 14 and Catonsville 9 are titles given to those 14 persons in Milwaukee and nine in Catonsville, Md., that entered selective service boards and destroyed records.) Rick Boardman has been recently sentenced to 3 years imprisonment in Boston for refusing assignment as a conscientious objector. He is presently out on appeal bond in California.

John Phillips and 14 others were arrested on May 25, 1969, in Chicago for arson, criminal damage to property, and burglary. The charges stem from their alleged actions, that is, entering the Selective Service Board at 2355 West 63d Street and burning the records. John Phillips, formerly with the Boston Resistance Movement, has recently been active with (CADRE) Chicago Area Draft Resisters.

I would like to expound on SDS's influence in the NCNP, the National Conference for New Politics. The National Conference for New Politics was held at the Palmer House in Chicago, August 27 to September 4, 1967. The NCNP described itself as being a political organization seeking to unite peace, civil rights, student, reform and labor groups, independents as well as Democrats and Republicans opposing the administration's policy in Vietnam. The executive board of the NCNP includes the following named individuals: Paul Booth, Mrs. Kenneth "Lucy" Montgomery, Benjamin Spock, M.D., Susan Thrasher, and Michael P. Wood.

Lucy Montgomery, or Mrs. Kenneth Montgomery, was a contributor to "black power" and other radical groups. On June 3, 1968, she gave \$250 to James Harvey of Afro-American Students Association. She apologized for the small amount stating her husband cut her allowance from \$2,000 a month to an unspecified amount.

Benjamin Spock is a movement speaker for REP, Radical Education Project of SDS. Dr. Spock, on January 8, 1968, was indicted by a Federal grand jury along with Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., of Yale University and three others for conspiracy to counsel evasion and violation of the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

Serving on the steering committee of the NCNP were Julian Bond, a Georgia State legislator; Ivanhoe Donaldson of the Student Non-

violent Coordinating Committee; Lincoln Lynch of the Congress of Racial Equality; Arthur Waskow and Andrew J. Young of SCLC, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Julian Bond is a sponsor of REP, Radical Education Project, of SDS. Bond was proposed for membership on the steering committee of the "Black Manifesto." The Black Manifesto was presented by James Forman and delivered and adopted by the National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit, Mich., on April 26, 1969.

James Forman is associated with SNCC, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and addressed the National Conference for New Politics on September 3, 1967. In the "Black Manifesto" a demand is made of the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues to pay a \$500 million reparation to the black people in this country.

I would like to submit a copy of the "South End" as an exhibit, dated May 1, 1969.

The CHAIRMAN. Hasn't the manifesto been received?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The paper has not been.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be shown that this paper contains the Black Manifesto.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The "South End" is the official student newspaper of Wayne State University in Detroit, Mich. The front page of the newspaper shows a photo of James Forman addressing the National Conference for New Politics.

Arthur Waskow is a movement speaker for REP, Radical Education Project of SDS. One of the midwest regional organizers for the National Conference for New Politics was Gene Tournour who was active with CORE, Congress of Racial Equality. Gene Tournour, as our sources indicate, was a functionary of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, Chicago area. The W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America is a spawn of the Communist Party directed at youth.

With all the grand plans and ideas behind the National Conference for New Politics the end result was negative. But the only thing accomplished at the National Conference for New Politics was approximately \$10,000 damage to the hotel where the conference was held.

Senator PERCY. If I may interrupt you at that point, do you, Sergeant, refer later in your testimony to this Conference of New Politics? Do you testify any later to that?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. No.

Senator PERCY. That, then, completes your analysis of what you started out to do, which, as I see it, in the last paragraph on page 20, you say:

I would like to expound on SDS influence in the National Conference for New Politics.

This is a hearing on riots and disorders and subversive activities, I presume. Are you inferring or stating categorically that the National Conference for New Politics—and I don't really know what it is other than what you said—is a part of this whole movement leading toward disorders, riots, or subversive activities?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. What I am trying to do is to show the SDS influence in the NCP, and I think my testimony reveals that Paul Booth, who is a three-time national officer of SDS, and Benjamin

Spock, also a sponsor of the Radical Education Project of SDS, were on this executive board of the NCP.

This is what my testimony is.

Senator PERCY. Would you want to comment on the top of page 21 on Mrs. Kenneth Montgomery? You classify her as a contributor to black power and other radical groups. Black power is in small letters. It is not the corporate name of a group.

When you say "other radical groups," I don't know what you mean other than black power. Can you identify how much she has contributed and what these radical groups are, and what you mean by a radical group.

Do you refer to starting riots, overthrowing the Government, civil disobedience and disorder, or what?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The next sentence reads, "On June 3, 1968, she gave \$250 to James Harvey of the Afro-American Students Association."

Senator PERCY. And what is the intent, purpose and objective of the Afro-American Students Association?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I must apologize at this point because my specific assignment with the intelligence division is the Communist Party, New Left, and other subversive groups.

Senator PERCY. Is the Afro-American Students Association a subversive group? If so, by whose definition?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I don't want to be put on record where I am not sure of my facts and figures. But in the past, James Harvey was active in high schools in Chicago that were experiencing turmoil. I do not have the specific facts at this time, but I would gladly, when I return to Chicago, submit a résumé of his activity with regards to the Afro-American Students Association and its association with some of the turmoil that existed in the high schools sometime ago.

Senator PERCY. I see no real direct relationship yet between Mrs. Kenneth Montgomery and the SDS influence on the National Conference for New Politics.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Our sources have indicated throughout the years that she has been a financial angel to many of the New Left groups.

Again, I must apologize. I cannot quote some of the facts or other figures or other specifics because of the confidential nature of obtaining this information through our sources.

Senator PERCY. Before we list anyone here we ought to be exceedingly careful to be defining exactly what we are trying to prove.

I am not yet sure what we are trying to prove about Mrs. Kenneth Montgomery.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I think I was clear. I hope I was, that she was a contributor of money to certain black power groups, as we classify them, and other radicals, including the New Left groups.

Senator PERCY. Can you identify those groups for us?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. No, I can't; not right now, without making reference to our files.

Senator PERCY. Can you make available to us at any time in executive session or by confidential memorandum those organizations?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Much of our information is obtained from confidential sources and in order to protect those sources maybe I made too

much of a general statement in this one sentence. This would have to take some research on my part.

Senator PERCY. You may define "black power groups," as the NAACP, or the Urban League. Would you consider that improper, for someone to give to those groups as black power groups?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. We don't consider the Urban League and NAACP as black power groups.

Senator PERCY. Maybe they do. Maybe you have a different definition of black power than they have. I am trying to figure out what you mean and then what is generally accepted by the term "black power."

Can we move to Julian Bond? Here you point out the black manifesto was delivered and adopted by the Black Economic Conference, and so forth. You say that Julian Bond was proposed for membership on the steering committee of the black manifesto.

I might have been proposed for membership in the Chicago Police Department, but I may or may not have accepted membership and the invitation.

Has Julian Bond accepted membership on the steering committee and has he been influential in the black manifesto?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I do not know the answer.

Senator PERCY. Do you think he has any control over who extends invitations to him for membership?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I do not know.

Senator PERCY. I was given an honorary membership in the American Rifle Association. I didn't choose to accept it, and I had a dickens of a time "unmembershopping" myself, if you can call it that.

Who was it that proposed him for membership? Did they feel he was going to accept it?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I don't know.

Senator PERCY. Do you feel that is a relevant piece of information?

You are a member of my own city and I have a high regard for many people that I have known in your department. In testimony before a congressional committee we must guard against guilt by association.

The purposes of the National Conference for New Politics are stated to be, at the bottom of page 20, seeking to unite peace, civil rights, students, reform and labor groups, independents as well as Democrats and Republicans, all of whom have in common opposing the administration's policy in Vietnam.

Is there an implication here that anybody who opposes the administration's policy in Vietnam is subversive or is tainted somehow?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I don't interpret it as that, being that anybody who opposes any part of the administration's policies will be subversive. But this was the purpose of the NCP, and I could say it was directed more so to the radical left, more so than just mere critics.

Senator PERCY. Can you describe the nature of the \$10,000 damage; what hotel that was?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Palmer House.

Senator PERCY. You say with all the grand plans and ideas—what are those ideas or grand plans? To end the war in Vietnam? Then, the result was negative. All that resulted was \$10,000 damage to the hotel.

Where was it held, what hotel?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Palmer House.

Senator PERCY. What was the nature of the damage?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Markings on the walls with obscenities. Just malicious mischief done to the interior of the corridors of the hotel.

An article appeared in the Chicago Defender, I think in the September 9 issue, which made reference to \$10,000 worth of damage.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, I mention this because I have known Lucy Montgomery. She lives a couple of miles from my home. I have known her to be associated with liberal causes. She is, you might say, a militant fighter for civil rights, for injustices in society. But never have I heard that she had connections with subversive organizations; and unless I have further information I can only presume she has never been connected with subversive organizations.

I would hope if in any indirect way she has been aiding such organizations that it could be brought to her attention. I feel certain she would want to refrain from it. But to mention the name of the wife of one of our prominent citizens here, a very well-to-do family, who has contributed a considerable amount of money to many causes, and bring her name into this testimony with this kind of skimpy evidence, I just wonder what purpose we are serving, and I wonder then about many other names in your statement. I can't follow some of the proceedings of all of these names and all of the interlinks. I really end that section of testimony not knowing what we have proven.

I still don't know whether or not the National Conference for New Politics was a perfectly respectable organization trying to get people together to find ways to end the war, or whether it is a subversive activity.

I can't determine from the sergeant's testimony what he thinks.

Do you feel that this National Conference for New Politics constituted, and their activities constituted, anything under the surveillance of this committee?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The Communist Party was well represented at the National Conference for New Politics. Therefore, the interest of the Chicago Police Department Intelligence Division was very apparent.

I believe there were articles that appeared in the Chicago Tribune relative to that effect, of Communist participation. We have quite an extensive file on the National Conference for New Politics, and I would be more than glad to appear before this committee at some future date to testify solely on the National Conference for New Politics, seeing that it is such a concern.

Senator PERCY. I would very much appreciate it. I think it is necessary. If innocent people are being duped, I think they should be notified that they are being duped. If their names are being brought in through implication and they are not here to defend themselves, then I at least have to raise a question that I haven't seen sufficient evidence as of now to in any way feel that they should be, through implication or otherwise, connected with a subversive activity.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you mention her name at all? I don't know. I don't know the lady.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. To answer that question, Mr. Chairman, I would need some time to do some research. I do have Lucy Montgomery and I do know of her background.

The CHAIRMAN. You do what?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I do know of Lucy Montgomery and I know of her background. I do not want to make any statement that is not factual without doing some proper research.

The CHAIRMAN. I tell you what you do: As early as you conveniently can do so, prepare a statement of what you know. If you know nothing, say so. If you have something to base that on, say so. I don't know her. I think the committee has some information, but I am not going to even refer to that at the moment. But if you have it, say so, and if you don't, say you don't have it.

Let us go on.

(Sgt. Joseph P. Grubisic supplied the following additional information on contributions made by Lucy Montgomery:)

In the summer of 1965, our confidential sources indicated that Lucy Montgomery made a \$1,000.00 contribution to Students for a Democratic Society.

In February of 1969, she was the sponsor of a fund raising party for the Student Mobilization Committee held at the Cheetah Club in Chicago. SMC is an anti-war organization that is controlled by members of the Young Socialists Alliance. The YSA is a youth group of the Socialist Workers Party, which has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive.

In the latter part of July, 1968, a Chicago Legal Defense Committee meeting was held in the apartment of Lucy Montgomery in Chicago. The CLDC provided legal and financial assistance to over 200 demonstrators arrested in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention. This assistance is estimated to cost in excess of \$15,000.00. At this particular meeting, Lucy Montgomery volunteered to do what she could to raise money. Her exact contribution is not known, but in the latter part of August, 1968, she made a \$100.00 contribution and loaned another \$300.00 to CLDC. Also identified at this meeting were Bernadine Dohrn of SDS and Sylvia Kushner of the Chicago Peace Council. Both have been previously identified by my testimony.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The Citizens for a Democratic Society, CDS, was an adult SDS group active in the Hyde Park area of Chicago during 1967. The CDS did not have an official office, but usually operated out of the homes of individual members. The return address listed on the mailings of CDS newsletters gave the name and address to John Rossen, 5715 South Blackstone, Chicago, a functionary of CDS. John Rossen fought with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, cited as communistic by Attorney General Tom Clark in April 1949. Rossen was the unsuccessful candidate for mayor of St. Louis, Mo., on the Communist Party ticket in 1941. He was also organizational secretary for the Communist Party of Missouri. It is interesting, also, to note that John Rossen is the owner of the building where the national offices of SDS are situated, that is, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago.

Also associated with CDS was Milton Cohen. Cohen was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Lola Bell Holmes during the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearing during May 1965.

The Citizens for a Democratic Society, CDS, met October 13, 1967, in the home of a member of CDS, Melvin Rothenberg. Prof. Richard Flacks, a functionary of CDS, gave a report on his trip to Bratislava,

Czechoslovakia. I will quote from a report made by a confidential source who attended the meeting:

Professor Flacks began. On September 6th to the 14th we met with representatives of the National Liberation Front in a trade union rest resort along the Danube River in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. There were 40 to 60 Americans. The conference was arranged by Dave Dellinger and the President of SDS. (NOTE: The President of SDS at that time was Nick Egleson.) The only people there were American and Vietnamese. The Americans were hand-picked by Dave Dellinger and one of the requirements was that they be sympathetic toward the National Liberation Front. The Americans who attended the conference were from SCLC, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; SDS, Students for a Democratic Society; SOC, Student Organizing Committee; AFSC, American Friends Service Committee; SNCC, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; the National Guardian, and members of local ghetto organizations from Cleveland and Newark. . . .

Professor Flacks concluded his talk by stating Rennie Davis, who was with us, went on to North Vietnam.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have the names of anyone attending this conference?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I believe I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You mentioned the president of SDS. That was in 1967, I believe. You gave his name.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The president of SDS at that time was Nick Egleson. After typing out this testimony, I learned that Nick Egleson was definitely present at the Bratislava conference.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give the names of any others who attended?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes, I do. Tom Hayden was present, Steven Halliwell, and—

The CHAIRMAN. Identify them with the organizations.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. They headed a SDS delegation to the Bratislava conference of NANG.

John Wilson and John Tillman, both of SNCC; Linda Morse, of the Student Mobilization Committee; Christopher Jencks, a writer for the New Republic magazine; Bronson Clark and Russell Johnson, both of the American Friends Service Committee; Robert Cook, a professor at Yale University, and Sol Stern, an editor of Ramparts magazine.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Dave Dellinger and Rennie Davis, I previously identified as being indicted by the Chicago Federal grand jury for their actions stemming from the Democratic National Convention.

At this point, I would like to mention a group that was formed in the summer of 1968 to organize a fourth political party. It was the Illinois Committee for Independent Electors, located at 5810 South Woodlawn, Chicago—also national headquarters for the New University Conference, previously identified. Some of the persons associated with this group were Dr. Quentin Young, Paul Booth and Milton Cohen.

At one particular meeting in July 1968 with about 40 people in attendance, a discussion on getting publicity for the organization was interrupted by Paul Booth. From this point Booth dominated the meeting with tirades against Mayor Daley. He suggested to the group to go to Mayor Daley's home and demonstrate, to throw paint at the mayor, to harass his children, and even suggested the bombing of the Picasson statue in the Civic Center. Although the majority of those in attendance were in agreement, no action was taken.

(At this point Senator Percy withdrew from the hearing room.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The national office of SDS is located at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago. There are 10 regional offices of SDS situated throughout the United States. One is located in Chicago, 162 North Clinton Street.

I would like to submit as an exhibit a copy of the New Left Notes dated May 13, 1969, giving the locations of the national and regional offices.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 665" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Also, I would like to submit a copy of the SDS national constitution as amended at the 1967 convention in Ann Arbor, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 666" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Those elected to the national offices of SDS at the national convention held June 9-15, 1968, at Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., are as follows:

1. National secretary—Mike Klonsky.
2. Interorganizational secretary—Bernardine Dohrn.
3. Educational secretary—Fred Gordon.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have to suspend for a moment.

(Whereupon, at 4:25 p.m. a brief recess was taken.)

(Member of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Senator McClellan.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

(Member of the subcommittee present at time of reconvening: Senator McClellan.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may resume.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this. Continue on down to where you think you can have the rest of it printed into the record without your reading all of it. The other Senators have gone. They will have to read it anyway. But I want to give you an opportunity to present as much of it as you would like.

I haven't had the opportunity to read your statement. I don't know at what point you could have it placed into the record.

Why don't you do this: Why don't you read that which you wish to place emphasis on.

Proceed and we will see how we get along.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The eight other national officers elected were: Carl Oglesby, Yellow Springs, Ohio; Mike James, Chicago, Ill.; Eric Mann, Boston, Mass.; Chip Marshall, Ithaca, N.Y.; Jeff Jones, New York, N.Y.; Mike Spiegel, Washington, D.C.; Morgan Spector, San Francisco, Calif.; Bartee Haile, Dallas, Tex.

Mike Klonsky is from Los Angeles, Calif., and a former regional officer. He is a graduate of San Francisco State College in California.

At the national convention, when elected national secretary, Klonsky was asked if he was a Stalinist. His reply was, "I have only been a Communist a few months and have difficulty understanding that

term." (Chicago Tribune, June 16, 1968.) I would like to submit as an exhibit a copy of a news article that appeared in the September 8, 1968, issue of Granma, the official publication of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, regarding a telephone interview with Mike Klonsky by Radio Havana, Cuba, on August 28, 1968, during the convention in Chicago.

Bernardine Dohrn is a graduate of the University of Chicago Law School. At the national convention, when elected interorganizational secretary, Dohrn was asked if she was a Socialist, her reply, "I consider myself a revolutionary Communist." (Chicago Tribune, June 16, 1968.) Dohrn publicly admitted to making that statement on an ABC-TV program, the Ronnie Barret Show, in Chicago, June 10, 1969. Our sources indicated Dohrn traveled to Paris in August of 1968 to meet with the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks.

She had been asked if she were a Socialist, and her reply was, "I consider myself a revolutionary Communist."

The CHAIRMAN. I think that was also testified to by the witness who preceded you, was it not?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes, it was.

Fred Gordon is a graduate of Harvard University. He is a teaching assistant at San Diego State College in California and is reportedly a member of the Progressive Labor Party, a Maoist-oriented Communist group. Our sources also indicate that Dohrn and Klonsky are leading a movement with SDS to rid SDS of Fred Gordon and his Progressive Labor Party influences.

Carl Oglesby is a former president of SDS, elected to that position in June 1965. It is reported that he stated he was a Communist but not a member of the Communist Party, and admires Che Guevara, the deceased Communist revolutionary.

Mike Spiegel is a former national secretary of SDS, elected to that position June 1967, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Mike James, a national officer of SDS, was active with JOIN and the Union of Organizers, previously identified. Mike James and a few other unidentified individuals were photographed trying to overturn a police squadron during the Democratic National Convention.

I would like to submit a copy of that photo.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 667" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. One of the officers in the squadrol was assaulted with a board measuring 2 by 4 inches. James admitted to our undercover operatives that he assaulted the officer. He subsequently was arrested and eventually fined \$100.

A national council meeting of SDS was held October 11-14, 1968, at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

I would like to submit a copy of a booklet entitled "Sabotage" that was obtained from the council site. During the council meeting, an unidentified individual interrupted the proceedings and exclaimed the sabotage booklets were in the outside hall. Many present started a scramble to get a copy of the booklet. I understand the reason the booklet was distributed in such a manner was SDS did not want the booklet to be established as part of the material officially distributed at a national council meeting.

This same council meeting approved a resolution to move the national office, but stipulated that it must remain somewhere in the Midwest area. Our sources have indicated that the national officers prefer the move be made to Madison, Wis., but the move would cost \$25,000 which is not available.

There is presently an internal struggle going on within the national office. The Progressive Labor Party members of SDS are attempting to gain control of the entire organization and are being resisted at almost all levels by the pro-Soviet Communists and the nonaligned members. Some believe that if this issue is not resolved by the end of this summer, the Progressive Labor Party people will control the national office which in turn may cause a separate SDS organization to form devoid of progressive labor party influence. In Chicago, the Loop campus of the Chicago City College chapter of SDS completely severed its ties with both the national and regional offices because they were "Communist infiltrated."

Les Coleman is considered the most active and influential individual in the Chicago regional office of SDS. He works full time as an organizer and is the liaison between the national and regional offices. At an SDS meeting on February 17, 1968, Coleman admitted that he had been in Cuba recently and is quoted as saying that:

The revolution there could easily be used in the United States. Coleman is the author of a booklet entitled "Youth Will Organize for Freedom."

The revolution there could easily be used in the United States.

Coleman is the author of a booklet entitled "Youth Will Organize for Freedom."

I would like to submit a copy of his booklet as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. A copy of the book may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 668" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. He is also reported to have written an article for the SDS publication New Left Notes entitled "Shut Down the Universities." Coleman has been identified at several antiwar demonstrations and rallies, and on occasion acted as a parade marshal.

Howard Norton Machtinger is considered the second most active and influential member in the Chicago regional office. He is a graduate student of sociology at the University of Chicago and was active during the turmoil at the University of Chicago in January and February, 1969. He was also present and active during the turmoil at Columbia University in the fall of 1968.

Ed Jennings has recently become active on the regional level. He is a student at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus, Chicago, and active in the SDS chapter there. Jennings strongly supports the Black Panther Party and is a member of the John Brown Caucus, an SDS faction seeking to form alliances with the Black Panthers and other militant Negro groups. Jennings spent several weeks in Communist Cuba in 1968. I would like to submit a copy of a news article that appeared in the Circle Focus, a student newspaper at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus, written by Jennings regarding his trip to Cuba.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 669" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Jennings has been recently arrested on a warrant for mob action stemming from his actions during the Democratic National Convention. This matter is still pending in the local courts and I would rather not make any further comment at this time.

Joe Horton is another active individual in the regional office. He is reported to be heading the drive to organize SDS chapters on the high school level.

Horton also is a recent traveler to Communist Cuba in 1968. Horton was observed at numerous antiwar rallies and demonstrations and in April 1968 was arrested during an antiwar demonstration on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

Mike Goldfield, previously identified with the Union of Organizers and REP, was instrumental in setting up the Chicago regional office. He is a student at the University of Chicago and was active during the turmoil at the university in January and February 1969. Mike Goldfield and his wife Evelyn traveled to Communist Cuba in 1968 and were seeking speaking engagements concerning their trip as an effort to raise money.

Dennis Ankrum recently became active with the Chicago regional office and has an interest in the Chicago Newsreel Film Makers. The Chicago Newsreel Film Makers occupy and share the rooms with the Chicago Regional SDS Office, 162 North Clinton. In a recent issue of FRED, previously identified, Ankrum placed an ad seeking a judo and karate instructor for the regional office. Our sources have indicated that the instructor, once found, will train members of the Black Panthers and the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican equivalent of the Black Panthers.

Marilyn Katz has also become active in the regional office. She was associated with the Union of Organizers, previously identified. Our sources indicate that during the Democratic National Convention she was responsible for making the spiked balls—that is a number of nails driven through golf balls. Several of these balls were thrown at police officers.

Marilyn Katz, on June 5, 1967, was arrested on charges of disorderly conduct at a public welfare office, 25 South Damen. I would like to submit as an exhibit a copy of a news article relative to a riotous situation that occurred at Lane High School, Chicago, Ill., May 20, 1969, involving Marilyn Katz. Katz was arrested on charges of mob action, disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and possession of dangerous drugs.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the exhibit be submitted and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 670" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The regional officers have been meeting every other Saturday in their offices, but lately the meetings have been canceled with no explanation given.

I will now identify some SDS members and their activities in relationship to college SDS chapters.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, CIRCLE CAMPUS, CHICAGO

The University of Illinois, Circle Campus, Chicago chapter of SDS, has approximately 25 members. Stuart Smith is presently the president of the chapter. Our sources indicate that he is a member of the Progressive Labor Party.

Earl Silbar, formerly active at the Roosevelt University chapter, is, according to our sources, a member of the Progressive Labor Party.

Fred Kushner, formerly with the Roosevelt University chapter, and also believed to be a member of the Progressive Labor Party, is the son of Sam and Sylvia Kushner, presently separated. Sam Kushner is a former member of the national committee of the Communist Party and is presently on the west coast writing for the Daily World, the official publication of the Communist Party. Sylvia Kushner is presently the secretary-treasurer of the Chicago Peace Council, a leading antiwar group in Chicago.

Kathy Rakochy, our sources indicate, is a member of the Progressive Labor Party and the daughter of Charles and Sylvia Fischer, also believed to be members of the Progressive Labor Party.

Charles Fischer is presently the commander of the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, previously identified.

Sylvia Fischer is a teacher in the Chicago public school system at the Shoemith Elementary School and a functionary of the Teachers for Radical Change, a group comprised of predominantly former members and sympathizers of SDS that went into the teaching profession. Teachers for Radical Change meet at 5810 South Woodlawn, the national headquarters of the New University Conference, previously identified, and is seeking control of the Chicago Teachers' Union.

Andy Rakochy is the husband of Kathy and a member of the Progressive Labor Party, according to our sources.

Eric Thor is a member of SDS and associates with members of the Progressive Labor Party. Ed Jennings was previously identified.

Russell Schutt. I would like to submit as an exhibit (exhibit No. 25) a copy of an article that appeared in the Chicago Illini dated April 22, 1969, regarding the arrest of Schutt on charges of aggravated battery. The Chicago Illini is a student newspaper of the University of Illinois, Circle Campus, Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 671" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Burton I. Michaels. I would like to submit as an exhibit (exhibit No. 26) a copy of an article by Michaels that appeared in the Chicago Circle Focus, a student newspaper, dated September 30, 1968, critical of the Police Institute at Circle Campus, Chicago, Ill.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 672" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Gilberto De Leon and Michael Brooks are, according to our sources, members of YSA, Young Socialist Alliance, a Marxist youth group of the Socialist Workers Party. They attend meet-

ings of the SDS not as members but as YSA observers obtaining information as to SDS activities and direction. YSA policy usually does not permit membership in other organizations. Bob Soltau, Steve Livingston, and Eileen Klohr are also SDS members.

ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, CHICAGO

The Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago chapter of SDS, has approximately 10 members. President is Walter Raczynski. Peter Pran, an active member, was a former member of the "Anarchists," a revolutionary group opposed to all forms of government.

Prof. Maxwell Primack, former assistant professor of philosophy at IIT. Primack has been corresponding secretary of the Midwest Faculty Committee on Vietnam, an affiliate of SDS. He was also former cochairman of the Chicago Peace Council and is a member of its executive committee.

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO

The Roosevelt University chapter of SDS has approximately 15 members. Bernie Farber, the editor of the student newspaper, Roosevelt Torch, and, as indicated by one of our sources, a member of the Progressive Labor Party. Mark Podolner, an active member of SDS and sympathetically pro-Soviet, according to our sources.

During May 1968, a series of sit-ins and rallies occurred at Roosevelt University protesting the refusal of the university administration to hire Prof. Staughton Lynd.

SDS actively participated in the demonstrations creating an arrest situation. Of the numerous arrests made, the following were SDS members: Steve Baum, David Protes, Earl Silbar, Patrick O'Kiersey, and Peter Pran.

AMUNDSEN-MAYFAIR CAMPUS, CHICAGO CITY COLLEGE

At Amundsen-Mayfair campus of Chicago City College, 4625 North Knox Street, there are presently three members of SDS. The most significant member is Mike Broncato, indicated by our sources as a member of the Progressive Labor Party.

NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS STATE COLLEGE, CHICAGO

At Northeastern Illinois State College, 5500 North St. Louis Street, there are approximately 25 members of SDS. The most significant ones are Chris Smolka, Conrad Pitcher, Russell Smolin, Rodney Martel, Susan Given, Steven Mandell, Ken Lawrence, the husband of Jean Lawrence, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance; Prof. Dan Stern, who is also associated with the Union of Organizers, and William Frappoly.

During the latter part of November 1968, 11 members and sympathizers of SDS were arrested during an attempted sit-in at the office of the college president at Northeastern State. Among those SDSers arrested were Chris Smolka, Conrad Pitcher, Susan Given, and Rodney Martell. All arrested were charged with disorderly conduct

and criminal trespass to property. I would like to submit as exhibits copies of two news articles that appeared in the Chicago's American and Chicago Tribune on November 21, 1968, relative to the sit-in.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 673" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Sergeant GRUBISIC. At the University of Chicago, 5801 South Ellis Street, there are approximately 40 members of SDS. The following members were very active during the turmoil at the university in the earlier part of 1969: Howard Machtinger, also a regional officer of SDS; Janet Tenney, Jeffrey Blem, Sally Yagol, Steve Kindred, Stephen Landsman, Leonard Handelsman, Leonard Carrel, Ernest G. Dornfield, Loel Callahan, Jr., Michael J. Gross, Atina J. A. Grossman, and Louise Borotsky.

Other members of SDS at the University of Chicago include: Christopher Hobson, who in October 1968 identified himself as president of the chapter; Miles Mogulescu, an active member of the chapter and previously described; Robert Salasin, a member of SDS and in 1966 of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, a spawn of the Communist Party directed toward youth; Danny Friedlander, an active member previously described; Arthur Perlo, a member of SDS and the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs and the son of Victor Perlo, a Communist author, lecturer, and reporter for the Daily World, the official publication of the Communist Party. Victor Perlo is also a sponsor of the REP, Radical Education Project of SDS.

Paul Ascher, Rory Donnelly, Kathy Lindsley, Jon Neill, Randi Russell, and Will Hartley are additional members of this SDS chapter. Gary Greenbaum and Tim Rowton are active members of SDS and also reportedly of the Progressive Labor Party.

I would like to submit as exhibits four copies of news articles that appeared in the Chicago Tribune and Chicago American in February 1969 relative to the turmoil at the university.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 674" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Dave Finkel, Chris Hobson, Derek, Linton, Miles Mogulescu, Steve Rothkrug, and Robin Sandow are members of the Revolutionary Socialist Caucus of the University of Chicago chapter. This caucus believes that SDS should be an organization of young people committed to the struggle for international socialist revolution. Their conception of socialism is revolutionary and democratic (refer to New Left Notes, vol. 4, No. 20, dated May 30, 1969, p. 2, exhibit No. 29).

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 675" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I would also like to submit 11 articles relative to University of Chicago SDS activities during the years 1965-68.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 676" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, EVANSTON, ILL.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. At Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., there are approximately 30 members of SDS. The president of this chapter is Jeff Rice, who was elected to that position on December 3, 1968. The faculty adviser is Marvin Shimbrot.

Mike Marcus is considered the most active and influential member of this chapter. He was also associated with the Peace and Freedom Party previously described.

Lee Weiner, a research assistant in the department of sociology at the university, is a member of SDS and was one of the eight demonstrators indicted by the Federal grand jury stemming from their role during the Democratic National Convention. Again, I would rather make no further comment on this matter, for the case is still pending in the Federal courts.

Other active SDSers on the campus are Dale Brent, Ellis Pines, and Steven Lubet, whose father is Fred Lubet, an active member of the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam. Steven Lubet was also arrested with five others on February 25, 1969, for interfering with traffic during an SDS-sponsored demonstration against Dow Chemical Co. recruiters on the campus. Other SDS members arrested were David Shimasaki, Stephen Bowden, and Bruce Cory. Additional active members of SDS are Roger Friedman, Steven Buff, Douglas Turner, Ira Schaer, and Patricia Yollin.

I would like to submit copies of news articles that appeared in the Chicago Tribune relative to the demonstration on February 25, 1969.

I would also like to submit as an exhibit page 23 of the May 26, 1969, issue of FRED relative to Roger Friedman, and Dale Brent.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received and appropriately numbered.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 677 and 678" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

Sergeant GRUBISIC. At Loyola University, 6525 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill., there are approximately 30 members. The faculty adviser is Naomi Weisstein. The most active members are Ben Radford, Jr., Jerry Tritz, and Richard Kalwa.

Ben Radford, Jr., was named as a coconspirator but not indicted by the Federal grand jury investigation of the Democratic National Convention disorders. Ben Radford, Jr., was observed on several occasions participating in the training of marshals held in Lincoln Park prior to the Democratic National Convention. I have previously described of what the training sessions consisted.

I would like to comment concerning the financial resources of SDS. At present, the SDS organization receives financial assistance from the receipt of dues and subscription payments to their publication, the New Left Notes.

The membership fee is \$5 a year, which includes a subscription to the New Left Notes. The nonmember subscription fee to New Left Notes is \$10 per year.

The exact amount of moneys coming into the national office is not known by the Chicago Police Department; however, in the Chicago Tribune dated June 16, 1968, Carl Davidson, vice president of SDS at that time, stated that their national budget for that year was \$80,000.

Davidson, in March 1968, visited Communist Cuba. My understanding is he met with representatives from Communist China and North Korea.

The following members of the Illinois Communist Party, as cited by the predecessor of HICIS the HCUA, were listed by the national SDS as financial contributors as of January 1967: Milton Cohen, Nellie DeSchaaf, Fred Fine, Jack Kling, Jesse Prosten, John Rossen, Jack Spiegel, and Vicky Starr. Our sources also indicate that from October 1968 to about April 1969 the Chicago Peace Council gave to the national SDS approximately \$1,000.

It should also be noted that Jack Spiegel is a functionary of the Chicago Peace Council. Both the national office of SDS and the Chicago Peace Council are located at 1608 West Madison Street, in a building owned by John Rossen.

I would like to submit, as an exhibit, a copy of what appears to be a receipt dated April 2, 1969. It reads as follows: "Received from Sylvia Kushner \$100 for Panthers bail," and is signed Michael Klonsky. Sylvia Kushner is the secretary-treasurer of the Chicago Peace Council and Mike Klonsky is, of course, the national secretary of SDS.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 679" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Some college chapters of SDS receive money from student organizational funds. Any organization on campus that is recognized by the college administration is entitled, upon request by the recognized group, to receive funds to pay for lecturers that the group may invite, printing group materials, traveling expenses for group members, and so forth.

The moneys paid to the recognized student group is derived from the student fee each student is required to pay each school year. All the student fees are put into a central fund and distributed to the recognized student groups upon approval of the student government, student-faculty committees, dean of students, and last the vice president of the university. This is the general operating procedure of most colleges in distributing moneys to the recognized student groups, although there may be some variations from college to college.

I have received information which leads me to believe that the SDS chapter at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus, Chicago, receives money from the student organizational fund, but I do not know the exact amount. I do not have any information relative to other college SDS chapters receiving money in this manner.

However, at Northeastern Illinois State College the SDS chapter does not receive money but uses the technique of an organizational front to obtain it.

There are variations in application of this technique; for example, (1) receiving money through groups which are organized to front solely for SDS purposes, (2) receiving money and services through legitimate campus groups which function separately—student news-

papers, historical societies, and so forth—but in whose membership are active SDS members or sympathizers.

The Northeastern Illinois State College Peace Council is a front for the SDS chapter there. From September 1968 to September 1969, the peace council was allotted approximately \$6,000. Portions of this money was for lecturer fees.

The breakdown is as follows:

1. Rennie Davis, \$500.
2. Abbie Hoffman, \$300. Abbie Hoffman was recently indicted by the Federal grand jury in Chicago for his activities prior to and during the Democratic National Convention.
3. Rita Freed, \$150. Rita Freed is a member of the YAWF, Youth Against War and Fascism, a Marxist-oriented group.
4. Illinois Black Panther Party, \$700.
5. Milwaukee 14, \$200. The Milwaukee 14 allegedly burned the records of the Selective Service System branch in Milwaukee, Wis.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you have a brief statement on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

You may proceed. It is not very long. You can read it, if you like.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Chicago SNCC has been inactive since March 1968 when it was evicted from its headquarters located at 306 East 43d Street. I will identify the significant members of Chicago SNCC when it was active.

Robert Alphonso Brown headed the SNCC organization in Chicago and was its Midwest director. After SNCC became inactive he became the Midwest coordinator for the Black Panther Party and also became inactive with the Panthers recently.

Robert Vance Walton was active with SNCC and is currently serving a 40 to 75 year sentence in the Joliet, Ill., State Penitentiary for the murder of Abder Rayyan in his grocery store at 343 East 51st Street, Chicago, Ill. I would like to submit, as an exhibit, a copy of a news article that appeared in the Chicago Tribune on August 3, 1969, relative to the murder.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 680" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Prior to Robert Brown, Joyce Brown was the Midwest coordinator. She left Chicago in August 1967 for Atlanta, Ga., and is reported active in the Atlanta office of SNCC. She is not related to Robert Brown.

Monroe Sharpe and Carol Redmond were active with SNCC, but left the United States in the summer of 1967 for Ghana and South Africa. Since then, no information has been received as to their whereabouts or activity.

Jorja English, a former SNCC member, is presently active with the Black Liberation Alliance, a splinter group of CORE, Congress of Racial Equality.

Sylvia Fischer was active with Chicago Area Friends of SNCC, which is also dormant. She is presently a schoolteacher at the Shoe-

smith Elementary School of the Chicago public school system and a functionary of the Teachers for Radical Change, a group seeking to gain control of the Chicago Teachers Union. Teachers for Radical Change is composed predominantly of former members and sympathizers of SDS that went into the teaching profession. Our sources indicate that Sylvia Fischer is a member of the Progressive Labor Party.

Arnelle Douglas and Garfield Harris were also active in SNCC. Their present activities are not known.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you have a brief statement on the Revolutionary Action Movement, RAM.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The Chicago Police Department never established that RAM had a formal organization in Chicago. Our sources have indicated that certain members of a Chicago group known as ACT were associated with RAM. The depth or significance of the association these two groups allegedly had was not determined. However, there was a resemblance in their antiwhite, militant philosophy.

ACT has been inactive since 1966. I will identify the most significant members of ACT when ACT was active.

Lawrence Landry was the national chairman of ACT. Landry and ACT became inactive almost simultaneously. He is presently reported to be living in St. Louis, Mo.

Nahaz Rogers was the treasurer and is still living in Chicago, but inactive.

Warren Juan Stokely was active with ACT but his activities for the last 3 years are not known.

Doug Andrews, after ACT becoming inactive, became the executive director of the Go Garfield Organization located in a Negro area on Chicago West Side. Andrews was one of seven persons associated with the Go Garfield Organization that was arrested on charges of arson, conspiracy to commit arson, and burglary stemming from their actions during the Chicago riots, April 1968.

Otis Hyde and Joe Nimmer, former ACT members, are inactive and their present activities are not known.

Atheodore Barber and his brother Howard, formerly with ACT, are presently active with the RNA—Republic of New Africa.

W. C. Anas Luqman, a former ACT member, is now associated with the Malcolm X Black Hand Society of the World, Inc., a militant Negro group.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, do you have anything else to add?

Can you give us any information about the SDS convention in Chicago last week?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes, I can.

The national convention of SDS was held in Chicago from June 18–22, 1969. SDS has split into two separate organizations. The Progressive Labor Party dominates one faction while the other SDS faction I will refer to as the Regular SDS organization.

Each faction has elected its own national officers and I would like to read those elected.

The CHAIRMAN. They can be printed in the record at this point, the new officers of the two factions. Each faction elected its own.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes.

The regular SDS organization will still have its national headquarters at 1608 West Madison. National secretary is Mark Rudd.

Inter-organizational secretary: Jeff Jones, 22, San Francisco State student.

Education secretary: Bill Ayers, 24, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; son of Thomas Ayers of Commonwealth Edison Co.

The following named persons were nominated to the national interim committee—eight other officers as required by the SDS constitution:

Barbara Riley (Columbia), New York.

Dave Bucake (Cornell).

Jim Hawley (Berkeley "Red Guard").

Fred Cohen (Stanford University).

Bob Avakian (San Francisco Bay area) (Red Union).

Roger Lipman (Seattle, Wash.).

Russ Newfeld.

Dionne Donghi (New York regional SDS officer).

Noel Ignatin (Chicago).

Howard Machtinger (Chicago).

Charles Simpson (New York).

Bernardine Dohrn (Chicago).

Marilyn Katz (Chicago).

Mimi Hirsch (San Francisco Bay area).

Linda Wells (Atlanta, Ga.).

Corky Benedict (Cleveland, Ohio).

Linda Evans (Detroit, Mich.).

Mike Klonsky (Chicago).

John Butnoy.

Paul Rockwell (New York) Columbia.

Alice Fialkin (Wisconsin).

Of the above names, the following were elected to the national interim committee:

Barbara Riley (Columbia), New York.

Bob Avakian (San Francisco Bay area) (Red Union).

Noel Ignatin (Chicago).

Howard Machtinger (Chicago).

Bernardine Dohrn (Chicago).

Corky Benedict (Cleveland, Ohio).

Linda Evans (Detroit, Mich.).

Mike Klonsky (Chicago).

This faction of SDS will remain at 1608 West Madison and also take over the offices of the Chicago Peace Council (located at same) when they move to 343 South Dearborn Street (14th floor).

SDS, 666-3874, 1608 West Madison.

SDS, 641-0932, 162 North Clinton.

Progressive Labor Party (faction) SDS (Chicago Coliseum).

National secretary: John Pennington, alumnus of Harvard.

Interorganizational secretary: Patricia Foreman, San Francisco State College.

Education secretary: Allan Spector (nonmember).

The eight other national officers which comprise the national interim committee are as follows:

Mike Golash (Columbia), Sandy Meyer (University of Illinois Circle campus), Fred Gordon, Jared Israel (Harvard), David Russell, Becky Revis, Wesley Lincoln, Ed Galloway.

Alternates to the national interim committee are: Jim Prickett, Gordon De Marco.

Temporary national office location: 135 Green Street, Cambridge, Mass., 02139.

The national office Chicago contact is: Pat Ross, female, white, 472-8316; Mitchell Haller, 732 West Belden, Chicago, Ill.

The CHAIRMAN. These documents may be made available to the press if they want to see them.

Tell us something about the difference in the two groups. Which one apparently has the largest following?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. At the convention, PL was definitely in control by sheer numbers. It appears that PL issued a call to every member and sympathizer of the PL organization to come to Chicago.

Our information indicated, and had for the last year, that PL was going to have its big push to take over the entire SDS organization.

The CHAIRMAN. By PL, you mean the Progressive Labor Party?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it apparently have the largest group of followers?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. At the convention it did.

The CHAIRMAN. At the convention?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It broke away, or did the regulars break away?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Each faction expelled the other one from the SDS organization.

The CHAIRMAN. They did what?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Each faction expelled the other from the SDS organization.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand, but which one left the convention hall and set up a convention somewhere else?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The regular SDS organization left the Chicago Coliseum where the convention was held and went to the First Congregational Church of Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the first group you mentioned?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The regular SDS organization that I referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the regulars under Rudd?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. And the one that apparently had the most following there was the Progressive Labor Party faction under John Pennington?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Right. The Progressive Labor Party every morning during the convention met at the University of Chicago and held their own caucus. They would march en masse over to the coliseum.

The CHAIRMAN. Which one retained all of the records?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The regular SDS organization has the records and the money.

The CHAIRMAN. The records and the money.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes.

I would like to make a comment that SDS was having a problem locating a site to hold their convention. The information we received was that Jack Spiegel was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Carl Nelson in 1959 during the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearing.

He intervened and obtained the Chicago Coliseum for the SDS convention. A certified check for \$2,000 was deposited with the management of the coliseum as rent for the coliseum, and an additional \$200 was paid to cover insurance. Whether Jack Spiegel provided the money, I am not certain.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything further on the convention out there? What resolutions did they adopt, if you know—either faction with respect to its policies and program?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. I would like to refer to the SDS publication *New Left Notes* dated June 18, 1969. I know of three resolutions that were passed.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't read them, but is there anything significant in them?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes. One resolution submitted to the convention by Bill Ayers, of Michigan, Peter Chapp, Bernardine Dohrn, was:

SDS calls for three days of demonstrations and actions beginning September 24 in Chicago to demand, (1), immediate withdrawal of all troops and U.S. presence from Vietnam; (2), immediate withdrawal of all occupying forces including "pigs", from communities and schools in America, the communities must control the "pigs"; (3) —

The CHAIRMAN. Control what?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. "The community must control the 'pigs.'" They are referring to policemen.

(3) Free all political prisoners. Free Huey P. Newton. Free all Panthers. Free the Conspiracy 8.

Further on down, implementation reads as follows:

The National Officers of SDS should hold a press conference immediately after the convention to declare if the U.S. does not accept the generous 10-point peace plan of the National Liberation Front, then we will take the issue of the war back into the streets this fall.

(2) We should set the date of November 8 as the day to commence one week of massive anti-war actions. November 8 should be billed as a deadline through this summer, and a deadline set by the people. Literature about November 8 should be produced on a massive scale, both locally and nationally, starting now. This literature should be distributed in the factories and the communities as part of our summer program. SDS should initiate November 8 Committees in all our local areas. These committees should be open to all who call for a U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam now.

(3) We should build the November 8 movement around broad base slogans and demands such as "get out of Vietnam now," "bring the troops home now," "Vietnam for the Vietnamese," "our fight is at home," "troops out of the ghettos and campuses," "tax the war corporations, not the people," "stop the war tax."

The CHAIRMAN. Were there two other resolutions besides that?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the paper be received as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 681" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. In that exhibit, I was referring to the resolution from the paper.

Just highlight what the resolution does. That will be sufficient. You need not read all of it.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Another resolution calls for a program:

SDS should call for a mass action against the war on September 26-28 in Chicago. This should be a broad-based action with attempts to involve the most people possible in the militant struggle.

The demand should include immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and elsewhere in the world; support for black liberation. Free Huey Newton and all political prisoners. No more surtax. Independence for Puerto Rico. Support for G.I. rights and G.I. rebellions.

I want to clarify a point here.

In one resolution, SDS calls for 3 days of demonstrations beginning September 24 while the other resolution calls for massive action for September 26, all in Chicago.

My understanding is that the national interim committee of SDS will meet within the next 2 months to decide on a specific date. It will be the latter part of September.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything further?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. The last sentence of item 3 of the resolution I just read, reads as follows:

We should build towards work stoppages and strikes and mobilization of workers who are wanting to fight. Number four, We should call on the soldiers in the Army to hold demonstrations during this period. We must work to develop programs within the Army that raise the anti-imperialistic consciousness and aid of any such existing programs.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. You have put in a lot of work on this testimony; haven't you?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Yes, I did.

May I submit one other item as an exhibit? It is SDS press release. The regular organization of SDS had a press conference on June 23, at 162 North Clinton at noon. Present were Dohrn, Klonsky, Rudd, Ayers, Jones, and Kissinger.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 682" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. You have about 200 or 300 names altogether in your statement.

Do you know how many?

Sergeant GRUBISIC. Quite a few, Mr. Chairman.

May I conclude just with a personal comment, my own, not of the Chicago Police Department, one page?

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Sergeant GRUBISIC. My remarks are a sampling of the strategy and tactics of the Communist threat facing us today.

This threat has woven a web of subversion and infiltration needing thorough investigation, understanding, remedial action, and exposure.

The web is not shallow nor simple, but a complex strategy. The Communist movement in all its diversity has the name of the persons from one organization often showing up on the list of names of other organizations.

The movement would have you believe that there exists a genuine grassroots and spontaneous group of organizations, but close observation and scrutiny divulges a common core of peoples and ideologies controlling these organizations.

The infiltration of legitimate organizations is extensive. The money received by these groups is no small amount and often not traceable.

Definite sources of income are there to be investigated and identified. The sources of revenue for one group often show up as sources of revenue for other groups. Although the monolithic Communist threat does not exist as in the past, there is no basis for stating the nonexistence of any Communist threat.

It is not necessary to have just one brand of communism to pose a threat. The Communist movement today is diverse in all its philosophical interpretations, revolutionary application, and leadership.

There are even those who follow an individualist approach, holding allegiance to no particular camp or leadership.

The Communist movement, although not monolithic, is united, and all brands, no matter through diversity or competitiveness, are ruled in a basic Marxism and are alien to the free enterprise and representative system.

Despite the differences, their goal is the same, the destruction of capitalism and the representative system, especially in the United States.

We are being led to believe that the Communist threat does not exist. The threat does exist but it has taken on new and different forms than in the past and poses a major threat to the peace and security of our Nation.

These new forms must be studied and understood and the necessary action taken and exposure for all to see.

The CHAIRMAN. I started to say a few moments ago your statement is quite lengthy. You have mentioned many names and given backgrounds on them with their connections with various organizations.

It will take a study of your testimony to make a proper evaluation of it. I appreciate very much your contribution. I am sure there is information in here that will be very helpful to the committee in evaluating a number of these organizations and what their objectives are.

Therefore, I express to you my appreciation and that of the committee.

The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:04 p.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Tuesday, July 1, 1969.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Senator McClellan.)

