

RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

1779-1

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 18, 24, AND 25, 1969

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RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18, 1969

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

The subcommittee met at 10:18 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 Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat, Connecticut; Senator Lee Metcalf, Democrat, Montana; Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican, South Dakota; Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican, New York; and Senator Robert P. Griffin, Republican, Michigan.

Also present: Jerome S. Adlerman, general counsel; Philip R. Manuel, investigator; Perman H. Clay, investigator; Paul V. Kirby, investigator; John E. Drass, detailed from Metropolitan Police Department; 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 committee will come to order.

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

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Counsel, call your next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Captain John E. Drass.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you 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?

Captain DRASS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CAPT. JOHN E. DRASS

The CHAIRMAN. Would you identify yourself for the record?

Captain DRASS. My name is John E. Drass. I am a captain with the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, D.C., and I have been a member of the department for 16 years.

Since January 1968, I have been a staff member of this subcommittee on loan from the Metropolitan Police. One of my principal assignments during my work with the subcommittee has been investigating and researching the organizational structure, operations, and membership of the Black Panther Party.

During my testimony of the Black Panther Party I will supply to the committee documentary evidence to support my statement.

The Black Panther Party, and I will refer to it from here on in as the BPP, was organized in 1966 at Oakland, Calif., by Huey P. Newton, and Bobby George Seale. Its original name was the "Black Panther Party for Self-Defense," supposedly formed to protect black people in Oakland against alleged "police brutality."

The group was patterned after the Loundes County Freedom Organization in Alabama, organized by Stokely Carmichael, former national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and current "prime minister" of the Black Panthers.

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

Captain DRASS. The Black Panther Party became notorious when its members started carrying guns in Oakland to police the police and suppress the white oppressors.

The first confrontation the BPP had with police was in February of 1967 in San Francisco. The party furnished an armed guard for Betty Shabazz (widow of Malcolm X) during a visit to the city.

When police were called, Huey Newton pointed a loaded shotgun at the officers and dared them to draw their weapons.

In May of 1967, about 26 Black Panthers carrying guns invaded the chamber of the California State Assembly during a legislative session in Sacramento. They wanted to demonstrate the might of the Black Panther Party and their opposition to proposed gun legislation.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I have an exhibit which we have marked No. 1, which is a copy of the Black Panther newspaper, dated January 4, 1969, which outlines in their own paper this action on the part of the Panthers.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It may be received and appropriately marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 330" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 330

[From the Black Panther, Saturday, Jan. 4, 1969]

REVIEW OF PANTHER GROWTH AND HARASSMENT

October, 1966 to May, 1967

The Black Panther Party started armed patrols in the black community and, as a result of their activities, were subjected to continuous harassment by the pigs.

May 2, 1967

Thirty members of the Black Panther Party carried firearms to Sacramento. The brothers carried their weapons into the Capitol to protest the state assembly's attempt to pass a bill infringing upon the Panther's right to bear arms as guaranteed by the 2nd amendment to the Constitution.

May 22, 1967

Chairman Bobby Seale was arrested and charged with an obscure law making it a crime to possess a weapon in the vicinity of a jail. The law dated back to the 1800's.

October 28, 1967

Huey P. Newton was wounded and arrested following a shooting incident in Oakland. One pig died as a result of the shooting and another was wounded.

January 10, 1969

National Captain David Hilliard arrested while passing out leaflets at Oakland Tech.

January 16, 1968

At 3:30 am, San Francisco pigs broke down the door of Eldridge Cleaver's apartment at 850 Oak St., San Francisco, and searched the apartment—without a warrant. Eldridge, his wife Kathleen, and Panther Revolutionary Artist Emory Douglas were present.

February 5, 1968

At 1:00 am, a Panther and his girl friend were arrested for "disturbing the peace," after a rally at which Dr. Spock spoke. They were beaten in jail.

February 17, 1968

A "Free Huey" rally was held at the Oakland Auditorium on Huey's birthday. The rally was an outstanding success, attended by over 5,000 people, Eldridge Cleaver was the master of ceremonies.

February 24, 1968

Panther Jimmy Charley approached a pig who was in the act of assaulting a black person, and questioned the officer. He was promptly arrested and charged with "resisting arrest."

February 25, 1968

At 3:30 am pigs broke down the door of Bobby Seale's home, where Bobby and his wife, Artie, were in bed asleep. There was no warrant. The pigs said they were acting on a complaint indicating Bobby in a vague "conspiracy to commit murder" charge, which was promptly dropped for lack of evidence. Shotgun-toting pigs confiscated weapons and arrested Mr. and Mrs. Seale. Four other Panthers, in a car nearby, were also arrested a short time later, and charged with misdemeanors.

Third & fourth weeks of February, 1968

A rash of arrests of black men, either in the Panthers or identified with them. One of the incidents took place in front of the Natural shop on San Pablo St., in Oakland. This incident happened when the pigs stopped the car of a black youth on an alleged traffic violation in front of the shop. The pig pulled the youth from the car, threw him against the car door and beat him brutally. About ten Panthers and their associates gathered around to protest and were arrested. This rash of arrests coincided with the visit of Stokely Carmichael to the Bay Area.

April 3, 1968

The pigs entered Father Neil's church in Oakland where the Panthers were holding a meeting. A black youth associated with the Panthers, but not authorized by them to possess a gun) was, according to the pigs, drunk and waving a gun outside the church. The pigs surrounded the church and entered it, about twelve of them, with 12 gauge shotguns held in front of them in a threatening manner. They were accompanied, inexplicably, by a white Catholic priest and a black clergyman, both from Oakland. David Hilliard came out of the sanctuary and refused to allow police to enter the sanctuary. Upon seeing Hilliard, the pigs lowered their guns and cast their eyes about, looking for someone else. The Panthers are convinced they were looking for Bobby Seale.

April 6, 1968

Several Panthers in cars in west Oakland on Saturday night, April 6, were approached by two pigs and menaced with guns. When the Panthers tried to defend themselves, shooting began, and the Panthers ran into a nearby house. After about 90 minutes of shooting by some 50 members of the Oakland pig department, who set fire to the house and filled it with tear gas, the Panthers were forced to surrender. With floodlights covering the house, Bobby Hutton walked out with his hands up. Someone yelled that he had a gun and he was shot. He was not armed: no gun was found anywhere near his body. Eldridge Cleaver, wounded in the leg, and eyes badly burned by tear gas, came out. In total, nine persons were arrested, including Panther National Captain David Hilliard. Two pigs were wounded slightly.

April 9, 1968

Two Black Panther women were going about Oakland in a car putting up posters announcing the candidacy of Huey Newton for Congress and Bobby Seale for Assembly on the Peace and Freedom ticket. Twelve pigs with shotguns stopped their car and searched it—without probable cause. Throughout the day, patrol cars circled the Newton-Seale campaign headquarters. Sam Napier and other Panthers were physically stopped by the pigs from putting up campaign posters.

The pigs have been spotted by Oakland residents tearing down Newton-Seale Posters.

April 13, 1968

Four members of the Black Panther party were returning from Bobby Hutton's funeral when they were arrested on suspicion of robbery. Since it was Friday, they were to be kept over the weekend before they could be arraigned. This is a typical pig procedure—it means three days detention instead of overnight before a court appearance. The robbery took place on Monday. Furthermore the robbery car was driven by one person with one passenger. Four people were arrested Friday. The car was in the shop being repaired at the time of the alleged robbery. On Sunday, after a weekend of work by Attorney Alex Hoffman, the "suspects" were released—they couldn't be identified as having even a remote connection with the alleged robbery. When arrested they were maced; they were taken in with drawn guns.

May 1, 1968

A sixteen year old girl was arrested for extortion for selling Huey buttons.

June 8, 1968

Bobby Seale was convicted of carrying a loaded shotgun near the jail. Chairman Bobby was sentenced to three years probation.

June 12, 1968

Eldridge Cleaver was released from Vacaville prison where he had been held as a political prisoner.

July 13, 1968

Huey Newton was charged with murder. Judge Friedman denied a motion to strike a prior conviction of assault with a deadly weapon after Huey had pleaded self-defense.

Huey P. Newton's attorney, Charles R. Garry, went to the State District Court of Appeal for a right to dismiss the prior conviction. It was denied.

July 15, 1968 & July 16, 1968

More than 6,000 people came out in support of Huey Newton at his trial. There were shouts of Free Huey, Black is Beautiful, Set our warrior free and many others showing the feelings of the people that Huey should be set free. The crowd was so enormous and the chants so thundering that the employees in the building found it difficult to concentrate.

July 17, 1968

Huey P. Newton took the stand for the first time in his own defense, but only to say that he is a pauper. That he has no money and cannot afford to have people flown from out of town to testify at his trial. The purpose of the testimony was to make it possible for Garry to submit two affidavits from eastern doctors that testified to the fact that certain persons should not be allowed to serve on the jury of brother Huey P. Newton.

Huey took the stand and said that he was a pauper that he did not have a biscuit or a dime, that he did not have access to the Huey P. Newton defense fund, that he did not know much about it but if they would permit him to be free for a couple of days he could investigate.

July 18, 1968

Garry motioned that the jury for Huey's trial should be selected from his peers. He motioned that the panel in which they were going to select Huey's jury be dismissed. He called a number of witnesses to the stand to testify.

August 15, 1968

Yesterday three Black Panthers were kidnapped by pigs of several nations in Mexico City as they tried to fly to Cuba. The three were David Hilliard, National Captain; George Murray, Minister of Education, and Landon Williams, a brother being trained for captain.

August 16, 1968

Chairman Bobby Seale and Captain David Hilliard of the Black Panther Party were in Chicago speaking to crowds of 5,000 across the street from the Democratic Convention.

August 17, 1968

Communications Secretary of the Black Panther Party Kathleen Cleaver was refused the right to enter Japan.

September 5, 1968

The final arguments by opposing attorneys in Huey's trial today. Attorney Charles Garry said that the trial of Huey was a diabolical attempt to put an innocent man in the gas chamber or jail.

September 8, 1968

Black Panther Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

September 28, 1968

Huey P. Newton was sentenced to 2 to 15 years in state prison and removed from Oakland in five minutes. Judge Friedman refused all motions for granting a mistrial of freeing Huey. Eldridge Cleaver's parole was revoked. His parole was revoked the day that the sentence came down on Huey P. Newton as a measure to try and keep him from organizing anyone to act against the court's decision.

October 1, 1968

Ronald Reagan, the racist governor of California, intervened and said that he felt that Eldridge Cleaver should not be allowed to give any lectures on any campuses. Of course since the students at U.C. made it known that they wanted Eldridge to lecture regardless of the remarks made by pig Ronald Reagan, Eldridge said that he would give them 30 lectures just to spite Reagan.

October 9, 1968

Eldridge gave the first of the lectures on the UC-Berkeley campus. In an interview afterward by several newsmen who asked questions like was your lecture good, Eldridge told them that they would have to ask the students that.

October 15, 1968

A warrant for the arrest of Eldridge Cleaver was issued because of his failure to appear at a hearing about the pig plot against him at the time the pigs murdered Bobby Hutton. He was speaking on a campus in Cambridge, Mass. at the time. Garry, his attorney, explained to the court that he has forgotten to tell Eldridge of his scheduled court appearance.

November 15, 1968

Black Panther Party commenced its national retreat. Brothers and sisters from all chapters came to Berkeley to receive more education and instructions from the National Office and to "intensify the struggle."

November 28, 1968

Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver defied the establishment and refused to yield to their piggish attempts to imprison and kill him. Eldridge went into self-imposed exile rather than return to prison.

December 1, 1968

Panther Chairman Bobby Seale, Chief of Staff David Hilliard, and a number of Black Panthers, attended the Hemispheric Conference on Vietnam in Montreal, Canada.

The participation of the Panthers in the Conference turned out to be the determining factor in whether or not the delegates passed a resolution to support a National Liberation Front (NLF).

Bobby Seale told the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam that the Black Panther Party was forced to resist police brutality and murder of black people in the same manner that the Vietnamese people were resisting U.S. imperialist aggression—by violence if necessary.

December 31, 1968—January 1, 1969

Panthers make resolution: To continue and intensify the struggle.

Even though the above review is not complete (E. G. the pig attack on the National Office and Alloto's request for a grand jury indictment), it is easy to see that the Black Panther Party has withstood seemingly irresistible harassment from the establishment and has continued to "intensify the struggle." The power structure is beginning to weaken, and the Black Panther Party is growing stronger with each encounter. We cannot be denied a victorious ending for our struggle. Huey will be set free. Eldridge will be free to return from his self-

imposed political exile. The establishment will crumble before the wrath of the people, 1968) is the Year of the Panther.

(The next issue of the Black Panther Paper will depict the nationwide harassment of Panthers).

Captain DRASS. The Black Panthers received more national publicity on October 27, 1967, when an Oakland policeman was killed by Huey P. Newton, the party's minister of defense.

On September 8, 1968, Newton was convicted of voluntary manslaughter and was sentenced to serve 2 to 15 years in prison.

From the beginning, Huey Newton urged Panthers to buy guns and take what they wanted. Chairman Bobby Seale stated that black men must pool their guns, destroy the white pigs (police) and take community control at the point of a gun.

The July 3, 1967, issue of the party newspaper, "The Black Panther," carried an article by Newton in which he recommended and commented on the following weapons for use by the BPP:

1. Army .45—in his statement, the Army .45 will stop all jive.
2. Carbine—Carbine will stop a war machine.
3. 12-gauge Magnum shotgun with 18-inch barrel—buckshot will down cops.
4. P-38 will open prison gate.
5. 357 Magnum—357 will win us our heaven, and if you don't believe in lead, you're already dead.

To illustrate the emphasis placed upon weapons by the Black Panthers, I offer in evidence a Black Panther document which is a directive on guns and their use and effectiveness.

We have this marked as our Exhibit 2 and 2-A.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be received and appropriately marked.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 331 and 331A" for reference and follow:)

EXHIBIT NO. 331

Guns

The weapons recommended by the Black Panther Party For Self Defense are as follows:

- 1) Army 45
- 2) Carbine
- 3) 12 gauge magnum shotguns with 18" barrell. Preferably the brand of High Standard
- 4) M16
- 5) 357 Magnum pistols
- 6) P38

GUNS BABY GUNS

Army 45 will stop all jive

Buckshots will down the cops

P38 will open Prison gates

Carbine will stop a war machine

357 will win us our heaven

And if you don't believe in lead,
you are already dead

BY MINISTER OF DEFENSE HUEY P. NEWTON

EXHIBIT NO. 331A



"The racist dog policeman must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality and torture of black people, or face the wrath of the armed people."

Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense

ARMAMENT INFORMATION

Every Black Panther Party Member *must* have a functional piece and at least one thousand rounds of ammo. Every Panther in training must acquire a piece within their six week training period. All Party members who do not have a piece are on one months suspension and they must acquire a piece or they will be *expelled* from the party. Huey P. Newton Says "45 will stop all jive, 00 buck shot will down the cop, 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.
Minister of Defense B.P.P.

1. Handguns; These are to be used for close range targets only (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 and engine block on a car when loaded with *armor piercing*.)

2. 41 Mag.

3. 44 Mag.

2. Shotguns and Rifles: (bolt action, pump, and semi automatic.) When acquiring rifles the military surplus or military style weapon is preferred due to the ease in which they can be taken apart for maintenance and cleaning and simplicity of operation. Other factors that should be taken into consideration are 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 Special (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 bebes.

ARMAMENT

2. SHOTGUNS: Most effective short range weapon-rapid fire can produce machine gun effect. Automatics have been known to jam badly. A 6 or 7 shot 12 guage pump is very effective. Only double O Buckshot or rifled slugs should be used.

A. Short Barrels-----use OOB

1. 20 inches-24 inches effective up to 75 yds.-- (¾ 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. (¼ 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 1½ 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 purposes weapons.

1. 303 British--Very popular piece the cost is about 40 dollars. Very good long range 0-500 yds. (5 blocks).

2. 30-06--There are of these around, the cost is about the same as the 303. The ammo is one of the easiest types to get plus the national guard still uses this type of ammo.

3. Heavy Calibers--300 mag., 375 mag. and other high powered rifles. These will stop anything that walks the earth. And should be gotten equipped with good scopes and put in the hands of specially trained personnel.

4. Odd Calibers—7.7 mm. jap, 7 mm. moiser, 6 mm., 8 mm. 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.

Captain DRASS. On November 16, 1968, the Black Panther Party held a "retreat" in Oakland. Workshops were held under the direction of key party leaders. Of special importance were the classes called "military sessions" which dealt with instructions on weapons and explosives.

During these classes, literature was passed out which described how to make several types of bombs.

We have an exhibit here, Mr. Chairman, that was passed out at this retreat to the members, describing the workshops, and the other exhibit which describes the ingredients needed and the way to make the various types of bombs.

The **CHAIRMAN.** They may be received and appropriately marked.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 332 and 333" for reference. Exhibit No. 333 may be found in the files of the subcommittee and Exhibit No. 332 follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 332

Notice: Report to Central Headquarters at 9:00 a.m., Saturday, Nov. 16th.

AGENDA FOR RETREAT

1. Military sessions, weapons, munitions, ammo, other technical equipment. (Under Landin Williams, Bill Brent, Randy Williams)
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)
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)
7. Ten-Ten-Ten Program and implementation of it (under Wendall Wade, Landin Williams, Captain Crutch)
8. Advisory Cabinet (under Benny Stuart)
9. BSU (under George Murray, David Hilliard, Benny Stuart)
10. Information (under Eldridge Cleaver)
11. Ethnic Politics (under Eldridge Cleaver, David Hilliard)
12. "Goon Squads" (underground, secret sessions)
13. Security (handled in secret sessions under Crutch, Harvey, Tommy Jones, Warren Tucker, Landin Williams, June Hilliard)
14. Transportation (under Big Man and Jolly)
15. Communications (under Kathleen Cleaver)
16. Tape recorders and films (under Tucker and Wade at St. Augustine's or the Black Church)

Captain DRASS. The political philosophy of the BPP seems to be an amalgamation of the teachings of Mao Tse-tung; Malcolm X Little, founder of the organization of Afro-American Unity; Robert F. Williams, fugitive from justice who fled to Cuba and then to Communist China, and who is identified as the president-in-exile of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM); and the militant Negro writers Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. DuBois, and Frantz Fanon.

On July 6, 1968, George Mason Murray, minister of education of the BPP, and more recently a key activist in the San Francisco State

College disorders, stated that every member of the BPP must have a "red book" and a "black book." The red book being quotations from Mao Tse-tung and the black book gives axioms of African politician Kwame Nkrumah.

At this time we would like to introduce our exhibit No. 33, Mr. Chairman, which is a copy of the People's World newspaper dated July 13, 1968, which identifies the statement which I just made as these being the theory of the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and appropriately marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 334" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke of the red book. Can you identify it?

Captain DRASS. Yes, sir, I can.

The CHAIRMAN. I present you here what purports to be a red book about which I think you testify. Will you examine it and advise if that is the book that you have reference to?

Captain DRASS. Mr. Chairman, this is a copy of what is known as the red book or the Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. On the second page of this book, I would like to point out to you, the U.S. distributors are the China Books & Periodicals at 2929 24th Street, San Francisco, Calif. These books can be purchased very easily over the counter.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a book that can be purchased over the counter.

As I understand, you said each Black Panther was required to possess one and study it.

Captain DRASS. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Captain DRASS. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the book be received as an exhibit.

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP R. MANUEL AND CAPT. JOHN E. DRASS—

Resumed

Mr. MANUEL. In every copy of this book, Mr. Chairman, the following statement appears:

A copy of this material has been filed with the Foreign Agents Registration Section of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., where the registration statement of China Books and Periodicals, 2929 24th Street, San Francisco 10, California, as an agent of Guozhi Shudian, of Peking, China, is available for inspection. The fact of registration does not indicate approval of this material by the Government of the United States.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 335" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. I understand the book is available, but I want to have testimony about members of the Panthers being required to buy this book and have it.

Is that what you said?

Captain DRASS. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I wanted the book made a part of the record as an exhibit. Proceed.

Captain DRASS. Until May of 1968 the Black Panther Party was confined to the San Francisco Bay area. Since then, the BPP has

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

BERKELEY CALIFORNIA

NATIONAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE

MINISTER OF DEFENSE. HUEY P. NEWTON



CHAIRMAN. BOBBY GEORGE SEALE



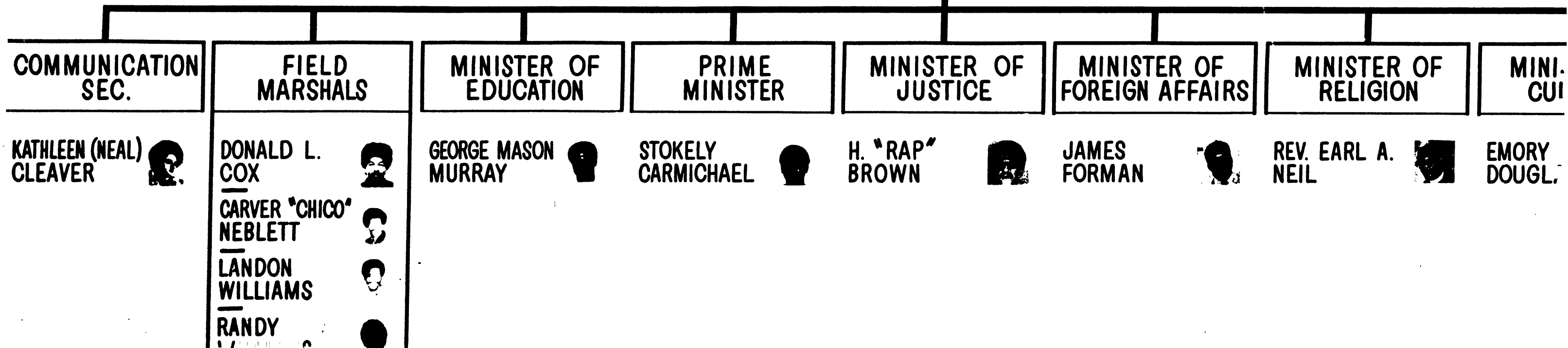
MINISTER OF INFORMATION. LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER



DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION. . . FRANK JONES



CHIEF OF STAFF. DAVID HILLIARD








BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

== BERKELEY CALIFORNIA ==

NATIONAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE

- MINISTER OF DEFENSE. HUEY P. NEWTON 
- CHAIRMAN. BOBBY GEORGE SEALE 
- MINISTER OF INFORMATION. LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER 
- DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION. FRANK JONES 
- CHIEF OF STAFF. DAVID HILLIARD 

MINISTER OF EDUCATION

GEORGE MASON MURRAY 

PRIME MINISTER

STOKELY CARMICHAEL 

MINISTER OF JUSTICE

H. "RAP" BROWN 

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

JAMES FORMAN 

MINISTER OF RELIGION

REV. EARL A. NEIL 

MINISTER OF CULTURE

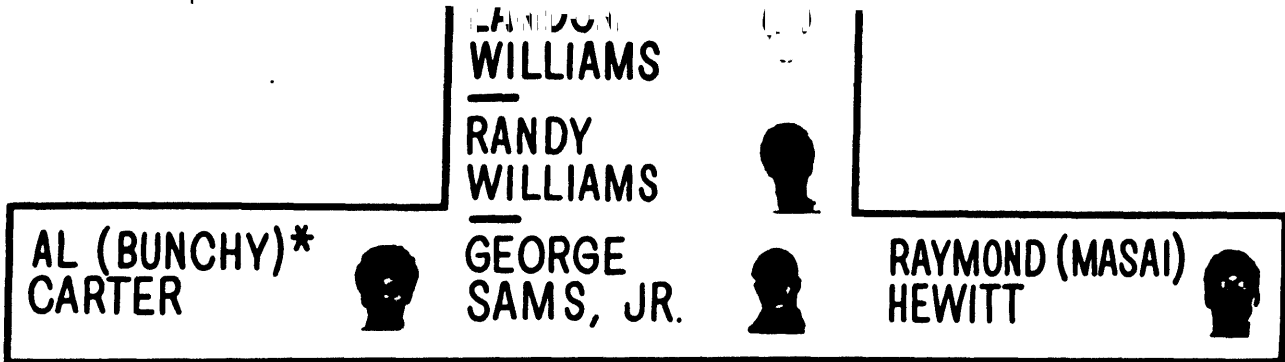
EMORY DOUGLAS 

MINISTER OF FINANCE

BOBBY HUTTON 
(KILLED 4/6/68 BY OAKLAND P.D.)

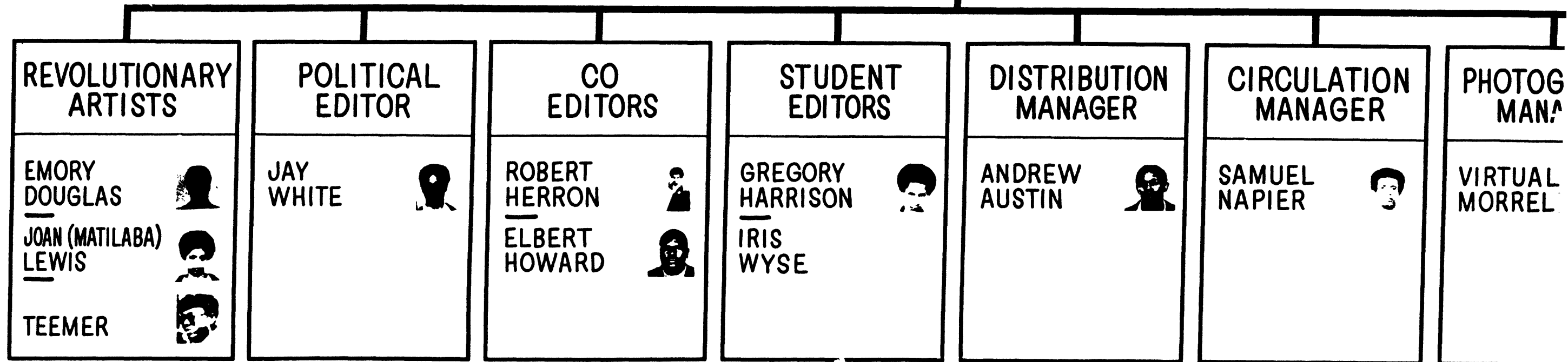
— REPLACED BY


MELVIN NEWTON 




BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER — STAFF

EDITOR.....ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
 MANAGING EDITORS.....RAYMOND LEWIS
 FRANKLYN B. JONES







RAYMOND (MASAI)
HEWITT




BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER — STAFF



EDITOR.....ELDRIDGE CLEAVER 

MANAGING EDITORS.....RAYMOND LEWIS 
FRANKLYN B. JONES 


POLITICAL
EDITOR

Y
HITE 


CO
EDITORS

ROBERT
HERRON 
ELBERT
HOWARD 


STUDENT
EDITORS

GREGORY
HARRISON 
IRIS
WYSE


DISTRIBUTION
MANAGER

ANDREW
AUSTIN 


CIRCULATION
MANAGER

SAMUEL
NAPIER 

PHOTOGRAPHY
MANAGER

VIRTUAL
MORRELL 

LAYOUT
ASSISTANT

JOHN
SEALE 

branched out and formed chapters in Los Angeles, Sacramento, and San Diego, Calif.; Seattle, Wash.; Denver, Colo.; Houston, Tex.; Des Moines, Iowa; Omaha, Nebr.; Detroit, Mich.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Chicago, Ill.; Minneapolis, Minn.; New York City, Boston, Mass.; Jersey City, Newark, and Lakewood N.J.; Baltimore Md.; Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pa.; and other locations.

Attempts are presently being made to organize chapters in numerous other locations throughout the United States including but not limited to Alabama, Mississippi, and North Carolina.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, we would like to introduce an exhibit taken from the Black Panther newspaper dated March 16, 1969, an ad published by the Black Panthers identifying the chapters that they have located in the United States. I believe there are some 26.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received and appropriately marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 336" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee. Exhibit No. 366 is identical with Exhibit No. 336 and appears on p. 3801.)

Captain DRASS. The subcommittee staff has prepared charts which we would like to introduce at this time, Mr. Chairman, which show the national officers, the party newspaper staff, and selected State officials of the Black Panther Party, which we now introduce as an exhibit.

Because we will hear testimony from witnesses who have knowledge of most active chapters, we have confined our State charts to California, New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, and Colorado.

At this time the only chart that we want to present Mr. Chairman, is the national chart which contains the national officers and the staff of the Black Panther newspaper.

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

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 337" for reference, and faces this page.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand you can identify by their documents each officer listed on this chart?

Captain DRASS. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they already been so identified?

Captain DRASS. Yes, sir; they have, in their own documents and publications.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean in testimony before us. Have they yet all been identified?

Captain DRASS. No, sir; they have not been.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

This chart is subject to whatever identification you can make.

Captain DRASS. I have an exhibit marked 3-A, which are clippings from various Black Panther newspapers. In every edition they identify the editorial staff of the Black Panther paper and the central committee of the Black Panther Party by rank and by name.

The CHAIRMAN. You may identify them. Does it have a date on it?

Captain DRASS. There are various dates, Mr. Chairman, dating all the way back to November 1968, up to the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. This is their own publication?

Captain DRASS. Yes, sir; it is.

The CHAIRMAN. These are the people they publicize as their officers from time to time?

Captain DRASS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and appropriately numbered. (The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 338" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Identify them on the chart as you go along.

Captain DRASS. In addition to the exhibit that I have just placed in the record, the witness following me will personally identify from personal knowledge every picture that is on this chart.

The CHAIRMAN. He will be able to identify them from personal knowledge?

Captain DRASS. Yes, sir.

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

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Captain DRASS. At a rally held to raise funds for the defense of Huey Newton on February 17, 1968, in Oakland, Eldridge Cleaver announced that a merger had taken place between the BPP and SNCC.

James Forman of SNCC, became Minister of Foreign Affairs; H. "Rap" Brown was named Minister of Justice, and Stokely Carmichael was named Prime Minister.

However, in July of the same year, the SNCC Central Committee passed a resolution to sever all relations with BPP.

Forman and Brown "allegedly" resigned from the BPP and remained loyal to SNCC while Carmichael remained with the BPP and was subsequently expelled from SNCC.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, we have an exhibit, the Workers World, dated March 1, 1968, which has a complete rundown of this merger between the Black Panther Party and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in which these subjects are named to the offices shown on the chart.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and appropriately marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 339" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 339

[From the Workers World, Mar. 1, 1968]

SNCC AND BLACK PANTHERS MERGE AT RALLY FOR HUEY NEWTON—CALL FOR GREATER STRUGGLE

(By Louise Merrill)

The meeting reported below was the occasion for which H. Rap Brown went to California and was then imprisoned for "violating the terms of his parole."

The character of the meeting was obviously more important to the ruling class than the fact that it was held in Oakland (where Brown was barred by the judge who had set his bail).

OAKLAND, CALIF.—The merger of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was announced Saturday night, Feb. 17 at a huge benefit rally for the defense of Huey Newton (sponsored by the Huey Newton Defense Fund).

Leaders of both organizations addressed the crowd of 7,000, which cheered, clapped and rose to its feet again and again in response to every militant word or statement.

Each SNCC speaker was introduced as an officer of the united organization: Stokely Carmichael, Prime Minister; James Forman, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

H. Rap Brown, Minister of Justice. Huey Newton, in prison, framed on a murder charge, is Minister of Defense.

Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, emcee'd the evening.

The emphasis on cabinet minister titles was clearly pointed toward a separate Afro-American state and a liberation struggle to get it.

Main speaker of the evening was Stokely Carmichael, making his first major address since returning from a world-wide journey, which included Cuba and North Vietnam.

"Our struggle is a struggle for survival—nothing less," he told the audience. "We have to organize politically, economically and militarily!"

Preceding Carmichael was Rap Brown. His appearance was unexpected, and when his name was announced, the applause was loud, long and enthusiastic.

"The only politics relevant to the Black people," he said, "is the politics of revolution!"

Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party, enunciated the program of the party, and explained the pivotal position of point 7 of the program—the struggle against police terror over the Black communities.

Implicit and explicit in the remarks of Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver was their orientation toward the most oppressed sections of the Black community—toward, as Cleaver said, "the low man on the totem pole: because unless that man moves, the thing won't get done."

Outstanding performances of African dances by the Earth Soul dancers and the Duncan company featured the evening.

The mother of Huey Newton spoke briefly, as well as Charles Garry, Newton's attorney, and Robert Avakian, a leader in the Peace and Freedom Party, a section of which has given all-out support to Huey's defense.

The fighting spirit of the audience was unmistakable. And with it was the consciousness that they represented many thousands more in the Bay Area. The cause of Huey Newton's defense has now been taken up nationally, along with the issue of self-defense.

This should give the racist rulers of this city and the country additional cause for concern.

Senator METCALF. What is the Workers World?

Mr. MANUEL. It is a publication of the openly Communist-Trotskyite group called the Workers World Party. Its headquarters is in New York.

Senator METCALF. This was published in New York as an official organ of that party?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Captain DRASS. The present headquarters of the Black Panther Party is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, Calif.

Aims and objectives of the party:

The Black Panther Party has officially set forth its primary objectives as follows:

This organization is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at the present, the BPP 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 propoganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming black people, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up party organizations.

The BPP defends itself with guns and force not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propoganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the BPP loses the reason for its existence.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, we have an exhibit marked "Exhibit No. 5," taken from Black Panther Headquarters, written on their letterhead, which identifies their aims and objectives as I have just stated.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and appropriately numbered. (The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 340" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 340

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.

Captain DRASS. Mr. Chairman, this is also part of their political education program.

The CHAIRMAN. Part of their political education?

Captain DRASS. That is correct, sir.

Following are excerpts from statements originating in Communist Cuba, quoting key leaders of the BPP who were interviewed by Radio Havana, in which they outlined the objectives and teachings of the Black Panther Party.

Senator METCALF. Mr. Chairman, I wish the witness would amplify on originating the conference in Cuba.

Did these statements come out of Cuba or were they printed there?

Captain DRASS. These statements came out of Cuba, Senator Metcalf, as reported by a Federal agency, the Federal Broadcast Information Service.

Senator METCALF. They were broadcast from Cuba?

Captain DRASS. That is correct, sir.

Senator METCALF. They were intercepted and received in this country?

Captain DRASS. That is correct.

Mr. MANUEL. They were monitored in this country, Senator Metcalf.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Captain DRASS. The first one is a quote from Bobby Seale, identified as the chairman of the Black Panther Party.

The Negro population now understands that our struggle must graduate to a higher stage, that we should use Molotov cocktails and stones, employing tactics

in which small groups of three or four men work with any type of weapons and explosives.

In short, with anything we can lay our hands on to expel the racist pigs from our communities and take control of our territory and begin to work toward a socialist state—a socialist state, a socialist system in those areas—a system that will immediately put an end to racism in this country.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, we have an exhibit which we have marked our exhibit No. 6, which is a copy of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service as they monitored it out of Havana, Cuba, giving this quote of Bobby Seale.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of it?

Captain DRASS. August 13, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It may be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 341" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 341

BLACK PANTHER PARTY LEADER INTERVIEWED

Telephone interview with Bobby Seales, leader of the Oakland, California, Black Panthers

This is an interview by Radio Havana Cuba with Bobby Seales, leader of the U.S. Black Panther Party.

Question. What can you tell us about the trial of Huey Newton in Oakland, California, and about the Black Panther Party's activities to obtain the release of its minister of defense?

Answer. The members of the Black Panther Party and, in general, the U.S. Negro community, see that so-called trial as a form of legalized lynching. They see it in this manner because the legalistic maneuver against Huey Newton is nothing more than the continuation of the repeatedly aggressive policy of the racist, capitalist, and imperialist structure of the white power in the United States against the Negro population of this country.

The U.S. Negro community has entered the stage of open rebellion all over the country and it is doing it with weapons in hand, confronting the racist police, the pigs in uniform who have invaded our communities as if they were foreign occupation forces. In Seattle, Washington, where the Black Panther Party is already organized, two policemen were killed and nine wounded in a recent clash with the Negro population and members of the Black Panther Party. In New York, four members of the party were arrested and two policemen were shot and killed with shotgun fire at close range by other members of the Black Panther Party. In Los Angeles, three party members were assassinated by the racist policemen occupying that city's Negro community. And Thursday night, seven other members were arrested by racist pigs of the local police.

In other cities the Negro community has received our message that the only way to successfully face the exploitation and abuses of the white power racist structure and of the policemen at its service is the organized use of weapons and force. Huey P. Newton, our defense minister, must be released immediately. If this does not happen, white power will be provoking and will have to face the Negro population in a civil war on a national scale.

Question. What can you tell us, Bobby Seales, about the third anniversary of the rebellion of the Negro ghetto of Watts in Los Angeles, Calif., which will be marked on 18 August, and about the tricontinental call to hold a worldwide day of solidarity with the struggle of the U.S. Negro people?

Answer. The Negro rebellion, which began 3 or 4 years ago, has grown tenfold. Since the July 18, 1964 riots in Harlem and those in Watts a year later, and after Newark and Detroit, over 250 Negro rebellions have taken place in the United States, according to our estimates. The Negro population now understands that our struggle must graduate to a higher stage, that we should use Molotov cocktails and stones, employing tactics in which small groups of three or four men work with any type of weapons and explosives. In short, with anything we can

lay our hands on to expel the racist pigs from our communities and take control of our territory and begin to work toward a socialist state, a socialist state, a socialist system in those areas, a system which will immediately put an end to racism in this country.

We see all Negro rebellions such as Watts and all the revolutionary struggles within the United States—with the Black Panther Party in the vanguard—as a great liberation movement of the Negro population, as a great movement joined with the movements for peace and freedom and other white groups who advocate revolution to destroy the imperialist and racist structure which exists in this country. As for the day of solidarity which is to take place on 18 August, we definitively support it.

Question. As for coordination with other organizations such as SNCC what can you tell us?

Answer. Well, the Black Panther Party has developed as a vanguard organization and at present has moved to the front of the struggle, and we expect the support of everybody.

Question. Have you had contacts with student organizations in this stage of the struggle?

Answer. Yes, we have made contacts with many student organizations and many students have joined the party to fight within its ranks, because the student program is included in the growth program of our organization.

Announcer: We have presented a Radio Havana Cuba interview with Bobby Seales, leader of the U.S. Black Panther Party.

Captain DRASS. Another quote from Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the Black Panther Party, on August 18, 1968, in an interview from jail by way of telephone:

Therefore, we consider ourselves an integral part of the army of resistance that is being mobilised all over the world.

Again, Mr. Chairman, we have a copy of that broadcast which we would like to enter as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 342" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 342

BLACK PANTHER LEADER NEWTON INTERVIEWED

HAVANA—The daily El Mundo today carries an exclusive interview with U.S. Black Panther Party Secretary of Defense Huey P. Newton. Newton is in jail in Alameda, California, and answered questions put to him by the paper's editors by phone.

Question. When do you think the court will give its decision? We also want your opinion of the trial.

Answer. I think the trial will end within 2 weeks at the most. The trial should end the first week of September. I think the jury will acquit, will deliver a verdict of not guilty on the first vote. I think any verdict other than acquittal would be embarrassing. The current court structure is operated and controlled by a small imperialist and racist ruling class. This in no way represents the people, especially the Negro population of many ghettos across the length and breadth of the country. This is only a weapon of the power structure for enforcing its laws, which are against the people and which keep them in a state of captivity.

Question. What in your opinion would be the best way to commemorate the anniversary of the Watts rebellion?

Answer. Che Guevara said that we need not only a Watts but many Watts throughout the United States, throughout the World. I think we can celebrate and commemorate this anniversary by resisting and escalating our resistance against North American imperialism.

Question. How do you link the objectives of the struggle supported by Che Guevara with the objectives of the Negro movement in the United States?

Answer. Che Guevara was an internationalist who felt deeply for all the peoples of the world. He told all the peoples to consider the imperialists from the United States as world enemy number one. The Negroes in this country are suffering

because of imperialism, and we are identified with all the colonized peoples and with the peoples who are suffering neocolonialism. And now we are increasing our resistance, and we are taking a position of placing ourselves at the side of all peoples in order to resist the world's number one criminal, U.S. imperialism.

The Guevara called on all colonized peoples to resist the racist and bureaucratic North American imperialism's assault troops. Therefore, we consider ourselves an integral part of the army of resistance that is being mobilized all over the world.

Captain DRASS. Third, quotes from George Mason Murray, minister of education, and Joudon Ford, Black Panther leader in New York City, dated August 21, 1968:

We believe guerrilla warfare is the correct form of struggle for the U.S. Negro population and the world's oppressed people. * * * However, we want to tell the imperialist beasts that the struggle has just begun and that if they murder Newton, the sky will be the limit. So long as we are alive, there will be no industry, factory, bank or company that is safe. We do not guarantee the lives of their Congressmen, candidates, generals, or businessmen who control power. * * * We shall use bullets, birdshots, kitchen knives, and everything at hand to destroy imperialism.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a statement of Newton, who was convicted later of manslaughter?

Captain DRASS. No, sir; this is a statement of George Mason Murray and Joudon Ford.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Joudon Ford?

Captain DRASS. He is a captain in the New York Black Panther Party who traveled to Cuba with George Mason Murray. These statements were given in Cuba, in person.

The CHAIRMAN. I beg your pardon?

Captain DRASS. These statements were given by Murray and Ford in person while they were in Cuba in August 1968 and over Radio Havana.

It may be pointed out, Mr. Chairman, that George Mason Murray is currently on the national chart and he is the minister of education of the Black Panther Party.

We have an exhibit to document this, Mr. Chairman. Again, a copy of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service which we would like to introduce in evidence which makes these quotes.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 343" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 343

BLACK PANTHERS MURRAY, FORD ATTEND MEETING

HAVANA.—Black Panther Party leaders George Mason Murray and Jordan Ford attended a meeting in Santiago de Cuba as part of the events of Afro-North American Solidarity Week. Speaking at the meeting was Oriente University Professor F. Peres, who traced the origins of the black people of the United States, stressing the methods of struggle now being used by the black population for its liberation from oppression by North American imperialism and touching on several cultural aspects of the black people of the United States. Also present at the meeting were mass organization leaders, students, and workers.

BLACK PANTHERS MURRAY, FORD DISCUSS STRATEGY

HAVANA, 20 August—We believe guerilla warfare is the correct form of struggle for the U.S. Negro population and the world's oppressed people, U.S. Black Panther Party Education Minister George Mason Murray stated here in a

press conference. Mason, who was accompanied by Jordan Ford, party leader in New York, talked with reporters. Both of them traveled to Cuba after being invited to participate in a campaign of solidarity with the struggle of the U.S. Negroes sponsored by the Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO).

The Black Panther Party national leader reported that party leader Huey P. Newton is jailed in California as a political prisoner because he correctly analyzed the situation facing the Afro-Americans and said that the Afro-Americans must defend themselves with arms. Mason said: "The U.S. Government believes that by eliminating Huey Newton it will be able to stop guerilla warfare. However, we want to tell the imperialist beasts that the struggle has just begun and that if they murder Newton, the sky will be the limit. So long as we are alive, there will be no industry, factory, bank or company that is safe. We do not guarantee the lives of their congressmen, candidates, generals, or businessmen who control power.

The members of the combative organization denounced the aggression being carried out by repressive forces against Negro communities and pointed out that the Washington government is also maneuvering in an attempt to check the radicalization of the Afro-Americans' struggle. They cited as an example of these maneuvers the announced plans to increase the Negro petty bourgeoisie by promoting the establishment of small businesses operated by Negroes previously [several words indistinct] and the demagogic offers of the large bourgeois parties in connection with the elections, offers which mean nothing to the large poverty-stricken masses.

Mason said the Black Panther Party is fighting for the liberty and equality of all people, for the right of U.S. Negroes to decide their own destiny, and for the overthrow of capitalism, imperialism and racism in the world. He mentioned the importance of coordinating the struggle of the Afro-American with all progressive U.S. forces which are effectively fighting for the revolution, citing the alliance with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and other organizations.

Regarding the presidential candidacy of Black Panther national leader Eldridge Cleaver on the Peace and Liberty White Progressive Party ticket, he said that even though the electoral path means nothing to the oppressed masses, his nomination will permit Whites and Negroes to unite in the struggle for their common objectives.

Jordan Ford, the main party leader in New York, said the Black Panther Party has established itself in many U.S. cities and is fighting in every corner to put an end to imperialist power and to sweep it off the face of the earth. "We shall use bullets, birdshots, kitchen knives, and everything at hand to destroy imperialism," Ford stated. He stressed the example of the Vietnamese people's struggle, stating that every possible assistance—[word indistinct] limits whatsoever—should be given to Vietnam, "including fighting shoulder-to-shoulder at the side of that heroic people if the imperialists attempt to eliminate them." The Negro leader also mentioned the armed struggle in Bolivia, condemning the fact that the Bolivian Communist Party has refused to help the guerilla movement. He also recalled the words of Bolivian leader Inti Peredo that despite everything, "the struggle has just begun." He also urged all progressive forces of the world, especially the socialist camp, to effectively support the liberation movement of the peoples who are fighting.

George Mason said: "We are united with the people of Cuba, Vietnam, the Congo, with all the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. We believe this great humanity has said enough and has begun to move against all the capitalists, imperialists, and neocolonialists of the world. The Black Panther Party believes the historic role of the Afro-Americans is to put an end to racism and neocolonialism by destroying the power of the imperialists in North America.

The world belongs to the people and not to the capitalists. Our enemies are the same and so are our objectives. As we open new fronts of struggle, imperialism will have less possibilities of mobilizing its aggressive troops. We advocate that the riches of the world be taken over by the people. To attain this end, we shall follow the example of Che Guevara, the Cuban people, the Vietnamese people, and our leader Huey P. Newton. If we invest our lives in this enterprise, it will be small price to pay to obtain the liberation of mankind. From the Black Panther Party Central Committee, we say to the fighting people of the world that our common struggle will be victorious and the defeat of the assassins of humanity will be nearer when we create more Vietnams, Cubas, and Detroit's."

Captain DRASS. To continue, Murray spelled out the Black Panther Party's intention to fight the United States through guerrilla warfare. Murray further stated that by guerrilla warfare the BPP means—

to organize the black people in two's and three's and four's and five's to assassinate the police who kill us. The U.S. Government has guards that can be killed. They have bridges that can be blown up, factories that can be burned to the ground, airports that can be blown up, people walking the streets, mayors, senators, governors whose lives can be taken in exchange for the lives of black people that they have taken.

He concluded by saying,

The only way to do this is to unite together and have a true revolutionary black power, which means the end of capitalism, which means the end of exploitation, which means the beginning of the world struggle in every state, on every inch of American soil. * * *

Again, Mr. Chairman, we would like to introduce the quotes from the Foreign Broadcast Information Service we have marked exhibit 8-A, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 344" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 344

BLACK PANTHER LEADER CALLS FOR ARMED STRUGGLE

[Message from the Black Panther Party Minister of Education George Mason Murray, currently visiting Cuba—voice with American accent]

HAVANA.—This is George Murray, minister of education of the Black Panther Party of the United States, representing the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party; our Minister of Defense Huey Newton, who is imprisoned and being tried by the racist dogs at Oakland, California; our Comrade Bobby Seale; our Minister of Information Elridge Cleaver; and the entire Central Committee.

For our brothers in the United States, we would like to say that the Cuban people are on our side. Our comrades in Cuba, in the liberated territory of Cuba, have shown us the correct way to put an end to Yankee imperialism and racism throughout the world. While here in Cuba, we have met with brothers—people of Africa, Asia and Latin America—and they have told us that they are on our side; that they are beginning to understand every day the exactness of our present and the necessity for us to resist by guerrilla armed warfare.

Brothers and sisters, we must not misunderstand the nature of the capitalist beast; any man who would—any man, any system, any organization—that would kill our dear brother Martin Luther King or our brother Medgar Evers, our brother in Africa Patrice Lumumba, our comrade in South America Che Guevara, our brothers and sisters in Vietnam, and then send our black youth between the ages of 17 and 22 over to Vietnam to die fighting a group of yellow people who have never called us nigger while the imperialist dogs of the United States harass us, murder us, and beat us every day.

BLACK PANTHER TACTICS

Brothers and sisters, we must understand that we must put an end to the racism, neocolonialism, and colonialism that the United States is carrying on throughout the world. Today, in the United States—in Oakland, California—our minister of defense and leader of the struggle in the United States, Huey P. Newton, is on trial. To the black people of the South, the North, the East, and the West, we would like to say that in the Black Panther Party, we say to the American imperialist, "The sky is the limit if you kill Huey P. Newton." To those people in the United States who do not know of our brother Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton nor the Black Panther Party, we would like to say that the Black Panther Party is an armed political organization of black people who have realized that the imperialist dogs are trying to wipe us out; to do us the

way the Indians were done and arrest the few of us that survive and put us in concentration camps with gas chambers—on reservation camps as they have done with the Indians.

With this realization, the Black Panther Party was formed first in Oakland, California, where it began troop patrols against the police, and every night it would go out in the streets with shotguns and rifles and pistols to make sure that no more black people were murdered. The result is that many of our comrades were killed. No later than last week in Los Angeles, six members of the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles, California, were shot down—ambushed—by the imperialist dog police of L.A. [Los Angeles].

We want you to know that black people are responding correctly throughout the United States. For instance, last week our brothers in Cleveland, Ohio, showed the proper sentiment to resist oppression.

They ambushed the police and killed three police and wounded 27. We are very happy with this political consciousness that the racists of Cleveland, Ohio, suffered. In New York, two police were shot; in Chicago, seven police were shot; in Peoria, Illinois, nine police were shot; in Little Rock, Arkansas, three police were shot; in Seattle, Washington, two police were shot.

So you see, brothers and sisters in the United States, we cannot end our situation, the situation of colonialism—and we are a colony, because we are oppressed, we are crowded into ghettos where we die, we are crowded into ghettos where our children are born dead, we are crowded into ghettos where black people, where black people, babies die three times as fast at birth as white people. We are crowded into ghettos where many of our young brothers and sisters are forced out of school and are sent to the army and die in Vietnam. Many of us are 18, 19, and 20 years old—unless we begin to resist oppression, to resist capitalism, to resist racism in the United States—we will not survive to become 21 or 22, because imperialists will send us to fight against people of color in Vietnam, or send us to fight against our own brothers in Africa in order to kill us and to kill them.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Concerning the Democratic convention that will be starting soon. You must not be deceived by the Democratic Party. It was the Democratic Party (?that was in office when our dear brother Malcolm X was assassinated.) The Democratic Party was in office when our great leader Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated. And it is the Democratic Party, the Oakland Police, the CIA and all the imperialists in America who are trying our minister of defense and leader, Huey P. Newton, and they hope to send him to the gas chamber and to make him die as a dog would die, strangling him to death on gas.

Brothers, we must not let the imperialists make us misunderstand the situation of the people in Cuba. The people in Cuba are our comrades; the people in Cuba are our brothers. Fidel Castro is our brother; Ernest Che Guevara is our brother; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba are our comrades. All the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America belong to the family of Afro-Americans in the United States. We cannot afford to (?disavow) ourselves from the Cuban people. We cannot afford to turn our backs on the Cuban people, because they have supplied us with a correct example of how to resist racism. The Cuban people were robbed by racism, just as we are robbed and sold poison and rotten food in stores of the black community.

In the United States, we are one—we are one people, we are flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood. But American brothers and sisters, black people of United States, we would like to say to you again that victory will be ours. We understand our brother Dr. Martin Luther King who said to the dogs in Washington, D.C. in March, in LOOK magazine—he stated this: He said we were going to go to Washington, D.C. on the poor people's march and that if this march was not successful, this was the last time that he was going to petition the American Government in a peaceful manner. Afterward, he would return to the South and organize black people to take care of (? righteous business of those dogs.)

The imperialists know that. They knew also that they did not intend to pay. They did not intend to stop killing black people in the United States.

They did not intend to stop bombing people of color in Vietnam. They did not intend to stop raining napalm on the black or Indians or Spanish-speaking people in Latin America who are resisting the ownership of their countries by fools such

as Rockefeller, and MacNamara and Johnson and the Kennedys, and because they have done this they have died.

So brothers and sisters do not be deceived by the Democratic Party convention that is going on now. They are doing nothing but choosing another racist who is going to oppress us for the next 4 years. We feared Johnson; in 1964 we feared Goldwater. And because we feared Goldwater, we voted for Johnson and when Johnson came into power, he didn't do anything but send the Marines in on our people in Detroit. They shot young black people 12 years old. He didn't do anything but send the Marines in on our people in Newark and to shoot black people down at 12 years of age and run through the houses and tried shooting every black person whose face was in the window. We elected Johnson, and he sent in the police on 90 and a 100-year-old people at the poor people's march who were living in mud and slop, and eating bacon fat.

So you look at this brothers and sisters and you will understand the Democratic Party is the enemy of mankind. The Republican Party we already know is the enemy of mankind. All the racists and imperialists in the United States must die. We will not be saved until all the people like Johnson have been dismissed from the world.

Another thing, brothers and sisters, we must not be deceived by cries of black power, and misunderstand black power and misinterpret black power. Agreed, we need black power, but when we say black power we do not mean—we mean—if our black people are controlling stores and exploiting and robbing black people. [sentence as heard] For instance, if a black mayor calls in the national guard on black people, and he knows that the national guard is only going to murder black people, then that black mayor is an enemy of the black community, even though he is black. We must understand this. For instance, had Mayor Stokes of Cleveland, Ohio, been a righteous brother, he would not have called in the national guard on black people, or the police. The national guard and police are our enemies, we understand that. And if [name indistinct] called in the national guard and the police on the black people, then that means that he loves his position as mayor more than he loves black people. Therefore, he is an enemy of black people.

Brothers and sisters, please understand, we have a long struggle ahead of us. We have—many of us will die in the struggle, but dying is but a small price to pay because we know that our children and many of the young black people of today will enjoy the fruit of the struggle, which will be freedom, and justice, and equality for people of color throughout the world.

Our experience here in Cuba has taught us that it is worth a struggle. It is very beautiful to see farmers' daughters from the farming section of the Cuban territory on scholarships in schools in Havana, Cuba. We know that in the United States the children of black farmers have no hope. They cannot go to school. They may go to school for the sixth grade or for the ninth grade, but in terms of a college education, there is none. In Cuba, our brothers are doing a wonderful job.

They are taking care of the Cuban people. The Cuban people's needs are being met. Whereas in the United States the capitalist dogs tell us to turn our backs on the Cuban people because they are communists. At the same time, we flunk out of every school in the United States because the American educators are not interested in teaching black people.

Therefore, we say that the only way—the only correct way—that we can (?reject) the imperialist dogs is through guerrilla warfare. Brothers and sisters, understand that we are not advocating violence for the sake of violence. The issue confronting black people in the United States is not one of nonviolence or violence. Dr. Martin Luther King did not die for nonviolence. Dr. Martin Luther King died because he was resisting oppression and racism in the world today. Malcolm X did not die because he said that we must begin a long struggle, he died because he demanded that we have human rights.

IMPERIALIST TRICKS

Again, do not be confused by the imperialists. The imperialists use a vain . . . ah . . . strange trick on black people. Strange in the sense that they had not done it before. The imperialists killed Malcolm X, and the excuse that they gave for killing Malcolm X was that he was militant and violent, and that he was a black (?man) and a separatist. They gave orders to us not to resist them—listen, black people—not to resist them throwing teargas grenades on black peo-

ple, not to resist them when they attempt to kill our minister of defense and leader of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton.

The Democratic Party, the CIA, the U.S. [words indistinct] racist dogs; they killed Martin Luther King because they knew that most of us would be (?for him) and (?what) he asked us to do. That is what we said earlier, that Martin Luther King had promised the imperialists over in the United States that if the colored people's march did not produce a guaranteed annual income that he would return to the South and organize and prepare for guerrilla warfare against the dogs that run this country.

Realizing that they did not intend to change, they killed Martin Luther King. And there were more revolts and rebellions in one week, the week of 3 [through 10], the week that Martin Luther King was assassinated, there were more riots, more revolts, more rebellions. There (?were) 127 that the white press counted. 127 revolts and rebellions in one week—because (?our dear one was killed) and we knew that it was right and correct and proper to (?ask) for struggle and violent means against racism and imperialism.

But to confuse us, realizing that more black people were turning toward the Black Panther Party for our armed guerrilla struggle and for the correct (?political) indoctrination, realizing that the black people were turning toward the Black Panther Party, the U.S. Government then decided to kill . . . ah . . . the liberal, the racist dog, liberal Robert Kennedy, who a lot of us were (?forced toward). When they killed him, they tried to [words indistinct] by killing that they had confused our people. How? They said, oh, "violence, violence, violence! Violence is the cause for Martin Luther King's dying, and violence is the cause of Robert Kennedy dying." And if they [words indistinct] Robert Kennedy and they used violence to destroy him—that is, they used a gun—then we will not pick up the gun to defend ourselves.

So you see how (?foolish) the imperialists are. They say that violence killed Robert Kennedy and that violence is wrong, but at the same time they drop tons of bombs everyday on people of color in Vietnam. They say violence is wrong, but they have blown up a church in Birmingham and murdered (?three men there)." They say violence is wrong, but they assassinated Martin Luther King. They say violence is wrong, but in Oakland, California, the Oakland police killed at least two black people (?5 April), when it murdered two members of the Black Panther Party. They say violence is wrong, but (?last week) six members of the Black Panther Party were shot down like dogs by the Los Angeles racist police.

So they killed this fellow Kennedy, they killed this racist named Kennedy. That fellow Kennedy claimed that he was for black people, and a lot of us in the South, even the brother of Medgar Evers—our friend and martyr, our brother who was shot down like a dog in Mississippi—even [Charles] Evers claims that Robert Kennedy is a friend of the black people. But black people in the southern part of the United States—listen to this: Kennedy is a multimillionaire. Kennedy had 400 million dollars. If Kennedy was on the side of the poor people, why did he not take the 400 million dollars that he owned and distribute it among the black people of the south who are starving to death, who are kicked off the farms of racist (?crackers) like James O. Eastland, who is one of the highest members of the United States Government—a leader of a Senatorial committee? If Kennedy was for black people, why did he not take it (?out of) his family and distribute it to black people? So we see he was not for black people. He was for imperialism. He was dividing up South America and taking part of it from [words indistinct] the lives of our brothers in South America.

His brother, John Kennedy, was President when the air force of the United States was used to bomb and attack people of color in Cuba and to murder and destroy the Cuban people in their struggle for freedom. So the imperialist dogs used a trick on us. They killed one of our greatest leaders and then turned around and assassinated one of their leaders in order to make us feel sorry and feel that violence is not the way.

ENEMIES OF BLACK PEOPLE

We do not advocate violence, we advocate armed resistance. As we said earlier, the issue for black people is not whether we will be violent or nonviolent. Those terms are meaningless. They have no meaning in a country where the imperialists kill people of color in every quarter of the world. They murdered

our brother Patrice Lumumba and they say that violence is wrong. But the issue is not violence; the issue is war, the war of armed struggle. The Democratic Party is an enemy of the black people in the United States; the Supreme Court is an enemy of black people in the United States; the Congress is an enemy of black people in the United States; and all the governors of the states of the United States are racist dogs.

Rockefeller is a racist dog. He is not for black people. If he was for black people, he would not be taking all the (ores) and the minerals from South America, from the Latin American people, and bringing them to the United States. If Rockefeller was for black people, he would not let Harlem, New York exist. Harlem is the largest ghetto in the United States. A million black people crowded into rooms that are only fit for two black people to live in—two—where you find families of black people, as many as 10 persons in a single two-room house in the state that Rockefeller is the governor of. If he was the friend of black people, he would change that situation. Rockefeller is such a dog that he owns oilfields in South Africa. He owns diamond mines in South Africa where black men die every year a mile deep in the ground bringing out diamonds as big as our hand, and imperialists sell tiny pieces of diamonds for 3 and 4 and 5 and 6,000 dollars to us.

PLAN OF ACTION

Brothers and sisters, we must be aware of the imperialist dogs. We must understand that the imperialists murdered Martin Luther King and murdered Malcolm X, that they will definitely murder any of us. Now with this understanding, what we must do is to collect our arms. To arm ourselves with guns and force in an organized manner to resist racists' oppression. Brothers and sisters throughout the United States, let us say this: Concerning our leader Huey P. Newton, the leader of the Black Panther Party. Our (?plan) is this: If Huey is killed, the sky is the limit.

No business, no American business, factory, (?base) or industry will be spared (?by us), nor will be spared the lives of the U.S. senators, the mayors of cities, the governors of states, the presidential candidates, ex-presidents, or any imperialist dog anywhere in the United States. Black people of America, we must not allow the imperialists to kill Huey P. Newton.

They think that if they kill Huey Newton, that they will be putting an end to guerrilla warfare. What do we mean by guerrilla warfare? We mean to organize the black people in two's and three's and four's and five's (?to) assassinate the police who kill us. When we speak of guerrilla warfare, we mean the opening of schools for black people throughout the United States where we can be taught our true (?cause) and our true history and our true way of life. When we speak of guerrilla warfare, we mean the opening of hospitals in the black community where more black people can be born without dying from being born at home, or without dying from malnutrition or without dying from starvation. And when we speak of guerrilla warfare, we mean the opening up of farms for black people where black youths can be trained, where black people can produce their own food, where black people in the United States can live in peace. And when we speak of guerrilla warfare, we mean sending black men in the United States to resist (?racism) in their homes, rather than being sent 10,000 miles away to die fighting the Vietnamese who have never called us niggers, (?for some crackers) who will call us niggers and shoot us down any day or any hour in the United States.

Again brothers and sisters, I am George Murray, the minister of education of the Black Panther Party, here in the liberated free territory of Cuba enjoying the truth of the people's rebellion.

It is wonderful, it is glorious, and it is something that all black people in the United States should behold. We know that the imperialist dogs in the United States will attempt to arrest us—maybe even kill us—for coming here and spreading our truth to our Asian, African, and Latin American brothers, but we want you to know this: If we die tonight, we can say like Martin Luther King: we've been to the mount' top, we've seen the promised land, we've seen the truth of struggle. And we would like to say to black people, ever onward to victory. We know that we will be free, we know that we shall overcome, and as our brothers say in Spanish, "venceremos."

We understand that we shall conquer without a doubt, as our brother (Ethan Dyer) said. Why? Because the truth is on our side. What is the truth? The truth is the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America who are resisting U.S. imperialism throughout the world. The police must be stopped. The national guard must be stopped. The U.S. Army must be stopped. The U.S. Marines must be stopped. The only way you can stop them, brothers and sisters, is not by being on our knees and praying and asking them to leave us alone. Martin Luther King understood this. The only way they will be stopped is for us to arm ourselves for trouble. They have (?guards) that can be blown up; they have bridges that can be blown up; they have airports that can be blown up; they have IBM schools that can be blown up; they have factories that can be burnt to the ground; they have public buildings that can be blown up; they have people walking the streets who are mayors and governors, and senators whose lives can be taken in exchange for the lives of black people that they have taken.

Brothers and sisters, the U.S. Government admits that between 75 and 100 million Africans—our brothers—were made in the slave trade. We are the only surviving Africans in the United States. It is necessary for us to resist—and to resist firmly, wholly, completely, and absolutely. The only way we can do this is to unite together and have a true revolutionary black power, which means the end of capitalism, which means the end of exploitation, which means the beginning of the world struggle in every state, on every inch of American soil. We shall conquer without a doubt. To our brothers in the Black Panther Party throughout the United States, we would like to say: Power to the people, black power for black people, and panther power to the vanguards in the USA.

Captain DRASS. Representatives of the national office of the Black Panther Party have alined themselves with the Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) which operates from Havana, Cuba, and includes members of various revolutionary organizations in Africa, Asia, and Latin American countries.

Murray is quoted as saying:

We want you to know that black people are responding correctly throughout the U.S. For instance, last week our brothers in Cleveland, Ohio, showed the proper sentiment to resist oppression. They ambushed the police and killed three police and wounded 27. ^v *re very happy with the political consciousness that racists of Cleveland suffered.

In New York, two police were shot; in Chicago, seven police were shot; in Peoria, Illinois, nine police were shot; in Little Rock, Arkansas, three police were shot; in Seattle, Washington, two police were shot.

These are in the same quotes that I just introduced as an exhibit, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Captain DRASS. Under the Organization and Structure.

The Black Panther Party is governed by a national central committee at the national headquarters at 3106 Shattuck Avenue in Berkeley, Calif.

The subcommittee has a Black Panther document which outlines and identifies the party's national organizational structure, dividing the BPP into a three-level structure.

The first level is the national central committee, the second is the central staff of any State chapter, and the third is the central staff of any local city branch or chapter.

We have this document at this time, Mr. Chairman, that we would like to introduce as an exhibit, which came from the National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party, outlining their national structure.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 345" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 345

NATIONAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE OFFICERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1. Minister of defense, and deputies only.
 2. Chairman, and deputies only.
 3. Minister of information, and deputies only.
 4. Chief of staff, and assistant.
 5. Communications secretary, and assistants.
 6. Field marshalls, five each.
 7. Minister of education, and assistants.
 8. Minister of health, and assistant.
 9. Prime minister.
 10. Minister of justice.
 11. Minister of foreign affairs.
 12. Minister of economic development, and assistants.
 13. Minister of culture, and assistants.
 14. Minister of religion, and assistant.
 15. Minister of labor, and assistants.
 16. Minister of finance, and assistants.
- Total officers, 16.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

(Three-level Organizational Structure)

I. FIRST LEVEL

National central committee of Black Panther Party

1. Minister of defense.
2. Chairman.
3. Minister of information.
4. Chief of staff (colonel).
5. Communications secretary (lieutenant colonel).
6. Field marshals (lieutenant colonels).

(Other ministerial officers hold rank of lieutenant colonel.)

- A. Minister of education.
- B. Minister of health.
- C. Minister of finance.
- D. Minister of justice.
- E. Prime minister.
- F. Minister of foreign affairs.
- G. Minister of economic level.
- H. Minister of culture.
- I. Minister of religion.
- J. Minister of labor.

7. Assistants to central committee (majors).
 - A. Assistant to chief of staff.
 - B. Distribution manager.
 - C. Finance manager.
 - D. Assistants to ministry of economic development.
 - E. Assistants to ministry of culture (revolutionary artist).
 - F. Assistant to ministry of health.
 - H. Assistants to ministry of education.
 - I. Assistant to ministry of religion.
 - J. Assistants to communications secretary.
8. Coordinator and security heads (captains).
9. Security (lieutenants).
10. Section leaders (sergeants).
11. Sub-section leaders (corporals).
12. Panther members (privates).
13. Panthers in 6-week training (buck privates).

National advisory cabinet to the central committee (community people and research).

1. Police, jails, and courts.
2. Brothers and sisters in prison, on probation, and on parole.
3. Political and economic analysis.
4. Unemployment.
5. Housing.
6. Publications, communications media (T.V., radio, films, books).
7. International relations and third world.
8. Draft of black men into U.S. military.
9. Education.
10. Welfare and health.
11. Arming the black community.
12. Fund raising.
13. Domestic relations and black bourgeoisie.

II. SECOND LEVEL

Central staff of any state level Black Panther party chapter

1. Deputy to minister of defense.
2. Deputy chairman.
3. Field secretaries (majors).
4. Communications secretary (major).

(Other Deputy ministerial officers hold the rank of major)

- A. Deputy minister information.
- B. Deputy minister of education.
- C. Deputy minister of health.
- D. Deputy minister of economic development.
- E. Deputy minister of culture.
- F. Deputy minister of religion.
- G. Deputy minister of labor.
- H. Deputy minister of finance.

5. Captain (coordinators and security heads).
6. Security (lieutenants).
7. Section leaders (sergeants).
8. Sub section leaders (corporals).
9. Panther member (private).
10. Panther in 6-week training (buck private).

State level advisory council to the central staff (Community people and research)

1. Police, jails and courts.
2. Brothers and sisters in prison.
3. Political and economic analysis.
4. Unemployment.
5. Housing.
6. Publications, communication media (T.V., radio, films, books).
7. Interstate relations and Third World (Indian, Mexican, Oriental, Puerto Rican, etc.).
8. Draft of black men into U.S. military.
9. Education.
10. Welfare.
11. Arming black community.
12. Funding raising.
13. Relations with black bourgeoisie and black establishment.

III. THIRD LEVEL

Central staff of local city branch of Black Panther Party

1. Defense captain
2. Field lieutenants

3. Secretary, central staff
(These Officers hold the rank of Lieutenant.)
 - A. Information Lieutenant
 - B. Education Lieutenant
 - C. Health Lieutenant
 - D. Finance Lieutenant
 - E. Economic Development Lieutenant
 - F. Culture Lieutenant
 - G. Religion Lieutenant
 - H. Labor Lieutenant
4. Section leaders (sergeants)
5. Sub-section leaders (corporals)
6. Panther members (privates)
7. Panthers in training (buck privates)

Local city advisory committee (community people and research)

1. Police, jails, and court
2. Brothers and sisters in jail, on parole or probation
3. Political and economic Analysis
4. Unemployment
5. Housing
6. Publications, communications media (T.V., radio, films, books)
7. Inter-city relations and Third World (Indians, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Orientals, Arabs, etc.)
8. Draft of black men into U.S. military
9. Education
10. Welfare and health
11. Arming black community
12. Fund raising
13. Relations with black Bourgeoisie and black establishment

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 expells 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.

ORDER FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY NATIONAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Outline of responsibilities by rank and file of Black Panther Party members (from captains to buck private Panthers—starting with the latter)

Rank.—Buck private.

Authority.—13, panther in training (6 weeks).

1. Six weeks of Political Education classes (Must attend all political education classes before application).

2. Political propaganda work (Must report for every assignment).

3. Every new member must acquire a piece and a beret. (Six week deadline).

4. Field stripping of weapons must be known. Firing practice also a necessity.

5. Specifics on other materials and information that must be known and applied in order to become an official Party member :

a. Every issue of Panther newspaper must be read.

b. 10 Point Platform and Program of B.P.P. must be known by heart.

c. Legal first-aid must be known by heart.

d. National organization of existing rank and file must be known by heart.

e. "We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party."

1. 8 points of attention and 3 points of discipline.

2. Major political objective and Subjectivism.

3. Combat liberalism.

4. Cardinal rule and motto.

5. Rules of the Black Panther Party must be known by heart.

All new members must complete the above. Captains will designate as to who has completed all of the above and is thus a member of the Black Panther Party in good standing. All present members who have not successfully completed the above will be placed on probation until all requirements are met.

Rank.—Private.

Authority.—12. Panther Members.

No one is a panther member in good standing until they have completed the six week training, successfully.

1. Reading of the Black Panther Newspaper every issue, and especially before selling.
2. Each person must submit to their section leaders or captains daily reports of work.
3. Each Panther must know Chain or Command and the General duties of all Rank and File members of the Black Panther Party.
4. All Panthers are to practice criticism and self-criticism as it is related to organizational and political work.
5. All Panthers must do Daily Political Work and Organizational work, as work is assigned to them.
6. All Panthers must do at least two hours study a day. And keep up with the daily news.
7. All Panthers continue political education classes as they progress to higher levels of political education with the Party.
8. All Panthers must keep sharp on firing practice; keeping their weapons cleaned in private; understanding and practicing safety of weapons at all times.
9. All Panthers must obey all orders given to them and carry out their duties in a responsible fashion.

Rank.—corporal.

Authority.—11. sub-section leader.

No Panther member who is a sub-section leader will have this authority unless duly appointed by a Captain or coordinator in conjunction with his section leader.

1. Sub-Section Leader must build and construct a squad of Panther members who are dedicated and have successfully completed their six (6) weeks training.
2. He must maintain daily contact with his squad and also with his section leader or Captain.
3. Must know the where about of his squad, 24 hours a day and know how to contact them. Must also know how to contact his section leader and report to him daily.
4. Must spend at least two (2) hours a day study and keep up with all daily news so as to keep political aware.
5. Should work in the community where he lives, or is assigned to conduct propaganda, know the community problems, and know the existing business establishments by categories in his sub-section and the general number of residents.
6. Must keep a check on all the Panther members of his squad in the areas of:
 - a. How well they do their propaganda work.
 - b. Firing practice in private sessions known only to them (and field stripping of weapons).
 - c. How well they know the rules and other materials of the party line.
 - d. Check on application of what has been studied by his squad members. This should be checked constantly through observation of street training and what they learn from the masses in the community.
7. Sub-section leaders must collect daily reports from his squad members and then relay them to his section leader.

Authority.—10. Section leaders.

Rank.—sergeant.

1. Coordinate the distribution of propaganda materials to all Sub-section leaders: Kind of materials: Newspaper, leaflets, posters, etc.
2. Dispatch crews or whole squads to do specific political work assigned to you by your Captains.
3. If ordered implement security or take responsibility for security.
4. When a Section Leader is in charge of an office of the B.P.P., he will run that office like all other officers are run abiding by rules and Party political line and organizational operations of the party—
 - a. Keeping office clean;
 - b. No drinking in building; and
 - c. No narcotic in or about office, etc.
5. Must have knowledge of all existing Panther members squads, and Sub-section leaders in his section.
6. Section leaders are Drill leaders and must schedule weekly trips where all Panther members in his section get drill practice.

7. Section leaders must set up political education classes for new members joining the party who are in his section, and keep a record as to what new members have completed their six week training, successfully.

Authority.—9. Security.

Rank.—lieutenant.

This operation is handled completely underground.

Authority.—8 Coordinators.

Rank.—Captain.

1. Coordinate all political and organizational work and assign the said work to said Section Leaders.
2. Check complaints from community.
3. Handle contradictions among members, the party and the community.
4. Hold meetings of Section Leaders, coordinate rallies, dinners, other public functions.
5. Direct security.
6. Head section leaders political education classes.
7. Captains do everything necessary.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, this exhibit also includes in addition to the organization and structure the rules of the Black Panther Party as they pertain to members, and also a description of the various ranks in the Black Panther Party, ranging from buck private all the way up to captain and the duties of each rank and the responsibilities of each rank.

This is included in the exhibit which Mr. Drass has just introduced.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Has he quoted any of it to give us an idea of what it is?

Mr. MANUEL. It is a rather lengthy document, Senator McClellan. I might say that we are going to have detailed testimony about the contents of this document by a later witness.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Captain DRASS. This document shows that the national central committee at the first level consists of 13 categories of officers as follows:

I have supplied the names, Mr. Chairman, as they appear on the chart. The only thing the document shows is the office. I have supplied the names, from our investigation, which fill these offices.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the names which you supply identified in their own literature, by documents you have previously introduced?

Captain DRASS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

Captain DRASS. (1) the minister of defense, Huey P. Newton; (2) chairman, Bobby George Seale; (3) minister of information, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver; (4) chief of staff, Col. David Hilliard; (5) communications secretary, Lt. Col. Kathleen Neal Cleaver.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these titles given to them by the Black Panther organization or are they former colonels?

Captain DRASS. These are ranks given to them by the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Captain DRASS. Next the lieutenant colonels.

Under that come the field marshals whom they list as underground. On the chart we have them identified as Donald Lee Cox, considered the chief field marshal of the Black Panther Party; Carver "Chico" Neblett, Louis Randy Williams, Landon Robert Williams, George Sams, Jr., Lt. Col. Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, he is now deceased; and Lt. Col. Raymond "Masai" Hewitt.

B. Minister of education—Lt. Col. George Mason Murray.

C. Minister of health—vacant.

D. Minister of finance—Lt. Col. Melvin D. Newton, formerly held by Bobby Hutton, who was killed in shoot-out with Oakland police on April 6, 1968.

E. Minister of justice—H. Rap Brown, who is at this time inactive.

F. Prime minister—Lt. Col. Stokely Carmichael.

G. Minister of foreign affairs—Lt. Col. James Forman, who, like Brown, is inactive in BPP, and back with SNCC.

H. Minister of economic development—vacant.

I. Minister of culture—Lt. Col. Emory Douglas (also on editorial staff of Black Panther paper).

J. Minister of religion—Earl A. Neal.

K. Minister of labor—vacant.

Under that come the various assistants to the Central Committee who hold the rank of majors.

8. Coordinator and security heads who hold the rank of captains.

9. Security personnel who hold rank of lieutenants.

10. Section leaders who hold the rank of sergeants.

11. Subsection leaders who hold the rank of corporals.

12. Panthers in 6-week training who are designated as buck privates.

The State structure at the second level is very similar to that of the national offices. The highest office at the State level in most cases is the deputy to the minister of defense.

In a local city branch of the Black Panthers, the highest ranking officer is the defense captain, followed by field lieutenants and secretary to the central staff.

Subcommittee investigation reveals that local chapters seldom follow this structural system. Titles and offices in some areas are different from others and there have been substantial changes in personnel. Local leadership changes constantly.

A new recruit into the Black Panther Party must undergo 6 weeks of training before actually becoming a member of the party.

Senator MUNDT. May I ask whether the term "Black Panthers," which is the name of the organization, is something like "Red Bears?" Is this segregated as a black-only organization?

Captain DRASS. Yes, sir, it is. It is an all-black organization, although they do receive support from various white radical groups.

Senator MUNDT. But as far as its membership, it is strictly a segregated organization?

Captain DRASS. That is correct.

During this time he is required to acquire a gun and a beret. He must be proficient in field stripping of weapons and must participate in firing practice.

During this training period he must attend political education classes and carry out assignments in political propaganda.

The exact numerical membership of the BPP is not known. It is estimated that the number does not exceed 4,000. The subcommittee has the names of about 2,000 identified members and has obtained the arrest records of approximately 350 officers and members of the BPP. Of this number, about 90 percent have been convicted of crimes of violence.

Mr. Chairman, we have on the table here which we did not introduce as exhibits, three of these large black books, all of which contain the arrest records that I have just mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. I will not let the black books be made an exhibit because of the previous agreement. They may have information which the subcommittee may feel is of merit. As the hearing progresses, if we want to identify something out of them and place it in the record, we may do so. You may proceed.

Captain DRASS. Huey P. Newton—minister of defense—is presently serving a 2- to 15-year sentence in California for the murder of an Oakland police officer.

Newton's record dates back to 1963, he has been arrested 12 times on charges ranging from disturbing the peace, to murder.

In 1964, he received 3 years probation for stabbing another man. He was continued on probation when he pleaded guilty to assault and battery on a police officer, on March 17, 1966.

At the time of the murder of Officer John Frey of the Oakland Police Department, Newton was on bail from a May 1967, charge of interfering with a Richmond, Calif., police officer who was attempting to arrest another Black Panther.

As the minister of defense of the BPP, Newton has made many public statements calling for violence and bloodshed. Here is one of them:

When the masses hear that gestapo policeman has been executed while slipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance.

I have here, Senator, a copy of the Black Panther newspaper dated July 20, 1967, which I would like to introduce as an exhibit, in which this quote is contained.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 346" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee).

Captain DRASS. Bobby George Seale—chairman and cofounder of the Black Panther Party.

In 1958, he was given a 6-month sentence and a bad conduct discharge from the U.S. Air Force for drinking on duty and disrespect to a noncommissioned officer.

On March 17, 1966, he received 1 year probation for battery on a police officer.

In October of 1966, he was given another year's probation for assault with a deadly weapon.

On May 2, 1967, Seale took part in the siege of the State Capitol. For this offense he was placed on 3 years probation which was subsequently revoked and he was sentenced to 5 months in the county jail.

Senator MUNDT. In what State, or other jurisdiction, was he able to commit all these crimes and get nothing but a probationary sentence?

Captain DRASS. In California.

Senator MUNDT. Three times in a row he was seriously involved and served no time at all.

Captain DRASS. Up until the last time when he received 5 months. As chairman of the Black Panther Party, Seale has urged—

Senator JAVITS. Excuse me. I wondered, too, what was the reason for the sentence, if you know it, on Newton for involuntary manslaughter? He got 2 to 15 years?

Captain DRASS. That is correct.

Senator JAVITS. Is there any particular reason the court assigned for what would be a relatively light sentence in a voluntary manslaughter case?

Captain DRASS. I couldn't answer for the motives of the court, Senator.

As chairman of the Black Panther Party, Seale has urged Negroes to place shotguns and .357 Magnums in their homes to use against the pig cops.

In a telephone conversation with Radio Havana, he stated that, "all Negroes must oust the racist pigs from their communities and work for the establishment of a socialist state."

Recently, a Federal indictment was handed down charging Seale with inciting to riot during the Chicago disturbances related to the Democratic National Convention.

This quote that I just referred to has already been introduced as our exhibit No. 6.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver—minister of information of BPP. He is presently a fugitive from justice on a Federal warrant for unlawful flight to avoid confinement for attempted murder of a police officer in Oakland, Calif., on April 6, 1968.

Cleaver's criminal record dates back to 1950 when he was 15 years old. He was then convicted of burglary and petty larceny. Since then he has spent most of his life in prison, after convictions for narcotic violations, concealed weapons, and several charges of attempted murder and rape.

While in prison, Cleaver, then a Black Muslim, was involved in 10 rule infractions involving racial disturbances. During his confinement, he wrote a book called "Soul on Ice."

After his release from prison, he went to work for Ramparts magazine, where he wrote, following the death of Martin Luther King,

now there is the gun and the bomb, dynamite and the knife, and they will be used liberally in America. America will bleed.

He is presently reported as living in Havana, Cuba.

David Hilliard—chief of staff of the Black Panther Party. Hilliard's arrest record dates from 1962 and includes charges ranging from traffic violations to assault with intent to commit murder.

On February 25, 1968, Hilliard was charged in Berkeley, Calif., with conspiracy and carrying a loaded gun.

On April 6, 1968, he was charged along with Cleaver and other members of the BPP with ambushing and attempting to murder two members of the Oakland Police Department.

However, this charge was dropped by the district attorney. The incident is mentioned here simply because later testimony by the witness who will follow me will further describe Hilliard's role in this incident.

Emory Douglas, Jr.—Minister of culture and revolutionary artist of the Black Panther Party.

Douglas' arrest record dates from 1960 with several arrests for civil disobedience. He was arrested May 2, 1967, along with Cleaver, Hilliard, Seale, and other members of the BPP when they staged a siege on the State Capitol in Sacramento, Calif.

As the revolutionary artist-cartoonist for the Black Panther newspaper, Douglas signs his name as "Emory." In this work he was assisted by Joan Lewis who was listed as the assistant revolutionary artist and signs her work as "Matilaba." She was replaced in March 1969 by Mark Teemer.

In all of the cartoons—there are several in each edition of the Black Panther newspaper—drawn by "Emory" and "Matilaba," the police and government officials are depicted as pigs. The pigs in the cartoons usually undergo various types of violent death at the hands of black revolutionaries.

These cartoons, according to Douglas, are published to arouse the black populace to destroy the enemy police.

Mr. Chairman, at this time, we have exhibits which we clipped at random, consisting of numerous copies of these cartoons as taken from the various articles of the Black Panther newspaper which I would like to introduce as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 347" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain DRASS. The May 18, 1968, edition of the Black Panther has an article written by Douglas, entitled "Revolutionary Art/Black Liberation." He wrote:

We the Black Panther artists, draw deadly pictures of the enemy (police)—pictures that show him dead or at his death door—his bridges are blown up in our pictures—his institutions destroyed—and in the end, he is lifeless—we try to create an atmosphere for the vast majority of black people and make them feel they have a *right* to destroy the enemy, for example, we draw pictures of our brothers with Stoner guns with one bullet going through 40 pigs, taking out their intestines along the way. * * * This is revolutionary art—pigs lying in the alleyways of the colony, dead with their eyes gouged out—.

Mr. Chairman, I have that article here.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you say these people have a membership of 4,000?

Captain DRASS. We figure not over 4,000, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the hard-core membership?

Captain DRASS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. But they have the support of a number of other organizations?

Captain DRASS. They have the support of most of the radical organizations, and there are also thousands of Black Panther sympathizers who are not members of the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. As I recall from the testimony yesterday, SDS has, by resolution, endorsed the program and objectives of this group.

Captain DRASS. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So they have the support of that organization; that is, the leadership of it.

Captain DRASS. That is correct.

Senator MUNDT. Have you any information, Officer, as to how this group is financed?

Captain DRASS. Yes, Senator, I will cover that in my statement.

Senator GRIFFIN. Is the title of the author of that last statement the Minister of Culture?

Captain DRASS. That is correct, sir, Emory Douglas.

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

Captain DRASS. I have this article which I would like to introduce as an exhibit, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 348" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 348

[From the Black Panther, May 18, 1968]

REVOLUTIONARY ART/BLACK LIBERATION

Besides the enemy, the Black Panther Party is doing propaganda among the masses of black people—

The form of propaganda I'm about to refer to is called art, such as painting, sketching, etc.—

ART AS REVOLUTION

The Black Panther Party calls it revolutionary art—this kind of art enlightens the party to continue its vigorous attack against the enemy, as well as educate the masses of black people—we do this by showing them through pictures—"The Correct Handling of the Revolution."

BRIDGES BLOWN UP

We, the Black Panther artists draw deadly picture of the enemy—pictures that show him at his death door or dead—his bridges are blown up in our pictures—his institutions destroyed—and in the end he is lifeless—

We try to create an atmosphere for the vast majority of black people—who aren't readers but activists—through their observation of our work, they feel they have the right to destroy the enemy.

To give you an example of where revolutionary art began—we must focus on a particular people, our brothers, the Vietnamese. In the beginning stages of their struggle against U.S. Imperialism—so as to determine the destiny of their own community—they had no modern technical equipment, such as, tanks, automatic weapons or semi-automatic weapons, etc.

In these days of struggle for Black Liberation, here in America,— we have no modern technical equipment compared to that of our oppressor—going back to Vietnam, as time progressed, the Vietnamese people have the same kind of technical equipment as the U.S. imperialists which also is made by the same manufacturer—

ONE BULLET, 40 PIGS

So, here is where we began to create our revolutionary art—we draw pictures of our brothers with stoner guns with one bullet going through forty pigs taking out their intestines along the way—another brother comes along, rips off their technical equipment; brothers in tanks guarding the black house and the black community—also launching rockets on U.S. military bases—Minister of Justice H. Rap Brown burning America down; he knows she plans to never come around; Prime Minister of Colonized Afro-American Stokely Carmichael with handgrenade in hand pointed at the Statue of Liberty; preaching we must have undying love for our people; LeRoi Jones asking, "Who will survive in America?" "Black people will survive in America"—taking what they want—Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton defending the black community—two pigs down two less to go.

STANDARD OIL MOLOTOVS

We draw pictures that show Standard Oil in milk bottles launched at Rockefeller with the wicks made of cloth from I Magnin and J Magnin—pictures of Chinese fire works in gunpowder form aimed at the heart of the enemy—Bank of

America—pictures of pigs hanging by their tongues wrapped with barbed wire connected to your local power plant.

This is revolutionary art—pigs lying in alley ways of the colony dead with their eyes gouged out—autopsy showing cause of death: "They fail to see that majority rules." Pictures we draw show them choking to death from their inhuman ways—these are the kinds of pictures revolutionary artists draw—

The Viet Cong stabbing him in his brain—black people taking the hearts of the enemy and hanging the hearts on the wall (put one more notch on our knife) skin them alive and make rugs out of them—

We must draw pictures of Southern cracker Wallace with cancer of the mouth that he got from his dead witch's uterus—

Pictures that show black people kicking down prison gates—sniping bombers shooting down helicopters police mayors governors senators assemblymen congressmen firemen newsmen businessmen Americans—

"We shall conquer without a doubt"—

revolutionary artist—Emory

Captain DRASS. Next is Donald Lee Cox.

The CHAIRMAN. I would ask the committee to pay special attention to the next mentioned official.

Captain DRASS. Donald Lee Cox—chief of the underground field marshals of the Black Panther Party.

Cox is a key organizer of the party and is personally responsible for buying many weapons for use by party members.

Between October 21, 1967, and April 3, 1968, Cox and six other members bought 75 automatic handguns from Shim's army store in Reno, Nev.

Mr. Chairman, I have here a list, coupled with the names of the purchasers, the dates purchased, the weapon description, and the serial numbers of these 75 weapons I have just mentioned in my statement.

Senator MUNDT. Have you any idea how expensive a purchase that was?

Captain DRASS. No, sir; it was not in the record. We can get that, if you would like to have it, Senator.

Senator MUNDT. Are these new guns?

Captain DRASS. They were new guns; yes, sir. Some of them could have been used, but they bought them as new weapons.

Senator MUNDT. Can you give us a general idea of what an automatic handgun might cost?

Captain DRASS. If I had to venture a guess, I would say anywhere in the neighborhood of \$50 to \$75 per weapon.

I would like to introduce this list as an exhibit, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 349" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain DRASS. Cox also bought high-powered rifles in Los Angeles, Calif. Thirteen of the handguns Cox bought have been recovered on other members of the Black Panther Party involved in confrontations and shoot-outs with the police.

The CHAIRMAN. Thirteen of those guns are now in the hands of the police?

Captain DRASS. Thirteen of them, yes, sir. That is also covered on the back of that exhibit which I just put in, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Captain DRASS. In the course of my investigation with this subcommittee, while in Mobile, Ala., I interviewed an adult and a child who

personally stated to me that on July 26, 1968, Donald Lee Cox, together with Stokely Carmichael and a third subject by the name of William Hall, traveled to that city and while there Cox conducted a school for young Negroes to teach them to make fire bombs.

The child personally attended these classes. Fire bombings thereafter increased and became more sophisticated. Thus far, 126 have been reported with damage amounting to millions of dollars. These individuals have refused to testify out of fear of grave personal harm.

However, I did obtain from them sworn statements under pseudo names, and I have delivered these affidavits to the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The chair may advise other members of the committee that upon examination of the affidavits I will verify that they do disclose what the witness has stated. They disclose it under oath. But since they didn't use their names, and since they are afraid to testify, I will commit these affidavits to the subcommittee in executive session for consideration and disposition.

The only reason that they did not give their names is that they are afraid.

Captain DRASS. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Based on the testimony you have given here, I think there is at least some justification. I don't want to expose them. I am certainly not going to do that, but it is sworn testimony, and I will present it to the committee in executive session and let the committee make proper disposition.

You may proceed.

Captain DRASS. Under publications:

The chief publication of the BPP is "The Black Panther" newspaper, published weekly by Quinn Printing Co., 298 Alabama Street, San Francisco, Calif.

It has a circulation throughout the United States of approximately 40,000 copies weekly. The paper is sold to local branch chapters for 12 cents per copy and then sold to the public at 25 cents per copy.

The general themes of the paper's articles are hate, violence and destruction. Numerous "news articles" call for "killing the pig (police)" and the complete destruction of the American form of government.

Its editors praise the Communist governments of Cuba and China and continually call for the defeat of the U.S. Armed Forces at the hands of the Vietcong.

Whenever police officers are killed by black people the persons responsible are defended and praised by the BPP as true revolutionaries. Their actions are suggested as examples for other black people to follow.

The Black Panther Party also gains revenue from the publication and sale of a book called "The Catechism of a Revolutionist," for which the party receives 75 cents per copy.

Mr. Chairman, we have here a copy of "The Catechism of a Revolutionist" which we would like to submit as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 350" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain DRASS. Also, Mr. Chairman, they receive revenue from the sale of "Essays from the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton," which sells for 75 cents a copy.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It may be received.
 (The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 351" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 351

ESSAYS FROM THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE HUEY NEWTON

INTRODUCTION

"Essays From the Minister of Defense" is a collection of truths, principles and beliefs practiced by the Black Panther Party. The writings come from the pen of Huey Newton, the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party but the spirit of the writings, the faith expressed and the undying love for black people exhibited therein comes from the souls of colonized black people. The people are the heroes.

The Black Panther Party is a vanguard party for we Africans in U.S. What we believe in is armed revolution, a permanent revolution, the creation of as many Viet Nams as are necessary to defeat U.S. racism and imperialism throughout the world. As you read "Essays From the Minister of Defense" you will begin to understand the principles for the armed revolution that is beginning in the U.S. If you carry out the principles, you will be a people's warrior, and will be bringing black people and the oppressed people everywhere closer to freedom, justice, and equality throughout the world. The Minister of Defense is currently held in Alameda County jail.

Our slogan is Huey will be set free by any means necessary and if he is not set free the sky is the limit.

GEORGE MURRAY,

Minister of Education, Black Panther Party.

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

(By Huey P. Newton)

INTRODUCTION

Huey P. Newton's column in THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper was entitled "In Defense of Self Defense." The following articles by the Minister of Defense were taken from those columns.

• • • • •

JUNE 20, 1967.

"IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE."

Laws and rules have always been made to serve people. Rules of society are set up by people so that they will be able to function in a harmonious way. In other words, in order to promote the general welfare of society, rules and laws are established by men. Rules should serve men, and not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws and rules which officials attempt to inflict upon poor people are non-functional in relation to the status of the poor in society.

These officials are blind to the fact that people should not respect rules that are not serving them. It is the duty of the poor to write and construct rules and laws that are in their better interests. This is one of the basic human rights of all men.

Before 1776, white people were colonized by the English. The English government had certain laws and rules that the colonized Americans viewed as not in their best interests but as a colonized people. At that time the English government felt that the colonized Americans had no right to establish laws to promote the general welfare of the people living here in America. The colonized American felt he had no choice but to raise the gun in defense of the welfare of the colonized people. At this time, he made certain laws insuring his protection from external and internal aggressions from governments and agencies. One such form of protection was the Declaration of Independence, which states: ". . . whenever any government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Now these same colonized white people, these ex-slaves, robbers, and thieves, have denied the colonized black man the right to even speak of abolishing this oppressive system which the white colonized American created. They have carried their madness to the four corners of the earth, and now there is universal rebellion against their continued rule and power. The Black people in America are the only people who can free the world, loosen the yoke of colonialism and destroy the war machine. As long as the wheels of the imperialistic war machine are turning there is no country that can defeat this monster of the West. But Black people can make a malfunction of this machine from within. Black people can destroy the machinery that's enslaving the world. America cannot stand to fight every Black country in the world and fight a civil war at the same time. It is militarily impossible to do both of these things at once.

The slavery of Blacks in this country provides the oil for the machinery of war that America uses to enslave the peoples of the world. Without this oil the machinery cannot function. We are the driving shaft; we are in such a strategic position in this machinery that, once we become dislocated, the functioning of the remainder of the machinery breaks down.

Penned up in the ghettos of America, surrounded by his factories and all the physical components of his economic system, we have been made into "the wretched of the earth," who are relegated to the position of spectators while the white racists run their international con game on the suffering peoples. We have been brainwashed to believe that we are powerless and that there is nothing we can do for ourselves to bring about a speedy liberation for our people. We have been taught that we must please our oppressors, that we are only ten per cent of the population, and therefore, we must confine our tactics to categories calculated not to disturb the sleep of our tormentors.

The power structure inflicts pain and brutality upon the peoples and then provides controlled outlets for the pain in ways least likely to upset them or interfere with the process of exploitation. The people must repudiate the channels established as tricks and deceitful snares by the exploiting oppressors. The people must oppose everything the oppressor supports and support everything that he opposes. If Black people go about their struggle for liberation in the way that the oppressor dictates and sponsors, then we will have degenerated to the level of grovelling funkies for the oppressor himself. When the oppressor makes a vicious attack against freedom fighters because of the way that such freedom fighters choose to go about their liberation, then we know we are moving in the direction of our liberation. The racist dog oppressors have no rights which oppressed Black people are bound to respect. As long as the racist dogs pollute the earth with the evil of their actions, they do not deserve any respect at all, and the rules of their game, written in the people's blood, are beneath contempt.

The oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace by day or by night. The slaves have always outnumbered the slavemasters. The power of the oppressor rests upon the submission of the people. When Black people really unite and rise up in all their splendid millions, they will have the strength to smash injustice. We do not understand the power in our numbers. We are millions and millions of Black people scattered across the continent and throughout the Western hemisphere. There are more Black people in America than the total population of many countries that now enjoy full membership in the United Nations. They have power and their power is based primarily on the fact that they are organized and united with each other. They are recognized by the powers of the world.

We, with all our numbers, are recognized by no one. In fact, we do not even recognize our own selves. We are unaware of the potential power latent in our numbers. In 1967, in the midst of a hostile racist nation whose hidden racism is rising to the surface at a phenomenal speed, we are still so blind to our critical fight for our very survival that we are continuing to function in petty, futile ways. Divided, confused, fighting among ourselves, we are still in the elementary stage of throwing rocks, sticks, empty wine bottles and beer cans at racist cops who lie in wait for a chance to murder unarmed Black people. The racist cops have worked out a system for suppressing these spontaneous rebellions that flare up from the anger, frustration, and desperation of the masses of Black people. We can no longer afford the dubious luxury of the terrible casualties wantonly inflicted upon us by the cops during these spontaneous rebellions.

Black people must now move, from the grassroots up through the perfumed circles of the Black bourgeoisie, to seize by any means necessary a proportionate

share of the power vested and collected in the structure of America. We must organize and unite to combat by long resistance the brutal force used against us daily. The power structure depends upon the use of force within retaliation. This is why they have made it a felony to teach guerilla warfare. This is why they want the people unarmed.

The racist dog oppressor fears the armed people; they fear most of all Black people armed with weapons and the ideology of the Black Panther Party For Self Defense. An unarmed people are slaves or are subject to slavery at any given moment. If a government is not afraid of the people it will arm the people from foreign aggression. Black people are held captive in the midst of their oppressors. There is a world of difference between thirty million unarmed, submissive Black people and thirty million Black people armed with freedom and defense guns and the strategic methods of liberation.

When a mechanic wants to fix a broken-down car engine, he must have the necessary tools to do the job. When the people move for liberation, they must have the basic tool of liberation: the gun. Only with the power of the gun can the Black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetuated against them by the armed racist power structure; and in one sense only by the power of the gun can the whole world be transformed into the earthly paradise dreamed of by the people from time immemorial. One successful practitioner of the art and science of national liberation and self defense, Brother Mao Tse-tung, put it this way: "We are 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."

The blood, sweat, tears and suffering of Black people are the foundations of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, we will tear it down. The immediate result of this destruction will be suffering and bloodshed. But the end result will be the perpetual peace for all mankind.

July 3, 1967.

"IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE"

Historically, the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the ends of the imperialistic racism of the oppressor. The power structure has endorsed those Black leaders who have reduced themselves to nothing more than apologizing parrots. They have divided the so-called black leaders within the political arena. The oppressors sponsor radio programs, give space in their racist newspapers, and have shown them the luxury enjoyed only by the oppressor. The Black leaders serve the oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive and passive—non-violent. At any moment that these so-called Black leaders respond to the cries of the suffering and downtrodden, unemployed and welfare recipients who hunger for liberation by any means necessary.

Historically, there have been a few Black men who have rejected the handouts of the oppressor and who have refused to spread the oppressor's treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, and love for an enemy who hates the very color black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

There has always existed in the Black colony of Afro-America a fundamental difference over which tactics from the broad spectrum of alternatives Black people should employ in their struggle for national liberation.

One side of this difference contends that Black people are in the peculiar position where, in order to gain acceptance into the "mainstream" of American life, they must employ no tactic that will anger the oppressor whites. This view holds that Black people constitute a hopeless minority and that salvation for Black people lies in developing brotherly relations. There are certain tactics that are taboo. Violence against the oppressor must be avoided at all costs, because the oppressor will retaliate with superior violence. So Black people may protest, but not protect. They can complain, but not cut and shoot. In short, Black people must at all costs remain non-violent.

On the other side of the difference, we find that the point of departure is the principle that the oppressor has no rights that the oppressed is bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood

before the Black masses and recommended this response to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor. The Blacks in the colony who were wed to the non-violent alternative could not relate to the advocates of implacable opposition to the oppressor. Because the oppressor always prefers to deal with the less radical, i.e., less dangerous, spokesmen for his subjects. He would prefer that his subjects had no spokesmen at all, or better yet, he wishes to speak for them himself. Unable to do this practically, he does the next best thing, and endorses spokesmen who will allow him to speak through them to the masses. Paramount amongst his imperatives is to see to it that implacable spokesmen are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. They are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. Their oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

The oppressor, the endorsed spokesman, and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death the oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesmen as a tool to use against the implacables to keep the masses passive within the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing. The endorsed spokesmen look upon the oppressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect them from the wrath of the implacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the oppressor, will certainly provoke a blood bath in which they themselves might get washed away. The implacables view both the oppressors and the endorsed leaders as his deadly enemies. If anything, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsed leaders than he has for the oppressor himself, because the implacables know that they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesmen off the scene.

Historically, the endorsed spokesmen have always held the upper hand on the implacables. In Afro-American history, there are shining brief moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen and gained the attention of the Black masses. The Black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their despair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesmen into a panic-stricken frenzy, and they leap into a rash act—murder, imprisonment, or exile—to silence the implacables and to get their show back on the road.

The masses of Black people have always been deeply entrenched and involved in the basic necessities of life. They have not had time to abstract their situation. Abstractions come only with leisure. The people have not had the luxury of leisure. Therefore, the people have been very aware of the true definition of politics: politics are merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy first, their basic needs—food, shelter and clothing, and security for themselves and their loved ones. The Black leaders endorsed by the power structure have attempted to sell the people the simple-minded theory that politics is holding a political office; being able to move into a \$40,000 home; being able to sit near white people in a restaurant (while in fact the Black masses have not been able to pay the rent of a \$40.00 rat-infested hovel).

The Black leaders have led the community to believe that brutality and force could be ended by subjecting the people to this very force of self-sacrificing demonstrations. The Black people realize brutality and force can only be inflicted if there is submission. The community has not responded in the past or in the present to the absurd and erroneous, deceitful tactics of so-called legitimate Black leaders. The community realizes that force and brutality can only be eliminated by counter force through self defense. Leaders who have recommended these tactics have never had the support and following of the downtrodden black masses who comprise the bulk of the community. Grassroots—the downtrodden of the Black community, even though they rejected the handpicked handkerchief heads endorsed by the power structure, the people have not had the academic or administrative knowledge to form themselves in long resistance to the brutality.

Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X were the two Black men of the twentieth century who posed an implacable challenge to both the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen that could be dealt within any other way than precisely the foul manner recorded by history. Malcolm, in our time, stood on the threshold with the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen in a bag that they couldn't get out of. Malcolm, implacable to the ultimate degree, held out to the Black masses the historical, stupendous victory of Black collective salvation and liberation from

the chains of the oppressor and the treacherous embrace of the endorsed spokesmen. Only with the gun were the black masses denied this victory. But they learned from Malcolm that with the gun, they can recapture their dreams and bring them into reality.

The heirs of Malcolm now stand millions strong on their corner of the triangle, facing the racist dog oppressor and the soulless endorsed spokesmen. The heirs of Malcolm have picked up the gun and, taking first things first, are moving to expose the endorsed spokesmen for the Black masses to see them for what they are and always have been. The choice offered by the heirs of Malcolm to the endorsed spokesmen is to repudiate the oppressor and to crawl back to their people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely execution for treason and being too wrong for too long.

JULY 20, 1967.

"IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE: THE CORRECT HANDLING OF A REVOLUTION"

Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Humans do not act from instinct as lower animals do. Those things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses to what might be later a direct experience. At this time the black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by amassing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gestapo police and immediately contained by the brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops. This manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the black nation across the country. The first man who threw a molotov cocktail is not personally known by the masses, but yet the action was respected and followed by the people.

The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained secondhand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going into the streets in large numbers, and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example.

But first, they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black people in primary groups of two's and three's but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard party existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insufficient, many slave revolts occurred.

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation, and through actual experience. The black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, because it is already more than prepared.

The end result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above ground as long as the dog power structure will allow, and hopefully when the party is forced to go underground the message of the party will already have been put across to the people. The vanguard party's activities on the surface will necessarily be short-lived.

This is why it is so important that the party make a tremendous impact upon the people before it is driven into secrecy.

At this time, the people know the party exists, and they will seek out further information on the activities of this underground party.

Many would-be revolutionaries work under the fallacious illusion that the vanguard party is to be a secret organization that the power structure knows nothing about, and the masses know nothing about, except for occasional letters that come to their homes by night. Underground parties cannot distribute leaflets announcing an underground meeting. These are contradictions and inconsistencies of the so-called revolutionaries. The so-called revolutionaries are in fact afraid of the very danger that they are advocating for the people. These so-called revolutionaries want the people to say what they themselves are afraid to say, and the people to do what they themselves are afraid to do. This makes the so-called revolutionary a coward and a hypocrite.

If these imposters would investigate the history of revolution, they would see that the vanguard group always starts out above ground and is later driven underground by the aggressor. The Cuban Revolution exemplifies this fact; when Fidel Castro started to resist the butcher Batista and the American running dogs, he started by speaking on the campus of the University of Havana in public. He was later driven to the hills. His impact upon the dispossessed people of Cuba was very great and received with much respect. When he went into secrecy, Cuban people searched him out. People went to the hills to find him and his band of twelve. Castro handled the revolutionary struggle correctly. If the Chinese Revolution is investigated, it will be seen that the Communist Party was quite on the surface so that they would be able to muster support from the masses. There are many areas one can read about to learn the correct approach, such as the revolution in Kenya, the Algerian Revolution, Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, the Russian Revolution, the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and a host of others.

A revolutionary must realize that if he is sincere, death is imminent due to the fact that the things he is saying and doing are extremely dangerous. Without this realization, it is impossible to proceed as a revolutionary. The masses are constantly looking for a guide, a Messiah, to liberate them from the hands of the oppressor. The vanguard party must exemplify the characteristics of worthy leadership. Millions and millions of oppressed people might not know members of the vanguard party personally or directly, but they will gain through an in-

direct acquaintance the proper strategy for liberation via the mass media and the physical activities of the party. It is of prime importance that the vanguard party develop a political organ, such as a newspaper produced by the party, as well as employ strategically revolutionary art and destruction of the oppressor's machinery. For example, Watts. The economy and property of the oppressor was destroyed to such an extent that no matter how the oppressor tried to whitewash the activities of the black brothers, the real nature and the real cause of the activity was communicated to every black community. For further example, no matter how the oppressor tries to distort and confuse the message of Brother Stokely Carmichael, Black people all over the country understand it perfectly and welcome it.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis, the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as hand grenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the vanguard group to prepare for resistance, this only brings the man down on them with increasing violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man becomes more oppressive, this only heightens the revolutionary fervor. The people never make revolution. The oppressors by their brutal actions cause the resistance by the people. The vanguard party only teaches the correct methods of resistance. So, if things can get worse for oppressed people, then they will feel no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. People have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police through their rebellions in the black communities across the country. The people are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen their resistance struggle.

FEAR AND DOUBT

(By Huey P. Newton)

MAY 15, 1967.

The lower socio-economic Black male is a man of confusion. He faces a hostile environment and is not sure that it is not his own sins that have attracted the hostilities of society. All his life he has been taught (explicitly and implicitly) that he is an inferior approximation of humanity. As a man, he finds himself void of those things that bring respect and a feeling of worthiness. He looks around for something to blame for his situation, but because he is not sophisticated regarding the socio-economic milieu and because of negativistic parental and institutional teachings, he ultimately blames himself.

When he was a child, his parents told him that they were not affluent because "we didn't have the opportunity to become educated," or "we did not take advantage of the educational opportunities that were offered to us." They tell their children that things will be different for them if they are educated and skilled, but that there is absolutely nothing other than this occasional warning (and often not even this) to stimulate education. Black people are great worshippers of education, even the lower socio-economic Black person, but at the same time, they are afraid of exposing themselves to it. They are afraid because they are vulnerable to having their fears verified; perhaps they will find that they can't compete with white students. The Black person tells himself that he could have done much more if he had really wanted to. The fact is, of course, that the assumed educational opportunities were never available to the lower socio-economic Black person due to the unique position assigned him in life.

It is a two-headed monster that haunts this man. First, his attitude is that he lacks innate ability to cope with the socio-economic problems confronting him, and second, he tells himself that he has the ability but he simply has not felt strongly enough to try to acquire the skills needed to manipulate his environment. In a desperate effort to *assume* self-respect, he rationalizes that he is lethargic; in this way, he denies a possible lack of innate ability. If he openly attempts to discover his abilities, he and others may see him for what he is—or is not, and this is the real fear. He then withdraws into the world of the

invisible, but not without a struggle. He may attempt to make himself visible by processing his hair, acquiring a "boss mop", or driving a long car, even though he can't afford it. He may father several illegitimate children by several different women in order to display his masculinity. But in the end, he realizes that he is ineffectual in his efforts.

Society responds to him as a thing, a beast, a nonentity, something to be ignored or stepped on. He is asked to respect laws that do not respect him. He is asked to digest a code of ethics that acts upon him but not for him. He is confused and in a constant state of rage, of shame and doubt. This psychological set permeates all his interpersonal relationships. It determines his view of the social system. His psychological development has been prematurely arrested. This doubt begins at a very early age and continues through his life. The parents pass it on to the child and the social system reinforces the fear, the shame, and the doubt. In the third or fourth grade, he may find that he shares the classroom with white students, but when the class is engaged in reading exercises, all the Black students find themselves in a group at a table reserved for slow readers. This may be quite an innocent effort on the part of the school system. The teacher may not realize that the Black students feared (in fact, feel certain) that Black means dumb and white means smart. The children do not realize that the head start the children got at home is what accounts for the situation. It is generally accepted that the child is the father of the man; this holds true for the lower socio-economic Black people.

With whom, with what can he, a man, identify? As a child he had no permanent male figure with whom to identify; as a man, he sees nothing in society with which he can identify as an extension of himself. His life is built on mistrust, shame, doubt, guilt, inferiority, role confusion, isolation and despair. He feels that he is something less than man, and it is evident in his conversation: "the white man is 'THE MAN', he got everything, and he knows everything, and a nigger ain't nothing." In a society where a man is valued according to occupation and material possessions, he is without possessions. He is unskilled and more often than not, either marginally employed or unemployed. Often his wife (who is able to secure a job as a maid cleaning for white people) is the breadwinner. He is, therefore, viewed as quite worthless by his wife and children. He is ineffectual both in and out of the home. He cannot provide for or protect his family. He is invisible, a non-entity. Society will not acknowledge him as a man. He is a consumer and not a producer. He is dependent upon the white man ('THE MAN') to feed his family, to give him a job, educate his children, serve as the model that he tries to emulate. He is dependent and he hates 'THE MAN' and he hates himself. Who is he? Is he a very old adolescent or is he the slave he used to be?

What did he do to be so BLACK and blue?

EXECUTIVE MANDATE NO. 1 : STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

DELIVERED MAY 2, 1967, AT SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, STATE CAPITOL BUILDING

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense calls upon the American people in general and the Black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California Legislature which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the Black people disarmed and powerless at the very same time that racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder and repression of Black people.

At the same time that the American government is waging a racist war of genocide in Vietnam, the concentration camps¹ in which Japanese Americans were interned during World War II are being renovated and expanded. Since America has historically reserved the most barbaric treatment for non-white people, we are forced to conclude that these concentration camps are being prepared for Black people who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. The enslavement of Black people from the very beginning of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the confining of the

¹ See "Concentration Camps U.S.A." by Charles R. Allen, Jr., and "American Concentration Camps" by Boswell.

survivors on reservations, the savage lynching of thousands of Black men and women, the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and now the cowardly massacre in Vietnam, all testify to the fact that towards people of color the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror, and the big stick.

Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, demonstrated and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalate the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods and increased patrols have become familiar sights in black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people for relief from this increasing terror.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society, must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction.

EXECUTIVE MANDATE No. 2: STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

DELIVERED JUNE 29, 1967

So Let This Be Heard. . .

Brother Stokely Carmichael:

Because you have distinguished yourself in the struggle for the total liberation of Black people from oppression in racist white America;

Because you have acted courageously and shown great fortitude under the most adverse circumstances;

Because you have proven yourself as a true revolutionary guided by a great feeling of love for our people;

Because you have set such a fine example, in the tradition of Brother Malcolm, or dedicating your entire life to the struggle of Black Liberation, inspiring our youth and providing a model for others to emulate;

Because you have refused to serve in the oppressor's racist mercenary, aggressive war machine, showing that you know who your true friends and enemies are;

Because of your new endeavor to organize and liberate the Crown Colony of Washington, D.C., you will inevitably be forced to confront, deal with, and conquer the racist Washington Police Department which functions as the protector of the racist dog power structure, occupying the Black Community in the same manner and for the same reasons that the racist U.S. Armed Forces occupy South Vietnam;

You are hereby drafted into the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, invested with the rank of Field Marshall, delegated the following authority, power, and responsibility:

To establish revolutionary law, order and justice in the territory lying between the Continental Divide East to the Atlantic Ocean; North of the Mason-Dixon Line to the Canadian Border; South of the Mason-Dixon Line to the Gulf of Mexico.

So Let It Be Done.

HUEY P. NEWTON,
Minister of Defense.

June 29, 1967.

EXECUTIVE MANDATE No. 3: STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

DELIVERED ON MARCH 1, 1968

So let this be heard:

Because of the St. Valentine Day massacre of February 14, 1929, in which outlaws donned the uniforms of Policemen, posed as such, and thereby gained entrance to locked doors controlled by rival outlaws with whom they were

contending for control of the bootlegging industry in Chicago; and because these gangsters, gaining entry through their disguise as Policemen, proceeded to exterminate their rivals with machinegun fire, we believe that prudence would dictate that one should be alert when opening one's door to strangers, late at night, in the wee hours of the morning—even when these strangers wear the uniform of policemen. History teaches us that the man in the uniform may or may not be a policeman authorized to enter the homes of the people; and

Taking notice of the fact that (1) on January 16, 1968, at 3:30 A.M., members of the San Francisco Police Department kicked down the door and made an illegal entry, and search of the home of Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information. These Pigs had no search warrant, no arrest warrant, and were therefore not authorized to enter. They were not invited in. Permission for them to enter was explicitly denied by the Minister of Information. Present was Sister Kathleen Cleaver, our Communications Secretary and wife to our Minister of Information, and Brother Emory Douglas, our Revolutionary Artist.

Taking further notice of the fact that (2) on February 25, 1968, several uniformed gestapos of the Berkeley Pig Department, accompanied by several other white men in plainclothes, bearing an assortment of shotguns, rifles, and service revolvers, made a forceful, unlawful entry and search of the home of Bobby Seale, Chairman of our Party, and his wife, Sister Artie Seale. These Pigs had no warrant to search or to arrest. When asked by Chairman Bobby to produce a warrant, they arrogantly stated that they did not need one. They had no authority to enter—what they did have was the power of the gun. Thus we are confronted with a critical situation. Our organization has received serious threats from certain racist elements of White America, including the Oakland, Berkeley, and San Francisco Pig Departments. Threats to take our lives, to exterminate us. We cannot determine when any of these elements, or a combination of them, may move to implement these threats. We must be alert to the danger at all times. We will not fall victim to a St. Valentine's Massacre. Therefore, those who approach our doors in the manner of outlaws, who seek to enter our homes illegally, unlawfully and in a rowdy fashion, those who kick our doors down with no authority and seek to ransack our homes in violation of our HUMAN RIGHTS, will henceforth be treated as outlaws, as gangsters, as evildoers. We have no way of determining that a man in a uniform involved in a forced outlaw entry into our home is in fact a Guardian of the Law. He is acting like a lawbreaker and we must make an appropriate response.

We draw the line at the threshold of our doors. It is therefore mandated as a general order to all members of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense 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.

So let this be done.

HUEY P. NEWTON,
Minister of Defense.

March 1, 1968.

HUEY ON ANARCHISTS AND INDIVIDUALISTS AS RELATED TO REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

We should understand there is a difference between the rebellion of the anarchists and the black revolution or liberation of the black colony.

This is a class society; it always has been. This reactionary class society places its limitations on individuals, not just in terms of their occupation, but also regarding self expression, being mobile, and being free to really be creative and do anything they want to do.

The class-society prevents this. This is true not only for the mass of the lower or subjugated class. It is also true within the ruling class, the master class. That class also limits the freedom of the individual souls of the people which comprise it.

In the upper class, the individuals always try to free themselves from these limitations—the artificial limitations placed upon him through external sources: namely, some hierarchy that goes by the name of State or Governmental Administration.

In America, we have not only a class society, we also have a caste system, and black people are fitted into the lowest caste. They have no mobility for going up the class ladder. They have no privilege to enter into the ruling structure at all.

Within the ruling class they're objecting (resisting?), because the people have found that they're completely subjected to the will of the administration and to the manipulators. This brings about a very strange phenomenon in America. That is, many of the rebelling white students and the anarchists are the offspring of this master class. Surely most of them have a middle class background and some even upper class. They see the limitations imposed upon them and now they're striving, as all men strive, to get freedom of the soul, Freedom of expression, and freedom of movement, without the artificial limitations from antique values.

Blacks and colored people in America, confined within the caste system, are discriminated against as a whole group of people. It's not a question of individual freedom, as it is for the children of the upper classes. We haven't reached the point of trying to free ourselves individually because we're dominated and oppressed as a group of people.

Part of the people of this country—which is a great part—part of the youth themselves. But they're not doing this as a group of people. Because as a group they're already free to an extent. Their problem is not a group problem really, because they can easily integrate into the structure. Potentially they're mobile enough to do this: They're the educated ones, the "future of the country," and so forth. They can easily gain a certain amount of power over the society by integrating into the rulership circle.

But they see that even with the rulership circle there are still antique values that have no respect for individualism. They find themselves subjugated. No matter what class they're in they find themselves subjugated because of the nature of this class society. So their fight is to free the individual's soul.

This brings about another problem. They're being ruled by an alien source that has nothing to do with freedom of individual expression. They want to escape this, to overturn this, but they see no need to form a structure or a real, disciplined vanguard movement. Their reasoning is that by setting up a disciplined organization they feel they'd be replacing the old structure with other limitations. They fear they'd be setting themselves up as directing the people, therefore limiting the individual again.

But what they don't understand, or it seems that they don't understand, is as long as the military-industrial complex exists, then the structure of oppression of the individual continue. An individual would be threatened even if he were to achieve his freedom he's seeking. He'll be threatened because there will be an organized lower group there ready to strip him of his individual freedom at any moment.

In Cuba they had a revolution, they had a vanguard group that was a disciplined group, and they realized that the state won't disappear until imperialism is completely wiped out, structurally and also philosophically, or the bourgeois thoughts won't be changed. Once imperialism is wiped out they can have their communist state and the state or territorial boundaries will disappear.

In this country the anarchists seem to feel that if they just express themselves individually and tend to ignore the limitations imposed on them, without leadership and without discipline they can oppose the very disciplined, organized, reactionary state. This is not true. They will be oppressed as long as imperialism exists. You cannot oppose a system such as this to oppose it with organization that's even more extremely disciplined and dedicated than the structure you're opposing.

I can understand the anarchists wanting to go directly from state to non-state, but historically it's incorrect. As far as I'm concerned, thinking of the recent French Revolution, the reason the French uprising failed is simply because the anarchists in the country, who by definition had no organization, had no people that were reliable enough as far as the mass of the people were concerned, to replace DeGaulle and his government. Now, the people were skeptical about the Communist Party and the other progressive parties, because they didn't side with the people of medium living. They lagged behind the people, so they lost the respect of the people, and the people looked for guidance from the students and anarchists.

But the anarchists were unable to offer a structural program to replace the DeGaulle government. So the people were forced to turn back to DeGaulle. It wasn't the people's fault; it was Cohn-Bendit's fault and all the other anarchists who felt they could just go from state to non-state.

In this country—getting back home to North America now—we can side with the student radicals. We would try to encourage them and persuade them to organize and wield a sharp cutting tool.

In order to do this they would have to be disciplined and they would have at least some philosophical replacement of the system. This is not to say that this itself will free the individual. The individual will not be free until the state does not exist at all, and I think—I don't want to be redundant—this cannot be replaced by the anarchists right away.

As far as the blacks are concerned, we are not hung up on attempting to actualize or express our individual souls because we're oppressed not as individuals but as a whole group of people. Our evolution, or our liberation, is based first on freeing our group. Freeing our group to a certain degree. After we gain our liberation, our people will not be free. I can imagine in the future that the blacks will rebel against the organized leadership that the blacks themselves have structured. They will see there will be limitations, limiting their individual selves, and limiting their freedom of expression. But this is only after they become free as a group.

This is what makes our group different from the white anarchist—besides he views his group as already free. Now he's striving for freedom of his individual self. This is the big difference. We're not fighting for freedom of our individual selves, we're fighting for a group freedom. In the future there will probably be a rebellion where blacks will say, "Well, our leadership is limiting our freedom, because of the rigid discipline. Now that we've gained our freedom, we will strive for our individualistic freedom that has nothing to do with organized group or state." And the group will be disorganized, and it should be.

But at this point we stress discipline, we stress organization, we do not stress psychedelic drugs, and all the other things that have to do with just the individual expansion of the mind. We're trying to gain true liberation of a group of people, and this makes our struggle somewhat different from the whites.

Now, how is it the same. It's the same in the fact that both of us are striving for freedom. They will not be free—the white anarchists will not be free—until we are free so that makes our fight their fight really. The imperialists and the bourgeois bureaucratic capitalistic system would not give them individual freedom while they keep a whole group of people based upon race color oppressed as a group. How can they expect to get individual freedom when the imperialists oppress whole nations of people? Until we gain liberation as a group they won't gain any liberation as an individual person. So this makes our fight the same, and we must keep this in perspective, and always see the similarities and the differences in it.

There's a tremendous amount of difference in it, and there's a due amount of similarities between the two cases. Both are striving for freedom, and both are striving for liberation of their people, only one is advanced to a degree higher than the other. The anarchists are advanced a step higher, but only in theory. As far as actuality of conditions, they shouldn't be advanced higher because they should see the necessity of wiping out the imperialistic structure by organized groups just as we must be organized.

Captain DRASS. Relationship to Foreign Powers:

During the past 2 years, several key individuals of the Black Panther Party (BPP) traveled abroad and made numerous inflammatory speeches in foreign countries denouncing the United States and called for armed revolution within this country.

George Mason Murray (minister of education of the BPP) visited Cuba in August of 1968 and was quoted in the Cuban Communist newspaper "Granma" as saying that "The Black Panther Party has alined itself with the Cuban revolution."

Mr. Chairman, I have a copy of that edition of Granma. It is dated September 1, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 352" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain DRASS. In November 1968, Chairman Bobby Seale and other members of the BPP went to Montreal, Canada, to participate

in the "Hemisphere Conference to End the War in Vietnam." The conference included numerous left-wing groups and delegates from North Vietnam and the Vietcong.

Seale, representing the Black Panther Party, dominated the conference, according to the BPP newspaper. He recommended that the conference title be changed to "Hemispheric Conference to Defeat American Imperialism."

He said further: "The Black Panther Party does not intend to halt until the American Empire and its consequent racism are smashed."

The conference came to an emotional climax with all American delegates handing their draft cards to North Vietnamese and Vietcong representatives to burn.

I have here, Mr. Chairman, a copy of the Black Panther newspaper dated December 21, 1968, which outlines what I have just said here about Bobby Seale attending this conference.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, it will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 353" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 353

[From the Black Panther, Dec. 21, 1968]

MONTREAL: BOBBY SEALE—PANTHERS TAKE CONTROL

(By Raymond Lewis, Deputy Minister of Information, Black Panther Managing Editor)

Uneasy lies any person who collided with a BLACK PANTHER during the week-end.

Creeping through a South American jungle at night and bumping into the big cat, the BLACK PANTHER PARTY is named for, would be a less chilling experience.

"They make our separatists look like a bunch of sissies," said one newsman.

The BLACK PANTHER PARTY did not attend the Hemispheric Conference to "End the War in Vietnam" at Montreal.

The BLACK PANTHER PARTY dominated it.

"They simply took up and carted around big pieces of the conference with them," admitted a member of the organizing committee.

It should have been a nice week-end, with some 2,000 delegates from numerous Western Hemisphere Anti-War Organizations basking in a glow of friendship, with solidarity emanating forcefully. Every facet of the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam, held in the beautiful city of Montreal over the Thanksgiving weekend, had been carefully planned to insure tranquility.

But Bobby Seale dealt with that.

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, related to the "End the War" conference that racist, American pigs were occupying Black ghettos with heavily-armed, reactionary dogs in the United States in the same brutal fashion that brainwashed American troops were trying to occupy Viet Nam.

Speaking in his usual commanding and forceful manner, Bobby Seale told the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam that the BLACK PANTHER PARTY was formed to resist police brutality and murder of Black people in the same manner that the Vietnamese people were resisting U.S. imperialist aggression—by violence if necessary!

"We will resist the racist pigs who are brutalizing and murdering in Viet Nam as well as in America," Bobby Seale stated in his cheering audience of Black, Third-World, and radical white people.

The Montreal Star Newspaper described Chairman Bobby Seale as the most electrifying Black person it had ever witnessed addressing an audience anywhere near the size and scope of the Montreal held "End the War" conference.

At the first conference session, held November 29, at the St. James Church in downtown Montreal, the proposed agenda was set aside to permit reading of a statement issued by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY: which read, in part: "Our purpose in attending this conference was a reaffirmation of our commitment to concrete support of the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese people and of all People's Liberation Struggles—it was not to hear vague resolutions passed in support of world peace."

"The tone of this conference should be changed from supporting world peace to supporting Third-World Liberation Struggles," the Panthers' statement demanded, "and the title of this conference changed from Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam to Hemispheric Conference to Defeat American Imperialism!"

Agreement was spontaneous among some 2,000 delegates in attendance, and the BLACK PANTHERS controlled the conference from then to its end. BLACK PANTHER Brother Zeke of the Baltimore Chapter was elected as its Chairman. A new roster of workshops was substituted for those originally planned, and an expanded steering committee was formed. The new workshops included such topics as "The Continuing Struggle of Black, Brown, and Yellow People for Survival," and "U.S. Counterinsurgency Techniques Used in Vietnam and Their Relevance to All Liberation Struggles in the Third-World."

Literally no one objected to the PANTHERS leadership of the conference. A delegation of Vietnamese brothers arrived and wholeheartedly gave their support to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY's forceful direction. White radicals and other Third-World brothers did not hesitate to amend their demands to relate to the position taken by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY. The PANTHERS control of Montreal's "End the War" conference made change inevitable.

In his opening address to the conference delegates, Chairman Bobby Seale told why the ideology of the BLACK PANTHERS PARTY spurns the falacy of a non-violence revolution. Violence, if necessary, was his keynote.

Delegates were reminded that "The Panthers" began to prowl in 1966, when a handful of young, revolutionary Black brothers agreed that the civil rights movement and the philosophy of non-violence for Black people had been truncheoned once too often. And—agreed to do something about it!

Laws for Black people in this country were being passed by a racist government and enforced by racist police and racist juries.

Captain DRASS. George Mason Murray was quoted by Granma, in the September 1, 1968, edition, after his speech in Guantanamo, Cuba, in which he stated.

1. Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.
2. We have taken up arms and have begun to make thousands of Molotov cocktails.
3. In order to free itself, it (the black U.S. people) would have to prepare for guerrilla warfare.

That, Mr. Chairman, was already introduced in our Exhibit 15.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Captain DRASS. Stokely Carmichael, BPP prime minister, was reported in the January 19, 1969, edition of "Dagens Nyheter," a newspaper published in Stockholm, Sweden, as stating that the Black Panther Party was preparing for guerrilla warfare in the United States and, "We believe that it is necessary to attack police stations to kill police officers."

We have here, Mr. Chairman, a translated statement from that newspaper which came from the Library of Congress, in which Carmichael made these quotes.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It may be received.

(The Document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 354" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 354

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

Translation (Swedish)

SENATE PERMANENT INVESTIGATIONS COMMITTEE

Source: *Dagens Nyheter*, Sunday, January 10, 1969, pp. 1, 6.*Lagercrantz interviews Carmichael*

"I DISTRUST THE WHITE LIBERALS"

Stokely Carmichael told Olof Lagercrantz in an interview about the feeling of imminent disaster, accompanied by boundless and innocent suffering, which today is a reality for many black people in the United States. "I see before me the day when an attempt will be made in the USA to exterminate the black people, to treat them as the Nazis treated the Jews. Death and destruction are in store for us. Therefore, we black people must defend ourselves and get ready for guerrilla warfare". Stokely Carmichael said. "I am as little for violence as anyone else, but there is no other way for us now. When I say that violence is necessary, I do so out of love for my people. If the American nation is roused by violence, it may find a solution to the race problem."

VIOLENCE AND WEAPONS, GUERRILLA WARFARE

"We believe in violence. We are getting ready for guerrilla warfare. I am using all the money I can get hold of for the purpose of weapons. We believe that is necessary to attack police stations, to kill police officers. Huey P. Newton, the Black Panthers' 'Defense Minister', is in jail for having shot down a police officer and seriously wounding another."

"In *Black Power* you say the Black people in the USA are a part of the Third World. Do you regard a white Liberal world no longer as an ally and a possible way to liberation?"

"I have come to distrust the white Liberals. There are some isolated big names I admire—Norman Mailer, I. F. Stone. But the more or less organized Liberals in the USA have nothing to do with carrying out [anti-] Vietnam protests. Surely I am a Socialist, but I no longer see racism merely as a function of the capitalist system. Socialism does not automatically stop racism—as shown by the Soviet example.

"But let me go back to violence. I am as little for violence as anybody else. I profess love and see in Jesus, who said 'love thy neighbor', the greatest revolutionist. We wrote in *Black Power* that there is no social order without justice. If a nation fails to protect its fellow citizens, that nation * * *."

Captain DRASS. Relationship to domestic organizations: The Black Panther Party has formed alliances with and supported the views of numerous other very militant organizations. Many leaders of the BPP are identified as either present or former members of such organizations as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Black Student Union (BSU), Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), and others.

Some Black Panthers who are or were identified with other groups are:

A. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee:

1. Stokely Carmichael, former national chairman of SNCC and presently the prime minister of BPP.

2. Jimmy Paul Garrett, purchaser of weapons for BPP in Nevada, presently employed at Federal City College, Washington, D.C.

Senator GRIFFIN. How is he employed there?

Captain DRASS. If I am not mistaken, I think his title is the dean or assistant dean of black studies.

Senator GRIFFIN. Then he is on the faculty?

Captain DRASS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Senator Griffin, as a further comment, we will have further testimony of this individual's role in the disruptions at San Francisco State by a later witness.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you.

Captain DRASS. 3. James Forman, former executive secretary of SNCC, presently deputy chairman of SNCC in charge of foreign affairs. Was appointed minister of foreign affairs in the BPP at the merger of BPP and SNCC, which I have already put into evidence.

Again, he is no longer active, so they state:

5. Carver "Chico" Neblett, former voting member of Central Coordinating Committee of SNCC. Presently is east coast field marshal of BPP, operating out of Roxbury, Mass.

6. Robert Alfonso Brown, former SNCC coordinator of Chicago office and presently the BPP prime minister of Illinois.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is that Rap Brown?

Captain DRASS. No, sir. This is Robert Alfonso Brown. It is not the same man.

B. With the Black Students Union:

1. George Mason Murray, San Francisco State College professor.

2. Ben Stewart, San Francisco State College.

3. Bobby Seale, Merritt College.

4. Huey P. Newton, Merritt College.

Newton and Seale were two of the originators of the Black Students Union when it first got organized at Merritt College.

5. Jimmy Paul Garrett, San Francisco State College.

6. Harry Edwards, former professor at San Jose State College and presently at Cornell University as a student.

7. Virtual Morrell, circulation manager of BPP newspaper and presently the coordinator of delegate names for BSU.

C. Peace and Freedom Party:

1. Eldridge Cleaver, BPP minister of information, PFP candidate for President of United States.

2. Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense, PFP candidate for U.S. Congress.

3. Kathleen Neal Cleaver, BPP communications secretary, PFP candidate for U.S. Congress.

4. Bobby Seale, BPP chairman, PFP candidate for State assemblyman.

The following information, obtained from printed documents and publications of various "movement" organizations, illustrates the relationship between the Black Panther Party and other domestic organizations.

1. Ben Stewart, chairman of the BSU at San Francisco State College and an identified member of the BPP, stated in an interview that the BSU was influenced by the BPP since the BSU was founded by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale while they attended Merritt College. Stewart admitted that the BSU is beginning to

move toward revolutionary nationalism through the vanguard leadership of the Black Panther Party.

I have an exhibit, Mr. Chairman, a copy of the People's World dated February 15, 1969, in which this interview took place, which I would like to enter as an exhibit at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 355" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 355

[From People's World, Feb. 15, 1959]

AN INTERVIEW—BLACK STUDENT UNION'S MOVE TO REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

Benny Stewart, chairman of the Black Student Union at San Francisco State College, talked with People's World reporter Bob Kaufman about his group. The BSU started, and is the leading group, in the San Francisco State student strike.

People's World: How did the BSU get started?

Stewart: The BSU is about six years old.

It was a coalition of nationalists, independents, frat boys who came together on a moral issue to give recognition to a struggle that was centered in the South. At the time the organization was called the Negro Student Association.

It was weak in program, though the spirit was high. In 1965 or '66 Negro history classes were started, and people began to write black poetry.

In 1966, with the death of Malcolm X, people began to ponder the word "Negro". It had no meaning to them, no relevancy. We went to the extreme, calling the group the Black Student Union to show we were no longer ashamed to be black.

The change in name also indicated the various leaders had become more politically oriented. They moved in the campus government to seek funds for programs that would speak to the desires and needs of black students.

One of the outgrowths of this was the tutorial program. We took on the task of going into target areas and setting up 15 or 16 tutorial centers throughout the community dealing with the black, brown, yellow and poor whites.

Many of the brothers began to have conflicts based on the racism taught in the classroom. So we developed the beginning stages of a black studies program that developed out of the Experimental College.

Then, in conjunction with the Black Studies program, we felt the need to bring in students from a more grass roots level of the community that would normally not be able to come to a four year college. We knew the so-called requirements for admission were ———. They were no measure of anyone's ability to get through school. So we had to move politically, to deal with the power structure and the administration to bring this about.

People's World: How did the influence of the Black Panther party come to the BSU.

Stewart: At that time the two leading and well organized Black Student Unions were the one here at State, and the one over at Merritt College, The Soul Students Advisory Council. It was developed and organized by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. We were moving on the same level at the same time. But we are thankful to both brothers for laying down principles which have become guidelines.

People's World: When was the unity of third world students first developed here?

Stewart: That was developed in the latter part of '67. Many students began to see they had problems similar to those of blacks. We came together to deal with a common problem, racism, and as we grew we also understood we had a common oppressor.

We see all the third world communities, and we are a part, all over the world as being in a common struggle. Traditionally college students have gone to westernized white racist colleges primarily to be educated to become lackeys, boot-lickers and Uncle Toms. We turned that around. Since we are the vanguard, we return to the people, to learn from the people, and to teach them.

People's World: You have used the term "oppressor". Who is the oppressor?

Stewart: We see the oppressor, the capitalist and racist oppressor, as based in Western Europe and North America.

People's World: At what stage do you see the black liberation movement?

Stewart: The movement is beginning to solidify, making that step which makes clear just who the oppressor is. During the civil rights era we dealt primarily with the moral conscience of the racist oppressor, and later we developed some cultural identity. Now, through the vanguard leadership of the Black Panther party, we are beginning to move, at least, as we see it, to understanding a revolutionary nationalism.

Cultural identity is necessary, but it is not sufficient. We must know who the oppressor is, how he moves, and in the same process we must transcend color and begin to move on the basis of principles. Thus we can give direction to all the allies of the movement.

Concerning the radical whites, if they are willing to fight in the struggle based on principles, such as self determination, and against racism, then we see them as allies. The significant thing is that we are giving the direction, because we have our own minds.

People World: What do you see as most significant about the strike here at San Francisco State?

Stewart: We feel the strike is historic, not so much because of its length of time, but first of all because we are moving on that principle of self-determination. The other thing is the strategy by which we are moving, prolonged struggle.

We see ourselves as being in a long, drawn-out struggle because we, the people, don't have the guns and force the power structure has.

The third thing I think will have an impact on the power structure is our move from cultural nationalism to revolutionary nationalism. If you look out there on the picket line, there are a lot of pigs wearing naturals, but they take their orders from the puppets of the power structure.

The fourth thing is that we have learned, just like the racists have learned that it is not always necessary that the majority rules.

We have proven that a minority of people, starting out organized and determined can move the power structure and shut down universities.

People's World: On the black studies program here, the power structure seems willing to grant something called a black studies department, but not autonomy. How important is autonomy for the department?

Stewart: We don't relate to that word "autonomy" because it spreads confusion. We know the history department, the mathematics department have autonomy. That autonomy is subject to the power of the administration and the Board of Trustees.

Our black studies department will seize power, and will have self-determination. We will determine when, how and where that department will function, regardless of the trustees, Ronald Reagan or his mama.

People's World: When you go into the black community to speak, what are the questions people ask you?

Stewart: The main question I have noticed is "What can we do to help?" Of course some of our mothers and fathers may not always agree on the tactics, but they can agree on the principles. Some of them don't always know what we mean by seizure of power, or that our demands are non-negotiable, because it has never been done in American history. Unions set up grievances and negotiate and get maybe 75%. We want all of them, and we are going to move to get all of them.

Captain Drass. 2. A large ad, about a quarter of a page, was carried in the Black Panther newspaper announcing a high school convention of BSU in San Francisco, Calif., on October 26, 1968. The BPP would provide the key speakers—Bobby Seale, George Murray, Eldridge Cleaver, and David Hilliard.

This is taken from the Black Panther newspaper dated October 18, 1968, page 12.

I would like to introduce that at this time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 356" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain Drass. The Black Student Union listed the addresses of its national office as 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, Calif., which is the same address as the national office of the Black Panther Party.

It should also be noted that the 10-point program of the SDS follows the same demands as the Black Panther Party.

We have a document which shows this which we would like to introduce.

The **CHAIRMAN.** It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 357" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 357

[From the Black Panther, Dec. 21, 1968]

"IMPORTANT"—BLACK STUDENTS UNION

The Black Students Unions have formed a state wide Union of B.S.U.'s, and are in the process of organizing on a national level. We call upon all Black Students to unite.

If your Black Students Union hasn't become a member of this Union of Black Students Unions send a letter or telegram giving information about your B.S.U. and the conditions that exist within your area. Become a part of a united movement of B.S.U.'s and stop moving on an individual basis. Together we will become the most effective organization on this earth; divided we are weak.

Send your letter to:

**BLACK STUDENTS UNION, NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 3106 SHATTUCK ST.,
BERKELEY, CALIF.**

Captain Drass. 4. On February 17, 1968, the Black Panther Party announced that the BPP and SNCC had merged for the purpose of furthering the revolution. It was also announced that Stokely Carmichael was the new prime minister, "Rap" Brown the minister of justice, and James Forman the new minister of foreign affairs for the merged organizations.

That was in an exhibit we have already introduced, Mr. Chairman, in the Workers World of March 1, 1968.

5. Students for a Democratic Society joined the Black Panther Party in celebrations and rallies to commemorate the birthday of Huey P. Newton on February 16 and 17, 1969. These rallies were considered a continuation of the working relationship between BPP and SDS.

This is a copy of the article carried in New Left Notes, the SDS publication which announced this rally participated in by the Black Panthers and the SDS.

The **CHAIRMAN.** That is the SDS publication?

Captain Drass. Yes.

The **CHAIRMAN.** A large number of the members of SDS are students; is that correct?

Captain Drass. Yes, sir.

The **CHAIRMAN.** I wonder if the rank and file of SDS, those who are students who belong to it—I wonder if the rank and file of SDS really know what this Black Panther Party is all about and what its objectives are, and that they are associated or affiliated with a revolutionary movement in this country to destroy our Government.

I wonder if they know that. Have you proof on that, that they know it?

Captain DRASS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been suggested here that some of them are just being sucked in without knowing what they are doing.

Captain DRASS. No, sir; I don't think the rank and file are aware of this fact. However, I am sure that the head leaders of the SDS are very much aware of it.

The CHAIRMAN. They don't seem to appreciate what they are doing, that they are joining a revolutionary movement to overthrow this Government by force and violence.

Do they understand that?

Captain DRASS. It would be hard for me to answer that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. That document may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 358" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 358

[From New Left Notes, Feb. 5, 1969]

SDS AND PANTHERS TO CELEBRATE HUEY'S BIRTHDAY

(By Bernardine Dohrn, SDS Inter-Organizational Secretary)

Huey P. Newton birthday celebration rallies will be held in 20 cities across the country on Feb. 16 and 17. The Black Panther Party has issued directives to local Panther organizations to plan and organize the rallies in cooperation with SDS and other white radical organizations. SDS speakers will be part of the programs in several cities.

For the Panthers, the celebrations will focus on the necessity of freeing Huey, the Panther demand for the freeing of all political (and therefore all black) prisoners. At the same time, the program is part of the Panthers' intensified attacks on reactionary cultural nationalism both inside and outside the BPP.

For SDS, the opportunity includes all that and more. First, support for the Panthers must be based on a firm understanding of their political perspective and what a correct position on racism implies for SDS strategy—for the development of programs to attack institutionalized racism. The rallies can be the focus for literature and films by the Panthers, SDS lit on racism, the black colony, the fight at San Francisco State, and exposure of university practices.

Secondly, the Panther perspective on defense of the people—on the necessity for armed struggle to protect and liberate the oppressed from the oppressor—is decidedly different from the usual manner in which "repression" and defense are viewed by SDS and the white movement. Defense is based on the active participation of the community in its own protection. When an organization is rooted in the needs of the people, attacks on that organization or on its leader (frame ups, jailing, assassination) are understood and resisted as a more visible form of the daily oppression of the entire people. The reaction is not just shock or indignation at the hypocrisy of the system, but more determined and conscious willingness to fight. The tactics of the fight are any means necessary; including a thorough legal defense, medical services, demonstrations, and a consciously prepared community.

Through the courts and committees, the Man is beginning to move to divide and intimidate SDS people. The struggle's going to be a long one, so it's important to build our defense and consciousness of security on a sound political basis. Black and white groups working jointly on defense and campaigns to free prisoners can reach deeply into the community, schools, and work.

Finally, the Huey Newton birthday celebrations are the occasion for beginning or continuing a working relationship with the Panthers on local levels. At SDS chapters outside the areas where there is a Panther organization, rallies and meetings could be planned with Black Student Unions, Afro-American Societies, black community groups—or alone. Programs which attack the racist functioning of institutions must be built by using propaganda, agitation and actions—to expose and create the context for stronger and sharper action. Huey Newton rallies on Feb. 16 and 17 can be a concrete expression of our common struggle.

"The racist dog oppressors have no rights which oppressed Black people are bound to respect The oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace by day or night."

—HUEY P. NEWTON,

In defense of Self Defense, June 20, 1967.

Captain DRASS. 6. The Black Panther Newspaper of October 5, 1968, carried an article entitled "Opening Salvos From a Black/White Gun." This article was released when the Black Panthers and the Youth International Party (Yippies) held a joint press conference.

The article has two statements side by side. One was written by Eldridge Cleaver of the BPP, the other by Stewart Albert, Abby Hoffman, and Jerry Rubin of the Yippies, both under the banner of "We will not dissent from the American Government, we will overthrow it."

Mr. Chairman, I have a copy of this exhibit here. If you would like it introduced, I think it was already introduced 2 days ago by Mr. Manuel in his opening statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and if you find it is already in the record, identify it at this place in the record with its previous number.

(The document referred to was previously introduced as exhibit No. 253 and is printed in Part 18 of this series of hearings.)

Captain DRASS. 7. George Mason Murray, Minister of Education of the BPP is quoted as saying,

The Comrades in SNCC realize that the direction of struggle in the United States is one of guerrilla warfare. Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown are part of the leadership of the Black Panther Party and other leaders of SNCC are Black Panther cadres.

This is taken from an issue of Granma, the Cuban Communist Government's newspaper, dated August 25, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 359" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain DRASS. Under Programs and Activities:

The following incidents illustrate that the activities of the Black Panthers which tend to create an atmosphere of violence, hatred and disorder throughout the United States.

There are only a few representative incidents among many. Subsequent witnesses from law enforcement agencies will testify to many instances of Black Panther violence and terrorism.

1. On October 28, 1967, Officer John Frey of the Oakland, Calif., Police Department was killed by Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the BPP.

2. On April 6, 1968, members of the Oakland, Calif., Police Department were ambushed by eight members of BPP. In the ensuing gun battle, two police officers and Eldridge Cleaver were wounded and Bobby Hutton, minister of finance of the BPP, was killed.

3. Between October 21, 1967, and April 3, 1968, as I previously testified, a total of 75 handguns were purchased by seven members of the BPP at Shim's Army Store in Reno, Nev. Several of these weapons were recovered in shoot-outs with law enforcement officials.

Senator GRIFFIN. Am I correct that one of the people who pur-

chased these guns is a faculty member at the Federal City College here in Washington, D.C.

Captain DRASS. That is correct, James Paul Garrett.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he still a faculty member?

Captain DRASS. Yes, sir, the last I heard he was.

4. During July and August of 1968, Stokely Carmichael, Donald Lee Cox, field marshal of BPP, and William Hall traveled to Mobile, Ala.—which I previously testified to—where Cox held classes for young Negroes in which he instructed them in making and using fire bombs and acid bombs. Mobile has since experienced approximately 126 cases of arson causing millions of dollars in damage. At least 58 of these incidents were attributed to sophisticated types of fire bombs and acid bombs, which they never had prior to his visit.

Mr. Chairman, at this time, I have a report given me by the Mobile Police Department, wherein they identified Stokely Carmichael, Donald Lee Cox and William Hall as arriving on the dates I have indicated, about the classes conducted, and about some of the arsons that they had.

One August 4, 1968, was an acid bombing of a Gulf Furniture Co., where it received \$800,000 worth of damage.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 360" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain DRASS. Also, Mr. Chairman, in reference to this, I would like to put into exhibit photographs that were taken by the Mobile Police Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Taken when and where?

Captain DRASS. They were taken at the airport in Mobile, Ala., on July 26, 1968, as Stokely Carmichael, Donald Lee Cox and Hall emerged from the Eastern Airlines plane.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 361" for reference and maybe found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain DRASS. I would like to point out that these photographs were shown to the witnesses whose statements you have and even the child identified Donald Lee Cox as the man who held the schools in the making of fire bombs.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the affidavit refers to a picture and this is the picture it refers to?

Captain DRASS. That is correct, sir.

Coupled with this, in answer to subpoena, Eastern Airlines has furnished us a copy of a ticket from Baltimore to Atlanta to Mobile, Ala., dated July 26, 1968, issued to one B. Hall and two. B. Hall refers to the William Hall that I have testified to in this statement.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Captain DRASS. On September 9, 1968, Curtis Crittle, Jr., a known member of the BPP, was arrested in San Francisco on a trespassing charge.

He had in his possession BPP literature telling how to make fire bombs, acid bombs, hand grenades, and other types of explosives, and another document detailing the principles of black revolution as prescribed by the Black Panther Party.

We have here, Mr. Chairman, a copy of the police report on that incident, together with copies of the material confiscated from this individual upon his arrest.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 362" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain DRASS. On January 1, 1969, a newspaper office in Lakewood, N.J., was firebombed. Three members of the BPP were arrested on a charge of arson. Since then, Benny Harvey (BPP lieutenant of defense) has been convicted and sentenced to 5 to 7 years in prison.

7. On April 2, 1969, 21 members of the New York chapter of the Black Panther Party were indicted by a grand jury on charges of plotting to assassinate police officers and to dynamite city department stores, a police station, and a railroad right-of-way. Of those arrested, many were key leaders of the New York BPP.

Mr. Chairman, we have at this time copies of the indictments of these 21 individuals identified as members of the Black Panther Party, charging them with the crimes I have just told you about.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

Captain DRASS. Also, there is a separate indictment of Joudon Ford, a captain of the Black Panther Party in New York.

Because the case is pending, we have copies of the indictments of the 21 and have put them into the record, but we cannot say any more about this case at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't want you to say any more about it.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 363" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain DRASS. The January 4, 1969, edition of "The Black Panther" said:

1969 is the year of the Panther. This statement should not be misconstrued to mean that 1969 is the only year that will belong to the Panther. The statement is intended to affirm that 1969 is the year that the Black Panther Party will demonstrate its dominance in the sphere of revolutionary politics. The statement is not based on subjective analysis, but on objective realities.

The CHAIRMAN. That was published in January of this year?

Captain DRASS. That is correct, January 4, 1969. I have here, sir, a copy, taken from that Black Panther Newspaper.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 364" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain DRASS. The November 16 edition of the Black Panther carries a lengthy article describing the proper way to make and use various types of grenades and bombs to be used against personnel and property.

This article dwells deeply into the effectiveness of each bomb and the ingredients needed for the making of the same.

Mr. Chairman, I have a copy of that Black Panther Party paper, dated November 16, 1968, and the entire text as reported in their paper on the proper way to make and use various types of bombs and grenades.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 365" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Captain DRASS. This completes my testimony and I would like to call on Mr. Manuel, who is in possession of an important document regarding our next witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Do the committee members wish to defer questioning of this witness until Mr. Manuel has concluded?

Without objection, Mr. Manuel, you may proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, on May 19, 1969, in Oakland, Calif., I took a sworn statement from a person who was an exofficial of the Black Panther Party.

The sworn statement reads as follows:

I, Larry Clayton Powell, born on April 10, 1944, in Los Angeles, California, do hereby make the following statement to Mr. Philip R. Manuel, whom I know to be a staff investigator for the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.

I do hereby declare that I make this statement freely and voluntarily and that no threats of harm or promises of reward have been made to me.

I have direct knowledge of the operations and activities of an organization known as the Black Panther Party, hereafter referred to as the B.P.P. I joined the B.P.P. in Los Angeles, California, in either January or February, 1967. I cannot remember the exact date but I place the time as being immediately after Arthur Carter, the brother of Alprentice "Bunch" Carter, was killed in Los Angeles.

I remained a member of the B.P.P. until March, 1969, at which time I was expelled from the B.P.P. for what the B.P.P. called "counter-revolutionary" activities. This order was published in the March 9, 1969, issue of the B.P.P. newspaper.

During my membership in the B.P.P. I achieved the rank of captain and I served both in the open B.P.P. in Los Angeles as a captain and in the underground apparatus of the B.P.P. in the Bay Area of California from approximately July, 1968, to March, 1969.

During the time that I was active in Los Angeles the following persons were known to me to be the leaders of the B.P.P. in that area.

He lists 14 individuals, Mr. Chairman, who will be the subject of his testimony.

To continue:

At the time I left Los Angeles in approximately July, 1968, Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter was Deputy Minister of Defense for Los Angeles, Sbermont Banks was area captain and myself, Tommy Lewis, Ronald Freeman and Frank Diggs were all captains. There were also ten section leaders in Los Angeles who held the rank of sergeant.

While a member of the B.P.P. in Los Angeles, I was involved in operations which included but was not limited to, the shakedown of merchants in the Black Community in which threats were made against these merchants if they did not act or perform in accordance with the wishes of the B.P.P.

I also became acquainted with the organization and structure, policies and activities of the B.P.P. in the Los Angeles area.

Prior to July, 1968, an incident in Los Angeles arose which resulted in a warrant being issued against me by the Los Angeles police. I then moved to the Oakland-Berkeley area to avoid prosecution. I do not remember the exact date, but I place the time as approximately the start of the Huey Newton trial in Oakland.

Since I was a fugitive from justice in Oakland, I could not function as an open member of the B.P.P. in Oakland. I was assigned to the underground apparatus of the B.P.P.

My main assignment in the underground was part of a "rip off squad" whose main function was to commit armed robberies in selected areas of Oakland. A portion of the money derived from these robberies was turned over to the B.P.P. to help it finance their operations. I was given a semi-automatic machine gun by underground captain (who is identified in this, but I will not identify by name

because he has a pending case in Oakland) which I had in my possession when I was arrested on December 26, 1968, after an armed robbery at the Aloha Night Club in East Oakland.

Members of the Black Panthers who are also members of the Black Guard are the following:

Charles Bursley
Dexter Woods
Warren Tucker

Landon Williams
Randy Williams
Robert Bay

The Black Guard operates like the underground. Its members must be well disciplined and ready to accept orders to commit any acts of violence that the Party directs.

I also gained knowledge of the acquisition of weapons and dynamite by the B.P.P. to which I can testify.

I have seen caches of weapons at the home of Landon Williams in Oakland.

I know the entire organization and structure of the Black Panther Party in the Bay Area and I can identify all of the Central Committee and top officers in the B.P.P. in this area.

I showed him at this point, Mr. Chairman, three exhibits which he identified and which will be the subject of his testimony.

I can testify to the fact that to my direct knowledge officers of the B.P.P. have given instruction in the use of firearms and explosives to individuals. B.P.P. officials who have done this include Donald Lee Cox, Landon Williams, and Randy Williams.

I identify exhibit 3 attached hereto as a copy of the instructions on fire bombs that is used by the B.P.P. I know it was used at the B.P.P. retreat in November, 1968, and has been printed in the B.P.P. newspaper.

I know that the B.P.P. is an armed body for carrying out what they called an armed revolution in the United States. In actuality I know that members of the B.P.P. are being used by leaders of the B.P.P., Bobby Seale and David Hilliard, for their own selfish ends without regard to the welfare of the Black Community.

I am willing to testify to the above outline of facts and all details related thereto without mental reservation. This statement in its entirety is the truth to the best of my knowledge.

Signed Larry C. Powell, and duly notarized.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Have you anything further?

Mr. MANUEL. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, I understood Mr. Drass might have something further to say with regard to the financing of the Black Panther organization.

Captain DRASS. Yes, sir, Senator, I will be glad to. I will give you a thumbnail sketch of it. I think our next witness can testify even further to the finances of the party.

Senator GRIFFIN. If the next witness will testify on that subject, that it fine.

Senator MUNDT. Let us have the officer testify first. Give us your version.

Captain DRASS. The Black Panther Party receives financial help, as I stated in my statement, from the sale of the Black Panther newspaper and other publications. They receive donations. They have several defense funds set up for members who are under arrest or under indictment.

However, it is my understanding that very little, if any of this, goes to the people or the members of the party. It is more or less confiscated by the top echelon, namely David Hilliard and Bobby George Seale. The biggest bulk of their financing, I think, would come from the commission by its members of armed robberies.

When a member of the Black Panther Party commits an armed robbery on the orders of the party, one-third of all that is taken in the robbery must be turned over to national headquarters. The other two-thirds is split up between the participants in the robberies. This is about the gist of it.

Senator MUNDT. So the party has a defense fund, as I understand it, so if he is caught in the robbery theoretically they will engage legal talent for his protection?

Captain DRASS. That is only for the top officers, Senator. The lower rank and file of the Black Panther Party have not received this help from these defense funds, for the purpose for which they were set up.

Senator MUNDT. Thank you.

Mr. MANUEL. I might also add, Senator Mundt, that in our investigation we checked with the Internal Revenue Service and the Black Panther Party has never filed a tax return or filed any type of paper with Internal Revenue Service.

Senator MUNDT. So what has the Internal Revenue Service done about that?

Mr. MANUEL. To date they haven't audited any of the Black Panther Party finances, to our knowledge.

Senator MUNDT. They have not audited?

Mr. MANUEL. No, sir.

Senator MUNDT. It seems that they get pretty special treatment. When they get caught, they get probation.

I know a lot of people in this country who have violated IRS laws and regulations who don't get off quite so lucky.

Mr. MANUEL. I might add as a comment that we will have two witnesses, not only Mr. Powell but he will be accompanied to the stand by his wife Jean Powell, who is also an ex-member of the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Thank you.

Call the next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Larry Clayton Powell and Jean Powell.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you stand and be sworn, please?

You and each of you do solemnly swear that 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?

Mrs. POWELL. I do.

Mr. POWELL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. JEAN POWELL AND LARRY CLAYTON POWELL

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Powell, I believe you have a prepared statement, have you?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask who prepared this statement for you?

Mrs. POWELL. We each prepared our own statements.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement that you are now about to present, each of you, is a statement you prepared yourself without anyone writing it for you or suggesting what you put in it?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are prepared to state that what you will read is true?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who typed it up for you? You said you prepared it but who typed it?

Mrs. POWELL. I did the first typing.

The CHAIRMAN. You typed both statements?

Mrs. POWELL. No, I didn't type this one. This one was typed on an electric typewriter. I typed the first statement and then someone re-typed it for me.

The CHAIRMAN. You typed the original?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are reading from a copy of the original?

Mrs. POWELL. No, it isn't. I have the original with me that I typed.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to clear up is if this is your statement, not something somebody else prepared for you. Is that right?

Mrs. POWELL. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Who wants to read his statement first?

Mrs. POWELL. I will read mine first.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Senator GRIFFIN. If you can, get as close to the microphone as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Jean Powell?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are the wife of Larry Powell?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You may proceed to read your statement.

Mrs. POWELL. My name is Jean Powell. My previous residence was 2545 Sacramento, Berkeley, Calif. I was subpoenaed to appear before this subcommittee and came voluntarily and of my own free will. I received no threats of coercion nor promise of reward. I was born on May 3, 1945. I worked as a clerk for the County of Los Angeles and for the Federal Government, Veterans' Administration, for the registered voters, Internal Revenue, and Welfare Department of the County of Los Angeles. I am the wife of Larry Clayton Powell and presently am a housewife.

I am here before this subcommittee to explain the truth of the activities of the Black Panther Party. I first became a member of the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles in about February 1968. There I worked as a secretary. My duties were to go to every place that they went and take notes on everything that might have happened within the particular place they were.

The office that I was working in was the Black Congress Office which was located near 75th and Broadway, Los Angeles. Occasionally, they went to SNCC headquarters in the 1900 block of Jefferson in Los Angeles.

The first meeting I attended, they had a press conference where Bobby Seale introduced a man by the name of Hannah who at that time was running for district attorney of Los Angeles. The Black Panther Party was supporting Hannah and introducing him to the black community through the press conference. He was never elected.

At one time I took notes at the peoples tribunal which was being held to introduce the people to the peoples court which is the tribunal.

At this time they were putting on trial a man who had shot a black boy in the black community. The policeman's name I can't remember.

During this time SNCC put on the tribunal. The Panthers were security for the tribunal which meant that they were protecting things, like making sure that there was no police attack on the tribunal and making sure that nobody within the group that came to the tribunal would upset what was going on.

The Black Congress was a building and there were members of what were called the board for the Black Congress which was the Black Congress in itself. But many of the black organizations within Los Angeles were members of the Black Congress, this being the Black Panthers, SNCC, US, SLANT, CORE, and even preachers and Christians, different things like that.

They didn't really have any connection with each other until Thursday night when they had a meeting of all the organizations who had membership within the Black Congress.

At the time when we were functioning in Los Angeles, the Los Angeles party didn't have all these outlets to go to. BSU was just building. Then they went off into all these other things which I couldn't say about.

Senator MUNDT. What is, "BSU," you are talking about?

Mrs. POWELL. The Black Students Union.

I took notes of all the meetings they had, meetings of the women, meetings of the section leaders, subsection leaders, any type of meeting, I would take notes.

At the beginning of the Panther Party in Los Angeles, I was captain of the women and the secretary. I was the only woman at that time in there, so I had both of these functions—to organize the women, to set up programs that we could participate in, to teach political education, to teach history of the party, and so forth.

In other words, I had the same function with the women that Shermont Banks had with the men. He was the area captain at the time. I kept that job about 1 month.

Senator MUNDT. Were you a full-time employee of the Black Panthers?

Mrs. POWELL. I was a full-time volunteer.

Senator MUNDT. You were not getting paid?

Mrs. POWELL. No.

First of all, political education classes are something that was started after the arrest of Huey P. Newton. They brought in the red book into the party. Then they went off into studying political study, using the red book as foundation.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see the red book. We have a red book that has been made an exhibit in testimony.

Do you have one of them?

Are they alike? Check to see if your red book is identical with this one which is already a part of the record.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes; it is the same.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, you may keep yours. It has been identified for the record.

Proceed.

Mrs. POWELL. Anyone coming into the party would learn. You might have the red book and couldn't understand what was said in it. What

we did was explain what was meant by statements in the red book and relate it to a newcomer in the party; teach them about first aid, teach them about the platform and the program which everybody has to know, the organizational structure, set up different programs like picketing places that might be exploiting like stores or the welfare building, and so forth. These were the activities we were setting up to go into as me being captain of the women.

The bay area—I believe—was getting into the campus area, but the Panthers from Los Angeles was run differently. It was run by Alprentice “Bunch” Carter. He was a member of the party with Huey, and he was going on Huey’s ideology. When we came to Oakland we saw how, for the first time, the party was getting away from Huey’s aim.

The things we did in Los Angeles were mostly like distribution of papers, going out into the community recruiting people, explaining the program and the platform. General meetings were held every Wednesday night for anybody who wanted to join the party. We would go out day after day assigned to certain areas, go into that area, take papers and literature, go from door to door talking to people, explaining the party, and so forth.

We acted as security for any type of black organization that might want to call on us. If they said “we are going to have a meeting at this place tonight and we would like the party to come down and act as security,” we went; more or less as a special police, is what we were really used for in Los Angeles.

Vanguard came in with Huey P. Newton. We acted as security at Black Congress often. Panthers and US together would act as security. We would go to churches and different things. We didn’t usually go in, because of our uniform. We would stay outside and sell papers. Huey got the idea of the party from the Community Alert Patrol, which started after the riot in 1965. The Black Panthers weren’t formed until October 1966. At one time the Community Alert Patrol had come to the Panthers in Los Angeles and asked if some of them would like to drive the cars of the Community Alert Patrol. Banks turned it down.

The person that was really in control in Los Angeles was Banks. He didn’t care for the leader of the Community Alert. Bunchy was underground. He didn’t know a lot of the things that went on in the party because Banks didn’t tell him.

Banks had full control over the Los Angeles party unless some of us happened to bring something to Bunchy’s attention when we saw him. I knew him personally, my husband knew him personally, and a couple of other Panthers knew him and when he came to the Black Congress on occasion, we would tell him about some of the things going wrong which he hadn’t been told about because we were informed to go up steps and our top step was Banks unless we just took it upon ourselves as individuals or personally knowing Bunchy to go over Banks’ head. The purpose of the party at that time was to stop rioting among black people, organize them on a program that they could defend themselves without mass riots.

Huey set up a program which he called the 10-10-10 plan. The 10-10-10 plan structure was to take a map of the city, cut the city into

10 sections, over each section there would be a section leader, take the 10 sections, cut them into 10 subsections, over each subsection there was a subsection leader, take the 10 subsections, cut them into 10-block sections, and there was a block leader over them. In the event of a police harassment of a black person, you could call from your block to your block leader who would get some type of defense to the person being harassed, such as protection. If he couldn't handle it with members of his block, he would call his subsection leader who would dispatch other blocks. This is the way the process went.

The bigger the problem got, the higher you went into subsection and sections. Such as a mass thing like the riot, all 10 sections would be dispatched. You would only run in two's and three's instead of one large mass of people. You would never attack but if there was an attack you would fight back. Huey's intention was to make the people aware of what the problem was. In other words, why we were rioting. So he made up the 10-point program which explained why he formed the Black Panther Party.

The 10 points were: We want freedom, we want power to determine the destiny of our black community. We want full employment for our people. We want an end to robbery by whites of our black communities. We want decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings. We want an education that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society, we want an education that teaches us our true history and our role in present-day society. We want all black men exempt from military service. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people. We want all black men to be released from Federal, State, county, and city prisons and jails. We want all black men when brought to trial to be tried in a court by a jury of his peers or people from the black community as defined in the Constitution of the United States; we want bread, housing, land, clothing, education, justice, and peace.

Then he went on to explain why we believe we deserve this which is why he ended up with the Declaration of Independence, which actually explains why they use the term revolution. Revolution means a change and the Declaration of Independence states that if the people are not satisfied the government which they are run by, then the change is necessary by the people. His aim was to teach the people political education in order to make this change by activities.

At that time all of his activities were by law. All Panthers were required to follow the law in everything they did. When the party first started in Los Angeles, there were about 14 men and myself. At that time, there was a guy by the name of Terry who was over the party. Right after Arthur's death—

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Arthur?

Mrs. POWELL. He is Bunchy Carter's brother—Bunchy Carter's brother Terry was put on a 90-day suspension and Banks became the captain. At that time there were about 4-5 captains under Banks, one of which was my husband.

At the time of Huey's trial we came up here to Oakland with the rest of the party. When we got up here, the entire party structure was different.

At the time of the trial, there was really no structure because everybody was more or less taking orders from just whoever they happened

to assign over a particular thing. We didn't relate to captain this or captain that. Anybody that happened to be drilling people was drilling people. The women would go to the church and get the stuff ready for barbecues. The trial in itself was not the Black Panther Party.

After the trial is when I began to detect exactly what was going on. At the end of Huey's trial, the party took on an enormous change. The central committee was not based on the same structure. Many members had been eliminated, the interests of the people became unimportant, the interests of Huey Newton became unimportant, the money raised by party members was not used for them, nor the people of the black community, nor the betterment of the black community, nor for Huey Newton.

Section leaders, subsection leaders, and some of the hardest working members of the party who were dedicated to the ideology of Huey were becoming discouraged but still tried to hold up to the ideas of the party. After Huey's incarceration, Eldridge Cleaver became the inspiration of members of the party.

The gun had not had much importance to the party members, Huey, nor the public. Using for example, Eldridge Cleaver or Bobby Seale, they never in public appearances nor in their daily activities carried a gun nor did anybody see them with a gun.

As a matter of fact, an order came down from Huey that no more guns would be carried on your person unless so ordered. Yet unbeknowning to Huey Newton or Eldridge Cleaver, who resided in San Francisco, were the orders, publications, and expectations of the party members residing in Berkeley and Oakland, the location of the national headquarters.

The petty selfishness of the leadership of the national headquarters and the people who run national headquarters, David Hilliard, in particular, used the dedication that people had for Huey and Eldridge to exploit not only members of the party but the black community. The entire structure, ideology, and meaning of the Black Panther Party is not and has not been used since the trial of Huey P. Newton. His writings, his teachings, his philosophies, his impact on the country is not the organization nor the structure nor is the program geared to organized members as something useful for our people in this country nor the contact of the people for the betterment of the people being enacted.

The red book, properly known as the Quotations of Mao Tse-tung, is supposed to be the party bible. The teachings from the red book are supposed to be the way in which the Panther Party is run. Not the socialism or communism, but the relationship to the people in the party and to the community. But David takes what he wants out of this book and throws it up to you when he sees fit. The red book in itself is not being enacted in part.

The party is being financed in many different ways. Propaganda, rallies, barbecues, donations, contributions, intake from robberies, and defense fund committees. I would say that national headquarters in itself collects anywhere from \$50,000 to \$100,000 a month from these activities combined. I have never known any of the money to be used for the party nor the people. Food for the barbecues is donated. Food for the childrens' breakfast is donated. They have on occasion paid

lawyers and gotten people out of jail for petty things. For example, they keep hollering about bailing people out of jail with big money. Marlon Brando was supposed to have bailed out Eldridge Cleaver and Wendell Wade. This did not come out of Panther money. Huey Newton has never been bailed out of jail.

The money for Eldridge's last bail out which was raised was never used because Eldridge is exiled. Any time a party member is arrested with a large amount of bail money, he is classified as a renegade, or a counterrevolutionary, and he is expelled. Such as Wendell Wade, my husband, and Bill Brent.

This brings the point up—they splattered Bill Brent around as being an FBI agent, expelled him from the party, called him a renegade. Now, Bill Brent is again in the party.

I really began to explore this when I became national headquarters secretary about November 1968. My husband and I were ordered to come to national headquarters and work because they were going to set up a permanent staff and they got the best of everybody they had which was five people, myself as secretary, Wendell Wade and my husband as printers, Gilbert Gibson as distribution, Tommy Jones as officer of the day.

They promised at that time to support us. We did not receive support. We were not given any money, we were told our rent would be paid, they would pay our light and gas, give us money for food. In other words, they would support our needs if we would come and work 7 days a week from 9 to 7 in the national headquarters office.

It came to a point where we had to beg David Hilliard to pay the rent which was 3 weeks late because he held off so long.

Then one day my husband and Wade and other members of the party were ordered to make a play—pull a robbery in other words. They were arrested. The same night that Wade was arrested, Tommy's house was busted into and he was arrested, which took everyone out of national headquarters but me on the working staff. I slowed down on my functioning to help Larry and Wade and the rest of them. Tommy bailed out through connections he had. When he got out, the party suspended him. A week later they threw him out of the office and told him he was expelled. At the time that I am referring to, national headquarters' office was 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley.

David and Bobby requested me to come back and continue working in the office as secretary even though they had put out the press conference expelling my husband and Wade. I refused and had a few words with them, then we got the idea of setting up a defense fund committee to try to raise money to bail Larry and Wade out. The committee was not an organization. We gave it a name so people could understand what we were trying to do. We called it the Peoples Defense Fund Committee. There was no membership required. Anybody that wanted to help raise money to get brothers out of jail, which began to spread to not only Larry and Wade but to other black people within that town. I mean Berkeley. It attracted most ex-Panthers because they knew that the people who were in jail behind what they had done for the Panther Party. The Panther Party wasn't doing anything about trying to help them.

The party suddenly got the idea that they had competition and that we were a revenge group and we were catching on in Berkeley.

We did not have an organization nor structure. People who liked the brothers in jail began to start trying to raise money to bail them out and it was attracting a lot of people who were within the party who were getting tired of the party who wanted to help the rest of the brothers.

Then David and Bobby put out a list in one of the papers expelling all of the people who had been in jail or any of the people who were helping the defense fund committee to raise money.

They would often send Panthers to the places where we were discussing what type of functions we would hold to raise money. They would drop in casually and friendly but they were not supposed to have anything to do with us nor come around us according to the Panther Party.

Then David came to a house I was at to contradict this sister for criticizing the Panther Party in public. He and I had words and I made it clear to him that this was not a revenge thing against the Panther Party, that we were trying to raise money to get brothers out of jail because actually as I told him the party, after the arrest of my husband, had done nothing for me. A friend of my husband's who was arrested with him and Wade, Tommy Jones, was the only person making sure that Larry, which is my little baby, and I were safe and fed. So he really didn't have anything to say to me. Tommy was the only person who took interest in Larry and Wade after their arrest.

At one time they had begun to try to scare us. They beat up one Panther, Oleander Harrison. Shortly after the defense fund began to give dances and things, they beat up Oleander's brother, Gregory Harrison.

Then one day a girl named Renee Rice went to the office. They jumped on her with a stick. Her boyfriend, John L. Scott, Tommy, Ron Black, and about six other ex-Panthers went to the office to protest the jumping on of a sister. John L. talked to Roosevelt Hilliard, known to us as June, Charles Burcie, and John Seale to inform them that he did not appreciate what had happened.

At that time, Ron Black was out of the Panthers. He got rid of his natural and he has a process.

Senator MUNDT. What is that? I don't understand the sentence. "He got rid of his natural and he has a process."

Mrs. POWELL. Well, you know, our hair was like—you know. After he got out of the party, then he went and had his hair more or less pressed, which was a process.

Senator MUNDT. OK. I got it.

Mrs. POWELL. The barbershop that he had his hair done at was next door to the party office. Shortly after the previous incident, Ron Black went to have his hair done one day, April 5, 1969. None of the other tactics had worked. Ron Black was assassinated. The party said they had nothing to do with it. People in the surrounding blocks said they did and identified to us the people whom I will not name that did it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you saying that the people who did it are known by the people in the party?

Mrs. POWELL. By the renegades. We were considered renegades.

The CHAIRMAN. Those who had been in and were out?

Mrs. POWELL. Those who had been expelled from the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Former party members.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You folks think you know who did it?

Mrs. POWELL. Well, I mean, people within the community who maybe don't like to talk to the police talk to us, you know, who were around at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mrs. POWELL. Shortly after, Tommy Jones, who was Ron Black's cousin, began to publicly denounce the Panther Party and let me know at this time that I was jacked up at the same time that Ron Black was killed. Only the person assigned to me used his own judgment and didn't go through with what he was supposed to do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean you were set up to be assassinated?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the party to whom they gave the assignment didn't go through with it?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

As soon as Tommy began to publicly denounce the party, a paper came out saying he was an FBI agent. Yet Tommy Jones had been officer of the day and had done one-third of the work of organizing during Huey's trial and he went to jail at least four times during the time that I knew him, compared to David Hilliard's one time. He still has cases pending. Myself and other people who knew what was going on joined him, then our lives were threatened.

As a matter of fact, it is known fact among party members that David Hilliard was among those arrested in the April 6 shoot-out incident in Oakland when little Bobby Hutton was killed and Eldridge Cleaver was shot. But David got off. But Tommy Jones has not gotten off. But he's the FBI agent. I always thought David Hilliard was the agent. Of course, I know he is not because he is getting all the money and running the party, so he just couldn't be an agent.

The party understood after Tommy and I and other members began to criticize the party that we were hurting them. They would not call me an FBI agent, rather they set my husband up to look like an informant and to instill fear of us to other party members.

The party began with the idea of helping black people. It originally began with approximately 40 men in Oakland. Since that time, only one is left of the original Huey P. Newton Party. The members have either been assassinated, set up to be killed, set up to be arrested, or expelled, which leaves only one person to run the Black Panther Party at present, David Hilliard. Bobby Seale is the only original member left. Yet through certain minimal strains, Bobby began to deteriorate and depend solely on David Hilliard. After this dependence began, Bobby was all of a sudden drugged day by day with Scotch and its problems to the point that David got full control of the Panther Party.

The only thing that Bobby Seales does now is speak, and even his speaking engagements are now being written for him by David. The entire Panther Party has been changed, its ideology, its technique, and its functioning.

It began by Huey as the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. The self-defense was dropped after Huey was jailed. It became a political thing. Eldridge had most of the political insight. After Eldridge's

exile, David had complete control of the party and at present has complete control of the party, and his followers are people who are given a free hand to acquire money, young teenage kids who had been indoctrinated by him such as the 16- and 17-year-olds who were put up to kill Ron Black.

I have a true dedication for my people, especially my child. This is also the thinking of my husband. This is why we joined Huey P. Newton's Black Panther Party. After I saw the hurt and exploitation being used, I attempted to do this on my own by going before the press with Tommy and other Panthers, but our lives were threatened, and it needs to be said. Young people, people across the country who aren't aware of national headquarters, need to know. Because to me, young people are giving up their freedom and their lives to people who don't want anything but money for themselves. This is why I came to explain here about the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mrs. Powell.

We will hear your husband's statement and then have questions.

Will you proceed now?

Your statement was prepared the same way as your wife testified?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, it was.

My name is Larry Clayton Powell. I was born April 10, 1944, in Los Angeles, Calif. Although I received a subpoena to appear before this subcommittee, I came voluntarily and of my own free will. I have received no threats of coercion nor promises of rewards by any member of this subcommittee. By my testimony, I hope to inform the American public of the truth of the Black Panther Party. My educational background is junior high school and 1 year of high school.

I have been employed as a busboy, dishwasher, et cetera, in restaurants; I've worked for the probation department as a probation aide through the CEP program in Los Angeles. That is concentrated employment program. My last employment was as a roofer in Oakland, where I worked from August until November.

I got into the party in about February of 1965. I got into it because I had been in a lot of scrapes with the police and many times had been done wrong. I remember one time the police hit me with the butt of a gun during an arrest, that was not necessary and it left a gash in my head that still at times gives me trouble. Incidents like this and things that I knew had happened to some of my friends made me mad. I wanted to participate in the riots but my wife was ill and that stopped me. I am speaking of the Watts riot.

When the black struggle started I wanted in, a few people wanted me to go into US—United Slaves, headed by Ron Karenga—but I couldn't go for that cultural-nationalist type deal. My only reason for wanting to get off into anything was because I knew what people were talking about when they said police brutality, I had experienced it. I was born and raised in the ghetto and I knew that many times I was breaking the law but I had to survive, not because I wanted to, and I felt police couldn't dig that and when I am caught and I knew it, I would go peacefully, they didn't have to beat me in the head or throw me on the ground, I was mad.

When I heard Huey Newton's program I knew the brother knew what he was talking about and I dug his approach to the problem.

Because my wife and I had often discussed the whys and what could be done about the riots. And Huey had hit on many things we had talked about. So I joined the Black Panther Party.

At that time, Wilbert Terry was area captain. Arthur Carter had just been killed and Bunchy Carter, his brother, had just been put in his place as deputy minister of defense, also known as underground field marshal. When I got into the party I was Terry's right-hand man because he and I had went to school together, and he wanted me to accompany him, plus I had a car and I usually took him every place he went. There were no functional women in the party at that time so Terry or I usually had to try to do any writing that went on. Banks joined the party shortly after I did, but he was supposed to of had a job at the airport, so he came with us off and on. We were always being stopped by police, I think just for the hell of it. We always were told to keep clean, so we stayed within the law, but every time we were stopped, it just seemed I always had warrants out on me for tickets, so I was usually taken to jail. But Terry usually would have my fines paid and I came right out. My car was the only car available at that time.

Then Terry and I got kind of tired of trying to take notes, so we got the idea to get Jean, my wife, into the party. After checking out the program, she dug it and joined also. Then, something had come about concerning the death of Arthur and Terry was put on suspension and his position taken away. In his place was put Shermont Banks. Most people didn't particularly care for Banks and it seemed he really had it out for me and Jean.

Bobby came down on meeting night and broke the 10-10-10 program down to us and Banks assigned us positions as section leaders. I was assigned to section 7 which was near the area in which I lived. There was at that time only a few of us, so we had various duties. Not only was I a section leader, but I also had to carry the rank of a captain and do other things besides that of a section leader.

My duties as a section leader was to relate to people living in the projects, in the ghettos, and the black community throughout my area. Our first objective was to rid the community of the police. We would relate the 10-point program, advocating that police should be replaced by only black police who lived in the community. We related that this would cut down on police brutality. We would also try to recruit people in our sections to join the party. We would tell them to put a gun in their house for protection, teach them legal first aid and always tell them not to resist arrest. This did not mean if you were brutalized, because this was our purpose to watch arrest to make sure you weren't brutalized, and offer assistance when you were.

We were also instructed to tell people that when they got into the party to think it over before they joined because, once they joined there was no getting out. So it was best if they discussed it with their mother, their father, or their preacher. If you got in and you turned out to be a pig or a snitch, we would kill you, your family or anybody related to you or burn your house down.

My duties as captain, ranged from picking up guns to acting as security guard, and bodyguard for higher ranks of the party, such as the ministers who came to Los Angeles or those who were living

in Los Angeles. The only thing I knew about Oakland is what I was told. Only certain people were allowed to go to Oakland, usually Banks.

On one occasion, he needed two men to go with him. He selected Robert Lawrence, now deceased, and myself. Our transportation, food, and housing was provided by the Peace and Freedom Party. Our first stop was Bakersfield Junior College. Most of the students at the rally were predominately white radicals and a few black students from the Black Students Union. The purpose of the rally was for us to relate the 10-point program of Huey P. Newton and the possibility of organizing a Black Panther Party in Bakersfield. After the college rally, we rallied at a park and passed out literature describing the weapons and tactics being used by law enforcement agencies to deal with black people. We also spoke on the slow genocide the power structure was inflicting on black people.

After leaving Bakersfield, we went to San Francisco, to a rally being given by the Peace and Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party. It amazed me to see the difference in the way the party in the bay area was run, compared to the Los Angeles party. Robert and I functioned the same way as the party members up there were functioning, such as selling papers, posters, and buttons and collecting donations for Huey's defense fund. That really was the first time I had seen so much money being donated to the party. I myself collected about \$600. The money I collected was turned over to the distribution manager. After the rally we returned to Los Angeles and I began my normal functions again.

On one occasion I was instructed by Banks to go to Bunchy's house and pick up a gun, which was to be used that night by one of the brothers on security. The gun had been sent to Los Angeles from the bay area. I went to pick up the gun, accompanied by my wife and another captain. I dropped them off before taking the gun to its destination. En route, I was stopped by police and arrested for having a stolen gun. Banks refused to bail me out, so another captain got in touch with an organization called the Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights. They bailed me out and got me a lawyer.

The reason Banks gave for not bailing me out was that I had broken one of the first rules of guerrilla warfare tactics, which states you never go anywhere by yourself; you always travel in twos and threes. This is when I first got the feeling that Banks had it out for me, because I had traveled many times on missions by myself, under orders. And I was glad I was by myself because not only had Ronald, the other captain, been with me, but also my wife, and they, too, would have been arrested. Shortly after that, we had talked to Bunchy about Banks' action and after finding this out he suspended both me and my wife. We were quickly reinstated by Bunchy and he told us he wanted to have a meeting with us.

At this meeting, he informed me that he did not want me to relate to anyone in the party. That I was going to become a member of his elite squad, which was the same as the Bay Area Black Guard. The elite squad members had nothing to do with the party members and stayed out of uniform. They did not attend political education classes, rather than that they were taught to make fire bombs, they studied how to dispose of things such as power installations, "pig" stations, railroad tracks, communications systems, and things like that. We went to

the mountains on survival missions and received special training in the use of weapons—especially the Panther Special, a 30-caliber semi-automatic rifle and a 9-millimeter astro. We were told this training was for defense of the black community in the event of a revolution.

To my knowledge none of the training or tactics were ever used in the Los Angeles area, because our intent was not to start a war or revolution but to prepare ourselves for defense in case such an event happened.

During my training, I was also going to court on the illegal gun biff. Things looked pretty bad for me and in a discussion with Bunchy, I told him that I didn't appreciate the fact that I was not getting any help from the party and I felt Banks had set me up. He told me that I might be right and that if I would go for it he would place me underground. So, I went underground, knowing that if I didn't I was facing 5 to life. So, I had nothing to do with the party, nor anyone in it for about 3 months. Only one or two people knew where I was, Bunchy had assigned them to check on my wife and I every once in a while to make sure we were all right. I had no knowledge of any of the activities of the party at this time.

At the time of Huey's trial, a place was reserved for us on the bus coming up to Oakland, under a fictitious name, and we accompanied the rest of the party members to Oakland. I, myself, stayed out of sight during the trial just in case someone from Los Angeles would recognize me. Bunchy informed Bobby that I was in Oakland, but that I was running so I would be staying out of sight and we were going to stay up there, underground. So I got me a house up there and found me a job. I was making enough money to keep myself out of trouble and away from the police. I had started a new life and was getting ahead.

Since they knew my wife had been a secretary in Los Angeles and they were getting short of secretaries, so they assigned her a day to work in the office and informed her that she was not underground so she would still have to function for the party. After a while, they started giving her more days, during which they told me that my beef in Los Angeles was being taken care of by the party. But Banks kept ordering me back to Los Angeles telling me that he was going to come up there and put me under arrest and take me back to Los Angeles, and I told him the only way he would take me back was at gunpoint and said he would.

Then one week, my boss went on vacation and I went with my wife to the office. There were some leaflets that needed to be run off right away and the person who usually ran the machine was out on a robbery. I was getting a little bored just sitting so I made the mistake of telling them that I knew how to run the machine and that I would run the leaflets off. The next day when I went with her they told me that my beef in Los Angeles had been taken care of and that I could come back above ground. Then they told me to quit my job and come and work in the office, because they were about to set up a permanent office staff for national headquarters and they wanted me to be the printer for national headquarters.

I raised a fuss, because I told them that the only way I had to support my family was by working. Then they told me I was ordered to quit my job and work in national headquarters, and that they would take care of our living expenses, because they also wanted my wife to take charge of the office. So we became part of the permanent office staff of national headquarters, they gave me a key and I also

had the duty of opening the office in the morning. After we had worked in the office a while, my rent was due and I informed David Hilliard, the person who handled the money and my chief of staff, that I needed \$70 to pay my rent. Before that time we had not received one penny for working in the office. We were living off my savings from when I was working, and the \$10 we made from the sale of 100 papers, which each Black Panther was required to sell each edition. Jean and I usually would go at night and sell our papers after we closed the office. This gave us \$20 a week to eat off of. The weeks the paper didn't come out, we didn't eat. After the 3 weeks of asking for the rent money, I received an eviction notice and he finally gave me the \$70 to pay the rent. He said the party didn't have enough money to pay the lights and gas, which I had gotten a final notice on, and I knew that that was a lie because I myself had turned in about a thousand dollars that month, which had come from donations and the sale of posters and buttons.

The party gets its money from the defense funds; propaganda, such as posters, newspapers, et cetera; speaking engagements, armed robberies, and donations. We were also supported by the Peace and Freedom Party, who we had a coalition with, SNCC, who we had a merger with, the Black Students Union, Young Socialist Alliance, and ODAC. Also, they were receiving large donations from members of the advisory committee, a part of the Black Panther Party. The committee consists of many people who are in positions where they are well known either locally or nationally, or internationally; and they become members because they are sympathetic to the cause. Some well-known figures are actors and actresses, doctors, and political figures.

Shortly after I began working in the office, I was nominated to the Black Guard. The Black Guard is an armed body within the Black Panther Party which carries out disciplinary actions against members within the party or counterrevolutionaries or people who are a hindrance to furthering the revolution. They act as security for David Hilliard and Bobby Seale and others. They are prepared to perform acts of violence, which include anything necessary to further what they called the revolution.

These acts of violence might include such things as firebombing, dynamiting, killings or anything considered necessary. Those who determined what was "necessary" was the central committee. The central committee is more or less David Hilliard.

All members of the Black Guard must be willing to perform acts of violence before they are nominated. I had proven myself, when I was required to liberate (steal) dynamite, steal cars for robberies, and to perform disciplinary action against party members.

There were incidents where I disciplined two members of the party; one was because he didn't follow the rule applied to the correct handling of firearms. There was another incident where a member wasn't selling papers and carrying his share of the load in getting funds. In disciplinary action the procedure was that a report was written up, and submitted to David Hilliard, who either approved or disapproved it. In the report, the member tells his side of the story and the investigator tells his side and points out the rule or rules violated and suggests what the extent of the disciplinary action should be. David decides the disciplinary action, which might consist of such things as being jailed by the party or being beat up.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you stop at that point? I note the language used here, which I will permit to be received and printed in the record. But I think you should skip this sentence because this hearing may be on radio or television and I don't want that language used if we can avoid it.

Your sentence or statement there will go into the record.

Without objection from members of the committee, I think it should be omitted from the news, television, and radio.

Thank you very much.

Mr. POWELL. Which means what? Which means you don't want me to say it?

The CHAIRMAN. We know what it is—

Mr. POWELL. OK. I get around that.

The CHAIRMAN. I just didn't want it to go over radio and television. It will have the same consideration by the committee as evidence without it being stated here.

Mr. POWELL. OK.

One incident I didn't approve of was a party member being beat up for calling David "a chicken-shit son-of-a-bitch." The brother had made this statement to David, because David had refused to bail his brother out of jail. The brother had been arrested performing party business.

I had also at times had to shake down merchants and liberate weapons, whenever I had the chance. I would turn them in to the party arsenal. One of the arsenals was located at the home of Landon Williams, now David's right hand man, and another small arsenal was located at national headquarters. An arsenal might consist of a couple of cases of rifles, a few grenades, handguns, and ammunitions. Some of the weapons in the arsenals are M-16's, which is a Government piece, AR-15's, which is a model of the M-16, but it can be bought across the counter and the party would get them and turn them into fully automatic weapons. This was usually done by the weapons instructor, who was Randy Williams, the brother of Landon Williams.

The guns in the arsenal would at times be distributed to members who could not afford one but who they wanted to be armed. When a gun is distributed to a member, it is still the property of the party, although it is kept in his possession. When weapons are distributed, they are quickly replaced. Most of the weapons in the arsenal are purchased, but many are stolen. The majority of the 357's and some silencers were purchased in Reno, Nev.

After being informed of my membership in the Black Guard, I was told to bring my 30-30 and give it to Randy Williams, who in turn would give me a Panther Special. I was arrested before I received my special. Because on December 26, 1968, I was told to accompany another captain. I didn't question the order given because all Panthers are taught never to discuss any maneuvers or activities with any other person or any other Panther, even if he is assigned to the same rip off squad. You are only told what you need to complete your assignment.

My orders were to perform an armed robbery at the direction of the Black Panther Party. At this time, I was a part of one of the teams of Black Panther members, who were assigned to perform robberies. The weapon in my possession at the time of the robbery was a 45-caliber machinegun, which I received from an individual known to me to be an officer of the Black Panther Party; for fear of prejudicing his

case, I will not divulge his name. I was new to the team, this was only my second robbery performed under the direction of the Black Panther Party.

The Black Panther Party central committee not only knew that we were performing armed robberies, but the top officer, chief of staff, David Hilliard, was setting up many of the robberies, such as the one which I was arrested for.

After my arrest, the Black Panther Party put out a press conference denouncing me, expelled me, and called me a counterrevolutionary, and a five time tavern robber. They refused to get me a lawyer or bail me out, or even look after my wife and child. I began to tell other prisoners what the party was really like, and how their intention was not to help the black man in his struggle, but to use him as a means of furthering their capitalist exploitation of black and white people.

When I bailed out of jail, I found out that the party had a contract out to kill me, and had attempted to.

They had already set up a way of making my killing justified by making me look like an informer and a traitor to black people. Any person they wish to dispose of, they label them as either an informer or an infiltrator, spying for the FBI, CIA, or local police department. With this label on you, it gives them the cause to turn the entire black community against you, thus preventing you from exposing the party and making black people aware of the exploitations, not only of its members, but of the entire black community by a handful of people who lead the party. The party that Huey Newton, who people are really dedicated to, started for the betterment of our people.

Coming before this subcommittee was something that I really wracked over in my mind. Then I thought about my son and other young adults of today who had a problem such as mine and a past such as mine and I came to the conclusion that if I was dedicated to my people as I was dedicated to the party, which I joined because it was supposed to be for the people, then the only thing I should do was to come before this subcommittee and try to get a message across through my experiences to the thousands of young black Americans like myself, who are searching for a cure to their hell and alert them to black extremists who are always on hand to exploit the misery of the black ghetto.

When you have poverty interlocking with racism there is soil where the seed of destruction can be planted and grow to its fullest. Once the seed is planted, the so-called revolutionaries nurse it by creating the impression that this country no longer (if they ever did) heeds the rule of season, and wishes a mass genocide on black people. To prove this, people are shown times in history when violence seemed to be the only recourse. Therefore a person sees no alternatives but to participate in a revolution.

For the fate of being called an Uncle Tom or house nigger seems much worse than the participation itself, and few are mature enough in mind to sense that it is more a mark of manhood to tell the advocates of a revolution to go to hell. Once people aren't taught that all men wearing a police uniform is to be automatically hated, then there is progress and hope for a better understanding between black people of the ghetto and law enforcement agencies. If all black Americans who did not fear name-calling or doubt their manhood would speak out, many young people would see that the violent tactics they

employ in the name of racial pride and freedom are really manifestations of self-hatred. But supposed to be revolutionaries have doped them with delusions of their great ability to change this system.

Because senseless violence has become the main tool of a revolutionary, they clearly possess a potential of serious harm to this country, and it's all based on freedom, but freedom in its real sense is nothing more than the right of self-discipline. I feel this and Huey taught this, which is the reason I became a Panther.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. I thank each of you very much.

We are going to recess for lunch and ask you to return later.

In the meantime, I wanted to ask you to look at the chart up there, the Black Panther Party, which has been made an exhibit to this testimony, in this hearing.

I will ask you both if you have heretofore examined that chart.

Mrs. POWELL. You say have we examined the chart?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes, we have.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything wrong with that chart? Is there any misrepresentation on it with respect to the names, titles, pictures, parties, so far as you know?

Mr. POWELL. No.

Mrs. POWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the chart is correct. You had looked at it before you came here to testify?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You state from your knowledge the chart is correct, is that right?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have another chart this afternoon, but since this chart has already been made an exhibit and they have been testifying about the Black Panther Party, since they have been members I thought I would have them further identify it.

Senator MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, since I don't think I can be here this afternoon in that there is a bill on the floor for which I have the responsibility on the minority side, I would like to ask a couple of questions.

I believe I would ask these of Mr. Powell.

Mr. POWELL. Certainly.

Senator MUNDT. On page 8 of your statement, you mention that you have had to shake down merchants. I wonder if you can give us a little more description of what you mean by that.

Mr. POWELL. Well, you would go into the communities, the black communities. You would ask merchants if you could put posters of Huey, Eldridge, Little Bobby, propaganda from the party, in their windows, if they would sell the Black Panther Party, or if they would put leaflets on the counter for people to pick up.

The merchants would more than likely say that they couldn't afford to do this because some of their customers may not approve of it.

Then you would inform them that they were in the black community, they were exploiting black people, this is what black people wanted to see, this is what black people wanted to read, and if they did not do this, then black people in the community would feel that they were prejudiced, and someone just might would burn their store down.

Senator MUNDT. And the way to avoid it was to slip you a \$20 bill or a \$10 bill or something in lieu of displaying the merchandise, is that right?

Mr. POWELL. Yes. That would come later.

Senator MUNDT. On page 7, I don't want you at this time to give us any names but I want to ask you a question. You are talking about the advisory committee. You say—

The committee consists of many people who are in positions where they are well known locally or nationally or internationally, and they become members because they are sympathetic to the cause. Some well-known contributors are actors, actresses, doctors and political names.

I don't want you to give us any names now, but do you of your own knowledge know the names of some of the members of this advisory committee?

Mr. POWELL. I do.

Senator MUNDT. Would you be willing to supply them to our staff?

Mr. POWELL. I would have to give that some thought.

Senator MUNDT. It would be most helpful if you could supply them to the staff.

Mr. POWELL. As I say, I will have to give that some thought.

Senator MUNDT. We would take other actions to try to verify the facts. This is getting right down to the nitty-gritty of the matter. Those people give the money. You go out and do the rough work and get arrested, lose your job and go to jail. Those people who are hiding behind you, I think, should be disclosed.

If you can identify some of them for us, we have ways to verify it from independent sources. I wish you would think it over carefully. If you would do that, you would be most helpful. You have been helpful, and I congratulate you for that, to people of your own race, in what started out, perhaps, to be a defensive move to help blacks confront the problems that have been facing them.

As I understand your testimony, this has become more or less of a racket, whereby one or two or three people are using the rest to benefit themselves financially and don't really do anything at all to help the black community.

Mr. POWELL. If I may be permitted, I have an example here. It came out in the Panther paper on March 16, where it states that:

This young man in the picture earned enough money in three weeks to buy the bike on which he is sitting. You can do the same or better. Contact Black Panther offices in your area.

This is a lie. This bicycle was not bought by this young man. This bicycle was first prize in a contest for the young man that sold the most Panther papers. But in their paper they advocate that he bought it, you know, with money he earned from his papers.

Senator MUNDT. Trying to induce other young men to go out and sell it?

Mr. POWELL. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Let that be received as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 366" for reference and faces this page.)

EXHIBIT NO. 366

[From the Black Panther, March 16, 1969]

YOUNG PEOPLE WANTED to sell

THE BLACK PANTHER

The young man in the picture earned enough money in 3 weeks to buy the bike on which he is sitting. You can do the same or better.

Contact Black Panther Office in your area or
The Black Panther National Office
3106 Shattuck, Berkeley, Calif.



Berkeley, Calif.	3106 Shattuck
Vallejo, Calif.	1624 Gateway St.
East Oakland, Calif.	7304 E 14th St.
San Francisco, Calif.	1336 Fillmore St.
Sacramento, Calif.	2041 35th St.
Los Angeles, Calif.	4115 Central
Seattle, Wash.	1127 1/2 34th Ave.
Indianapolis, Ind.	113 W. 30th St.
Denver, Colo.	3401 Franklin St.
New York, N.Y.	1008A Fulton St & 700 Nostrum
Jersey City, N.J.	304 Pacific Ave.
San Diego, Calif.	2000 Imperial Ave.
Omaha, Nebraska	3120 No. 24th St.
Detroit, Mich.	1430 Euclid
Baltimore, Md.	1200 N. Eden St.
Chicago, Ill.	2250 W. Madison
Richmond, Calif.	520 Bessel
Houston, Texas	7245 Scott (#253)
Roanoke, Mass.	375 Blue Hill Ave.
Newark, N.J.	321 Hawthorne Ave.
Philadelphia, Pa.	1707 Widener Place
Pittsburgh, Pa.	808 bearing Ave. & 84 Lafferty Ave.
Kansas City, Mo.	2223 Lydia
Minneapolis, Minn.	707 N. Sheridan Ave.
Fresno, Calif.	329 W. Myers

*National Office (Contact Regional Office for locations of unlisted offices)

Senator MUNDT. To help achieve the goal you have, which is to free the black community members from being used as pawns by people locally or nationally known, or internationally known—prominent figures—if you can disclose that you would start to dry up the funds for these people who are trying, really, I think, to oppress the blacks.

If you can give us some guidelines on them, we can follow through on it.

Mr. POWELL. Fine.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask that everyone remain seated for the present, and ask that these witnesses be permitted to leave.

Remain seated until they have departed from the room.

The witnesses will return at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

(Members present at time of recess: Senators McClellan, Mundt, 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 come to order.

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

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask the witnesses, Mr. and Mrs. Powell, to come back to the stand, please.

**TESTIMONY OF MRS. JEAN POWELL AND LARRY CLAYTON
POWELL—Resumed**

The CHAIRMAN. As I ask you questions, the questions will be directed to either or both of you, unless I identify one of you to answer.

In doing it that way, we may find that one may have more knowledge than the other. Some questions will be general and not directed to either of you specifically, but to both of you generally.

I have had the staff unveil another chart which is now being presented to you. The title of it is "Black Panther Party-State Charters."

I will ask you if you have examined this chart or a copy of it, a photostatic copy of it, prior to your coming to testify this morning.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes, we have.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell me about that chart, what it represents with respect to the names of the persons on it?

Do you identify all of the persons on the chart?

Mrs. POWELL. No; San Diego and Sacramento. We can identify some of the names on the chart, but, of course, the people, we have not seen some of those.

The bay area, San Francisco, Oakland, Richmond, and Los Angeles, we could identify all of those.

The CHAIRMAN. The Bay area, San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles, you can identify and do identify each one on the chart?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. As to San Diego and Sacramento, you do not identify those?

Mrs. POWELL. Not some of the pictures. The names, like—

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this? Are the names from San Diego and Sacramento known to you as members of the organization?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All of them?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not identify some of those in San Diego or Sacramento by picture, but you do know that those people bearing those names were active members in the party?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, let the chart be made an appropriate exhibit and numbered at this point.

BLACK PANTHER PA

CALI
BA

SAN FRANCISCO

ASST. CHIEF OF STAFF

ROOSEVELT
HILLIARD



CAPT. WILLIAM LEE
BRENT



CAPT. WENDELL
WADE



CAPT. ROBERT L.
BAY



CAPT. DEXTER E.
WOODS



CAPT. WARREN
WELLS



CAPT. WILFRED
HOLLIDAY "Capt. Crutch"



LT. KNOX
WOODS



CAPT. WARREN
TUCKER



CAPT. EARL
ANTHONY



CAPT. CHARLES
BURSEY



LT. EUGENE ALLEN
STANCIL



LOS

CAPT. SHERMONT
BANKS



CAPT. JOHN J. *
HUGGINS



CAPT. DELMAR P.
MOSSETT



CAPT. ELMER G.
PRATT "Geronimo"



CAPT. AL (BUNCHY) *
CARTER



CAPT. MICHAEL D.
PENNEWELL



CAPT. RAYMOND
HEWITT



CAPT. LARRY C.
POWELL



SAN

CAPT. KENNETH L.
DENMON



CAPT. WALTER C.
WALLACE



CAPT. TOMMY
HORNE

SAC

CAPT. CHARLES L.
BRUNSON



JERRY WAYNE
DAVIS
LT. OF DEFE:

ARTY - STATE CHAPTERS

F O R N I A

OFFICERS AND STAFF

Y AREA

OAKLAND

RICHMOND

RICHARD E. OWN



JOHN L. SCOTT



SEC. LDR. GLENN STAFFORD



SHERWIN FORTE



EVELYN PROCTER

RANDOLPH BURY



SEC. LDR. ANTHONY WOODS



RONALD STEVENSON



JOHN SLOAN



LT. TOMMY JONES



HENRY ODNAK



SEC. LDR. VICTOR HOUSTON



REGINALD FORTE



BETTY CARTER

ROSEMARY GROSS

A N G E L E S

PT. FRANK JOHN *
GGS



LT. STEPHEN BARTHOLOMEW *



SGT. ROLAND FREEMAN



SGT. RONALD FREEMAN



SGT. RUSSELL WASHINGTON



ROBERT LEWIS
ITH



LT. THOMAS M. LEWIS *



SGT. WILMONT ODOM



SGT. ALBERT ARMOUR



ERICKA HUGGINS



D I E G O

CAPT. LARRY T. BAKER



LT. SYLVESTER BELL



LT. ODIS H. MORGAN

R A M E N T O

MELVIN C. WHITTAKER "Odinga"
MIN. OF INFORMATION



JAMES EARL MOTT "Nunoo"
MIN. OF EDUCATION



* DECEASED

(The Document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 367" for reference and faces this page.)

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us how you know. Tell us how you know the first four, where you identify all of them, the Bay area, San Francisco, Oakland, Richmond, and Los Angeles.

How do you know them?

Mrs. POWELL. You say how do we know the names?

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know them? Did you get acquainted with them personally?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes; we have worked with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is your personal knowledge, of actual contact and acquaintance with them?

Mrs. POWELL. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you identify them for that reason?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that true with respect to Los Angeles, all those places?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. With respect to San Diego and Sacramento, as I understand it you know them by name?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you met some of them and do you know some of them but are not able to identify them from the pictures?

Mrs. POWELL. No. I have never met them.

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

The CHAIRMAN. You just knew them in the working of the organization of which you were secretary?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You know them as——

Mrs. POWELL (continuing) Names.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us what position they occupy?

Mrs. POWELL. Kenny Denmon is the deputy minister of defense or field marshal.

The CHAIRMAN. Who?

Mrs. POWELL. Denmon.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he have a title of captain?

Mrs. POWELL. Deputy minister of defense.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the next one on the right?

Mrs. POWELL. The following people all under him—well, they are called captains and they work under him; under his direction.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know anyone by the name of Walter C. Wallace?

Mrs. POWELL. I knew the name.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew the name?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know he was from San Diego?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes, you see, in the party, you have like me. I had more or less of a structure to go by, and under this structure each person was put as rank, and I would have to know the name and rank of certain people, of certain organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have to know. That was part of your duties and responsibilities?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was in order to perform your function you had to know them?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They put the title up there and you had to know who the party was who filled that title?

Mrs. POWELL. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. From your work as secretary, and from the functions you performed as such, did you know that Kenneth L. Denmon, Walter C. Wallace, Tommy L. Horne, Larry T. Baker, Sylvester Bell, and Otis H. Morgan as members of the party?

Mrs. POWELL. All but lieutenant Morgan.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew all of the others from working in the organization?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know Morgan?

Mr. POWELL. No, I didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only one you can't positively identify?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Down to Sacramento. Did you know Charles L. Brunson?

Mrs. POWELL. The name I knew, the rest of them I didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. The rest you didn't?

Mrs. POWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't know Jerry Wayne Davis, Melvin Whitaker, or James Earl Mott?

Mrs. POWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. There are four on the chart that you are unable to identify—

Mr. POWELL. I can identify Charles L. Brunson and Jerry Wayne Davis.

The CHAIRMAN. You can identify those two?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That leaves only Morgan and Mott, is that correct, that you are not able to identify?

Mr. POWELL. Whitaker and Mott, yes, and Morgan.

The CHAIRMAN. Those three you are unable to identify, is that correct?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether some of them came into the party after you left it?

Mrs. POWELL. On the Los Angeles chart, I know some of those came into the party after we left, but I have met them up in the Bay area.

The CHAIRMAN. You had met them in the Bay area?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like for us to keep in mind that there are three on the chart that they didn't know. I thought they might have known all of them.

Can you identify them?

Captain DRASS. Mr. Chairman, I can, from my reports, but the police officers who will testify after Mr. and Mrs. Powell will identify them.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

I am only going to question you briefly on your prepared statements, just to follow through on something, two or three things.

Do you have any knowledge, either of you—what knowledge do you have, of the Black Panther Party relations or connections in any way with foreign countries?

Mrs. POWELL. Well, as secretary in national headquarters of the Black Panther Party, I have received mail from China, calls from Cuba, mail from Cuba, calls from Canada, mail from Canada, Sweden, and two or three other different countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Were those calls in connection with the operation of the organization?

Mrs. POWELL. They usually would ask for Bobby Seale.

The CHAIRMAN. About what?

Mrs. POWELL. Bobby Seale.

The CHAIRMAN. They would usually ask for him?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes, and all I would do would be to refer the calls to Bobby Seale.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive, as secretary, or did the party there receive, literature from China and Cuba to be distributed among your members?

Mrs. POWELL. They received the literature. Like it was wrapped in brown envelopes. It would have specific names on it.

The CHAIRMAN. It would have what?

Mrs. POWELL. Specific names.

The CHAIRMAN. For you to deliver to?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes. I would receive the mail. But then it would go directly to the particular person it was named for.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it exposed, what you delivered, or was it in another envelope which you passed on?

Mrs. POWELL. No. I would just put the mail in the particular person's box.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I mean. You would get the package, open the package, and then there would be separate parcels addressed to different ones?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you would distribute it?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. In regards to the literature received from foreign countries, in your political education you would have the book "Mao Tse-tung on Contradictions," "Mao Tse-tung, Four Essays of Philosophy," "Joseph V. Stalin, the Foundations of Leninism" and, of course, your red book.

The CHAIRMAN. Material like that was received in the mail?

Mr. POWELL. Right. All of these do come from a foreign press.

The CHAIRMAN. To be passed on?

Mr. POWELL. To be passed on to party members, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive that in bulk to just be distributed

among the members or did it come primarily to the offices and then be distributed?

Mr. POWELL. It is to be distributed to members of the party for their political education.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a kind of textbook for you?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was some of this material that you received later printed or published in the Black Panther Paper?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes, definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this one source of their news or their articles, the material they received from China?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And from Cuba?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Panthers have any connection with the militant school organizations such as—and there may be others—such as the Black Student Union?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the SDS?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Students for a Democratic Society?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us what relations, what connections, and what working arrangements or how they coordinate and cooperate in their programs?

Mr. POWELL. In regard to BSU, the Black Student Union, all of the Black Students Union heads are members of the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. The heads of the Black Students Union, those who run that, are also members of the Black Panthers?

Mr. POWELL. Right. They are either captains or lieutenants in the Black Panther Party.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. The 10-point program that the Black Students Union advocates was drawn up by the Black Panther Party from Huey P. Newton's 10-point program.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the Black Panther Party drew up and furnished to the Black Students Union its 10-point program, is that right?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. Most of the leaders in the party are also leaders in the Black Students Union.

The CHAIRMAN. The leaders in the Black Panthers Party are also leaders in the Black Students Union?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. With respect to SDS, what can you tell us about that?

Mrs. POWELL. Any time there is a student uprising at campuses, members of the Black Panther Party will go into the campuses and start large disturbances.

The CHAIRMAN. Start what?

Mrs. POWELL. Start larger disturbances than might have been otherwise started.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a definite arrangement or is that just something that the Black Panthers do automatically?

Mrs. POWELL. They do it. I don't know whether it is a definite arrangement or not. I just know that they do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you name university campuses where they did it?

Mrs. POWELL. The University of San Francisco is a very good example.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the Black Panthers helped to prolong or to further inflame and aggravate the situation there?

Mr. POWELL. Yes. Brothers were assigned to go to San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. POWELL. Brothers in the party were assigned to go to San Francisco State College.

The CHAIRMAN. They were assigned goals?

Mr. POWELL. They were assigned to go.

The CHAIRMAN. Assigned to go?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, each morning.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the object of their being there?

Mr. POWELL. Well, destruction, I would imagine.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they do?

Mr. POWELL. In regards to what they would do, there wasn't any just certain thing that you would do, but nine times out of 10 those who came back had billy clubs, helmets, things like that. It was a sort of medal or victory type ribbon that had been gained from San Francisco State.

Mrs. POWELL. Antagonize the students.

The CHAIRMAN. They would antagonize the students?

Mr. POWELL. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Would they foment trouble?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you think of a better term than that?

Mrs. POWELL. I was trying to think of a better one but that is the only one I could come up with.

Mr. POWELL. To instigate.

The CHAIRMAN. To instigate?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a pretty impressive word.

Did they succeed in instigating trouble?

Mr. POWELL. Evidently they did. It lasted for a month.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you mention any other place, any other school or college campus besides Berkeley?

Mr. POWELL. McClyman's. I believe it is a junior high school.

Mrs. POWELL. Berkeley Junior High, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Berkeley Junior High and what other one?

Mrs. POWELL. Berkeley High School.

Mr. POWELL. And McClyman's.

The CHAIRMAN. Both of them?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What success did they have there in stirring up trouble?

Mrs. POWELL. The students struck. They were on strike.

Mr. POWELL. At McClyman's they succeeded in getting the students to walk out on the school.

The CHAIRMAN. To walk out on the school?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Black Panthers have a program for organizing high schools?

Mrs. POWELL. The Black Students Union is in most high schools and colleges, and as we have said before, most of the leaders of the Black Students Union were also within the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. They are in the Black Panther Party?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say or can you say—I don't know—that generally their objectives are the same, or is there some line of demarcation where the Students for a Democratic Society won't go, won't participate, where the Black Panthers do?

Mrs. POWELL. I can't say anything about the Students for a Democratic—whatever it is—SDS. I really can't say too much about them, because I don't really know about them. All I can do is tell you about the Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. What are some of the activities you referred to in your prepared statement—I believe this is directed to you—that young teenagers are required to do as members of the party? I think you made reference—was it you or your husband?

Mrs. POWELL. That was me.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us what that embraced. What were they required to do?

Mrs. POWELL. Like political education consists of more than one thing. Like you have your study period and then you have your field work. Many times (if students, teenagers or just members of the party would come to the office and had nothing to do, then they were sent out on fieldwork.

As secretary of the party, I was told by David Hilliard to make up a list of all the office supplies that were needed in the office, and any time anyone came in the office and didn't have anything to do, he would send them out to liberate, which means steal, anything that was needed, like pens, pencils, paper, stuff like that.

The CHAIRMAN. They called it liberating?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Liberating it from the owner?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Taking it out of bondage from those who owned it?

Mrs. POWELL. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. And freeing it?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. But, of course—

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you one other thing. In your testimony there is apparently an implication, or maybe you said it positively, that they used some of these teenagers to commit crimes of violence. Am I correct?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us about that.

Mrs. POWELL. I mean, it doesn't matter what age you are. Like in Huey P. Newton's 10-point program, he said that all his men would be from 18 to 35 in the more or less army part of it. It doesn't matter what age you are when you go into the Panther Party. It doesn't matter what age you are when you do whatever you do.

And a lot of even the teenage girls are used by the party members for their own satisfaction, even though they are 14, 15, 16 years old.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean they use them for—

Mr. POWELL. Their sexual satisfaction.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Their own private pleasure. Is that what you say?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. They are supposed to be following your three rules of discipline, and in your three rules of discipline, it says follow orders in all your actions. They might order a young lady to do something that she might otherwise not do, but because of her dedication she feels she has to do it because she is ordered to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. If she is ordered to submit, she submits?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes. This is one of the things that I didn't like about the way they did young teenage girls.

The CHAIRMAN. I was speaking with further reference to violence.

In your testimony about some killing, some murder, you made reference that indicated the fact that people in the community, maybe, knew who did it.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there an implication or did you mean to imply by your testimony with respect to that—I have forgotten the name. Who was it?

Mr. POWELL. Ronnie Black.

Mrs. POWELL. Ronnie Black.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you mean to imply in your testimony that that murder was committed by teenagers who were induced to do it?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean minors, these 17- and 18-year olds—

Mrs. POWELL. No. Sixteen- and 17-year olds.

The CHAIRMAN. Sixteen and 17?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They were induced by the leadership of the Black Panthers to commit that murder?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the victim a Black Panther?

Mrs. POWELL. At one time.

The CHAIRMAN. At one time?

Mrs. POWELL. He was a renegade when he was assassinated.

The CHAIRMAN. He had become a renegade and he paid the penalty that was inflicted upon him, death.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You know what you are talking about now, about the use of inducing these minors to go out and kill him?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We had a similar case during the course of these hearings in Chicago. It was a different organization, however, or it

went under a different name. As far as I know, it was not associated with the Black Panthers.

But the same tactics were used. I think that has been substantiated by a conviction; the parties were convicted. One of the members of the Blackstone Rangers, I believe, was convicted for having induced these minors to commit murder.

Now to go to the Students for a Democratic Society. Can you for the record give us the names of the leaders of the SDS who you say are members of the Black Panther organization?

Mrs. POWELL. No. I said I cannot name or say anything about SDS because I do not know too much about SDS. What I was referring to was the Black Students Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me.

Tell us about the Black Students Union then, please.

Mrs. POWELL. Well, a lot of the members of the Black Students Union who are also in the Black Panther Party are now considered as renegades. I mean, like they begin to see also how messy the thing was getting and a lot of them had drawn out of the Black Panther Party. One of the members was Benny Stewart.

The CHAIRMAN. Ben Stewart?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was another Murray?

Mr. POWELL. George Murray.

The CHAIRMAN. George Mason Murray?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. He was an instructor in San Francisco State College.

The CHAIRMAN. We have some information. I don't know whether it is accurate or not. I am simply asking. We have information that these two were.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes, they were members of the Black Panthers Party.

The CHAIRMAN. And also headed the Black Students Union.

Mrs. POWELL. George Mason Murray was our minister of education.

The CHAIRMAN. He was also in the Black Students Union.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Ben Stewart, what position did he occupy in the Black Students Union?

Mrs. POWELL. I don't know what position he was in the Black Students Union.

Mr. POWELL. Benny Stewart was the head of the Black Students Union. He took over after Jimmy Garrett.

The CHAIRMAN. I have asked several questions and I am going to defer to my colleagues on the committee and let them have an opportunity to ask questions before I ask any others.

Senator Ribicoff.

Senator RIBICOFF. What is the difference between the Black Panthers and US?

Mr. POWELL. Do you mean United Slaves?

Senator RIBICOFF. Yes. What is the difference between US and the Black Panthers?

Mr. POWELL. Well, the United Slaves organization, they believe in cultural-nationalist type of thing. That means that you should sort of walk around in a dashiki or buba, which is an African dress. You

should speak Swahili. You should try to find your true identity and various things like this. You should relate to Africa. You should think black, act black, be black, and various things like this.

Senator RIBICOFF. How large is US as against the Black Panthers numerically?

Mr. POWELL. How many people do they have in it? Well, I couldn't say, really.

Mrs. POWELL. US is geared mostly at the Los Angeles area. The Black Panther Party is nationwide.

Senator RIBICOFF. And US is basically Los Angeles?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. Are you familiar with the Los Angeles situation?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. There is a great rivalry, is there, in the Los Angeles area between the Black Panthers and US?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, there is.

Senator RIBICOFF. And these killings at UCLA are traceable to that conflict between US and the Black Panthers, are they not?

Mr. POWELL. Yes. Well, more or less, this was the way it was made to look. But from a little research and from talking to a few people, I do not believe that the US organization had our deputy minister of defense and our deputy minister of information assassinated. I believe it was done from the ranks of the Black Panther Party.

Senator RIBICOFF. Within the Black Panther Party, itself?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. Is there a tie-in at all between the Black Panthers and any other white organization?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. What are the tie-ins between the Black Panthers and the white organizations?

Mrs. POWELL. They have a coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party.

Senator RIBICOFF. The Peace and Freedom Party includes the Black Panthers and other white organizations?

Mrs. POWELL. No. The Peace and Freedom Party is a political party and during the arrest of Huey P. Newton, the Black Panthers put out this thing about "Come see about Huey." The Peace and Freedom Party answered the call. They came. They gave Huey a lawyer, Charles Garry, and they said that they would supply the Panthers with any type of literature or anything else they needed to case the black community, and, in turn, we were supposed to support in the black community their candidates.

Senator RIBICOFF. But generally, isn't there a separation, that the black groups don't want to have anything to do with the white radical groups, or any white groups at all?

Mrs. POWELL. The thing is they are supposed to do their thing in their community and we are supposed to do our thing in our community, but we support each other.

Senator RIBICOFF. Do the Black Panthers have chapters, too, and members in the colleges, or is it the Black Students Union only that operates in the colleges?

Mr. POWELL. The Black Students Union is a branch of the Black Panther Party.

Senator RIBICOFF. The Black Students Union is the student branch of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. In other words, the leadership of the Black Students Union comes out of the Black Panther Party, like they go into the colleges and organize the Black Students Union.

Senator RIBICOFF. The Black Panther Party, you would say, has a membership of how many, nationally?

Mr. POWELL. I don't think we could really get that down to numbers because of the fact that you have members that are enrolled as Black Panthers and then you have people that are sympathizers with the Black Panther Party.

Senator RIBICOFF. The actual membership in the Black Panthers is only a small fraction of the black population of this country, isn't that correct?

Mr. POWELL. Correct.

Mrs. POWELL. Correct.

Senator RIBICOFF. And the overwhelming number of black people do not join the Black Panthers and don't want to participate with the Black Panthers?

Mrs. POWELL. I think they support them.

Senator RIBICOFF. They supported you?

Mrs. POWELL. They support them, but a lot of them are afraid of the thing, the gun, you know. Like when you start talking about the gun, then they kind of shy away from it. Yet they respect you so that they support you.

Senator RIBICOFF. In other words, you feel that the black population of the country is sympathetic to the objectives and the methods of the Black Panthers?

Mrs. POWELL. Of Huey P. Newton.

Senator RIBICOFF. Of Huey P. Newton as an individual?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. But as a Black Panther and as an organization—

Mrs. POWELL. They don't know about the Black Panthers as an organization because the only thing they put out is that that Huey P. Newton wrote.

Mr. POWELL. Which is the 10-point program.

Mrs. POWELL. And all of his essays. The Black Panther Party on the whole, nobody really knows about it. When people get up to tell about it, then they are threatened, feared or killed.

Senator RIBICOFF. Would you say of all the organizations operating in the black community, that the Black Panthers are the most activist?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes, I would say so.

Senator RIBICOFF. They are the most activist?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. And in many of the black communities there is a general fear?

Mr. POWELL. Of the Black Panther Party?

Senator RIBICOFF. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. No.

Senator RIBICOFF. There is no fear of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. POWELL. No.

Mrs. POWELL. There is respect.

Senator RIBICOFF. And yet in the black community, the individuals don't want to cross the Black Panthers, individually or as a group, isn't that correct?

Mr. POWELL. More or less, yes. But I wouldn't say there was fear of the Black Panther Party.

Senator RIBICOFF. The Black Panthers have started around the Nation programs to feed schoolchildren who are hungry before they go to school, isn't that right?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. The children that they feed aren't necessarily children of Black Panther members. They feed children in the general community, is that correct?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. The truth is that many of these children are hungry. They go to school without breakfast.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. And the Black Panthers are the ones that give them food.

Mr. POWELL. Right. But more or less the people of the community give them food because the Black Panther Party hasn't paid a dime for the food. That has been solicited.

Mrs. POWELL. Donated.

Senator RIBICOFF. The food has been donated but the Black Panthers are the ones who organize the collecting of the food?

Mrs. POWELL. Ex-members of the Black Panthers.

Senator RIBICOFF. Ex-members?

Mrs. POWELL. Ex-members, right.

Senator RIBICOFF. Why is it that the Black Panthers are the ones that get the credit for feeding the children?

Mr. POWELL. Because they are the ones that set the program up.

Senator RIBICOFF. They set the program up?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. You see, it took a turnabout November or December of 1968. Like people who were in jail, people who were deceased, all this type of thing; these are the people that began to start trying to form different things to help the community.

After all, this mess that went down, then the Black Panthers took credit for it, when really it was half the people now either in jail, dead, or exiled. They set it up where people from the community donated food, and the children came into these different churches to have breakfast.

Senator RIBICOFF. But you say that the Black Panthers themselves as an organization are not running these feeding programs?

Mr. POWELL. They are running them.

Senator RIBICOFF. They are running them?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. The Panther Party.

Senator RIBICOFF. So the Panther Party is getting credit in the

black community and white community of feeding children who are hungry?

Mr. POWELL. Right.

Senator RIBICOFF. To this extent, the overall white or black society are pretty stupid in not feeding hungry children and letting the Black Panthers get the credit for doing something worthwhile in feeding children?

Mr. POWELL. I wouldn't say that. I would just say that the Panther Party came to the idea first.

Senator RIBICOFF. The Black Panther Party came to the idea first?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. In other words, all these years the white community didn't see the necessity of feeding hungry children?

Mr. POWELL. Evidently, they didn't.

Senator RIBICOFF. There is nothing to stop the black community and white community from feeding children now, is there?

Mr. POWELL. This is the whole idea.

Senator RIBICOFF. As part of feeding the children, there is an educational program in which the children are being inculcated with Black Panther philosophy.

Mr. POWELL. This is the idea of feeding the children.

Senator RIBICOFF. You feed the children and with the food you are giving them you are talking Black Panther philosophy?

Mr. POWELL. Right. This is your key to indoctrinate them.

Senator RIBICOFF. And the only contact the black children have with something positive being done for them is—

Mr. POWELL (continuing). Is they got a full stomach.

I would say the only contact they have with something positive is that they are getting a meal.

Senator RIBICOFF. In other words, a person with an empty belly getting some food is a pretty positive thing, is it not?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, I would say this.

Mrs. POWELL. There is something I have to say. This is one thing you must realize. Like you are saying the Black Panther Party, but we can't really say the Black Panther Party because the Black Panther Party has been destroyed. I mean, the people who really took this and tried to make it something to help the people, like I said, are either killed or in jail, or expelled from the party.

The people who set up the children's breakfasts meant it to be something good. But like they have this Bunchy Carter Memorial Fund. Bunchy Carter was something that was beautiful in Los Angeles, yet the leadership in Berkeley was talking about getting rid of him and couldn't stand a lot of the things that he was doing.

As soon as he was assassinated, then they come up with this big Bunchy Carter Memorial Fund. That is only bringing in more money for them, and they were getting read to get rid of him.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that, but the general public doesn't know it.

Mrs. POWELL. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. I saw a television program on national television the other day which showed the Black Panthers feeding children and inculcating the children with revolutionary doctrine, talking about revolution, take to the gun and shoot down the white man.

But this was in connection with a breakfast feeding of children by Black Panthers.

Mrs. POWELL. Of course this is going to come in, because they are constantly trying to go on this thing of Huey P. Newton, in which the word "pig" didn't even come in with Huey P. Newton. That came in when the trials began of Huey P. Newton.

Senator RIBICOFF. Do you think the Black Panther Party has influence in the black community today?

Mr. POWELL. Definitely, yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. It definitely has influence?

Mr. POWELL. Right.

Senator RIBICOFF. What do you think is the basic reason that they have influence and strength?

Mr. POWELL. Huey P. Newton's 10-point program.

Senator RIBICOFF. Because of what?

Mr. POWELL. Huey P. Newton's 10-point program.

Senator RIBICOFF. The 10-point program?

That is in your statement, isn't it?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. This 10-point program, doesn't it contain many points that other black organizations and white civil rights organizations have been talking about for some time?

Mrs. POWELL. They have been talking about it, but Huey's thing was to put it into action.

Senator RIBICOFF. In other words, the 10 points were: "We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community——"

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. Don't other black organizations advocate that?

Mrs. POWELL. Not in total. I mean, they say separate and let's go back to Africa. The way Huey felt was I am satisfied with America, all I want is my rights.

Senator RIBICOFF. "We want full employment for our people." That is a pretty good plan for anybody.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. Why is it influential when the Black Panthers use that as a plan, when NAACP and urban groups or CORE talk about it, too? Why does it have meaning for the Black Panthers but not other black organizations?

Mr. POWELL. It is probably because the Panthers indoctrinate people to think that these people are behind the times.

Senator RIBICOFF. The Black Panthers? Generally, are the people connected with the Black Panthers younger people than the people with the other black organizations?

Mr. POWELL. No.

Senator RIBICOFF. They are not younger?

Mrs. POWELL. Not all of them.

Mr. POWELL. They have younger people in it but they also have older people.

Mrs. POWELL. What he said was that the majority of the black community does not read, so rather than trying to give them something that they have to read, we will show them activities. We will teach them politics.

Senator RIBICOFF. And they are teaching them?

Mrs. POWELL. No; they were.

Senator RIBICOFF. They were, but not now?

Mrs. POWELL. Not now; no.

Senator RIBICOFF. What are they teaching them now?

Mrs. POWELL. They are not teaching them anything. They are exploiting them now.

Senator RIBICOFF. The Black Panthers?

Mrs. POWELL. Yes; the leadership of the Black Panther Party.

Senator RIBICOFF. Why do you think that the impression is created that the Black Panthers are sort of Robin Hoods, allowed to take from the rich and the white exploiters to give to the blacks? Why are they able to put that thought across?

Mrs. POWELL. Who?

Senator RIBICOFF. The Black Panthers.

Mrs. POWELL. They are using Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton who the people put on a pedestal, who the people are dedicated to. They are using their philosophy and they are using their words. They are throwing them all over the country.

They are making people believe that this is the way the Black Panther Party is. But it isn't.

Senator RIBICOFF. Why do you think that television, let us say, probably gives more coverage to Black Panthers than they probably do today to any other Negro organization, black organization?

Mr. POWELL. That can be answered very simply. We know how the press is. They will eat up anything that the public will go for. It seems that the public is going for the Black Panther Party, because this is a new type of thing, this has never been done before.

The rally and the spirit behind the Black Panther Party is something that they know the people is interested in, regardless of whether it is good or bad.

Senator RIBICOFF. In other words, the Black Panthers are being sentimentalized and sensationalized as a spokesman for the black community today?

Mr. POWELL. Actually, you people are making the Black Panther Party bigger than what it is.

Senator RIBICOFF. When you say "you people," do you mean this committee, do you mean whites, do you mean television, do you mean the press?

Mr. POWELL. I mean the news media, mainly.

Senator RIBICOFF. The news media is making the Black Panthers bigger than it is?

Mr. POWELL. Exactly. This is exactly why the march on the capitol in Sacramento came about. We knew there would be pressmen there. We knew there would be cameramen there. This was a million dollars worth of publicity. This is exactly what happened. And with guns, something that had never been done before. We marched in there and it shook everybody up.

Senator GRIFFIN. I wonder if that statement you just made will be on television.

Mrs. POWELL. I hope so.

Mr. POWELL. It should be.

Mrs. POWELL. Get to the news media.

Mr. POWELL. As I was saying, this was why that was done, because of the fact that we know that the news media is somewhat greedy behind news that they know the people will go for. Whether they go for it or not, it is just the interest behind it.

The fact that they marched in on the capitol and read off the 10-point program, this alone shot the Panther Party across the entire Nation, something we wouldn't have had the money to pay for. So we got it free.

Senator RIBICOFF. So everybody watches television, whether he lives in the slum or the wealthiest suburb.

Mr. POWELL. Exactly.

Senator RIBICOFF. So the blacks see all the attention being paid to the Black Panthers and assume the Black Panthers are it?

Mr. POWELL. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a rollcall vote and will have to suspend for a few minutes.

Everyone will be at ease, but keep order until we return.

(Whereupon, at 2:55 p.m. a brief recess for roll call was taken.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at the time of recess: Senators McClellan, Ribicoff, Metcalf, and Griffin.)

(The subcommittee reconvened at 3:15 p.m. after the taking of a brief recess for a rollcall.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at the time of reconvening were Senators McClellan, Ribicoff, and Griffin.)

The CHAIRMAN. Come to order, please.

Mr. Ribicoff, you may proceed.

Senator RIBICOFF. I have just a few more questions.

Newton is in prison and Cleaver is in exile. I mean, he is in Cuba.

Mr. POWELL. He is in exile.

Senator RIBICOFF. He is in exile?

Mr. POWELL. Right.

Senator RIBICOFF. Who runs the show?

Mr. POWELL. David Hilliard.

Senator RIBICOFF. Who?

Mr. POWELL. David Hilliard.

Senator RIBICOFF. David Hilliard, chief of state?

Mrs. POWELL. Chief of staff.

Senator RIBICOFF. What is that?

Mrs. POWELL. Chief of staff.

Senator RIBICOFF. And he operates out of San Francisco?

Mr. POWELL. National headquarters, which is at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, Calif.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Griffin.

Senator GRIFFIN. I wonder if I can focus on the Black Guard that you served in. In the Detroit hearings that were held by this subcommittee at one time, an exhibit was introduced by the Intelligence Division of the Detroit Police Department concerning the Black Guard Organizers Manual. I have here a summary of the Black Guard Organizers Manual as it was identified and introduced in connection with the hearings on Detroit. I would like to have you take a look at it and see if that Black Guard Organizers Manual used in Detroit is familiar to you.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. POWELL. What was your question?

Senator GRIFFIN. I wonder if it is familiar to you.

Mr. POWELL. Excerpts from it I have read.

Senator GRIFFIN. As I understand it, that is a summary. The manual is more extensive than that as I understand it.

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. How do you get in the Black Guard? How did you get in? How did you happen to become a member of it?

Mr. POWELL. I don't quite understand.

Senator GRIFFIN. I was trying to establish if it was true that this was the same manual used by the Black Guard in Detroit as was used on the west coast, if that was the case.

Here is the complete manual. Take a look at that and see if you can identify it.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. What was the answer?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. It is the same?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. I just want to take note, Mr. Chairman, that in these hearings which were held by the permanent subcommittee on March 21-22, 1968, testimony by Lieutenant McCoy, of the Detroit Police Department, with reference to the RAM's indicates that RAM's used the same training manual, as I understand it. This is the manual that the RAM's used, according to that testimony.

And it is the same manual that you are familiar with, is that right?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. How did you become a member of the Black Guard?

Mr. POWELL. I was nominated as a member of the Black Guard.

Senator GRIFFIN. How do you get nominated?

Mr. POWELL. By your so-called revolutionary exploits.

Senator GRIFFIN. I believe in your testimony you said you had proven yourself.

Mr. POWELL. Right.

Senator GRIFFIN. Can you elaborate any more on that? Would you want to?

Mr. POWELL. Well, yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. Maybe not so much in connection with you personally, but as you know the situation generally. Either way.

Mr. POWELL. Well, a person who is nominated to the Black Guard will have proven themselves through various deeds and acts, and their degree of secrecy will already be known, their background will already be known. They will be known to the party whether they are pigs or infiltrators. Once they have passed this stage and, like I said, after they have proven themselves through deeds and exploits, then they are nominated for the Black Guard.

Senator GRIFFIN. As a member of the Black Guard, did I understand you to testify that you were called upon at times to discipline members?

Mr. POWELL. Exactly.

Senator GRIFFIN. What did this discipline consist of, typically?

Mr. POWELL. Well, just—

Senator GRIFFIN. Was it a reprimand in writing, or was it a little bit more than that?

Mr. POWELL. It was a little bit more than that.

Senator GRIFFIN. What do you mean? What kind of discipline?

Mr. POWELL. This was sort of a physical discipline of the individual that was going before the trial.

Senator GRIFFIN. Were others involved usually in administering the discipline?

Mr. POWELL. No, there was only one, but then there were two others to make sure that didn't anything happen to the one that was administering.

Senator GRIFFIN. Did this sometimes consist of a physical beating of the person who was being disciplined?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. What deeds are considered revolutionary? You used the word "revolutionary"; that you have to prove yourselves as a revolutionary. What does that mean?

Mr. POWELL. What deeds are necessary to be considered a revolutionary?

Senator GRIFFIN. Yes.

Mr. POWELL. Well, I think that that could be—I think that question could be rearranged, because there is no certain deeds that you have to do to consider yourself a revolutionary.

Senator GRIFFIN. I was thinking in terms of your nomination to the Black Guard, that in order to be nominated I thought you used the words—"you had to prove yourselves as revolutionaries."

Mr. POWELL. Well, yes, you would have already done this by various missions that you have gone on in the past.

Senator GRIFFIN. I was wondering if I could get you to elaborate on what activities and deeds you did. What does "proving yourself as a revolutionary" mean?

Mr. POWELL. I will put it this way. A person who is in the Black Guard will have gone on various missions, such as sniping missions, dynamite runs, the carrying of various cargoes, disciplinary actions, various things like this.

Senator GRIFFIN. It has been mentioned several times that members of the Black Panther Party are ordered to go out and commit robberies, and so on. Ordered by whom? One individual or by a committee?

Mr. POWELL. Well, it works in a chain of command.

Senator GRIFFIN. Could you give us any more idea of whether this is something that happened every day or frequently, infrequently, or any more information?

Mr. POWELL. Well, the Panther Party receives money every day. They receive what they call a "third percent of everything liberated," and they receive this third percent every day. So I will let you use your own discretion.

Senator GRIFFIN. There are activities in this category that are going on every day?

Mr. POWELL. Right.

Senator GRIFFIN. What is the tie-in or connection, if any, between the Black Panthers and SNCC, if you know?

Mr. POWELL. There used to be a merger. They used to have a merger together. But then there was some sort of conflict between the leadership of the party and the leadership of SNCC. That dissolved that merger, at least in the eyes of the public.

Senator GRIFFIN. In the eyes of the public, you say?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. Would that indicate that you are not so sure?

Mr. POWELL. Right.

Senator GRIFFIN. When was the so-called dissolution?

Mr. POWELL. After Huey's trial. The merger began at the beginning of Huey's trial.

Senator GRIFFIN. Do members of the Black Panthers manufacture and store fire bombs?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. Can you elaborate any more on that?

Mr. POWELL. Well, you have a paper—I don't know exactly which copy it is—which shows you the correct technique to use in the making of a self-igniting Molotov cocktail.

The CHAIRMAN. That has already been put in as an exhibit.

Mr. DRASS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember the number of it?

Mr. DRASS. That is Exhibit No. 365.

Senator GRIFFIN. I was wondering from your own knowledge if you could give us any idea as to what extent bombs are actually manufactured. Is it occasionally? Is it done by a few members? Is it done extensively?

Mr. POWELL. First of all, each member automatically wants to know whether he can make one or not. So he will make one, two or three. Then, after he has made them, he has to dispose of them in some type of way. So he will probably dispose of them.

Senator GRIFFIN. Mrs. Powell, you working as a secretary indicated that a lot of mail came into the office and some of it came from Cuba and some of it came from China.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. Could you give us any better idea of the extent of this mail?

Mrs. POWELL. It was a very high quantity of mail coming in from Red China, yes, and calls from Cuba, calls from all different countries. Of course, I didn't go in on any of these calls because they were directed to Bobby Seales or David Hilliard. Every one of our newspapers or whatever, our literature, all this was sent back to Red China, Cuba, and different countries.

Senator GRIFFIN. Do you have any knowledge as to whether or not funds to support the Black Panther organization came directly or indirectly from Cuba or China?

Mrs. POWELL. I couldn't swear to that, no.

Senator GRIFFIN. What was in those envelopes in many instances you just didn't know?

Mrs. POWELL. I wouldn't know.

(The witnesses conferred.)

Mrs. POWELL. My husband told me to point out that the literature

and different things that came from these different countries came free and, of course, the mail that we sent back was sent back free.

Senator GRIFFIN. Congress is very kind, I guess, in that regard.

Mrs. POWELL. Yes, it looks like it.

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Powell, you indicated at one point in your testimony that your beef which had to do with an arrest had been taken care of. It wasn't taken care of, was it?

Mr. POWELL. No, it wasn't.

Senator GRIFFIN. You had been led to believe that it had been taken care of?

Mr. POWELL. Right. I was told that it had been taken care of, therefore I could come above ground.

Senator GRIFFIN. What did that mean to you, when they said it was taken care of?

Mr. POWELL. It meant that it was taken care of. It meant I no longer had a warrant out for my arrest.

Senator GRIFFIN. That somehow that warrant had been quashed?

Mr. POWELL. Yes. Or the witness had been disposed of. I don't know.

Senator GRIFFIN. At another point in your testimony, you referred to discipline by the party involving being jailed by the party. Did the party actually jail people?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. How do they do that? Where?

Mr. POWELL. Well, they have a maximum-security room under national headquarters, and that is where a person is put. It depends on how soon he gets done with his political education that he is to be released.

Senator GRIFFIN. They actually maintain their own jail?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. This morning you were questioned some by Senator Mundt about the shaking down of shopkeepers. Is that a general practice?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that something you pursued regularly?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, especially during rallies.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. POWELL. Especially during rallies and certain times when we would want to get our point across to the community in regard to something coming up in the future.

The CHAIRMAN. How much would you usually get or demand of and receive from a shopkeeper, a merchant, or someone? Did it depend on the size of his business somewhat? You tried to make it somewhat in proportion to his ability to pay?

Mr. POWELL. No, just what you sized him up as to how much pressure you could apply to him.

The CHAIRMAN. How much pressure you could apply to him and how much you could get?

Mr. POWELL. Right, and how his merchandise in the store went.

The CHAIRMAN. You took into account somewhat then his ability to pay.

Mr. POWELL. We knew he had the ability to pay.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of them refuse?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened to them?

Mr. POWELL. I don't know. A few of them came to their stores the next day and something was wrong with their stores.

The CHAIRMAN. Something was wrong with their stores?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They had been burglarized?

Mr. POWELL. Burglarized or somebody kicked over a lamp or something. Something weird happened.

The CHAIRMAN. Something always happened?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that done by the Black Panthers after they were unable to induce them to give freely, voluntarily or under coercion, and they would resort to these tactics?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I was interested in your testimony about feeding the children breakfast.

Mr. POWELL. That is where most of your merchants really got down to the fact as to whether they would contribute. It wasn't more or less the money. They would contribute merchandise.

The CHAIRMAN. They would contribute merchandise or food for feeding?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this. You said on one occasion, I believe, you turned in about \$600 that you raised, in cash, and at another period when you were having trouble about your rent you had turned in about \$1,000. Is that right?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you also testified that the income was from \$50,000 to \$100,000 per month. Is that correct?

Mrs. POWELL. That was me. That was I that said that.

The CHAIRMAN. You kept books somewhat, did you?

Mrs. POWELL. I didn't keep the books on the money, but I knew what was coming in, like the sale of papers, the sale of buttons, the sale of posters, donations, things like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the money come through you, any of it?

Mrs. POWELL. Some of it came through me; yes. But I was directed to turn it over to Dave Hilliard.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the treasurer? Who was the man who really got the money and had the authority to dispense it?

Mrs. POWELL. David Hilliard.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else?

Mrs. POWELL. No.

Mr. POWELL. Melvin Newton was supposed to have been the treasurer.

Mrs. POWELL. Melvin Newton was supposed to have been minister of finance.

The CHAIRMAN. The minister of finance was supposed to have handled the money?

Mr. POWELL. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he handle it?

Mr. POWELL. No, not really, because it went through David's hands first, and David, instead of turning over all the money, he would turn over all these falsified receipts.

The CHAIRMAN. Instead of turning over money, he would turn over falsified receipts?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who got the money for the falsified receipts?

Mr. POWELL. David Hilliard.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of this \$50,000 to \$100,000 a month actually went to feed these children?

Mr. POWELL. None of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any money ever taken out of the treasury, to your knowledge, to buy food for the children?

Mr. POWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any money ever taken out of the treasury to do anything for the community that you know of?

Mr. POWELL. No.

Mrs. POWELL. No. Not even for the party member, let alone for the community.

The CHAIRMAN. Not even for the party member?

Mrs. POWELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. So if your testimony is correct, the implication is, certainly, that it seems to be a pretty lucrative occupation for Hilliard, is that right?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Mrs. POWELL. And his little bang. You know, his righthand men, like Williams and people like that.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the national headquarters?

Mr. POWELL. Yes. This is the whole heart of the Black Panther Party. This is what everyone looks up to.

The CHAIRMAN. I have here an exhibit that was placed into the record earlier today. The title of it is "Fire Bombs." Item 1: "Molotov cocktail, items needed." It is Exhibit 333.

I ask the clerk to present it to you. Examine it and see if you can identify it, and if you can, tell me who prepared it or who printed it.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. POWELL. Yes, I can identify it. I am the one who ran it off.

The CHAIRMAN. You ran it off the press yourself?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you construct it? Did you prepare it for printing? Who prepared it in script for you?

Mr. POWELL. I prepared it for printing.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your authentic recipe, so to speak, or formula, for making these cocktails?

Mr. POWELL. This is the formula for making these cocktails.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have something to guide you there, or is this based on information that you have acquired in your association with and in your work with and in the teaching of the Black Panther Organization?

Mr. POWELL. Some of it was acquired and some of it was the teachings that I had gained previous to the time I ran it off.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be able to estimate or give us some idea of how many robberies were committed by the Black Panthers during the time that you were identified with it and where you were in a position to know most about these operations?

Mr. POWELL. No, I can't give you how many were committed by the party. The only thing I can say is that each night there were two or three. I used to run the plans off for the robberies.

The CHAIRMAN. You did what?

Mr. POWELL. I would run the plans off for the robberies.

The CHAIRMAN. You helped set them up?

Mr. POWELL. No, no. I would just run off the plans, how the place was, how it was set up, where the exits and entrances were.

The CHAIRMAN. You would draw a kind of design or map or something illustrating the premises and what the situation was around them?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You would do that?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And they would run two or three each night?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the amount you usually recovered from those robberies, and what became of the money? Suppose one or two of you were sent out on a robbery, using that as an illustration, and you were successful, regardless of whether you got \$100, \$500, or \$10. When you committed the robbery, what did you do with the money when you got back?

Mr. POWELL. First of all, a place wasn't worth robbing unless it had \$500 or more.

The CHAIRMAN. \$500 is the minimum instead of \$10?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Start with \$500. Suppose you robbed the minimum and got \$500 minimum. What did you do with the money?

Mr. POWELL. There were three people to a squad at the minimum. The money was divided up between three people. Each person donated a third of their money to the party.

The CHAIRMAN. The fellows who did the robbery were permitted to keep two-thirds and they gave one-third to the party?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What supposed service or benefit were they to get from the party in the event they got caught? What was the party supposed to do for that third of the money?

Mr. POWELL. The party wasn't supposed to use that third of the money for them. That third of the money was supposed to go into the treasury. But in the event that you got caught, you were supposed to be bailed out immediately. You were supposed to get a lawyer. And you were supposed to have someone representing you at all times in the proceedings or the trial.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it also served as a protection or defense fund for those who might be accused of crime?

Mr. POWELL. Right. This is why they would give one-third.

The CHAIRMAN. That is why the one-third was given.

Mr. POWELL. Supposedly.

The CHAIRMAN. What arrangements were made for lawyers? Who actually arranged for the lawyers for any of you who may have been arrested?

Mr. POWELL. I don't know. When I got arrested, they denounced me.

The CHAIRMAN. They didn't come through with their obligation, didn't fulfill it?

Mr. POWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. In other instances, do you know of any other

instances where they did keep their word or fulfill their obligation to provide bail, and so forth, lawyers?

Mr. POWELL. The only incident I know of as to where they kept their word was the April 6 shoot-out. When little Bobby Hutton was killed and Eldridge Cleaver was wounded, that is the only instance I know of where the party did anything to get people off. But I figure that is because they had their minister of information, they had their treasurer, they had their national headquarters captain and chief of staff.

So I think that is why they moved on getting them out.

The CHAIRMAN. Those of you who were actually the fieldmen, who took the risks and did the work, got no protection?

Mr. POWELL. It seems that way.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one of the things that caused you to be disillusioned about it?

Mr. POWELL. Yes; and then after the fact that they had considered me a renegade and had attempted to kill me, then I kind of got to thinking, you know, that things wasn't right.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to read the closing part of your statement. I read the last paragraph. You say:

Because senseless violence has become the main tool of a revolutionary, they clearly possess a potential of serious harm to this country, and it is all based on freedom. But freedom in its real sense is nothing more than the right to self-discipline. I feel this, and Huey taught this. This is the reason I became a Panther.

You also said, one of you did, that:

If all black Americans who did not fear name calling or doubt their manhood would speak out, many young people would see that the violent tactics they employ in the name of racial pride and freedom are really manifestations of self-hate. But supposed revolutionaries have doped them with delusions of their great ability to change this system.

Somewhere you referred to the fact that one of the reasons you were willing to testify is you wanted to try to get the message through to the young people about this particular organization, that it is one that is deceptive in that it gets them into the organization and then doesn't keep its promises. And you, I guess, have concluded that violence is not the way to bring about change. Is that correct?

Mr. POWELL. Yes. What you are referring to is what I said.

I was dedicated to my people as I was dedicated to the party, which I joined because it was supposed to be for the people. Then the only thing I should do was to come before this subcommittee and try to get a message across of my experience to the thousands of young black Americans like myself, who are searching for a cure to their hell and alert them to black extremists who are always on hand to exploit the misery of the ghetto.

The CHAIRMAN. I found the passage you have just quoted.

Anyway, you feel that in coming before the committee and having testified, and I assume that it was the truth as you know it to be, and I wouldn't ask you to testify to anything differently—you prepared your own statement—you feel that your coming before the committee may prove to be a service to your own people, to the young people who might fall for the same propaganda that you did and join this organization?

Mr. POWELL. I hope it does.

The CHAIRMAN. You hope it does?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Senator GRIFFIN. I want to join in commending these witnesses on their great courage.

I join in hoping that your testimony will have that effect.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just going to express the appreciation of the committee. I am sure I express the appreciation of each member for your cooperation. I think the American public—both white and black—all races—will commend you for it.

I mean those who are law-abiding people, who want to make a better society—not destroy America but make it a better America.

I think all people who are intelligently and sincerely dedicated to that objective will commend you for what you have done. It took courage. I hope you did get your message across and that it will have an influence upon many who otherwise might be misled into taking some actions that would not contribute to bettering America, but contribute, maybe, to its destruction.

You have been very kind and very helpful. I sincerely thank you.

You are now excused.

We will call another witness.

Mr. Stanley White. Will you be sworn?

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

Mr. WHITE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF STANLEY WHITE

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify yourself for the record, please?

Mr. WHITE. My name is Stanley White, I am a sergeant in the Oakland, Calif., Police Department, in charge of the intelligence section.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in the police department?

Mr. WHITE. I have been in charge of the intelligence section for a year and a half. I have been with the department for approximately 18 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Because of my assignment in the department, I have been subpoenaed here to testify in regard to the Black Panther Party.

During the past 2 years, in the great industrial cities of the United States, members of the Black Panther Party have been linked by the police with crimes that range from murder and a conspiracy to bomb buildings through armed robbery and arson to the stock-piling of automatic weapons (recent purchases of automatic and semi-automatic weapons by identified members of the Black Panther Party. Some of these weapons have been confiscated as a result of crimes of a violent nature.)

In order to obtain an accurate perspective of the meaning of certain words and phrases, Stokely Carmichael in a speech in Oakland, Calif., in August 1968 gave us the following definitions:

“Armed Struggle.” The period just before a revolution.

An “armed struggle” is when the forces of the masses are fighting against the political structure, the powers that be, their schools, the police force, the occupied force, to overthrow the Government. . . . Once we have seized power, then the revolution begins.

"Revolution" means the total overthrow of the system, but "revolution" never begins until you seize power.

"Black Militant." Someone who is angry at white society but wants to become part of it. He will use the anger and frustration of the masses to benefit himself or obtain a poverty program, et cetera. With a militant there can always be compromises and sell-outs.

"Black Revolutionary." One who wants to overthrow, destroy, and then reconstruct a new society. He is one who is willing to kill—not just willing to die, but rather someone who is willing to kill, because just willing to die doesn't make you a revolutionary.

Picking up a gun doesn't make you revolutionary, but in order to become revolutionary, you must pick up the gun.

A revolutionary plans. Once he burns a city down, he takes the city, seizes it and holds it and runs it the way he wants it run.

"Revolutionary Form (Activity or Tactic)." There are three levels of attack.

First. Attack the symbols of oppression. The burning of stores represents the burning of the symbols of oppression. Our nearby storeowner, grocery store. They sell us rotten goods for highest prices, insult our dignity. So we burn them out.

Second. Attack the tools of the oppressor. The tools of the oppressor are those things that the oppressor employs to keep us oppressed. The police force represents the tools of these oppressors.

Third. Once we have got to the tools of oppression, then we go to the oppressor himself, seize power, and we begin the revolution. . . . How fast can we move against the oppressor? . . . Guerrilla warfare is where you got to go.

Mr. Chairman, I have an exhibit in regard to those quotes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the exhibit?

Mr. WHITE. It is a transcript of a speech by Stokely Carmichael.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the speech from which you quoted?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and appropriately numbered.

(The Document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 368" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. WHITE. In just over 2 years the Black Panthers have grown from a small group of militants in the city of Oakland, Calif., to a nationwide, paramilitary organization wearing a menacing all-black uniform, leather jackets and berets, owing allegiance to the alien Marxist politics of Red China's Mao Tse Tung and forming political alliances with such diverse militant radical groups as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and the bizzare Yippies, as well as with the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the Peace and Freedom Parties (PFP) of California and New York.

The Panthers have a charisma about them which has contributed considerably to their rapid expansion. To many young Negro men it is exciting, attractive, and basically masculine with strong paramilitary attractions. Discipline is strict, and members who violate the code risk temporary or permanent ostracism. The many rules and regulations adopted by the Black Panther Party aptly illustrate the combination of ideologies put to use. The strict discipline governing a Panther's public behavior is reminiscent of Malcolm X and the Black Muslim manner of displaying serious but quiet confidence. The quotations and insistence on rote memory is a Communist China propaganda technique, while much of the Panthers' belief that they are true revolu-

tionaries comes from the writings of Che Guevera and Castro. Overall, there is a strong emphasis on Marx and Lenin.

Black Panther Minister of Defense Huey Newton, a cofounder of the organization, who is serving a 2- to 15-year sentence in the California's Men's Colony at Los Padres for the shooting death of an Oakland police officer, has said :

We believe that it is important to identify with revolutionary black people of Africa and oppressed people throughout the world. . . . We say the only culture worthwhile holding onto is a revolutionary culture. The only way we're going to be free is by seizing political power which comes through the barrel of a gun.

With a firm belief in armed violence, units of the Black Panther Party have commenced operations in more than 30 cities in the United States.

The summer and fall of 1966 saw the genesis of the Black Panther Party, and in October it was first organized under the direction of Huey Percy Newton and Bobby George Seale. With a store-front headquarters in a predominantly Negro district of Oakland, Calif., and the name of "The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense" recruits were gathered. According to Panther lore, one of the first to join was Bobby Hutton, who went on to achieve "martyr" status in the party in 1968, when he was fatally shot in a Panther-instigated gun battle with a member of the Oakland Police Department.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I have two exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the exhibits? Identify them.

Mr. WHITE. Two photographs, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Showing what?

(At this point Senator Ribicoff left the hearing room.)

Mr. WHITE. I should read another paragraph which has reference to the community alert patrol. I will explain the photographs first.

They depict several Oakland police officers in a discussion with three male Negroes, who are Huey Percy Newton, Bobby George Seale, and Bobby Hutton. These photographs were taken in the fall of 1966. I don't have the exact date. It was during one of their community alert patrols.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 369" for reference and maybe found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will have to take another recess for a few minutes, as we have another rollcall vote.

{Whereupon, at 4:05 p.m. the subcommittee recessed for a rollcall.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at the time of recessing were Senators McClellan and Griffin.)

(The subcommittee reconvened at 4:20 p.m. after the taking of a brief recess for a rollcall.)

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

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. White, you may resume.

Mr. WHITE. Initially, the Black Panthers were apolitical and functioned as a "community alert patrol," following police cars and taking photographs of the officers, advising residents in conflict with the police, and assisting the Negro community in their dealings with the city and county administrations. However, as the Black Panthers grew, so did their militancy and the words "for self-defense" were quietly dropped.

When the widow of Malcolm X, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, arrived in California on February 21, 1967, she was met by an armed honor guard of Panthers. Wherever she appeared throughout her stay, they accompanied her, with rifles and revolvers clearly visible.

The sharp focus of national attention came to the Black Panthers on May 2, 1967, when members—armed with loaded rifles, shotguns, and pistols—entered the State legislature in Sacramento. Some of this group even entered the assembly chamber itself while the house was in session, scuffled briefly with sergeant at arms, and were hustled outside to be met by a squad of State police, who disarmed them but returned the weapons when it was decided that the Panthers at that time had broken no weapons laws.

The CHAIRMAN. They were not concealed, I suppose.

Mr. WHITE. In our State a concealable weapon, such as a revolver or an automatic, if you put this under your coat or in the glove compartment of your car, it would constitute a violation of the law. But it was not against the law to carry a rifle, shotgun, or even a concealable weapon, if it was in plain view.

During this whole episode, no shooting occurred, there was very little overt violence, and occupants of the eastern part of the State building were unaware of the incident. Later, Huey Newton was to claim that the incident was designed only to protect pending legislation limiting the right to bear arms and the brutality of the "racist" Oakland police. He added that the method used was designed to present a "manly image to fellow black men" and not to invite violence.

Expelled from the State capital the militants regrouped at a gas station, where a number of them were arrested by police on charges of violating fish and game code laws which prohibit the carrying of loaded guns in vehicles. At Sacramento police headquarters, five juveniles and 19 adults were charged with a conspiracy to invade the assembly chamber, a felony. Among those arrested were Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, later to achieve international notoriety as Panther "minister of information," Seale, Bobby Hutton, Emory Douglas, the self-styled "revolutionary artist," who is now Panther "minister of culture," and Mark Comfort, who early in 1968 was a leader of the Oakland contingent in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's (SCLC) poor people's march on Washington.

Organization and structure

The national headquarters of the BPP is located presently at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. The national headquarters actually controls all Black Panther offices in and out of the State of California. However, this office also is responsible for the Black Panther activity in Berkeley and the north Oakland areas.

Below are listed the officers of the national headquarters:

- (1) Bobby Seale, chairman.
- (2) David Hilliard, chief of staff.
- (3) Roosevelt Hilliard, assistant to the chief of staff.
- (4) John Seale, office manager and layout assistant for Black Panther Party newspaper.
- (5) Ronnie Stevenson, officer of the day (currently a fugitive wanted for murder of renegade Ronald Black).
- (6) Rosemarie Gross, national headquarters secretary.
- (7) Evelyn Proctor, national treasurer.

There is also a branch office located at 7304 East 14th Street, Oakland, Calif., which is responsible for the Black Panther activity in the east Oakland area.

Below are listed the officers of this branch office:

- (1) Robert Bay, captain.
- (2) Henry Lee Brodnax, lieutenant.
- (3) Joseph Randolph Albury, lieutenant.
- (4) Victor Houston, section leader.
- (5) Anthony Woods, section leader.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I have some exhibits. They are photographs and information sheets of the aforementioned persons, including applications to join the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, they will be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 370" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. WHITE. The first one is the application attached to Robert Bay's criminal record. Among other things asked on the application, such as name, address, and so forth, is a question regarding the reason for joining the Black Panther Party and police record, if any.

The next one is a liberated Black Panther Party membership, which includes the name of Robert Bay.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 371" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 371

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS, EMERYVILLE BRANCH,
Oakland, Calif.**

BLACK PANTHER PARTY OFFICES

Berkeley: Victor Duplissis, 841-8215, 1529 Russell No. 20, Berkeley, Calif.

Minister of Education: George, Murray, 1184 Laurel Ave., 321-4329, East Palo Alto, Calif.

East Oakland: Tom Jolly, 9617 Sunnyside, 632-8101.

Brookfield Village:

Bill Brent, 1437 48th Ave., 543-3203.

Charles Walker, 73rd Lockwood, 658-3410.

West Oakland: (Market St.)

Robert Bay, 655-1361, 705-45th.

Elbert Howard, 916 Aileen St., 652-6124.

West Oakland:

Tommy Jones, 4726 West St., 654-5067.

Landon Williams, 705 45th, 655-1361.

Oleander Harrison, 4726 West St., 654-5067.

Emeryville Central Headquarters:

Chairman Bobby Seale, 655-2104, 3246 Magnolia.

Wendell, Wade (Capt.)

Mr. WHITE. The next exhibit is another application for membership to the Black Panther Party, which includes, as well as the prior one, information respecting name, address, phone number, and so forth.

About two-thirds of the way down is a question: "Do you have any special hustling skills? Answer 'yes' or 'no.'"

They also ask the question: "Have you ever been convicted of a felony? Have you ever been convicted of a felony where you used a special hustling skills? Answer 'yes' or 'no.'"

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 372" for reference and follows:)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

NAME _____ AGE _____ MALE
 OR FEMALE
 ADDRESS _____ PHONE _____
 CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____
 BIRTH DATE ____/____/____ BIRTH PLACE _____
 Month day year City State

WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION/S; WRITE BELOW YOUR TITLES OR CHECK ONE, TWO OR MORE BOXES ON RIGHT.

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____

- UNDER 18; KICKED OUT OF SCHOOL
- STUDENT
- PROFESSIONAL
- UNSKILLED LABORER
- SEMI-SKILLED LABORER
- SKILLED LABORER
- HUSTLER
- HOUSE WIFE
- UNEMPLOYED; TRY'N TO MAKE IT
- ON PAROL or PROBATION

WHAT IS THE HIGHEST GRADE IN SCHOOL THAT YOU HAVE COMPLETED. CIRCLE NUMBER BELOW.

- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
- JUNIOR COLLEGE GRADES _____ 13 14

WHAT HIGH SCHOOL DID OR DO YOU ATTEND? _____

YOUR MAJOR OR VOCATION THERE _____

WHAT JUNIOR COLLEGE DID OR DO YOU ATTEND? _____

YOUR MAJOR OR VOCATION THERE _____

WHAT STATE COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY DID OR DO YOU ATTEND? _____

YOUR MAJOR OR MAJORS _____

DO YOU HAVE ANY SPECIAL HUSTLING SKILLS; ANSWER ONLY YES or NO

ARE YOU MARRIED YES NO IF YES GIVE SPOUSE'S NAME _____

HOW MANY MEMBERS ARE IN YOUR FAMILY 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 IF MORE GIVE NO. _____

IMPORTANT:

DO YOU BELIEVE IN SELF DEFENSE YES OR NO if answer is NO, WHY give reason on back.

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN CONVICTED OF A FELONY YES OR NO

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN CONVICTED OF A FELONY WHERE YOU USED A FIRE ARM YES

NO

WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF THE (B.P.P.S.D.) BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE'S PROGRAM, CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES TO RIGHT AND/OR WRITE ANSWER ON BACK OF THIS FORM.

- EXCELLENT
- GOOD
- FAIR
- POOR

Mr. WHITE. The national central committee is the governing body of all Black Panther Party activities.

Below are listed the members of the national central committee :

- (1) Huey P. Newton, minister of defense.
- (2) Bobby Seale, chairman.
- (3) Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information.
- (4) David Hilliard, chief of staff.
- (5) George Murray, minister of education.
- (6) Donald Lee Cox, Landon Williams, Louis "Randy" Williams, George Sams, Jr., Detroit; Carter Chico Neblett, Raymond "Masai" Hewitt, field marshals (underground).
- (7) Melvin Newton, minister of finance.
- (8) Unknown, minister of foreign affairs.
- (9) Rap Brown, minister of justice.
- (10) Stokely Carmichael, prime minister.
- (11) Kathleen Cleaver, communications secretary.
- (12) Emory Douglas, minister of culture.
- (13) Father Earl Neil, minister of religion.

Aims and Objectives

Having gained national publicity from their invasion of the California State Legislature, the Black Panthers brought their political philosophy before the country. This philosophy is eclectic, encompassing Mao Tse tung, Stalin, Lenin, Ho Chi Minh, Franz Fanon, and even Leon Trotsky, while the ideas of Malcolm X (who emphasized black unity and self-defense) have had the most visible influence on their activities. The Black Panther political platform centers around 10 demands that they insist must be met "right now or else!"

The CHAIRMAN. The demands will be printed in the record at this point.

- (1) We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community.
- (2) We want full employment for our people.
- (3) We want an end to the robbery by white men of our black community.
- (4) We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
- (5) We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
- (6) We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
- (7) We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people.
- (8) We want freedom for all black men held in Federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails.
- (9) We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
- (10) We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace.

Mr. WHITE. Further, the stated objectives of the Black Panther Party are as follows :

This organization 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 propoganda 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 propoganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. With-

out these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Black Panther loses the reason for its existence.

The next exhibit is from the "political education kit," Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 373" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. WHITE. At a fund-raising rally for Huey P. Newton on February 17, 1968, the following statement was made by James Forman, who at that time was minister of foreign affairs for the Black Panther Party:

We are here not only to celebrate Brother Newton and to talk about the reason for the brotherhood of black people, the reason for intense organization, the reason for a mass political party, but we must also—and on this I will close—serve notice on our oppressors that we as a people are not going to be frightened by attempted assassination of our leaders. I know the assassination plots on Brother Carmichael and Brother Brown and I—we went up there to see Brother Newton in that jail, and I say there, as we have said before, that we must pledge ourselves that if any of these men are assassinated that we will deal instant retribution and protracted retribution.

Now, let us be specific. Let us be specific. We must talk about destroying some war factories if they're assassinated. We must blow up some police stations if they're assassinated. We must have a protracted retribution on some governors in this country, some mayors, and, above all, we must have protracted retribution on these white piggest cops that occupy our community.

Now, when I was out here before I said for my assassination I wanted—and I'm a low man on the totem pole—I wanted 15, 10 war factories destroyed, 15 power plants, 30 police stations—30 police stations, I want you to get the figure right—30 police stations, one southern governor, two mayors, and 500 dead cops. Also, we said that if they deal in any way or if they're assassinated, because you can't win it, anyway—you either do it or you don't do it—if they assassinate Brother Carmichael, Brother Brown, Brother Syringer, Brother Jones, Brother Seale, that this price is tripled. The price is tripled. And if Huey Newton is not set free and dies, the sky is the limit.

I have an exhibit, Mr. Chairman. This is the entire transcript. This is the entire transcript of that rally held in the city of Oakland auditorium on the date I already gave, with some 4,000 people in attendance.

Among the dignitaries who were there, the so-called dignitaries, and spoke were Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown, James Forman, Eldridge Cleaver, and Bobby Seale.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be marked an exhibit and received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 374" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. WHITE. On page 32 of the transcript I would like to read a short quote of what Rap Brown had to say:

The only thing that is going to free you is gunpowder, black power. Huey Newton is our only living revolutionary in this country today. He has paid his dues. He had paid his dues. How many white folks you kill today?

This, of course, is at the time that Huey was on trial in the County of Alameda, State of California.

The statement below is attributed to Huey Newton from the Black Panther paper, July 20, 1967:

When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance.

That exhibit has already been introduced by the staff, Mr. Chairman.

Membership:

Membership of the Black Panther Party at this time is virtually impossible to accurately determine. It is felt that the Black Panther Party itself cannot give an exact appraisal of its strength.

Confidential sources do indicate, however, that its strength is not over 4,000 members nationally. It is further estimated that there are approximately 30 functional chapters in the United States.

Programs and Activities of the Organization and Their Impact on Specific Communities

The following incidents illustrate activities of the Black Panthers in the Oakland area.

(1) On October 28, 1967, Officer John Frey of the Oakland, Calif., Police Department was killed by Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the Black Panther Party. During this same shooting incident, following a routine car stop, Officer Clifford Heanes was seriously wounded but has recovered.

For this crime Newton is presently serving a term in the penitentiary.

(2) On April 6, 1968, members of the Oakland Police Department were ambushed by at least eight members of the Black Panther Party. Two officers were shot in the back, and in the ensuing gun battle Eldridge Cleaver was wounded and arrested and Bobby Hutton, the first minister of finance, was shot and killed. Criminal prosecutions are at this moment in progress, so I must refrain from further comment.

I do have some information that might assist the committee in understanding what occurred that night. This is in the form of photographs.

The first two pictures denote a police car parked adjacent to three other cars at the curb. Panthers were in the three other cars. When the officers stopped and alighted on the street, at least eight members of the Panther Party jumped out of the three cars and immediately opened fire, striking those two Oakland police officers in the back.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the pictures be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 375" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. What was the provocation? Was it just stopping the car?

Mr. WHITE. The officers testimony, as I recall it, Senator, was that one car they were following had an out-of-state plate on it and they wanted to stop to check the registration.

The CHAIRMAN. How did the Panthers know that the police would come along and stop the car at that time so they would have three cars of Panthers awaiting?

Mr. WHITE. We didn't know exactly where it would happen. We were alerted through confidential sources that such an ambush would take place, and it did.

I have two more exhibits depicting the weaponry used by the Panthers that night, April 6, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 376" for reference and appear on p. 3835.)

3835

EXHIBIT No. 376



EXHIBIT No. 376—Continued



The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get these weapons?

Mr. WHITE. Following the arrest, we took them away from them.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they in the cars?

Mr. WHITE. Some were on the street, some in backyards when we chased them, some in their homes when they were arrested. At least two of them laying in the center of the table in picture C are military weapons, the M-16 automatic rifle, commonly known as a machinegun.

(3) On November 13, 1968, Reginald Forte, Sherwin Forte, and John Sloan, all members of the Black Panther Party, were charged with the attempted murder of Berkeley Police Officer Wolke when the officer stopped their vehicle for a minor traffic violation. Trial is in progress concerning this incident. Therefore, I must refrain from further comment.

(4) Black Panther members have been arrested regularly in the city of Oakland and the bay area generally. They have been charged with all manner of offenses, ranging in severity from minor infractions of the law to major violations, such as armed robbery and serious assaults upon the person of another.

The prior witness made reference to a robbery in the city of Oakland, and this picture depicts the weapons that were assembled for the robbery.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, let the picture be received and marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 377" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 377



Mr. WHITE. (5) Numerous explosions, bombings, and arsons have occurred in the bay area during the last several years. Public buildings, such as a police station and the Superior Court Building, where Huey Newton was tried for murder, have suffered damage from such explosions. Intelligence agencies' confidential sources have indicated Black Panther Party complicity in several of the aforementioned incidents. The investigations are continuing.

I have another exhibit, Mr. Chairman, and I should offer some explanation. I have in my hand an accumulation of incidents that approximate 80—80 separate incidents—that have to do with explosions, findings of explosives, bomb threats, and the like, compiled from the State of California, with the dates ranging between February 25, 1968, through March 19, 1969.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, it may be received and marked as an exhibit.

(Document referred to marked "Exhibit No. 378" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 378

RÉSUMÉ OF SOME BOMBING AND ARSON CASES OCCURRING SINCE FEBRUARY 1968

February 25, 1968: Pipe Bomb exploded in P. G. and E. Substation F Yard, Berkeley. No damage.

February 2, 1968: Arson—Naval ROTC Building, Stanford.

March 5-6, 1968: One leg of P. G. and E. transmission tower damaged by explosives, Contra Costa County.

March 10, 1968: San Fernando Valley State College employment office badly damaged by fire bomb.

March 20, 1968: P. G. and E. transmission tower knocked down by explosives, Contra Costa County.

March 22, 1968: Telephone Company cables damaged by explosives, Contra Costa County.

April 4, 1968: P. G. and E. transmission tower knocked over by tractor, San Mateo County. Responsible, D. F. Morrow, admitted this and three other attempts.

April 8, 1968: Oakland—Fire in BART tunnel under Oakland—crude torches found in tunnel.

May 1968: San Ramon—Dynamite placed at base of P. G. and E. pole; failed to detonate.

May 1968: Southern Pacific Company signal pole damaged by explosives.—Fremont.

May 1968: 12-inch water line in Saratoga damaged by explosives.

May 1968: 22-inch water main in Carmel damaged by explosives. (Two other explosions occurred in same area and 10 sticks of dynamite which failed to explode were found in lumber yard across street from Carmel Police Department.)

April 5, 1968: Bomb Threat—12:14 p.m.—San Francisco and Daly City P. G. and E. Offices. Telephone threat received at San Francisco Office that both offices were to be bombed at 1:00 p.m. No bombs found.

June 4, 1968: Three P. G. and E. transmission towers down by explosives, Contra Costa County.

June 4, 1968: Berkeley—tractor used in BART construction damaged by explosives.

June 25, 1968: North Hollywood, California—Draft Board bombed.

June 30, 1968: Fire bomb thrown into Berkeley P. G. and E. Office—minor damage.

July 3, 1968: University of California, Berkeley—Police booth at University damaged by explosives.

July 1968: Berkeley Draft Board damaged by explosives.

July 19, 1968: Los Angeles—Five Los Angeles offices bombed (two Mexican tourist bureaus, two foreign airline offices and Shell Oil Co. building).

August 31, 1968: Berkeley—Southern Pacific Railroad tracks damaged by explosives at 3rd and Bancroft.

September 1968: Seattle—Naval ROTC Building, University of Washington, bombed.

September 1968: Eugene, Oregon—At U.S. Navy and Marine Reserve Training Center, saboteurs blasted a crane with explosives and destroyed by fire a trailer, personnel carrier and 4 dump trucks; two bulldozers were also damaged.

September 1, 1968: Building in Berkeley damaged by explosives.

September 8, 1968: Alameda County—410 sticks of dynamite, 25 blasting caps, a *timing device* and other material found hidden in brush about $\frac{2}{3}$ of mile from north end of San Leandro Reservoir.

September 10, 1968: Van Nuys—Five heavy Army trucks at National Guard Armory damaged by explosives.

September 12, 1968: Unexploded firebomb found at Withers Reservoir of East Bay Municipal Utility District, Contra Costa County.

September 13, 1968: ROTC building, University of California, Berkeley, damaged by explosives.

September 17, 1968: Hunters Point Housing Authority Administrative Building, San Francisco, damaged by explosives.

September 25, 1968: Alameda County—Discovered that braces on P. G. and E. transmission tower were damaged by explosives.

September 28, 1968: Oakland—12th Street pedestrian tunnel joining courthouse and museum damaged by explosives.

September 28, 1968: DeSota Chemical Company, Berkeley—tank dented by explosives.

October 1, 1968: Durkee Foods Plant, Berkeley, suffered fire bomb attack on 12,000 gallon linseed oil tank—minor damage.

October 2, 1968: Rest room, Hall of Justice, Oakland, damaged by explosives (major damage).

October 3, 1968: Bomb damaged windows in Alameda County Courthouse and other buildings in area.

October 3, 1968: Unexploded bomb with timing device found under P. G. and E. meter on exterior of Alameda County Courthouse.

October 3, 1968: Bomb exploded against perimeter wall of Naples Substation, Southern California Edison Company, Long Beach. No damage to operating equipment.

October 1968: Old stick of dynamite found just outside perimeter fence of P. G. and E. Substation G, El Cerrito.

October 24, 1968: Marin City, Marin County—Dynamite bomb set to go was placed under Sheriff's Substation trailer office (bomb was removed and disarmed). Three deputies in office at time. This dynamite was same as that stolen in San Francisco in last few days.

October 1968: Two fire bombs—clock timers—discovered at San Francisco State College.

October 27, 1968: Richmond District Police Station, San Francisco, bombed at 9:00 p.m. Explosion blew out window in station, windows in apartment building and French Hospital.

Following blast, false fire alarms were made in Turk, Laguna, Golden Gate Avenue area.

Three firemen were shot by snipers firing from Housing Project there.

October 28, 1968: Oakland 3:20 a.m.—Alameda County Probation Center, 400 Broadway, bombed. Windows damaged.

October 28, 1968: 3:40 a.m.—Bomb damaged 3 cars parked in front of California Highway Patrol Office, 3601 Telegraph, Oakland, and blew out glass in front door of this office.

October 28, 1968: Berkeley—8:00 a.m.—Berkeley Police Officer drove his squad car away from the Police Department. He heard scraping noise—thought it was his muffler dragging. He got out and found a pipe bomb attached to motor of his car. It was incorrectly wired. Did not go off.

October 30, 1968: Danville—explosion in front of empty store with large "Wallace for President" sign in window.

October 30, 1968: El Sobrante residential district—dynamite caps exploded and blew large hole in pavement.

October 31, 1968: West Oakland—Bomb exploded outside office of Negro Attorney, Donald Warner, at 5683 Market Street.

November 2, 1968: San Francisco Balboa High School—explosion in garbage can—two windows broken.

November 2, 1968: One leg of an electric transmission tower (138 KV) near Roseland, New Jersey, belonging to the Public Service Electric and Gas Co. of Newark, N.J., was blown apart by plastic explosives. An undetonated explosive was found on an adjacent leg. The tower remained standing.

November 4, 1968: Cedar Grove Township, New Jersey—Another attempt to destroy a 138 KV electric transmission tower was made involving the same company. One tower leg was blown apart. The tower remained standing.

November 4, 1968: Eugene, Oregon—2 Air Force ROTC offices damaged by explosives.

November 11, 1968: University of California at Los Angeles—Unexploded homemade bomb found outside of professor's office.

November 12, 1968: East Los Angeles Junior College—Arson—Molotov Cocktail—building housing student newspaper "Campus News" burned.

November 18, 1968: San Francisco State College campus—explosion of crude bomb caused slight damage to property.

November 18, 1968: San Francisco—P. G. and E. Mission Street office received phone bomb threat at 11:55 a.m. Search made; no bomb found.

December 5, 1968: San Jose State College—One fire bomb thrown through window into office of Assistant Professor; another smashed into wall of Tower Hall. Two more bombs were found near Tower Hall.

December 9, 1968: San Francisco—4:08 a.m.—Explosion set off at base of 44,000-gallon fuel tank in Standard Oil Substation, Seventh and Irving St., San Francisco. Damaged base of tank; blew out 50 windows in Greyhound's storage area and 17 more in Standard Oil offices. Tank must be replaced.

December 13, 1968: San Francisco—Dynamite with fuse and cap found attached to Joint Power Pole (City of San Francisco and P. G. and E.) located on Bryant Street between 15th and 16th Streets. Fuse had been lighted unsuccessfully.

December 17, 1968: Los Altos—Live homemade bomb arrived at a residence. When package was found by owner, it was ticking. Package contained two sticks of dynamite wired to a clock.

December 30, 1968: San Francisco Airport—Telephone bomb threat delayed Jet (United Airlines DC-8) for five hours. Search revealed no bomb.

January 2, 1969: San Francisco—Blum's Restaurant, Union Square. Janitor found bomb in men's lavatory on second floor in wastebasket. Timer clock was ticking; bomb was dismantled about eight minutes before it was set to go off.

January 7, 1969: San Mateo—At 1:00 a.m. home of Dean of Instructions, San Mateo College, badly damaged by gasoline and fire. Garage, master bedroom and two automobiles destroyed; damage estimated at \$20,000.

January 7, 1969: Santa Barbara—University of California—Gasoline bombs caused \$1,200 damage at headquarters of ROTC unit.

January 9, 1969: Solano College, Vallejo—At least four fires, believed set by arsonists, caused more than \$40,000 damage.

January 10, 1969: Shortly after midnight a firebomb was tossed into home of San Francisco State College official in San Francisco and failed to explode.

January 15, 1969: Cloverdale—Indian Head Metals Company of Cloverdale received several phone bomb threats at their company offices. Nothing happened.

January 16, 1969: San Francisco State College—Bomb found by side of telephone booth in administration building's foyer. Had failed to detonate.

January 18, 1969: At Commerce City, Colorado, there were two bombings at one location. One destroyed a propane storage shed. The other destroyed two 25,000 gallon gasoline storage tanks that had gasoline in them. The gasoline was lost; however, no fire resulted.

January 19, 1969: Walnut Creek—Bomb exploded near rear of Police Building.

January 20-28, 1969: Between January 20-28, 1969, four electric transmission towers of the Public Service Company of Colorado were damaged by explosives.

January 20, 1969: University of California, Berkeley—Two fire bombs caused

minor damage in Wheeler Auditorium and the interview room of Placement Center.

January 21, 1969: San Francisco, Twin Peaks Tunnel—Telephone bomb threat at 9:00 a.m. resulted in 30-minute streetcar tie up while Police toured tunnel in search of explosive. Nothing found.

January 26, 1969: Palo Alto—Home of City Councilman bombed at 4:00 a.m. Bomb made of lead pipe filled with gunpowder, nails and BB shot, blew out front door and screen door and all front windows. (Councilman plans to teach course at Menlo Free University.)

January 27, 1969: Redwood City—Pipe-and-gunpowder bomb loaded with tiny metal balls blew 12-foot hole in ceiling of machine shop (Swiss Craft Co.) and damaged furniture and machinery.

January 28, 1969: University of California, Berkeley—Three gas bombs thrown, one into auditorium at Dwinelle Hall, one into crowd standing beyond Sather Gate and one into Sproul Hall.

January 30, 1969: Palo Alto—Bomb made from gas cartridge shattered windshield of station wagon belonging to a Palo Alto school official.

February 3, 1969: San Rafael—11:03 p.m.—Bomb exploded at Selective Service Office. There was some damage to building and all windows were broken.

February 5, 1969: Palo Alto—.....all homemade bomb exploded at 11:53 p.m. in dining room area of restaurant (The Tangent). Window broken. No one in area at time. (Reported that the Tangent at one time had rented upstairs rooms to the Menlo Free University.)

February 7, 1969: Fort Ord—Bomb made of metal pipe and explosives was placed under seat in crowded theater. It exploded. There were 400 people inside theater when blast occurred; one person seriously injured, at least five others received minor injuries.

February 11, 1969: Palo Alto—Homemade hand grenade blasted out some front windows and blew hole in porch of headquarters of Concerned Citizens for Peace. Blast occurred at 10:25 p.m. (Building was also bombed on December 1, 1968.)

February 13, 1969: San Francisco State College—9:45 p.m.—Crude bomb (short length of pipe packed with powder) exploded beside deserted Gallery Lounge, shattering windows and causing several hundred dollars damage.

February 14, 1969: Stanford University. Unexploded bomb, filled with black powder and packed with small pellets, found in car of psychology student, who believed the bomb had been in car at least three days.

February 14, 1969: Oakland—Claremont Country Club District—1:43 a.m. A 1968 Dodge pickup truck blown apart. Police speculated several sticks dynamite used to destroy vehicle.

February 17, 1969: San Francisco State College—2:25 a.m. Campus Security Officer was in patrol car when bomb blast shattered 18 windows of Administrative Building. Security Officer suffered severe ear damage. Time bomb consisted of 1½ inch pipe packed with kerosene and black power, triggered by alarm clock and sparked by battery.

February 17, 1969: San Francisco, Sunset District—Shortly after 7:00 p.m. someone threw roll of paper, wadded with gunpowder, against door of 1427-1429 25th Avenue. Bomb blew out several windows and scorched woodwork.

February 18-19, 1969: San Francisco—Four incendiary fires in three downtown department stores were caused by incendiary devices containing chemicals that ignite on contact: 9:30 p.m.—sixth floor of Macy's; 12:10 a.m.—basement of The Emporium; 1:11 a.m.—Basement Yardage Department of Woolworth's on Market Street; and 9:15 a.m.—second fire on sixth floor of Macy's. Minor damage.

February 21, 1969: University of California, Berkeley—a gasoline filled incendiary device set to explode at 11 o'clock was discovered at 6:30 p.m. in Dwinelle Hall Auditorium where the Third World Liberation Front met during afternoon.

February 21, 1969: San Francisco—About 4:45 a.m. a delayed action firebomb ignited on sixth floor of J. C. Penney's Market Street store. (This was said to be the seventh device planted in downtown department stores in past week.) Minor damage.

February 25, 1969: San Francisco—Balboa High School—8:45 a.m.—Burning

kerosene contained in beer bottle splattered near rear exit of school auditorium. Fire put out before any extensive damage occurred.

February 25, 1969: Claremont—Two bombs exploded within minutes of each other at Scripps and Pomona Colleges. A woman secretary was badly injured.

February 26, 1969: South Los Angeles—Bomb exploded in a classroom at Southwest College.

February 27, 1969: San Francisco—Galileo High School—Bomb which had been placed in open locker on north side of Galileo exploded. No injuries.

March 5, 1969: San Francisco State College—7:40 p.m.—A 19-year-old youth was critically injured when time bomb he was planting in Creative Arts Building went off in his hands. The powder filled bomb was connected to battery and clock. Two more bombs found in suitcase in adjacent room.

March 6, 1969: Martinez—12-inch pipeline belonging to Standard Oil was shattered by bomb at point where pipe passes under Alhambra Avenue. Blast blew hole four feet deep and released about 4,000 gallons of oil into Alhambra Creek before hole was plugged.

March 6, 1969: Montreal, Canada—A bomb consisting of 141 sticks of dynamite was found under an overpass at the city's busiest intersection shortly before it was set to explode. It would have blown up the overpass and could have injured hundreds of people.

It was ten times more powerful than the bomb that injured 27 people at the Montreal and Canadian Stock Exchanges on February 13, 1969.

March 9, 1969: San Jose—a bomb blast destroyed a college newspaper at San Jose State College.

March 14, 1969: Six miles south of Napa—Shell Oil Company reported vandals cut locks from bank valves and released 33,000 gallons of gasoline and weed killer from two storage tanks. Estimated loss \$6,000.

March 17, 1969: Canyon, California (community seven miles east of Berkeley, Contra Costa County)—Shortly before midnight a Shell Oil Company pipeline carrying aviation gasoline was ruptured by explosives. Fire resulted. A wall of flame 50 feet high and nearly three miles long swept through the town of Canyon. One man died as results of burns; five others treated for burns and inhaling fumes. Eleven vehicles were destroyed and the old post office and general store burned to the ground.

March 19, 1969: 12:48 a.m.—Train Derailment—Sabotage was involved in the derailment of two locomotives and 30 cars of an Oakland bound Southern Pacific freight train in Solano County. A fire resulted. Damage is estimated to be at least \$500,000. Derailment was achieved by prying rails up, placing pieces of metal under rails and rewiring safety device so train engineer would not be warned.

Mr. WHITE. I repeat, it is some 80 explosions and bombings.

The Black Panther Party have presently in operation a "free breakfast program" for schoolchildren in the predominantly black areas in various cities throughout the United States. To the uninformed citizens, especially parents of the children involved in this program, it would appear to be a very worthy cause. However, the methods used by the Black Panther Party to obtain donations of food and money to sustain this program could hardly be considered within the framework of the law.

I have another exhibit, Mr. Chairman. This was very recently acquired by members of the Oakland Police Department. It was distributed in our city on June 7, 1969, Saturday. It makes reference to the avaricious businessman and his so-called obligation to donate to this program.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 379" for reference and appears on p. 3842.)

EXHIBIT No. 379

Boycott Safeway Stores

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS ON THE COMMUNITY TO BOYCOTT
SAFEWAY STORES IN THE EAST BAY. WHY? THEY WILL NOT DONATE
TO THE FREE BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN PROGRAM.

THIS AVARICIOUS (GREEDY EXPLOITING) BUSINESSMAN WHO OWNS THE
SAFEWAY STORES MUST COME FORTH AND DONATE TO THE BREAKFAST
FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN. WE THE PEOPLE SHOP THERE, MAKING THE
BUSINESSMAN FAT AND RICH. AT THIS TIME IN EACH STORE OVER \$50,000
DOLLARS WEEKLY. WE THE PEOPLE MUST DEMAND THAT EACH SAFEWAY
STORE DONATE, IN FOOD ITEMS OF \$100.00 DOLLARS EVERY WEEK OR
CASH. NOT TO FEED HUNGRY CHILDREN IS LOW AND ROTTEN. THIS IS
HOW THE BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN SURVIVES, BY A FEW DONATIONS FROM
THE PEOPLE, BUT PRIMARILY BUSINESSMEN IN THE COMMUNITY. THE
BREAKFAST WILL SURVIVE BECAUSE PEOPLE'S POWER WILL MAKE THE
AVARICIOUS BUSINESSMAN DONATE OR WILL RUN THE EXPLOITERS OUT OF
BUSINESS. WE JUST WON'T SHOP ANY MORE, UNTIL THEY CONCEDE TO
DONATE.

BOYCOTT DEMONSTRATIONS OF SAFEWAY
MARKETS WILL START FRIDAY MORNING
AT THE 87TH & WEST STREET STORE IN
WEST OAKLAND.

"OUR DUTY IS TO HOLD OURSELVES RESPON-
SIBLE TO THE PEOPLE. EVERY WORD,
EVERY ACT AND EVERY POLICY MUST CON-
FORM TO THE PEOPLE'S INTERESTS."

MAB

SO LET'S FEED THE CHILDREN

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY'S BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN PROGRAM IS
FEEDING OVER 10,000 CHILDREN IN THE NATION. 100,000 OR MORE BY THE
END OF THIS YEAR MUST BE FED. THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE TO BOYCOTT
CAN MAKE THIS A REALITY. THAT REALITY TO THE CHILDREN IS THAT FULL
STOMACH EVERY MORNING BEFORE SCHOOL.

BOYCOTT SAFEWAY STORES.



Mr. WHITE. A large majority of the donations have been the direct result of extortions on the part of members of the Black Panther Party, wherein the implied threats of bodily harm and/or damage to business establishments is made to those who refuse to, or are hesitant, about contributing to this program.

Reginald Forte and John Sloan (both known members of the Black Panther Party) are currently in custody, charged in the firebombing of a market in the city of Oakland, Calif. This firebombing is the result of the proprietor refusing to continue to contribute to the breakfast program.

Many such extortions of small businesses have been reported to the police by citizens who refuse to reveal their identity. Upon police contacts being made with the merchants involved, the investigators found them to be obviously surprised and fearful that the police department was aware that the extortions were taking place. In most instances the merchants admitted that these extortions were taking place but preferred to comply with the demands rather than suffer the personal or monetary loss threatened by members of the Black Panther Party if it became known that these merchants were cooperating with the police department.

PUBLICATIONS

The Black Panther newspaper, the Black Panther, is, without any doubt, the party's main vehicle for propaganda and is perhaps the most profitable item both financially and publicitywise that the Panthers have going for them. The weekly tabloid usually contains from 20 to 30 pages, most of which are devoted to hatred of the white power structure, especially the "racist pigs" (police). The paper preaches revolution and black liberation in no uncertain terms and encourages black people to join the revolution by arming themselves and uniting with the Panthers.

The Panther paper is printed in weekly amounts averaging from 30,000 to 50,000 copies. A recent issue of the paper consisted of 85,000 copies, of which 10,000 were held in reserve for other than usual distribution. Apart from mail-order subscriptions, circulation is achieved by bundles of the paper being mailed airfreight to cities where the Panthers are established, with various Panthers being assigned a quota to sell. Many youngsters are now hawking the paper on street corners for 25 cents.

The Black Panther newspaper reflects the party's stance on international politics by both its news coverage and its use of news agencies, such as the Third World Press, Pan-African Press, Hsinhua of Peking, and the underground, New York-based Liberation News Service. Recent editions have carried a detailed North Korean account of a press conference with the captain and crew of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, messages from Ho Chi Minh, and articles on the Mideastern situation entitled "Palestine Guerrillas versus Israeli Pigs," in which the terrorist activities of Al Fatah are extolled.

SECRET

There is an attempt on the part of the Black Panthers to keep their actual membership in a secret status. However, during the Black Pan-

ther Party national retreat held in Oakland, Calif., in the fall of 1968, the following facts were revealed to the intelligence section:

An aspirant to membership in the Black Panther Party has to be prepared for a 6-week training period with three evenings each week—Monday, Wednesday, and Friday—given over to study. During these sessions there was instruction in the party's "chain of command," instruction in the use of stripping and firing of handguns and rifles, instruction in close-order drill and unarmed combat, and, of paramount importance, political education. Over the 6-week period Panther recruits are expected to memorize some 30 pages from Red Book Principles, as well as the Panther rules of discipline, political platform, rules, legal first aid, and the eight points of attention. However, at each session, Red Book Principles take precedence over other instruction. After 6 weeks the recruit is examined in depth by his "captain," reports prepared by his instructors are evaluated, and, if satisfactory, he is admitted to the party with the rank of private and the status of party member.

The basis of the Black Panther Party's strength is, of course, the rank-and-file members. Members are grouped under various ranks of "officers" in a paramilitary organization based on their place of residence, the Panther Party taking the view that organization on a block-by-block basis is the most effective, the number of blocks being involved depending on the recruiting potential of the area. According to Chairman Seale, as reported in the Guardian, December 1968, the basis of Panther control is the 10-10-10 system, an advisory council of 10, which includes the local captain and lieutenants, 10 section leaders (sergeants), and 10 subsection leaders (corporals), and from observations of Panthers operating on the streets a subsection will also consist of 10 men and women.

Panther women are treated as "true revolutionaries" and are expected to learn the techniques of guerrilla warfare just as the men do. Kathleen Cleaver, communications secretary for the Black Panther Party, says that "there is no distinct organizational apparatus that distinguishes the men from the women," and also confirmed that there are women on Panther committees "at every level." In many areas Panther women play a major role in organizing and implementing political actions, and when seen at rallies and demonstrations, rival the males in discipline and close-order drill.

I have another exhibit, Mr. Chairman. These are liberated photographs depicting women with automatic rifles of the military variety. These are sometimes known as AF-15's, sometimes known as M-16's.

The CHAIRMAN. The pictures may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 380" for reference and faces this page.)

Mr. WHITE. I would like to point out that the female Negro closest to the camera is Laura Williams, wife of Landon Williams, the field marshal.

The pictures were taken in Landon Williams' apartment.

Printed materials gathered through the use of confidential informants indicate that at Black Panther Party meetings the members are being instructed in the production and use of Molotov cocktails and other explosive devices.

EXHIBIT No. 380



I have two more exhibits, one being the detailed methods of making fire-bombs and the other being explosive devices.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't we already have that in the record? Is it identical with what is in the record?

I am informed it is. Let it be referred to as his offer of an exhibit identical to Exhibit 333.

Mr. WHITE. You may not have Exhibit 11-A. It depicts page after page of various destructive devices, how to make them, where to use them, such as on bridges, power poles and the like.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 381" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. I will instruct the clerk that wherever a document is offered as an exhibit that has already been received and it is discovered, simply refer to the previous exhibit and its number, since it is identical with the one previously offered and admitted.

Mr. WHITE. The members are also given in-depth instruction in the maintenance, care and firing of various types of weapons. This instruction ranges from classroom instruction to practical application at local firing ranges.

I have another exhibit of the retreat mentioned at Oakland last year, munitions class outlines, weapons class outline, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 382" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 382

OUTLINE FOR WEAPONS CLASS

- I. Safety.
- II. Maintenance:
 - A. Reasons for preventive maintenance,
 - B. Cleaning equipment.

III. Disassembly of .308 and the 30.06 into basic groups:

- A. Bolt
 - 1. Extractor,
 - 2. Ejector,
 - 3. Firing pin.

IV. Type of ammo:

- A. Ball
- B. Armor piercing
- C. Tracer
- D. Soft point.

V. Range:

- A. Weapon zero.

VI. Type of target:

- A. Personnel
 - 1. In the open,
 - 2. Under cover.
- B. Cars, trucks, planes, helicopters.
- C. Storage areas:
 - 1. Motor pools,
 - 2. Oil and gas depots.
- D. Buildings
 - 1. Natural materials,
 - 2. Fortified.

VII. Safety.

OUTLINE FOR RELOADING CLASS

I. Why Reload?

- A. Accuracy,
- B. Resupply (cost, availability, etc.),
- C. Moral (you know your own _____).

II. Types of equipment needed:

- A. Press (\$45.-50.00),
- B. Dies (\$10.00),
- C. Reloading book (\$3.00),
- D. Powder measures set (\$3.00),
- E. Bullets, primers, powder, shell casings, sturdy table.

The thing to remember when buying or liberating reloading equipment is that the initial cost may be high, but the savings in terms of a long-term struggle are unmeasurable. Once this struggle is intensified, the racist pigs will certainly cease to sell us ammunition and may even sell faulty ammunition. Each office is required to have at least one set of reloading equipment.

MUNITIONS CLASSES

Four classes (total 12 hours), Richard Linyard.

Three 3-hour classes of general instruction, Warren Tucker, Randy Williams.
 One special 3-hour class (to be announced), Bill Brent, Landon Williams.

Types of classes	Number of hours	Instructor	Days of week
Sighting drills (scopes).....	3	Richard.....	Sunday, Monday, Tuesday.
Bolt actions.....	2	Randy.....	Sunday, Monday.
Panther special.....	3	Tucker.....	Sunday, Monday, Tuesday.
Reloading.....	1	Landon.....	Tuesday.
Special class.....	3	Bill, Randy.....	T.B.A.

Notice.—The times for each of the classes are yet to be announced.

Each person will be required to bring a pencil or pen to every class session. No one will be allowed in class without pen or pencil. The locations of the classes will also be announced.

SECURITY 1

1. Security should be just that. Security—you should not be obvious or conspicuous.

2. If you're told to watch a certain area, watch that area. Don't get hung up in the speakers words.

3. Don't desert your post for any reason. The hand is quicker than the eye.

SECURITY 2

1. First of all, security should own and know a 357 magnum to the point of protection.

2. Both men and women will have to go through certain physical changes.

3. They should have a minimum of security classes once a week.

SECURITY 3

1. Security is a combination of common sense, self-discipline, education, and knowledge based on available information. Competent personnel and the individual degree of dedication coupled with the type, quality and quantity of present technical equipment.

2. Security starts with self-discipline and dedication and the theory that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing.

SECURITY 4

1. Individual:

- a. Know legal first aid.
- b. Know weapons carried.

2. Office:

- a. Know weapon at office.
- b. Know structure.

3. Rally:

- a. Don't be standing out.

4. For Leaders:

- a. Don't be obvious.
- b. Stay in background.

5. Home:

- a. Have shotgun (at least 100 rounds).
- b. Have Panther Special (if possible).
- c. Secure neighborhood to help protect you and you protect them.

SECURITY 5

A. Underground in insurgent revolutionary and resistance warfare:

1. Communications. For routine messages use mail slots or couriers. To insure security at various units.

a. Emergencies may require messages being sent directly by courier or by radio

2. Recruitment. Mass recruitment techniques place more emphasis on active support than on security.

B. Finances:

1. The use of finances—Areas of study. Food equipment for propaganda, materials for sabotage and defense. Aid to families who shelter underground personnel.

2. External means of financing the Underground

a. Sources of Money: Foreign Governments. Outside support is given to Undergrounds for several reasons. The most important is that the activities of the Underground often contribute to the defeat of a common enemy, i.e. relating to tricontinental.

b. Friendship Societies. Funds may be channeled to an Underground by Friendship Societies or quasi official aid groups.

c. Governments in Exile. An exile government may raise money for an Underground by floating bonds.

d. Counterfeit Money. Another way is through the use of counterfeit money.

e. Internal Means of Financing the Underground-Non-Coercive Means.

f. Gifts. Voluntary gifts from wealthy individuals and occasionally from Commercial Enterprises.

g. Loans. The Underground may also borrow funds. A problem that confronts Underground workers in soliciting funds from strangers is

that of convincing them of the agents good faith. If the Underground can borrow in the name of some consistent authority, such as a government in exile.

h. Embezzled Funds. An Underground may obtain funds embezzled from government agencies, trade unions and business.

C. Manufacturing:

1. Types of manufacture. Underground frequently engage in the manufacture of such items as mines, mosquito nets, flame throwers, incendiaries, explosives, and detonations.

2. Rural Manufacturing. Use small mobile shops there should be a major source of manufacturing items such as mines and explosives.

3. Urban Manufacturing. An Underground engaged in Urban Manufacturing has to use other devices to avoid enemy. Enlist the services of workers in legally licensed shops. For camouflage arms are produced in shops that turned out similar looking items. Establish our own shops in individual sections to avoid attracting attention. These places are devoted primarily to illegal production although legitimate items are often manufactured at the same time so production can be switched to legal orders in case of inspections.

D. Collections from the Populace. Goods may be systematically collected from the population:

a. Regular levy of tithes. Give IOU's to avoid being labelled as a bandit organization.

E. External Means. Import Firms.

F. Transportation:

1. By Vehicles. Illegal cargoes can be transported in trucks. It can be concealed by Tarpaulins covered with fertilizer preferably with a disagreeable odor. The chances are that policemen well dressed and polished would not insist on a full inspection of such cargo.

G. Storage. Supplies can sometimes be stored in individual's house.

H. Security. Refrain from making boasts of underground exploits and expressions of undue familiarity with Underground plan.

I. Meeting Secrecy:

1. Choice of site.
2. Change of meeting places.
3. Cover stories.
4. Miscellaneous procedures.

J. Communication Secrecy:

1. Traveling.
2. Rendezvous in public.
3. Practice of random behavior.

K. Security Measures to Prevent Betrayal:

1. Loyalty checks
2. Check of prospective recruits.
3. Check of suspected members.

L. Loyalty Oaths. Underground discipline.

M. Measures to Minimize Compromises:

1. Limited personal contacts. Places of Conspiracy. Code word and cover names.

N. Action in Case of Capture:

1. Relation of the Underground.
2. Behavior of captured members.
3. Treatment of released members.

Relationship To Other Domestic Organizations

Mr. WHITE. While the Black Panther Party is militantly black, its leaders have no inhibitions about forming temporary alliances with white radical groups and in making use of the existing political system when it can be turned to their own advantage. In both these respects the 1968 elections provided the Panthers with opportunities. An alliance was made with the Peace and Freedom Party—PFP—to catapult the Panther Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, into the national political scene as a candidate for President of the United States, Huey P. Newton as a candidate for the U.S. Congress,

Kathleen Cleaver for the California State Senate, and Bobby Seale for the California State Assembly.

Activists in Black Student Unions (BSU's), which are now proliferating across the country in high schools and in colleges, are coming more and more under Black Panther Party domination, the prime example of this being the San Francisco State College riots, in which George Murray (minister of education of the Black Panther Party) took a key role. Local disturbances and demands of black students can be directly attributed to the Black Panther Party mainly due to an organizational outline for Black Student Unions that was prepared and distributed by the Black Panther Party in December 1968.

Mr. Chairman, there follows an outline of that on this and the succeeding pages.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be printed in the record.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to emphasize that copies of the outline were found at San Francisco State and in high schools in the city of Oakland, and in the mailboxes of black instructors.

Topics referred to in this outline are as follows:

(1) Hardcore steering committee. Their first loyalty must be the Black Panther Party, from which they will receive direct orders.

(2) Off-campus groups. The members of this group, of necessity, cannot be worked with as much as the hard core group, but they must be given at least one session a week in lecture and discussion of such things as black history, political philosophy, organizing techniques, karate, and any other subjects which the Black Panther Party leaders see as being necessary.

(3) Umbrella organization. The first job of the off-campus group should be to create some sort of on-campus organization and instantly make all black students at the school a part of this organization.

(4) School bulletin. This bulletin would announce black activities on and off the campus, give the positions of the off-campus group, and aid in politicizing black students at the school and raising their consciousness.

(5) Reaching the masses of black students. Along with the school bulletin, other efforts should be made to mobilize and politicize the masses of black students in the school.

(6) Political candidates. The off-campus group should definitely run an all-black slate of candidates for school elections, either for all offices or for the offices that the off-campus group considers the most important at that particular time.

(7) Black athletes union. Because the black athletes are either in actuality or in potentiality the most powerful student force at a school, attempts should be made to recruit and bring them over to the side of the off-campus group.

(8) Social events. The off-campus group should sponsor dances and other social events and should try to bring black entertainers to the school under their name. This is an invaluable tool for getting blacks to support your cause and a means of recruitment.

(9) Lectures and discussions. This would be just another way of politicizing the black student. Outside speakers should be in-

vited, and the topics should be such things as black history and political philosophy.

(10) Turning the school black. Every symbol at the school should be turned into a black symbol, if possible, so as to further get the black students looking to the off-campus group to solve his problems and to further increase his identification with the other black students at the school.

(11) Action. One tactic could be to have 200 or 300 blacks break up a school board meeting to protest a certain action. The thing that the off-campus group must always remember is that its function is to mobilize the black students to take over their school, only to destroy that school if the administration forces give it no alternative.

The CHAIRMAN. The complete document will be marked as an exhibit and received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 383" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 383

ORGANIZATION OF THE BLACK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT—SOME BASIC GUIDELINES

The high school is one of the most important components in these early stages of the Black Liberation Struggle. It is one of the few places where you have a true cross-section of at least one segment of the Black community: the youth. The purposes of organizing the Black high school student is to: (1) Create an atmosphere at the school where students can learn to think. (2) Establish a base area from which to operate in other sections of the Black Community, and (3) Recruit cadres for other areas of activity in the Black Liberation Struggle. This paper is designed to give some basic guidelines for high school organization, and should be treated only as a guide and not a rule book. The most important factor is the initiative of those organizing to assess the situation of the particular high school he is organizing at and come up with particular methods in that situation.

I. HARD CORE STEERING COMMITTEE

This committee must be made up of trained, disciplined bloods who attend the high school. They should meet as many times a week as possible with a member of the B.P.P.N.C., who will provide the link between them and the party. Also, these hard-core bloods should attend party meetings and should be active members of the party, if possible. For security reasons the groups should be small, possibly five or six. They should be as uptight or more uptight than the average party member, because it will be their role to recruit the masses of students at the high school. This is the most important component of the high school organization, and several months of intensive study and training should be taken with them before they will be able to carry on the functions of the party at their school. Their first loyalty must be to the B.P.P.N.C., from which they will receive direct orders.

II. OFF-CAMPUS GROUP

These hard-core Brothers will comprise the Central Committee of a Black Nationalist organization [OCG] of members of the particular high school, who will hold their meeting off-campus initially, will be made up of those who will be doing the day-to-day work of the organization; passing out leaflets, selling newspapers, talking to fellow Black students, etc. Efforts should be made to put to use any skills which come out of the group, such as photography, artistic ability, writing ability, etc. The members of this group, of necessity, cannot be worked with as much as the hard-core group, but they must be given at least one session a week in lecture and discussion of such things as Black History, Political Philosophy, Organizing Techniques, Karate, and any other subjects which the party leaders see as being necessary. The most important thing to realize is that this will be an organization chiefly of workers. The policy of the group will be set and determined by the B.P.P.N.C. through the hard-core steer-

ing committee, all the time inviting discussions, criticisms, and suggestions from members of the OCG. The only way there will be any discipline in the organization is if the members realize that the steering committee is the leader but the only way the group will be of any success is if the steering committee realizes that it must listen to the demands of its group and of the masses of Black students on the campus. Only with this interaction can here be any progress made in organizing the Black students in the high school.

III. UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION

The first job of the OCG should be to create some sort of organization on-campus and instantly make all Black students at the high school a part of this organization. This would be a meeting ground where all Black students could come, despite class or other differences, and talk out their problems without having to thump on them. It must be understood that this is a Black organization, no whites allowed, and that the reasons for this are not racist, but simply that Black People must learn to come together themselves to discuss their collective problems. At the meetings of this Umbrella Organization, problems relating to Black People must learn to come together themselves to discuss their collective solving these problems given. An interaction from all sides of the picture should be encouraged, and no Black student should be forced out as long as he is sincere in trying to get the problems solved. This is the place where the OCG would find out just what the interested Black students at the school are thinking about, and from these meetings plans of action can be drawn up. Also, this Umbrella Organization can be a powerful force during negotiations with the school, which will usually come at one point. The purpose of the Umbrella Organization will be to bring about a united front of the bourgeois and ghetto Black factions at the school, and so for purposes of reaching the most students its meeting should be held on-campus. Bloods for the OCG could be recruited from those who attend its meetings. Through this organization, strikes, boycotts, and rallies could be started.

IV. SCHOOL BULLETIN

A Black school bulletin should immediately be started by the OCG. This should be distributed free to the Black students at the high school as often as possible and with as many pages as possible, without, of course, sacrificing quality. This bulletin would announce Black activities on and off campus, give the positions of the OCG, and aid in politicizing Black students at the school and raising their consciousness.

V. REACHING THE MASSES OF BLACK STUDENTS

Along with the school bulletin, other efforts should be made to mobilize and politicize the masses of Black students at the school. The most important thing which can be done by the OCG is the day-to-day blowing to the bloods on campus. There can be no substitute for this! At lunch time, before and after school and when possible during classroom time, discussions on topics ranging from world to school to personal problems should be encouraged by the OCG organizers. Those who appear the most interested should be encouraged to come either to the Umbrella Organization meetings or the OCG meetings or both. **BLACK POWER!** Newspapers should be sold, and other literature passed out. Discussions should be started in classrooms as much as possible, and OCG members, should press their teachers to let them lead discussion on Black Nationalism, Black History, World Problems, or other topics as they come up. When specific problems arise, such as if the OCG and the Umbrella Organization decide to key on the bad food at the cafeteria, this should be the topic that the organizers direct their attention to. Everything should be done to make the average Black student feel a part of a Black Student Confederation at the school and everything should be done to politicize him.

VI. POLITICAL CANDIDATES

The OCG should definitely run an all-Black slate of candidates for school elections, either for all offices or for the offices that the OCG considers the most important at that particular time. Coalitions and deals should be definitely made with all bloods who have political power at the school already, but the OCG should shy away from making deals with white students unless it is absolutely necessary, Black students. These candidates would be directly representing the OCG if pos-

sible, but in any case directly responsible to the organization. The candidates would run on a well-thought-out ticket answering to the needs of the masses of Black students, and once in office they would continue to work for the interests of the Black students through direction from the OCG.

VII. BLACK ATHLETES UNION

Because the Black athletes are either in actuality or in potentiality the most powerful student forces at the school, attempts should be made either to neutralize them or to bring them over to the side of OCG. (It should be realized that during a riot or other disturbances among Black students these are the mercenary forces which Whitey uses to patrol the halls or otherwise quell the violence.) If there is already an athlete's union (such as Block C, etc.) the Black members should be approached and urged to take it over. The most radical members of the union should be recruited for the OCG, so that their understanding of the struggle will increase. Coalitions should be definitely be made with the most popular athletes, and they should be urged to exert their influence to get bloods to join the OCG. Whether there is an athlete's union already or not, Black athletes at the school should be urged to start their own separate union. Special efforts should be made to politicize all Black athletes, so that if any trouble starts they will realize whose side they are really on. The threat of all the Black athletes walking off the field during a school boycott can be a very powerful weapon when negotiating with school officials, but a lot of ground work must be laid because this is usually the most reactionary element of the high school.

VIII. SOCIAL EVENTS

The OCG should sponsor dances and other social events, and should try to bring blood entertainers to the school under their name. This is an invaluable tool for getting bloods to support your cause. Also, the OCG should not overlook sponsoring special days where bloods are urged to do special things, such as bring watermelons to eat for lunch or something of that sort. By themselves these things will do nothing to further the Black Liberation Struggle, but in conjunction with the other activities suggested in this paper they can serve to keep the school administration off balance as well as increase support among the Black students at the school for the OCG. The OCG should also support any all-blood events at the school (except completely reactionary ones), and should form coalitions with Black social clubs at the schools. Remember, the more sides you hit the Black student from, the harder it will be for him to escape reality.

IX. LECTURES AND DISCUSSIONS

The OCG should hold regular, on-campus lectures and discussions, if possible. Outside speakers should be invited, and the topics should be such things as Black History, Political Philosophy, and topics along those lines. World Problems would be another area to be discussed. This would be just another way of politicizing the Black students.

X. TURNING THE SCHOOL BLACK

Every symbol at the school should be turned into a Black symbol if possible, so as to further get the Black students looking to the OCG to solve his problems and to further increase his identification with the other Black students at the school. The OCG should organize, or get the bloods themselves to organize Black functions in the areas in which they are interested. Black talent productions, bongo drummer corps, theatrical groups, etc.; all should be organized and pushed up tempo. They can then be later used by the OCG to further hit bloods from all sides. The OCG should realize that it should put its hand in everything, as long as it will not overextend the organization and as long as by so doing it will increase the consciousness of Black students at the school. Coalitions should be made with every Black function already at the school (probably through the Umbrella Organization) and either these forces should be neutralized or brought over to the side of the OCG.

XI. ACTION

Initially, action should be taken in places where it has been determined by the OCG that Black students at the school are interested and have shown that they are willing to be committed. This commitment, of course, will have to be

pushed up tempo by the OCG organizers, as stated before. The OCG must constantly come up with new areas to protest and mobilize with, so that they aren't continually calling for the same old thing such as a school boycott. Boycotts can be effective, but only if the groundwork for them is laid and only if they are used sparingly. Mass rallies are another area that can be used to good effect. One tactic could be to have 200 or 300 bloods break up to the School Board meeting to protest a certain action. It should be remembered that no plan of action should be taken if it can be used to alienate the OCG from the masses of students. For this reason, in the initial stages of organizing anything of a mass nature should be kept to a minimum, until a sufficient amount of sympathetic forces are built around the OCG. Such action as burning the school down or jumping on white students should only be taken at later stages of the struggle, and only if the OCG is not directly involved in the rebellions (publicly). The thing the OCG must always remember is that its function is to mobilize the Black students to take over their school, only to destroy that school if the administration forces give it no alternative.

**BLACK POWER !!!
A CHANGE GONNA COME !!!**

Mr. WHITE. It is highly significant to note that the National Black Student Union business address is the same as the National Black Panther Party headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, Calif.

It should be noted that the "bible" of the Black Panther Party is Mao Tse Tung's writings contained in the "Red Book." Further pointing to the Red Chinese influence on the Black Panther Party is a letter addressed to the Black Panther Party coming from Peking, China, which berates the Johnson administration and his "imperialistic government." This letter was found in the home of a Black Panther Party member after his arrest in the city of Oakland following the April 6, 1968, ambush and shooting of two Oakland police officers.

The CHAIRMAN. That letter will be printed in the record at this point.

(The letter follows:)

"Johnson's Manpower Headache," by Kuo Hsin-ping:

The arch warmonger of the U.S., Johnson, personally flew to the West Coast to bid farewell to the troops he was rushing in to South Viet Nam. Then, at the press conference he held, he brayed: "So we have taken our stand. We shall do all to stand—and all that is asked, and all that may be required." He added he was prepared "to undertake a further troop build-up, if we need to."

It all sounded very bumptious and boastful! But what cards after all does Johnson hold?

Into their war of aggression against Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists have thrown nearly half of all their ground forces, one-fifth of all their air forces, and one-fourth of all their naval forces. The total number of men is well over 500,000. But the more they throw into the war, the greater their casualties and the heavier their defeats at the hands of the Vietnamese people, who are waging a people's war.

To date, estimates of their total casualties amount to 300,000. Washington's manpower shortage is becoming more and more serious.

Begging for reinforcements last year, Westmoreland drove a hard bargain with Johnson, who at last set a ceiling of 525,000 men by the end of June. Now Westmoreland is asking for an additional 50,000 to 100,000. Yet for the American aggressors floundering in the powerful Vietnamese people's war, this is a mere drop in the ocean.

On paper, the United States has a total of 3 million armed troops. This is a considerable figure. But it falls far short of the wolfish ambitions of its imperialist rulers, with their over-extended battle lines spreading the troops thin all over the world. There is a sharp contradiction here, which the increasing demand for reinforcements in South Viet Nam is making sharper.

At home, it has to keep a big force on the alert against the daily-awakening people and particularly against the militant struggle of resistance of the Afro-Americans. The Johnson Administration therefore has little margin to draw on as regards its mobile forces. It is now having to cut deep into the strategic reserves. Of the 10,500 troops rushed to South Viet Nam recently, there is a brigade of the 82nd Airborne Division. This is part of the mobile force originally assigned by the U.S. reactionary authorities to the job of suppressing the Latin-American people in their struggle for national liberation and the people within the U.S. Commenting gloomily on this serious situation, the U.S. journal INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE admitted that the U.S. has not a single division left in shape to move overseas in case of another conflict elsewhere.

In fact, the Johnson Administration is scraping the barrel to make up for the mounting losses in South Viet Nam. Not long ago, it decided to draw in 100,000 of the weak and ailing who had failed in the draft. And it has abolished deferments for graduate students and for those engaged in certain occupations. These are desperate moves and they will undoubtedly give rise to a still greater popular movement at home against the war of aggression in Viet Nam.

How much cannon fodder does the U.S. require in South Viet Nam? This has been calculated by one U.S. official as 8 million, at least, to provide "a perfect protective umbrella." Can Johnson scrape up this minimum figure? Obviously, it's impossible!

Against the background of these facts, the posture assumed by Johnson, as though he held sure cards in his hand—boasting that he would do "all that is asked" and "all that may be required"—may be judged for its true worth. Indeed, Johnson's loud words simply reveal the dead end into which U.S. imperialism is being driven.

During the Third Chinese Revolutionary Civil War, Chairman Mao said: "Apart from the fundamental political and economic contradictions which Chiang Kai-shek cannot resolve and which are the basic cause rendering our victory certain and Chiang's defeat inevitable, a sharp contradiction has arisen in the military sphere between Chiang's over-extended battle lines and his shortage of troops. That contradiction is bound to be the direct cause of our victory and Chiang Kai-shek's defeat."

The same applies to the U.S. imperialists in their war of aggression in South Viet Nam. They are not only facing a daily mounting political and economic crisis, but are seriously threatened by the shortage of troops, a problem they cannot solve. Their final defeat is inevitable.

Finances

Mr. WHITE. As in all radical movements, the key to the Black Panther Party has been the manner in which their finances have been concealed. There are undoubtedly countless invisible conduits from which some of these funds are derived and, when coupled with the contributions of other radical elements (profits from the sale of the Black Panther Party newspaper and posters), account for the vast amount of travel expenditures and the bail that has been posted for incarcerated members.

A prime example of the profits from the Black Panther Party newspaper would be the May 29, 1969, issue, which had a distribution of 85,000 copies. The cost of printing was \$3,000. With the paper being sold for 25 cents per copy and 10 cents going to the individual seller (assuming that all copies were sold), the overall profit could be approximately \$12,000 for this one issue.

For those cities or areas of our country that have not already experienced Black Panther Party activity, the following represents a reasonable prediction of activity based on bay area experience:

- (1) Black Panther Party representatives will attempt to recruit from or take over militant neighborhood gangs or other such organized but small groups.
- (2) Early activities will include street patrols to police the police and advise other blacks of their rights, et cetera.

(3) All Black Panther Party chapters have established a propensity for violence and should be expected to carry or have access to weapons.

(4) They will stockpile weapons and engage in firearms training.

(5) As they grow more revolutionary, sporadic acts of warfare, including arson and attempted murder, should be expected.

(6) They will engage individually in other criminal activities to obtain money for the party—armed and strong-arm robberies, burglary, dangerous drugs and marijuana sales to some extent, shake-down of street prostitutes, including robbery of her customers following the illicit act, as well as extortion of merchants based on fear of arson.

Among their more peaceful activities might be:

(1) Confrontation of city councils or other governing bodies to present charges of police brutality, demands for police review boards, and so forth.

(2) Become involved in picketing of merchants or boycotting in an attempt to arouse or propagandize the Black Panther Party or its programs.

(3) Make serious attempts via initiative petition procedure to get on the ballot and create laws which will result in decentralization of an existing police department or form their own police department.

Conclusion

Based on a continuous investigation of the Black Panther Party since its inception in Oakland, the following conclusions seem justified:

The purpose or commitment of the revolutionary Black Panther Party is to overthrow, by force, if and when it is necessary, the Government of our country as it is presently constituted and as it currently functions.

A basic contention of the Black Panther Party is that America today is a racist society dedicated to the oppression of all black people. It is my conclusion that the Black Panther Party is attempting to polarize the races. The theme of alleged racism runs through most of their propaganda, written or uttered. It is apparent that the Black Panther Party is attempting to further alienate not only whites from blacks, but also whites from the so-called brown, yellow, and red races.

Oppression by the establishment or power structure is constantly referred to by spokesmen of the Black Panther Party. The alleged oppression is purportedly attained by white manipulation of law enforcement and its police officers and by enactment of statutes or laws designed to perpetuate the power elite control over black people's destiny.

The Panthers therefore are attempting to discredit and engender disrespect for government and law enforcement. They have been working very hard to sow the seeds of distrust. They have been working very diligently in the area of maligning, inducing fear of and bringing into disrepute, the first tangible or discernible representative of government—the police departments and its officers. Black Panther Party propaganda seeks to instill fear of and disrespect for all police officers. Refusal to cooperate with, resistance to, assault upon, and even murder by ambush of policemen is continually encouraged.

The police are repeatedly referred to as an "occupying army," and a basic party platform demands that the black community be set free from the control of the racist police departments. The lawful activities of the police have been described as "aggression and provocative tactics by racist pig gestapo police who occupy our colony as foreign troops occupying conquered territory."

The attack, verbal and otherwise, against the police is continual in his book "Soul On Ice," wherein Eldridge Cleaver says: "Justice is secondary. Security is the byword." He is attempting to induce the belief that the police are ordered to act in a certain manner, so as to secure property, belonging to the so-called white ruling class, and render it safe from the "black have-nots," that the blacks are threatening to take that which they have been intentionally and systematically deprived of.

Cleaver insidiously suggests:

Why die in Vietnam fighting to provide a foreign people with that which you do not enjoy yourself at home?

The anti-establishment appeal or approach is frequently used by the Black Panther Party spokesmen, such as Cleaver. Panthers oppose "everything that the enemy supports, and we must support it if the enemy opposes it, without any equivocation."

The country is involved in an internal arms race. I am convinced that Panthers possess many arms of all types—handguns, rifles, shotguns, and even fully automatic weapons, which are either stolen or are semiautomatics that have been converted. A basic requisite to membership in the Black Panther Party is that each member must acquire his personal "piece"—a gun—and know how to use it.

Panther leaders have stated that the world is dominated and controlled by those who possess the biggest weapon or the most guns and furtherance of the black struggle will be accomplished by killing and fighting for power. "If we can't have all benefits, including freedom in this country, you can't have it either."

Huey Newton insists that the Black Panther Party is a political party working for the liberation of the black community. He contends that the Black Power movement must arm itself, acquire military power in order to succeed, that alleged brutalization and exploitation of black people is the justification for physically reacting against the system.

This philosophy is in keeping with the often Panther-quoted statement by Chairman Mao Tse Tung that "political power grows through the barrel of a gun." Newton explains that such power accompanied by destruction of property results in recognition of the black community's demands, because of the fear and respect that all people have for power.

Newton has stated that "free enterprise and capitalism has always been destructive to blacks, and a drastic change, a revolutionary change in the basic structure, is necessary."

Mr. Chairman, the statements and the facts that I have presented during my testimony on the Black Panther Party are the result of my experience and observations as a member of the Intelligence Unit of the Oakland Police Department.

I hope that my testimony has been beneficial to you in your inquiries into the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

I notice you have another statement prepared on the Students for a Democratic Society. Is that correct?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. This is an eight-page statement, is that correct?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, could I focus on one exhibit before he proceeds?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, indeed.

Senator GRIFFIN. At one point in your statement you asked for the introduction of exhibit 12, your exhibit 12, which is entitled "Outline for Weapons Class." Do you recall that exhibit?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. That was one we found to be already in the record, exhibit 333.

Senator GRIFFIN. You refer to it on page 14, I believe, of your statement. Do you have a copy of that before you?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, Senator. I have a duplicate of the exhibit.

Senator GRIFFIN. It has about six or seven pages to it. Is that right?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. Is this a Black Panther document of some kind?

Mr. WHITE. This is a copy from material that was distributed during the so-called retreat in the city of Oakland and city of San Francisco, during the fall of 1968. I have forgotten the exact date, but it is in the record.

We acquired this through confidential sources.

Senator GRIFFIN. This was for indoctrination of members of the Black Panthers?

Mr. WHITE. This is a portion of the outlines.

Senator GRIFFIN. I want to direct your attention to page 5 of what seem to be unnumbered pages, a section entitled "Security," and then under that several subsections, with one entitled "Finances."

I am just going to read "The use of finances, areas of study," and then under that "External means of financing the underground, sources of money, foreign governments:

"Outside support is given to underground for several reasons. The most important is that the activities of the underground often contribute to the defeat of a common enemy, relating to Tri-Continental."

Then there is a reference under that to "Governments in exile:

"An exiled government may raise money for an underground by floating bonds."

The next item is "Counterfeit money:

"Another way is through the use of counterfeit money."

I just thought, Mr. Chairman, it might be of some interest to make the committee aware that this particular outline goes beyond just an outline for weapons. It also has those important items, among many others.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Senator, I think it is well to emphasize it and call it to our attention.

We are receiving these documents, these exhibits, as the witnesses offer them, without taking the time, which would be impractical, to read them all in full and to examine them thoroughly before letting them be received as exhibits.

A study of them later will reveal a great many of these things that are not probably stressed here in the testimony.

Senator GRIFFIN. I think one of the most difficult areas for our investigation is to try to figure out whether, and to what extent, there is financial support of this organization and related organizations, and where it is coming from. I am just focusing on all the information that might shed light on that point.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Now do you want to proceed with the subject of Students for a Democratic Society?

Mr. WHITE. I am prepared to do so, Mr. Chairman.

This testimony with regard to the Students for a Democratic Society will also be presented from a statement I have prepared from my knowledge—

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry to interrupt, but there is one item before we leave the Black Panthers I wanted to question about.

There were three individuals on that chart who had not been identified—Otis D. Morgan, James Earl Mott, Melvin C. Whitaker. I wonder if this witness can identify any of those individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the chart?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You know the three he is talking about—Morgan in San Diego, Whitaker and Mott in Sacramento? Do you know anything about any of those?

Mr. WHITE. With respect to those charts, I can either personally or through confidential informants identify every one of those people.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those three particularly identified with the organization?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir; they are.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you. I thought that was a loose end we should get settled.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's proceed.

Students For a Democratic Society (SDS)

Mr. WHITE. This report will delve into the SDS activities of the Oakland-Berkeley area of California. Subversive activities in the past 5 years in this area have followed avenues under organizational and movement titles that change almost monthly.

The majority of the leftist militant activity during this time has been under the names of the "Free Speech Movement," "May 2nd Movement," "Independent Socialist Club," "W. E. B. DuBois Club," "Young People's Socialist Club," "Communist Party," "Young People's Socialist Alliance," "Welfare Rights Organization," "Vietnam Day Committee," "Committee To End the War in Vietnam," "Peace Rights Organization Committee," "Oakland Peace Center," "Community for New Politics," "Ad Hoc Committee for Civil Rights," "Congress of Racial Equality," "Oakland Direct Action Committee," "Black Panther Party," "East Oakland Parish," and the "Peace and Freedom Party."

The main reason that SDS has had trouble organizing in this area recently is that subversive activities have been more oriented toward

movement causes rather than organizational names. It should be remembered that there is documented evidence that SDS members have been involved in practically all major leftist demonstrations and confrontations in the Oakland-Berkeley area in the past 5 years. Some examples of this will be explained briefly.

The stop-the-draft-week demonstration and riots of October 16 to 20, 1967, in which SDS continually, through mass leafleting, called for support of the demonstrations and resistance against the police. Over 300 people were arrested during this week, with over 150 injuries, 37 being policemen. In the mass street rioting which occurred in Berkeley in the summer of 1968, SDS again supported the demonstrators and bitterly denounced the police. The same occurred in the Third World Liberation Front riots in January and February of 1969 on the Berkeley University of California campus. The latest example of their propagandizing program (leaflets) has been during the rioting which ensued from the people's park issue beginning on May 15, 1969. This was the worst civil turmoil to occur in California since the August 1965 Watts riots.

SDS has been very careful in the bay area to avoid calling for actions that would precipitate a possible confrontation with the authorities. This is obviously not because of their responsible character, but they have found it more expedient and less vulnerable to authorities to work within other organizations, most of the time being student fronts on a campus.

I will briefly recount in chronological order the major events and appropriate leaders at the time of these events perpetrated by SDS in this area. One should keep in mind this chronology does not include all SDS activities in this area. In order not to divulge confidential sources, certain activities will not be explained or referred to.

The first major organizational meeting of SDS in this area was on September 28, 1964, in Stiles Hall in Berkeley. At this time the acting chairman (later elected permanent chairman) was Eric Levine.

In the summer of 1965 the Berkeley chapter of SDS attempted to organize the deprived people of East Oakland into block community organizations but failed. In May of 1965 Roy Dahlberg wrote a letter to the Pioneer newspaper (California State College) stating his intentions to return from his civil-rights work in Mississippi to SDS headquarters in Oakland (320 Henry Street) to bring about the truly democratic world.

Within the same summer of 1965 SDS, failing in East Oakland, attempted a block program in West Oakland.

A confidential source reported to me that on July 12, 1965, a Paul Booth was reported to be directing this West Oakland community (summer) project of SDS. The attorney for this project was Lawrence L. Duga, of 2550 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley. This subject has been with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) for many years. The location of the SDS summer project headquarters was again 320 Henry Street, Oakland. This property was purchased from Loretta, John, and Judy Vander Veen by Roy M. Dahlberg (previously mentioned), son of Roy W. Dahlberg of 6609 Mokelumne Street, Oakland, and Robert Machado, of Hayward, who is presently and has been for some time the president of SDS at California State College, Hayward, Calif.

Active in the SDS West Oakland project was Steve Weissman, bay area activist and former instructor at Stanford University. Also active was Michael Davis (male, white, born March 10, 1946) and David Wellman.

During this period of time, and later, SDS sponsored many radical forums, and on practically every occasion, the majority of the people present represented organizations other than SDS.

A long-time activist in this area, Bruce Rappaport (wife, Randy), was briefly active with SDS in this area and in April 1964, wrote for the SDS bulletin while at the University of Chicago.

In 1963-64, Todd Gitlin was president of SDS, and in June of 1962, Tom Hayden delivered the Port Huron statement at the founding convention of SDS. He is recognized by many as the founder of SDS. Both of these subjects have been living in the bay area for practically a year now and are still very close friends, crossing paths frequently in their work on the International Liberation School, soon to open in Berkeley.

On July 18, 1964, a benefit party for Berkeley SDS and the SDS national office was held at Dr. Richard Strohman's house at 710 Keeler Avenue in Oakland. Present were Paul Potter (past president of SDS) and Carl Oglesby, the acting president. Also hosting the benefit was Dr. Donald Wilson. At the time, both Strohman and Wilson were professors at the University of California, Berkeley.

On July 20, 1965, SDS at Berkeley sponsored a talk by Carl Oglesby, who was at that time president of SDS, who recounted his experience of a tour of North Vietnam.

On September 29, 1965, an SDS meeting was held in Dwinelle Hall at the University of California, Berkeley, and the main speakers for SDS were Buddy and Susan Stein, who were active in the free speech movement in 1964 at the University of California, Berkeley. This was one of the many organizing meetings that SDS frequently held on the campus.

On October 6, 1965, another SDS meeting was held at 109 Dwinelle Hall, University of California, Berkeley. Approximately 29 persons attended this meeting, at which Berkeley SDS was divided into three committees—antidraft, community organization, and freedom schools. The confidential informant reported that the main leaders at this meeting were SDS members Wayne Saslow and Nigel Young.

Besides the meetings which are held almost weekly on the University of California, Berkeley, campus, SDS weekly rallies are almost a constant diet on the campus.

On November 3, 1965, Barry Weisberg spoke as an SDS leader and is still very much part of the revolutionary scene in Berkeley.

The CHAIRMAN. That signal is the signal for another rolcall vote.

Since you only lack some four pages, can we insert this into the record as your testimony?

Mr. WHITE. I would be pleased to agree to that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It will all go into the record. By the time we go over and come back, it will be a little late.

Without objection, I will direct that the rest of the statement of the witness, being about four pages, be inserted in the record at this point as a part of his testimony, as though read.

All of this is under oath. You do understand that will be sworn testimony, don't you?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Another important phase of SDS programs in the Berkeley-Oakland area is its propagandizing programs, occurring practically daily through leaflets, pamphlets, posters, and newsletters.

On October 29, 1966, SDS held an all-day national "black power" conference in the Greek theater of the University of California, Berkeley. The major speaker at the conference was Stokely Carmichael.

It is interesting to note that during this week the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense leadership met continually with Stokely Carmichael pertaining to the newly formed party, the Black Panther Party. The subjects who applied for the permit for this SDS teach-in were: Harold S. Jacobs, John Roemer, Michael Sharon, Kit Lyons, Joe Blum, Sandra G. Horowitz, and Patricia A. Popkins. All of these individuals are still very active in revolutionary activities in the Berkeley area, although John Roemer is the only person still active with SDS (Progressive Labor Party also).

From December 27 to 31, 1966, 10 a.m. to 11 p.m., SDS held a national council workshop session in Wheeler Auditorium at the University of California, Berkeley. The applicant for university permission for SDS was Ingrid K. Dymond, of 2028 Francisco, Berkeley, who listed herself as treasurer of SDS. The accomplished purpose of this conference was to establish a national SDS antidraft program.

According to a confidential source, Robert Bruce Avakian, long-time activist in this area, was the keynote speaker of this conference, but failed to win his argument of organizing poor whites as taking precedence over any other SDS projects. After this, Avakian was seldom active in SDS.

During this period of time of SDS activities in this area, Mark Kleiman, SDS field secretary, was a prime organizer and leader.

On March 15, 1967, a current contact list of SDS regional officers was printed by SDS and listed: Steve Greenberg, Smyth Hall, room 518, Berkeley; Aris Bymond, 5689 Oak Grove, Oakland; Pat Popkins, 2040 Hearst, apartment A, Berkeley.

On or about November 2, 1967, signing a letter to the editor of the University of California, Berkeley, student newspaper, the Daily Californian, Norman Pedersen and Mike Ammerman of SDS denounced military recruiting on the campus.

In December 1967 in the California Monthly, Steven Gompertz, head of Berkeley SDS Anti-Draft Union, wrote in support of the SDS antidraft program.

Another key SDS activist leader in late 1967 was Karen Lieberman Walf, of Berkeley, who frequently wrote in SDS's New Left Notes. She is reportedly in Cuba now.

By the fall of 1968, SDS was very active, along with other leftist groups, in their fight on the University of California, Berkeley, campus to attain accreditation for a course taught by Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver.

On November 3, 1968, an SDS leaflet signed by Joan Kramer, Mike Urmann, and Dave Wolfinson explained SDS's strategy for this fight.

Other key documentable leadership within Berkeley SDS in the past is: Prof. Ron Yank (formerly University of California, Berkeley),

Michael Urmann, Morgan Spector, Jeff Jones, John Poole, Steve Cherkoss, Steve Hamilton, Jeff Segal, Nick Gruenberg, Ron Medak, Roz Goldstein, Leon Marzittier, and Carla Roemer.

The active leadership of Berkeley SDS today is: Carla Roemer, Ken Epstein, Dave Wolfinson, Debbie Reven, Ron Medak, Roz Goldstein, and Henry Piccioto (noncitizen, Lithuanian).

Berkeley SDS was drastically factionalized in the fall of 1968 with the formation of the Radical Student Union on the University of California, Berkeley, campus. The Radical Student Union was formed to collate revolutionaries who are students on the campus and have gone the gamut of organizational affiliations and were especially tired of the Progressive Labor Party's influence in SDS.

The Radical Student Union is led by Harold Jacobs, Mike Lerner, Art Goldberg, Jack Bloom, and Paul Glusman, and it is closely aligned with the Bay Area Revolutionary Union and the International Liberation School. The International Liberation School is under the guidance and control of Tom Hayden, Stewart Albert, and a key Black Panther Party leader.

It is important to note that many national leftist leaders who were one-time SDS national leaders have come to the bay area to live and subvert. Such notables are: Jeff Gerth, Linda Morse, Bernardine Dohrn, Tom Hayden, Stew Albert, Art Goldberg, Honey Williams, and Keith Lampe.

It is interesting also to note that most of the major SDS leadership in the bay area are members of the Progressive Labor Party, with young, new activists comprising the remaining SDS constituency.

Oakland Merritt College SDS coleaders are: Patti Cohen of 426 61st Street, Oakland, and Larry Myers, of Berkeley.

Oakland Laney College SDS coleaders are: Ray Kroto, of 2307 Ward Street, apartment A, Berkeley, and Larry Stickel, of 1814 Derby Street, Berkeley.

To summarize SDS's role and its importance to the revolutionary movement in this area, many key revolutionary leaders are still very interested in preserving their relationships with the most important SDS leaders. An example of late was in May of this year when Mike Klonsky (national secretary of SDS) stayed with Arlene Eisen Bergman and Lincoln Bergman in Berkeley for a few days. Both Arlene and her husband are very close to the Revolutionary Union and are on the staff of the Movement newspaper.

The Revolutionary Union reportedly plans, through some of its key leaders, to obtain significant positions in the SDS national leadership at this month's National Convention in Chicago.

It is the writer's researched conclusion that SDS effectiveness has somewhat diminished in this area because the revolutionary climate and individuals have "politically" outgrown SDS. If a list of the 50 most active revolutionaries was compiled in this area, none would presently be SDS members. With the formation of the Radical Student Union, Bay Area Revolutionary Union, International Liberation School, Black Panther Party, and various "community revolutionary committees"—such as those that formed the Berkeley 13-point program, the architecture of the takeover of Berkeley, "People's Park" being the first of their intentions—SDS has had to take a back seat.

If at this month's National Convention certain key revolutionaries from the area obtain positions of power, SDS activity in this area will revive and probably be more effective than heretofore.

The latest example of national revolutionary interest in this area is the slated "Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism" to be held in Oakland on July 18-21, 1969. Speakers and organizations presently scheduled (not yet completed) are Attorney William Kunstler; Black Panther Party national officers David Hilliard, Kathleen Cleaver, Bobby Seale, Raymond Hewitt ("Masai"), Roosevelt Hilliard, Emory Douglas, Robert Rush; and International Liberation School representatives Tom Hayden and Stew Albert. Attorney Charles Garry, Dr. Phillip Shapiro, Dr. Carlton Goodlett, and Dr. Donald Freed, and SDS representatives are also scheduled to speak.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my testimony on the subject matter for which I was subpoenaed before the subcommittee. I wish to take this opportunity to thank you and the members of the subcommittee for inviting me as a representative of the Oakland Police Department to assist you in your inquiry. We feel that the American public is entitled to enlightenment concerning the true nature and intention of the groups discussed during these proceedings. We assure you of our further cooperation should you require it.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I hope you understand our lack of opportunity to question you is something over which we have no control. Our not questioning you doesn't indicate any lack of interest or appreciation in the cooperation you have given us and in the fine testimony that you have presented.

It is only through the cooperation of witnesses such as are appearing here at these hearings that we can possibly render this service to the Congress and to our country.

You have our very deep thanks for the assistance you have given.

Senator GRIFFIN. I would like to associate myself with your remarks, Mr. Chairman. All of the witnesses and all of the people who have helped in preparing this presentation today and this week, I think, ought to be thanked, not only by the committee but by the American people.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

We couldn't do it, Mr. White, without your cooperation. We can organize it and bring it here to put it on the record. But those of you in the field who make the contacts, who have the knowledge, who are willing to cooperate with us, perform a greater service, possibly, than the committee.

But, anyway, all totaled, all combined, all of our efforts, I think, are making a contribution.

Very well. The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock next Tuesday morning, June 24, 1969.

(Whereupon, at 5:30 p.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m. Tuesday, June 24, 1969.)

RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

TUESDAY, JUNE 24, 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 Karl E. Mundt, Republican, South Dakota; Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican, New York; Senator Robert P. Griffin, Republican, Michigan; and Senator Charles Percy, Republican, Illinois.

Also present: Jerome S. Adlerman, general counsel; 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; Joseph 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 Mundt.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, call your first witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Benjamin Lashkoff, San Francisco Police Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Come forward, please.

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?

Mr. LASHKOFF. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN LASHKOFF

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

Mr. LASHKOFF. Mr. Chairman, my name is Ben Lashkoff. I am a police inspector assigned to the intelligence unit of the San Francisco Police Department. I have been a police officer in the San Francisco Police Department for 22 years, 13 of which I have been assigned to the intelligence unit. For the past 5 years, my assignments have been in

the field coverage of dissident, subversive, radical activist groups and organizations.

I am here at the request of this subcommittee to relate my knowledge of some of the activities of the Black Panther Party (BPP) as they apply in the San Francisco area.

The CHAIRMAN. I see you have a written or prepared statement.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to read all of your statement?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Most of it, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any part that is not read may be printed in the record, and you may proceed to read such parts as you care to. The rest will be printed in the record.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Thank you, sir.

The Black Panther Party in San Francisco began in the fall of 1966. It started with an extremely small membership and was led at that time by James Paul Garrett, who was involved in and was the bay area coordinator for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at that time.

James Garrett with Leroi Jones, the black playwright, and Benjamin Radell Stewart, black student activists, were the forerunners of the Black Panther activists in the San Francisco area. James Garrett evolved from the BPP in San Francisco to the presidency of an organization called the Black Student Union (BSU) at San Francisco State College (S.F.S.C.). Garrett headed this organization as its president until he left the State of California and became the assistant administrator of the Black Cultural School in Washington, D.C., ostensibly a black studies school in Washington, in October of 1968. On March 10, 1969, Garrett was listed as an assistant professor of creative writing at Federal City College, 425 Second Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Senator MUNDT. I don't believe I am familiar with the Black Cultural School in Washington, D.C.

Mr. LASHKOFF. I think it was the forerunner of the black studies program they are formulating at that college, sir.

Senator MUNDT. It is not really an educational institution, or is it?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No. It is just an off-campus school that is related to the school.

When Jimmy Garrett became president of the BSU at San Francisco State, Ben Stewart and George Mason Murray became the leaders of the BPP in San Francisco. Eventually, both Stewart and Murray became officers in the BSU, but George Mason Murray remained on the central committee of the Black Panther Party, national headquarters, as their minister of education.

In a speech at San Jose College, Jimmy Garrett, on September 18, 1967, while calling for a black organization, BSU, at said college, stated the following:

I am a senior in English at San Francisco State College. I have been an honor student since I have been there, a year and a half. I just got into the school. They just let me in. Know how they let me in? We took five people up to the administration and said to them, if I can't get in, then you won't have any school this semester.

He further stated:

I worked for SNCC for three years. I know all about SNCC. I worked in Mississippi and Alabama. I have known about SNCC. SNCC became strong and firm when it was all black. It became weak, and it became strong, with the advent of black power. That's what you should keep in mind. Don't make the mistakes some of the rest of us have made. Your thrust, I don't care if there are 10 of you, 10 of you who represent the black people on the campus, no matter how you move, are the most powerful unit on the campus because you don't have anything to lose. Your career won't mean a damn thing if you are in Tulle Lake at a concentration camp area. If there are 10 brothers on this campus ready to move, you control the campus. If there are 10 brothers and sisters behind them, you control the campus. Keep that in mind. Ten of you. Ten of you. Any time we get ten black people together, when they are talking about something else besides women or sports, they are a danger. Keep that in mind brothers. Ten strong black men. Ten strong black men can run the entire campus. We do it ourselves. Just ten of us. We want to show our solidarity with the brothers down here in San Jose State College. Thank you very much.

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

Mr. LASHKOFF. From the original recruitment program that Garrett, Stewart, and George Mason Murray set up, the BPP in San Francisco evolved at first into a hodge-podge of teenage and adult (black) petty hoodlums and thieves. As Huey P. Newton grew in stature in the Oakland-Berkeley area, the BPP in San Francisco began to show a semblance of political orientation. It based its platform on "Chairman Mao's Red Book" and began a program of training and orientation for its members.

The present office of the BPP in San Francisco is located at 1336 Fillmore Street. In command of this office is Donald Lee Cox, who has the title of the Field Marshal, Black Panther Party. Three captains under Cox's command in the San Francisco office are Gwendell Joyce White, DOB 2/2/33; Dexter Earl Woods, DOB 10/8/47; and Landon Robert Williams, DOB 4/20/44. Some of the section leaders include Richard Edward Brown, DOB 3/23/41; Eugene Alan Stancill, DOB 7/29/38; and Knox Woods, in his early 20's. Captain Louis Randy Williams, Jr., DOB 7/13/42, is the chairman in charge of the Black Panthers' school breakfasts held at the Sacred Heart Church. I will go into the school breakfasts later on in this report.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand they use a church for a headquarters?

Mr. LASHKOFF. They use it for a meeting spot and for the Black Breakfast Program.

The CHAIRMAN. What church is made available to this group for their use?

Mr. LASHKOFF. This is the Sacred Heart Church which is a Catholic church. They also have a Methodist church which I will mention later on in this report, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. LASHKOFF. In a flyer that the BPP distributed in the San Francisco area in the early part of 1969 titled "Political Education Kit for Black Panther Party Members", is stated that the primary objective of our party is "to establish revolutionary political power for black people."

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 384" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT NO. 384



Black Panther Party



CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
P. O. BOX 8641 • EMERYVILLE BRANCH • OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA
654-2003; 654-2004; 863-6459; 921-4232

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

- Minister of Defense
HUEY P. NEWTON
- Chairman
BOBBY SEALE
- Minister of Information
KLEDGE CLEAVER
- National Mgr. Captain
DAVID HELLARD
- Field Marshal
UNDERGROUND
- Minister of Education
GEORGE MURRAY
- Minister of Finance
MELVIN NEWTON
- Minister of Foreign Affairs
JAMES FORMAN
- Minister of Justice
H. RAP BROWN
- Prison Minister
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
- Communications Secretary
KATHLEEN CLEAVER
- Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

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 propa- ganda 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 propa- ganda 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

NOTE: We Do Not Want War. We Are The Advocates of the Abolition of War, But War Can Only be Abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to pick up the gun.

Power to the People
Black Power to the People
PANTHER POWER

The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propa- ganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propa- ganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.

Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung, p. 100

We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing.

Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung, p. 3

We are 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.

Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung, p. 63

INTERNAL SECURITY - RACE
San Francisco, California Department
of Justice
San Francisco, California

Mr. LASHKOFF. It quotes:

The Black Panther Party 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 propa- ganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming black people, helping them to establish revolutionary political power by 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 propa- ganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary 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 do not want war. We are the advocates of the abolition of war, but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to pick up the gun. Power to the people, Black Power to the people, Panther power.

Senator GRIFFIN. Everything that you have just read was in quotation marks and appeared here?

Mr. LASHKOFF. On exhibit 1 of the Political Education Kit.

Senator GRIFFIN. The Political Education Kit that is distributed to the Black Panther member?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is right, sir.

Two of the above quotes—

Have faith in the masses

and

We must have faith in the party

were taken from the quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, page 3, of the "Red Book" and incorporated on the aforementioned leaflet.

Mr. Chairman, I will not delve into the BPP training program, but I have with me a copy of an official BPP outline of responsibility of the rank and file of BPP members which breaks down the organization into training, members, ranks, subsection leaders (corporal), section leaders (sergeants), security, coordinators, and the names of the central committee staff of the BPP.

I would like to present that as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; it may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 385" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. LASHKOFF. This outlines the training programs, identifies some of the Black Panther Party members in California and other States, and identifies staff members of the Black Panther Party.

I might also mention at this time that the Black Panther newspaper is published in San Francisco by the Quinn Printing Co. at 298 Alabama Street. As of March, 1969, 30,000 copies have been the approximate number distributed weekly. I have brought this to your attention at this time because on page 1 of Exhibit 385, the Managing Editor, Revolutionary Artists, Circulation Manager, and so forth, of the BPP are listed by name.

During a police investigation, diagrams of explosive-type devices and instructions on sabotage and other acts of subversion were found in a deserted Black Panther Party pad at 708 Central Avenue, San Francisco (on March 25, 1969, at 2 p.m.). The material is self-explanatory and I will not present it as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 386" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. LASHKOFF. This exhibit shows written material found in a Black Panther Party pad on how to make Molotov cocktails and how to commit acts of sabotage.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was this found?

Mr. LASHKOFF. At 708 Central Avenue, which was used by Black Panther Party members. When they moved out and the police moved in, we found all of this material.

The Black Panther Party in San Francisco has been successful in recruiting young blacks—school dropout types—because it gave the young blacks a sense of direction and a sense of belonging. They made it appear through their propaganda to this type of youth that whatever crimes he or she may commit, he or she was doing so not because of their own weaknesses and desires but due to the oppression and poverty foisted upon them by the so-called white ruling, white establishment.

This has given the black hoodlum a sense of righteousness when he steals a car, shoplifts, holds up a store or in any other way commits a crime against the establishment, for he believes that he is then committing the crime for the benefit of the black people in this country. As an example of this, on Tuesday, November 19, 1968, at 11:45 a.m., at a Shell service station located at 2890 Third Street in San Francisco, there was an armed holdup. The victims, a Mr. Williams and a Mr. George, both attendants at the service station, related the following, which I quote from a police report:

A white walk-in van-type truck with "Free Eldridge Cleaver" signs pasted on the side, drove into the service station at approximately 11:45 a.m. Suspect No. 2, the driver of the vehicle, got out and ordered \$2 worth of gas and walked to the restroom. Suspect No. 1, sitting in the passenger side, got out of the vehicle and asked Mr. Williams for change for 25 cents. Mr. Williams told him he had to go to another employee, Leonard George, who was at the register on the island, which is the dividing strip in the center of the gas station. Suspect No. 1 then walked over to Mr. George and said "Gimme the rest of it!", meaning money, with his hand under his jacket, simulating a gun. Mr. George thought that the suspect was kidding at this time. Suspect 1 then opened his coat, pulling out a large automatic (caliber unknown) from his waistband. Mr. George then complied and handed suspect No. 1 three \$10 bills, three \$5 bills, and 25 \$1 bills. A passing witness at this time observed suspect No. 1 with the gun. Suspect No. 2 came out of the restroom and entered the vehicle. Suspect No. 1 then walked back to the vehicle and as he did so he handed Mr. Williams 2 \$1 bills for the gas. He then entered the vehicle on the passenger side and the suspects slowly drove out of the service station, west on 25th Streets and turned and then went north on Indiana Street. Suspect 3, who did not get out of the vehicle, could be seen crouching down between the driver and passenger. No other suspects could be seen by the victims at this time. The vehicle was described as a white walk-in van with sliding doors, similar to an old bakery type of truck or patrol wagon. It had dual tires in the rear and California license B27765. The side of the vehicle had "Free Eldridge Cleaver" signs pasted on.

A San Francisco police sergeant (Becker) who had obtained the original armed robbery report, immediately broadcast the description of the suspected vehicle and the suspects. At approximately 11:35 a.m., 10 minutes after the holdup, the following scene evolved at Seventh near Harrison Streets, which streets are located approximately one-half block from the San Francisco Hall of Justice, which is the main headquarters building for the San Francisco Police Department. A report of what transpired at said location was made by officers responding to the scene of a shooting.

As we arrived on the scene, in front of 355 Seventh Street, we found Lieutenant Dermott Creedon, attached to the Southern Station, and Sergeant Robert Flynn, also of the Southern Police Station, lying in front of said location. Lieutenant Creedon was lying on the curbline in front of the aforementioned address bleeding from chest wounds. Sergeant Flynn was lying in the second traffic lane, also in front of the above address, suffering from a gunshot wound of the lower abdomen. Inspector Michael O'Mahoney standing on the sidewalk was suffering from a gunshot wound of the right index finger. An ambulance was summoned and the wounded officers were taken to the Mission Emergency

Hospital for treatment. It was later ascertained that police radio car occupied by two officers was leaving the Hall of Justice when they heard an "officer needs assistance" call emanating from the 300 block of Seventh Street. The two officers proceeded to the scene and were enroute when they observed Sergeant Flynn lying on the street in a traffic lane near a white van truck and Lieutenant Credon lying on the right side of the van near the rear area close to the curbline.

One of the officers observed five Negro males attempting to exit from the rear of the truck. This officer drew his service revolver and forced the five Negro males who were exiting from the rear of the truck back into the rear of the van and locked them in by using the outside locking device on the truck. The other officer stepping out of his radio car on reaching the front of his vehicle, observed a Negro suspect stand up from behind a parked auto and fire one shot in his direction. The bullet struck the left-side headlight of the radio car, breaking it. The officer returned the fire, one shot.

The shooting suspect and two other male Negroes, who then fled the scene, were subsequently taken into custody by the officers with the assistance of other responding police officers. It was subsequently ascertained that all eight suspects, members of the BPP, had been involved in the service station holdup 10 minutes prior to the shooting down of the three police officers. The suspected van came off the freeway at Seventh and Harrison Streets and when Officers Credon and Flynn pulled them over to investigate, they were shot down. This case is presently pending trial. All of the suspects are out on bail, two of them have been involved in other types of criminal activities since that time. Only one of the suspects had been charged with the shooting of the officers, another with the robbery. I might add that three of the aforementioned suspects possessed criminal records prior to the armed robbery and shooting. And several others had juvenile records.

The CHAIRMAN. When did this occur?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Approximately 7 months ago. The man that was charged with the shooting in this case was William Lee Brent, who just hijacked a plane a week ago from Oakland, Calif., and went to Cuba.

The CHAIRMAN. He is out on bond. What is his bond?

Mr. LASHKOFF. His bond is \$50,000. He was supposed to appear in court yesterday and he didn't make it, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't understand, if seven are involved, why you say only one was indicted.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Only one was charged with the shooting down of the officers. The officers couldn't identify the person shooting. They stepped out of the car and were shot down without being able to identify who did the shooting.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the others charged with anything, the other six?

Mr. LASHKOFF. They were, but they were all dismissed, except one who was charged with the robbery of the service station.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the problem out there about enforcing the law?

Mr. LASHKOFF. What they are doing is enforcing the civil rights laws.

The CHAIRMAN. And letting people get murdered?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is the way it seems.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if you violated a law you are subject to the enforcement of the law, if you violate a civil rights statute. If you kill somebody, hold up, rob, you get the case dismissed?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is the way it seems.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of justice is that?

Mr. LASHKOFF. I would say very poor justice.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is the responsibility for it?

Mr. LASHKOFF. The responsibility lays with your district attorney and your prosecuting attorneys.

The CHAIRMAN. Why can't they move out there to enforce the law? What is wrong?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That I don't know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a kind of a tragic state of affairs.

Mr. LASHKOFF. As a result of this case and subsequent publicity attached to it, the BPP organized and were successful in conducting defense fund drives and defense parties to obtain alleged legal fees and bail moneys for the defendants. The facts in the case have been twisted by Black Panther propoganda to make it appear as if the police were at fault in the shooting. In this manner the party obtains sympathy and support. We have had many confrontations with members of the BPP in various areas of San Francisco, prior to and since the shooting.

I would like to bring to your attention at this time a new program that the BPP has started in the San Francisco Bay area. In their effort to indoctrinate and disseminate their antiestablishment, antipolice, antiauthority doctrine, they have started what they call the "Hot Breakfast Program." This program came to our attention in the spring of 1969, when leaflets were passed out to various persons in the predominantly black areas of the Fillmore and Hunters Point district of San Francisco.

I will now present two exhibits, Senator, which documents the Black Panther Party Breakfast Program and the brainwashing that goes along with the program.

The Black Panther Party paper on April 27, 1969, on page 7, stated:

Feed the youth and the youth will feed the revolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 387 and 388" for reference and follow:)

- EXHIBIT No. 387

COME SEE ABOUT HUEY!

Dear Parent; The Black Panther Party, Founded by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, Has Provided Hot Breakfast Every Morning For Your Children.

As You Know We Are Making An Appeal To Free Huey P. Newton On Bail. We Ask That You Keep Your Children Out Of School In Honor Of May Day, May 1, 1969. We Invite You And Your Children To Join Us In Showing Support And Attend The Rally, May 1st, 1969 At Ten O'Clock In The Morning, At The Federal Court Bld. 450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco. If You Are Unable To Attend Send Your Children To The Breakfast With A Permission Slip And We Will Take Them And Bring Them Back.

COME SEE ABOUT HUEY!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

I, _____, Give My Child (Children) Permission To Be Taken To The May Day Rally For Huey Newton. I Support You And All Power To The People!
Name Of Children Or Child _____
Address and Phone No. _____

EXHIBIT No. 388

HUNGEY CHILDREN

A Black child sits in a classroom and stares out the window. The teacher talks about taking 14 apples and dividing them with 7 friends and ending up with 2 apples apiece. At the sound of the word apple, the Black child's face

looks up and he seems to know what she's talking about, but he's thinking about how he can get one of those apples to eat. The teacher in the meantime drones on about remainders and quotients. The result is that the child falls farther and farther behind. The root cause of this problem is not mental incapacibilities or "cultural deprivation," but hunger.

VICIOUS CHAINS

It's a vicious circle that Black people are caught up in this country. They TELL US, You're hungry because you're poor . . . You're poor because you haven't got the best jobs . . . You can't get the best jobs because you're uneducated, and you're uneducated because you didn't learn in school because you weren't interested. And every time the teacher mentioned 5 apples or 6 bananas, your stomach growled. How can a person learn about remainders and quotients when his mind is concentrating on a very real and concrete problem? Where is the next meal coming from? The Black Panther Party standing as a true representative of Black people's desires and needs, realizes that the vicious circle and chain of events must be broken, it cannot and must not be allowed to continue.

SERVE THE PEOPLE

The Black Panther Party recognizes this vicious chain, and as our chairman Bobby Seale says, "Revolutionaries must always go forth to answer the momentary desires and needs of the people, the poor and oppressed people, while waging the revolutionary struggle . . . We are concerned with the desires of the people and naturally the people are going to relate to what the Party is trying to put together for them. They will relate to the fact that the Party is really trying to serve them. We go down there to work, to put this program together. They become involved because they are community people, and there's not even a preacher in any church (preachers have always brainwashed the Black people) who can deny a breakfast for children program. There's not a businessman nor a demagogic politician around who can deny a breakfast for children program and get away with it . . .

A revolutionary organization has to maintain and righteously serve the people and not just jive them. And when the people see that we're not jiving they're going to relate to that. Because it's their program.

As Huey has said, "We are only like oxen to be ridden by the people. A strong detachment that the people can always use to serve them or when a crisis comes forth.

BREAK THE CHAIN

The chain was broken: a free breakfast program was born in Oakland. The people under leadership and guidance of the Black Panther Party smashed this evil chain, and moved to collectively feed their own children. Our party knew along with anyone else who had eyes to see and ears to listen, that our children were going hungry. But this is where our party differs from previous parties and groups. Our party took this basic desire and need of our people and brought into reality working alongside the people.

NOT ENOUGH

Our program in Oakland has been a big success. We've been feeding hundreds of school children every morning. And already a program has been started in San Francisco. But this success is not enough! Our pilot programs will soon be extended throughout our communities to every single child who wants it. We need to have a breakfast for schoolchildren program for every black, Third World and white working class child that goes to school hungry throughout this great big rich country.

The Black Panther Party realizes the responsibility and the burden we bear. Our part is of, by, and for the people and can never divorce itself from the interests of the people.

YOU CAN HELP

Black people in the black community—mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the black community where racists oppress us—are asked to come forth and support this program. Soul food: grits, eggs, bread, and meat for the stomachs is where

it's at when it comes to properly preparing our children for education. We are also asking all businesses to donate the necessary money, food, and utensils to prepare the foods for our children.

Items or funds may be sent care of your local Panther office. Just let us know, both black and white communities and citizens, what you can donate in money, time and so forth. Make checks to Breakfast for School Children.

San Francisco: Breakfast for School Children care of Black Panther Office, 1336 Fillmore, 922-0065.

LOCATIONS OF BREAKFAST

Hunters Point, Ridge Point Methodist Church, 181 Hilltop Road.

Fillmore, Sacred Heart Church, Fell and Fillmore.

Double Rock, Sam Jordan's (Bar), 992 Gilman St.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Toward the middle of April 1969 San Francisco Police Department obtained a copy of what is called the Black Panther Coloring Book.

Mr. Chairman, may I put in this exhibit, which is a Black Panther Coloring Book distributed to children during the Black Panther Party breakfast program?

The artist is a Black Panther member and a student at Sacramento State College at Sacramento. His name is Mark A. Teemer.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The Document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 389" for reference and is reproduced on p. 4161.)

Mr. LASHKOFF. Through the services of a reliable informant, we were able to ascertain that copies of this coloring book were being distributed to black children who were being given hot breakfasts at the Sacred Heart Church, a Catholic church located at Fillmore and Fell Streets in San Francisco.

It was further ascertained that the BPP received permission from the Reverend Boyle, a white Catholic priest, to use the auditorium at this church for the daily breakfast commencing at 7:30 a.m. Copies of the BPP coloring book, we also learned, were distributed to the black children attending the Jedediah Smith Elementary School, a public school at 110 South Ridge, San Francisco. This was also done at the daily BPP breakfast at 7:30 a.m. The BPP members that participated in the breakfast program at the Jedediah Smith School would, after finishing the breakfast program, conduct close-order drill on the school grounds which was usually attended by and comprised of from 15 to 25 members of the BPP. This was the daily procedure.

Senator MUNDT. Is this the coloring book that was distributed, marked your Exhibit 5?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir. That is a copy of the coloring book.

Senator MUNDT. Was this done with the knowledge and consent of Rev. Father Boyle in the instance of the Sacred Heart Church?

Mr. LASHKOFF. It would seem so. He allows them to use the church.

Senator MUNDT. And the Smith Elementary School. Is that a public school?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is a public school.

Senator MUNDT. Was that done with the knowledge and consent of the principal?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No. I think what they have done there, Senator, is distribute them during the recesses.

Senator MUNDT. And the Methodist Church?

Mr. LASHKOFF. At the Methodist Church, they distributed them during the breakfast.

Senator MUNDT. Certainly, the church authorities would not just vacate the auditorium and turn it over to these youngsters. There must have been somebody there representing the church, was there not?

Mr. LASHKOFF. You would think so. We notified the archbishop's office, and he is aware of the problem.

Senator MUNDT. He is aware of it.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator MUNDT. Has he stopped them from holding the breakfasts?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No.

Senator MUNDT. Has he stopped them from distributing the books?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Not as far as we know, sir.

Senator MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, this is the most devilish kind of operation to be placed in the hands of youngsters of any color or any area because this is dedicated to showing that policemen are pigs, and it shows youngsters killing policemen, saying, "This is the proper way you should operate."

It contains a picture followed by a statement, for example, showing a youngster killing a policeman, blood spattering all over him, and he says, "The only good pig is a dead pig," and this youngster has killed a policeman. At the end it says, "Power comes from the barrel of a gun."

"The only good pig is a dead pig." Here it is, "Color him dead."

When murder is taught in the basements of our churches, Mr. Chairman, you begin to realize where some of the fault lies. Youngsters go to church to hear sermons, attend Sunday school, and they get into a habit of believing what they are taught in the basement of a church or in the auditorium of a church; likewise in a school.

It is, in my view, criminal to place a blueprint for murder of a policeman in the hands of youngsters with all of the vicious lead-up material that is there. They endeavor to show that the Negro children have been discriminated against and it is up to them now to take the gun, if you please. This is shown not just in these two pictures, but in picture after picture. This is a young fellow, 8 or 10 years old, shooting a policeman—well, there is no law against distributing this kind of propaganda, this kind of malicious material to these youngsters, to teach them to commit murder, but you would not expect that to be going on in either a school or a church.

I can well understand why some of them, when they get a little older, consider murder just an ordinary way of life.

You didn't get any support from the archbishop to stop something like this?

Mr. LASHKOFF. They came out with an editorial in the Monitor, a Catholic newspaper, that said the Reverend Boyle is maintaining a line of dialog with the black community.

Senator MUNDT. Doing what?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Maintaining a line of dialog with the black community by allowing them to have this breakfast.

Senator MUNDT. And the most devilish kind of dialog you can think of, training people and inspiring them to shoot policemen. These are

impressionable youngsters. Probably many of them are from poor homes, many of them are underfed, underclothed, and feel a sense of prejudice against them.

To distribute this in the sacred sanctuary of the church is unbelievable, just absolutely unbelievable to me.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand it, these meetings are still being held in the church and this kind of literature distributed?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I can't believe, I do not believe, the Catholic Church stands for that. I cannot help but believe that the higher authority in the church over Father Boyle will repudiate it when they know about it.

This conduct is nothing in the world but countenancing and encouraging revolution, bloody revolution, in America.

Senator MUNDT. It is a citation for murder.

The CHAIRMAN. Not just to murder. It is revolution. I hope they will take note of what is happening, and those who have the responsibility and have the authority will act accordingly.

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, before we move on, I would like to focus—

The CHAIRMAN. I don't just apply this to the Catholic Church. I am talking about the Methodist, Jewish, or any other church where this has happened. I notice you mention Reverend Boyle—

Senator MUNDT. He also mentions a Methodist church and a public school.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, he didn't mention names.

Senator GRIFFIN. In the case of the Methodist church, do you know whether or not the hierarchy of that church was similarly notified or made aware of what was going on?

Mr. LASHKOFF. I would say they are aware of what is going on, Senator.

Senator GRIFFIN. You are confident that they are?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. I notice in your testimony that you say this coloring book was distributed to children attending the Jedediah Smith Elementary School, a public school in San Francisco. This was done at the daily Black Panther breakfast at 7:30 a.m.

In addition, you indicated that the Black Panther members that participated in the breakfast program at the school would, after finishing the breakfast, conduct a close-order drill on the school grounds which was usually attended by 15 to 25 members of the Black Panther Party.

Now if this is the case, surely the school officials must know that their school, the public school grounds is being used for this purpose?

Mr. LASHKOFF. There is no law against drilling on the school grounds, Senator. That is their attitude.

Senator GRIFFIN. But are they aware of it?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, they are.

Senator MUNDT. There is no law against putting out a coloring book like that, either, but when it happens on a school ground, during a recess or any other time, then it isn't just a preacher, a priest, or an archbishop who is responsible. Then the citizens of San Francisco are responsible through their elected officials, through their mayor, to the

school board, the people who impose taxes on innocent taxpayers to run an educational institution.

I would think they would be appalled by children being trained to kill policemen. If you are going to train the youth of America to shoot policemen on the basis that they are all pigs, how are we going to maintain law and order for anybody?

What kind of security are we going to have in this country, if youngsters are going to be trained to shoot policemen just on the theory that because they wear a badge they are bad and are to be considered as swine?

It is unbelievable. Do the people of San Francisco know that? Has it been reported? Have they seen this coloring book used in the training in the schools of San Francisco?

Mr. LASHKOFF. They have been shown the coloring book and are aware of it.

Senator MUNDT. What have they done about it? You can't come to Washington and get help for that kind of complete indifference to the responsibilities of citizenship and the responsibilities of running educational institutions. We can't take care of that.

They either endorse it and embrace it and join in the declaration of war against the police, or they should take some action to stop it.

They should stop it. There isn't any law against standing on a street corner and handing it out. But I repeat, when you put this kind of material in the hands of a child in a church or in a school, where he becomes accustomed to believing that what he is handed is something which is important to learn and important to accept, and it is part of his training, it looks as if they are training the youth of San Francisco for disaster.

Senator GRIFFIN. I also wanted to focus attention upon the fact that they are using the school grounds to conduct close-order drill exercises. Not only distributing and indoctrinating these young people with this particular kind of mental training, but also apparently organizing and disciplining a group dedicated to the overthrow of the Government, based on the evidence we have gathered here. Needless to say, there is no public right to use the school grounds for close-order drill to organize a group that is going to overthrow the Government.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Obviously, all of these are the ingredients of this revolutionary movement, whose objective is to destroy our society and overthrow constituted authority, the Government of the United States.

Senator MUNDT. Are you sure this particular elementary school is an active school and not just some old school building which has been unoccupied?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No, it is an active school, Senator.

Senator MUNDT. You better watch that school system of yours, or they will be supplying guns to these youngsters at taxpayers' expense, too. They have come a long way with close-order drill and showing them the great value in shooting policemen.

The CHAIRMAN. They supplied them to a group founded by OEO, the Blackstone Rangers in Chicago. Those guns were bought with

Federal money and a church basement was used, used with the full knowledge, in my opinion as to what the testimony shows, of the minister of the church.

Senator GRIFFIN. I would like to clear up a few points relating to some of the testimony you presented earlier.

You indicated at one point that while the civil rights laws are being enforced, the criminal laws weren't being enforced. I just want to make sure you are not critical of the fact that the civil rights laws are being enforced. Are you?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No, sir, not at all.

Senator GRIFFIN. Certainly, this member of the committee, and I am sure the other members of the committee, are not at all critical that the civil rights laws are being enforced. But you are critical of the fact that other laws are not also being enforced?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is right, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. That is a very important point.

Let me make one other reference to your testimony. You said on page 5:

This has given black hoodlums a sense of righteousness when he steals a car, shoplifts, holds up a store or in any other way commits a crime against the establishment.

Testimony received last week indicated that a large percentage of the crimes committed by the Black Panther Party members are actually directed against the black people. Is that your opinion as well?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. When you say the establishment—the establishment in many instances includes members of the black community, doesn't it?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, it does.

Senator GRIFFIN. I just want to make it clear that, in fact, a great many of the crimes, at least as far as previous testimony is concerned, are directed and committed against black people by the black man.

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is correct.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, you may proceed.

Mr. LASHKOFF. There are no local or State laws that are applicable or can be used to deter the distribution of the Black Panther Coloring Book.

The BSU uses the same format as the BPP. Many of the BSU officers at San Francisco State College are BPP members. In the past, the BSU has accepted nonblack members, but at the present time there exists a black-only policy. The Black Student Union's rules and political platform are an amalgamation of the stated purposes of the BPP and also of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). They all have the same basic revolutionary goals. The Black Panther newspaper of November 2, 1968, has an article on the statewide Black Student Union convention in San Francisco that had taken place on October 26, 1968. The major result of the convention was a stated organizational drive to establish BSU groups in all high schools and colleges. A brochure was circulated entitled "Organization of The Black High School Student, Some Basic Guidelines." The national headquarters of the BSU is and are the same as the BPP national office, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, Calif.

It should also be noted, in order to show the support given by the Communist Party of Northern California to the Black Panther Party and the BSU, a press release dated April 22, 1969.

This exhibit documents the support of the Black Panther Party and other revolutionary groups by the Communist Party of Northern California.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(Document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 390" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

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

Mr. LASHKOFF. The exhibit states:

The Communist Party said today:

The continuing imprisonment of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, must no longer be tolerated by the revolutionary movement or progressive people in our country. Newton's imprisonment on the frame-up charge of voluntary manslaughter is part of a nationwide campaign by the power structure to destroy the black liberation movement by beheading it of its most militant leaders.

The campaign is directed against the Black Panther Party first of all, because it has put into action the principle of armed self-defense of the Black Community, and because the Black Panthers are spreading rapidly as a class conscious, anti-capitalist political party.

The number of victims of the campaign of repression grows each day. We believe an all out campaign to free Huey Newton is key to building a movement that can stem this tide of repression, not only against the black liberation movement, but against the Chicago liberation movement, the anti-war movement, and the militant labor movement.

The responsibility for building a movement to free Huey Newton rests first of all with white people. On them rests the job of combatting racism among white people and convincing working people that the repression against the Black Panther Party and Huey Newton is ultimately aimed at the struggles of working people.

Huey Newton's hearing for release on bail will be held May 1 at the Federal Court House in San Francisco.

That Newton was refused bail while people charged with far more serious crimes are granted it as a matter of course, is evidence of the particularly racist and political character of the attack on Newton.

We call on the working people and progressive of the Bay Area to make this May Day "Free Huey day," by responding to the call of the Black Panther Party, to demonstrate outside the Court House, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, 10 A.M., Thursday, May 1st.

Approximately 40 attended that rally in front of the courthouse.

The CHAIRMAN. There were about 40 assembled there?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That was the total assembled.

It is interesting to note that one Charles R. Garry, a practicing attorney in the city of San Francisco since 1938 and who was identified as a member of the Communist Party, has been the attorney of record for Huey P. Newton and the BPP in the bay area. Mr. Garry was cited in the report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 86th Congress, first session, on February 6, 1959, as one of the top Communist functionaries in the San Francisco Bay area. He was a member of the National Lawyers Guild, which has been cited as a Communist front organization and was in 1948 a candidate of the Independent Progressive Party when he unsuccessfully sought election to the U.S. House of Representatives from California, Fifth Congressional District. Mr. Garry again attempted to gain a House seat with the same Communist-controlled political back-

ing in the special election which was held in 1949. This information is all documented in the aforementioned report of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

In summary, the facts presented herein, plus a continuing investigation of the activities of the BPP in San Francisco area indicate that the BPP is a militant, revolutionary, leftwing organization. Its initial intent as a Black Power advocate was usurped after the apprehension and conviction of Huey P. Newton. It has since been channeled into what is slated to become in the near future a coalition of the leftwing activist-oriented groups dedicated to total revolution. Information presently in our hands alleges that this coalition will consist of organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society, Brown Berets, Progressive Labor, the Red Guard, Black Students Unions, and other leftwing-oriented revolutionary groups. This new revolutionary front organization is to be called the American Liberation Front.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have documents supporting this?

Mr. LASHKOFF. We have information from informants and other law enforcement people.

Senator MUNDT. On the basis of that information and all you know about the situation in San Francisco, is it your judgment, Inspector, that those behind all these movements, bringing them together into an organization of the left, are men like Garry and the director of the Communist Party in California?

Mr. LASHKOFF. I would say so.

Senator MUNDT. It would seem that way. This press release you read I take it is an official press release issued openly by the Communist Party?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is correct, sir.

Senator MUNDT. It is quite clear they identify themselves with the Black Panther Party, and the call that was made for "Free Huey Day." It leaves unresolved the question of whether the chicken or the egg came first, whether the Black Panthers suggested it and the Communists backed it up or what. But they identify very closely in this particular activity.

As was said in Alice in Wonderland, "it makes it curiouser and curiouser" as to why they are able to use the basement of a church to spread this Communist doctrine.

Certainly, the churches must be in the front line of those opposing communism.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

May I now relate to this committee some of the activities of the SDS as they relate to the San Francisco area.

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, before he goes on to SDS, I have one other question.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Griffin.

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 breakfast programs 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?

Mr. LASHKOFF. In one issue of the Spokesman, and I believe your staff has the issue, they imply that the Black Panther Party is responsible for the arson that was committed in a company that burned down that 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 the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Let that issue be found and that page from it, at least, inserted in the record at this point.

(The document to be furnished follows:)

[From the Spokesman, May 1969]

NOW AIN'T IT COLD . . .

Allens Meats, a local neighborhood company which emits often a very foul odor for the benefit of Hunters Point residents turned down a chance to donate food for the little children's breakfasts, here in Hunters Point-Bayview, at the Ridge Point and Double Rock churches and sponsored by the Black Panthers.

Mr. LASHKOFF. They take credit for the fire or arson that occurred in a company that is situated close to the Hunters Point area of San Francisco. The company is a meat company that burned right down to the ground. It was a three-alarm fire. They insinuated that the reason the company was burned down is because they did not donate to the breakfast program.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not what?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Donate food to the breakfast program.

Senator GRIFFIN. That is very interesting. Do you have any other information?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Most of these people that have been approached are scared to testify, Senator, and if they do testify and they have a store in a predominantly black area, they are scared that they will be burned out or something else happen, broken windows and what have you.

Senator GRIFFIN. So the safest thing for a merchant to do is just hand over the food and say nothing about it?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is about the size of it.

Senator MUNDT. They might very well be afraid to testify openly because of fears of reprisal, arson or something else, but I would think that the police department would have probably heard from some of these merchants who are being approached for a shakedown, seeking police protection or counsel as to what to do. They would feel they could talk to you in confidence.

Have you any reports of such activities by merchants?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No. They just say they are scared to put themselves in that position where an official report is made. We have had rumors and we have gone out and talked to people. They just say, "Let it go. Everything is fine."

From our own undercover sources, we know this is being done.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Griffin?

Senator GRIFFIN. You referred to a meeting that is to be held, at which these various groups are to be organized into a new revolutionary front organization to be called the American Liberation Front.

Do you happen to know whether or not that meeting is scheduled to be held July 15 at Merritt College?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Allegedly, yes.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you very much.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the witness a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Javits.

Senator JAVITS. I am sorry that I have not been here while you have been reading your statement, Inspector, but I have just browsed through it. One thing interested me about your statement.

Is there any hot lunch program in the schools of Oakland; do you know? I don't know whether you know that, but I wondered whether you might have come across it in connection with any of your investigations.

Mr. LASHKOFF. No. They state they have the programs in Oakland, but I am not aware of where they are.

Senator JAVITS. I am not talking about the Black Panthers on the hot breakfast program. I was asking about the regular school programs in Oakland.

Do you know whether there is any hot lunch program?

Mr. LASHKOFF. I am not aware, sir.

Senator JAVITS. In other words, you don't know, I gather, the frame of reference as to school breakfast, school lunch, and so forth, into which this hot breakfast program fitted?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No, sir.

Senator JAVITS. That would be an important question, wouldn't it, in your mind?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Are we talking about breakfasts now or the Black Panther Party breakfast?

Senator JAVITS. Wouldn't it be an important question in your mind, and it seems to me it would be important in my mind, if there were a hot breakfast program in the Oakland schools and, nonetheless, the Black Panther Party breakfast succeeded in attracting hundreds of children?

On the other hand, I can understand the situation much better if there were no hot breakfast program in the Oakland schools and then the Black Panther Party succeeded in attracting hundreds of children. But you can't enlighten us?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No; I can't, Senator.

Senator JAVITS. Is the statement that they did attract hundreds of children true?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Not in San Francisco.

Senator JAVITS. What about Oakland?

Mr. LASHKOFF. I don't know.

Senator JAVITS. What kind of a crowd did they attract in San Francisco?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Let us say approximately 20 to 25 at each sitting.

Senator JAVITS. So it was pretty slim pickings as far as its attraction?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes.

Senator JAVITS. Do you know whether there is a hot breakfast program in the San Francisco schools?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No; I do not.

Senator JAVITS. Would you be kind enough to find out for us, if you can, as a fact, how many they did attract in Oakland?

Mr. LASHKOFF. I certainly will, sir.

Senator JAVITS. Supply it for the record.

Mr. LASHKOFF. I will.

Senator JAVITS. I will independently find out about the hot breakfast programs in both places.

Mr. Chairman, may I have unanimous consent to insert those facts into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that may be done.

(The information to be furnished follows:)

POLICE DEPARTMENT,
CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO,
San Francisco, Calif., June 30, 1969.

MR. PERMAN CLAY,
Senate Permanent Committee on Investigations,
Old Senate Building Washington, D.C.

DEAR CLAY: As per our telephone conversation on Friday, June 29, 1969, regarding public school breakfasts and lunches in the City of San Francisco, please be advised of the following:

Free milk in the morning and free lunch is given to each child in the San Francisco public schools. This is done at the request and with the stated permission of the child's parents at all the public schools in the San Francisco area.

This is not a new program and has been in force for a number of years.

If I can be of further service to you in this matter, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Very truly yours,

BEN W. LASHKOFF,
Inspector of Police.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D.C., July 3, 1969.

JEROME S. ADLERMAN,
General Counsel, Subcommittee on Investigations, Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ADLERMAN: Per our request for information relative to California's lunch and breakfast programs, I have just received the following data from the state:

Los Angeles County—school lunch program is in force in 26 schools, which also administer a breakfast program. Breakfast program is in five of the 26 schools only.

San Diego—six schools are target schools for lunch program (no breakfast program).

San Francisco-Oakland area—they have lunch program only.

Sincerely,

GEORGE MURPHY.

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., July 11, 1969.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The attached letter from Mr. Howard P. Davis, Deputy Administrator, Consumer Food Programs, United States Department of Agriculture, states that there are no school breakfast programs in operation in the school districts of San Francisco or Oakland. I am forwarding his letter to you for appropriate insertion in the record of the hearings of June 24, 1969 before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

With warm personal regards,
Sincerely,

JACOB K. JAVITS.

**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
CONSUMER AND MARKETING SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., July 17, 1969.**

**Senator JACOB K. JAVITS,
U.S. Senate.**

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: In accordance with your request we have verified with the California State School Lunch Agency that they have no school breakfast programs in operation in the San Francisco or Oakland school districts as of this date.

Sincerely,

**HOWARD P. DAVIS,
Deputy Administrator, Consumer Food Programs.**

The **CHAIRMAN**. You may proceed with the Students for a Democratic Society.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Mr. Chairman, I will now relate to this committee some of the activities of the Students for a Democratic Society as they apply in the San Francisco area.

The intelligence unit of the San Francisco Police Department became aware of the organization called Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in 1965. The organization opened an office at 924 Howard Street, San Francisco, Calif. The office was divided into two separate sections, one of which housed the SDS members and the other was the office of the MIME troop, a left-wing radical theatrical group.

Senator JAVITS. May we ask if he meant to spell the word t-r-o-o-p or t-r-o-u-p-e.

Mr. LASHKOFF. T-r-o-o-p.

Senator JAVITS. That would indicate a military formation.

Mr. LASHKOFF. This is the way they had it, the MIME troop.

Senator JAVITS. The word troop in theatrical parlance is t-r-o-u-p-e. You are familiar with that?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator JAVITS. Yet you say the way they wrote it was t-r-o-o-p?

Mr. LASHKOFF. This is the way we have it.

Senator JAVITS. The way you wrote it or the way they wrote it?

Mr. LASHKOFF. This is the way they wrote it.

At this time, Eric Chester, a member of SDS, was the office manager, and a regional director of SDS.

Among his SDS colleagues and working out of this office were Walter Sheasby, Alex Stein, Elaine Plaisance, Bill North, and Todd Gitlin. Gitlin went on to become the mainstay in an underground newspaper called "The San Francisco Express Times" and also a major contributor of the SDS publication, "New Left Notes." SDS members Michael Locker, Richard Flacks, Carl Oglesby, Robert Ross, Lee Webb, Alan Haber, and Jerome Badames, were then members of an initial implementation committee of SDS, which started what was to become SDS's radical education project (REP) which was to begin in San Francisco in the fall of 1966. Orientation week for this project was slated for the week of September 26 to 29, 1966, and was to cover such subjects as the radical education movement which was to be a discussion centering around critics of the educational system and the failures of free schools in the areas of creativity in administration.

Another of the subjects was to be SDS organizing on the campus and was to be taught and programed by SDS members, in particular, Alex Stein, the main functionary of SDS and the director of the new

school. The subject of movement and revolution in Indo-China was to be a research seminar into the history of political and social struggles in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and so forth, and was to be given by SDS member Walter Sheasby, also a director of this new school.

Other SDS members were to hold discussions on contemporary art and discontent, guerrilla graphics, which was a discussion of posters, leaflets and underground press, and so forth, the San Francisco power structure of which the areas of corporate agriculture, finance, land development, construction and renewal, draft boards and political machines, agencies and business organizations were to be examined and a research seminar with guest lecturers to be instigated. The SDS proposed the faculty of their own members who would expound on these subjects and would include Nina Landau, John Schonenberg, Joanne Anderson, John Brownson, Roy Dahlberg, Alex Stein and Bill Moth.

The purpose of the radical education project was to show that democratic radicalism was renewing itself around the basically moral proposition that people should have the opportunity to participate in shaping the decisions and the conditions of economic, political, and cultural assistance which affects their lives and their destinies.

Our department became increasingly aware of SDS activities in and around the campus at San Francisco State College. A recruitment program by SDS was initiated and the recruiters in the early part of 1965 included members of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), a leftwing, radical, activist group in San Francisco with offices at 2929 16th Street.

SDS began to take the initial organizational functions in demonstrations that were tended to disrupt the so-called establishment. Most of the original members of SDS in San Francisco were members of PLP and they interchanged from one organization into the other. One of the early functionaries that interchanged in this manner was John F. Levin (date of birth January 1, 1944—New York; arrested December 6, 1967, sit-in at administration building, San Francisco State College, pleaded nolo; arrested December 12, 1968—pending.) Levin is a student at San Francisco State College and one of the leaders of the disruptions and disturbances on said college campus.

Another member was Gene Marchi, No. 71 on your key member chart, who was a member and student at San Francisco State College. He has taken part in numerous demonstrations and rallies in the San Francisco area.

As the organization grew, it began to organize and support many varied activist rallies, happenings, and demonstrations. As an example of some of their projects and plans, on Monday, May 8, 1967, four members of the SDS San Francisco chapter, Brooks Penney, reporter for the "Movement" newspaper, 449 14th Street, San Francisco; Peter Dean, student at San Francisco State College; Richard Tewes, student at San Francisco State College; and Gary Gootin, whose true name is C-o-u-t-i-n, a student at Stanford University, had made plans to be arrested for sitting in at the Selective Service System office at 100 McAllister Street, San Francisco. They were four of a group of 65 pickets composed of SDS and PLP members who had been demonstrating in front of the building against the alleged inequities of the U.S. draft system. At approximately 4:30 p.m. on that date they, with

18 others, entered the main office of the Selective Service Board and began a sit-in. Mr. Ernest Olson, manager of the General Services Administration, made the following announcement:

May I have your attention, please. This office is closing for the day. It is now 4:30 p.m. Accordingly, I request and direct that each one of you leave the building at once in an orderly manner and without incident. In the event you do not leave in five minutes, I will ask the guards to remove you from the building. This office is to be closed for the day.

At 4:42 p.m., all but the four named demonstrators left the building. These four persons, Penney, Dean, Tewes, and Gootin were then carried out by GSA guards, and deposited on the sidewalk in front of the building. The GSA guards then secured the premises.

SDS had issued on the day prior to the demonstration a list of the four persons who were to be arrested.

This is an SDS press release showing the planning and effort placed in the preparation of incidents and demonstrations and the desired effect to be realized by them.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 391" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 391

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS),
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA REGIONAL OFFICE,
San Francisco, Calif.

ARRESTEES IN SDS ANTI-DRAFT DEMONSTRATION, MAY 8, 1967

Brooks Penney, 1924 Fairview, Berkeley, Calif., Reporter for *The Movement*, newspaper, 449 14th Street, San Francisco, 626-4577.

Peter Dean, 84 Eureka, San Francisco, Calif., Student at San Francisco State College.

Richard Tewes, 1910 15th Street, San Francisco, Calif., Student at San Francisco State College.

Gary Gootin, 583, Runnymede, Palo Alto, Calif., Student at Stanford University.

For further information contact Eric Chester, SDS regional office, 924 Howard Street, San Francisco, phone 362-7922.

Mr. LASHKOFF. The leaflet was entitled "Students for a Democratic Society, Northern California Regional Office, 924 Howard Street, San Francisco." On the bottom of same, it stated, "For further information, contact Eric Chester, SDS Regional Office, San Francisco."

The SDS desired effect and exposure, newswise, by this demonstration was not realized and it fell flat, and as a result there were few selective service demonstrations after that in San Francisco, and all small in size and nature. Oakland then became the target and felt the brunt of their organized demonstrations and sit-ins against the Selective Service System.

The SDS regional office issued at that same time a press release stating that their members sought, not only to end the draft which forcibly involves the young men of this country in immoral acts of war, but also an end to our country's involvement in oppressive wars.

Therefore, in connection with antidraft and antiwar committees demonstrating in Washington, New York, and Chicago on the aforementioned date, we the members of SDS call for the immediate withdrawal of troops in Vietnam.

At the national SDS convention in June of 1967, which was held at the University of Michigan, the following four points were presented as the SDS platform:

1. Draft resistance—total objection to the military;
2. All-out objection to the U.S. involvement in Vietnam;
3. Complete control of the university and the university community by students through radical means;
4. Antiestablishment themes—Racism, poverty, police brutality, et cetera.

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

Mr. LASHKOFF. The basic requirements for membership in the SDS are simple. The national office states that a member, to be in good standing, must pay \$5 per year dues and subscribe to the New Left Notes, which is an SDS publication.

This is not strictly adhered to by the San Francisco State College chapter of SDS, which, in fact, has no formal requirements and allows anyone to attend their on-campus meetings. Also, the San Francisco State College chapter does not keep membership records. The only official record of the SDS chapter at San Francisco State College is a listing of the officers which is required by the college administration for on-campus status.

Senator MUNDT. May I say a word of approbation for poor old San Francisco State College which has received a lot of bad publicity in the news. At least the administration does not require there a listing of the officers of the on-campus organizations.

We have found some college administrators so lax in their responsibility they don't even require that. But San Francisco College at least is moving to a slight degree in trying to find out who the disrupters, revolutionaries, and descripto Communists are on their campus.

I think that should be said for the record.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. Let me say one other thing for the record here. You referred to a convention held at the University of Michigan in 1967.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. I think you mean Michigan State, don't you?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. That is where it was?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. LASHKOFF. The January 1969 listing of campus officers indicates the following as cochairmen: Gordon DeMarco, No. 23 on the key member list; Howie Forman (Foreman), and Elena Dillon, the wife of Hari Dillon.

The SDS chapter at San Francisco State College is divided into three caucuses on memberships as follows:

1. Workers Alliance Caucus (PLP)
2. Independent Caucus
3. Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)

Additionally mentioned is the SDS freelance member, or the SDS national member; however, presently there is no member listed on the campus under these two categories.

In April of 1969, information was developed to the effect that a division was occurring in the SDS chapter and, in fact, the membership at an SDS meeting was categorized as will be indicated.

It was determined that, of the 26 persons in attendance at this SDS meeting, 20 of them had been arrested at San Francisco State College during various disturbances on the campus.

These people are as follows:

1. Workers Students Alliance caucus: Margaret Leahy, Liz Dewitt, Patsy Frish, Elena Dillon, Gene Marchi, Jan Solganic, Greg Degeire, Howie Forman, Sue Bethel, Gordon DeMarco and Curt Scheineder.

Mr. ADLERMAN. At this point, you mentioned Gene Marchi and Gordon DeMarco.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Do you consider them key members of the SDS?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, I do.

Mr. ADLERMAN. I notice we have the names on our chart, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You state here, "These people are as follows:."

Mr. LASHKOFF. I identified Gordon DeMarco previously as a co-chairman of the SDS chapter at San Francisco State, and is listed as such.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the other?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Gene Marchi, I come to him later on in my report.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the cover over Gordon DeMarco be removed.

Mr. LASHKOFF. He is No. 23.

The CHAIRMAN. Now we have only one remaining on that exhibit 257. There is only one more cover to be removed, I believe, on the chart. No, there are three more.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Mr. Chairman, on page 2 I mentioned Gene Marchi as No. 71 on your key member list.

The CHAIRMAN. You have already mentioned him?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be removed.

Very well. Proceed.

Mr. LASHKOFF. 2. Independent caucus: Joy Magesis, Bruce Hartford, Alex Forman, Bob and Barry Biderman, Charles Rasmussen, Teri Johnson (no arrest), Bob Glack (no arrest), Norm Ploss (no arrest), Burt Ricci, and John Webb.

3. Young Socialist Alliance caucus: Ellen Meyers, Howie Cohen (no arrest), Pat McKnight (no arrest), John Mustagohe (no arrest).

The SDS as an organization was quite active in the San Francisco State College disturbance. In fact, a booklet entitled "On Strike—Shut It Down" was authored by Gordon DeMarco, SDS campus co-chairman. The booklet gives the SDS credit for the situation at San Francisco State College (the disturbances and disruptions) and is rather self-serving.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have the booklet?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No, I didn't bring it, but I have it in the file.

The CHAIRMAN. You are testifying about it. You say, "It takes credit."

In that booklet, you say that SDS takes credit for the condition at the campus, the disturbances and violence. Is that right?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you also say it was rather self-serving.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

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

The CHAIRMAN. I suggest that you send that book to us.

You don't have it with you?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it at home?

Mr. LASHKOFF. It is in our files.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requests, without objection, that the book be submitted by you. Upon its receipt, it will be marked as an appropriate exhibit to your testimony.

(The book referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 392" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. LASHKOFF. There is little mention made of the BSU and the Third World Liberation Front (March of 1968—Juan Martinez, Spanish-speaking, nonwhite faculty adviser—special studies, San Francisco State College) which jointly took part in the disturbances.

In early April 1969, an obvious split developed in the ranks of SDS at San Francisco State College. This split appeared to be brought about by ideological differences—that is, Soviet versus Maoist philosophy. A position paper entitled "Fight Anticommunism" indicates that the PLP-oriented members of SDS were attempting to offer a slate of officers in the student elections which were not acceptable to the whole of SDS, the BSU, and the TWLF.

Senator MUNDT. It should be noted that this was April in San Francisco. In June, in Chicago, the National Convention of the SDS was held, where we find the curious spectacle of the organization splitting into two parts with each part seeking to castigate the other because it was anti-Communist, which would indicate there is a rivalry there, as in San Francisco, between the Mao and Soviet brand of communism, and that the major criticism one section of the convention has of the other is that it is anti-Communist, or not Communist enough, which is certainly a curious procedure to be taken in college by Students for a Democratic Society. Quite obviously, neither one of them believe in the democratic process.

It is interesting—to me, at least—to note that this thing was becoming obvious a couple of months ago in San Francisco.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

The importance of student office control cannot be overlooked because of the fact that the student officers at San Francisco State College control an associated student fund of over \$200,000 and, up until recently, have not been held accountable for its disbursement.

Senator MUNDT. Are you sure about that? Do you mean that \$200,000, which I assume is raised from the students by some kind of compulsory fee—

Mr. LASHKOFF. They pay a certain sum at the start of every semester.

Senator MUNDT. They have to pay that to the college?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator MUNDT. Are you saying now that officers of the student association make no accounting of that to the school administrators?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is correct, sir.

Senator MUNDT. That is San Francisco you are talking about?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator MUNDT. I hereby withdraw my earlier expressed approbation.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. LASHKOFF. In fact, an investigation is presently pending by the California State Attorney General's Office into the matter of disbursement of those funds by the outgoing student officers and, in fact, the current funds of the associated students are in receivership by superior court order.

It might be noted that in May of 1965, Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., stated in a press interview that the "SDS is part of the responsible left that we have going for us." At this time, however, it would seem that the San Francisco State College SDS is not oriented toward the Soviet sphere of influence but rather favoring the Maoist line. As the situation now exists, it would appear that the present power struggle will be won by the more militant splinter group within the SDS, which is the Progressive Labor Party, and that in the future the organization at San Francisco State College will become more revolutionary and anarchistic in nature.

The CHAIRMAN. Does either faction at San Francisco repudiate the Communist philosophy or do they both subscribe to it?

Mr. LASHKOFF. They both subscribe to it.

The CHAIRMAN. So it is just a disagreement, actually, that resolves itself down to leadership.

Mr. LASHKOFF. As to who will run the show.

The CHAIRMAN. Each accuses the other, as Senator Mundt said, of being anti-Communist.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the charge they hurl at each other as they strive for leadership, in the contest for leadership?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator MUNDT. I don't believe your report shows—or if it does, I missed it—which branch, if either, of the Communist-oriented SDS captured the control of the student organization in San Francisco.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Progressive Labor. The Maoists. The Progressive Labor Party.

Senator MUNDT. They elected their people to head the regular student body organization?

Mr. LASHKOFF. They more or less control the SDS chapter now.

Senator MUNDT. So, in a sense, they have access to utilize what is actually a tax on the students—as part of their tuition cost—to promote their Communist activities right on the campus of San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Proceed.

Mr. LASHKOFF. The SDS has plans for what they call a "Summer of 1969." These plans are entitled "Student Summer Work-In—1969."

I would like to present it as an exhibit. It outlines the summer project, with the primary aim to indoctrinate employees with radical ideology by working alongside of them.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 393" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 393

SDS SUMMER WORK-IN

FACTORY LIST AND ON-THE-JOB GUIDE

I. What jobs to look for

Job-seekers should try to get hired in plants or transport depots that have several hundred (let's say a 200 minimum) workers. Reasons for this include: (a) If we want to leaflet workers, the potential audience is greater; (b) The larger the company facility, the better chance that it will be in a basic union, that the workers will have some sense or organization (even if they think the union is a sellout one), and that they will have some tie-in to workers nationally. In larger plants, such as GM, GE, Westinghouse, Santa Fe RR, etc., there is a greater tendency for workers to regard themselves as workers, with fewer illusions about becoming some kind of a "boss." In small shops, where bosses and workers are closer together, more illusions exist about moving up. (c) In large plants in national unions there is a greater chance that the workers will become part of (and have a history of) mass strike movements, rebellions against bought-off leadership, conflict with the government over "national interest," injunctions, etc., all of which might create the basis for greater mutual exchange about questions relating to opposition to the Johnson (or Kennedy) Administration policies; (d) the larger the company the likelier the existence of masses of unskilled jobs (assembly lines, platforms, etc.), creating a better basis for hiring, especially as replacements for workers taking vacations. Of course, if the summer is slack in a particular industry, this situation wouldn't necessarily hold (i.e., auto, where production on the old model fades into a summer layoff-changeover before hiring starts around August to September for the new model).

Within the larger plant situation, it might be desirable for students seeking jobs in the area or city in which their school is located, to pick a place which would have follow-up possibilities in the Fall through contacts established within the plant. Such friendships could be an important bridge between the workers' and students' movements.

In general, people should seek unskilled jobs (probably couldn't get a skilled one anyway) and, if given the choice, a job where one would have contact with larger numbers of workers. If you are white, select a plant where the majority are white. While black workers might be thought of as more politically conscious, what we are trying to do is reach white workers on the questions of the war and racism, to name but two areas. Women should give special consideration to jobs where many women are employed. These include, in addition to basic industries (like electrical), canneries, department stores, telephone companies, hospitals, etc.

In cases where people cannot travel to (or don't want to get jobs in) basic industries, large wholesale and retail outfits within the city proper could be just as advantageous—large mail-order houses (Sears-Roebuck, Montgomery Ward); department stores (preferably those with unions); possibly as non-professional workers in hospitals. Other such places could include the telephone company, gas and light company, mass transit (if privately owned); government-owned usually requires a civil service test and waiting period).

II. How to get a job

Some places hire students specifically for the summer as replacements for workers on vacations (although usually bosses try to get away with not filling in, unless the union contract has specific stipulations and they are enforced). Others won't hire you if they know you are a student or if they think you're only working for the summer. In most cases it would probably be best not to mention that you are a student (unless you have advance knowledge that they are specifically hiring students for the summer—which might be found out by someone being sent there first who's Not looking for a job, saying he's a student and seeing if they are hiring). If, then, it is the case of not being able to state you're a student seeking summer work, you have to come in as a job-seeker who has worked since graduating from high school (you *should* say you're a high school graduate), which means you have to have a place or person who will say you worked there for the past 1 to 4 years. Backgrounds should

be developed for the group. In indicating the kind of work performed, try to slant it to what you presume the work is in the particular plant or depot (assembly, maintenance, shipping, loading, platform, etc.), and in most every case indicate that whatever you did on your "previous job" involved some kind of *manual, heavy work*. You're not afraid of work, is the idea to get across.

If getting to the place requires a car (or if that is easier even though you can use public transportation) say you have one or a friend who "works around there" drives near there every day. Some places won't hire you if they think you are a potential late-comer.

Draft status may be a problem. Job applicants with a 1-Y or even 4-F often find difficulty in getting work. Also, a 2-S classification immediately identifies you as a student. Persons with a 3-A deferment (supporting a parent or child) have an easier time. If you're 1-A (and possibly someone's tested the draft situation at the place beforehand), you might be able to say you're 1-A and get hired, but here again you may have to use your wits. If you've been in and had an honorable discharge, tell it the way it is. If you've had something other than an honorable discharge, avoid mentioning it; you've been "working since high school."

In cases where you can't mention college, and use a "background," make sure you state you were "laid off" from your last job because it was "slow" or the company's "contracting" or maybe even "going out of business." Whatever salary you decide on (usually around \$85/wk.—that is, not too much lower than what you expect to make, and not too much higher) make sure that your "former boss" knows what it is. For example, if you're going for a teamster platform job that pays \$110 or \$120 a week, say you made about \$100, *not* \$75. On the other hand, if you're getting a job in a hospital or a department store for \$65 a week, say you made that figure in your old job, not \$120. Anyway, since most large places will check, or may (unless you're specifically being hired as a temporary worker who's going back to college in the Fall), make sure your "former boss" has the story straight.

Some places give aptitude tests. Don't show off. If there are 100 questions and it's a time test, don't answer more than 75 or 80. That's a rule of thumb. If you do too well, they'll either be suspicious or want to use you in the front office. Of course, it may be hard to judge, not wanting to do *below* what's required, but again, the first job-seeker's experience will be helpful here. A group should gather ALL information from each successive job-seeker, so that the next ones will be better prepared.

If you have any physical defects which can't be detected from a normal physical examination, don't mention them. Companies won't hire people with previous injuries or defects which might be re-injured, creating the basis for suits against them. They're very wary on this score. If it's a defect that's noticeable, either play it down or try to figure a way to cover it up. If you can't you may have to go someplace else where it's not so important. If you wear glasses, some jobs are out (i.e., a railroad brakeman, which usually requires 20/20 vision without glasses). However, most jobs only require 20/20 or even less, with glasses.

You should be at your first place looking at around 8:30 or 9 A.M. and shouldn't go to your last place any later than noon. Otherwise they'll think you'll never get up in the morning for work. You generally should not wear a suit and tie or fancy dress, but DON'T dress like a slob. Slacks and sports shirt, with or without a sport jacket, depending on the weather, and skirt or summer dress with low heels (at least not 6-inch spikes) for women.

If places require a "non-communist" or "non-subversive" signature, sign it. You're not breaking any law. If it's engaged in government work, and you would be breaking a law, it will be so stated on the application. Discuss this beforehand with your group.

Be straightforward in any interview; you're getting the job because you "need the money". Don't use \$20 words. Don't put on a tough guy act. Just plain, simple language and attitude. Usually the less said, the better. Don't volunteer information. Just answer what is asked.

III. What to expect on the job

Don't start sounding off the first day on the job; or even the first week. Do your work. Learn your job. Don't goof off on someone else's back, but if all the workers are goofing off, or taking a break, go ahead (unless it might cost you—

as a new worker—your job, which the older workers will understand). Remember we're here for a short-term operation. While you can't expect to win over workers in three months, you don't have to wait as long as you might, if it were a permanent job, to "open up" on political questions. **LEARN FROM THE WORKERS.** About the work, the job, the history of the plant, company, union, their attitudes on every question. *Listen.* You might find out who the sninks are. Participate in the bull sessions, the lunch discussions, talking on the job where it's normal, but take it slow the first 3 or 4 weeks, (if the job were to be permanent, this process might take six months or longer) listening and sounding out the workers.

Don't be shocked by the racist remarks of the white workers, by confused political impressions, by pro-war talk. By "keeping-up-with-the-Joneses" chit-chat. If the workers understood racism, the war, the capitalist class, middle class morality, etc., we'd be on the way home already. *Do let* them know you're a student fairly soon, within the first two or three weeks, as long as the foreman won't find out (or someone else who might use it to get you fired). But this isn't fool-proof. You've got to play it by ear. But if you don't say you're a student, they'll know it anyway, and you won't be able to do an honest, straightforward job. Remember, although workers may think students are snobbish (and many are), they also respect education and want their kids to go to college. (That's why they're working so hard, among other reasons.) Your job is to bring across the identity of interest of students and workers—the fact that without workers, there would be no universities, that the working class is the class with the power, that workers really create the value of society, that without them basic changes in the system can't happen, etc.

But you're there with a purpose—to bring out the relationship of the war to their immediate demands, to the fact that they and their sons die in the war, that it is a war for the rich—the class perspective. And also, among white workers, the use of racism is against their class interests. Black workers aren't "threatening" their jobs. The boss is. He controls both. As long as workers are divided—by race, union, sex, craft, nationality, etc.—it's easier for the boss to sit on them. This is no easy task. It normally takes a lifetime, so don't expect to do it in two or three months! But at least you can begin to question, to point out relationships they might not have thought of or might be afraid to express out loud. Try talking to workers individually, especially those who seem more receptive. Don't start by using a lunchroom or platform for a "soapbox oration". Literature could be given out individually or stuck up in bathrooms at the beginning.

Try to make a few friends among the workers that might last beyond the summer. Two or three—even one. And try to get their addresses and phone numbers before you leave the job. Otherwise it might be difficult to ever contact them again. Join the bowling league or the baseball team. Avoid running home at the end of the day to the "safe" company of your old friends and political buddies. Concentrate on making new friends. Go to the bar or whatever hang-out they go to after work. Don't try to overreach yourself here. If you can't hold your liquor, don't make a fool of yourself by trying to be what you think is "one of the boys."

Don't talk to workers like you know everything and they know nothing. First of all it's not true (probably the reverse). Secondly, even if you do know more about a particular subject (i.e., the facts about the Geneva Agreements and the U.S. support of the Diem dictatorship) that doesn't mean that by making a speech you'll get the facts across. Be patient. Make it an *exchange* of experience, not a one-way affair. You'll make plenty of mistakes. Discuss them in your group. Don't give up the first time you do something wrong. After all, these workers were rookies too once, but they HAD to survive it because they had to eat.

It would be a good idea to record your experiences by day or week. Just a few notes in the evening about relevant events during the day will be invaluable for other people participating in the WORK-IN this summer, for those in the next summer's program and for people to whom we publicize our work. You'd be surprised how much important information you forget; don't trust to your chances of remembering anecdotes.

Come in to work on time! That's the thing that may keep you the job above all else. Lateness is the first cause of being fired in the trial period. Don't start in with broadsides against the union leadership, even if the workers initiate the

sellout talk. Listen, ask questions, ask if anything was ever done to overcome it, suggest types of fights around grievances, immediate things, if you can figure some out. But don't feel compelled (in your three month sojourn) to give leadership on any and all questions. One important result of your job may just be an appreciation of what workers are up against in their fight against the boss, the government, and a sellout leadership. And knowledge of what the in-plant grievances are will help if there is to be follow-up along lines of worker-student alliance activity when you get back to school. You will be able to relate leaflets, etc. to the actual problems inside the gates.

Lastly, remember when you start talking about the war (and about how students are seriously opposed to the war for good reasons, not simply engaged in "beatnik pranks") many workers who feel the same way keep silent while those who support the war are many times the most outspoken. Don't get into knock-down, drag-out arguments with the latter, but rather talk individually first to the ones you're making friends with. Don't get into the box of making it appear that it's you against the workers. Know the facts about the war, not just the polemics. Facts make a deep impression on workers. And if you get involved in discussions with workers whose sons are in Vietnam and want to "support them by going all out," BE CAREFUL. That's an emotional area in which it may be very hard to convince such a father that your line on supporting his son is correct. Start by understanding his position of having been brainwashed all these years and seeing his son in daily danger of "being killed by the other side." In learning how to put forward an anti-Vietnam-war approach in such situations, you will really be learning how to talk to people who are not simply on your side or sympathetic.

After being there about a month, try to pick out a few workers who might be more advanced than the rest, concentrating more on individual discussions, with the hope of keeping them as friends or contacts after you leave the place. Talk about the possibilities of the students offering the workers assistance in any struggles coming up in the future, on picket lines, demonstrations, even doing research for them. Don't necessarily start asking about union meetings. Many times they are suspended in the summer. If not, most workers don't attend and you're not going to build up any active attitude or caucus movement in that direction in 3 months (most of which is spent on a trial period and during which you may not even be in the union). If, of course, there's something special going on and a lot of workers appear headed toward a union meeting, you can go with them, but more to listen and learn than to orate.

Not everything can be put down here about what you'll face. Keep in constant contact with the group and discuss all problems with it. If possible, try to have at least two students (possibly more) get jobs in the same plant so they can compare notes, exchange experiences, criticize each other's mistakes, and (probably most important) make it possible to get a broader view of the place than that which comes from working in just one department. However, if you do team up, *don't hang around together*. It will be a constant temptation to talk to, eat and travel with the one person in your work-site who will be easiest to communicate with. This is not to say that you should ignore each other's existence on the job, just that your primary aim will be to work and communicate with the permanent workers in the plant.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this what they used in their workshop?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This was part of their instruction or literature they used in the workshop?

Mr. LASHKOFF. This is to obtain jobs, infiltrate industry and spread their ideologies.

The CHAIRMAN. But this is part of the instructions in the workshop, is that correct?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir. I am referring to my exhibit No. 2.

The CHAIRMAN. I have exhibit No. 2 before me.

Mr. LASHKOFF. My exhibit 2 is the SDS Summer Work-In.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a copy of it.

It has been received.

Mr. LASHKOFF. The main premise of the work-in is that the worker strikes have increased in numbers and militancy and that many students have actively supported these organized labor struggles. Through these activities, SDS students are gradually changing their anti-working-class attitudes and are beginning to see the key role that the working class must play in a revolutionary movement in this country. The apparent emphasis is to be placed on class struggle—worker versus boss—and the method of operation is stated as planned agitational actions based on exploitation of the working class by the imperialist or capitalistic system.

Explicit instructions are given to the SDS members as follows:

1. How to research jobs in your area.
2. What jobs to look for.
3. How to get a job. (a) Instructions on how to take tests, punctuality, dress, speech, demeanor.
4. What to expect on the job.
5. How to lead the other workers once they have secured employment.

My exhibit No. 2, also has a list attached to it of various corporations who are among the 50 largest employers in Alameda County, which is located in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Among those employers whom SDS advises their members to seek positions with are Pacific Telephone & Telegraph, the largest telephone utility in northern California; General Motors Corp., Southern Pacific Co., a major railroad company on the west coast; and many others.

On November 30, 1968, the national office of SDS issued a leaflet formularizing their plans for various projects for 1969. The national council of SDS stated at that time that they are preparing literature on high school and G.I. organizing, a work-in program and a history of the American labor movement. This leaflet was signed by Mike Klonsky, national secretary of SDS; Bernardine Dohrn, interorganizational secretary of SDS; and Fred Gordon, education secretary of SDS.

I wish to present that as my exhibit No. 3. Exhibit No. 3 outlines new areas of activities.

The **CHAIRMAN.** That will be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 394" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 394

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

NOVEMBER 30, 1968.

Brothers and Sister: We are in the midst of planning the winter educational conference and National Council meeting (Dec. 27-Jan. 1). We expect over 1,000 SDS people. We hope it will mark the beginning of an intensive organizational emphasis on education programs vital for consolidating the enormous growth of SDS in the past few months.

Our membership has nearly doubled since June. Chapters are drawing as many as two or three hundred to each SDS meeting in some parts of the country. SDS is beginning to reach out to new sections of American youth: high schools, community colleges, and the army. During the election activities, the heaviest actions took place at campuses like North Texas State in Denton, Texas

and San Fernando Valley State College in Northridge, California. We are expanding geographically too—into the rocky mountain states and the south.

The SDS program around election day helped consolidate our forces and strengthen regional development. At the same time, we began to understand the limitations that face a youth movement. Self-consciously defining the role of a youth movement in this country is a prime task for SDS in the coming months.

The demands on the national office to serve the expanded needs and potentials of the organization have been enormous. During the election time actions we put out a quarter of a million pieces of literature alone; but we are left with debts of several thousand dollars. *At the moment we have \$500 in the bank—enough to last about 4 days if we pay no subsistence wages.*

Our press is now working double shift. We are preparing literature on high school and GI organizing, the work-in program, a history of the NLF and its forms of organization, materials on the Cuban revolution and the struggle to build a socialist society, a history of the American labor movement, and more. *To produce 10 new pamphlets for mass distribution and reprint current material to fill our orders will require at least \$7,000.*

We produced a special issue of New Left Notes for use around election time; 50,000 copies were distributed. *We would like to put out one issue a month for bulk distribution to chapters for use in their organizing work, but the cost is at least \$500 a month.*

The priorities are clear: internal education and outreach to new constituencies. We need the resources desperately. We are asking every brother and sister in the movement to raise \$15 (enough to pay a week's salary to one full-time staff member). Our strength is in the commitment of our members—in you. We know the bread is scarce, but a first principle of every revolutionary movement is the necessity to defend and sustain itself. As always, it is up to the revolutionaries.

Venceremos,

MIKE KLONSKY,
National Secretary.

BERNARDINE DOERN,
Interorganizational Secretary.

FRED GORDON,
Education Secretary.

Senator MUNDT. Before we leave his exhibit No. 2, Mr. Chairman, I note a most significant paragraph in exhibit No. 2 on page 5, dealing with the instructions given these Students for a Democratic Society how to infiltrate the ranks of the employees of various corporations and companies, with the biggest ones in Alameda County.

It tells them why they should do that. The purpose is to create disruption about the war in Vietnam. It goes into some detail on how you stir up the people to oppose the war in Vietnam; cautions them very carefully as to whether they are talking to the father of a son who is fighting over there, but gives them some very sound, psychological approaches in trying to poison his mind also against the war in Vietnam.

I think it would be interesting to have printed in the hearings at this point the second paragraph on page 5, which deals specifically with the so-called spontaneous opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be printed in the record at this point.

(The paragraph is as follows:)

Lastly, remember when you start talking about the war (and about how students are seriously opposed to the war for good reasons, not simply engaged in "beatnik pranks") many workers who feel the same way keep silent while those who support the war are many times the most outspoken.

Don't get into knock-down, drag-out arguments with the latter, but rather talk individually first to the ones you're making friends with. Don't get into the box of making it appear that it's you against the workers.

Know the facts about the war, not just the polemics. Facts make a deep impression on workers. And if you get involved in discussions with workers whose sons are in Vietnam and want to "support them by going all out," BE CAREFUL. That's an emotional area in which it may be very hard to convince such a father that your line on supporting his son is correct. Start by understanding his position of having been brainwashed all these years and seeing his son in daily danger of "being killed by the other side."

In learning how to put forward an anti-Vietnam-war approach in such situations, you will really be learning how to talk to people who are not simply on your side or sympathetic.

Mr. LASHKOFF. On May 6, 1969, at a conference attended by the SDS strike committee of San Francisco State College at Sacred Heart Church, Fell and Fillmore Streets, San Francisco, also the location of the Black Panther Party breakfast program, a leaflet was passed out which tends to focus the major differences evolving within the SDS, PLP, and other leftwing oriented groups.

This leaflet is my exhibit No. 4, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and appropriately numbered. (The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 395" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 395

FIGHT ANTI-COMMUNISM!

A new wave of red-baiting, anti-communist attacks have been launched by the ruling class over the last two months. These attacks are aimed at the student movement in general and particularly the Progressive Labour Party-led Worker-Student Alliance caucus within S.D.S. From the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Business Week, to the McClellan Committee and the F.B.I., continuous attacks have been levelled at SDS and its "more radical", "Chinese-backed Worker-student Alliance faction". (N.Y. Times, 4/27/69). An F.B.I. spokesman moaned on CBS that SDS started out as "idealistic, sincere young people interested in social justice". But, he bemoaned, SDS is now being pushed toward the "Working Class and violent revolution by its Peking-oriented WSA caucus". Business Week also attacked the Summer Work-in, a WSA project.

Some forces within the movement have echoed the ruling class' anti-communist line and have intensified their attacks on Progressive Labor Party and other pro-Working Class forces. These anti-communist, anti-working class forces range from the Communist Party U.S.A., National Guardian, National Office of SDS to the Central Committees of the Black Students Union and La Raza at S.F. State. These attacks have been characterized by name calling and red baiting with liberal political content.

Last week, Hari Dillon was kicked out of La Raza by the petty-bourgeois leadership. At the same time the P.L. forces in the Mexican-American Student Organization at the University of Texas were also kicked out by the leadership of that organization. A little more than a week ago, Bridges Randle, a PLP member at State, was also informed that he was no longer a member of the Black Students Union.

The reasons given for these expulsions by the anti-working class leadership which engineered the expulsions are, in the case of Hari Dillon, that he is a member of an organization that has constantly criticized the mis-leaders of La Raza for their narrow self-serving politics. These politics center around government sponsored programs (EOC, Experimental College, Associated Students funds, ethnic studies etc. In particular the roles that these misleaders will play in such programs for their own gains—teaching positions, administrative positions etc.)

It is becoming increasingly clear to many people, through PL's Marxist-Leninist analysis of the university and of the programs specifically, that EOC, third world administrators etc. are not in the interests of the overwhelming majority of third world people—the Third World working class. For example, the Third World Liberation Front leadership and the Joe Hill caucus (the student-power faction of SDS) has formed an alliance to run a so-called "power to the

people" slate in the up-coming A.S. election. *It was PLP that pointed out that the A.S. elections are a farce. The elections are centered around the control of over two hundred thousand dollars, with which the various programs on campus will be funded.* It is the PLP position that these programs—Experimental College, Community Involvement, bourgeois ethnic studies programs, do not serve the interests of third world workers. It does not matter whether the ultra-right on the campus or the right wing within the movement gets control of this money—it will not help fight racism or help third world and white working people in any way to run these programs. These programs more than anything tend to alienate students from workers by building the illusion that the university is going to finance revolutionary programs, when in fact, just as is the rest of the state (cops, courts etc.), it is controlled by and in the interests of the ruling class. For example, working people especially are constantly in a sharp struggle with the bosses and it is illusory for students to say that the state, which is controlled by the bosses, is going to finance a working class revolution. We maintain that we have to build a worker-student alliance (Don't vote, Organize) by organizing around working class demands, such as amnesty for those who fight against the racism that divides the working. We have to support workers' strikes and join in the fight against the police terror that expresses itself through vicious attacks upon third world working people. We must support especially those workers who call for self-defense.

It is because of these constant working class analyses of the movement all over the nation that PLP is coming under heavy attack by anti-working class, anti-communist forces. The cases of Hari Dillon, Bridges Randle and the PLP forces at the University of Texas are not isolated cases, but are part of a general attack launched by the ruling class.

ALIOTO GIVES THE ORDER

Alioto said twice during the strike (when PLer's were playing leading roles), that he supported many of the demands himself and that everything could be worked if TWLF would kick out the Maoists (PLP).

Though the struggle is initiated by the ruling class through its daily anti-communism, it is important to understand that this struggle is carried out by the petty-bourgeois who also fear a working class revolution. This is partly because of the petty-bourgeois's fear of struggle against the ruling class, but mainly because it is a way for them to maintain control of the movement for their own interests.

It is not our position that organizations do not have the right to kick out forces that are fighting against the interests of working people, but we find that the trend is to kick out leftist forces, PLP members and supporters. For example PLP forces have long been in the vanguard of struggles on the State campus. Hari Dillon for instance, has not only contributed valuable leadership to the strike at State but also played a leading role in the May '68 sit-in that resulted in the establishment of the Special Admissions program and the retention of Dr. Juan Martinez—a current leader of La Raza. Bridges Randle was for a long time in the frontline leadership of the strike in its most militant phase. During these important struggles, these PL forces fought very hard to inject anti-racist, anti-imperialist, working class politics. They also fought against the petty-bourgeois politics of the misleaders. These misleaders while constantly attacking communists, hide behind revolutionary rhetoric in Marxist-Leninist forms.

This is not an attack on the rank and file of the movement but on the leadership which is in control of the movement at this time.

We recognize that red-baiting attacks on PLP and other working-class forces will increase as the class struggle sharpens and we become more of a threat to the ruling class and petty-bourgeois opportunists in the movement.

WE MUST FIGHT BACK!

The expected reaction to red-baiting attacks is for those communists and other left forces who are under attack to retreat and deny their politics. Indeed, this is exactly why the ruling class and other anti-working class forces use anti-communism. PLer's have been told they can stay at meetings if they don't put forward PL (communist) politics. This points to the fear that the ruling class, the National Office of SDS and the Central Committees of the B.S.U. and La

Raza has for PL's politics. They fear the growing influence of revolutionary ideas and want to drive out PLer's before the people have a chance to be won to their ideas. These anti-working class forces rely on the lifetime of anti-communist indoctrination which we all get daily from the ruling class. Rather than debate politically, they rant about "manipulation", "external cadre", "foreign ideology" etc.

We in PLP do not intend to run from these red-baiting attacks. We will fight to stay in the mass organizations on a principled basis (i.e. not hiding our politics). We will fight for a strategy of building a worker-student alliance against racism and imperialism. We do not expect La Raza, SDS, BSU etc. to adopt Progressive Labor Party's independent position as a Marxist-Leninist party (armed revolution, Dictatorship of the Proletariat, a class line on nationalism etc.)

But we will continue to struggle with the masses of Third World students to ally with the Third World working people and against the Administration and the rest of the ruling class; so that as students we can play a progressive role in the smashing of imperialism and its racist super-exploitation.

Many of us who signed this statement do not agree fully with PLP's entire program as a Marxist-Leninist party, but we do agree that PL has made and is making a valuable contribution in taking the movement in the direction of a working class revolution. We will fight against communists being kicked out of organizations in the movement.

Bridges Randle, PLP, BSU, Hari Dillon, PLP, Curt Blake, BSU, Will Lightbourne, TWLF, Paul Yamazaki, Norma Ferris, BSU, Jimmy Boyd, BSU (CCSF), Harry Lane, BSU, Sylvia Diaz (Chicano student OCSF), Harry Green, BSU, Ron Rivers, La Raza, Vince Mannino, La Raza, Diana Lopez, La Raza, Issac Reams, BSU.

Mr. LASHKOFF. In this leaflet, the Progressive Labor Party, Worker Student Alliance Caucus within the SDS, makes the following charges:

An anticommunistic attack is being launched on the PLP, Workers Student Alliance Caucus within the SDS, by various newspapers, the McClellan Committee, the FBI, etc.

Among the signers of this leaflet are Bridges Randle, a member of the PLP, SDS, and BSU at San Francisco State College; and Hari Dillon, PLP, SDS.

In January 1969, during the San Francisco State College disturbances, the SDS Independent Caucus issued a position paper.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be appropriately numbered.

Mr. LASHKOFF. It asked total support of all radical groups to fight our present system of government.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 396" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 396

SDS INDEPENDENT CAUCUS POSITION PAPER

We, the Independent Caucus of the Students for a Democratic Society at San Francisco State College believe that it is imperative to wage a vigorous and decisive struggle against racism, imperialism and capitalist exploitation. We unequivocally support the BSU-TWLF leadership in the San Francisco State strike. We, in the New Left, believe radical action in the past has been weakened by ultra-sectarian hassling and factional in-fighting, rather than organizing to smash the class enemy. We of the New Left in general, and SDS in particular, do not, however, deny the necessity of sharp debate to provide the theoretical basis for political action. Political or ideological debate is differentiated from factionalism in that the characteristics of factionalism are:

1. The over-simplification of events and political ideas for the purposes of labeling and thus discrediting them.
2. Rigid dogmatism, i.e., a vulgar, narrow-minded, simplistic, conceptual view of reality.
3. The wide-spread use of personal attack and invective under the charade that they are political in nature.

4. Anti-democratic methods of calling pamphlet meetings and press conferences.

This type of factionalism has had a history of distorting facts and events for sectarian purposes at the expense of the movement. We believe that mass action dictates the need for uniting with and struggling against and not struggling with and uniting against. We do not want to see a repetition of the Stalinist-Trotskyist battles that crippled the U.S. radical movement in the past and prevented masses of people from fighting the true enemy—the ruling class.

During the Christmas hiatus several developments have manifested themselves in the Strike Support Committee. The coalition of forces that are supporting the TWLF and BSU in their fifteen just demands has been suffering from the effects of internecine, sectarian warfare. We have seen ideological debate sink to the depths of vicious personal attacks at the expense of rational debate that is necessary to solidify support for victory. Our position is one of complete support for the Third World Liberation Front and the Black Students Union in their courageous fight against the racist and class nature of San Francisco State College.

We in SDS see the necessity for making the university serve the needs of the people of the community—the workers of this country who produce the wealth of this nation and yet are systematically denied the full fruits of their labor. This wealth, in turn, is used to exploit, oppress and slaughter the working class of this country every time they attempt to determine their fate, e.g., Watts, Detroit, Newark. Racism is the chief tool of the ruling class to divide black, brown, yellow and white working people from struggling against the class enemy. It is this reason why racism is the key issue in the strike. Racism is an integral part of capitalism and we realize that to smash the former you have to smash the latter.

We recognize that even within the vanguard force of this struggle—the TWLF—there may be political differences among the various members. But this has not stopped them from providing strong, effective and revolutionary leadership during the strike. Any Strike Support Committee that would not follow this example would be counter-revolutionary, i.e., weakening the revolutionary thrust of the struggle.

It is our aim to end the sectarianism that has weakened the Strike Committee and thus re-build it into a massive force that is fighting for the fifteen demands to end racism and to make the university serve the people and not the ruling class.

SPECIFIC CRITICISMS OF SECTARIANISM

The possibility of forming a broad based strike committee has been hindered by certain sectarian actions of a faction of the Strike Committee, namely the Progressive Labor Party caucus. The reason for these sectarian actions is that Progressive Labor (PL) believes that they are the revolution, and therefore, it is necessary and totally justified to intimidate and isolate all other individuals and groups (e.g., all other left-wing groups are considered counter-revolutionary). For example, the pamphlet supposedly representing the entire strike committee, in fact, contains exclusively the politics of the PL caucus; including two leaflets issued by the Progressive Labor Party and a position paper by the PL faction of SDS, neither of which were issued by the strike committee. Excluded from the Strike Committee pamphlet was any mention of departmental organizing or agit-prop theatre, because PL did not want to give credit to other working groups in the Strike Committee. In fact, PL has used the name and prestige of the Strike Committee to further their own political ends. This unprincipled action was accomplished by completely by-passing any democratic approval of the pamphlet and instead the pamphlet was "approved" by certain members of the PL caucus.

This is not the only tactic PL has used to intimidate and isolate all other points of view. PL has even resorted to vicious character assaults on political rivals and has coupled these assaults with simplistic political distortion. For example, an individual in SDS was accused of leaving his fellow students to fight the cops. This same person has also been accused of advocating "non-violence" or "terrorism" when in fact these were simplistic distortions of his position. In the PL framework, certain individuals and groups must be labeled as the "class enemy", "counter-revolutionary", "racist"—even if that means completely distorting the politics of that individual or group. Also, any individual or group

that attempts to expose the faults of PL is immediately labeled as a "red-baiter", instead of dealing legitimately with the criticisms raised.

Another tactic that has been used by the PL caucus is intimidation of students who have legitimate questions about specific tactics of the strike. For example, an individual active in the Strike Committee proposed at a mass meeting that the Strike Support Committee should SUGGEST to the BSU-TWLF leadership that on a specific day a non-confrontation tactic (community organizing) should be used. She was attacked as a "racist", when, in fact, the next day the BSU-TWLF used community organizing rather than confrontation. This is not an isolated example of intimidation—hundreds of students with legitimate questions and fears have been intimidated into not returning to mass meetings.

The practical result of PL's extreme unwillingness to work with anyone who will not accept their single-minded phraseology, has been to turn the Strike Committee into a group that, instead of being the "voice of the strikers" has become only the voice of the PL caucus. The policies of the PL caucus have contributed to the failure of the Strike Committee to engage and coordinate the activities of ALL students who support the struggle around the fifteen demands of the BSU-TWLF.

We would like to make it clear that this is not meant as an attack on specific individuals within the PL caucus, many of whom have done excellent work throughout the course of the strike.

PL is not the only faction which has used unprincipled tactics in order to exert their political hegemony. The YSA (Young Socialists Alliance) showed by their attempt to use the Statewide Strike Support Committee to push the YSA line of "mass mobilizations" without clear politics, that they too will use political manipulation. In fact, the YSA deliberately excluded people with different politics from working on the now disbanded Statewide Committee. If YSA had been in a position of political leadership we probably would have had an equal amount of criticisms of them.

PROGRAM

The SDS Independent caucus believes that the S.F. State strike committee should adopt a five point program consisting of the following:

1. *Combating racism and the class nature of the university.*—We believe that the problem of racism at SF State College is inseparably bound to the class nature of the university, just as in the larger society the problem of racism is inseparably bound to the nature of capitalism. It is inadequate, in fact, impossible, to organize a fight against racism at State College without simultaneously dealing with the class nature of education under corporate capitalism. It is the duty of the strike support committee to take the lead among white students in combating racism. We recognize that Third World people are, by far, the most oppressed segment of society. It is our belief that white students will only be organized effectively to combat racism, however, when they have been given a clear understanding of what racism is, why it exists, how it is used by the rulers to divide and oppress people of all colors, and why it is in the white students' own self-interest to fight racism. In order to do this we must go beyond the use of catch-words and rhetoric. First, we must educate students as to the nature of racism. Many students still think that racism consists solely of George Wallace wearing a white sheet while lynching a black civil rights worker. They have this concept because that is what the mass media tells them that racism is. We must fight this.

Secondly, we must show white students that fighting racism is in their self-interest. In order to do this we have to educate white students as to how the class nature of the university oppresses them. Many students have been brainwashed into believing that the system works for him instead of against him. Only after a white student realizes that he too is oppressed by the same enemy that oppresses people of the Third World will he understand that it is vital for him to fight racism. A person doesn't know he needs allies until he realizes he has to fight. Unless students clearly understand the relationship of racism to their own lives they will relate to the strike and general appeals to "fight racism" out of motivations stemming from chauvinism, liberal race guilt and paternalism.

2. *Developing community support for the fight against racism and the class nature of the university.*—In order for the strike to win it is necessary that we develop the strongest possible support within the community at large, as well as the broadest possible support among the student body. In order to do this we must reach the community around the duality of the class nature of the university

and racism. We must demonstrate to the community that the university is being used against them, that, in fact, the money that they pay for education is being used to keep them oppressed and exploited. We must show the community that black, brown and white strikers are trying to force the university to serve the working people who pay the taxes, and it is the political leaders of the state (acting as a tool of the corporate elite) who are trying to maintain the university as an institution paid for by the people but benefiting only the rulers. We must prove to the community that the fight against racism and the corporate control of the education system is in their interest.

3. *The need for departmental organizing.*—One of the major points of student oppression is the classroom. Here is where the liberal capitalist ideology is imparted. This ideology deceives Third World and white students about their true history (note that the racist history department also refuses to set up a course on labor history), teaching them bourgeois life styles, grading them one against the other, convincing them in a hundred subtle and not-so-subtle ways that they will graduate into fully-empowered, professional, decision-making, world-running Americans. In actual fact, most students will become workers themselves.

Therefore, we believe that some strike energy should be funnelled into the departments where we should work at two levels: First, and most important, to convince white students to support the fifteen demands and to strike against racism. Secondly, to lay the groundwork for challenging the capitalist essence behind the facade of liberal education. Our energies, however, should not be spent in any attempt to win such reformist demands as student representation on HRT committees as ends in themselves, or any other "student power" demands. This type of demand does not challenge the class nature of the university.

Our department strategies should learn from the Third World demands for educational self-determination, and also from the insistence of the Third World that the purpose of that self-determination is to meet the needs of their people. We cannot, and do not want, to build socialism in one department of the college.

4. *The need for direct action and confrontations.*—The use of tactics involving direct action, e.g., picketing, classroom education and confrontation is necessary to secure the fifteen demands of the BSU and TWLF.

(a) We unequivocally recognize the leadership of the BSU and TWLF in the present struggle. We believe that all confrontations should flow from a mass participatory base of Third World and white students. We support mass confrontation as a means of winning the fifteen demands, ending racism and challenging the class nature of the university.

(b) The only way our demands can be met is to stop the functioning of this institution which presently serves the interests of the ruling class and functions to oppress the masses of people in the community. As a tool of the capitalist ruling powers, the university serves as a factory to produce the technicians and apologists for a system which works in the interests of these powers. Direct action and confrontation in an effort to stop the functioning of the university is a direct threat to the use of the university as such a tool.

(c) We are not as naive as to state that the closing of one college will in itself threaten the stability of the system. Even when we win the demands the struggle against racism, capitalism and imperialism must continue.

(d) It is our position that in this struggle the real violence has been perpetrated against people of color by systematically denying them the right to determine their own educational destinies. We support the right of black, Third World and white students to use any means necessary to secure the demands and to end exploitation and oppression.

5. *The need for building a mass base.*—In order to win the strike it is imperative that a mass base of support be built. Any individual or group who supports the fifteen Third World demands and the basic principles of self-determination for Third World people, anti-racism, and the challenge to the class nature of the university should be able to take part in the Student Strike Committee without fear of intimidation, exclusion or sectarian attacks.

However, there are many people who are supporting the strike on issues which compromise the Third World's fifteen demands and principles. Campus autonomy, free speech, police brutality, and academic freedom are all issues which can be won from the power structure of the state. But by meeting these issues the power structure still would not be answering the basic issues of the fifteen demands—racism, self-determination for Third World people.

The Student Strike Committee should dedicate itself to organizing around the Third World position. In this way we feel a mass base could be built for a pro-

longed struggle against racism, for self-determination of the Third World people and to win the strike.

John Webb, Les Sogol, Candy Huerlin, Harlan Garbell, Charles Rasmussen, Dorothy Bricker, Renee Johnson, Alex Forman, Joy Magezis, Rachel March, Melody James, Andrea Snow, Joe Beresford, Bob Biderman, Robert Glick, Barry Biderman, Stephanie Mines, Bruce Hartford, Ken Milz.

Mr. LASHKOFF. It stresses the need for direct action and confrontations. It stated the use of tactics involving direct action such as picketing, classroom education, and confrontation are necessary to secure the 15 demands of the BSU and the TWLF at San Francisco State College. They (SDS) believe in the leadership of the BSU and TWLF in that struggle and they also state that all confrontations should flow from a mass participatory base of the "Third World" and white students.

SDS supported the mass confrontation as a means of winning all the demands and allegedly ending racism and challenging the class nature of the San Francisco State College. A point SDS discussed was a need for building a mass base in order to win the strike. This base must include campus autonomy, free speech, police brutality, academic freedom on all issues and whatever can be won from the California State power structure.

The student strike committee felt that it should dedicate itself to organizing around the "Third World" position. This way they felt that a mass base could be built for a prolonged struggle against what they termed alleged racism and for self-determination of the SDS student strike committee to win the strike.

This SDS position paper was signed by a number of SDS activists including: Les Sogol, Candy Huerlin, Harlan Garbell, Charles Rasmussen, Dorothy Bricker, Renee Johnson, Alex Forman, Joy Magezis, Rachel March, Melody James, Andrea Snow, Joe Beresford, Bob and Barry Biderman, Robert Glick, Stephanie Miner, Bruce Hartford, Ken Milz, and John Webb. Webb was arrested at San Francisco State College when he was caught stuffing rags into the public toilets causing their breakdown and stoppage, during the campus disorders. His case is still pending.

Senator MUNDT. Your exhibit No. 4 is headed "Fight Anticomunism." Was this handed out at Sacred Heart Church in San Francisco?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator MUNDT. That was on May 6, 1969.

This is quite obviously a tipoff to anyone seeing one of these leaflets that you are dealing here with an organization that is Communist-controlled and Communist-inspired.

My question is: Have you given a copy of your exhibit No. 4, headed "Fight Anticomunism" to the archbishop? You said you had given him some of the earlier literature which is much less revealing, but this one is as clear as a wart on the nose of the queen. It is pretty obvious.

Did you give that to the archbishop?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No, we didn't, but he is aware of the SDS meeting and other groups.

Senator MUNDT. Is he aware of what is being handed out in these groups? We have to depend upon him to stop this, and I think he should be given a copy of it to stop it.

Mr. LASHKOFF. On a wall of the church auditorium is a picture of Che Guevara with his fist raised saying, "Power to the people," so I think the board is well aware of that.

Senator MUNDT. I didn't quite get that. What is on the wall of the church?

Mr. LASHKOFF. In the church auditorium there is a picture of Che Guevara, with his clenched fist raised saying, "Power to the people," so I am sure Father Boyle is aware of what is going on in the church.

Senator MUNDT. I would have to believe Father Boyle knows about it. But has the archbishop, who probably has some control over Father Boyle, is he aware of it?

Mr. LASHKOFF. I am sure he is aware of it.

Senator MUNDT. Will you do me the favor to see that he gets a copy?

Mr. LASHKOFF. I certainly will.

Senator MUNDT. We have to have them stop the direct teaching of communism in the basement of a Catholic church. He can do it, but he might not be aware of it. Father Boyle might not have told him that. Get this to him, will you?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator MUNDT. Thank you.

Mr. LASHKOFF. The San Francisco State College chapter of SDS has been involved in the San Francisco Bay Area in a great number of demonstrations and rallies. A majority of these functions were planned, organized and carried out under the leadership or direction of their members. Some of these were: "Get Out of Vietnam," Grape Strike and Boycott, Free Huey Rallies, Military Mutiny Trials, Police Brutality Rallies, Peace and Freedom Party Rallies and Demonstrations, Peace Parades, Ban the Bomb, Tenant's Rights, Stop the Draft, Real Estate Board, Bay Area Rapid Transit, and Control your Local Police. The participation of SDS members has been so constant that most of the SDS activists are known on a first-name basis to uniformed and plainclothes members of the San Francisco Police Department who cover these rallies.

On March 5, 1969, Timothy Peebles, age 19, was seriously injured when a homemade time bomb exploded prematurely as he was allegedly placing it in a locker room situated in the Creative Arts Building at San Francisco State College. This was during the period of campus disorders.

Two time bombs had been placed in lockers. The first one was set to go off at 5 a.m. on March 5, 1969. This bomb was found by police and disarmed after Peebles was found seriously injured in an area where a bomb had gone off prematurely.

In addition to Peebles, another individual, William E. Pullium, a student at San Francisco State College, has been arrested in connection with this incident. Pullium had fled the scene following the blast and was later picked up by police. This case is still pending trial. Both of these subjects belong to the BSU at San Francisco State College. They are currently out on bail charged with conspiracy, possession and transportation of explosive devices.

Also during this same time period, one of the faculty members was observed printing numerous copies of a publication that was called "Your Manual."

May I now present my exhibit No. 5-A, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 397" for reference, and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do you name him?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No, there is no crime against what he has done, and I would rather not.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know whether it is a crime or not. A lot of these things may not be crimes, but we are inquiring into many of these activities to ascertain whether legislation is needed.

You say one of the faculty members was observed printing numerous copies of a publication that which you now offer as your exhibit No. 5-A.

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The exhibit has been received.

Mr. LASHKOFF. This, by the way, is a seven-page manual consisting of methods and equipment to fight the police and establishment, and how to dress by wearing helmets and boots, to acts of vandalism, arson, and sabotage.

The CHAIRMAN. I want that party's name for this record, for the subcommittee. Submit the name to the subcommittee. It will be retained by the subcommittee for the present. I want the name submitted to the subcommittee, the name of this faculty member who printed these and who made the statement.

Proceed with your statement.

Mr. LASHKOFF. When this San Francisco State faculty member was asked why he was printing the booklet, he stated that he had found a copy and that he was printing some extra copies to show to some of the students in his class. The faculty member was in the history department and it seemed preposterous that he was doing this for that purpose.

Senator GRIFFIN. Do you know whether or not any of these copies that were being duplicated was distributed on the campus?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Through our undercover sources we were able to pick up two or three copies on the campus.

Senator GRIFFIN. But the extent of distribution you are not aware of?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No, sir.

A discussion was held with the San Francisco District Attorney's Office and, due to the faculty member's explanation as to how and why he had acquired the booklet, no prosecution or further investigation was contemplated.

The booklet could be technically defined as educational in nature.

I would like to mention at this time that during the recent people's park disturbances at Berkeley, Calif., radical activists held a meeting that brought them together in a late-night session over tactics and issues. The group consisted of well-known leaders of radical organizations, and a platform was presented based on their individual ideas and not dogma.

May I now present my exhibit No. 6, which is a copy of a news item publicizing formation of a new radical group and creating an international liberation school in Berkeley, Calif., as a training center for revolutionaries and a new group coalition composed of SDS, yippies, and other revolutionary oriented groups.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 398" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. LASHKOFF. In this group were nationally known yippie leader Stuart Albert; Berkeley activist and radical student leader Paul Glusman; Shari Whitehead of the SDS, hippie commune leader; Gil Jones and Carol Jones of the Women's Liberation Front. This group formulated a 13-point platform that was to provide general guidelines for an assault on the establishment by what these radical leaders hope will be swarms of gadfly-like dissidents.

The 13 points as they were presented are as follows:

1. We will make Telegraph Avenue and the South Campus a strategic free territory for revolution. This is the main street in Berkeley, near the University of Berkeley campus.
2. We will create a revolutionary culture everywhere.
3. We will turn the schools into training grounds for liberation.
4. We will destroy the university unless it serves the people.
5. We will struggle for the full liberation of women as a part of the revolutionary process.
6. We will take community responsibility for human needs.
7. We will protect and expand our drug culture.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they mean by that, to expand the drug culture?

Mr. LASHKOFF. They will back abolishment of marihuana laws, any drug laws that are on the books.

The CHAIRMAN. Meaning expand their traffic in marihuana and drugs, and increase, I suppose, their number of customers; is that right?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It calls for expanding "our drug culture." I don't know what else it could mean but to promote the sales and use of it.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other meaning it has?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No. That is the meaning I gathered from it.

The CHAIRMAN. I never heard of a drug culture before. That is a new one.

Mr. LASHKOFF (reading).

8. We will break the power of the landlords and provide beautiful housing for everyone.

9. We will tax corporations, not the working people.

10. We will defend ourselves against law and order.

The CHAIRMAN. Defend themselves against law and order?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought they were opposed to law and order. Revolutionaries and criminals are the only ones I can think of who would be opposed to law and order.

Mr. LASHKOFF (reading).

11. We will create a soulful socialism in Berkeley.

12. We will create a peoples government.

13. We will unite with other movements throughout the world to destroy this mother —— racist, capitalist, imperialist system.

Essentially, the program proposes to form a unified community of dissent in Berkeley, loosely structured around a number of task-oriented committees. In essence, it is total anarchy and revolution.

In summation, the preamble for the Students for a Democratic Society is that it is an organization of revolutionary youth, who in their own words state that they will stand together with the struggles of oppressed people throughout the world; that they support the demands of the black, the Asians, the Latin people for self-determination. They are part of the international movement and struggle against what they term as the imperialist system and its inevitable byproducts which they state are racism and imperialism.

They believe that racism must be fought at every turn, for that American capitalism, ever since it was founded on what they term the slave trade, has used racism to oppress people of color at home and around the world and that allegedly the U.S. capitalistic system prevents the working class within the country from uniting in a common struggle against their alleged real enemies—the capitalistic system.

SDS goes on to state they are an organization of youth, which recognizes and will fight against the special ways in which the alleged imperialism oppresses young people.

They are forced to fight and die in the capitalistic wars, they are trained by the capitalistic schools for meaningless and nonexistent jobs.

They are taught (SDS) racism, and lying distortion of our history and that for our liberation, meaning the United States, and for the liberation of the people around the world we have come together (SDS) in solidarity with a world revolutionary movement.

This preamble to change was issued and disseminated to SDS members on the San Francisco State College campus, in leaflet form.

Mr. Chairman, the San Francisco Police Department appreciates the opportunity to cooperate with the efforts of the subcommittee in this investigation.

It has been my particular pleasure to have been chosen as our representative to testify here today. It is my hope that the information and evidence we have presented will materially aid the Congress in its deliberations in regard to this most pressing problem which concerns law enforcement, not only in the city of San Francisco, but throughout the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Inspector. I thought in every session of these hearings certainly there could be nothing new added to what we have already heard. But you have come in this morning with some information, some factual information, which further amplifies the activities of these groups, these organizations, in your community, which, if true, and which if believed, is absolutely astounding, alarming.

I have no reason to disbelieve it. I am sure you are convinced of it or you wouldn't have testified to it.

With the sources that you have, your intelligence sources and what you have seen and know personally, you are convinced that what you have testified to here is absolutely the truth?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir; definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. This information needs to be known by the Congress to alert it to what conditions are in the country. I hope that all of the news media will sense the importance of this information and the need for the public to receive it, and will make sure that it is made available to them.

I want to compliment you for the fine presentation you have made and express my personal appreciation and, I trust, the appreciation of each member of this subcommittee for your dedication and for the cooperation which you have given.

Senator Mundt?

Senator MUNDT. I certainly want to express my appreciation to you and the San Francisco Police Department for a very diligent job of finding out exactly what has been causing these riots on the campuses in California, especially in northern California.

There doesn't seem to be any reason in the world, from the information you have made available to the public, why the people of California or why the college administrators and the boards of trustees, regents, Governors, that control these universities cannot correct these situations, even without any additional Federal law, simply by measuring up to their responsibilities.

I noticed this last manifesto of the revolutionary crypto-Communists, if not Communist in fact, was published in the San Francisco Chronicle on June 4.

I am wondering, now that they have openly announced their purpose to destroy the University of California at Berkeley whether or not the university has barred the SDS from its campus.

Do you know?

Mr. LASHKOFF. They have not, sir.

Senator MUNDT. Has San Francisco barred the SDS from the campus at San Francisco State College?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Not unless they did so in the last day.

Senator MUNDT. Don't you think that would be a rather important first step?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Very much so.

Senator MUNDT. It seems to me that when revolutionaries have declared war to destroy universities, who are on the campus, have registered their names, who get control of a student body fund, the first step of any kind of diligent college administration would be at least to keep them off the campus.

They are still going to penetrate, they are still going to infiltrate. But certainly any statement by some sophisticated college professor that, "We are keeping them on the campus so we can watch them" fall with deadweight, because they are not watching them. They are not getting anything done.

They should get them off the campus. They should expel at least these leading agitators, whose names they know, who are not there for an education, who say they are there to take over the school or destroy it.

The Federal Government can't nurse along all of these colleges, all the State governments, all of the boards of regents, by stepping on the campuses of all these institutions with Federal law.

We can help disclose the facts, as you have helped to disclose the facts, as our committee staff is helping disclose the facts. These hearings are disclosing the facts. The facts are there.

The question now is what the people of California want. They have the power, through their officials in government supporting the courageous action of Governor Reagan, to get behind him and support him.

If the present board of trustees is not going to do the job, get a new board of trustees. If college administrators haven't any fortitude, no iron in their spines, can't stand against a bunch of revolutionary rebels like this, get rid of them. It is not fair to the great bulk of the student body who go to an institution to get an education, to have that education disrupted, sometimes nullified, by these Communist revolutionaries.

It certainly is manifestly unfair, if you happen to have a son or a daughter in one of the institutions. Here you are an inspector on the police force, doing your best to disclose these nefarious conditions, and your son or daughter may have to pay a student's fee to help contribute to the downfall of the institution.

Isn't that correct?

Mr. LASHKOFF. That is correct.

Senator MUNDT. So, there is a responsibility there for action. The action could be so direct, so simple and so legal in nature. It is not a Federal problem in this connection, except as these things spread from one State to another. It is a local problem.

Mr. LASHKOFF. I was going to say this isn't novel just to San Francisco, Calif. This is something that is going on throughout our country.

Senator MUNDT. That is correct. But with the same kind of courageous, practical and patriotic leadership in the office of the Governor, in the office of the mayor, in the office of the head of the school board, in the church sanctuary, in the college administration, this can be corrected.

You don't have to have the U.S. Army come over there and do that. This can be done if the people in the States will arouse themselves, if the people who endow the colleges will tell the college administrators, "We are not going to make our contribution to your endowment fund until you stop teaching communism."

That will call it to a halt. If the taxpayers revolt against this type of thing and let the school administrators in tax supported institutions know that they are not going to stand for this nonsense, they can bring it to a halt.

It is national in scope, but the problem is local in character. It can be largely corrected by some kind of courageous leadership. It has been done in a few instances. They have cleaned it up. They have kept it out.

I want to congratulate you on pointing up a perfectly hideous condition, in which students from decent American families who want to get an education, are taxed to pay a student fee to support a student organization with \$200,000 at its disposal, under circumstances where the school administrators are so indifferent and so lax and so irresponsible they don't even require an audit. That can be corrected locally.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Griffin?

Senator GRIFFIN. I just want to correct the record. In my eagerness to keep the facts straight as far as the State of Michigan is concerned, I focused on your statement concerning a convention that you indicated was held at the University of Michigan in 1967.

I was aware that a convention had been held at Michigan State University. I find on rechecking that your testimony is correct, that there was a conference at Ann Arbor, at the University of Michigan, in 1967. The convention that I was thinking about was held a year later on the campus of Michigan State University in 1968.

So, your testimony is correct.

Mr. LASHKOFF. Thank you, Senator.

Senator GRIFFIN. Do I understand that this student fee that was collected at San Francisco State was compulsory? Did every student have to pay it?

Mr. LASHKOFF. This is the normal student fee that goes into the associated student fund. What happened at San Francisco State College is they had the student government run the fund. What happened was a few militants got control of the fund and started going wild with spending.

In fact, some guns were bought out of the fund for the Black Panther party and the Black Students Union.

Senator GRIFFIN. Black Panther guns were bought?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Some guns were bought.

Senator GRIFFIN. They were bought with student activity funds?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Yes, sir. That is under investigation at the present time.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Percy?

Senator PERCY. I was very much interested, Mr. Lashkoff, in your comment on a movement, listed on page 6, the students summer work-in for 1969, where the SDS is attempting to infiltrate industry.

This presumes that SDS members are really going to go to work, take jobs in industry, work side by side with other workers, in order to create dissension within the factories.

You have listed a number of factories. Summer has now started with work programs. Industry hiring has taken place. Many industries are certainly cooperating with the Government's attempt to hire as many of our youth as possible in these private programs.

Can you give us some evidence as to whether or not, this program has been successful in the San Francisco area, whether a number of SDS students have actually rolled up their sleeves and gone to work in a factory?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No, we do not have that at the present time, Senator. No knowledge.

Senator PERCY. You have no evidence at all?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No, sir.

Senator PERCY. Would it be desirable to see on this major program, if it has failed, why it has failed, and would it be wise to watch it in the San Francisco area?

Mr. LASHKOFF. What we did in the San Francisco area was to disseminate this leaflet in all the companies. They were listed on the

booklet. So they were aware of what was going on and what might take place.

Senator PERCY. Have you also followed closely their attempts to subvert GI's and the various techniques they use to undermine the morale of our men in uniform? Can you give us any benefit from your experience in this area?

Mr. LASHKOFF. We have had many demonstrations around the presidio, which is the headquarters of the 6th Army. They passed out numerous leaflets on Vietnam, everything that is disruptive and disorganizing, anything that is immoral.

Senator PERCY. They passed this literature out. I know from my 4 years at the university, I used to get letters every week under my door, as did everyone else. The question is: Is it effective? What is it accomplishing? Is it a danger to society to have this literature passed out? Have you any evidence that there has been an undermining of the morale on the part of GI's, the Military Establishment, in the San Francisco area as a result of this activity?

Mr. LASHKOFF. I think there was a headline in the paper just the other day that noted there were 50,000 desertions from the Armed Forces this year. I don't know what the paper was, but this was 1 or 2 days ago.

So, I believe this material is doing the job.

Senator PERCY. Could you repeat that again?

Mr. LASHKOFF. There was a headline in the paper, and I don't recall now whether it was a Washington paper or a San Francisco paper, just in the last few days. I imagine you can check this with your Armed Services Committee. It was that there were approximately 50,000 desertions within the Armed Forces in this past year.

From that I would say that the propaganda these people are putting out is effective.

Senator PERCY. Do you have any direct evidence that you could offer us of this?

Mr. LASHKOFF. No, I don't.

Senator PERCY. No personal contacts with any GI's, no personal contacts with any commanding officers, where you could relate their feelings and belief as to whether this type of activity is really taken seriously?

Mr. LASHKOFF. Not on that subject; no, sir.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Again, my thanks.

The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Members present at time of recess: Senators McClellan, Mundt, Griffin, Percy.)

(Whereupon, at 12:12 p.m., the committee recessed to reconvene at 2 p.m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The subcommittee reconvened at 3 p.m., Senator John L. McClellan, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

(Member of the subcommittee present at time of convening: Senator McClellan.)

The CHAIRMAN. In compliance with the rules of the committee, the letter from the ranking minority member, Senator Mundt, reading that the Chair may proceed to hold the hearings in the absence of a second member of the committee will be placed in the record at this point.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
SENATE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS,
Washington, D.C. June 24, 1969.

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 24, 1969.

JOHN L. McCLELLAN,
Chairman.
KARL E. MUNDT,
Ranking Minority Member.

Mr. Counsel, call your next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Meltzer and Mr. Dyer.

The CHAIRMAN. Be sworn.

Do you and each of 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?

Mr. DYER. I do.

Mr. MELTZER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Beginning on my left, would you identify yourself for the record, please.

TESTIMONY OF RUSSELL MELTZER AND JUSTIN DYER

Mr. MELTZER. Officer Russell D. Meltzer, Los Angeles Police Department.

The CHAIRMAN. You may identify yourself for the record. We will get to your testimony later.

Mr. DYER. Justin Dyer, sergeant of police, intelligence division, Los Angeles Police Department.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been occupied with the position you now hold?

Mr. MELTZER. I have been a policeman with the Police Department of Los Angeles for 5 years and I have been assigned to the intelligence division for the last year.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. MELTZER. Yes, I do, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your prepared statement, and any part of it that you can omit or care to omit, let it be omitted from your prepared testimony and it will be placed in the record at the proper point.

Mr. MELTZER. I have a prepared statement on the Students for Democratic Society in the city of Los Angeles. The statement covers the history, organizational structure, leadership, activities, funding, aims and objectives.

I will start out with the history in the Los Angeles area.

Students for a Democratic Society, as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention, held at Port Huron, Mich., in June, 1962. From this original founding, the organization has branched out into almost every part of our Nation.

In the Los Angeles area, we are confronted with six chartered SDS chapters. These chapters are located on the following campuses:

California State College at Los Angeles, University of Southern California, University of California at Los Angeles, San Fernando Valley State College, Los Angeles City College, Los Angeles Valley Junior College.

The chartering of these chapters dates back to 1965, when SDS made its first debut in the Los Angeles area.

California State College at Los Angeles, SDS chapter, received its charter on October 5, 1965. Wendell Hannick was the chairman at the time it received its charter.

University of Southern California, SDS chapter, received its charter on May 10, 1965. It is unknown who the original chairman of this chapter was, at the time it was chartered.

University of California at Los Angeles, SDS chapter, was chartered in, or about 1965. We have been unable to document the exact date or the individuals connected with the founding of the chapter.

San Fernando Valley State College, SDS chapter, received its charter on April 6, 1966. Paul Shinoff was the chairman at the time this charter was founded.

Los Angeles City College, SDS chapter, received its charter on October 24, 1967. Fred Klonsky, brother of Michael Klonsky, who was the national SDS secretary, was the chairman at the time this chapter was founded.

Michael Klonsky is depicted on your SDS board under the National Interim Committee.

Los Angeles Valley Junior College, SDS chapter, received its charter on December 5, 1967. William Leonis was the chairman at the time this chapter received its charter.

Since the first founding of a chapter in the Los Angeles area, we experienced the outgrowth of a regional SDS office. The regional SDS office portrays a central committee for the SDS chapters.

I will now go into the organizational structure.

The structure of SDS, in the Los Angeles area, is similar to the structure found elsewhere in the Nation.

In the Los Angeles area, we are not confronted with the national SDS organization, other than its influence that comes down through policy to the regional SDS office, which is then distributed to the chapters.

The regional SDS office and the local SDS chapters will be discussed, in regards to the structure of the organization. There will be no emphasis placed on the national organization.

The local SDS chapters are the basic local units within our city. They operate autonomous from each other. Their programs on the campus and in the community differ from one another, although their ultimate goal is the same.

There are no basic requirements for membership into these chapters. One only has to express the desire to join and have the same philosophical views as the organization. In some chapters, it is required that you pay minimal dues. This will vary from 25 cents a meeting, up to 50 cents, depending on the chapter, and they hold one meeting a week.

The SDS regional office is made up of representatives from each chapter in the region, which constitutes the regional council. Members, selected at large, make up the regional officers. There is no formal method, to our knowledge, of selecting officers, such as by means of voting, et cetera.

The regional office appears to be the connecting link between the national organization and the local chapters. The regional office keeps correspondence with the national office, as well as with other leftwing groups and foreign countries, such as Cuba, et cetera.

The regional officers receive wages in the amount of \$15 per month, per person, from the national SDS office. The regional office was formerly located at 510½ North Hoover, Los Angeles, until they were evicted from the location in December 1968, for failure to pay their rent. The regional office moved to 619 South Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles, where they share the building with: Newton-Cleaver defense committee, The Newsreel Service, Liberation University, Peace and Freedom Party.

They have since been evicted from this location, due to arrests being made in their office and the serving of search warrants. These warrants were in regards to criminal syndicalism. The regional is presently looking for a new location to establish their office.

The regional SDS office publishes a regional newsletter, which is sent to the membership of the local chapters. This newsletter usually contains material pertaining to events coming up or things that the regional or the chapter has taken part in, in the past. This newsletter also acts as a means to disseminate information received from the national headquarters.

The regional newsletter is a monthly publication, but due to financial difficulty faced by the regional, it is published whenever funds permit.

Each SDS chapter has a chairman, secretary, and treasurer. There will be other officers within the chapters, as committees emerge.

The leadership of the chapters vary from semester to semester. It appears that each chapter has adopted the policy which is set up by the educational institution that it is chartered by, which specifically states that an organization on campus must elect new officers each semester.

I will now go into the Students for a Democratic Society leadership at California State College at Los Angeles.

David Emerson Elliott: Member of SDS at CSCLA, where the chapter is considered active and pro-Progressive Labor Party. He has been convicted for carrying a concealed weapon.

Jan Ford: Ford is an instructor at CSCLA and active in the SDS chapter on this campus. He is also active in regional SDS and, at last SDS Regional Conference at Pitzer College, he presented a paper concerning the "black and brown movements" on campus, in which he criticized SDS for following these movements blindly and for not

developing its own progressive "red" demands to expose capitalism and imperialism in the United States. He called for the defeat of capitalism and the development of socialism. At an SDS Regional Council meeting, during December 1968, Ford stated that the primary reason SDS demonstrates and causes confrontations with colleges, is to draw attention to SDS so that it can increase its membership.

Robert A. Niemann: Professor of Engineering at CSCLA and faculty advisor for SDS, there. Is also faculty representative for the New University Conference, which is a radical university organization, headquartered in the East, having chapters and/or contacts at a number of universities throughout the country. The NUC has described itself as the university section of a not yet existing revolutionary party, which advocates takeover of campuses by students.

Niemann is a former member of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America.

Robert Ray: Member of SDS chapter at CSCLA. Former chairman of the chapter, but recently voted out. Has called for shutdown of the CSCLA campus and has been largely responsible for this chapter's work and efforts in organizing SDS chapters at various Los Angeles area high schools. During January 1969 Ray was arrested in Signal Hill, Calif., for unlawful participation in a union labor dispute.

We had prior information that Mr. Ray made statements regarding he would like to get SDS involved in labor incidents and this statement was made approximately 4 weeks prior to his involvement in this labor dispute, where shots were fired, due to an altercation with some of the police officers.

Ronald Ridenour: Current member of the Student Club of Southern California District, Communist Party, and very active in Communist Party youth activities.

Lynn Pestana: Chairman of the finance committee, CSCLA, SDS chapter.

Frank Weinstein: Former representative to regional council, SDS, Los Angeles, from SDS chapter at CSCLA, where he is a member. Current member of Los Angeles Progressive Labor Party.

Students for a Democratic Society leadership at University of Southern California—

Lawrence Kulesza: Kulesza is cochairman of the SDS chapter at USC.

Terry Poplawsky: Cochairman of SDS chapter at USC.

That is all we have on those two individuals.

Students for a Democratic Society leadership at University of California at Los Angeles—

Michael S. Balter: Balter is a current member of the Los Angeles Progressive Labor Party (LAPLP), for which he provides monetary support. He is a member of the SDS, UCLA chapter, and is considered the leading SDS spokesman on the UCLA campus.

During the summer, 1968, SDS at UCLA, led by Balter, destroyed a display of another student club on campus, which depicted atrocities being committed by the Vietcong in the Vietnam war. As a result, the UCLA administration advised that they would no longer approve literature to be circulated on the campus, using as a signatory or sponsorship line, the SDS name or abbreviation.

In spite of this sanction, SDS, still under Balter's leadership, continued to function and circulated a petition on the campus, demanding abolition of all entrance requirements for students with minority, poverty, or working class background. The petition called UCLA a racist institution.

During April 1969, UCLA suspended Balter because of his violation of campus rules, in connection with his SDS activities. As a result, and using "drop the charges against Balter" as an issue, SDS on the campus, sponsored demonstrations against the school administration on April 14 and 16, 1969. In addition to dropping the charges against Balter, they demanded UCLA to keep police and feds off campus and provide more free speech areas on campus.

Seizing upon these issues, SDS and other left-wing groups on the campus, such as the "resistance," have formed a "united front" called the "coalition." They have been responsible for a number of subsequent campus demonstrations and confrontations with the administration, demanding that the school drop its ROTC program, discontinue all war-related research programs and allow use of loud speaker systems in the free speech areas, as long as classes were not interfered. Additionally, a demand was made that individuals who use the free speech areas be allowed to say what they wish, without fear of charges being brought against them.

Lauro Ho: As of October 1968, Miss Ho was a member of the SDS chapter at UCLA. She was born in China and is a U.S. citizen at this time.

Steve Lippman: A member of SDS at UCLA and a rank and file member of the Los Angeles Progressive Labor Party.

Jeremy Palmer: Very active in Dow Action Committee, Progressive Labor Party and the Resistance, Los Angeles. Active in SDS, at UCLA. Was arrested by Los Angeles Police Department for disturbing the place during the June 23 riot, at the Century Plaza Hotel, which began as an anti-Vietnam and President Johnson demonstration, sponsored by the Peace Action Council.

Jeff Schmidt: Member of SDS at UCLA, 1968, but no information recent activities. (Jeff Schmidt is current member of SDS at UCLA). I believe he is number 81 on your chart and has not been uncovered as yet on exhibit 257.

The CHAIRMAN. Number what?

Mr. MELTZER. Eighty-one.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the cover on 81 be removed.

Mr. MELTZER. Gordon D. Alexander: Considered one of the more militant SDS members at UCLA. He is also active in the Resistance chapter at UCLA. Alexander was arrested in January of 1969, in conjunction with the demonstration at San Fernando Valley State College, which is approximately 30 miles away from the college he attends.

Students for a Democratic Society leadership at San Fernando Valley State College—

James Fred Berland: Berland is a member of the Executive Committee, Southern California District, Communist Party (SCDCP) and considered by party members to be the leading spokesman for the CP in Southern California, regarding youth matters. He has stated

that the CP is going to eventually assume complete control over SDS and will direct SDS activities away from the campus and into the working class.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have that statement documented?

Mr. MELTZER. Yes, I have, from a reliable source, an informant that we have who has been in contact with this individual.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. MELTZER. Clifford Fried: Fried is a member of the SCDCP and very active in and a leader of party youth activities. He is actively attempting to recruit SDS members into the CP. He has been very active in the past, participating in SDS activities at SFVSC and as an organizer for SDS in San Fernando Valley high schools. Fried has recently been under investigation by the Subversive Activities Control Board which met in L.A. last week. He has openly admitted to the press and to myself in person being a member of the Communist Party.

John Michael Lee: Lee is a member of SDS at SFVSC and is one of the leading spokesmen in the chapter. During December 1968, Lee attended the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam in Montreal, Canada, sponsored by the North and South American Communist Parties. He is presently out on bond after arrest for robbery.

Paul Shinoff: An SDS organizer, Los Angeles, specializing in organizing on college campuses, 1967-1968. Traveled to Cuba, February 1968. Described as one of the Newsreel film makers. SDS activities have tailed off and reportedly now exclusively with Newsreel, out of San Francisco area. Also, formerly active in Peace Action Council and Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights. Above trip to Cuba was sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, which is a name used by the Socialist Workers Party, which has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States, as a subversive organization.

Ira Standig: Member of SDS at SFVSC and considered one of the leaders at regional level. One of most active participants at Los Angeles regional conferences, recently. Was involved in take-over of administration building at SFVSC, November 1968 and arrested as a result of that participation.

Jerry Stark: Among those arrested at SFVSC in January 1969, during student disorders. As of February 1969, was editor of Outcry, an underground, left-wing publication at SFVSC. Has attended regional meetings of SDS, Los Angeles, during latter part, 1968.

Vickie Tempkin: Member of SDS at SFVSC and arrested during student demonstrations there, November 1968 and January 1969. Associates with Black Panther Party members.

Students for a Democratic Society leadership at Los Angeles City College—

Patricia Ann Barton: Barton is a member of SDS at Los Angeles City College and has served as chairman of a number of meetings of this SDS chapter, during the recent past. She has also served as chairman of a regional SDS conference in Los Angeles. She describes herself as a "Marxist-Leninist" and is considered to be a militant member of SDS in the Los Angeles area.

Barton was recently reported to have resigned SDS to seek employment in industry for the purpose of furthering SDS activities, aims and objectives there.

Fred Klonsky: Klonsky is a member of SDS at LACC and, until recently, was considered one of the leading spokesmen and more militant members of the chapter. He reportedly has resigned from SDS to seek employment in industry to further SDS aims there.

(At this point Senator Griffin entered the room.)

Students for a Democratic Society leadership at Los Angeles Valley Junior College—

Michael Francis Bebo: Bebo was a leading spokesman for the SDS chapter at LAVJC until he was expelled from this school in November 1968 for disciplinary reasons. During March 1969, Bebo was arrested on the LAVJC campus during early morning hours when he was found to have explosives in his possession. Currently in Los Angeles County Jail, to my knowledge at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. He was unable to make bond?

Mr. MELTZER. I have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Then he is still in jail?

Mr. MELTZER. To my knowledge, he is.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MELTZER. **Michael Cohn:** Cohn is currently a member of the SDS chapter at LAVJC and has played a part, along with Steve Mandell, one of the leaders of this chapter, in demanding the school do away with police science courses. Associates with Michael Bebo.

Horst Doerfner: Considered one of the more militant members of SDS at LAVJC. He is an alien (German citizen) in the United States on a temporary visa. He took part in the disorders caused by the militants at San Francisco State College and was also on campus at San Fernando Valley State College during January 1969 when disorders took place there, caused by SDS and the Black Student Union.

Paul Erlich: Erlich is considered one of the more militant members of SDS at LAVJC and a close associate of Michael Bebo. He is no longer at school and his activities are unknown since Bebo was arrested in March of this year.

William Leonis: As of November 1968, Leonis was the leader of the SDS chapter at LAVJC. He was suspended at that time, for disciplinary reasons, by the school and has not returned. He is presently attending the University of Minnesota, where he is active in SDS. In a recent speech at the school, he bragged that he was knowledgeable regarding explosives.

Steve Mandell: Steve Mandell is cochairman of the SDS chapter at LAVJC. During February 1969, he demanded the school administration drop its police science courses.

Debbie Mednick: Considered a principal spokesman for SDS at LAVJC.

Ted Milkoff: Cochairman of SDS at LAVJC. Milkoff traveled to San Francisco during January 1969 to take part in and film the demonstration that took place on the San Francisco State College campus.

Regional Students for a Democratic Society leadership—

Kenneth Cloke: Cloke is executive secretary of the National Lawyers Guild, which has been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee, as a Communist-front organization. Cloke is considered to be one of the regional leaders of SDS in the Los Angeles area.

Bill Danner: As of November 1968, Danner was a spokesman for the

Los Angeles regional SDS and a member of the regional "tactics committee." Since that time, his activities regarding SDS in the Los Angeles area are unknown.

James Franklin Fite: Fite is considered to be one of the leading figures in the regional Los Angeles SDS and is considered a full-time SDS organizer. He is the regional SDS high school coordinator for Los Angeles.

John F. Johnson: Johnson describes himself as the treasurer for the regional office, Los Angeles SDS and is considered to be one of the leading figures there.

Donald Newton: Described as "field secretary" for the regional office of SDS, Los Angeles. Communicates with other offices of SDS throughout the country. Stays in the background quite a bit, but is considered one of the leaders in the Los Angeles region. This individual was designated as SDS liaison with Reiss Tijerina's Alianza organization.

John Regan: Former member of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, Los Angeles and the University of California at Los Angeles Vietnam Day Committee. He is also in charge of the regional SDS newsletter.

Bill Vandercook: Considered a leader in SDS, Los Angeles region, master of ceremonies at SDS regional conference, Pitzer College, December 1968, to January 1969. Leader in Movement for a Democratic Society (adult section of SDS) Los Angeles.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to enter two exhibits, No. 1 and No. 2.

No. 1 is a physical description of the individuals I have mentioned in my presentation to this point.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received as an exhibit and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 399" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MELTZER. No. 2 is a list of professors connected with the Students for a Democratic Society which I would like to read at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. How long is that?

Mr. MELTZER. This consists of three pages.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it just the names?

Mr. MELTZER. Names and their associations, and when they have been arrested.

The CHAIRMAN. These are faculty members?

Mr. MELTZER. These are faculty members.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, proceed. I could just print it in the record.

Mr. MELTZER. Richard Abcarian: Associate professor of English at San Fernando Valley State College and a member of the faculty for Democratic Institutions—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment, I don't have a copy of your list. Do you have copies?

Mr. MELTZER. Yes, sir. I believe you should have copies.

Senator GRIFFIN. You indicated that these professors are connected with SDS. Will your description include what the nature of this connection is?

Mr. MELTZER. Well, it will describe their connections by the way they have taken part in demonstrations and by the way they have been arrested while taking part in these demonstrations.

Senator GRIFFIN. Does it go into detail about the connection with SDS?

Mr. MELTZER. Only to the extent that they have taken part in SDS demonstrations, and also in raising bail funds for individuals arrested in these demonstrations.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that an extra one?

All right, proceed.

Mr. MELTZER. Richard Abcarian: Associate professor of English at San Fernando Valley State College and a member of the faculty for Democratic Institutions. He has been active in SDS demonstrations at SFVSC and consequently arrested in January of 1969, during an SDS and BSU demonstration at SFVSC, for failure to disperse.

Farrel Robert Broslawsky: Professor of history at Los Angeles Valley Junior College. He has participated in numerous SDS demonstrations and demonstrations sponsored by the Peace Action Council, Los Angeles area.

Marvin H. Cantor: Assistant professor of biology at San Fernando Valley State College. Cantor has been active in Resistance and SDS demonstrations. He assisted in raising bail funds for students indicted by the grand jury, as a result of the building takeover of November 4, 1968. Cantor was also arrested in January of 1969, during an SDS and BSU demonstration at SFVSC, for failure to disperse.

Donald Freed: Administrator of the California Institute of the Arts, Los Angeles. Freed is a widely accepted New Left leader in Los Angeles. He has led SDS-sponsored demonstrations at UCLA, inciting students to storm college placement centers.

In June of 1967, Freed advocated that all liberals, civil disobedients and radicals must work for defeat of the United States. Freed is now active in Black Panther Party activities and is considered the go-between, between the black militants and the white radicals. Freed is also a member of the organization entitled, "The Friends of the Panthers."

Warren Furumoto: Associate professor of biology, San Fernando Valley State College. Furumoto has been active in the antidraft and SDS demonstrations. He has been listed on the board of directors of the Valley Peace Center and on a list of sponsors for the Hemispheric Conference held in Montreal, Canada. Cantor was arrested in January of 1969, during the SDS and BSU demonstration at SFVSC for failure to disperse.

Allen Wallace Graves: Associate professor of English at San Fernando Valley State College. Graves has given support to the SDS and BSU activities at SFVSC and has taken part in SDS demonstrations which led to his arrest in January of 1969, for failure to disperse, during an SDS and BSU demonstration. He is also active in the Resistance.

Donald Kalish: Chairman of the Philosophy Department, University of California at Los Angeles. He has been involved in Peace Action Council activities, as well as activities sponsored by the SDS chapter at UCLA. Kalish is vehemently opposed to the Vietnam war and

also took part in the demonstration at the Century Plaza Hotel in July of 1968.

Kalish calls himself a conservative radical. Kalish has also been seen, recently, in numerous rallies and demonstrations connected with the Black Panther Party.

Thomas Gregory Robischon: Professor of philosophy at University of California at Los Angeles. Robischon was a speaker and sponsor of a rally held for the support of the San Francisco State College student strikers. SDS, BSU, and the Black Panthers were also sponsors of this rally. He has supported SDS in its activities on campus.

Bernard Joseph Somers: Associate professor of psychology at California State College at Los Angeles. At an SDS meeting at CSCLA during December of 1968, SDS announced "radical faculty" meeting would be held at Somers' house with SDS students invited. Somers has been active in SDS functions at CSCLA and has also been involved in the activities of the Peace Action Council, Resistance, and various anti-Vietnam war groups.

Somers traveled to Cuba in 1968 and admitted, upon return, that he was "politicized" while there.

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, if I could, I would like to interrupt at this point.

On these last two you have mentioned, you had definite things to say about their activities in connection with SDS. With respect to your reference to Donald Kalish, chairman of the Philosophy Department, University of California at Los Angeles, it seems to me the only thing you have said is that he is against the war in Vietnam—and that he has engaged in some demonstrations against the war in Vietnam in which the Black Panther Party was also apparently involved.

I just want the record to indicate that the fact that somebody is against the war in Vietnam, as I am sure you would agree, isn't necessarily grounds for criticism or indictment in this situation. A person with sincere convictions could find that a demonstration of protest in which he is involved also involved the Black Panther Party—and he wouldn't have anything to say about it.

I do not say that that is always the case, but I think this should be pointed out in the record. I see some rather tenuous connections in that situation unless you have any additional personal knowledge that you want to add.

Mr. MELTZER. Yes, Senator. On numerous occasions while SDS has sponsored activities on campuses, Professor Kalish has been observed taking part in these demonstrations by giving verbal backing to the students.

Senator GRIFFIN. Encouraging them and so on?

Mr. MELTZER. Right. And deploring the activities of the Police Department when they were trying to put down these activities. He was giving them verbal help through the entire extent, especially in this last building takeover at UCLA.

Senator GRIFFIN. That is interesting information. Thank you.

Mr. MELTZER. Fredrick Eugene Wilhelm: Employed by UCLA and professes to be affiliated with the Dean of Students' office. He has been very vocal about the police on campus and has taken an active part in numerous SDS demonstrations.

Every time this individual would see a police officer on campus, he would intentionally burn this police officer and bring his attention to the students there in what appeared to be an attempt to have the students do something about it.

The CHAIRMAN. What are these other names? You are not going to read those?

Mr. MELTZER. The following pages, Mr. Chairman, are just the physical descriptions and addresses of the individuals. These are just the physical descriptions that go along with the name.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed with your statement.

Mr. MELTZER. Students for a Democratic Society activities at California State College at Los Angeles.

On December 6, 1967, CSCLA, SDS chapter, held a demonstration against the Dow Chemical Co., who had recruiters on their campus. The leader of SDS at this time was Ronald Ridenour. The demonstration began as a debate between the Dow Chemical Co. representatives and those who opposed Dow's manufacture of the Napalm.

Ronald Ridenour led a group of people from the free speech area, to the location where the interviewers were located, in a trailer, adjacent to the placement center, on campus. Ronald Ridenour at this time succeeded in agitating the crowd into blocking the exits of the trailer.

While the crowd was causing problems at the interview trailer, a female mannequin was produced and a fluid, alleged to be napalm was poured over it and ignited. This occurred in the parking lot next to the entrance of the building.

At this time, the Dow representatives, fearing for their safety, due to the climatic mood of the crowd, exited the trailer and entered the placement center bungalow. At the placement center, the mob, still being led by Ronald Ridenour, followed Dow representatives into the building and were successful in stopping all activities there.

The campus uniformed police arrived at the scene, but were unable to do anything with the crowd. The crowd just ignored their presence.

The Dow representative, still in fear of their safety, had to exit the bungalow by the way of the rear window.

After the Dow representatives departed from the campus, the mob was then led to the free speech area for a victory celebration and to make further plans.

It was later ascertained that individuals were in the process of pouring gasoline beneath the trailer containing the Dow representatives and were going to ignite the trailer, while the Dow representatives were still inside. This plan was foiled with the early exiting of the Dow representatives and their retreat to the placement center bungalow.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they burn the trailer?

Mr. MELTZER. No, sir. They did not ignite the gasoline because at that time the representatives exited the trailer and the entire movement of the crowd went to the placement center.

Senator GRIFFIN. Can you tell me whether there were any arrests made as a result of that?

Mr. MELTZER. There were not any arrests made at this time in conjunction with this.

On October 9, 1968, CSCLA took part in a demonstration in front of the Mexican Consulate, at 125 West 4th Street, Los Angeles. This date

was held in sympathy with the Mexico City demonstration that was in conjunction with the Olympics. The SDS chapter, at that time, was under the leadership and guidance of Robert Lawrence Ray.

During December of 1968, information was received that CSCLA, SDS chapter, was going to involve themselves in labor disputes. This did not come as a surprise, due to the recent involvement in the Herald-Examiner newspaper strike.

On January 7, 1969, Robert Ray and other SDS members from this chapter, took part in the Shell Oil Co. strike, in Signal Hill, Calif.

While participating in the oil workers' picket line, Robert Ray became instrumental in urging participants in attendance to riot.

While Robert Ray was being taken into custody by the Signal Hill Police Department, some of his fellow SDS members tried to intercede, to the point where they committed batteries against the police officers. Subsequent arrests resulted from this incident.

During this incident, there were also some shots fired during the altercation. This incident took place less than a month after it was announced that they were going to take part in labor disputes. It was the feeling of the strikers that they did not want any outside help or involvement from SDS and that they just posed a problem.

It was also ascertained, during the school year, that this SDS chapter had made plans to tear up the campus newspaper office and burn all publications of the campus newspaper. It is unknown why this group did not follow through with the planned activity.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know they had such plans?

Mr. MELTZER. This was from an undercover officer.

During the time in the school semester, SDS was instrumental in starting a running feud with the Campus Center. This was in regards to the operations of the Campus Center and the student body funds allocated to finance this center.

During the time this feud was carried on, the Campus Center was the scene of a couple of Molotov cocktails being thrown through the windows. Due to sheer luck, these Molotov cocktails did not ignite, thousands of dollars worth of property damage was avoided.

During the fall semester of 1968, there were numerous incidents in the free speech area, which were caused by SDS. Most of these incidents were in the nature of fist fights between SDS and the black militants on campus.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would they be fighting? I thought they were in sympathy with each other.

Mr. MELTZER. This is one campus where there seems to be a falling off between the two, because each one of them wants to run the show.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a question of leadership and power?

Mr. MELTZER. That is it.

UCLA, SDS chapter, conducted a demonstration against the Dow Chemical recruiters. This demonstration was led by Jeremy Palmer, who was then the chairman of SDS.

The demonstration commenced on November 13, 1967, with a gathering in front of the Placement Center, at which time, Jeremy Palmer arrived and started setting up a portable public address system.

Uniformed UCLA campus police officers approached Palmer and attempted to confiscate the portable public address system. They

were met with resistance by Palmer and a struggle followed. Palmer and equipment were pulled into the placement center and equipment was removed from his possession. Palmer was then expelled from the center and the public address system was confiscated because there was no permit issued for its use by the dean of student activities.

A group of approximately 20 SDS demonstrators attempted to rush the placement center to give aid to Palmer, but were met by a line of baton-drawn officers. The demonstrators stopped before contact was made.

Another portable public address system was brought into use by the SDS demonstrators and a picket line was formed. Speeches, singing, and taunts at the university police were made over the public address system.

The crowd grew, until announcement was made that Vice Chancellor Young was observing the demonstration from atop the math sciences building. A major portion of the demonstrators went to the building in an attempt to confront him, but he had left the area. This incident channeled a major portion of the demonstrators away from the original demonstration, at which time, the demonstration dwindled.

Palmer then announced that there would be a sit-in at the placement center, on the following day; that if the police prevented the sit-in, they would go to the administration building, or some other place, which would be announced at that time.

On November 14, 1967, the demonstration against the Dow Chemical Co. representatives was furthered from the prior days' activities. This demonstration commenced in approximately the same manner as the one held on the 13th of that month.

A group of people commenced to gather in front of the placement center, at which time, Jeremy Palmer arrived, in his usual style, and commenced to set up a portable public address system. Again, Palmer did not have a permit to use a public address system on campus.

Uniformed campus police attempted to confiscate the public address system, at which time Palmer resisted in the same manner in which he had done on the day before. The equipment was taken into custody by the officers, at which time approximately 30 SDS individuals approached the officers in a threatening manner, yelling objections and obscenities. The group stopped as the officers formed a line with drawn batons. At the officers were concentrating on their personal safety, Palmer was released by the officers, to prevent any further activity.

Another public address system was immediately set up at the scene, at which time the demonstration continued and vacillated from one position on campus to another. The demonstration finally ended up as a sit-in on the second floor of the administration building, blocking all entrances and exits to that location.

At this time Los Angeles Police Department was summoned on campus, at which time the demonstrators quickly made a plea to the chancellor that if LAPD would leave the campus they would discontinue their demonstration and leave. LAPD was consulted and, since no arrests were going to be made, LAPD then left the campus and the demonstrators followed in suit.

Senator GRIFFIN. Before you go to the next incident, I would like to ask a question. This fellow Jeremy Palmer, if you know, is he a student at UCLA?

Mr. MELTZER. Yes, sir; he was at this time.

Senator GRIFFIN. Was there any disciplinary action taken against him by the university, as far as you know?

Mr. MELTZER. Not to my knowledge.

Senator GRIFFIN. There was supposed to be a permit to use the public address system and he didn't have it on any of these occasions.

You say he was a student?

Mr. MELTZER. That is correct.

Senator GRIFFIN. Do you know why he is not a student now? Did he graduate?

Mr. MELTZER. I believe he was graduated.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you.

Mr. MELTZER. UCLA SDS again became active in a demonstration which portrayed the use of force and violence. In May of 1968 they physically attacked the Thomas Jefferson Club, which is known as a conservative club on campus. The Thomas Jefferson Club had erected some displays on campus, in regard to the Vietnam situation. These displays did not go along with SDS's philosophy about the war, so SDS took it upon themselves to tear down the displays and physically attack the club members who were in charge of the display.

On February 27, 1969, it was ascertained that there would be possible problems on campus caused by SDS. Los Angeles Police Department at that time deployed three investigators to the campus to gather information if the problem did arise.

It was ascertained that SDS was holding an illegal rally, in connection with university policies. While the investigators were observing this rally, one of the SDS individuals observed the investigators and immediately turned the demonstrators toward the investigators.

The investigators, being physically confronted by a group of approximately 75 to 100 SDS demonstrators, all who were sympathetic toward SDS, were forced to leave the campus under threats of physical violence. The chairman of SDS and the individual who spearheaded this demonstration was Michael Stanley Balter.

San Fernando Valley State College.

On November 4, 1968, San Fernando Valley State College SDS chapter, spearheaded a building takeover on campus. This incident was in conjunction with the Black Student Union.

During this building takeover, the college administrators and clerical personnel were kidnapped from various locations and forcibly taken to a conference room in the administration building. Some of the administrators were forced to comply with demands at knife point and others were forced through threats of physical violence to their person.

In January 1969 SDS took a leading role in sponsoring a demonstration which was in sympathy with the November 4 incident on campus.

The CHAIRMAN. Reverting to the previous paragraph, you say some of the administrators were forced to comply with demands at knife point and others were forced through threats of physical violence to their person.

What were the demands?

Mr. MELTZER. To sign a list of the demands presented to the administrators by the Black Students Union and also one football coach was escorted from the physical education building to the administration building under knife point. There were some robberies that were perpetrated during this incident of personnel that were working in the building, such as maintenance men. They had all their master keys stolen at knife point.

There was also a piece of metal ground that was later ascertained was going to be used to electrocute anybody who came up the stairwell. It was made from a frame of a map. The aluminum extrusion was removed and wire from a coffeepot was removed from the coffee pot and attached to these metal extrusions in a manner acting as electrodes. Then the floor was wetted down by the stairs. Since the elevators were jammed the only way to the fifth floor of the administration building would have been through the use of the stairwell which then was wet.

It is a matter of opinion what this electronic device was going to be used for, but that is what we came up with.

Also, the individuals on this activity were indicted by the grand jury and the case is now pending, although half of them have been found guilty of misdemeanors on this case.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MELTZER. Due to the escalating incidents on campus, it became necessary, for the safety of all involved, to declare a state of emergency on campus and close it to outsiders.

SDS at this time took a vital part in the demonstration held on the 9th of January, at which time it became necessary to effect 286 arrests.

It has since been ascertained that SDS has held numerous meetings on campus and off campus, in which discussions were held to perpetrate a confrontation with the police department.

Such statements as, "It will be necessary to get uniformed police on campus, to get anything big started," et cetera. There have been numerous statements which parallel this line of thought, made at various SDS meetings throughout the city.

Los Angeles City College.

During the week of March 10, 1969, Los Angeles City College SDS chapter, took an active part in an attempt to close the campus.

Patricia Barton and Fred Klonsky appeared to be the leaders of this movement. The SDS demonstrators followed the guidance of these two, in setting up barricades, threatening individual students who attempted to go to class and ran through the classrooms disrupting activities in progress.

SDS was joined in the venture by the militants of the Black Student Union at Los Angeles City College.

SDS and BSU failed to gain support of the student body and, due to the opposition presented to them by an organization on campus known as VIVA—Voices in Vital America—they failed in their endeavor. During this demonstration there was considerable damage done to the school property.

Los Angeles Valley Junior College.

During the week of March 10, 1969, the SDS chapter at Los Angeles Valley Junior College was instrumental in taking part in school disruptions that were being conducted during this time period.

SDS demonstrators ran through the hallways and classrooms, disrupting classes in session. Michael Bebo, an active SDS member of this chapter, was arrested for possession of a Molotov cocktail, as he was entering the campus.

SDS in the Los Angeles area appears to be in financial difficulty. They have three sources of income which does not amount to much.

The Communist Party can be considered as one source of income, if you consider the financing of an individual that belongs to the party and is also a member of an SDS chapter.

Senator GRIFFIN. That is kind of an extraneous statement, to say that the Communist Party can be considered as one source if you consider the financing of an individual. That is saying that an individual who is a member of the Communist Party has made a contribution to SDS that you are aware of.

Mr. MELTZER. My next paragraph will explain that.

An example of this is Clifford Fried, who is an active SDS member and past chairman of the San Fernando Valley State College chapter and is also identified as the Communist Party youth organizer for the southern California district.

I feel this is a means of funding an organization when you are paying one of the leaders.

Senator GRIFFIN. Do you have information as to how much money you are talking about, or can you furnish it to the committee?

Mr. MELTZER. I have had some information regarding how much this individual receives, but this has come from a source which, if I divulged it, it would burn him.

Senator GRIFFIN. All right.

Mr. MELTZER. The Progressive Labor Party has donated money to finance individuals to attend the national SDS conferences, although the amount of money donated by the Progressive Labor Party did not amount to much. This donation was only to the California State College at Los Angeles SDS chapter. This is one chapter that the Progressive Labor Party has just about complete control.

Another source of funding is donations received by individual SDS chapters from SDS sympathizers, professors at various colleges, et cetera. These don't usually amount to too much. When they pass the hat around, a lot of professors have been observed to donate money.

SDS also holds fundraising promotions on campus, such as selling literature and bake sales.

A check of the regional SDS checking account reveals that they usually have a balance of \$50 or less. This would tend to indicate that they are not receiving any sizable amounts of money in our area that we know of.

The individual chapters collect dues from each member at their weekly meeting. The dues range from 25 cents to 50 cents per week, depending on the chapter. When you consider there is probably a maximum of 15 to 20 members in a chapter, this does not constitute a sizable amount of money.

The aims and objectives of the Students for a Democratic Society can be ascertained from the literature that they produce. From some of this literature, it has been ascertained that they have a current pro-

gram of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objective status, denouncing the U.S. intervention of the war in Vietnam, and to radically transform the university community and provide for complete control by the students.

SDS has published "The Work-In Organizers Manual." I believe that has already been introduced as an exhibit. This manual is intended to help work-in organizers in selecting and getting jobs. It also contains some pointers on approaches to the political issues that they will be raising and encountering at work.

SDS has been attempting to gain status in the labor field for a considerable amount of time. This has been evidenced in the part that some SDS individuals have played, in regards to their activities in the labor strikes.

Two of our SDS leaders in the Los Angeles area, Fred Klonsky and Patricia Barton, have already attempted to assume their role in the work-in program. Patricia Barton has attempted to gain employment in the General Telephone Co. in Los Angeles, while Fred Klonsky currently has an application in, at the Post Office Department.

Another objective of SDS is implied by a manual which was obtained from an SDS office. This manual is a very elaborate booklet on sabotage. It goes into specific instructions on how, why, when, and where to apply the techniques of sabotage and also advises the individual how to protect himself from an investigation. I believe this manual has already been introduced as an exhibit, Mr. Chairman.

The document entitled, "The Multiversity," which is written by Carl Davidson, has been adopted by SDS. This manual indicates their position on the college campuses, which can be correlated to some of the disruptions that have recently developed on the campuses.

Mr. Chairman, I believe this has already been introduced as an exhibit.

There have been numerous articles in workshops, dedicated to the attempt of SDS to infiltrate the high schools throughout the Nation.

California State College at Los Angeles has been the SDS chapter that has been conducting workshops for the high school students. At this time, SDS has been instrumental in organizing two recognized SDS chapters within the city of Los Angeles.

SDS's involvement in the draft is shown by the numerous demonstrations held at our local induction center, in conjunction with the leafleting that they have conducted, in regard to the war in Vietnam.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my testimony with regard to SDS. I wish to take this opportunity to thank you and the members of the subcommittee for their invitation for me as a representative of the Los Angeles Police Department to assist you in your important inquiry, part of which involves the Students for a Democratic Society.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for your cooperation and your statement.

Senator, have you any questions?

Senator GRIFFIN. Can you tell me, is Fred Klonsky the brother of Mike Klonsky?

Mr. MELTZER. Yes, he is, Senator.

Senator GRIFFIN. He has an application in in the Post Office Department which no longer takes political matters into account. It will be interesting to see how he makes out.

Thank you very much for your very interesting testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dyer, will you identify yourself further?

Mr. DYER. I am sergeant of police at the Los Angeles Police Department, Intelligence Division. I have been a member of the department for over 19 years and have held a current assignment in related fields for over 14 years.

My position in Intelligence Division is to coordinate and direct all investigations regarding militant activity.

The CHAIRMAN. Does Mr. Meltzer work under your direction?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You have a prepared statement?

Mr. DYER. Yes, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. May I suggest you proceed with it and, where you can, shorten it but it will be printed in the record. That is in order to expedite the hearing. If you can hit the highlights, it will be helpful to us. I don't want anything left out that you want to say.

For example, you have a list of names, and instead of reading all of it we can have it printed in the record.

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

This is a statement about the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense as it pertains to the city of Los Angeles.

I. The History of the Organization

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was started in 1966, in Oakland, Calif., by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale.

The Panther Party became well known when a group of armed Panthers burst into the Assembly Chambers in Sacramento in May 1967. Since that time, the Panther Party has established offices in many major cities in the United States, particularly in California.

The Black Panthers first came to the attention of the Los Angeles Police Department, operating in the city of Los Angeles on February 29, 1968. This was a demonstration for Huey Newton in front of one of the local high schools. A Panther office was opened around March 1, 1968, in the Black Congress Building at 7228 South Broadway. The Black Congress is a union of militant and nonmilitant organizations representing a common meeting place for a coalition of ideas. Within the Black Congress was also an organization called "US," which was founded by Ron Karenga (true name of Ronald McKinley Everette). It developed later that the two groups, Panthers and US, were involved in a power play to take over the Black Congress. This struggle caused the Black Panthers to move to 4115 South Central Avenue. This address forms the Los Angeles headquarters, which has satellite offices to allow the black community easy access to Panther meeting places. All offices have vantage points from within where weapons are kept in easy reach for building security.

The Panthers organized in Los Angeles and set up as captain of the Los Angeles chapter, one Wilbert Terry who could be best described as a vacillating militant and always where the money is. A rule of the Panthers is, "Never give up your piece (gun)." Wilbert Terry borrowed a gun from a US member on one occasion and for returning the gun, was put on a 90-day suspension for violation of rules. Shermont Banks replaced Terry soon after as Banks was polished and

could talk to upper-class whites. The need for polish was evidenced in the 1968 general election. The Peace and Freedom Party organized to support a candidate of their choice, was one of the greater financial contributors to the Black Panthers. Banks later fell into disfavor due to his pacifistic attitude. He was relieved of his duties as captain and had the outward appearance of a promotion. He was given the job of speaking for the party but lacked the authority to command. About this time an altercation between the Panthers and US occurred at UCLA. The captain who replaced Banks, John Jerome Huggins, and the southern California minister of defense, Alprentice Carter, was shot by US members in a power struggle to control the Black Student Union and to decide who was to be selected to head the UCLA black studies program.

The CHAIRMAN. These men were not killed, were they?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir, Huggins and Carter were both killed.

The new captain was Raymond Hewitt (aka Massai) who had been previously active in Los Angeles within a Chinese Communist-oriented group. Hewitt took over as leader. A Los Angeles Central Committee was formed as the ruling body but subservient to the National Central Committee in Berkeley, Calif.

The Los Angeles Chapter of the Black Panthers has some direction from a Caucasian named Donald Freed, a local SDS member and a leader in the Friends of the Black Panthers organization. Donald Freed has contact with Rose Chernin Kusnitz who heads the Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights. This organization has the same people involved and was previously known as the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. The national office was the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and was cited a Communist Party front organization. Letters from Donald Freed have been directed to leaders of the Black Panther Party and Rose Kusnitz in the same letter, giving credence that the Communist Party influences the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have one of those letters?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir. I have them to present in evidence at a later time.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator GRIFFIN. May I ask is that Donald Freed the same Donald Freed who was identified as being connected with the Black Arts Institute in California?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

Officers of the Los Angeles Police Department, investigating the January 17, 1969, shooting of two Black Panthers by US members at UCLA, interviewed Charles Garry in San Francisco. At the interview, Garry gave strong impressions to investigating officers that he, Garry, was running the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that their lawyer?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

Charles Garry, attorney for Eldridge Cleaver, was asked a few years ago if he was a member of the Communist Party and he took the fifth amendment.

II. Organization and structure

The Los Angeles Black Panther Party for Self-Defense is directly controlled by a local central committee. This, in turn, is controlled by a national central committee with headquarters at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, Calif.

The national committee as described by the California Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation is:

Minister of Defense.—Huey P. Newton, M/N 27 5'11", 150, DOB 2-17-42, Louisiana (Calif. Mens Colony—San Luis Obispo)—CII 2 291 824, FBI 804 121 E, SS 566 56 4675, DL K 124 266.

Chairman.—Bobby George Seale, M/N 33 5'8", 140, B/P Texas, 800—57th St., Oakland, Wife—Artie Seale—CII-3 456 140—CII 2 277 637, FBI 882 553 B, SS 569 46 8628, DL DM 922660.

Minister of Information.—Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, M/N 33 6'1", 182, DOB 8-31-35, Arkansas, 2777 Pine St., San Francisco (Fugitive from Justice), Wife—Kathleen Cleaver—CII 715 185, FBI 214 830 B.

Chief of Staff (Colonel).—David Hilliard, M/N 28 DOB 5-15-42, 3246 Magnolia, Oakland—CII 2 175 190, FBI 801 274 F.

Communications Secretary (Lt. Colonel).—Kathleen Neil Cleaver, F/N 23, DOB 5-13-45, Texas, 2777 Pine St., San Francisco.

Field Marshals (Lt. Colonels) (Underground).—A. Donald Lee Cox, M/N 32 6'0", 185, DOB 4-16-36—CII 1 166 325, FBI 630 531 C.

B. Carver Neblett.

C. Louis Randy Williams, M/N 27 5'10", 147, DOB 7-13-42—CII 1 967 707, FBI 910 837 D.

D. Landon Robert Williams, M/N 25 6'1", 162#, DOB 4-20-44—CII 2 797 946, FBI 229 594 G.

Ministers (Lt. Colonels).—

1. **Education.**—George Mason Murray, M/N 23, 6'2", 175#, DOB 12-9-45—CII 3 384 155.

2. **Health.**—

3. **Finance.**—Melvin David Newton, M/N 31, 5'5", 135#, B/P Louisiana, (Brother of Huey P. Newton)—CII 1 124 750, SS # 563 42 9720, DL # F 518 549.

4. **Justice.**—Raymond Hewitt, aka Ray Maasai (Los Angeles), M/N 28, 6'1", 171#, DOB 3-12-41 (New appointment to replace Al Prentice (Bunchy) Carter, deceased)—CII 1 739 752, FBI 595 564 G.

5. **Prime Minister.**—Stokely Carmichael, M/N 27, 6'22", 187#, DOB 6-29-41, Trinidad, Wife—Miriam Makeba (singer), 2208 14th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. (Moving to Guinea—Africa in April 1969)—CII 3 614 126, FBI 853 121 D.

6. **Foreign Affairs.**—James Forman (Inactive), Former Director of SNCC.

7. **Economic Development.**—

8. **Culture.**—Emory Douglas—See editorial staff, M/N 26, 5'9", 176#, Black Panther Paper, DOB 5-24-43—CII 1 718 725, FBI 618 671 D.

The Los Angeles area chain of command would be:

Deputy Minister of Defense, Southern California: Elmer Gerard Pratt.

Central Committee: Composed of chapter leaders, section leaders, and the black guard.

Captains, section leaders, sub-section leaders.

The Central Committee is not known. Confidential informants state that it is made up of 15 to 20 people.

Those known to belong to the central committee are:

Elmer Pratt (aka "Geronimo", "Gee")—Deputy Minister of Defense, southern California, and as such is part of the national committee. His position is now underground.

Raymond Hewitt (Captain)—Hewitt a Captain, is also the National Deputy Minister of Justice. He is assigned to the Los Angeles Central Headquarters but is very fluid.

Delmar Paul Mossett (uses Paul Mossett)—Captain, who controls the Los Angeles Chapter on a day-to-day basis.

Michael Pennewell—Captain and keeper of the law, responsible for activities of the Black Guard.

Shermont Banks—Captain and speaker for the public and contact for "White Mother Country." (They feel they are colonists and a separate state.)

The Black Guard is composed of a section leader, subsection leader, and two more from each squad.

Their purpose is to enforce discipline within the party ranks, assassinate undesirables, ambush police, and handle bombings. It is controlled by Capt. Michael Pennewell.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that is the duty of the Black Guard?

Mr. DYER. Through infiltration of sworn undercover police officers and other informants.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no doubt about it, do you?

Mr. DYER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have that from more than one source?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think Powell also testified to that Black Guard.

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear his testimony?

Mr. DYER. No; I did not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. DYER. These known to be section leaders are:

Wilmont Odom—Section leader of 4604 West Adams Boulevard.

Ronald Freeman—Section leader of 1810 E. 103d Street.

Albert Armour—Subsection leader of 1810 E. 103 Street.

This information is based on reports of undercover operators, personal Panther literature, on arrestees, and information seized and booked evidence.

The Los Angeles Panthers have three locations: the central headquarters at 4115 South Central Avenue; 1810 East 103d Street, and 4604 West Adams Boulevard. All offices are in 100 percent Negro areas.

An office located at 1617 7th Avenue moved to the 4604 West Adams address to be at a better location for pedestrian traffic. A similar move was made from an office located at 8404 South Broadway. It was there for only a matter of months. It moved to the 1810 East 103d Street location which is considered the "Heart of Watts." With this move, the Compton, Calif., Panther office moved from 530 Compton Boulevard in Compton to the 103d Street office. Compton, an adjacent community of Los Angeles, is approximately 85 percent Negro.

III. Membership

Membership as of March 1969 was approximately 70 members in the Black Guard. This was a drastic cutback resulting from the January 17, 1969, UCLA shooting between Panthers and US organization.

Intelligence Division files as of February 1969 indicated approximately 250 known Panthers. This number was nowhere complete.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it was an underestimate?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir. We didn't know all of them.

Circumstances surrounding confrontations with police pointed out that Panthers were not obeying Panther rules. Panthers who are armed were required to go to another's aid if need be and "shoot the pigs" as police are referred to. After the UCLA shooting when Panthers came out second best, when other Panthers were in the audience and were armed, it was decided to cut membership back to eliminate the "do nothings" and strengthen party discipline.

The CHAIRMAN. Were some of them expelled because they wouldn't participate or failed to participate in the shooting and come to the defense of their Black Panther brothers?

Mr. DYER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many were actually expelled?

Mr. DYER. There was a list printed in the Black Panther paper. I can't recall offhand but it must have been a number of 20 or 30 members who were eliminated or suspended.

The CHAIRMAN. They actually printed the list in their paper?

Mr. DYER. To a degree. This particular list was pertaining basically to the San Francisco area, but in the Los Angeles area it was more or less handled on an executive basis.

Most members are tested by involvement in crime. Those who are hesitant are branded as "do nothings" or suspected of being police informants. Recruitment as of late has been limited to high school students to eliminate getting a police officer in their ranks. Recent material photocopied upon arrest of Panther leadership indicated recruitment of youngsters as young as 8 years old.

The CHAIRMAN. I noticed—one of these pamphlets of this morning, the Coloring Book, they showed youngsters following a leader, the youngster 10 or 11 years old, 8 or 9 years old, with a gun in his hand following right after the footsteps of the leader.

Mr. DYER. That is right, sir. It follows the teachings of Hitler. "Give me anyone under the age of 7 and he is mine."

The CHAIRMAN. So they are now trying to recruit and enlist the very young?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. DYER. Originally the Panther Party was organized by the 10 x 10 x 10 method. It was to start by recruiting 10 men, each of them were to be a squad leader and recruit 10 men for himself, they in turn recruit to form their own squads. The method did not prove successful. Squads lists have been found on leaders and indicate there are numbers 1A, 2A, 3A, and 8A. It was known that there was a 9A in Compton, Calif., and this squad moved into the 103d Street office and was assimilated into other existing squads.

Los Angeles leaders ranked in order of authority:

Elmer Gerard Pratt—deputy minister of defense for southern California.

Captain Raymond Hewitt, also national minister of justice.

Captain Paul Mossett—his real name is Gerard Paul Mossett, controls Los Angeles chapter on a day-to-day basis.

Captain Michael Pennewell—keeper of the law.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the enforcer?

Mr. DYER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you proof of any assassinations that he has carried out?

Mr. DYER. Captain Diggs, but we have no proof. He was called Captain Franco within the organization.

Shermont Banks—deputy minister of information—speaker for the public and contact for “White Mother Country” (the establishment).

The CHAIRMAN. Some of them have the rank of captain. Is that the rank in their own organization?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not related to the military service?

Mr. DYER. A captain normally refers to a chapter leader. Then you have other positions which call for that same rank.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. DYER. Elmer Pratt as deputy minister of defense for southern California is in an “underground position.” He has been a bodyguard for Alprentice Carter when Carter held this position. After Carter was shot at UCLA on January 17, 1969, by “US” members, Pratt ended up with the position. He has three underground lieutenants as bodyguards. They are Captain Blue, identified as Roger Lee Lewis; Long John, identified as John William Washington; and Julio, identified as Julian C. Butler.

Lt. Julian C. Butler is a hairdresser near the 4604 West Adams office and frequents it often. Butler resigned from the Los Angeles County sheriff’s office prior to becoming a Black Panther. He had been a deputy sheriff.

Russell Washington, brother of Lt. John Washington, is in charge of distributing the Panther papers.

Known section leaders are:

Wilmont Odom of the 4604 West Adams address.

Ronald Freeman of the 1810 East 103d Street address.

Positions are very fluid. Members fall in and out of grace. People are jockeying for positions and due to infractions of rules, people are suspended, placed on probation or terminated.

A confidential source had occasion to copy a general membership roster which would be indicative of membership as of March 1969:

SQUAD 1-A, CENTRAL

Craig Williams, James Johnson, Tyrone Hutchinson, Robert Williams, Philip Mobley, Dwight Hutchinson, William Hankins, Charles Mobley, Andree Brown, Gregory Carter, Chico (Contact through Craig or Harold), Harold Taylor, Doby Hatter, Charles James (Contact Craig or Harold), Wilbur Madlock, Arthur Huey, and Ricky Matthews.

SQUAD 2-A

Joan Kelley, Glen Goodloe, Russell Washington, John Clark, Brenda Frank, Dr. John, Bobby Jackson, Rueben Caddell, Alvin Jackson, Patrice Neal, Bradley Polk, Glenda Joseph, and Yusef.

SQUAD 3-A, ADAMS

Ray Egars, Andree Joseph, Herbert Pryor, Jerry Lewis, Ronald Barron, Raymond Walder, Andrew Jones, Lewis Rose, Richard Johns, William Garwica, Fred Franklin, Austin Frampton, Robert Maxwell, Linda Tiggs, Carlos Rodriguez, Byron Bartlett, Willie Baines, Rodrick Woods, Michael Willis, Robert Nelson, Darrell Rolla, Alvin Maxwell,¹ Eugene Thompson, Douglas Greenwood, John Pollard, and Deuodie Benson, Jr.

SQUAD 8-A, WATTS

Nathanial Clark, Robert Morgan, Albert Armour,¹ James Spencer, Paul Cross, Wayne Pharr,¹ Luxey Irvin, and Gerri Freeman.

IV. Programs and Activities of the Organization and Their Impact on Specific Communities

July 30, 1968, 7 p.m., Newton Patrol observed Panthers in front of their 4115 South Central office marching back and forth. Approximately 60 people led by eight to 10 Panthers were shouting "kill the police."

August 5, 1968. A radio unit stopped a vehicle with four male Negroes. As the suspects alighted from their vehicle they began firing at the officers. Both officers drew their weapons and returned fire. Three suspects were killed and one escaped, later surrendering himself to the court. Those killed were: Capt. Stephen Bartholomew; Robert Laurence, who was officer of information; and Lt. Thomas Melvin Lewis, all Black Panthers. At a Panther meeting on August 7, 1968, Charles Bartholomew stated he was an uncle of one of the deceased and talked of arming to retaliate. He suggested small groups of three or four for the retaliation. Applications, information of squads, and miscellaneous papers found in the vehicle of the deceased verified their Panther rank.

The funeral of Lt. Thomas M. Lewis was attended by about 140 persons in Panther attire, approximately 30 from the Malcolm X Foundation and about 20 Brown Berets (a Latin American militant group). At the cemetery, one of the group shouted, "In our liberation for our freedom, what will we use?" the group replied in unison, "The Red Book, the Red Book." He asked what else and they replied, "The gun, the gun."

August 7, 1968. The Black Panthers held a press conference regarding the shooting of three of their members. Bobby Seale stated:

Black people are tired and sick. There will be no more spontaneous riots. No more burning down buildings. It will be armed guns and force. Black people will defend themselves against all racists attacks perpetrated upon them, especially by the racist "Pig Department," operated by the power structure.

If you attack us, we will defend ourselves the best way we can and we will kill more of you if you attack us. Readily, fast and quick, the pigs will die, they will be driven out of the black community.

August 8, 1968. Two police officers were fired upon by a group of 12 suspects. Seven shots were fired at the officers with no injuries. Eight of the suspects arrested included four known Panthers.

¹ Indicates squad leader.

August 31, 1968. At 1:45 a.m., a radio call stating a fight with guns was taking place. The first unit responding misjudged the address and drove by. Other units responded and sealed off the area. Three suspects were apprehended with 30.06 ammunition on their persons. Later, two 30.06 rifles were found.

A witness stated she had heard a shot and came out of her apartment to see a male Negro suspect with a rifle standing near her doorway. The suspect, dressed in black clothing, told the witness, "Go back inside and you won't be hurt. We will not hurt anyone who is the same color as we are." They had in their possession a map of the area where they were arrested, a red book on quotations from Mao Tse-tung and Black Panther buttons and literature. A juvenile who was one of the three arrested admitted that all three had been out to get a "pig" (reference to a policeman) and admitted that they had attended Black Panther meetings. Officers at the scene theorized that if the first unit arriving had not overshot the address and would have stopped, they would have been shot before other units arrived.

September 11, 1968. Information obtained that Capt. Shermont Banks of the Los Angeles chapter issued orders for Panthers not to carry weapons. This was based on the many arrests of Panthers for having weapons on their person when stopped. This order was neither enforced nor complied with.

October 31, 1968. A closed meeting at 4115 South Central was held in the evening. Plans were discussed to plant explosives under Newton and 77th Street Division stations of LAPD and Firestone Substation of the LA Sheriffs. Members were advised to gather material and prepare for the time. No approximate date was mentioned.

The locations were selected due to their location and convenience of placing charges without having to go near the front of the stations. The meeting was also attended by seven unidentified Caucasians of the Peace and Freedom Party. (It should be noted that on May 21, 1969, a bomb exploded on the flat roof of 77th Street Station.)

The CHAIRMAN. Was that in furtherance of the plans made at the October 31 meeting?

Mr. DYER. It is assumed so. It is not known, sir. What they did would indicate that what should happen did happen.

On November 6, 1968. Donald L. Cox, the National Field Marshal, purchased 15 M-59 Sante Fe, Trooper, 7.82 mm., NATO rifles from Western Surplus. On November 8, 1968, he purchased 10 more. The weapons were paid for in cash. Paul Mossett (Delmar Paul Mossett) distributed approximately 50 weapons a few days later. Those receiving weapons were ordered to take the guns home and wait for orders. They were also admonished that if they failed to respond when ordered, retaliation would be taken out on their families. Plans were made to "take a police station" but never formalized.

On November 14, 1968. A confidential source advised that a meeting was called (later determined as a result of John Jerome Huggins, who was killed on January 17, 1969 at UCLA). Guns were passed out and a thin plastic type glove given to each person receiving a weapon. Those receiving weapons were told that the guns had been wiped clean. (At this time the source of information found out an ambush was planned, and the time was near midnight.) The group split up and drove to 43d and Central (two blocks from Panther headquarters).

Lookouts were dropped off at Vernon and Santa Barbara, on Central. These locations bracket the ambush site. The lookouts were to use a pay phone and advise the ambush site of any police vehicle headed in their direction.

Two of the ambushers hid in a service station and two others deployed elsewhere. Two vehicles were parked on side streets and driven by lone female Panthers. The plan was to put the guns in the car trunks and let the lone females drive off, leaving the ambushers free of weapons. The plan did not materialize. A black and white police vehicle suddenly appeared out of an alley and the passenger officer got out of his car and talked to one of the female drivers. The other officer was still in the car by the radio. Shermont Banks signaled Mossett to leave the area and all subjects departed. It was later learned that the ambush was to teach the police a lesson because the Panthers felt there was too much police patrolling of their headquarters.

The mass gun distribution was to counteract the expected police action after the ambush took place. The Panther purpose was to goad the police into taking excessive action, thereby getting the black community to desert them.

Approximately 1 month later John Jerome Huggins moved his residence and found in his trash was a map of 43d and Central, the site of the intended ambush. A photo of that particular map I would like to introduce as evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received as evidence.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 400" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DYER. November 17, 1968. A rally at Los Angeles Trade Tech School sponsored by Newton-Cleaver defense committee. Eldridge Cleaver made the following statements, which is a direct quote from a tape:

We have the names of all the racists pig cops that harass and kill our people, but we will take care of them. Regarding Nixon, after the revolution, we'll hunt him down for twenty years if we have to. Just like the Jews did with Eichman. If Pig Nixon escalates the war in Vietnam and drops the atomic bomb, I hope Mao Tse-tung drops an H-bomb and everything he has on the US, just so Nixon doesn't get away.

November 20, 1968. Plans were discussed regarding guerrilla warfare. Paul Mossett stated that Shermont Banks was in Oakland and indicated the Los Angeles office would have to do something "to take the heat off Oakland." Oakland Police Department stated at this time if guerrilla warfare starts in the streets the designated phone booths would be manned by section leaders who would get their instructions.

November 20, 1968. Panthers were soliciting donations and entered the Chick-N-Fry at 256 West Manchester. Panthers asked for a donation to the Panther Party. When refused, they ordered \$2 worth of food and walked out without paying.

December 19, 1968. Directions for making a black powder bomb (gallon size) found in the apartment of Robert L. Smith on December 13, 1968.

I would like to introduce that as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 401" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DYER. December 31, 1968. Information received from LA County Sheriff's Office that Panthers were going to ambush an LAPD car. LASO knew of three .38 caliber revolvers being passed out for the occasion. Later information received from the same source stating phony disturbance calls would be used to draw a radio car to 126 West 84th Street. Another source told that Paul Mossett had been in Oakland and just returned, bringing eight sticks of dynamite, two .38 caliber (one a revolver and the other an automatic) and four carbines. Patrol divisions were notified and no incident occurred.

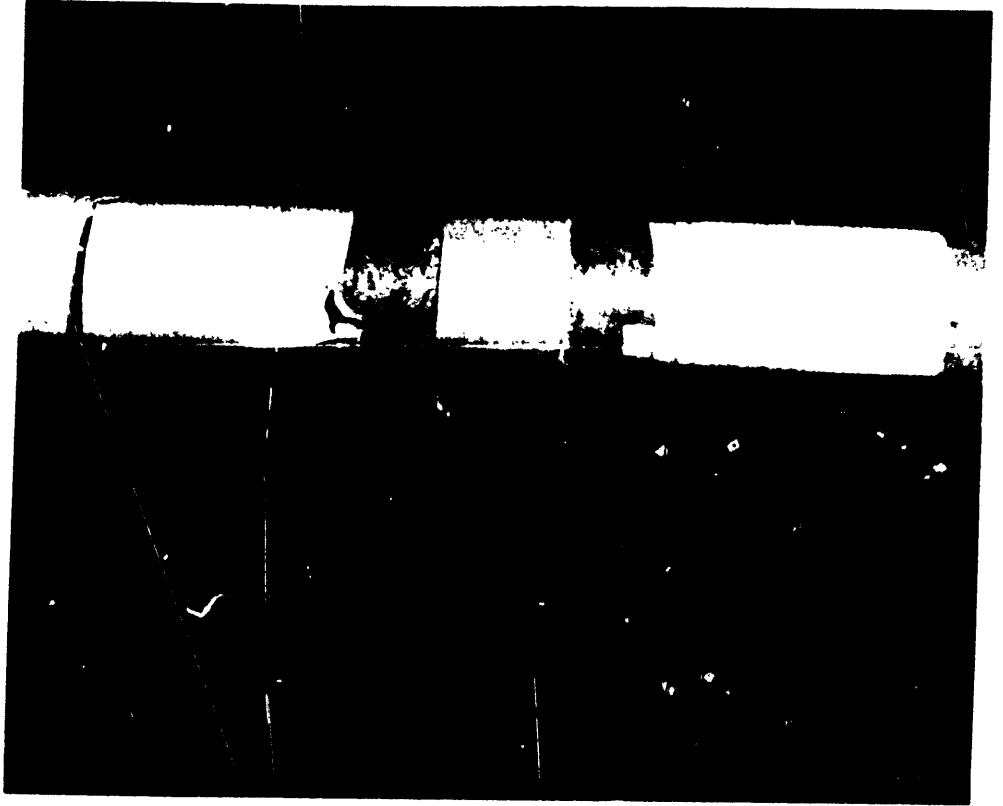
January 9, 1969. Deputies of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Office, patrolling in an oil field area adjacent to the geographical limits of Los Angeles City surprised and arrested Paul Mossett and Eddie Jay Johnson. In the Panthers' possession was a crossbow and bolts (crossbow arrows). Taped to one of the arrows was a stick of dynamite with a short fuse fashioned in such a way that it could be lit and fired with probable accuracy.

Mr. Chairman, I have photographs from the Los Angeles Sheriff's Office that I would like to introduce as an exhibit.

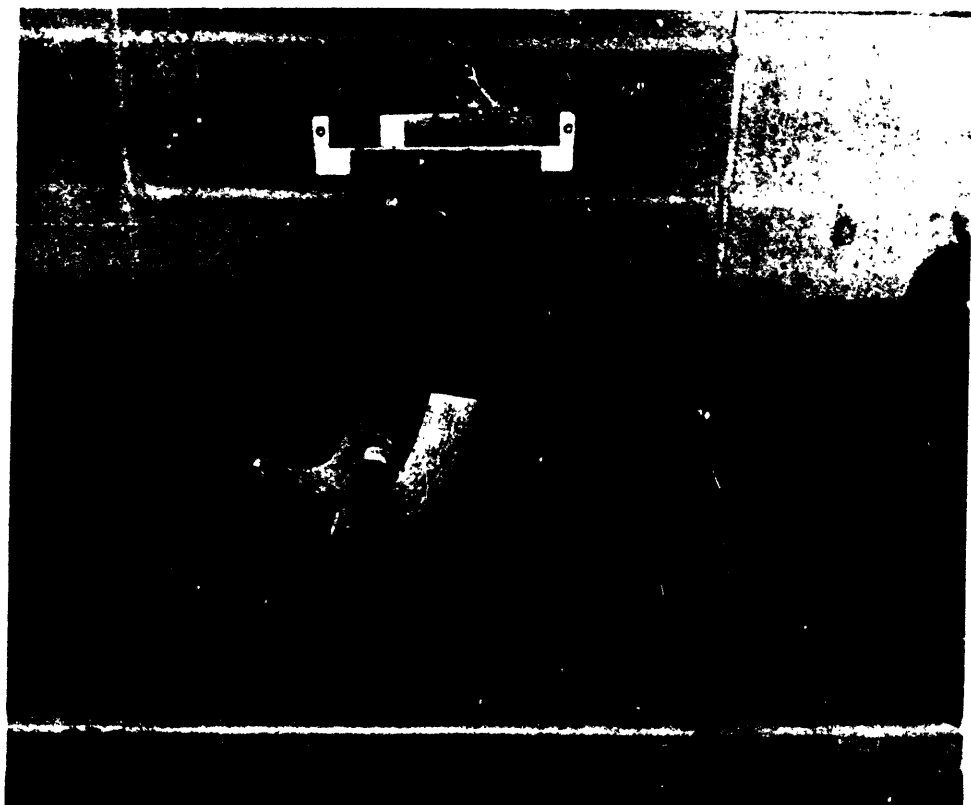
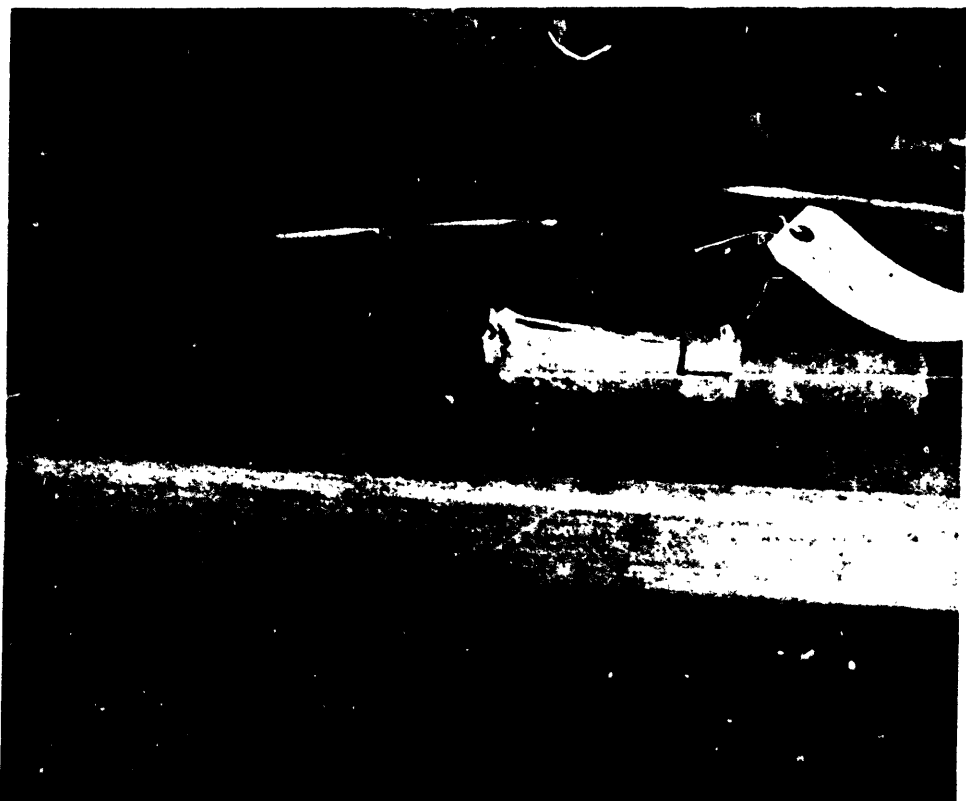
(The photographs referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 402" for reference and appear on the following pages.)

EXHIBIT No. 402





3940



Mr. DYER. Prior to this incident, a liquor store owner shot and killed a Negro youth that was assaulting him. The liquor store owner was booked for suspicion of murder due to the existing circumstances. The Panthers claimed the youth that was killed was a Panther and threatened the management and customers of the store. On one occasion a pipe bomb was placed next to the building but failed to explode. Confidential sources stated that a Panther was coming from Oakland who could shoot an arrow with dynamite attached and he would destroy the liquor store. With the arrest of Johnson and Mossett in the preceding paragraph, intimidations of the liquor store ceased.

Other small business places near the liquor store were asked if a picture of Huey Newton could be placed in their windows. Out of fear the store owner usually consented. After the poster was placed in the window, a price was demanded for it, usually around \$5.

The CHAIRMAN. When they demanded the \$5, do you know whether they paid or not?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They did pay it?

Mr. DYER. Yes. Usually there would be a lone merchant in the store and roughly three or four Panthers all hovering around him, glaring at him, making little nasty remarks. Out of fear, he generally paid.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. DYER. January 19, 1969. Bombs. Joseph Blakney Brown, a Black Student Union member at UCLA and a Black Panther was making a homemade bomb consisting of four sticks of dynamite and a timer. It was to fit into a lunch pail and to be used on the UCLA campus. Information received this date indicated that bomb representatives from each Panther section would inspect the bomb for their own knowledge. Each Panther section was required to have a "workshop" for such purposes.

January 17, 1969—Officers stopped a stolen vehicle and a suspect (later identified as Wendell Woods, a 16-year-old Panther) stepped from the stolen vehicle and fired two shots from a 12-gage shotgun, loaded with 00 buckshot, at the officers. The stolen vehicle sped away. It stopped only when it collided with a house. The officer chasing Woods went between two houses and observed Woods step from the shadows to attack him. The officer shot the suspect. Woods had a cartridge belt still containing 12 shells of 00 buckshot.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he killed?

Mr. DYER. No, sir. The officer shot him in the shoulder wounding him.

There were four suspects in the vehicle. One defendant, Edward Austin, after being admonished of his rights, stated that he had just joined the Panthers and was on 6 weeks' probation. Further, that they had stolen the vehicle and committed an armed robbery at a Chicken Delight delivery truck.

January 17, 1969. Panthers and US members ("US" is paramilitary organization headed by Ron Karenga) were at UCLA's Campbell Hall along with several other militant groups who were discussing a probable black culture program. An altercation began between US members and the Panthers resulting in the minister of defense for southern California, Alprentice Carter, and LA area captain, John

Jerome Huggins, being shot to death. US members have been arrested but not all the suspects have been apprehended and the case has not come to trial.

For a long period of time after the UCLA confrontation between US and the Panthers, the Panthers purged their ranks to get rid of police informers, US members, and "do nothings".

In March of 1969, the Panthers organized a free Panther breakfast for school kids in San Diego. This function came to Los Angeles the latter part of April. Thrifty Drug Stores and Von's Markets received letters from the Panthers requesting donations of paper goods, drugs, vitamins and foodstuffs to provide breakfasts on a continuing basis for children. The letter was directed to those doing business in the Negro area.

It stated the recipients of the letters should contact the John Huggins free breakfast for children at Panther headquarters for an appointment or they would be contacted at an appointed time.

Senator GRIFFIN. Can you tell me, if you know, whether or not they are having this breakfast program in San Diego?

Mr. DYER. In San Diego?

Senator GRIFFIN. Yes.

Mr. DYER. No, sir, I have no idea, no knowledge. They are conducting it in Los Angeles.

January 31, 1969. Confidential source states that Paul Mossett has been giving instructions on making Molotov cocktails. The classes were at the apartment of one of the section leaders.

The landlady of this apartment house had reported Panthers carrying in five large boxes into this apartment 2 days earlier. It was unknown what the boxes contained.

February 27, 1969. A confidential source stated that a male Caucasian, approximately 27 years old, 300 pounds, red hair and red beard, named Don Henry, has Communist affiliations, and is supplying the Panthers with guns. Henry is alleged to have gun connections in Chicago, Ill. A confidential source stated he met Don Henry at a Communist Party cocktail function. At a secret meeting, several of the leaders were given five to six guns apiece for their squads. The weapons were mostly rifles and shotguns but did include handguns. Some of the weapons had sand on them, giving rise to the belief that they had been buried.

March 14, 1969. At the Victory Baptist Church a meeting was held to discuss the direction of a local school walkout. Panthers took photographs of four US members. The US members demanded the film and when they were refused, they shot one of the Panthers.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they using the Baptist church?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir. They were conducting meetings as to what they should do regarding a school walkout that we were having at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it the Black Panthers who were conducting the meeting?

Mr. DYER. There were several of the clergy and most all of the militant groups were represented.

The CHAIRMAN. I didn't understand you.

Mr. DYER. The clergy were handling the meeting but all the militant groups were represented.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it was not just one group but a number of groups that were represented?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they conducted the meeting in the Baptist church?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that church made available for that purpose?

Mr. DYER. I do not have firsthand knowledge, but several of our militant organizations within the city have held meetings in that particular church.

The CHAIRMAN. In that particular church?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then I want to say everything about it that I said this morning about the Catholic church and the Methodist church where they were holding meetings.

I want to say everything about this Baptist church that I said about those. In fact, I condemn it more so because I am a Baptist.

Senator GRIFFIN. Is that Baptist church in Los Angeles?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to add hastily I am not that kind of a Baptist. Proceed.

V. *Finances*

Mr. DYER. The Black Panthers have a bank account at the Bank of America, 8601 South Broadway, Los Angeles, account No. 03-209-01803.

During the 1968 presidential campaign, the Black Panther Party received heavy donations from the Peace and Freedom Party. This continued until many of the Peace and Freedom Party members complained that they were being used by the Panther Party. Shermont Banks has been speaker on many California college campuses and has received remuneration from the associated student bodies. Banks has also appeared at Progressive Labor Party and Communist Party front organizations and parties where collections have been taken up for the Black Panther Party. On numerous occasions when Panther leaders have been arrested, they have had many personal checks from private citizens, who were donating to the Black Panther Party.

Recently, it was disclosed that the Panthers are in financial straits due to heavy attorney fees and many cases of "bail money" outstanding.

As of May 14, 1969, the Panther headquarters had received a notice from the phone company to pay a \$800 telephone bill or have the phone shut off.

Panthers sell their Panther newspaper, "Free Huey" buttons and posters of Huey Newton.

On August 2, 1968, a small store owner reported that Panthers had solicited money from him. A check of the neighborhood revealed many small businessmen contributed but were afraid to report the incident to the police. In each case the donor sensed a threat and gave money to get rid of the solicitors.

One undercover officer stated that the Black Panthers do not unite with anyone who does not help them financially.

On February 18, 1968, a rally was held at the Los Angeles Sports Arena for the defense of Huey Newton sponsored by the Black Con-

gress, an organization of militant and nonmilitant Negro organizations. The rally had speakers such as H. Rap Brown, Bobby Seale, Reies Tijerina and SNCC members such as Stokely Carmichael and James Forman. Kenneth Rottger furnished a check for \$10,000 to the sports arena as a \$10,000 insurance bond. Kenneth Rottger's wife is Elizabeth Rottger, a sponsor for the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, a cited Communist Party front organization.

VI. *Aims and objectives*

In that particular area, I would like to introduce exhibit No. 4, my exhibit, which are reports from their organization which are self-explanatory and which indicate the aims and objectives of the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was this obtained?

Mr. DYER. Most of the information is from the arrest on August 5, 1968, of John Jerome Huggins, who was one of those assassinated at UCLA.

The others were picked up from persons arrested and had the material in their possession at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. All of it came from Black Panther sources?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 403" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

VII. *Secrecy*

Mr. DYER. The Panthers have an underground section. Security lieutenants are underground positions.

The deputy minister of defense position that Elmer Pratt holds as well as his bodyguards, Roger Lee Lewis (Aka Captain Blue) and John William Washington (Aka Long John) are underground positions.

One underground member referred to as "R. L." has not been heard of for several months. Recently a telephone number for "R. L." was obtained and it is registered to Robert L. Colbert, 2321 Westview. His last verified employment by the telephone company was the Los Angeles County Road Department.

The use of aliases, Swahili and "street" names all tend to hide true identity.

Recently, in May 1969, the two outlying offices of the Panthers were entered by police looking for and arresting felony suspects. The headquarters put out a notice to all Panthers that if they called the headquarters and a strange voice answered (such as a policeman's) that would be the signal to go out and "do their thing." Later reports indicated the Panther leadership was pleased as 150 of the underground were alerted. There is no knowledge of the underground and this 150 figure may have been propaganda.

VIII. *Relationship to other domestic organizations*

The Communist Party, U.S.A., has given donations directly to the Black Panther Party.

The bail fund for militants and dissidents administered by Rose Chernin Kusnitz, a member of the Los Angeles Committee for the

Protection of the Bill of Rights, is used frequently and heavily by the Los Angeles Black Panther Party. The same group of people that are in the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Bill of Rights were the same ones in the same location that were known as the L.A. Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

The parent group know as the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born was cited as a Communist Party front.

Senator GRIFFIN. You make a number of flat statements, not necessarily challenging, but I wonder on what basis you make them. You say the Communist Party, U.S.A., has given donations to the Black Panther Party.

You don't say how much and you don't say when. Do you know this of your own knowledge?

Mr. DYER. This information is derived from informants and undercover officers attending the functions where the donations are given, where it is collected up in a special contribution given by a certain person know to be a Communist Party member.

Senator GRIFFIN. You have enough of that information that you are willing to make these statements under oath?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. All right.

Mr. DYER. Charles Garry, attorney for Eldridge Cleaver, was contacted by investigators of the UCLA murder involving US members and two deceased Panthers. The two policemen were talking to David Hilliard, of the Oakland Panthers, in the presence of Garry. When Hilliard took a defensive position, Garry talked to him and suggested a less militant stand. When officers wanted cooperation to determine the identity of the suspects, Hilliard was against it. Garry talked to Hilliard out of the hearing range of the officers and when they returned to the presence of the officers, Hilliard was most cooperative. Many things pointed to Garry being the controlling influence.

Attorney Charles Garry took the fifth amendment when asked if he was a Communist Party member during hearings in California. He was identified as a Communist Party member by Dr. Jack Patten, a former member of the Communist Party in San Francisco, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 19, 1957.

On February 11, 1969, Peter Michael Calagna, a male Caucasian, was arrested by San Bernardino sheriffs in Twenty-nine Palms. The arrest included three other Caucasians for the burglary of the Hi-Desert hardware store in Yucca Valley. The object of attack were guns and ammunition. While in custody, Shermont Banks made inquiry to San Bernardino sheriff's office regarding bail and charges. It was later determined that the four Caucasian burglars were Students for a Democratic Society members who were stealing guns for the Panthers.

Calagna was observed at the Black Panther Party headquarters on Friday, May 23, 1969. A Los Angeles sheriff's source stated a Panther asked Calagna who he was and what he was doing there. Another Panther stated, "He's okay. He's our main gun supplier."

Michael Lasky, leader and organizer of a splinter group calling themselves Communist Party, U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) formed a group called United Front. It started when one of Lasky's proteges split off from the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) and

formed his own group known as United Front. It had the red books, Mao buttons and Chinese Communist propaganda from the CP-USA (M-1). The second in command of United Front and who eventually took it over was Raymond Hewitt (Aka Maasi).

United Front phased out temporarily in March of 1968. After the UCLA killing, a Black Panther named Maasi came from Oakland to be the Los Angeles Captain of the Black Panther Party. It was Raymond Hewitt. In March 1969, United Front was reopened and is in control of Michael Lasky. During the May Day Rally, May 1, 1969, sponsored by the Black Panthers, United Front was a participant and information came in that Michael Lasky was trusted and was a friend of the Black Panther Party.

Copies of letters are attached which were signed by Don Freed (male Caucasian). Freed was associated with the DuBois Clubs and Peace Action Council. He currently is with friends of the Black Panthers. The letters indicate that Freed is in a position of power.

I would like to introduce letters from Freed as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. How many are there?

Mr. DYER. About eight, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be received and numbered consecutively according to date, appropriately numbered, and identified according to date as exhibit No. A, B, C, and so on.

(The documents referred to were marked "exhibit No. 404" and lettered as stated by the chairman for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Senator GRIFFIN. Is this the same Donald Freed who was identified earlier as one of the students associated with the Students for a Democratic Society?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir. There is one photograph in there, a dark photograph of a letter of May 16, 1969, which was in the possession of Paul Mossett when he was arrested.

All the rest were in the possession of Michael Pennewell when he was arrested on April 1, 1969. First names are used in the salutation and are believed to be:

Mike or Michael, Michael Pennewell; Shermont, Shermont Banks; Bobby, Bobby Seale; David, David Hilliard; Mel, possibly Melvin Newton (Huey Newton's brother), and Rose, Rose Chernin Kunitz.

Stanley Alexander was a Black Panther for a brief stay. He came to the Black Panther Party as an organizer. He was mentioned in a report dated December 27, 1968, as being a section leader of 3-A which at the time was located at 1617 Seventh Avenue. This section was busy in a boycott and general harassment of the B. & F. liquor store where a Panther was shot by the store owner over a verbal altercation. The 3-A section was ordered to destroy the B. & F. liquor store. Alexander was known to be a Communist Party member but Eldridge Cleaver was alleged to have said, "Keep him. He's an organizing fool." In a report dated January 6, 1969, Alexander had failed to destroy the liquor store and was expelled from the Black Panther Party.

Senator GRIFFIN. Was the liquor store ever destroyed?

Mr. DYER. No, sir. There was one bomb evidence which failed to go out. There were several attempts to burn it. Generally, we had stake-outs on it and they were obviously observed and nothing happened.

IX. Relationship to foreign governments and foreign organizations

Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other books are from the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, China. They are carried by most all members and read by all. Most of the red books are purchased from the Workers International Book Store which was Michael Lasky's (of the Communist Party, U.S.A., Marxist-Leninist) who also runs United Front which is close to and supports the Black Panther Party.

California Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation stated on March 7, 1969, that Bobby Seale and Raymond Hewitt were in Copenhagen, Denmark, and expenses were being paid by the Socialist Workers Party of Denmark. Information was that they intended to visit Sweden, Norway, and possibly West Germany.

X. Publications-newspapers-leaflets, printed and distributed

I have several which I would like to introduce as representative of the propaganda put out by the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received in bulk and made an exhibit.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 405" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

XI. Influence and participation in government

Mr. DYER. Eldridge Cleaver ran for President of the United States during the 1968 general elections. He was the candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party.

There have been many cases of Panthers holding minor jobs within city and county government. Wilmont Odom is a counselor at juvenile hall, which is a juvenile detention facility.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes my presentation on the Black Panther Party, Los Angeles Chapter.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have another presentation?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir, on SNCC.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we better recess until tomorrow.

In the meantime, the Chair wants to make a correction in the record.

On June 18, 1969, there were presented three black books, large books, containing documents, and so forth, which I said would be received as exhibits and then would be examined and such parts as were pertinent or had merit might be received as evidence.

If they were received as exhibits, they would constitute a part of the record which would be eligible to be made public, as any other exhibit that is received.

After examination, I find these exhibits really should not be admitted as public documents, that is, as exhibits for public dissemination at this time, because some of the parties in there have not been sufficiently identified with respect to their alleged arrests, and so forth, and it might not be fair and proper to release those names at this time.

Without objection, if the Chair admitted them as exhibits for that purpose, I now modify that admission to receive them by the committee and thereafter the committee may release such parts of it as they feel are pertinent and which would not, maybe, raise the question of doing an injustice to someone whose name is in those records, who may have been mentioned there as having been arrested or something.

Without objection, that will be the order of the Chair.

The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, with the public hearing resuming at 11 o'clock, possibly.

(Whereupon, at 4:55 p.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m. in executive session, Wednesday, June 25, 1969.)

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

RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25, 1969

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

The subcommittee met at 11:25 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 Lee Metcalf, Democrat, Montana; Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican, South Dakota; 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 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; Joseph Honcharik, investigator, General Accounting Office; and Ruth Y. Watt, chief clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. Come to order, please.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, call the next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Philip Manuel and Mr. Fred Miller.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Manuel has been previously sworn.

Have you been sworn, Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. 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. MILLER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP R. MANUEL—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Before we proceed with the witness, Senator Mundt wishes to make a brief statement and I will probably make a brief comment myself.

Senator MUNDT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Late yesterday afternoon I received a telephone call from Mayor Joseph L. Alioto, of San Francisco, who said that there seemed to be implications in the news reports as they were carried in the San Francisco press and other news media that he had been criticized by our

committee, that perhaps the implication had gone out that he was soft on Black Panthers.

We had a very pleasant conversation and he told me of a number of steps he has taken in San Francisco to try to root them out and I said, "If you want to send me that in a telegram, Mr. Mayor, I will be glad to read it into the record of the hearing." I cannot recall, and I have had the staff search the record, whether his name was ever mentioned or whether there ever was any type of criticism.

We certainly wanted to be fair with the mayor. On the basis of this telegram, I think he is to be commended on the steps he has taken.

It says:

Honorable Karl E. Mundt, U.S. Senator, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Any implication that my administration has been soft on the Black Panthers is incorrect. I have zealously crusaded against the organization and its leaders have blamed me publicly for blunting their recruitment efforts in San Francisco.

As early as last October, I called for grand jury investigation of the Panthers, and suggested conspiracy charges against the leaders for preaching the murder of policemen.

Repeatedly, I have characterized the San Francisco Panther organization as a collection of ex-cons and gunmen, and I would very much like if you would make this clear to your colleagues on the Senate committee.

I very much enjoyed talking with you on the phone.

Sincerely, Joseph L. Alioto, mayor of San Francisco.

I not only wanted to read it into the record, but I wanted to commend the mayor publicly on the steps he has taken on his own to try to meet the challenge of the Black Panthers to this Nation.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Mundt.

The Chair received an identical telegram, except with respect to the telephone call. I am glad to say I didn't recall that his name was mentioned.

If I said anything yesterday that could possibly have reflected upon the mayor—I had the record searched but his name was not mentioned, and nothing I said could have possibly implicated him in any way, as far as I know.

Any implication that went out from this hearing yesterday that would have reflected upon the mayor, I think was unwarranted.

Therefore, I join with Senator Mundt in commending the mayor for his efforts. I am sure he has a real problem. All mayors do, the mayors of cities wherever these groups are operating. They have a real problem.

I commend him for his firm stand.

I think in all fairness we should say, too, I don't know of anything Inspector Lashkoff said that would have warranted that implication.

Senator MUNDT. I think that should be added, because I think the policeman, is probably considered to be on the mayor's staff, directly or indirectly, because they all work in city hall.

I can see how a colloquy can zoom in a hearing like this, where we are pointing out that local officials have some responsibility to clean up these situations. Since San Francisco has been prominently mentioned, there could be some implication. I want to correct that.

We were simply pointing out generally that it takes the full cooperation of citizens both in the public section and in the private section, at the local level of government, at the State level of government, and at the Federal level, if we are going to really stop the growth of this kind of organization.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Manuel. You have been previously sworn. You are a member of the staff. You may proceed.

Have you a prepared statement?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir. The statement I will give relates to the subcommittee investigation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was formally established in Atlanta, Ga. in October of 1960, as an organization devoted to civil rights activities, which at that time principally comprised sit-ins and other demonstrations for the purpose of integrating places of public accommodation in the South. The first formal SNCC meeting elected an executive committee, composed of one person from each of the 15 States represented. In May of 1961, the SNCC executive committee met in Atlanta, where an office was to be opened, and elected Marion Barry, Jr., now chairman of Pride, Inc., in Washington, D.C., its first national chairman.

During the early years of the 1960's, SNCC generally adhered to the principle of nonviolent protest indicated by its name, and directed its energies toward sit-ins, so-called freedom rides, voter registration projects, and other types of civil rights activities in a number of Southern States.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce as an exhibit SNCC documents which tell the story of SNCC from their standpoint, including the early history and their activities in the field of civil rights, voter registration, and the like.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received as an exhibit and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 406" for reference, and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. Through 1965, SNCC was mainly an organization of students, many hundreds of them volunteers from Northern States, who were attempting to make swift and drastic changes in the socio-economic structure of Southern States. For example, in 1964, SNCC was the main force behind the so-called Mississippi summer project which brought 1,000 volunteers to that State to work on voter registration and the creation of a new political force, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

During the first 5 years of its existence, SNCC grew rapidly in impact and influence related to its original goals of forcing integration and establishing closer ties between white and black communities. A member of SNCC's original advisory board, Professor Howard Zinn, has claimed that the organization had an annual budget in 1963 of about \$250,000, supposedly contributed by individuals, churches, colleges and foundations. Zinn also stated that, by 1964, SNCC had approximately 150 employees, 20 percent of whom were white.

The staff has prepared a chart to be introduced shortly, which shows the SNCC organization, structure and leadership during the years

1966 through 1968, after radical changes were made in the group's policies, programs, strategy, tactics, leadership and propaganda.

Within the context of these hearings, which are examining a number of organizations that advocate violence as a means of gaining their objectives, we may term the first period of SNCC's existence, 1960-1965, as its nonviolent phase. The second period, 1966 through the present, can be called the black power phase.

Before proceeding to describe the great changes in SNCC, we should repeat part of the definition of black power, as SNCC views it, which was submitted for the record as exhibit No. 252 in these hearings. That was by my testimony. The definition is excerpted from an article in the independent leftist newspaper, *The Guardian*, for May 25, 1968, and here they distinguish five different concepts of black power.

We can distinguish . . . black power as black liberation within the context of a U.S. revolution. This wing of the black power movement, represented by the Black Panthers, many members of SNCC and various local groups, views black people as a dispersed internal colony of the U.S., exploited both materially and culturally. It advocates an anti-colonial struggle for self-determination which must go hand-in-hand with a general revolution throughout the U.S.

The transformation of SNCC to represent the foregoing black power position during the fall and winter of 1965-1966 was accomplished without fanfare or readily discernible conflict, although the changes were drastic and far-reaching in their effects. These were the principal changes:

1. The election as national chairman of Stokely Carmichael, an articulate advocate of the use of violence to gain SNCC's objectives, and the rise in the SNCC hierarchy of Hubert Geroid "Rap" Brown, another firebrand, who had not previously been prominent in the group's affairs.

2. The development of the black power philosophy, which Carmichael began to proclaim frequently in public statements in the spring of 1966.

3. The closing of SNCC's ranks to white persons; it became an all-black organization.

4. An intensified campaign to become the most militant organization on the campuses of Negro colleges, or colleges with large Negro representation in their student bodies, and to establish SNCC influence in contiguous communities.

5. Emphasis upon the need for violence to achieve black power; the need for stockpiling weapons for use in the armed conflict which SNCC leaders predicted; the need for widespread instruction in the manufacture of firebombs, molotov cocktails, and similar devices; the incessant repetition that SNCC would gain its objectives by "the use of any means necessary," a phrase which became a catchword and a slogan with black power extremists everywhere in the country.

Senator GRIFFIN. Is there going to be some documentation or further testimony to document these statements such as you have just indicated here in paragraph 5?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. 6. Alinement with "Third World" revolutionary groups in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and with so-called black

liberation groups in the United States which advocate revolution in this country.

Senator MUNDT. Let us have a definition for "Third World," for instance. We had given to us yesterday in another committee the meaning of "first strike capability." Third World can mean different things to different people.

Do you have a definition for that such as you gave for black power?

Mr. MANUEL. Generally it is the nonwhite world, composed of peoples from Asia, Africa and, in certain cases Latin America.

It is commonly called Third World.

Senator MUNDT. That is the phrase that is used and the people who hear it and work in these organizations understand that to be the nonwhite population of the world?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct. The so-called Bandung World is another phrase to describe it.

Senator GRIFFIN. Speaking of definitions, you used the definition of black power, as I understand it, which you have taken out of The Guardian, which is described as an independent leftist newspaper.

Then you indicate that that is the definition that is used by SNCC. The Guardian is not a SNCC publication, is it? Are you justified in saying that that is the definition of black power that SNCC adopted?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir; because we think that our investigation of the activities of SNCC conforms to this very definition.

Senator GRIFFIN. There will be more testimony or more documentation to substantiate that?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir. Every time we have a witness with regard to SNCC activities and our own exhibits taken from their own documents, publications, and statements.

Senator GRIFFIN. You are an investigator for the committee. This is in the nature of a general presentation which will be further documented?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

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

Senator GRIFFIN. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. The architects of change in SNCC were principally the men who assumed its leadership at that time, Stokely Carmichael, and the organization's principal administrator for many years, also an articulate and inflammatory spokesman for black power, James Forman. Rap Brown began to be known nationally at this time as an agitator and inflammatory speaker and later became national chairman of SNCC.

SNCC has never been a membership organization and it has never had bodies of members in the many parts of the country where it has been active.

We would like at this time to introduce exhibit SN-2, which is a SNCC document describing its own organizational structure as not being a membership organization.

Instead, it has always been an organizing group—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment.

Let it be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 407" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. Instead, it has always been an organizing group with large numbers of paid employees, most of whom have served on its central coordinating committee, and large numbers of volunteers who have worked on projects SNCC has initiated, like the voter registration drive in Mississippi in 1964. It has been estimated that there were a thousand volunteers engaged in that activity.

SNCC does, however, form alliances with other black power and leftist political organizations—it has many ties to Students for a Democratic Society; it merged briefly in 1968 with the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a document showing that merger?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir; and it has already been introduced in evidence in our presentation on the Black Panther Party.

It has a number of relatively firm alliances with urban and campus groups which advocate violence, like the Black Liberators, of St. Louis, Mo., whose leader, Charles Koen, will be shown on the chart as a deputy chairman of SNCC.

At this time we would like to introduce our exhibit SN-3, which is a report from the Movement newspaper of January 1969, volume 4, No. 12, announcing the alliance between SNCC and the Black Liberators based in St. Louis, further, we will have further testimony on this alliance and its implications from other witnesses.

Also in this exhibit is a document of the National Black Liberators in which they describe themselves. And also included in this exhibit to show the violent nature, or one of the examples to show the violent nature of its leadership, is a diagram taken from Charles Koen, the deputy chairman of SNCC, after his arrest on September 4, 1968.

This document is a document which shows how to make bombs and other incendiary devices.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, let the document be received and made an exhibit, being appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 408A, 408B, and 408C" for reference. Exhibit Nos. 408A and 408B follow and 408C may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

[EXHIBIT No. 408A]

[From the Movement, January 1969]

SNCC ALLIANCE

ATLANTA (INS).—The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has announced an alliance with the National Black Liberators, a militant black organization based in St. Louis.

According to SNCC, the alliance is designed as a show of black unity in the face of increasing repression facing black communities in this country. Another reason given for the alliance is the need to expand black organizing efforts in the Midwest. SNCC has been located primarily in the South with some projects on the West and East Coasts.

The Liberators were formed during the summer of 1968, and are organized around political and economic issues, with an ideology of self-defense. They have formed coalitions with black and white radicals in Missouri and Illinois.

The two groups will have some interlocking leadership. SNCC chairman Phil Hutchings will be General Field Marshall for the Liberators; past SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown will be General of Human Justice; and James Forman, SNCC deputy chairman for international affairs will be General of Foreign Affairs for the Liberators.

Black Liberator Prime Minister Charles Koen will be a SNCC deputy chairman for the Midwest region. Two additional Liberators will be given positions in SNCC.

SNCC chairman Hutchings said in St. Louis that the alliance is the first in a series of link-ups between SNCC and black militant community groups.

EXHIBIT No. 408B

NATIONAL BLACK LIBERATORS

The objectives of the black liberator party are :

To establish a political party which will enable more Black Freedom ;

To establish a Black economic base in the Black Community ;

To establish a Black Guard which will protect the Brothers and Sisters from Racism ; and

To improve the total political, economic and social environment of all people seeking real social change.

People are sick of slavery, sick of poverty, sick of Racism and sick of fighting for the gangsters who control this country, in wars of exploitation. But slavery, poverty, racism and war are the things this system is perpetuated on. So now, the brothers and sisters are coming together to tell the man we are sick of this dirty, rotten system that is making robots out of human beings.

. . . We don't want to hear about what America can do with its machines. We have seen the machines at work in Vietnam and in South America and Africa. We aren't even interested in any kind of power this nation can understand.

I'm talking to you about human rights, about justice and about humanism.

You know what I mean, I mean Freedom.

. . . I'm speaking for the real men and women who are moving out to bring an end to all this sickness and hate.

We are at War. And our fight is a fight for survival.

. . . The Liberator Party is the vanguard for social change and a new direction in the St. Louis political arena.

We are the voice of change. Our voice is echoing across the entire nation.

Our cry is the cry of all oppressed people everywhere, demanding the end of this Law and Order Slavery. Break Your Chains and Join Us . . . **BREAK YOUR CHAINS AND BE FREE**

Mr. MANUEL. Instead of national membership through local chapters, as SDS and Black Panthers operate, SNCC has affiliations with groups all over the country, in cities and on campuses, which frequently call themselves Friends of SNCC. The relationship was described to the subcommittee in a letter printed in volume 1 of the riot hearings, pages 280-281, written by Ethel H. Minor, who is shown in the chart as communications director of SNCC. The letter was addressed to the dean of students at Texas Southern University, and she was verifying the fact that SNCC was affiliated with a group called Friends of SNCC at the university.

The pertinent section of the letter is :

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, is not a membership organization, but rather functions with a paid staff, with the assistance of many volunteer workers.

In the course of our work, we also have a quasi-official relationship with several affiliated groups, among these being campus chapters known as "Friends of SNCC."

The "Friends of SNCC" groups function on several college campuses throughout the United States, work closely with our official SNCC campus program, our campus coordinator, and often get direct assistance from our national office or regional offices located in various parts of the country.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has had an important effect upon the other black power groups which advocate

violence as a means of attaining their goals. Most of them have been founded in recent years, principally since 1965, and they have tended in some instances to emulate SNCC's organization and structure, but in almost all instances they have adopted SNCC philosophy, tactics, slogans, procedures, and particularly propaganda. For example, it would be difficult to name a militant black power leader who does not frequently use the phrase "by any means necessary" in talking about the methods black people should use in seeking objectives. Furthermore, the many newspapers and newsletters published in the black power movement are replete with the slogans, catchwords, proclamations, and pronouncements of SNCC's principal spokesmen over the years, among them Stokely Carmichael, James Forman, and Rap Brown.

SNCC organizers have been for years constant travelers across the United States, carrying out the basic and fundamental objectives of their organization, which is to arouse the revolutionary consciousness of local protest groups, to aid them in organizing themselves into militant units patterned upon SNCC's philosophy of black power, and to establish with them close relationships and affiliations through which guidance and sometimes leadership flows from SNCC's national offices in Atlanta or its regional offices in several parts of the country. This is, in essence, SNCC's principal function and purpose for existence—to organize black groups everywhere in preparation for the violent revolution which SNCC declares is inevitable.

The subcommittee's staff has prepared a chart which shows the organization, structure, and leadership of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee as it existed in June of 1968. We would like to offer it now as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the chart be exhibited.

May I ask, are you prepared now to identify each one on the chart?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir; by SNCC's own documents.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 409" for reference and faces this page.)

The CHAIRMAN. The chart has now been received as exhibit 409.

You may proceed now with your identification.

Mr. MANUEL. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee undertook a complete reorganization at its annual staff meeting held in Atlanta, Ga., from June 11 through June 15, 1968.

To substantiate this, I would like to offer in exhibit No. SN-4, which is a copy of the Guardian dated June 22, 1968, and call your attention to the article "SNCC Elects Eight, Revises Structure," by Robert I. Allen.

The CHAIRMAN. This was in the Guardian?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir. We also have other records.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of it?

Mr. MANUEL. June 22, 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. Last year, about a year ago.

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and appropriately identified.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 410" for reference and follows:)

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

NATIONAL OFFICE

ATLANTA GEORGIA

PHILIP HUTCHINGS  PROGRAM SECRETARY

DEPUTY CHAIRMEN

GEORGE WARE



DONALD STONE



JAMES FORMAN



RONALD L. WILKINS



JOHN A. WILSON



ROBERT L. SMITH



CHARLES KOEN



STANLEY L. WISE



SNCC DEPARTMENTS AND PROGRAMS

COMMUNICATIONS

ETHEL MINOR
DIRECTOR



PRODUCTION (Printing)

WILLIAM MAHONEY
DIRECTOR



PHOTOGRAPHY

JULIUS LESTER
DIRECTOR



RESEARCH

WARCELL WILLIAMS
DIRECTOR



CAMPUS PROGRAMS

GEORGE WA
DIRECTOR



CORPORATE OPERATIONS

VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

NATIONAL OFFICE

ATLANTA GEORGIA

PHILIP HUTCHINGS  PROGRAM SECRETARY

DEPUTY CHAIRMEN

GEORGE WARE 

DONALD STONE 

JAMES FORMAN 

RONALD L. WILKINS 

JOHN A. WILSON 

ROBERT L. SMITH 

CHARLES KOEN 

STANLEY L. WISE 

AS OF JUNE 1968

SNCC DEPARTMENTS AND PROGRAMS

(Printing)
HONEY R

PHOTOGRAPHY
JULIUS LESTER
DIRECTOR



RESEARCH
WARCELL WILLIAMS
DIRECTOR



CAMPUS PROGRAM
GEORGE WARE
DIRECTOR



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
JAMES FORMAN DIRECTOR
IRVING DAVIS ASSISTANT DIRECTOR



CORPORATE OPERATIONS

CORPORATE OPERATIONS

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HOLDINGS • FINANCIAL • REAL ESTATE

THE STUDENT VOICE, INC.
PUBLISHING • PRINTING

THE SOJOURN
TRAY

CENTRAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE 196

VOTING MEMBERS

LEE BANKHEAD

JOHN BATTISTE

RAMONA BATTISTE

FAY BELLAMY

EDDIE BROOKS

DANNY BROWN

HUBERT "RAP" BROWN

JOYCE BROWN

WILSON BROWN

LESSE BOYD

JOHN BUFFINGTON

ROBERT CABLETON

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

CAROL CARTER

CHARLES COBB

ISAAC COLEMAN

LESTER CORE

COURTLAND COX

DOROTHY DEWBERRY

IVANHOE DONALDSON

KAREN EDMONDS

ROBERT FULLILOVE

LARRY FOX

ROBERT FLETCHER

RALPH FEATHERSTONE

JAMES FORMAN

MYRTLE GLASCOE

ANDREW GREEN

FREDDIE GREEN

WILLIAM HALL

FANNY LOU HAMER

JESSIE HARRIS

FLORIDIA HENDERSON

RUFUS HINTON

PHILIP HUTCHINGS

JAMES JACKSON

JOHNNIE JACKSON

LEON JACKSON

SHESLONIA JOHNSON

CORNELIUS JONES

JAMES JONES

ROBERTA Y. JONES

MARY LANE

JENNIFER LAWSON

JULIUS LESTER

LESTER McKINNIE

CHARLES McLAURIN

WILLIAM MAHONEY

DENA MALONEY

EVELYN MARSHALL

FRED MEELY

ETHEL MINOR

ROBERT MOORE

KATHLEEN NEAL

CARL NEALY

CARVER NEBLETT

WENDALL PARRIS

REGINA PLEASANT

WILLIAM PORTER

DENISE REESE

WILLIE RICKS

RUBY ROBINSON

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ISIAH SELLERS

MONROE SHARP

THEO SMITH

E. W. STEPTOE

DONALD STONE

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TRANSPORTATION

COORDINATING COMMITTEE 1967 - 1968

VOTING MEMBERS

NON-VOTING MEMBERS


OS		<u>FANNY LOU HAMER</u>		<u>JAMES JONES</u>		<u>FRED MEELY</u>		<u>WILLIE RICKS</u>		<u>CLAUDIA TILLMAN</u>			<u>CAROLYN BAKER</u>
OVE		<u>JESSIE HARRIS</u>		<u>ROBERTA Y. JONES</u>		<u>ETHEL MINOR</u>		<u>RUBY ROBINSON</u>		<u>JOHN TILLMAN</u>			<u>ELLA J. BAKER</u>
		<u>FLORIDIA HENDERSON</u>		<u>MARY LANE</u>		<u>ROBERT MOORE</u>		<u>SIMUEL SCHUTZ</u>		<u>JULIA TYLER</u>			<u>NORMAN BARNETT</u>
ER		<u>RUFUS HINTON</u>		<u>JENNIFER LAWSON</u>		<u>KATHLEEN NEAL</u>		<u>CLEVELAND SELLERS</u>		<u>GEORGE WARE</u>			<u>ALFRED COLLINS</u>
RSTONE		<u>PHILIP HUTCHINGS</u>		<u>JULIUS LESTER</u>		<u>CARL NEALY</u>		<u>ISIAH SELLERS</u>		<u>HOLLIS WATKINS</u>			<u>BENNIE GREATHEART</u>
		<u>JAMES JACKSON</u>		<u>LESTER McKINNIE</u>		<u>CARVER NEBLETT</u>		<u>MONROE SHARP</u>		<u>PATRICIA WEATHERLY</u>			<u>ROBERT HOOVER</u>
E		<u>JOHNNIE JACKSON</u>		<u>CHARLES McLAURIN</u>		<u>WENDALL PARRIS</u>		<u>THEO SMITH</u>		<u>WARCELL WILLIAMS</u>			<u>DONALD HOWARD</u>
N		<u>LEON JACKSON</u>		<u>WILLIAM MAHONEY</u>		<u>REGINA PLEASANT</u>		<u>E. W. STEPTOE</u>		<u>JOHN WILSON</u>			<u>JAMES LYTLE</u>
E		<u>SHESLONIA JOHNSON</u>		<u>DENA MALONEY</u>		<u>WILLIAM PORTER</u>		<u>DONALD STONE</u>		<u>STANLEY WISE</u>			<u>MICHELE MORELAND</u>
M		<u>CORNELIUS JONES</u>		<u>EVELYN MARSHALL</u>		<u>DENISE REESE</u>		<u>CAROLYN TILLMAN</u>		<u>SHIRLEY WRIGHT</u>			<u>ERNEST STEPHENS</u>

EXHIBIT No. 410

[From the Guardian, June 22, 1968]

SNCC ELECTS 8, REVISES STRUCTURE

(By Robert L. Allen)

ATLANTA, GA.—The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) completely restructured itself and elected new officers in its annual staff meeting held here June 11-15.

In sessions closed to the public and press, the group abolished the office of chairman, which for the past year had been occupied by H. Rap Brown, and instead elected a program secretary and seven deputy chairmen.

Each of the deputy chairmen is to be responsible for a given program, such as campus organizing or anti-draft work, and their activities are to be coordinated by the program secretary, Phil Hutchings, of Newark SNCC, was chosen program secretary.

The seven deputy chairmen are George Ware of Tuskegee Institute; John Wilson and James Forman of New York; Donald Stone and Bob Smith of Atlanta; Brother Crook of Los Angeles, and Stanley Wise of Louisiana.

According to a statement released following the meeting, the reorganization was necessary in order for SNCC to better deal with the increasing repression of the black community, intensified persecution of black militant leaders such as Max Stanford, Huey Newton, Cleve Sellers, Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown, and "to better continue our struggle against racism, capitalism and imperialism."

Persons close to SNCC said that there had been a growing desire among some members of the group to establish a structure geared to specific programs and which would also de-emphasize the role of chairman. It was felt by these members that the chairmanship had become too much of a public relations position, bearing little relationship to the actual needs of the black liberation movement.

Another factor which precipitated the reorganization was the fact that Brown, who is highly popular with SNCC, refused to accept another term as chairman. It is expected, however, that Brown will continue to be active in the organization.

Stokely Carmichael, former SNCC chairman, did not attend the sessions here. This indicates, to some degree, his estrangement from the organization. Many SNCC staffers are said to believe that some of Carmichael's recent statements represent an ideological retreat, and some go so far as to characterize his views as "dangerous."

In particular it is felt that Carmichael's description of the situation in the U.S. as a race war is politically incorrect. Carmichael's critics say that such statements are an about-face from statements made during his trip abroad last year, in which he identified U.S. imperialism, not U.S. whites, as the enemy of the third world people as well as of black Americans.

Carmichael's present emphasis on race, the critics contend, was also a step backward from the position held by Malcolm X at the end of his life. Malcolm is regarded by many militants as an ideological founder of the current liberation movement.

There has been speculation in some quarters that SNCC might disband in the near future. More specifically, the speculation has centered on whether SNCC will merge completely into the national political organization being set up by the Black Panther party. Part of the reason for this speculation lies in the fact that SNCC has had an increasingly difficult time maintaining itself in the past two years. As the group became more militant, financial sources dried up. Some staff members drifted away to other jobs. Others were driven away by internal disputes. Presently SNCC has only between 20 and 30 full-time staff members.

The subject of the Black Panthers did come up at the staff meeting during the discussion of building a national mass political party. Apparently in an effort to further solidify SNCC's recently formed alliance with the Black Panthers, a motion was introduced calling for SNCC to adopt the ten-point Panther program. Among other things, the Panther program calls for jobs, housing, education, justice and an end to police brutality. The motion was rejected on the grounds that this program is too vague, easily co-opted and not anti-imperialist.

SNCC is not a mass membership organization, but instead views itself as a band of organizers. For this reason it is significant that the question of creating

a mass political party came up at the staff meeting. It is significant for two reasons: it indicates that SNCC may be moving, possibly alone but probably in concert with other groups, to organize a mass base of nationwide proportions, and it indicates that SNCC believes enough black people have been brought to political consciousness to make the creation of such an organization possible.

How and when such a party will be built and what program it will adopt, however, are still unclear.

Mr. MANUEL. At a closed meeting, SNCC abolished the office of national chairman which had been held by Hubert "Rap" Brown during 1967, and elected instead a program secretary and eight deputy chairmen. According to a report in the June 22, 1968, edition of *The Guardian*, just introduced, each of the deputy chairmen is to be responsible for a given program, for example, campus organizing or anti-draft work, and the activities of each man will be coordinated by the program secretary.

The constitution of SNCC which was adopted in 1962 and which we will introduce as an exhibit, among other things, describes the organization of SNCC as follows:

At this time, I would like to call your attention to the constitution of SNCC, which is exhibit No. SN-5.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that been introduced?

Mr. MANUEL. We would like to introduce it now, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 411" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 411

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE CONSTITUTION—1962

Introduction

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee grew out of the sit-in demonstrations beginning in the Spring of 1960. The movement began as a spontaneous student protest, extending from campus to campus, but soon there became apparent a need for a coordinating agency to maintain contact with protest groups and to distribute information. At Easter of 1960, a Conference was called at Raleigh, North Carolina, and at the meeting a Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was set up. Its work was almost entirely one of collection and distribution of informed, and it published a newsletter called "The Student Voice."

At a second Conference of the movement, in Atlanta, in October of 1960, the Coordinating Committee took permanent form, and a general structure and constitution was approved by the assembled delegates. It was to be composed of one delegate from each of the state-wide protest organizations in the South, in addition to some at-large members elected by the Conference. However, the State organizations did not materialize, and the organization provided by the Constitution of 1960 was unable to be made a reality.

Other developments have also taken place. By the summer of 1960 the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee saw the need for initiating certain kinds of program which could not easily be undertaken locally, or handled by the existing staff at the time. The staff of the Committee was expanded to include Field Secretaries and a larger office staff. This means that the relation of the Committee to local protest groups has undergone further change and requires re-examination. In addition, the number of functioning local groups has diminished to the point where the role of the regional structure must again be rethought.

These considerations lead us to the following revised constitution:

I. Purpose

A. We accept the following statement of purpose, adopted at the Raleigh Conference in 1960, as the basis for our action:

We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action. Nonviolence as it grows from the Judaeo-Christian tradition seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.

Through nonviolence, courage displaces fear; love transforms hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hope ends despair. Peace dominates war; faith reconciles doubt. Mutual regard cancels enmity. Justice for all overcomes injustice. The redemptive community supercedes systems of gross social immorality.

Love is the central motif of nonviolence. Love is the force by which God binds man to himself and man to man. Such love goes to the extreme; it remains loving and forgiving even in the midst of hostility. It matches the capacity of evil to inflict suffering with an even more enduring capacity to absorb evil, all the while persisting in love.

By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, nonviolence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities.

B. SNCC shall serve as a coordinator and administrative body for the student movement in the South. By direction of its Executive Committee through its staff it shall have authority to initiate programs in areas where none presently exists, and to work closely with local protest groups in the intensification and extension of the movement.

C. SNCC shall be responsible for the distribution and communication of news regarding any of its staff or local groups. It will publish a monthly newsletter called *the Student Voice*, which shall cover news of the student movement as a whole. In addition SNCC shall be responsible for the distribution and interpretation of information to local groups which is of specific interest to the student movement.

D. SNCC shall be responsible for calling a Conference of the whole student movement each year, on the Easter weekend. It shall be an open Conference, primarily educational in nature, and shall be a time when information is exchanged between areas, new knowledge communicated, progress examined, and general plans are made for the coming year. In addition SNCC shall be available to assist states or regions in holding their own Conferences regularly, providing both personnel and financial assistance.

II. *The student base of the coordinating committee*

A. Any local protest group shall be eligible for affiliation with SNCC which shall consist of not less than ten members and which has participated in some kind of direct action during the past year.

The Executive Committee of SNCC shall have the power to grant affiliation to local protest groups upon application.

B. Responsibilities of SNCC to affiliates:

1. SNCC recognizes that local protest groups and affiliates are autonomous and it shall consider them the primary expression of the protest movement in a given area.

2. Affiliates may expect visits and assistance from Field Secretaries and members of the Coordinating Committee as a regular occurrence and part of the task of SNCC and its staff.

3. SNCC Field Secretaries shall be available to lend assistance to other local protest groups upon request and clearance through appropriate channels of these groups. Such visits may be brief or at times Field Secretaries may be assigned upon request of the local area to work with a particular program on an extended basis.

4. Affiliates shall be eligible for financial assistance from SNCC. Ongoing commitments must be cleared through the Executive Committee, but emergency situations will be handled by the Executive Secretary of the staff and the Chairman of SNCC.

C. Responsibilities of local affiliates to SNCC:

1. Each affiliate shall elect one of their members to serve as a voting member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. This person shall serve for a term of one year, shall be eligible for re-election, and shall be a representative to SNCC in the manner of a congressman to Congress.

2. Affiliates shall give every consideration to cooperating with South-wide or area-wide projects decided upon by SNCC or its Executive Committee.

3. Affiliates shall appoint a SNCC News Coordinator whose responsibility shall be to supply the central SNCC office with up-to-date information regarding protest activities in that area. The central office shall in turn supply the news coordinators with news of events and activity in other areas.

III. The organization of SNCC

A. The Coordinating Committee :

1. The Coordinating Committee shall be composed of one representative from each of the local protest groups. The employed staff shall be considered members of the Coordinating Committee, and shall have the *right to voice but not vote*.

2. The Coordinating Committee shall meet twice each year, in early Fall and at the time of the annual conference at Easter.

3. Membership on the Coordinating Committee shall be from annual conference to annual conference

B. The Executive Committee :

1. The Coordinating Committee shall elect from among its voting membership at the time of the annual conference eight (8) persons, to comprise along with the Chairman and the Executive Secretary of the staff, the Executive Committee of SNCC.

2. The Chairman of SNCC shall be elected by the Coordinating Committee, and shall serve as Chairman of both the Coordinating Committee and the Executive Committee. He shall devote full time to the work of SNCC and its staff.

3. The Executive Committee shall act on behalf of the Coordinating Committee between meetings of that body. It shall be directly responsible for the program, for direction and supervision of staff, for the financial operation of the organization, and for any matters of policy which need action between meetings of SNCC. It shall be responsible to SNCC and implement its programs.

4. The Executive Committee shall meet five times a year: in May, in mid-summer, in Fall with the Coordinating Committee, during Christmas holiday, and at the annual conference. It may also meet at unscheduled times as may be necessary.

5. The Executive Committee shall have the power to appoint whatever committees it may consider helpful to the work of SNCC.

C. The Staff :

1. The staff shall be responsible for the implementation of the program of SNCC, at the direction of the Executive Committee.

2. The head of the staff shall be an Executive Secretary, who shall be responsible for the day-to-day operation of SNCC. He shall supervise and be responsible for the activity of the other staff.

3. The Executive Committee shall employ whatever staff it understands to be necessary for the operation of the program. All staff appointments shall be for one year and shall be subject to annual review by SNCC.

IV. Finances

1. The work of SNCC shall be financed on the basis of voluntary contributions and through other sources of funds which it shall be able to secure.

2. Since SNCC is the Coordinating Committee of the *student* movement, efforts shall be made to find ways in which students may contribute substantially to the support of the program.

3. The fiscal year of SNCC shall be from September 1 to September 1. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for the preparation of the budget, to be approved by the Coordinating Committee at the Fall meeting. The Executive Secretary shall be responsible for its administration, and shall prepare reports for each Executive Committee meeting.

The following is being proposed to Northern students and groups :

Over the past two years informal relationships have established ties between various student groups in the North and SNCC. The more fruitful of these ties have provided occasions for increased contacts between students active in the movement and Northern students; opportunity for explanations of the problems of the South and exploration of the problems of the North; inspiration for

renewed attack upon civil rights problems by Northern students; and, last, but not least, money for the student movement.

SNCC would like to invite such groups to become "associates" with it in which relationship we would work out means of closer cooperation in student exchanges, education about the South and the North in the area of civil rights, action in the North, and fund raising.

Associates would be autonomous, of course, and the structure for association would be minimal. Representatives from associated groups would be able to sit in on Coordinating Committee and Executive Committee meetings, although without vote.

Mr. ADLERMAN. What is the staff number?

Mr. MANUEL. SN 5.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you procure a copy of it? Is a copy of it readily available?

Mr. MANUEL. Copies of this have been printed by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. This is the last constitution that we know of, which was adopted in 1962. This copy was given to us by a law enforcement agency.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say this has been published?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir. We have confirmed the veracity of this document from other sources.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. I would like to call your attention to part III, which appears on page 3, of the constitution. Incidentally, the constitution is also a description of the history of SNCC and its functions.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. MANUEL. The constitution also describes the history of SNCC and its functions.

I want to call your attention to part III, the organization of SNCC, in which they describe themselves as broken down into the following units:

A. THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE

1. The coordinating committee shall be composed of one representative from each of the local protest groups. The employed staff shall be considered members of the coordinating committee, and shall have the right to voice but not vote.

2. The coordinating committee shall meet twice each year, in early fall and at the time of the annual conference at Easter.

3. Membership on the coordinating committee shall be from annual conference to annual conference.

B. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. The coordinating committee shall elect from among its voting membership at the time of the annual conference eight persons, to comprise along with the chairman and the executive secretary of the staff, the executive committee of SNCC.

2. The chairman of SNCC shall be elected by the coordinating committee, and shall serve as chairman of both the coordinating committee and the executive committee. He shall devote full time to the work of SNCC and its staff.

3. The executive committee shall act on behalf of the coordinating committee between meetings of that body. It shall be directly responsible for the program, for direction and supervision of staff, for the financial operation of the organization, and for any matters of policy which need action between meetings of SNCC. It shall be responsible to SNCC and implement its programs.

4. The executive committee shall meet five times a year: in May, in midsummer, in fall with the coordinating committee, during Christmas holiday, and at the annual conference. It may also meet at unscheduled times as may be necessary.

5. The executive committee shall have the power to appoint whatever committees it may consider helpful to the work of SNCC.

C. THE STAFF

1. The staff shall be responsible for the implementation of the program of SNCC, at the direction of the executive committee.

2. The head of the staff shall be an executive secretary, who shall be responsible for the day-to-day operation of SNCC. He shall supervise and be responsible for the activity of the other staff.

3. The executive committee shall employ whatever staff it understands to be necessary for the operation of the program. All staff appointments shall be for 1 year and shall be subject to annual review by SNCC.

For the years 1967 and 1968 before SNCC reorganized and changed its organizational structure, we have identified on our chart 90 members of the SNCC Central Committee as identified from a report taken from the SNCC Central Coordinating Committee meeting of May 7, 1967. These members served in this capacity for at least 1 year.

I would like to at this time introduce as an exhibit staff exhibit No. SN-6, a document taken from that meeting on May 7, 1967, titled "Resolutions Passed by Us on Sunday, May 7, 1967."

On page 2 of this is SNCC's staff list. These people, as defined by the constitution, are also members of the central coordinating committee, the main functioning, policymaking body of that organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received in evidence.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 412" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 412

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY US ON SUNDAY, MAY 7, 1967

1. The coordinating committee voted to accept the staff list enclosed in our folders, with the addition of Wendy Paris, James Jackson, Leon Jackson and Bill Hall, as the decision making body with the right to attend staff meeting and the right to vote. The following persons added to the list have the right to attend staff meeting as observers, but without voting privileges: Norman Barnett (Duke), Bennie Greathart, Bob Hoover, Carolyn Baker, Michele Moreland, Jimmy Lytle, Mrs. Ella Baker, Ernest Stevens, Alfred "Moose" Collins, and Don Howard.

2. That the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee apply to the United Nations Economic and Security Council for Non-Government Organization status.

3. That the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee declares that it is a Human Rights Organization interested not only in Human Rights in the United States, but throughout the world.

4. That: In the field of international relations the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee asserts that its position in relation to the governments of the world is one of positive non-alignment. It encourages and supports the liberation struggles against colonialism, racism, and economic exploitation.

Note: Resolution number 4 will be discussed further today, Monday, May 8, 1967, and the wording of the first sentence is to be changed.

SNCC STAFF LIST

If your name do not appear on this list please do not come, you will only be asked to leave.

Fay Bellamy	Ivanhoe Donaldson
Wilson Brown	Roberta Jones
Joyce Brown	John Wilson
Stokely Carmichael	Lester McKinnie
Charlie Cobb	Monroe Sharp
Courtland Cox	Dorothy Dewberry
Lester Core	Danny Brown
Karen Edmonds	Hubert Brown
Jim Forman	Cornelius Jones
Freddie Greene	Carl Nealy
Rufus Hinton	Johnnie Jackson
Sheslonia Johnson	Julian Tyler
Julius Lester	Theophillis Smith
Jennifer Lawson	Patricia Weatherly
Bill Mahoney	Eddie Brooks
Dena Maloney	Lesse Boyd
Fred Meely	John Buffington
Evelyn Marshall	Isaac Coleman
Ethel Minor	Ralph Featherstone
Bob Moore	Florida Henderson
Kathleen Neal	Carolyn Tillman
Regina Pleasant	Larry Fox
William Porter	Robert Cableton
Donald Stone	Myrtle Glascoe
Ruby Robinson	Lee Bankhead
Cleve Sellers	Andrew Green
Willie Ricks	Robert Fletcher
Simuel Schultz	Jesse Harris
John Tillman	Fannie Lou Hamer
Claudia Tillman	Mary Lane
George Ware	James Jones
Stanley Wise	Charles McLaurin
Warcell Williams	Jesse Harris
Ramona Battiste	Isaiah Sellers
John Battiste	E. W. Steptoe
Shirley Wright	Hollis Watkins*
Robert Fullilove	Phil Hutchins*
Carol Carter	Denise Reese*

*Have been added to the staff Chico Nebbet has just returned from a leave of absence.

Mr. MANUEL. Phil Hutchings, head of the SNCC office in Newark, N.J., was chosen national program secretary at the meeting in June of 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he shown on the chart?

Mr. MANUEL. He is on the chart, the first one, Phil Hutchings, program secretary. This is as of June 1968.

Also, the deputy chairmen are shown on the chart. This is after SNCC organized their structure as I have just gone through in my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. These were officers who became officers in 1968, in June?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. Phil Hutchings, head of the SNCC office in Newark, N.J., was chosen national program secretary at the meeting in June of 1968. His office is now the top position in SNCC.

The eight deputy chairmen are:

The CHAIRMEN. These are deputy chairmen you are mentioning now, who are on the chart?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

1. George Washington Ware, coordinator of campus activity.
2. Stanley Wise, coordinator for SNCC in the Southern United States.
3. James Forman, coordinator in New York State and delegated as the international director of SNCC.
4. John Augusta Wilson, coordinator of "National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union," a SNCC affiliate.
5. Robert Smith, in charge of the national SNCC office, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Ga.
6. Donald Stone, Coordinator for SNCC in Atlanta, Ga.
7. Ronald Leroy Wilkins ("Brother Crook"), Coordinator for SNCC on the west coast, Los Angeles.
8. Charles Koen, midwest director of SNCC—Black Liberators of St. Louis, affiliated with SNCC.

SNCC stated that reorganization was necessary in order to better deal with "repression against blacks." SNCC cited as examples of such repression, the alleged persecution of militant black leaders like Max Stanford and Herman Ferguson of RAM, Huey Newton of the Black Panthers, and Stokely Carmichael, H. "Rap" Brown, and Cleveland Sellers of SNCC.

Three Major Sub-Organizations of SNCC:

1. Student Voice, the publishing and printing division of SNCC, was incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia on September 24, 1963, for a period of 35 years.

Point 7 of the original petition for charter states:

The corporation shall be controlled, governed, and managed by a board of trustees consisting of not less than five or more than 15 members elected by the members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee at a meeting duly called by said Committee for that purpose.

The initial members of the board of trustees shall be James Forman, 8½ Raymond Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia; John Lewis, 8½ Raymond Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia; Julian Bond, 823 Drummond Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia; Miss Ella Baker, 239 West Lake Avenue, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia; Shessie Johnson, 8½ Raymond Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Attached to the charter are the annual registrations for the years 1965 through 1967, showing the four principal officers, as required by the laws of Georgia.

Mr. Chairman, we would like to present the corporate charter of the Student Voice at this time as our exhibit SN-7, together with their annual registration statements.

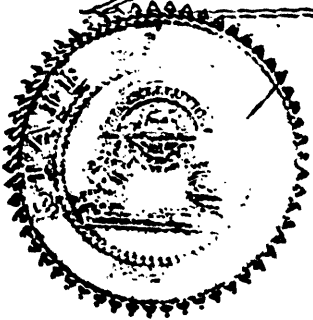
The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 413" for reference and follows:)



OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

I, Ben M. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that the seven pages of photographed printed matter hereto attached contain a true and correct copy of the petition for charter, the Judge's order thereon, the filing of the Clerk and certificate of the Secretary of State for "STUDENT VOICE, INC.", as the same appears of file and record in this office.

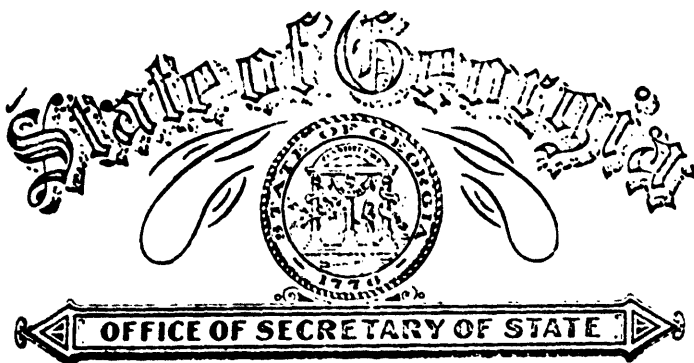


IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben M. Fortson, Jr.

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

DUPLICATE



I, Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that

"STUDENT VOICE, INC."

was on the 24th day of September, 1963, duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia by the Superior Court of Fulton County for a period of thirty-five years from said date, in accordance with the certified copy hereto attached, and that a certified copy of the charter of said corporation has been duly filed in the office of the Secretary of State and the fees therefor paid, as provided by law.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 25th day of September, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty three and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Eighty-eighth.

Ben W. Fortson, Jr.
 SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATIONS
 COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

GEORGIA, FULTON COUNTY

To the Superior Court of Said County:

The petition of James Forman, Julian Bond, John Lewis, Miss Ella Baker and Shessie Johnson, respectfully shows to the Court :

1. Petitioners desire to be incorporated and made a body corporate under the laws of the State of Georgia under the name and style of Student Voice, Incorporated, for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with full right of renewal as may be provided by law, with its principal office at such place or places in Fulton County, Georgia, as its Trustees may from time to time determine.
2. The object and purpose of said corporation is as follows: To publish, print and distribute books, magazines, newspapers, and other printed matters, not for pecuniary gain. The income from distribution of said printed materials shall be exclusively used to promote the purposes of the corporation; no profits or dividends shall ever come to the incorporators or their associates or successors.
3. Said corporation is not organized and shall not be operated for pecuniary gain or profit and shall have no capital stock. No part of the corporation's property or income shall be used for the benefit of any person, whether real or artificial, except in a manner consistent with the foregoing purposes.
4. The corporation shall have the power to retain all gifts and grants in their original form unless it is otherwise required by the terms of said gifts or grants; to own real property, to erect or improve buildings, to buy, sell, exchange or otherwise deal in stocks, bonds, securities, real estate, and any other form of property at public or private sale; to invest and reinvest any of its funds or property at anytime in such securities and other property, real or personal regardless of whether such investments are legal investments for trust funds under the laws of Georgia or any other state, and to borrow money and secure the payment thereof by mortgage, pledge, deed of trust, notes or any other instrument or lien upon all or any part of the property in the corporation. All of the foregoing powers may be exercised without any order of any court, or other authority other than the corporation itself, under the direction of the Student Voice, Incorporated.
5. The Board of Trustees, by a majority vote, shall have the power to appoint such agents and committees as it shall deem necessary and delegate to them such powers and duties as shall be required. This shall include the power to use any national bank or trust company as its fiscal agent of the corporation, to delegate to such institution the management and custody, investment and reinvestment of its funds and other property, and to compensate such agent for its services.
6. The Board of Trustees, by a majority vote, shall have the power to adopt rules and by-laws consistent with this Charter, for the conduct of the business and activities of the corporation, including terms of office of the original and successor trustees. Such Board need not act unanimously, but may act upon all matters, including the repeal and amendment of by-laws, by whatever number of votes as are specified in said by-laws. The Board of Trustees, by a vote of two-thirds of its members then in office, may effect the amendment of the charter of the corporation.
7. The corporation shall be controlled, governed and managed by a Board of Trustees consisting of not less than five or more than fifteen members, elected by the members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, at a meeting duly called by said committee for that purpose. The initial members of the Board of Trustees, who are the incorporators, shall be—
 1. James Forman, 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia;
 2. Julian Bond, 823 Drummond Street, S.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia;
 3. John Lewis, 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia;
 4. Miss Ella Baker, 239 West Lake Avenue, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, and
 5. Shessie Johnson, 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.
8. Vested in the corporation shall be all the rights, powers, and privileges which may be necessary or proper to achieve the purpose of this charter, and the incorporators desire that, subject to the provisions thereof, the corporation shall have all the powers and privileges granted to a non-profit educational corporation without capital stock by the laws of the State of Georgia, as enacted or amended,

in the past, or in the future, including without limitation, powers and privileges enumerated in all appropriate sections of the Georgia Code Annotated, as amended.

9. The corporation shall have an existence of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewal.

10. The principal office of the corporation shall be in Fulton County, Georgia.

Wherefore, the incorporators pray to be incorporated under the name, and with the rights, powers and privileges stated above.

HOWARD MOORE, JR.
Attorney for petitioners.

ORDER

STATE OF GEORGIA,
County of Fulton:

The above and foregoing petition, read, sanctioned and ordered filed.

It appearing to the Court, after examination of the same, that said application is legitimately within the purview and intention of the laws of this State, and after examination by the Court of a certificate from the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia declaring that the name of the proposed corporation is not the name of any other corporation now registered in the records of the Secretary of State, the said application is hereby granted, and petitioners are incorporated under the name and style,

STUDENT VOICE, INCORPORATED

with all the rights, powers, and privileges and immunities granted and given by law, including the right to operate as similar corporations in the State of Georgia.

This 24th day of September, 1963.

JUDGE CLAUDE D. SHAW.

Filed in office this the 24th day of September 1963.

N. A. LANFORD, *Deputy Clerk.*

PUBLISHER'S AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF GEORGIA,
County of Fulton:

Before me, the undersigned, a Notary Public, this day personally came Walter R. Pressley, who, being first duly sworn, according to law, says that he is an Agent of the Daily Report Company, publishers of the FULTON COUNTY DAILY REPORT, the official newspaper in which the Sheriff's advertisements in and for said County are published, and a newspaper of general circulation, with its principal place of business in said County, and that there has been deposited with said newspaper the cost of publishing four (4) insertions of said application for Charter STUDENT VOICE, INC. once a week for four (4) weeks with the Order of the Judge thereon.

WALTER R. PRESSLEY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of September, 1963.

[SEAL]

LOUISE M. SARTAIN,
Notary Public.

STATE OF GEORGIA,
County of Fulton:

I J. W. SIMMONS, Clerk of the Superior Court of Fulton County, Georgia, do hereby certify that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of petition of James Forman et al, for incorporation under the name and style of STUDENT VOICE, INC. and the Order of Court thereon allowing same, all of which appears of file and record in this office.

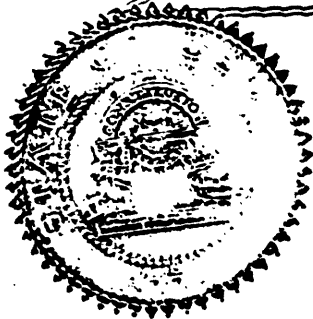
Given under my hand and seal of Office. This the 24th day of September, 1963.

[SEAL]

J. W. SIMMONS,
Clerk of the Superior Court.



I, Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that the one page of photographed printed matter hereto attached is a true and correct copy of the statement for annual registration filed by STUDENT VOYCE, INC., on the 13th day of August, 1965, as the same appears of file and record in this office.



IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben W. Fortson, Jr.

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

STATE OF GEORGIA

823 13 1985

CERTIFIED STATEMENT FOR ANNUAL REGISTRATION OF A CORPORATION

*THE FOUR PRINCIPAL OFFICERS MUST BE NAMED. H. B. 366, GA. LAW 1965

NAME OF CORPORATION: Student Voice, Inc.

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Horace Julian Bond TITLE President ADDRESS 360 Nelson Street, Atlant

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Shesglonia Johnson TITLE Sec-Treas. ADDRESS 360 Nelson Street, Atlant

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER James Forman TITLE Parl. ADDRESS 360 Nelson Street, Atlant

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Ella J. Baker TITLE _____ ADDRESS 360 Nelson Street, Atlant

PRINCIPAL OFFICE: (Street and No.) 360 Nelson Street CITY Atlanta STATE Georgia

PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN GA.: (St. and No.) (same) CITY _____ STATE _____

AUTHORIZED AGENT IN GA. (If foreign): _____ CITY _____

AGENT'S ADDRESS (If foreign): _____ CITY _____

NATURE OF BUSINESS Educational publishing

WHEN INCORPORATED (Date) September 24, 1963 BEGAN BUSINESS IN GA. (Date) Same

WHERE INCORPORATED (CITY) Atlanta COUNTY Fulton STATE Georgia

BY WHAT AUTHORITY INCORPORATED _____ AUTHORIZED CAPITAL STOCK _____

TO THE HON. BEN W. FORTSON, JR., SECRETARY OF STATE ATLANTA 3, GA. CAPITAL STOCK ISSUED _____

I hereby certify that the above statement furnished the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia for record, as required by law, is correct.

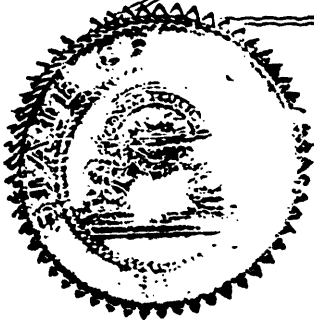
Signed by Horace Julian Bond TITLE Pres DATE Aug 5, 19 65

President or Secretary

3970



I, Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that the one page of photographed printed matter hereto attached is a true and correct copy of the statement for annual registration filed by STUDENT VOICE, INC., on the 16th day of August, 1966, as the same appears of file and record in this office.



IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben W. Fortson, Jr.

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

STATE OF GEORGIA

AUG 16 1966 150

CERTIFIED STATEMENT FOR ANNUAL REGISTRATION OF A CORPORATION

*THE FOUR PRINCIPAL OFFICERS MUST BE NAMED. H. B. 366, GA. LAW 1965

NAME OF CORPORATION: Student Voice, Inc.

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER James Farnan TITLE _____ ADDRESS 360 Nelson St. SW Atlanta, G

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Julian Bond TITLE _____ ADDRESS 823 Drummond St., SW Atlanta

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER John Lewis TITLE _____ ADDRESS 360 Nelson St., SW Atlanta,

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Miss Ella Baker TITLE _____ ADDRESS 239 West Lake Ave., SW Atlanta

PRINCIPAL OFFICE: (Street and No.) Shessie Johnson TITLE 360 Nelson St., SW ADDRESS Atlanta CITY Atlanta STATE Georgia

PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN GA.: (St. and No.) 360 Nelson St., SW CITY Atlanta, Georgia STATE 30313

AUTHORIZED AGENT IN GA. (If foreign): _____ CITY _____ STATE _____

AGENT'S ADDRESS (If foreign): _____ CITY _____

NATURE OF BUSINESS _____

WHEN INCORPORATED (Date) Sept. 24, 1963 BEGAN BUSINESS IN GA. (Date) _____

WHERE INCORPORATED (CITY) Atlanta COUNTY Fulton STATE Georgia

BY WHAT AUTHORITY INCORPORATED State of Georgia AUTHORIZED CAPITAL STOCK _____

TO THE HON. BEN W. FORTSON, JR., SECRETARY OF STATE ATLANTA 3, GA. CAPITAL STOCK ISSUED _____

I hereby certify that the above statement furnished the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia for record, as required by law, is correct.

Signed by Miss Johnson, Treas. TITLE Treas. Inc. DATE 8/15, 1966

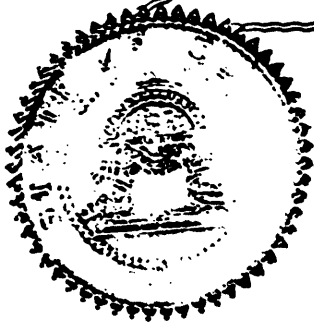
President or Secretary

3972



OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

I, Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that the one page of photographed printed matter hereto attached is a true and correct copy of the statement for annual registration that was filed by STUDENT VOICE, INC., on the 24th day of August, 1967, as the same appears of file and record in this office.



IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have herunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben W. Fortson, Jr.

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

STATE OF GEORGIA

CERTIFIED STATEMENT FOR ANNUAL REGISTRATION OF A CORPORATION

AUG 24 1967

*THE FOUR PRINCIPAL OFFICERS MUST BE NAMED. H. B. 366, GA. LAW 1965

NAME OF CORPORATION: Student Voice, Inc.

PRINCIPAL OFFICER Horace Julian Bond TITLE Pres. ADDRESS 360 Nelson Street S.W.

PRINCIPAL OFFICER Shesslonia Johnson TITLE Sec. Treas. ADDRESS (same)

PRINCIPAL OFFICER James Forman TITLE Parl. ADDRESS (same)

PRINCIPAL OFFICER Ella Baker TITLE _____ ADDRESS (same)

PRINCIPAL OFFICE: (Street and No.) 360 Nelson Street CITY Atlanta STATE Georgia

PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN GA.: (St. and No.) Same CITY _____

AUTHORIZED AGENT IN GA. (If foreign): _____

AGENT'S ADDRESS (If foreign): _____ CITY _____

NATURE OF BUSINESS Educational Publishing

WHEN INCORPORATED (Date) September 24, 1963 BEGAN BUSINESS IN GA. (Date) Same

WHERE INCORPORATED (CITY) Atlanta COUNTY Fulton STATE Georgia

WHAT AUTHORITY INCORPORATED _____ AUTHORIZED CAPITAL STOCK _____

BY THE HON. BEN W. FORTSON, JR., SECRETARY OF STATE ATLANTA 3, GA. CAPITAL STOCK ISSUED _____

I hereby certify that the above statement furnished the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia for record, as required by law, is correct.

Signed by: Shesslonia Johnson TITLE Sec. 101112 DATE August 9, 1967

President or Secretary

3974

Senator GRAFFIN. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt for a moment? You referred, in listing the eight deputy chairmen here, to Ronald Leroy Wilkins as coordinator of SNCC.

Am I correct in stating that he is no relation, as far as you know, to Mr. Wilkins of the NAACP?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct, sir. We don't intend to say there is any relationship or that we have found any relationship. It is a rather common name.

2. The Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc., the real estate and financial arm of SNCC, was incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia on September 7, 1965, for a period of 35 years. The charter states:

The initial member of the board of directors, who are the incorporators, shall be Howard Moore, Jr., 1331 Sharon Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia; Fay Bellamy, 2222 Telhurst Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia; Horace J. Bond, 823 Drummond Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia; Shessie Johnson, 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia; and John Lewis, 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Attached to the charter are the required annual registration for the years 1965 through 1967, containing the names of the principal officers.

I would like to introduce as our exhibit SN-8 the charter and the annual registration statements for the Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and appropriately marked.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 414" for reference and follow:)



I, Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that the eleven pages of photographed printed matter hereto attached contain a true and correct copy of the petition for charter, the Judge's order thereon, the filing of the Clerk and certificate of the Secretary of State for "SOUTHERN EDUCATION AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.", as the same appears of file and record in this office.

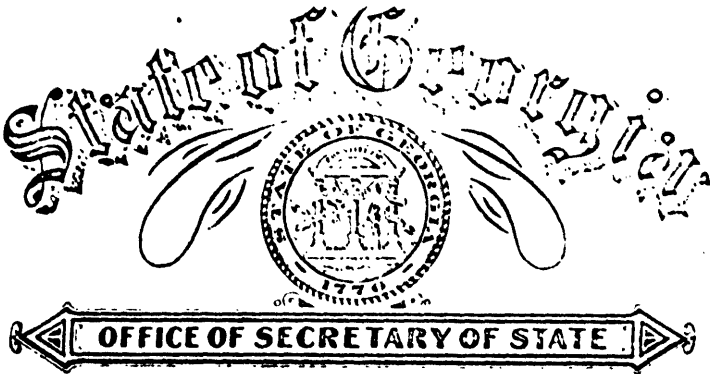


IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben W. Fortson, Jr.

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

DUPLICATE



J. Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that

"SOUTHERN EDUCATION AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC."

was on the 7th day of September 1965
 duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia by the Superior Court of
 Fulton County for a period of Thirty-five years
 from said date, in accordance with the certified copy hereto attached, and that a certified copy
 of the charter of said corporation has been duly filed in the office of the Secretary of State and
 the fees therefor paid, as provided by law.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand
 and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of
 Atlanta, this 10th day of September in the year
 of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty
 Five and of the Independence of the United States
 of America the One Hundred and Ninetieth

Ben W. Fortson, Jr.

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
 COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

GEORGIA, FULTON COUNTY,

To the Superior Court of said county as:

The petition of Howard Moore, Jr., John Lewis, James Forman, Sheslie Johnson, Fay Bellamy, Horace Julian Bond, respectfully shows to the court:

1. Petitioners desire to be incorporated and made a body corporate under the laws of the State of Georgia under the name and style of Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc., for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with full right of renewal as may be provided by law, with its principal office at such place or places in Fulton County, Georgia, as its Board of Directors may from time to time determine.

2. Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc., shall have a corporate seal bearing the name of the corporation, and such other device or inscription as the Board of Directors may determine. The Board of Directors may change the form of the seal and the inscription thereon at any time.

3. The purpose for which the corporation is organized are exclusively charitable and educational, within the meaning of section 501(c)(3) of the United States Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as the same may be from time to time amended, including the gathering, accumulation, study and dissemination of accurate information and knowledge about contemporary events and affairs in the field of law and human relations, with especial emphasis on information and knowledge of interest to lawyers, judges, college and university students and faculty members. The corporation is not organized and shall not be operated for pecuniary gain or profit and shall have no capital stock. No part of its net earnings shall inure to the benefit of any member or individual, nor shall any part of its net earnings or of its property be used other than for its stated purposes.

In the event of a liquidation, dissolution, termination or winding up of the corporation (whether voluntary, involuntary or by operation of the law), none of the property or assets of the corporation shall be made available to any individual, corporation or other organization, except to corporations or other organizations which are described in section 501(c)(3) of the United States Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as the same may be from time to time amended.

No substantial part of the activities of the corporation shall consist of carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislature; nor shall the corporation participate or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements) any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

4. The corporation shall have the power to retain all gifts and grants in their original form unless it is otherwise required by the terms of said gifts or grants; to own real property, to erect or improve buildings, to buy, sell, exchange or otherwise deal in stocks, bonds securities, real estate, or any other form of property, real or personal regardless of whether such investments are legal investments for trust funds under the laws of Georgia or any other state, and to borrow money and secure the payment thereof by mortgage, pledge, deed or trust, or any other instrument or lien upon all or any part of the property in the corporation.

The corporation shall have the power to publish, print, and distribute scholarly monographs, journals, and books and other printed matter not for pecuniary gain.

All and each of the foregoing powers may be exercised without any order of any court, or any authority other than the corporation itself under the direction of the Southern Education Institute, Inc.

The corporation may not exercise any of its powers in such a manner as to disqualify the corporation from exemption from income tax under Section 501(c)(3) of such Code.

5. The officers of the corporation shall be a board of directors, consisting of not less than three nor more than nine members, a president, a clerk and a treasurer, all of whom excepting the president shall be chosen by ballot annually, at the first meeting of the corporation and at each annual meeting thereafter, and one of the said board of directors shall be chosen president by the said directors, and all the said officers shall hold their respective offices for one year and until others are chosen and qualified in their stead. In case of a temporary absence of any of said officers, the directors may appoint a person to perform the duties of such officer during such absence. In case a vacancy shall occur of any said officer, it may be filled at a special meeting of the corporation, and until it shall be so filled by them the directors may appoint a person to perform the duties incident to the office.

6. The directors shall have all the powers usually vested in a board of directors of a charitable corporation. They shall have the general direction, control and management of the property and the business of the corporation. They shall have ample power to purchase and to lease, pledge, and sell all such personal property and to make all such contracts and agreements in behalf of the corporation as they may deem needful or convenient for the successful prosecution of its charitable and educational purposes. They shall employ, and at their pleasure remove all such persons and agents as they may deem necessary or proper for conducting the business of the corporation, and shall determine the compensation and the duties (in addition to those fixed by the by-laws) of all agents, clerks and servants of the corporation and generally do all such lawful acts and adopt all such lawful measures, consistent with the constitution and the by-laws of the corporation, as they shall deem best calculated to promote its charitable and educational purposes to the fullest extent, but not, however, in such manner as to disqualify the corporation from exemption from income tax under Section 501(c) of the United States Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as the same may be from time to time amended as an organization described in Section 501(c)(3) of such Code. The property and funds, books, correspondence and papers of the corporation in possession and control of an officer shall at all times be subject to the investigation of the board of directors.

7. The board of directors, may, by a majority vote, have the power to appoint such agents and committees as it shall deem necessary and to delegate to them such power and duties as shall be required. This shall include the power to use any national bank or trust company as its fiscal agent of the corporation, to delegate to such institution the management and custody, investment and reinvestment of its funds, and other property, and to compensate such agent for its services.

8. The board of directors, by a majority vote, shall have the power to adopt rules and by-laws consistent with this charter for the conduct of business and activities of the corporation, including terms of office of the original and successor directors. Such board need not act unanimously, but may act upon all matters, including the repeal and amendment of by-laws by whatever number of votes as are specified in said by-laws. The board of directors by vote of two thirds of its members then in office, may effect the amendment of the charter of the corporation.

9. The corporation shall be controlled, governed and managed by a board of directors, consisting of not less than three or more than nine members, elected by the incorporators and other members of the corporation, at a meeting duly

called for that purpose. The initial members of the board of directors, who are the incorporators, shall be :

- (a) Howard Moore, Jr., 1331 Sharon Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia ;
- (b) Fay Bellamy, 2222 Telhurst Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia ;
- (c) Horace J. Bond, 823 Drummond Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia ;
- (d) Shessie Johnson, 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia ;
- (e) James Forman, 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia ;
- (f) John Lewis, 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

10. The president shall preside at all meetings of the directors. He shall, in general, perform all acts usually pertaining to the office of president, subject to the approval of the directors.

11. The treasurer shall receive all monies paid to the corporation, give his receipt therefor and make the proper disbursement of it; he shall keep correct account of all business transactions of the corporation upon regular books of account, which shall always be opened to the inspection of the directors of any of them; he shall deposit the funds of the corporation in such bank or banks as the board of directors may determine and designate. The treasurer shall, whenever the board of directors requires it, make a statement of the financial condition of the corporation to the directors, and he shall also report, giving receipts and disbursements of the corporation of the preceding financial fiscal year and the financial condition of the corporation. He shall sign all checks, execute all promissory notes and contracts in behalf of the corporation.

12. The clerk, who shall be a resident of the State of Georgia, shall be sworn and shall record all votes of the corporation in a book kept for that purpose. He shall keep an attested copy of the Articles of Organizations and the Constitution and By-Laws, with a reference on the margin of the copy of the Constitution and By-Laws of all amendments thereof, and a true record of all meetings of the board of directors. He shall have charge of the records and papers of the corporation, issue notices for all meetings of the corporation, and perform all duties generally incident to the office of clerk.

13. The meeting of the directors shall be held as often as the needs of the corporation may in their opinion, require and may be called by the president or treasurer or any director; and the clerk shall notify the director of such meeting whenever requested in writing by the president, treasurer, or the director, calling such a meeting. Notices in writing, mailed postage prepaid, forty-eight hours before the meeting, addressed to such director at his usual place of business or abode or delivered to him in hand shall be sufficient notice of the meeting. Notice of any meeting may be dispensed with if each director by a writing filed with the records of the meeting waives such notice. At any meeting of the board of directors three directors shall constitute a quorum.

14. All of the property of this corporation, and accumulated income thereof, shall be held and administered to effectuate its charitable and educational purposes and serve the general welfare of the public, but the corporation may not exercise any of its powers in such a manner as to disqualify the corporation from exemption from income tax under Section 501(a) of the United States Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as the same may be from time to time amended, as an organization described in Section 501(c)(3) of such code.

15. Vested in the corporation shall be all the rights, powers, and privileges which may be necessary or proper to achieve the purposes of this charter, and the incorporators desire, that subject to the provisions thereof, the corporation shall have all the powers and privileges granted to a non-profit educational corporation without capital stock by the laws of the State of Georgia, as enacted or amended in the past or in the future, including, without limitations, powers, and privileges enumerated in all appropriate sections of the Georgia Code Annotated, as amended.

16. The corporation shall have an existence of thirty-five (35) years, with privilege of renewal.

17. The principal office of the corporation shall be in Fulton County, Georgia. Wherefore, the incorporators pray to be incorporated under the name, with the rights, powers and privileges stated above.

HOWARD MOORE, Jr.,
Attorney for petitioners.

GEORGIA, FULTON COUNTY

ORDER

The above and foregoing petition, read, sanctioned, and ordered filed.

It appearing to the Court, after examination of the same, that said application is legitimately within the purview and intention of the laws of this State, and after examination by the Court of a certificate from the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia declaring that the name of the proposed corporation is not the name of any other corporation now registered in the records of the Secretary of State, the said application is hereby granted, and the petitioners are incorporated under the name and style, "Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc.", with all the rights, powers, and privileges and immunities granted and given by law, including the right to operate as similar corporations in the State of Georgia.

This 7th day of September, 1965.

SAM PHILLIPS MCKENZIE,
Judge, Fulton Superior Court, Atlanta Judicial Circuit.

PUBLISHER'S AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF GEORGIA,
County of Fulton:

Before me, the undersigned, a Notary Public, this day personally came John Harrison who, being first duly sworn, according to law, says that he is an Agent of the Daily Report Company, publishers of the Fulton County Daily Report, the official newspaper in which the Sheriff's advertisements in and for said County are published, and a newspaper of general circulation, with its principal place of business in said County, and that there has been deposited with said newspaper the cost of publishing four (4) insertions of said application for Charter Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc. once a week for four (4) weeks with the Order of the Judge thereon.

JOHN HARRISON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 7th day of September, 1965.

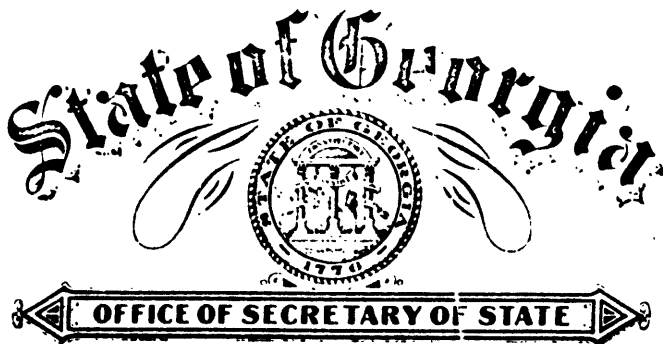
EARL H. HIGGINS,
Notary Public, Fulton County, Ga.

STATE OF GEORGIA,
County of Fulton, ss:

I, J. W. Simmons, Clerk of the Superior Court of Fulton County, Georgia, do hereby certify that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of petition of Howard Moore, Jr., et al. for incorporation under the name and style of Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc., allowing same, all of which appears of file and record in this Office.

[SEAL] Given under my hand and seal of Office. This the 7th day of Sept., 1965.

J. W. SIMMONS,
Clerk of the Superior Court, Fulton County, Ga.



I, Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify that the one page of photographed printed matter hereto attached is a true and correct copy of the statement for annual registration filed by SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC., on the 27th day of October, 1965, as the same appears of file and record in this office.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben W. Fortson, Jr.

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

10⁰ New

OCT 8 7

CERTIFIED STATEMENT FOR ANNUAL REGISTRATION OF A CORPORATION

267

*THE FOUR PRINCIPAL OFFICERS MUST BE NAMED. H. B. 366, GA. LAW 1965

NAME OF CORPORATION: Southern Educational and Research Institute, Inc

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER James Forman TITLE President ADDRESS 360 Nelson St., S. W.

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER John Lewis TITLE Treasurer ADDRESS " " " "

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Fay Bellamy TITLE Clerk ADDRESS " " " "

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Howard Moore, Jr. TITLE General Counsel ADDRESS 859 1/2 Hunter St., N. W.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE: (Street and No.) 360 Nelson St., N. W. CITY Atlanta STATE Ga.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN GA.: (St. and No.) Same CITY Same

AUTHORIZED AGENT IN GA. (If foreign): _____

AGENT'S ADDRESS (If foreign): _____ CITY _____

NATURE OF BUSINESS Education & Research

WHEN INCORPORATED (Date) Sept. 7, 1965 BEGAN BUSINESS IN GA. (Date) Same

WHERE INCORPORATED (CITY) Atlanta COUNTY Fulton STATE Georgia

BY WHAT AUTHORITY INCORPORATED Order of Superior Court AUTHORIZED CAPITAL STOCK Charitable

TO THE HON. BEN W. FORTSON, JR., SECRETARY OF STATE ATLANTA 3, GA. CAPITAL STOCK ISSUED None

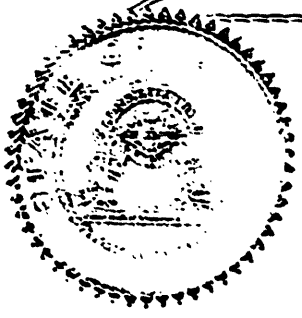
I hereby certify that the above statement furnished the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia for record, as required by law, is correct.

Signed by Fay Bellamy TITLE Clerk DATE October 6, 1965
President or Secretary

3983



I, Ben M. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify that the one page pf photographed printed matter hereto attached is a true and correct copy of the statement for annual registration filed by SOUTHERN EDUCATION AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC., on the 19th day of October, 1966, as the same appears of file and record in this office.



IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben M. Fortson, Jr.

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
 COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

STATE OF GEORGIA

OCT 19 1966

CERTIFIED STATEMENT FOR ANNUAL REGISTRATION OF A CORPORATION

*THE FOUR PRINCIPAL OFFICERS MUST BE NAMED. H. B. 366, GA. LAW 1965

NAME OF CORPORATION: Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER James Forman TITLE President ADDRESS 360 Nelson St., N.W.

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Shessie G. Johnson TITLE Treasurer ADDRESS 360 Nelson St., N. W.

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Fay Bellamy TITLE Clerk ADDRESS 2222 Telhurst St., N. W.

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Howard Moore, Jr. TITLE General Counsel ADDRESS 859 1/2 Hunter St., N.W.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE: (Street and No.) 859 1/2 Hunter St., N.W. CITY Atlanta STATE Georgia

PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN GA.: (St. and No.) _____ CITY _____ STATE _____

AUTHORIZED AGENT IN GA. (If foreign): _____ CITY _____ STATE _____

AGENT'S ADDRESS (If foreign): _____ CITY _____ STATE _____

NATURE OF BUSINESS Education and Research

WHEN INCORPORATED (Date) Sept, 7, 1965 BEGAN BUSINESS IN GA. (Date) Same

WHERE INCORPORATED (CITY) Atlanta COUNTY Fulton STATE Georgia

BY WHAT AUTHORITY INCORPORATED Order of Superior Court AUTHORIZED CAPITAL STOCK Non Profit

TO THE HON. BEN W. FORTSON, JR., SECRETARY OF STATE ATLANTA 3, GA. CAPITAL STOCK ISSUED None

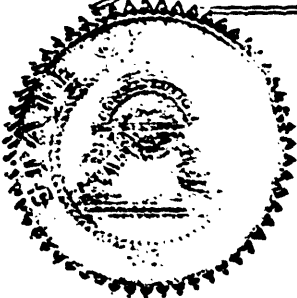
I hereby certify that the above statement furnished the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia for record, as required by law, is correct.

Signed by Fay D. Bellamy TITLE Clerk DATE October 14, 19 66
President or Secretary

3985



I, Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify that the one page of photographed printed matter hereto attached is a true and correct copy of the statement for annual registration filed by SOUTHERN EDUCATION AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC., on the 15th day of November, 1967, as the same appears of file and record in this office.



IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben W. Fortson, Jr.

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

STATE OF GEORGIA

NOV 15 1967

CERTIFIED STATEMENT FOR ANNUAL REGISTRATION OF A CORPORATION

*THE FOUR PRINCIPAL OFFICERS MUST BE NAMED. H. B. 366, GA. LAW 1965

NAME OF CORPORATION: Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc.
SOUTHERN EDUCATION AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER JAMES FORMAN TITLE President ADDRESS 360 Nelson St., S. W.

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER SNIESSIE G. JOHNSON TITLE Treasurer ADDRESS 360 Nelson St., S. W.

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Fay Bellamy TITLE Clerk ADDRESS 360 Nelson St., S. W.

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Howard Moore, Jr. TITLE General ADDRESS 859 1/2 Hunter St., N.W.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE: (Street and No.) 859 1/2 Hunter St. County Atlanta STATE Ga.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN GA.: (St. and No.) _____ N. W. CITY _____

AUTHORIZED AGENT IN GA. (If foreign): _____ CITY _____

AGENT'S ADDRESS (If foreign): _____ CITY _____

NATURE OF BUSINESS Education & Research

WHEN INCORPORATED (Date) Sept. 7, 1965 BEGAN BUSINESS IN GA. (Date) Same

WHERE INCORPORATED (CITY) Atlanta COUNTY Fulton STATE Ga.

BY WHAT AUTHORITY INCORPORATED Order of Superior Court AUTHORIZED CAPITAL STOCK None

TO THE HON. BEN W. FORTSON, JR., SECRETARY OF STATE ATLANTA 3, GA. CAPITAL STOCK ISSUED None

I hereby certify that the above statement furnished the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia for record, as required by law, is correct.

Signed by Fay D. Bellamy TITLE Clerk DATE Aug. 30, 19 67
President or Secretary

3987

Mr. MANUEL. 3. The Sojourner Motor Fleet, Inc., the transportation arm of SNCC, was incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia on June 19, 1964, for a period of 35 years. The initial members of the board of trustees are as follows: S. G. Johnson, Atlanta, Ga.; Donald Harris, Atlanta, Ga.; William Hansen, Atlanta, Ga.; Ivanhoe Donaldson, Atlanta, Ga.; and Miss Ella Baker, Atlanta, Ga. Attached to the charter are the required annual registrations for the years 1965 through 1967, containing the names of the principal officers.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Before you leave the Sojourner Motor Fleet, I am intrigued by the fact that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee should go into the transportation business.

Can you give us, from your personal information, a little more detail of that and what it involves?

Mr. MANUEL. This organization owns and leases to SNCC travelers, as they call them, principally in the South, automobiles for use in their various journeys throughout the South.

It provides cars for them, usually on a lease basis, and these cars are then used to transport SNCC organizers and travelers to wherever they want to go.

This has been going on and is still active. This is the principal function of the Sojourner Motor Fleet.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Is it a profitmaking organization?

Mr. MANUEL. We have attempted to find this out through the Internal Revenue Service. However, we find that their records are incomplete as to showing us whether, in fact, this has made a profit over the years or what exactly the financial status of it is with regard to profit or loss.

The **CHAIRMAN.** When they travel, where do they go? From college to college?

Mr. MANUEL. It can be used by campus travelers. It can be used by SNCC people who organize—

The **CHAIRMAN.** It can be? Is it?

Mr. MANUEL. It has been. In each individual instance it provides cars for SNCC personnel who are attached to several programs that are active within SNCC. One is the campus program.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Does it serve any other group or the public generally?

Mr. MANUEL. Not that we know of.

The **CHAIRMAN.** It is primarily set up to serve SNCC?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

Senator MURDER. What seems to be the advantage of having a SNCC-operated fleet of automobiles and cars instead of using commercial

transportation? Are they taking great groups of SNCC people to the campus at one time?

Mr. MANUEL. This could be done, Senator. If you are asking me for a specific instance when it has been done, I couldn't give you one right now.

Senator MURDER. It doesn't make sense on the face of it, for the relatively few number of officials that they have, to have a fleet of cars covering these campuses which range from coast to coast and border to border, unless, perhaps, they are taking groups of people or moving a whole little army of some kind.

I can't understand exactly the purpose. It has been going on for several years?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir. Of course, when SNCC travelers use these cars, sometimes law enforcement notes the tag numbers on the cars and it goes back to registration by the Sojourner Motor Fleet rather than the individual SNCC organizer who happened to be driving that car at the particular time.

Senator PERCY. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Under the laws of Georgia, is it necessary for a corporation, when it applies for incorporation papers, to declare whether or not it is for profit or nonprofit purposes?

Mr. MANUEL. I don't know whether that is required by the State of Georgia, Senator. I can get you an answer on that.

Senator PERCY. Do you give at any point in your testimony an interpretation as to why SNCC, in your judgment, used this corporate device for carrying on these two types of activities, education, research, and the motor fleet? Why did they choose to incorporate separately rather than carrying it all on in the name of SNCC?

Mr. MANUEL. Later in the testimony, Senator, we have some SNCC documents which are, in fact, a report to SNCC by two of the corporate operations which I think will shed some light on your question.

Senator PERCY. I see now in the registration itself as a corporation, the nature of the business is declared as a nonprofit vehicle leasing. They have set themselves up in their own mind as a nonprofit organization.

Mr. MANUEL. They have so declared.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You may proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. At the end of the Sojourner Motor Fleet, Mr. Chairman, we would like to introduce as our exhibit SN-9 the registration statements and corporate charter which I have described.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "exhibit No. 415" for reference and follow :)

EXHIBIT No. 415



I, Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that the one page of photographed printed matter hereto attached contain a true and correct copy of the statement for annual registration filed by SOJOURNER MOTOR FLEET, INC., on the 11th day of August, 1967, as the same appears of file and record in this office.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben W. Fortson, Jr.
 SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
 COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

STATE OF GEORGIA

AUG 11 1964

CERTIFIED STATEMENT FOR ANNUAL REGISTRATION OF A CORPORATION

*THE FOUR PRINCIPAL OFFICERS MUST BE NAMED. H. B. 366, GA. LAW 1965

NAME OF CORPORATION: Sojourner Motor Fleet, Inc

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER S.G. Johnson TITLE President ADDRESS 360 Nelson Street SW

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Julian Bond TITLE Vice-President ADDRESS 360 Nelson Street SW

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER James Forman TITLE Member ADDRESS (same)

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER Miss Ella Baker TITLE Member ADDRESS (same)

PRINCIPAL OFFICE: (Street and No.) 360 Nelson Street SW CITY Atlanta STATE Georgia

PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN GA.: (St. and No.) 360 Nelson Street SW CITY Atlanta

AUTHORIZED AGENT IN GA. (If foreign): _____

AGENT'S ADDRESS (If foreign): _____ CITY _____

NATURE OF BUSINESS Rental Cars

WHEN INCORPORATED (Date) June 19, 1964 BEGAN BUSINESS IN GA. (Date) June 23, 1964

WHERE INCORPORATED (CITY) Atlanta COUNTY Fulton STATE Ga.

BY WHAT AUTHORITY INCORPORATED _____ AUTHORIZED CAPITAL STOCK _____

TO THE HON. BEN W. FORTSON, JR., SECRETARY OF STATE ATLANTA 3, GA. CAPITAL STOCK ISSUED _____

hereby certify that the above statement furnished the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia for record, as required by law, is correct.

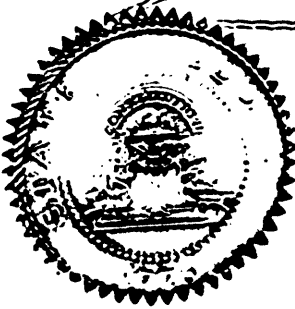
signed by [Signature] TITLE President DATE August 9, 1964

President or Secretary

3991



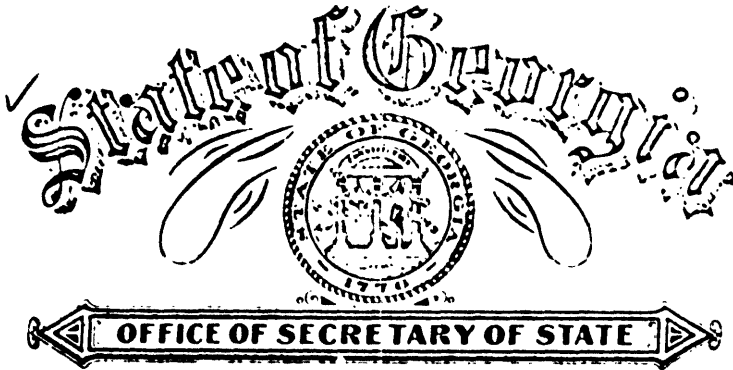
I, Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that the eight pages of photographed printed matter hereto attached contain a true and correct copy of the petition for charter, the Judge's order thereon, the filing of the Clerk and certificate of the Secretary of State for "SOJOURNER MOTOR FLEET, INC.", as the same appears of file and record in this office.



IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben W. Fortson Jr.
 SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
 COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

DUPLICATE



J. Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that

"SOJOURNER MOTOR FLEET, INC."

was on the 19th day of June, 1964, duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia by the Superior Court of Fulton County for a period of thirty-five years from said date, in accordance with the certified copy hereto attached, and that a certified copy of the charter of said corporation has been duly filed in the office of the Secretary of State and the fees therefor paid, as provided by law.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 23rd day of June, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty-Four and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Eighty-Eighth.

Ben W. Fortson

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

GEORGIA, FULTON COUNTY,
To the Superior Court of Fulton County:

The petition of S. G. Johnson, Donald Harris, William Hansen, and Ivanhoe Donaldson, respectfully shows to the Court:

1. Petitioners desire to be incorporated and made a body corporate under the laws of the State of Georgia under the name and style of SOJOURNER MOTOR FLEET, INC., for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with full right of renewal as may be provided by law, with its principal office at such place or places in Fulton County, Georgia, as its Trustees may from time to time determine.

2. The object and purpose of this corporation are as follows: to receive gifts of motor vehicles of all makes, models, and of whatever description; to purchase in wholesale or retail quantities motor vehicles of all makes, models, and of whatever description; to receive gifts of motor vehicle parts and accessories; to purchase in wholesale and retail quantities motor vehicle parts and accessories; to maintain and operate garages for the storage, repair, and maintenance of any motor vehicle owned or leased by the corporation; to lease motor vehicles from any motor vehicle manufacturer, franchise agent, distributor, or dealer, or car rental service, to furnish and provide any person qualified by law to operate a motor vehicle with motor vehicle transportation, not for pecuniary gain.

3. Any income derived from the business of the corporation shall be exclusively used to promote the purposes of the corporation; no profits or dividends shall ever come to the incorporators or their associates or successors.

4. The corporation shall have the power to retain all gifts and grants in their original form unless it is otherwise required by the terms of said gifts or grants; to own real property, to erect or improve buildings, to buy, sell, exchange or otherwise deal in stocks, bonds, securities, real estate, and any other form of property at public or private sale; to invest and re-invest any of its funds or property at anytime in such securities and other property, real or personal regardless of whether such investments are legal investments for trust funds under the laws of Georgia or any other state, and to borrow money and secure the payment thereof by mortgage, pledge, deed of trust, notes or any other instrument or lien upon all or any part of the property in the corporation. All of the foregoing may be exercised without any order of any court, or other authority other than the corporation itself, under the direction of the Sojourner Motor Fleet, Inc.

5. The Board of Trustees, by a majority vote, shall have the power to appoint such agents and committees as it shall deem necessary and delegate to them such powers and duties as shall be required. This shall include the power to use

any national bank or trust company as its fiscal agent of the corporation, to delegate to such institution the management and custody, investment and reinvestment of its funds and other property, and to compensate such agent for its services.

6. The Board of Trustees, by a majority vote, shall have the power to adopt rules and by-laws consistent with this charter for the conduct of the business and activities of the corporation, including terms of office of the original and successor trustees. Such Board need not act unanimously, but may act upon all matters, including the repeal and amendment to by-laws, by whatever number of votes as are specified in said by-laws. The Board of Trustees by a vote of two-thirds of its members then in office, may effect the amendment of the charter of the corporation.

7. The corporation shall be controlled, governed and managed by a Board of Trustees consisting of not less than five or more than fifteen members, elected in such manner and at such time as provided for in the by-laws.

The initial members of the Board of Trustees, who are the incorporators, shall be:

1. S. G. Johnson, Atlanta, Georgia.
2. Donald Harris, Atlanta, Georgia.
3. William Hansen, Atlanta, Georgia.
4. Ivanhoe Donaldson, Atlanta, Georgia.
5. Miss Ella Baker, Atlanta, Georgia.

8. Vested in the corporation shall be all the rights, powers and privileges which may be necessary or proper to achieve the purpose of this charter, and the incorporators desire that, subject to the provisions thereof, the corporation shall have all the powers and privileges granted to a non-profit educational corporation without capital stock by the laws of the State of Georgia, as enacted or amended, in the past, or in the future, including without limitation, powers and privileges enumerated in all appropriate sections of the Georgia Code Annotated, as amended.

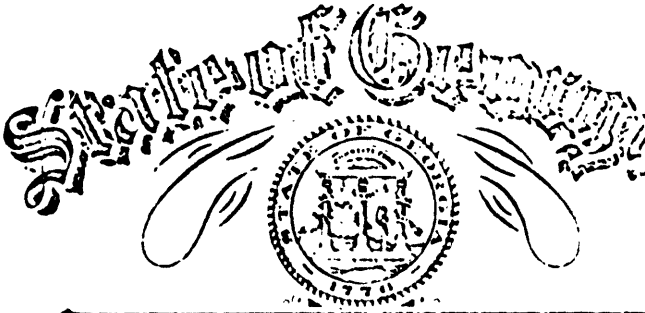
9. The corporation shall have an existence of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewal.

10. The principal office of the corporation shall be in Fulton County, Georgia.

Wherefore, the incorporators pray to be incorporated under the name, and with the rights, powers and privileges stated above.

HOWARD MOORE, Jr.,

Attorney for petitioners.



RECORDED
JUN 23 8 16 AM '64
BEN W. FORTSON
SECRETARY OF STATE
OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF STATE

OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

I, Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that the name

"SOJOURNER MOTOR FLEET, INC."

is not the name of any other existing corporation now registered in this office, as prescribed by law.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office at the Capitol in the City of Atlanta, this 10th day of June, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty FOUR and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Eighty eighth.

Ben W. Fortson, Jr.
SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

ORDER

STATE OF GEORGIA,
County of Fulton:

The above and foregoing petition, read, sanctioned and ordered filed.

It appearing to the Court, after examination of the same, that said application is legitimately within the purview and intention of the laws of this State, and after examination by the Court of a certificate from the Secretary of the State of Georgia declaring that the name of the proposed corporation is not the name of any other corporation now registered in the records of the Secretary of State, the said application is hereby granted, and petitioners are incorporated under the name and style, "Sojourner Motor Fleet, Inc." with all the rights, powers, and privileges and immunities granted and given by law, including the right to operate as similar corporations in the State of Georgia.

This 19th day of June, 1964.

SAM P. MCKENZIE,
Judge, Fulton Superior Court, Atlanta Judicial Circuit.

Filed in Office this the 19th Day of June 1964.

N. A. LANFORD,
Deputy Clerk.

PUBLISHER'S AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF GEORGIA,
County of Fulton:

Before me, the undersigned, a Notary Public, this day personally came John Harrison, who being first duly sworn, according to law, says that he is an Agent of the Daily Report Company, publishers of the FULTON COUNTY DAILY REPORT, the official newspaper in which the Sheriff's advertisements in and for said county are published, and a newspaper of general circulation, with its principal place of business in said county, and that there has been deposited with said newspaper the cost of publishing four (4) insertions of said application for Charter, "Sojourner Motor Fleet, Inc.," once a week for four (4) weeks with the Order of the Judge thereon.

JOHN HARRISON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 19th day of June, 1964.

LOUISE M. SARTAIN,
Notary Public.

STATE OF GEORGIA,
County of Fulton:

I, J. W. SIMMONS, Clerk of the Superior Court of Fulton County, Georgia, do hereby certify that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of petition of S. G. Johnson, et al., for incorporation under the name and style of "Sojourner Motor Fleet, Inc.," and the Order of the Court thereon allowing same, all of which appears of file and record in this office.

[SEAL] Given under my hand and seal of Office, This the 19th day of June, 1964.

J. W. SIMMONS,
Clerk, Superior Court, Fulton County, Ga.



I, Ben M. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that the one page of photographed printed matter hereto attached is a true and correct copy of the statement for annual registration filed by SOUJOURNER MOTOR FLEET, INC., on the 25th day of October, 1964, as the same appears of file and record in this office.



IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben M. Fortson, Jr.

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

STATE OF GEORGIA

CERTIFIED STATEMENT FOR ANNUAL REGISTRATION OF A CORPORATION

W. W. W.

OCT. 25 1964

NAME OF CORPORATION: Sojourner Motor Fleet, Inc.

PRESIDENT: S.G. Johnson GENERAL MANAGER: Jesse Harrison

PRINCIPAL OFFICE: (Street and No.) 6 1/2 Raymond Street NW CITY Atlanta STATE Ga.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN GA.: (St. and No.) Same CITY Same

AUTHORIZED AGENT IN GA. (If foreign): Inapplicable CITY _____

AGENT'S ADDRESS (If foreign): Inapplicable CITY _____

NATURE OF BUSINESS Transportation

WHEN INCORPORATED (Date) June 19, 1964 BEGAN BUSINESS IN GA. (Date) Same

WHERE INCORPORATED (CITY) Atlanta COUNTY Fulton STATE Ga.

BY WHAT AUTHORITY Order of Fulton Superior Court CAPITAL STOCK Inapplicable

TO THE HONORABLE BEN W. FORTSON, JR., Atlanta, Ga.

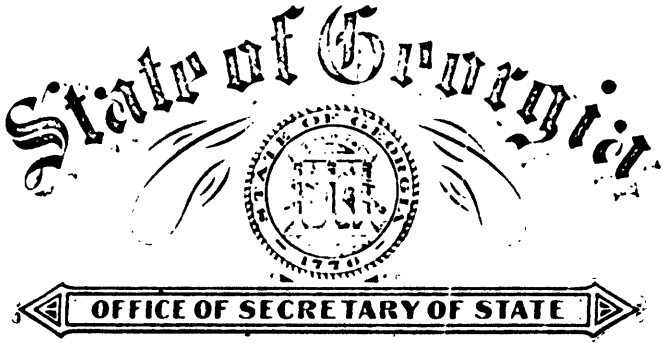
I hereby certify that the above statement furnished the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia for record, as required by law, is correct.

Signed by *S.G. Johnson* DATE October 14, 1964 19__

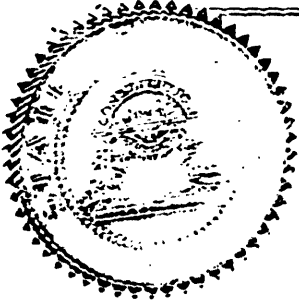
TITLE President

(OVER)

3989



I, Ben W. Fortson, Jr., Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify, that the one page of photographed printed matter hereto attached contain a true and correct copy of the statement for annual registration filed by SOUJOURNER MOTOR FLEET, INC., on the 27th day of October, 1965, as the same appears of file and record in this office.



IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Eight and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Ninety-Third.

Ben W. Fortson, Jr.

SECRETARY OF STATE, EX-OFFICIO CORPORATION
COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

10/27

OCT 27 1965

CERTIFIED STATEMENT FOR ANNUAL REGISTRATION OF A CORPORATION

*THE FOUR PRINCIPAL OFFICERS MUST BE NAMED. H. B. 366, GA. LAW 1965

1268

NAME OF CORPORATION: SOJOURNER MOTOR FLEET, INC.

*PRINCIPAL OFFICER	<u>Mrs. S. G. Johnson</u>	TITLE	<u>President</u>	ADDRESS	<u>360 Nelson St., S. W.</u>
*PRINCIPAL OFFICER	<u>Mrs. Ruby Doris Smith</u>	TITLE	<u>Treasurer</u>	ADDRESS	<u>" " " "</u>
*PRINCIPAL OFFICER	<u>Mrs. Ruby Doris Smith</u>	TITLE	<u>Secretary</u>	ADDRESS	<u>" " " "</u>
*PRINCIPAL OFFICER	<u>Howard Moore, Jr.</u>	TITLE	<u>General</u>	ADDRESS	<u>" " " "</u>
PRINCIPAL OFFICE: (Street and No.)	<u>360 Nelson St., SW</u>	CITY	<u>Atlanta</u>	STATE	<u>Ga.</u>

PRINCIPAL OFFICE IN GA.: (St. and No.) Same CITY _____ STATE _____

AUTHORIZED AGENT IN GA. (If foreign): _____ CITY _____

AGENT'S ADDRESS (If foreign): _____ CITY _____

NATURE OF BUSINESS Non-profit vehicle leasing

WHEN INCORPORATED (Date) June 19, 1964 BEGAN BUSINESS IN GA. (Date) Same

WHERE INCORPORATED (CITY) Atlanta COUNTY Fulton STATE Ga.

BY WHAT AUTHORITY INCORPORATED Order of Superior Court AUTHORIZED CAPITAL STOCK Charitable

TO THE HON. BEN W. FORTSON, JR., SECRETARY OF STATE ATLANTA 3, GA. CAPITAL STOCK ISSUED _____

I hereby certify that the above statement furnished the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia for record, as required by law, is correct.

Signed by [Signature] TITLE President DATE Oct. 27, 1965
President or Secretary

4001

Mr. MANUEL. James Forman, who lives in New York City—

The CHAIRMAN. Is he the man who goes into the churches and demands reparations?

Mr. MANUEL. The very same one.

The CHAIRMAN. He went into a church up there—what church was that?

Mr. MANUEL. One is the Riverside Church. He has been in more than one.

The CHAIRMAN. He went into one in New York and demanded \$500 million. Is this the same Mr. Forman?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

First, what is his position with SNCC?

Mr. MANUEL. He is listed on our chart as a deputy chairman. He is also in charge of the international affairs office of SNCC. We will have more testimony on that.

The CHAIRMAN. He occupied those positions as late as when? Maybe he still does.

Mr. MANUEL. As far as we know, he still does.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the time period for the chart?

Mr. MANUEL. As of June 1968. However, I would like to point out that James Forman, since 1961 through 1966, the election of 1966, served in SNCC as the executive secretary and, as such, according to the constitution, he was responsible for directing the staff and SNCC operations on a day-to-day basis.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. James Forman, who lives in New York City, has been the most influential official of SNCC throughout the 9 years of its existence, in the opinion of law enforcement officials we have consulted who are knowledgeable about SNCC affairs. He has been the principal policymaker, and is largely responsible for the revolutionary stance of the organization. He has never been publicly identified, however, as SNCC's top leader.

The two persons most prominently identified with SNCC philosophy during the black power phase which was initiated in the winter of 1965-66 are, of course, Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael.

Brown is not presently well publicized in relation to SNCC affairs, presumably as a result of his numerous legal problems relating to various criminal charges against him. In June of 1968, he refused to stand again for election as national chairman of SNCC.

Stokely Carmichael was officially fired from his position as field secretary of SNCC on August 22, 1968, and his discharge was announced by SNCC's New York office under control of James Forman.

Carmichael's dismissal is believed to be the result of a conflict within SNCC relating to the short-lived merger of SNCC and the Black Panther Party during 1968. Carmichael chose to remain associated with the Panthers and Forman then had him fired.

On February 17, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver, the minister of information of the Black Panther Party, announced that SNCC and the Black Panthers had merged. On SNCC's behalf, James Forman stated that both groups would retain their individual identities but would

consolidate their forces. A number of important SNCC functionaries were given important-sounding positions in the so-called "government" of the Black Panther Party. Stokely Carmichael was named prime minister; James Forman was appointed minister of foreign affairs; and Rap Brown became minister of justice. Kathleen Neal, who is shown on the SNCC chart as a member of the central coordinating committee, from 1967-68, married Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver and is now minister of communications in the Black Panther Party.

The merger did not last long. Leaders of the Panthers and of SNCC met in New York City in July of 1968 in an effort to solve problems connected with the alliance. The meeting was a failure, and press reports indicated that there was bitterness on both sides. On July 27-28, 1968, SNCC officials met and decided to sever all relations with the Black Panthers. Forman and Brown sent written notification of the decision to the Panthers, and Carmichael subsequently was discharged from SNCC.

SNCC's national headquarters is still located in Atlanta, Ga., at 360 Nelson Street, SW., although much of the organization's business has been conducted in the New York office at 100 Fifth Avenue.

Our latest information is that that office has now moved. We will have further testimony on that aspect.

SNCC has maintained 17 separate regional offices, located in Atlanta, New York, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, St. Louis, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and several offices handling affairs of entire States, in Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and Arkansas, North Carolina and South Carolina.

As has been said, SNCC's original objectives were in the field of improving civil rights for Negroes through nonviolent direct actions such as sit-ins and demonstrations. From the beginning, however, SNCC programs attracted the most militant activists, both Negro and white, in the civil rights movement. In 1965, however, as has been indicated previously, SNCC shifted its course from efforts at integration toward black power and the attainment by the Negro of political and economic strength through the use of "any means necessary," including violence. At the same time, SNCC announced that its objectives were identical with those of the national revolutionary forces in "The Third World," and also began to campaign vigorously against the war in South Vietnam, denouncing the American Government's war policy as racist and claiming that U.S. Negro soldiers fighting in Vietnam were black mercenaries.

There are a great many SNCC documents which clarify and explain the important policy switch in the winter of 1965-66, when SNCC decided to dedicate its resources to black power. In fact, SNCC published a position paper in the winter of 1965-66 which gave a detailed explanation of the thinking behind the black power concept which the organization adopted.

I would like to introduce as an exhibit staff No. SN-10, an edition of a document called soul book, SNCC's controversial position paper on black consciences, in which they explain themselves, what they are talking about.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 416" for reference, and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. Depending upon his audience, Carmichael, the leading spokesman for black power, gave varying interpretations of what he meant by the phrase.

In an article published in the National Guardian in October of 1966, Carmichael said that black power was a demand for appropriate representation and a share of control in areas where Negroes lacked majorities.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time he was making these statements, was he connected with SNCC, and, if so, in what capacity?

Mr. MANUEL. He was national chairman of SNCC at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. National chairman when he was making these statements?

Mr. MANUEL. Right.

Politically, he said, black power means the coming together of black people to elect representatives who will speak for their needs.

On the other hand, in August of 1966, in Cleveland, Ohio, Carmichael spoke thus:

When you talk of black power, you talk of bringing this country to its knees. When you talk of black power, you talk of building a movement that will smash everything western civilization has created. When you talk of black power, you talk of the black man doing whatever is necessary to get what he needs. We are fighting for our lives.

Senator GRIFFIN. At that point, what is the documentation for that quotation?

Mr. MANUEL. Among other things, Senator, this was a direct quote as taken from testimony of J. Edgar Hoover before the House Appropriations Committee.

We have also had the benefit of interviewing police officers in Cleveland who were there at the time and who took the same statement.

Senator GRIFFIN. I think that is important to have in the record. You just quote him and you don't indicate the basis of the quote.

Mr. MANUEL. I will be glad to provide that whenever you want.

He went much further in an interview in Havana, Cuba (FBIS, October 9, 1967, p. 70), quoted in September of 1967:

There is no question, guerrilla warfare is the only way. We will not raise the question of whether it is right or whether it is wrong; we will only raise a tactical question of when do we use it.

At this time, to bring that quote into the record—

The CHAIRMAN. Our Government has that quotation, does it? They monitored it?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have the document?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the document be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 417" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee. An excerpt follows:)

EXCERPT FROM EXHIBIT NO. 417

CARMICHAEL INTERVIEWED BY SUCESOS MAGAZINE

HAVANA IN ENGLISH TO SOUTH AMERICA 2106 GMT 9 SEP 67 E

Excerpts of undated recorded interview given by Stokely Carmichael to Mario Menendez, editor of Mexican Magazine SUCESOS, during Carmichael's stay in Havana

Question. What is the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee?

Answer. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is the organization for which I work and is a group of young black people in the United States who decided to come together to fight racial and economic exploitation.

Question. When and why was it founded?

Answer. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was founded in 1960 by a group of young black students who felt the need to come together and actively fight against racial segregation in the United States. They came together because they felt the older organizations were not doing an effective job and were not actively participating. Most of them were taking their troubles to the courts and we felt that you could not take a problem of the whites' injustice to black people to the courts if those courts were all white. You would be taking an unjust problem to people who themselves were unjust.

It could not be solved that way. The only way to solve it was in the streets. We used the name nonviolent because at that time Martin Luther King was the central figure of the black struggle and he was still preaching nonviolence, and anyone who talked about violence at that time was considered to have committed treason, so we decided that we would use the name nonviolent, but in the meantime we knew our struggle was not about to be nonviolent, but we would just wait until the time was right for the actual (word indistinct) name. We came together, we would coordinate activities between the students wherever we have a nonviolent demonstration.

But after one year many of us decided that demonstrations were not the answer. The only answer was organizing our people. So we moved into the worst state, Mississippi, and began to organize our people to fight. And we are now at the front where we are encouraging people to pick up arms and fight back.

Question. What are the political, social, and economic goals pursued by your organization.

Answer. Politically, we want black people in the United States to be free of oppression. We also want the peoples of the third world to be free from oppression, particularly Africa, Asia, and Latin America. We see that our freedom, our liberation, depends on these people and vice versa, their liberation depends on us, so we must wage the same struggle.

Politically speaking (words indistinct) in the United States we want the right to politically control the communities in which we live. In the United States we cannot do that. The communities in which we live, which they call ghettos, are politically controlled by whites. So in a real sense, we have colonialism inside the United States, just like colonialism in Latin American countries, or I should probably say all the Latin American countries, with the exception of Cuba, are controlled politically from the outside by the United States. Politically, we seek to free those colonies of any political intervention from the outside.

Economically speaking, we want our people to be able to enjoy life and to get all the things they need for a decent life without having to struggle as hard as they now do because they are economically exploited by the imperialist power structure of the United States, just as the colonies outside are economically exploited. We want to be able not only to control the resources inside our communities, but also we want to be able to divide those resources among the people of the (?backward) communities. We do not want to set up, for example, a black capitalist system. We want to economically destroy capitalism because capitalism goes hand in hand with racism and exploitation. Wherever capitalism has gone, those two characteristics are sure to follow, racism and exploitation, so we must destroy the capitalistic system which enslaves us on the inside and the people of the third world on the outside.

Socially, I guess we want what most people want out of life: people who are happy and free and who can live (?better) than they now live and who make and

participate in decisions that affect their lives, and never feel ashamed of the color of their skin or ashamed of their culture. In order for capitalism to exist it must make the people they conquer feel ashamed of themselves, ashamed of their culture, and what we want to do is to make our people ashamed (word indistinct) so that they can feel that they are equal to anybody else psychologically, physically, and morally.

Question. In particular, what are the relations between the colored people of the north and of the south, and, in general, in the whole United States of America?

Answer. The black people who are living in the north are first-generation people, that is to say, it is the first generation of black people that has been born in the north. Most of the people in the north migrated from the south right after World War II. They migrated from the south because racial discrimination was the (worst) and most brutal in the south and they were told that in the north people did not care about the color of your skin. It did not matter, there were opportunities and a good job if you just worked hard.

And we believed that nonsense and packed our bags and went north. But what we found when we got north was that life was the same. So the [word indistinct] that we found in the north was that there is nowhere in the United States where you can go under the capitalistic system and enjoy a decent way of life. So what you have now are people without faith in any of the legal systems [words indistinct]. So the relationship has become very strong because people from the south no longer look to the north as an escape, and we now see that the only way that we are going to get out of the capitalistic system and gain our liberation is that both of us join hands and see ourselves as one people.

What you have now across the United States is a feeling of solidarity among black people wherever we are, and our saying is that when they touch one, they have to touch all. That saying is more than a slogan because it now has meaning. Every time a racist police dog shoots one of us they have to fight the entire city, and now it is not only one city, they have to fight several cities, so the black feeling of solidarity is very, very near.

Question. Some persons think Negroes in the United States only think of the fight as a racial conflict against the whites instead of interpreting it as a class struggle. What do you have to say on this matter?

Answer. Well, that is very, very important, because in the United States racism is so strong it is almost impossible to get white people to struggle against it, and there are many reasons for that. Most of the poor whites, the white working class in the United States, when they organize, their fight is never a fight for the redistribution of land. Their fight is a fight for more money. All they want is more money. They do not have any concept of the distribution of wealth because they are so capitalistic in their own approach. So what happens is that the ruling class in America then begins to exploit other countries in the third world to make more money. When they get more of those profits, they share those profits with the white working class.

But the ruling class never cuts down on its profits. As a matter of fact, it makes more. Once it begins to share its profits with the working class, the working class becomes part and parcel of the capitalist system and they enjoy blood money. They enjoy so much the money that is exploiting other people that they are then incapable of fighting the system, because they are a part of it from accepting the blood money. So it is hard to develop a white working class revolutionary consciousness. What you have then is white people who are fighting to save their money.

For example, that is why you cannot find white working class people in the United States who oppose the war in Vietnam, because it is from the war in Vietnam that they enjoy the life they are living and the luxuries they have. If they opposed the war in Vietnam, they would be smashing the system. Unfortunately, they do not recognize that if they smashed that system they could build a better system for themselves, but they are so afraid of giving up the dollars that they now have, that they hang on to it and fight to keep the system going. So what you do have at this point, unfortunately, is black people waging the fight and interpreting it as a black-white struggle, which it does, in fact, become because the white working class begins to attack us, because they are afraid that we will destroy their way of life.

We believe that the only way to develop white working class revolutionary consciousness is for the United States to begin losing its profits that it gets from the

third world. Once it begins to lose that and its profits are cut down and it must begin to turn inward for the means of livelihood, then and only then will the white working class develop a revolutionary consciousness. What that means is that at this time we will struggle. We would like white working class people to struggle with us. Whether they do or not does not make any difference; we will struggle. When they finally join the fight, we will welcome them, but until that time we will struggle.

And another reason why it is (so) is because the white ruling class in America recognizes Marx' concept of the inevitable class conflict. In order to avoid an inevitable class conflict in the United States they exploit the third world and bring the money from the third world into the United States and share it with the working class.

So what you now have is just a postponement of inevitable class conflict. What has developed around the world is that the third world has become the proletariat and the white Western society has become the bourgeoisie. So when you have lines drawn along lines of color, it is also class because of the way white Western society has incorporated most of its working class. What is precisely what Europe did when it sat down and divided up Africa and Latin America. It avoided inside its countries the inevitable class conflict. But that cannot be postponed anymore; the confrontation is here.

And finally, I think that people outside the United States recognize, unlike any other people, that we were the only people who were made slaves inside the continent by the people who were exploiting us. Other people were slaves in their own countries, so that when they fought they could develop a nationalistic concept as a point of unity. We were brought to the United States, which is the most vicious thing that the United States could have done. So we cannot develop a nationalistic concept, our concept must be around our color, because it was our color which was the deciding factor in making us slaves. So our color is, in a sense, our nationality, because what the white man has done is to scatter black people from Africa throughout the United States, through the Caribbean into Cuba, into Brazil, and all the way up through South America, and we are just (?planted) all over these countries without any nationality.

Now in Cuba the African has a concept of nationality because they were exploited along with the whites in Cuba. So they called themselves Afro-Cubans and can feel a part of the Cuban system, especially since the revolution. Unfortunately, for us in the United States that cannot be done because for 400 years we have been the victims of brutal fascism and no white man has ever come to our defense, real defense, except John Brown. All of the others talk, they talk, but none of them are actually willing to fight to destroy the system of which they are a part.

Question. What relations exist between the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement? How do you see the interrelation between the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their independence and the fight of the Negroes in the United States? How do you see the fight of the Negro people of the United States as they help the Puerto Rican, and the unity between the two organizations?

Answer. Now, Brother Malcolm taught us that we must internationalize our struggle. In an effort to follow some of his teachings, we started with Puerto Rico. We started with Puerto Rico for many reasons. Number one, it is very close to the United States in terms of geographic position. Number two, it is a real U.S. colony in every sense. And thirdly, a large number of people who live in the ghettos of the United States with us are Puerto Ricans.

And what we find happening is that we were fighting Puerto Ricans. Instead of joining hands with our Puerto Rican brothers and fighting the system that oppresses both of us, we were made to fight each other while the white policeman sat around and laughed. So we thought one of the ways to start raising the political consciousness of our people to join hands with the Puerto Ricans was to physically go to the island of Puerto Rico and raise questions of independence. That worked very, very well, because prior to this year if the police attacked the Puerto Ricans, blacks would not do anything. As a matter of fact, we were likely to join sides with the police and help beat the Puerto Ricans. And if a policeman attacked a black man, the Puerto Ricans would not do anything, they would probably join hands with the police and beat us.

But this year, because we have been able to raise the question and raise the political consciousness of both groups, when the police attacked Puerto Ricans

in New York, blacks and Puerto Ricans took to the streets together to fight the police. The same thing happened in Newark, and the same thing is happening in Chicago. So that trip enabled us to raise political consciousness, and we were able to sit down and bring both groups together and begin to talk about fighting the system that oppresses both of us.

Question. What sort or type of fight will develop in the United States against the imperialist policy? Do you think that the armed way is the only way left for the North American people to obtain the government? What is your opinion on revolutionary violence as compared with reactionary violence?

Answer. When we say that we insist, we say very clearly that the only solution is black revolution and that we are not concerned with peaceful coexistence. Armed struggle, for a number of reasons, is the only way, not only for us but for all oppressed people around the world. People who talk about peaceful coexistence are talking about maintaining the status quo. The only way that you can disrupt an imperialistic system is by force. You do not disrupt it with talk. That has been crystal clear to us. It has been crystal clear to us especially because for 400 years the majority of African-Americans in the United States have been talking, talking, and talking, and the reason is because when you talk you play the imperialist game. They invented the game of talk, and when you talk, you talk in their language.

But now we have a new game. It is called guerrilla warfare. They cannot play our game, and if you want to win a game, you have to make the rules. If somebody else makes the rules, they will always win. The imperialists have made the rules of talk, so when you sit down to talk with them you can not possibly win. They will always find a reason why they cannot do this now, or why they could not do it then, and they will seem very rational and you will sit there and try to reason with them on their grounds, in their terms, but they cannot do that. In the first place, they have no right to oppress people, so there is no need to talk about oppression. They have absolutely no right to oppress and to exploit anybody else, so to begin talks about freeing yourself from exploitation and oppression from the people who oppress you is ridiculous. It is like a slave sitting down with his master and talking to his master about when his master is going to set him free. That is nonsense. The master has no business enslaving him. So all the slave has to do is get up and kill the master if the master refused to stop enslaving him. That is the only solution.

So it is crystal clear, as far as we are concerned: armed struggle, that is all, no time for talk. We have talked and talked and talked and talked for too long. You must disrupt the system by any means necessary.

Now, secondly, reactionary violence can be legitimized by people in power. For example, if I were to shoot a man who had slanted eyes, it depends if I shot him in the United States or if I shot him in Vietnam, there would be two different reactions. If I shot 30 men who had slanted eyes in Vietnam and they happened to be Vietnamese, I would get a medal, because I would be in the army. If I shot 30 people who had slanted eyes or one person who had slanted eyes in the United States, in New York, I would get the chair, the electric chair for murder.

So it is never a question of violence. It is a question of who can legitimize violence, that is all. A policeman can shoot and kill anybody he wants to kill for any reason and go to court and say "I did it in line of duty," and they will let him go. But a man who shoots a policeman is automatically going to jail, so you never discuss violence as far as we are concerned. It is whether or not you can legitimize it.

And the oppressed people of the world must legitimize violence in their own minds as the way to solve their problems. Once they have legitimized violence, then there is no question, there is no answer, it is just a course of taking what belongs to them. The reactionaries only stay in power by violence. That is the only way they stay in power. However, they legitimize their violence, and they tell everybody else that violence is not the way. Take away the guns from the imperialist forces and see how many people would listen to them. Take away the bases in Santo Domingo, take away the bases in Venezuela, take away the bases in Brazil, take away the bases in Chile, take away the bases all over South America, get the guns out of their hands, and you would see nobody would listen. But it is because of the guns that people are forced to listen, and so the only thing you can do is get yourself guns and the will to fight, and then the answer is clear.

For example, we want you to look at people who are pacifists, and all this nonsense about pacifism. The United States, Britain, France, and Russia developed the atomic and the hydrogen bombs. After they developed the atomic and the hydrogen bomb, then all four of them got together and said "let us stop nuclear tests, there will be no more testing of bombs." And everybody was sitting there and falling for this nonsense because they would say to the people, "We do not want any more bombs and if more people would get bombs it would just mean violence." But what they were doing was that they had the bomb and they were stopping other people from developing the bomb. So they were keeping other people unequal. If everybody is to be equal, everybody must have the bomb. That is the only answer. If some people have the bomb and others do not it is inequality. That is just one example of how the West uses violence as a way to stop other people.

It is crystal clear that the West has developed the best weapons, but weapons can never defeat the will of men to fight, and that is precisely where the world is today. The oppressed people have the will to fight and they are fighting the people who oppress them, and they have weapons. A good example of that would be Vietnam, where the United States, with all of its weapons, cannot defeat a nation so small as Vietnam because they have the will to fight and they are willing to fight to the death rather than let the United States enslave them. That is very important.

And the discussion is never about that, the discussion is of the right of people to defend themselves against aggression. When the United States talked about bombing Cuba and missiles in Cuba, they said that Cuba did not have the right to defend itself. They said that Cuba should not even get antimissiles and the rest of the world was supporting Cuba rather than the United States because the United States had no business (committing) aggression against Cuba, just as they have no business (committing) aggression against Vietnam, and what happens is that the people of Vietnam are fighting not only a defensive war but defensive propaganda. If in fact they begin to accept that definition.

The people of Vietnam have every right to send a bomber over the United States and start bombing the United States. That would be real equality in terms of a fight. That would be real equality, but instead they are now forced to fight a defensive war, and that was the position Cuba was in with the missiles, they were also fighting a defensive war. And people have been telling me about Debray's book, which I have not had a chance to read yet. "Revolution Within a Revolution." Debray points out that we must begin to move beyond defensive wars, and I think that is the next step for the peoples of the third world, to move beyond defensive wars.

Question. What do you think of guerrilla warfare in the American continent to obtain its liberation? What do you think of this sort of fight being developed by the colored people in the country and cities of the United States?

Answer. It is crystal clear to us that the way the imperialists take everything is by force. The only way it has conquered all the countries here is by force. They made the Indian population of Cuba, for example, extinct. They took their land by force. The only way you can remedy that is by force. The only way to use force is to start guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare should never be discussed as to whether it is right or wrong. It is the only way. It is the only way to stop exploitation and oppression. To wage a discussion as to whether it is right or wrong is to play the game of the imperialists. When you are waging a war, there is no right, there is no wrong. It is just what you feel is necessary to obtain your goals, and that is what we must understand, those of us who are in the oppressed world.

There is no question, guerrilla warfare is the only way. We will not raise the question of whether it is right or whether it is wrong, we will only raise a tactical question of when do we use it. That is the only question we should be concerned with. Guerrilla warfare is where we are moving to in the United States, we are going to develop an urban guerrilla warfare, and we are going to beat them in urban guerrilla warfare, because there is one thing the imperialists do not have. Their men do not have the will to fight. They do not have the will to fight. What they call guerrilla warfare is in fact hand to hand combat.

See, their men are cowards. White America is the most cowardly nation in the world. It could send a million troops into Vietnam and they could not kill the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people in hand to hand combat would wipe them out. So what they do is say, "In Vietnam they are fighting guerrilla war-

fare," and you think that guerrilla warfare is dirty, it is not clean, it is not supposed to be done. And they said, "To beat guerrilla warfare we will now send men and planes to drop bombs," and nobody asked, "Is it not more disgusting to send a man in a plane who can drop 50 or 60 bombs on defenseless women and children or use napalm and burn them to death than to fight them hand to hand combat? Which is more honorable?" So that is the question, it is just when we use it. Urban guerrilla warfare is the one way we will beat the United States because they cannot use bombs on us, because we are inside their country. They will have to fight us hand to hand combat. We will win, we will win.

The counterpart of that will be in the south in the countryside where we know the land, where we know the terrain, where we have worked it for years, where the white man is in [word indistinct] with sweat from us.

He has enjoyed us walking all over the countryside. Well, we have walked over it so much so that when we take to the hills there, he does not know it. He will be unable to find us. We will (?hit him), we will be able to beat him in guerrilla warfare. The only way that you can bring white men to their knees is through guerrilla warfare, because guerrilla warfare is the one warfare they cannot fight with their big guns and their big bombs. And that is the one place you beat them because they do not have any guts.

Question. What do you think of solidarity between all countries that fight for their liberation?

Answer. It is the only answer. I think that what we do not recognize, or we have not recognized in the past, is that capitalism has become international, and that we are fighting international capitalism. In order to fight international capitalism, you must wage an international fight. What has happened in the past, for example, is that if one nation was struggling everybody wished that nation good luck, but nobody (served) as part of that same fight. Although they could see that the same countries were oppressing their countries, they still did not make the connection in their minds that that was their common enemy.

Today we have made the connection in our minds. We see a common enemy, so it is crystal clear to us that we are fighting an international structure that enslaves us all. The only way we can beat it is to internationalize our struggle. So you have an international power fighting an international power. That is the only way we can win. If we do what Che says we should do, that is, create two, three, many Vietnams, we will have them fighting on all fronts at the same time and they cannot win.

When we isolate the struggle, they can bring all their power to bear on one country. And once they do that, that country is lost. However, they cannot fight us all at the same time. So even if we do not have the same goals, even if we do not have the same ideas, the same political ideology, we have the same common enemy, and that, if nothing else, is what is going to bring us together.

Question. What do you think of the solidarity organization for Asian, African, and Latin American countries? What does an organization such as yours expect from the AALAPSO?

Answer. Well, one thing is that we are now beginning to more firmly establish our relationship with those groups because we have found out that we must establish firm relations and must do so on an international level. So the first thing we want to do is (?to meet) all the fighters that we read about, to sit down and talk with them, and exchange our ideas. Once we have done that, we can begin to move together, to plot together how to fight for our liberation.

For example, when they start bombing a country or when they start assassinating a liberation, let us say they assassinate a leader of the liberation struggle. A few months ago, they assassinated Ben Bark. See what the rest of us, if we had been together, should have done was to take Johnson, or to take De Gaulle, and put a gun to his head and say "if Ben Barka is not freed in 24 hours, De Gaulle is dead, or Johnson is dead, or Harold Wilson is dead." And not many—any—[interrupts self] But the only way we can do that is to internationalize our struggle, because they have their systems of the CIA and all the other intelligence agencies which are international and work hand in hand with each other, so they can assassinate and carry out coups against governments when they begin to move for their liberation. To protect those governments for inspiration and aid, we must begin to do the same thing to develop them. So I think that is one of the concrete areas in which we can begin to move.

But more important is that once we have seized power, as we will, the question is to begin to develop an international system that will not give vent to capital-

ism, where we can trade with each other on the basis of our needs, on what we need and on what each country has, rather than fight to control the world market where we would set prices for goods by profits and not by the needs of humanity. And that is the concept that we must begin to talk more and more about, because we will find out that as we seize power, unless we have the spirit, the will, and the intelligence of the leaders in Cuba, most of us will end up the way all other countries that have coups or that seize power end up: they will accept the entire bureaucratic structure that the imperialists have imposed on their countries and will not be able to flight it. So we must begin to do that.

The other thing is that we must begin to do is to exchange fighters so that we can understand different areas where the imperialists live. For example, we should begin to exchange fighters with people of Africa and Latin America who are fighting for their liberation so we can set up an international system of guerrilla warfare, and, for example, when we start fighting the real war in the United States, if there are people from other countries who are willing to come to the United States and help us fight, that is well and good, and we will be willing to reciprocate.

We will be willing to go and fight because that is what the capitalists do. Whenever one of their countries is in trouble they send aid to help that country. That is clearly what happened in Israel. Israel is an imperialist country backed by the imperialist West, and when it was in trouble all of them stood behind it and supported it, including France. Every one of them supported it. What we have to do is recognize that once the fight starts, we must also be willing to back up the liberation forces with our men, because they are willing to back them up with their guns, their money, and their men, and we must begin to do the same.

Question. What do you think of the solidarity organization for Latin America? What does an organization as yours expect from LASO?

Answer. Well, this is the First LASO Conference and we are more than honored, happy, and pleased to be here and to be able to share in LASO and to be part of this for many, many reasons. Number one is that Latin America is very close to us geographically. Latin America is one of the areas that the United States really exploits. Many Latin Americans come into the United States. All of those reasons and the closeness of Latin America makes it a necessity that we begin to move.

More importantly, Cuba is part of Latin America, and the United States really wants to crush Cuba, and Cuba is an inspiration to others, not only to blacks in the United States but also to all Latin American countries to begin to struggle and to begin to fight. So it is fitting and proper that LASO should be held in Cuba and that we should come to show our solidarity, not just by talk but also by our willingness to put our life on the line for the struggle in Latin America.

We want to be able to explain to the Latin American countries what our struggle is about, because their only way of getting an explanation now is from UPI and AP, which is the controlled communications system of the imperialists. Vice versa, we cannot get any news about Latin American countries except from UPI and AP, which is again controlled by the imperialists. So what we get is that there are bandits or there is a group of rebel forces or communists fighting in Venezuela or rebel forces took to the streets in Guatemala, Santo Domingo, or Panama. And only through our political awareness to know those groups who really fighting for their country are we able to read through the lies and propaganda that is [word indistinct]. So number one, it is the first time we have had a chance to meet sincere people who are fighting for their liberation struggles and listen to explanations of their ideologies so we can see where the common ground is and understand their struggle and explain to them what our struggle is, without having the propaganda of the imperialist interpreting our struggles to each other. This is the first thing.

The second thing is that, concretely, we must unite our struggles, and that is done just by our mere presence. And thirdly, to begin to counteract the OAS; and the mere fact that we have a conference here is already doing that. It will counteract the OAS and begin to minimize its importance in the minds of our peoples, which is very, very important because the imperialists control the propaganda and can win the minds of our people. And one of the most important fights today is the fight to win the minds of our people, because when we have won the minds of our people there will be no question, they will be ready to fight, and begin setting up systems and ways of helping and aiding each other.

Question. What do you think about the guerrilla leaders like Douglas Bravo from Venezuela, Fabio Vasquez from Colombia, Marulanda from Colombia, Cesar Montes from Guatemala, and the leaders of the Bolivian guerrillas?

Answer. We want to say to our brothers, or comrades, that while they may not know it, that there are many of us who are actually morally pulling for them, who listen very closely and very attentively to any news we can get about their struggles. And we know they are waging a victorious, valiant, and good fight, and that while we do not control the communications system so that we would be able to tell them this, we want them to know that they should never despair and never feel that their fight is in vain or that nobody knows about it.

We know about it and we are 150 percent behind them, and the day is not far off when they can come out in the open and together we can join hands and build a world that we are working to build. Our only word to them is to not despair and keep up the fight because there are many of us out here who are depending on them. We look to them for inspiration and hope.

Question. What do you think of the Vietnam aggression?

Answer. I think it is the most disgusting aggression in the world today. I think it is the height of cowardice displayed by the United States. I think that today it is the filthiest war that has ever been, and I think, because of that and along with the will of the Vietnamese people, the United States is going to lose the war.

Question. What made you come to Cuba?

Answer. Well, when the Cuban revolution was being waged I was a young boy but we were very interested in it. My interest was heightened by the fact that when the prime minister of Cuba, Fidel Castro, came to the UN he lived in Harlem with black people. He came to the hotel Theresa, and that meant that our connection with Cuba became a real one in the sense that their prime minister, unlike all other prime ministers who come to the country, came to live in a ghetto with us while he stayed in the United States. And we have always felt that we owed something to Cuba, at least that same visit which they bestowed on us by their prime minister.

Secondly, we have always known that the Cuban revolution is a good revolution. And, unlike most of the people in the United States—white United States—who question the Cuban revolution, we never questioned it, we know it is good. We just came to Cuba to learn, and, in the few days that we have been here, what we have gotten out of the Cuban revolution we could never get out of books, movies, or anything else. By just being able to be here, to live among a free people, and to understand and see how they are solving their problems is beyond comprehension. That is what we came to do, we came to learn. We have learned quite a bit.

Question. What do you think of the prime minister of Cuba, Fidel Castro?

Answer. He is the greatest man I have ever met.

Question. What do you think of Che Guevara and what he has said about the revolution in America and Latin America and the whole world?

Answer. We agree 150 percent with Che. He is becoming one of the most widely read men in black United States today. Black people are reading Che wherever you go, and not only that, Che is being read around the world. One of the reasons I think that people appreciate and respect Che because he has not only talked about revolution but has gone and helped make one. Even after winning a revolutionary struggle for power in his country, he did not settle back in his country, but left his wife and went on to other countries to help wage the fight, to sacrifice his very life. You do not find men like that every day.

Question. The fight you are developing in the United States signifies for people, for outsiders, that you have signed your death sentence. What do you think, or how to say, about that?

Answer. Brother Malcolm used to tell us that there were several types of death. I think a dehumanized people who do not fight back are a dead people. That is what the West has been able to do to most of us. They dehumanized us to the point where we would not even fight back. Once you have begun to fight back, you are alive, you are alive, and bullets do not kill you. If you do not fight back, you are dead, you are dead, and all the money in the world cannot bring you alive. So we are alive today, we are alive all over the world. All of our black people are coming alive because they are fighting back. They are fighting for their humanity. They are doing the type of thing that Fidel talks about. When you become alive, you want to live so much that you fight to live. See, when you

are dead, when you do not rebel, you are not fighting to live, you are already dead. Well, we are alive and we love life so much that we are willing to die for it. So, we are alive. Death cannot stop us.

Mr. MANUEL. In a 7 page report dated May 5, 1967, the chairman at that time, Stokely Carmichael, reported to the Central Coordinating Committee on the topic, "Where SNCC Now Is." Part of his remarks were:

It seems perfectly clear that we are without a doubt vocally the most militant organization in the civil rights movement and the most militant organization taking opposition to the war in Vietnam.

It means that clearly, then, we are looked to not only by people inside the U.S. as being the most radical organization, the organization that is ready to do business with the oppressors in this country, but around the world and particularly the Third World. We are looked to as the organization inside the U.S. who is ready to lay the foundation for revolution.

In the same report, Carmichael had this to say about "The Aim of SNCC":

Let it be clear in all our minds that the aim of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is to liberate the oppressed black people in this country from political, economical, and social oppression by any means necessary and it should also be stated that our aim is to help in the fight for the Third World. Help them in any way we can to help their struggle, a struggle for true humanity.

In the same document, Carmichael addressed himself to SNCC in relationship with the poverty program as follows:

I think it is very important that we talk about our relation with the poverty program and other federal programs which as I think as the black community becomes more militant, they will be pouring more money into even given the Vietnam war.

These are his words I am using:

I think that our policy should be clear. We should begin to fight these programs, we should control them. If it is not possible to control them, then we should disrupt them. If we cannot control any program inside the Black community, then we ought to disrupt it.

At this time I would like to introduce in evidence Exhibit SN-12, which is a report from the chairman given by Stokely Carmichael, 5 May 1967, to the SNCC committee.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 418" for reference, and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 418

Where SNCC Now Is:

It seems perfectly clear that we are, without a doubt, vocally the most militant organization in the Civil Rights Movement and the most militant organization taking opposition to the war in Vietnam. It means that, clearly then, we are looked to not only by people inside the United States as being the most radical organization; the organization that is ready to do business with the oppressors in this country, but around the world and particularly the Third World, we are looked to as the organization inside the United States who is ready to lay the foundation for a revolution. This is very important for several reasons.

Number one, what it means that people outside the United States will look to us to begin to link up with us, especially the people in the Third World and that means that as we move we must be very, very careful. Number two, it means that groups inside the country have to use us so that they can serve their own ends by saying they know us and have some relations with us and put them in a better position with radical groups inside the country.

Thirdly it means that all of the militants inside the black community in this country who do not identify with any particular group will now be ready and willing to assemble themselves around SNCC. That is going to create for us a

number of problems, because many of them talk a lot and are not willing to do anything, but that the people who are really serious will also be attracted to us. Our job then is to begin to weed out and get around us the people who are really serious.

Fourthly, and I think this is most important, it will mean that inside our organization we will begin to be infiltrated by agents who are black whose job it will be to disrupt and destroy this organization by any means necessary and that means finally, that we have to understand where we are at. We must then be prepared to wage a fight against this country inside the country and to begin to wage a fight against agents that we find in our organization and to begin to move to that by any means necessary.

The Aim of SNCC:

Let it be clear in all our minds that aim of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is to liberate the oppressed black people in this country from political, economical and social oppression by any means necessary. And it should also be stated that our aim is to help in the fight of the Third World; help them in any way we can to help further their struggle, a struggle for true humanity.

We aim to do this by awakening black community to an awareness of a blackness, that is, black consciousness. We aim to awaken the community and secondly, we aim to bring to the black community a political awareness which does now exist, on a mass basis and to the masses in the black students in this country. We aim to begin to articulate a philosophy for black students in this country that will begin to bring the best minds that we have back into the black community using their skills to benefit our community. And therefore, we aim to radicalize and politicize the black college campuses. But let it be said that that is not the only place we intend to work or is it going to be central to our organization. We are to work with the black oppressed people of this country. They happen to be the sharecroppers in the South and the ghetto dwellers in the North. That, then, is where our work is. That's where we must go.

On a more specific basis, we must begin to say that all of the institutions within the black community in this country are to be controlled by black people and that the people are to decide which black people are to control these institutions must be the black people of that given area; that those black people cannot be picked by white people. And that we intend to control all the institutions; the police department, the Board of Education, the welfare depts., the health depts., the housing projects, the grocery stores; all of the institutions that affect our lives.

We are now open to such controllers as the electoral processes. It is the thinking of indeed most of us in SNCC that the electoral process is not really a meaningful way to either, one, bring about changes we seek to bring about or, two; to allow people to get the things they need on a day-to-day basis. That is, an ability to channel their grievances where those grievances can be met and taken care of. Coupled with this, is the fact that we have all become dissatisfied with the major parties in this country. We have been one of the first groups, at least in this period, to advocate an independent party for black people. It is now being picked up by a number of black people. I think that most of the work that has been going on for a third party has been vocal except maybe for Alabama. There are new signs of it in Mississippi. There was one, of course, in Philadelphia but there has been a lot of confusion around that. My own feeling is that a lot of it was created confusion to disrupt any movement into a third party and that there are some people in other areas about creating a third party.

I believe that all political programs should be the advocate independent political organizing for black people in two ways. One, where we can form independent political parties at this time, as in the case in Alabama, as the case in Mississippi or as is the case in Georgia, we should immediately begin to form those independent parties not only in areas where black people are a majority but also in areas where black people form over one-third of the voting age population.

Secondly, we must begin to advocate that where black people are under one-third of the voting age population, they should organize themselves independently and form a block in one of the major parties, whichever one they are voting in so that there will be black republicans or black democrats but always moving as an independent block agitating for their same interests. The reasons that

we have to advocate this is that it is crystal clear in my mind that the interests of the masses of black people at this point are about the same and that we to use our lobbying power as black people rather than as democrats or republicans. I think most people recognize this. I just want to repeat it so we can have before us something for discussion.

I think that when we talk about starting independent parties we need to talk about SNCC itself; about the organizers. It is my feeling that we need organizers for this organization. I guess this is everybody's feeling. The organizers that are going to organize X county, he must have knowledge of that county. He must know how that county is divided into political areas, whether they are beats, subbeats, townships, or what have you. He must know the makeup of that political area, the population of the political area, black population, white population; who is in control, who controls the executive chairman of that party who controls that county, all of that information he must have at his hand. There can be no way in which we can escape the hard work of sitting down and reading and gathering information on a given locality if in fact we are going to work in that area.

Now let that be enough for the organizers until we get to the structure of SNCC and then we can deal with that a little bit more.

We ought to talk about voter registration on programs as it applies to our politics. We cannot, as a group of people, just register black people and leave them hanging. We should not register people unless we have an organization which they can join. To register them and leave them hanging is to register them for the democratic party and the AFL-CIO who will swoop them and take them up. I want to repeat that because I think it must become clear in our minds, we should not register anyone to vote unless we have an organization which we can put that registered voter into and that organization will tell the voter how to vote—how to vote. Now perhaps, we can state very clearly how we want these independent parties to come about and we can repeat this and begin to concretize some of the things we discussed at our last staff meeting.

One of the things was that we can try to see if we can get the black panther to be the emblem of most of these parties. I do not think at this period we will have as much trouble since the black panther has become the symbol of black power and certainly, black power has captured the minds of black people in America so that we have been able to define the type of atmosphere that will be conducive to the type of organizing we now have to do. The question is whether or not we can gather from the momentum we created and begin to work for the benefit of black people in this country. This is the question that rests with us. We should move on.

We have to organize the black community; every aspect of it. We must be organized from youth right on up to grandmothers. Now, I think that we recognize we are organizing the black community to take over the institutions inside that community.

Therefore, to begin to give practice to the black community in taking over those things, we must go back to setting up para-structures. These para-structures will be exact replica of the structures which they will begin to take over. For an example of that would be the IS 201 in New York where the parents set up a parent Board of Education which was then able to wage and bargain for power until they became part of the official board of education.

Now we can begin to do those things and for us there can be several ways which we can begin to utilize black students. One of them is, that is clear to me, if we talk about really waging a fight for waging black ideology in the country that we must talk about controlling our own schools and the curriculum that those schools are to have. That means we can begin to have liberation schools. I want to use the word "liberation" as opposed to freedom schools because I think in every way that we can we must begin to hook up our people with the peoples of the Third World and we must, therefore, use the same words that they use and liberation schools is a word that comes from the Third World and personally, I like it much better than I do freedom anyhow.

In those liberation schools we can begin to teach African history, African culture, and Swahili. That is, wherever we can find people who know Swahili we can begin to teach it and begin to teach Black history. I do not think that we should have the type of freedom schools that we had in '64. I think they are archaic and do not begin to meet the needs of the black community, that they should be reading nothing but books by black people and reading about themselves and they should be young children and the pictures on the wall should be nothing

but black women who have naturals. Now we can begin to do that in other forms for other areas in the black community.

We can begin to utilize black law students whose job it will be to counsel black youth who get in trouble with the police and that we should be willing to give them any type of aid we can for any type of trouble they get into with the police except one. If they commit a crime against black people, we will not in any way help them. No matter what the causes are . . . It is clear to all of us now that the country will punish us for all sorts of trouble but they will not punish us for a crime against another black person and that has been calculated. For us to counteract that and to build love for black people in this country for each other we must begin to counter-act that.

These are just suggestions for law students that I have been thinking about. I think that law students would apply more for ghetto areas than for the rural South. However, in the rural south we can begin to get black students to begin to handle the problems that black people face and that we should not just limit those troubles to the areas of civil rights. We must begin to broaden it if we are going to enter the black community.

I think that we must begin to move into the high schools because I want to talk specifically about the war in Vietnam, about the draft. It is crystal clear to me that the draft program advocated by white people in this country are for college students. Most of our people do not attend college. Most of them are lucky if they get out of high school so we must get a draft program that speaks to high school people out of necessity. Our draft program cannot speak the same type of language that does the peace movement and that is clear to all of us. We must talk about something practical. We can begin to organize our draft program since up to this time we have not had any successful draft program. We can begin to organize high school students to all file conscientious objector forms as a beginning. That would begin to tie up, in most of the given draft board areas, the local draft boards for several months if we can begin to file as CO and then, of course, the more militant ones who just completely refuse to go, we can begin to use them as examples to begin to make that stand more militant and give some strength to our young brothers in high school. That program can be aided by posters and leaflets but that the hard job that we are talking about now is organizing, organizing, organizing and that must be drummed into the heads of all of us. **WE MUST ORGANIZE.**

We have been able in the last year to change the milieu of the country in terms of how it views Civil Rights. Our job now is **TO ORGANIZE.**

Briefly, we should list a few things. Number one, our fund raising must now become secondary to our political ideology. We cannot any longer fund raise unless that fund raising is a political act. We must recognize that in the black community outside of the Garvey movement, every other movement was financially successful, that is, it was able to sustain itself, all of them are religious movements including the Muslims. Black people must be trained to support their political movements. The very act of supporting that political movement becomes a political act. And that then, is the job that now faces us: that we begin to make our fund raising subjugated to our political ideology, not that we just fund raise. We can no longer begin to fund raise with the tone which we speak in abstract. We can only fund raise with the tone we have from the people where we work.

In addition to doing that, we will begin to bring the black community together if we have programs advocated for the benefit of the black community then, out of necessity they will begin to support us. It is a challenge to give our people the discipline of giving money to a political movement. It must be crystal clear in our minds that black people can support their movements as is clearly demonstrated by their religious movements.

Now I believe they have to become very serious if we talk about laying the foundations for a revolution. That many in the South we must begin self-defense committees. That these defense committees must be brought about actively or passively, overtly or covertly. We have no alternative but to recognize that the type of organizing that we talk about, this country is not going to tolerate and if we have got people to do the type of organizing we demand of them, we have to begin to protect them.

In the North, we should set up patrol cars, perhaps similar to some of the things in Watts, where you can begin to watch the police. This begins to cut down the police brutality, but more important it begins to have black people focus their attention on you because you become bad enough to silence the big, bad policemen.

I think it is very important that we talk about our relation with the poverty program and other federal programs which as I think as the black community becomes more militant, they will be pouring more money into even given the Vietnam war. I think that our policy should be clear. We should begin to fight those programs, we should control them. It is not possible to control them, then we should disrupt them. If we cannot control any program inside the black community, then we ought to disrupt them.

I am not quite sure that the role of demonstration for the black community has played out. What I observed on the Spring Mobilization on April 15th in New York was that most of the white people who came, just came, the real movement and spirit of that march came from the Harlem contingent which was very militant. I think the black community has a streak of militancy. Now Bayel is organizing on the 17th of May a march (all-black) against the draft in Washington. I think that we ought to observe that closely and see just what the action is because I think a lot of black people who heretofore had never participated in demonstrations are now beginning to participate because that nonsense about nonviolence has been lifted and a lot of them had been willing to participate but were not willing to let hunkies hit on them are now beginning to come to the front. So demonstrations might still serve a purpose. That is perhaps, demonstrations can be used to arouse the black community rather than arouse the conscience of the white community.

Finally then, there are many states where it is impossible to have an independent political party. I think if we are working in any of those states our job is to begin to agitate for the organizing of independent political parties. Now there will be a lot of groups who will also agitate for that. Maybe those groups will be right wing groups, certainly a large number of groups that advocate white supremacy. I think it is possible for us to form coalitions with those groups to fight for the right of organizing new parties in that given state; once we have established that right then we can split and begin to organize our people as we see fit and to form new coalitions if we can with other groups which will help to bring about our programs.

I end this here for two reasons. Number one that I know we are given to read just yet and this is something that we ourselves must develop and that I don't want to bore you with a long paper. And secondly, I just wanted to briefly outline a number of concepts that I picked up around the country which will allow us to have the topic discussion that we need to go over and then moving on to develop a hard line philosophy that will guide our action in the future.

Mr. MANUEL. We have a one-page press release from SNCC headquarters in Atlanta. This release states that during a staff meeting held in May 1967, the organization voted that SNCC is a human rights organization interested not only in human rights in the United States, but throughout the world.

The second paragraph of this single-page press release states:

We shall seek to build a strong nationwide black antidraft program and movement to include high school students along with college students and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men who are daily murdered physically and mentally in this country to go and kill yellow people abroad who have done nothing to us who are, in fact, victims of the same oppression that our brothers in Vietnam suffer.

At this time I would like to introduce as an exhibit staff No. SN-13, which is the press release I just referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 419" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. A document called "Proposals for SNCC Programs Revolving Around Black College Campuses," dated May 6, 1967, was submitted by Karen Edmonds and Ethel Minor, both shown on the chart. This document contains six proposals giving support to the

concept that SNCC should devote much time and effort to organizing the black college campuses and to utilize students at these campuses to the fullest extent in future SNCC programs.

At this time, I would like to introduce staff exhibit No. SN-14, which is that proposal given by the central coordinating committee staff members Karen Edmonds and Ethel Minor to the central committee.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 420" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 420

PROPOSAL FOR SNCC PROGRAM REVOLVING AROUND BLACK COLLEGE CAMPUSES

(Submitted by Karen Edmonds and Ethel Minor)

Several staff members here in Atlanta have discussed and agreed that SNCC's major thrust in the next few years should be to organize in areas where there are black college campuses, and to utilize those students to the fullest extent in our work. We propose this for the following reasons and wish to emphasize the following factors:

1. We are presently operating with extremely limited resources and personnel. The black college campuses would supply us with students, many of whom are already receptive to SNCC's philosophy, and who would work with SNCC staff people in organizing the black community.

2. This does not mean that SNCC will overlook the grass-roots community, or "brothers off the block." Right now, there are not enough of us to cover all the pool-halls, bars, or grass-root communities. If we choose target areas where there are sizeable black colleges, then those students could become activated and used to work on SNCC projects.

3. This is a very good way to get the black colleges to serve the interest of the black communities, get these students relating to and involved with the problems facing the masses of black people. The resources of these schools could be used for the benefit of the surrounding black community.

4. The recent campus tour revealed that black students are becoming more aware of the problems facing us, and are indeed, receptive to SNCC and SNCC's philosophy. We must not lose this opportunity to politicize these students NOW, get them involved in the movement, and begin to actively involve them in the struggle for black liberation.

In some of the letters sent to us by Charlie and Julius from North Vietnam, they point out that the revolution and government there truly belongs to the people, they have a government controlled by the rural farm people—but, it was the intellectuals of North Vietnam who first began to move to organize and politicize the masses. We feel that although the masses of black people are alienated, frustrated, and anxious to strike out against "whitey" or "the system", they still have no definite plan, are unorganized, and have no political ideology around which to move. SNCC does not have the people or resources to politicize all of these people. At this point, we feel that we are in the stage where we must activate and politicize the students, who will, in turn, move now and in the future to politicize and organize the entire black communities.

5. An example of what we propose would be, if Stokely goes to D.C. to organize, he should get Howard U. students involved actively in his organizing, get their support, use the resources of Howard, etc. He could then move toward getting ghetto control over Howard, since the students and residents in black community would be working together.

6. We do not propose that SNCC projects, such as Alabama and West Point, Mississippi should be discontinued, but only that projects developed in the future work in those areas where they can activate black students to participate in organizing the black communities.

Mr. MANUEL. Another document which deals with the SNCC campus program is an eight-page report of a campus program meeting held on February 16, 1967. In this report, the following objectives of the campus program are enumerated.

1. Control students' minds;
2. Radicalize the student body;
3. Establish SNCC-oriented groups of students and contact with sympathetic professors;
4. Establish institutionalized propaganda mechanisms;
5. Develop a hard-core cadre in the freshman class;
6. Antidraft propaganda;
7. University reform;
8. Direct students to work in black community;
9. Pull in personnel for SNCC programs.

Implementation of these objectives, according to this document, was discussed briefly, including these points:

1. Get students in SNCC group to gain control of existing college publication and/or establish independent publications.
2. Get positions in administrative organs of college, i.e., student government, student faculty committees, etc.
3. Students should hold various brief conferences on specific topics of current political concern to black people.
4. Students should raise money for SNCC within the community and the college.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce in evidence the report of the campus program meeting which, incidentally, was given by Campus Coordinator George Washington Ware, on February 16, 1967, to a SNCC group.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 421" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 421

CAMPUS PROGRAM MEETING

George Ware opened the workshop with a statement on the need for SNCC to develop a comprehensive program for college students, both to pull resources into SNCC and to broaden the movement. In line with strengthening the campus program, the Central Committee has decided that SNCC should sponsor a national conference of black students to pull together black students from all over the country to discuss their responsibilities to the black community and our struggle. The proposed summer project will also strengthen the relationship between SNCC and the black college student.

One of the SNCC programmatic ideas to be incorporated into the campus program was a proposal introduced by Jim Forman which will engage skilled Afro-Americans in assisting the development of African countries, called the Afro-American Service Bureau. He opened the discussion of the proposal with several facts: that 56% of all black students in this country attend the 144 black schools, that 60% of all black people in the country live in the South, and 1/4 of them live in Southern cities. Approximately one half if not more of entering freshmen in black schools do not graduate, revealing some lack in motivation. In terms of working with black students, therefore, the Southern colleges are most important in terms of developing militancy and a sense of community among black people.

Traditionally, most of SNCC's leadership has come from black colleges. Now the organization has decided to reestablish units on Southern campuses. Jim stated that his work in the International Affairs Bureau is significant in relation to developing units or constituencies at Southern colleges. The three areas he discussed were: 1) the kind of organizations or units to be developed on the campuses, 2) the relationship between the CIA and NSA, and 3) the program of the African Desk of the International Affairs Bureau.

NATURE OF STRUCTURE

The organizational framework of campus SNCC chapters should be consistent with SNCC's organizational structure, i.e. there should be organizing, political, economic, cultural, educational, housing, fund raising, and public relations committees. The public relations and fund-raising committees would be responsible for propagandizing on campus, the organizing committee for creating a political awareness on the campus and within the community, and the other committees would be responsible for developing information and distributing information received from SNCC in their specific areas. Hence, the SNCC program committee will be responsible for feeding the material they develop into the corresponding committees in the campus units.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUREAU AFRICAN DESK

In terms of the International Affairs Bureau, there are four desks: African, Caribbean, Latin American, and Asian. There will be two aspects to the African Desk program, the African Alert and the Afro American Service Bureau. The African Alert will be a newsletter of no more than four pages, essentially containing announcements of events and a call to action. It would be sent to campus SNCC groups as a matter of course. Longer, more informational articles, etc. would be put in the Afro American Report, which should also be sent to campus groups. A program of discussion groups, seminars, and brief, one day, on-campus conferences would be scheduled, directed less and less to external resource people and more and more to developing what is on the campus.

The Afro American Service Bureau will discover and recruit skilled black people within the US who would be available after a very careful selection to go to Africa and work, will create a skill bank for Africa. This program will to some extent be in competition with the Peace Corps, which is being cut out of several African countries and was never established in many, and with Crossroads Africa, but will meet a need that neither program does.

The need for such a service is very definite. In most of the African countries that have acquired political independence, there is a great lack of technical skills. Although independent, these countries must rely on European civil servants to run their countries. Also, if we talk about relating to Africa we must be able to provide some service to Africa, for the need exists and will be filled by whoever is available, for the most part, white Americans and Europeans at this point. Afro Americans who are concerned about relating to Africa must be willing to donate time and energy to and make sacrifices for Africa's growth.

People in this country also need to be prepared for the liberation struggles which will arise in Central and South Africa. Perhaps we can mitigate against some of the activities that this country will take against African guerrilla war. The people accepted by the African governments will create a bank of skilled, experienced, and liberation oriented people. In some instances, it can be similar to the summer project of 1961.

SNCC's Campus Program can be instrumental in spreading this idea, finding skilled people who would be interested in this kind of program, and in selecting applicants. Many people will not be willing to work for SNCC; but they have some skill that would be useful to an African country. The people on this program must be willing to accept direction from a person in authority who may, in many cases, have less education and skills than he does. Most black Africans are suspect of Americans--with good reason--and the CIA has been sending blacks to Africa and is presently recruiting on black campuses. There are a whole lot of black students willing to work for the CIA and FBI. Also, people may turn sour once they get to Africa. There is no reason for any radical group to assume that there are not CIA agents within it, what it has to do is outflank them. But the program would be set up so that the institution, supervision, training, and surveillance of these people would be carried out by the African government; if there is any trouble, the person should be immediately sent home.

For an experimental project, we should try to select from a very broad range of people 5 to 15 at the most out of 150 applicants to be sent to one country. The success of the experimental project will be determined in the light of our own relationship with the African countries.

The finances of the program would be handled jointly: SNCC would raise the money for transportation to Africa, and the government of the country will pay the person subsistence wages, and provide housing, and if necessary, transportation. Their living stipend would be cut far below the civil service wage scale. There are concerned Afro Americans willing to make sacrifices along these lines, and SNCC more than any other organization is in a position to find and approach these people.

High priority should be given first to people in agriculture, and to teachers, both in great demand in Africa. Third, there is a tremendous need for stenographers and secretaries. Most college people are not trained to do anything other than teach or be social workers or work in the poverty program. But the best administrators are not people trained in business administration but people who have a broad background and experience in dealing with many different situations. Secretaries are not considered in the same sense as in the U.S. but are low level administrative positions, not only clerical, demanding broader experiences. Also, retired people would be good prospects. People retired at 65 have not outlived their usefulness, and also, age is highly respected in Africa. Given the fact that the program is based on subsistence pay, it will eliminate for the most part people with families. However, African governments are willing to pay highly for certain skills. That such a service is wanted and needed has been established in SNCC's direct contact with the foreign ministers and prime ministers of certain African countries as well as with lower level administrators. Southern schools are very important in terms of this program. Many of them still offer training in trades and agriculture. People working in the campus program must try to convince skilled people, especially in these areas, to want to work in Africa.

Forman indicated that we intend to play it very open with the African governments and insist that anyone who is not functioning be sent home immediately. SNCC must do this to preserve its relationship with the country and to insure the success of future projects.

Gwen Robinson raised a question as to what kind of orientation would be given to people going to Africa, in light of the fact that some of the work of Peace Corps and Crossroads Africa people has been detrimental due to their very American outlook and attitude. Forman replied that it is absolutely essential to be very careful with the initial group. The people selected must come very highly recommended. Also, he pointed out that any kind of international affairs program that SNCC has will be relevant only to the degree that SNCC is effective in the U.S. SNCC now has a good international reputation that was not just developed in the last year, which is based on our being considered a resistance group within the country.

Cortland Cox suggested that the orientation program entail the person's working with SNCC for two years before being sent to Africa in order for us to be sure of him. Forman also pointed out that the work of the International Affairs Bureau could not be separate from our program of internal education.

NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION AND CIA

The major thrust of the NSA has been international rather than domestic, in trying to get students abroad to align themselves with the "free world", and a lot of attention has been directed towards Africa. The information just released about the relationship between the CIA and NSA is the kind of information that we must keep abreast of, for the major thrust of SNCC's internal education program is to keep SNCC people aware.

Cortland opened a discussion of the relationship between the CIA and black schools. He pointed out that Howard University is the main black recruitment ground for the foreign service through their foreign affairs program. He also raised the point that as a result of the disclosure of its relationship with the CIA, NSA will no longer be a viable unit on college campuses.

There was some discussion of the activities of the State Department in terms of black students and the very American attitudes prevailing among black students that make them most receptive to such approaches. Stanley Wise pointed out that some of the harshest attacks on SNCC and strongest defenses of U.S. foreign policy come from black students, and that it would be the most logical

step for the State Department to pull students in from black schools to work in Africa where a lot of effort is going to be concentrated for the next forty years.

Forman was asked to explain the history of SNCC's relationship with NSA, which he went into in detail. The relationship has never been particularly close, but there has been interaction. In 1961 NSA endorsed the sit-in movement and decided that it would establish a Southern Freedom Fund to raise money in support of the sit-in movement. SDS also agreed to raise money. At that time, there was an argument in SNCC that we shouldn't raise money but allow these institutions to do that and we would do the work. The Southern Freedom Fund never got off the ground. NSA set up its Southern Project in 1960 to keep up with the movement in the South. In the summer of 1961 NSA held a two-month workshop in Nashville on the student movement which sixteen student leaders attended, including Stokely, Ruby Doris, Chuck McDoo, and others. SNCC people have frequently been speakers at NSA conferences. But the relationship between SNCC and NSA has always been cool. Lowenstein, one of the top officers of NSA, became involved with our work in the 1963 mock elections in Mississippi and attempted to pull white students into the project. During the summer project of 1964 Lowenstein had some conflict with Bob Moses and was active in trying to split the black leadership. In the spring of 1965 NSA sent out a memo attacking SNCC's domination of COFO and stating it should not be allowed to continue. The whole tone of Lowenstein's relation to the movement has been of splitting the black leadership and introducing whites. As far as the international activities of NSA, SNCC has never been asked to become involved.

There was some amorphous discussion around the various aspects of the campus program, NASA and CIA, and Southern black students, after which the workshop moved into attempting to structure the discussion in terms of the objectives of the campus program. A series of objectives were outlined:

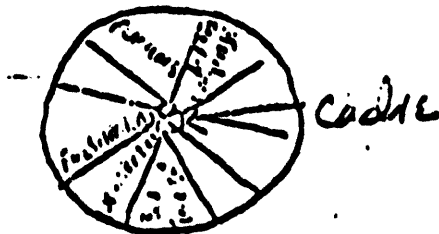
OBJECTIVES OF THE CAMPUS PROGRAM

1. Control students minds
2. Radicalize the student body
3. Establish SNCC-oriented groups of students and contact with sympathetic professors
4. Establish institutionalized propaganda mechanisms
5. Develop a hard-core cadre in the freshman class
6. Anti-draft propaganda
7. University reform
8. Direct students to work in black community
9. Pull in personnel for SNCC programs

Implementation of these objectives was discussed briefly, including these points:

1. get students in SNCC group to gain control of existing college publications and/or establish independent publications
2. get positions in administrative organs of college, i.e., student government, student faculty committees, etc.
3. students should hold various brief conferences on specific topics of current political concern to black people
4. students should raise money for SNCC within the community and the college

Cortland proposed a diagram to consolidate this discussion. His view of the campus unit was that of a small cadre of committed people who deal directly with SNCC who will organize other students and place them in other areas of campus activity therefore having direct communication with students in major areas of campus activity.



Orientation of the freshman class was one program that the SNCC unit should attempt to participate in to re-directing the thinking the administration attempts to inculcate. Ernest Stephens pointed out that it is during the summer orientation program the college projects the image of the college in terms of relating to white society; topics such as ROTC, compulsory chapel, appearance of students, are covered; the type of student usually involved in this is the student government type who parrots the attitude of the administration. This should be countered. Cortland, also pointed out the significance of getting involved in cultural programs, such as the Homecoming Queen contest, music festivals, etc. which are presently oriented towards whiteness, and should be redirected towards blackness. Fred Meely kept emphasizing the significance of factualized propaganda in terms of the overall campus program and especially in terms of the freshman class. He also suggested that the program be different for each class, each would have different responsibilities. The significance of forums, discussion groups, etc. especially to freshmen, was emphasized. David Lorenz pointed out it is far easier to move to shape minds in college than out of it. Alton Pertilla pointed out that colleges have a four-year program for their students which is designed to produce a certain kind of thinking at the end of the program. SNCC should develop a four-year counter-program with a certain end result in mind also. After further discussion, the following agenda was arrived at for future discussion (attached).

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the Nashville?

Mr. MANUEL. No, sir, that was Atlanta.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Was he the same man present at the secret meeting or the meeting closed to the public concerning Stokely Carmichael?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct, according to testimony taken before this subcommittee.

The campus program is the subject of a report prepared for the SNCC staff meeting on May 7, 1967, which gives a recounting of SNCC activities on certain college campuses. It was submitted by Campus Coordinator George Washington Ware.

On page 1, Ware made the following statement about a SNCC-oriented chapter in Nashville, Tenn.:

The presence of a SNCC Chapter on campus has had a profound effect on the administration which is afraid of the chapter.

The CHAIRMAN. What campus?

Mr. MANUEL. He is talking about either Fisk University or Tennessee A&I.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the universities?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. He said:

The presence of a SNCC Chapter on campus has had a profound effect on the administration which is afraid of the chapter.

Proceed.

Mr. MANUEL (reading):

The Nashville SNCC group has been very useful to the Campus Program. Example: when Cleve (Cleveland Sellers), Ernest (Ernest Stephens), and myself were trying to help students at South Carolina State College to resist the administration, which led to a very good student uprising, the Nashville SNCC Chapter came to Orangeburg, S.C., to reinforce the South Carolina State students.

We were also able to hold the Black Student Conference in Nashville because of the effect of the group in the community. The group has been supported by faculty and community people.

At this point, I would like to make a comment concerning the South Carolina State College incident which he describes. It is not the one

that occurred in 1968 where some people were shot. This is a previous demonstration which was in 1967.

I just want to say that so as not to confuse you with the incident that is referred to by SNCC as the Orangeburg massacre. This is another incident. It took place earlier.

The extent to which the Nashville SNCC group, active in Fisk University, Tennessee State University and the contiguous community, was "very useful to the campus program" is perhaps best exemplified by the transcript of the subcommittee's hearings on the Nashville riot of April 8-9, 1967. The testimony and documentary evidence of those hearings, Part 2 of the printed record, show clearly that SNCC leaders and members were the agitators and instigators of a number of events which aroused unrest in the Nashville Negro community, and that they organized the unruly mob and planned certain of the occurrences which launched the riot on the evening of April 8, 1967.

Other portions of the Ware report on the campus program, which is too lengthy to read in its entirety, deal with other SNCC-sponsored student conferences, strategy and tactics used by SNCC to get students to carry out SNCC programs on their various campuses, and SNCC relationship with the Black Student Union.

I would like to introduce this SNCC campus program report as it was given by George Ware, coordinator of the campus program, for the staff meeting of May 7, 1967, in its entirety.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 422" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 422

SNCC CAMPUS PROGRAM

WHAT WE DID AND WHERE WE ARE AT THIS POINT

At the beginning of the school year, I was the only person in the campus program who traveled to the college campuses. This created a problem, however, since I could not both campus travel and do the follow-up from Atlanta at the same time. When Kathleen became my secretary in January it became possible for me to spend more time away from Atlanta. We organized a SNCC Chapter at Tennessee State and Fisk. The students have been fairly active all year. They were in Lowndes County and Dallas County during the November 8th elections. They also collected food for people in Lowndes County at Christmas. The presence of a SNCC Chapter on campus has had a profound effect on the administration which is afraid of the chapter. The Nashville SNCC group has been very useful to the Campus Program. Example: when Cleve, Ernest, and myself were trying to help a student at South Carolina State College to resist the administration, which led to a very good student uprising, the Nashville SNCC Chapter came to Orangeburg, S.C. to reinforce the South Carolina State students. We were also able to hold the Black Student Conference in Nashville because of the affect of the group in the community. The group has been supported by faculty and community people.

In Texas at Texas Southern University a very good SNCC Chapter developed out of a visit by Jim Forman. Millard (Tex) Lowe has done a good job with the students. The students at TSU have begun to develop a sort of Free University within the school which is like a running seminar on the problems of black people. Also, TSU is the only black school (as far as I know) where Swahili is taught along with a very good course in African history.

In March Patty Mapp called a conference of Northeastern Black Students. About 500 students came to the conference. These students are seriously struggling to deal with the problems of being a subgroup in the white university. Black students at eastern and midwestern schools have expressed a desire to become re-

lated to SNCC. They provide a tremendous potential for SNCC in terms of recruits and in terms of fund-raising. We must draw closer to these groups. They are a good replacement for the essentially all-White Friends of SNCC groups.

In April SNCC held a conference of Black Students in Nashville which involved about 150 students representing over 25 schools north and south (see report on conference). The students who attended the conference paid their way to Nashville and paid for the total expenses of the conference.

We now have six or seven people in the Campus Program. This has taken place since January and the activities of the Campus Program has increased tremendously since that point. Sel. has done a very good job with some students in North Carolina, considering the short period of time he was able to spend up there.

Acting on a directive from the Central Committee in April we began to recruit students for a summer project. The recruitment was very slow because we were afraid to move too fast in the absence of programmatic action on the part of SNCC.

who would like for SNCC to come in and start something. SNCC has generally not responded to this need. So students will respond to it this summer, via SNCC's Summer Project. In Alabama we will try to get students to aid Rap Brown and the Alabama SNCC group.

In the interest of students from Mississippi and Alabama I have submitted a proposal to the New York Foundation for \$30,000 for scholarships. The situation looks good at this point. I have also been informed that there is about \$2200 of SNCC money for scholarships at Tougaloo College. This money has been there since 1964. It can be used for the orientation session for the Summer Project.

SUMMER PROJECT

What it is

The Summer Project is designed to allow students to find out just what is happening. Given the tendency of universities to insulate students and to alienate them from the black community. It is necessary to allow students to become involved in action projects where people are involved in struggle. This, hopefully, will help to develop the sense of a need to struggle. It is also necessary that students begin to question the value and direction of the educational efforts. We (SNCC) speak of students beginning to relate their education to the needs of the black community. What better way to reinforce this feeling than to let the students, through a summer project, see how their skills are needed.

Where will it be held

The Summer Project will take place in Mississippi (see Mississippi Report) Alabama (Lowndes County and Dallas County, Greene County and possibly Macon County), in Nashville, Tennessee, and hopefully, in Cincinnati and Dayton, Ohio.

In Alabama, Rap Brown has said that he could use about 25-30 good students for the summer. We are trying to find most of these students in Alabama bringing in only a few black students.

In Nashville, Tennessee about 12 black students from Fisk and Tennessee State would like to expand their present project which involves a liberation school and a fight for control of campus politics to include community organizing. There is a lot of community enthusiasm for this and they should be able to finance the whole project from local support.

In Cincinnati, Leonard Ball, chairman of Cincinnati Friends of SNCC, an all black group, would like to get something started. I talked with a group of about 25 people in Cincinnati two weeks ago and they expressed a desire to sponsor a summer project in Cincinnati in order to try and build an organized black community. If a project is held there, it would include students from University of Cincinnati, Wilberforce, Central, and Antioch.

Mrs. Tate in Dayton has some very good projects going. Students from the above mentioned schools want to work with her. This too is a possibility.

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The Friday meeting of the Campus Program opened with a brief discussion of the national student conference proposed for the Easter week-end. It was suggested by Porter that the large national conference be postponed until SNCC

strengthens its base upon southern campuses through more extensive campus traveling, student workshops, and so on, and proposed that a series of smaller conferences be held in the north and south to lead up to a larger national conference, perhaps for Thanksgiving. George Ware pointed out that the main reason for holding the conference during Easter vacation is to begin organizing for the Summer Project, although logistically it is not the best time and there is a definite validity to the idea of a series of smaller conferences. The point that groups of students both on northern and southern colleges want to hold the conference at Easter regardless of the strength of SNCC's base because of their identification and sympathy with SNCC, and especially in terms of northern student groups, the desire to meet with students from the south.

Michael Wright presented a highly abstract sociological analysis of factors in operation on campuses that needed to be taken into account in order to correctly analyze a situation in order to proceed to organize the campus, or something of that nature that was essentially confusing and irrelevant to the discussion.

The discussion then proceeded to follow the agenda developed yesterday. The first topic considered was the role of student groups in relation to the campus.

University Reform.—One valid concept in university reform is that of the Free University, a structure set up within the framework of the white-oriented black college that allows for the kind of educational program relevant to black people. It is primarily a means of re-orienting students towards blackness and independent thought. Subjects and topics avoided by the established curriculum are offered and a new forum is opened within the university. Tex Lowe's SNCC group at Texas Southern University has gotten four professors to establish a Free University, which consists of courses on Afro-American history and culture, and politics and economics. It was decided that the Campus Program should prepare guidelines for the establishment of a Free University in terms of curriculum and structure to send to student groups interested in the concept.

Stanley Wise pointed out that we should decide what kind of reforms are vital in terms of what SNCC wants to see happen on black campuses in order to direct its energies. SNCC aims to move students to the point that they think and act politically in terms of campus activity, and that should be kept in mind in terms of university reform. A slate of general reforms that need to be instituted on most black campuses was drawn up: student government should be responsible for allocating funds for campus activities, should have the authority to establish student clubs and organizations that wish to form, should control the student union building and should run the Homecoming. The student newspaper should be given a budget and the authority to manage it; students should have some say in which new books the library receives; and the library hours should be set-up to correspond with student needs; students should be able to decide whether or not to attend chapel; students should have the right to have courses added to the curriculum through petition; student * * * should have the right to use the school auditorium on 2 days notice; and all student organizations should have the right to invite speakers to the campus. Also it was raised that students should be able to participate in the meetings of the Board of Trustees. Students should push to make the administration allow upperclassmen to hold tutorial programs, which is an excellent means of bringing SNCC people on campus.

In terms of student government delegating its funds, even if the government is reactionary, as per usual, the activist group should raise the question about the responsibility and authority of student government, which will be an issue around which to organize the campus and strengthen the group. On the basis of its campaign for strengthened student government, the activist group can move to take over the student government. In terms of instituting curriculum changes, the first organizing step is to make students begin to think in terms of understanding that they should have some say in the curriculum. In terms of student movements attacking the administration and being crushed or stymied, the students must move in a manner and to a degree to outflank the administration.

This discussion opened into examples of protest movements at several colleges and their results. At Alcorn, Southern, and Hampton, protest movements around the rather innocent issues raised above resulted in the expulsion of about 150 students. There was one example of a successful student protest at Fort Valley State College in 1963 during which the President of the college supported the students and the Board of Trustees dismissed him. The student body boycotted classes for 3 weeks, and the President was reinstated.

One project the activist group should undertake is to research the business and financial affiliations of the members of the Board of Trustees, the employment practices of their companies, the kind of exploitative activities it is involved in, and so on, and distribute the information to all students. It should be noted that in many cases members of the Board of Trustees at black schools are also members of the Board of Trustees at white schools; the difference between the policies of the schools should be noted. SNCC should also develop a file on the Boards of Trustees at all black schools; but it is significant that the campus groups do the research itself for its campus, especially in terms of the ramifications that their research may have, i.e. discussion groups, ideas for further research, and increased political awareness. It was also suggested that SNCC compile a record of the student protest movements on southern campuses, and examine the factors involved in their success and failures.

Tactics.—Various methods of how the group should move to create an awareness on campus and move to implement its reform program were discussed. Leafleting, picketing, and dormitory meetings, church meetings in the community are basic to organizing. Tactics of simultaneously bringing external pressure and student pressure on the administration should be employed as much as possible. Student groups can inform foundations from which the school receives funds about how the college violates students' freedom of the press, of worship, of assembly, and attempt to block the grant until such freedoms are allowed, as the foundation, which will be white, will be more "liberal" than the administration. In church supported schools, students should seek an alliance with the upper hierarchy of the church and with the National Council of Churches, whose attitude on education is very liberal. Students should cultivate a friendly relationship with a reporter on the town paper in order to publicize their attack against the administration and use the "negative" publicity to strengthen the attack. Appeal can be made to the Association of University Professors for support of their program, for the kind of reforms that black students would push for on their campuses already exist at white schools. When students feel they are unjustly expelled, they should sue * * * school to court. A group of students expelled from Alabama State for involvement in the Montgomery demonstrations prior to the Selma-Montgomery March and after the beating on the Selma bridge were reinstated after taking the college to court. When possible, students should mobilize support in the community for their program.

At some point there will be a secret confrontation between the student leaders and the administration. The administration will move to intimidate students involved in protest activities by calling them in individually to conferences with the Dean and the President. When this happens, students should publicize all the details of their meeting and embarrass and hence halt the administration briefly.

One thing student groups should attempt to avoid is an elitist-orientation which alienates them from the student body. In many cases, the rest of the students only know about the activist group during a crisis. The group should make sure the student body is kept aware of its existence and activities.

Students should cultivate relationships with white student groups and use them to pressure the administration through sending telegrams of threatened mass demonstrations by white students, and get professors, administrators, and groups in white schools related to black schools to pressure the administration to liberalize itself. Black schools are always more conservative than the white schools they are imitating; the activist group should point out this contradiction to put the administration on the spot.

Publications.—An independent publication is an excellent organ for the student group to publicize its activities and point of view, to distribute counter-propaganda information, to help build a base among students. The group should move first to get increasingly radical articles in the campus paper, which will finally refuse to publish them, which gives the group the rationale for putting out its own publication. If not allowed or able to set up an insurgent paper, students can distribute anonymous newsheets on the campus. If the insurgent paper captures the students' interest, it can move to isolate the conservative legitimate paper, or can move to take it over.

What needs most to be developed among southern students is AUDACITY in dealing with the administration; students proceed, for the most part, far too humbly.

Student Government.—In dealing with student government, the best move is to force them into opposition from the beginning; a coalition might result, as in Tuskegee, in their co-opting the leadership and subverting the movement. The whole direction of the activist group should be to politicize the campus. One means of doing this is to run as a political party in opposition to the meaningless student government. The constitution or by-laws, which spell out exactly how powerless student government is in fact, should be publicized among students. This action should be directed to giving student government some substance and control. Elections to decide campus issues, authorized or otherwise, are a good means of demonstrating student opinion, organizing, and finding out exactly where the activist group stands with the student body, and how it should move to maintain or strengthen student support. Petitions to the administration and petitions to student government to hold new elections if the majority of students feel the government isn't doing anything should be made, and when elections are held, the activist group can move to win.

Faculty.—In terms of faculty, the student group should find which faculty members are sympathetic, and they will usually be white, and can therefore . . . it takes 3-6 years for a professor to attain tenure, allowing the administration to sift out any radical black professors. Students could move to make the tenure process shorter and simpler and should move to support radical black professors.

Cultural Activities.—Cultural activities are very important to organizing anywhere, and can be used to advantage on college campuses. It has to be recognized that black students largely come to college to become bourgeois, white, and accepted. The black colleges produce Negroes for white society. One way to look at organizing on college campuses is as an effort to cut off the man's supply of Negroes, and build around the whole Afro-American thing.

Student groups should move to directly control as many cultural activities as possible, and to start their own. Students must start to push to bring black artists on campus, have the music and works of black artists presented, and have the writing of black authors and leaders available and pushed on their campus and in their courses. They should try to get pictures of Malcolm X, Frederick Douglass, and significant black leaders on their campuses. They should move to destroy the myths about black people perpetuated by the Negro colleges.

Any radical African students on campus should be pulled into cultural activities directed towards blackness.

The program of concentrating college organizing efforts in one area until that is strong then moving from that base of strength to another area was presented. The opposing opinion was that SNCC should move to start as many groups, as possible, covering the broadest area possible, and get them to start moving on their own. The relationship between SNCC and campus groups should not be dependent, but supportive. SNCC shouldn't stay in any area too long, because the student group will always turn to SNCC, and the administration will direct attention to attacking SNCC and the issue which the group is protesting will be lost.

Freshman Orientation.—In terms of orientation programs for entering freshmen, several ideas were presented. SNCC should hold a general conference during the summer for entering freshmen, and we should hold a conference for high school seniors, which would be handled on a regional basis. The college students in urban areas in the north and south who are active in the SNCC oriented groups can set up programs for entering freshmen when they return home for the summer. They can use churches for meetings of students and hold brief orientation programs; SNCC people can be invited to the conferences, and SNCC could prepare materials for the students. This move would strengthen the campus program and also strengthen the commitment of the students in the program when they return to college. For the direction of the program is to keep students in school, not pull them into SNCC.

Anti-draft.—Larry Fox is moving around the country pulling together a list of information about guys who are having problems with the draft, and is planning to hold a conference sometime this year around the anti-draft issue. The campus traveler can initiate mobilization around the anti-draft program which can become a central issue. It was suggested he should contact students having problems with the draft and those who intend to oppose being drafted and work with them as a special unit and involve them in SNCC's anti-draft program. An anti-draft committee should be formed for the campus program.

One thing that student groups could do is explain the whole issue of the administration turning grades over to the Selective Service System and attack that.

• • • a manner designed to create a certain way of thinking. The campus group should be a vehicle for distributing information in many areas that is not normally available to the students, i.e., factual information about the course and history of the war in Vietnam, about the operation of the Selective Service System, about South Africa and its relation to the United States, SNCC projects, the Board of Trustees at the particular college, and other information pertaining specifically to the college. The group should develop its own propaganda and other means of getting information and attitudes across to the student body, as well as distribute SNCC material.

The role of student groups in relation to SNCC was discussed next. It was pointed out by George Ware that student groups could raise a large part of SNCC's budget if enough units were developed, for students have access to many avenues of raising money. One central function, therefore, of student groups would be fund raising for SNCC.

The skills students have, in research particularly, can be used to support SNCC programs. For example, the Harvard Afro-American Society is willing to do specific research for SNCC programs on economic and political problems. They have access to the Boston area libraries, and to various professors who are experts in these areas who will assist them.

The aspects of J. P. Tilman's promotion program, which are relevant to the Campus Program, were discussed. At this point, it consists of an educational program of setting up forums, sending speakers and singers to the campus, and for \$1, information on SNCC. There was disagreement as to whether the promotion program is a part of the Campus Program. J. P. said that it wasn't. George Ware was under the impression that it was. It was decided that the Central Committee would make a decision to clarify their former decision on the promotion program and its relationship to the campus program, and until that time the two programs would let each other know what was being done in relation to the colleges.

Forums are central to SNCC's program for college students. The ways in which SNCC can create new and use existing forums was discussed briefly. One way is for the students to invite SNCC people to the campus to hold discussions, workshops, and brief conference. All colleges also have scheduled conferences during the year which SNCC people should attend.

The role of whites in SNCC chapters was touched on. It was said that the SNCC chapters should be consistent with the co-ordinating committee; whites would not belong to the chapter, but function as advisors only. At black schools, for the most part, the interested whites will be faculty members.

To clarify the relationship between SNCC and SNCC chapters, Ernest Stephens proposed a recommendation. Since there is no formalized constitution or by-laws for SNCC chapters, the Campus Program should draw up such for the group. Groups which do not wish to go along with these guidelines should not use the name SNCC. In this, it should be specifically pointed out that there is a difference between SNCC support groups and SNCC staff.

The involvement of students in SNCC action programs serves two purposes: it can help radicalize the students, and provide SNCC the opportunity to observe and evaluate the students' work in terms of potential staff personnel.

• • • in Julian Bond's campaign in Atlanta. This involvement allows students to work directly within the framework of SNCC where they can see exactly what is involved and what kind of people work with SNCC and what kind of roles students can play.

It was suggested that students, when at all possible, should always finance their own ventures into SNCC programs. They should be responsible for getting the funds necessary to do the work they want to do, or financing students is a hardship on SNCC and also pulls in people who are just along for the ride, so to speak.

When the personnel division is established, the Campus Program will work closely with it by feeding in information and recommendations about students. Porter made the recommendation that the heads of all SNCC affiliates be reviewed by the Campus Program and that those found acceptable be placed on staff to strengthen the ties between SNCC and the campus units.

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There was some discussion of Porter's recommendation, for the most part in opposition. It was pointed out that given the conflict of interest between students and SNOC, placing students on SNOC staff would not serve their interests but submerge them. Cortland suggested, to meet the concern indicated in Porter's recommendation, that a Student Co-ordinating Committee be established which would be composed of members of the Executive Committee and heads of student SNOC chapters. The committee would direct the activities of the student groups and bring the students closer to SNOC. It was pointed out that Porter's recommendation conflicted with the general understanding that campus affiliates were distinct support groups and not direct extension of the Co-ordinating Committee. The national conference will allow students to develop their program in conjunction with SNOC through our liaison, the campus co-ordinator.

Forman pointed out that as long as we are talking about moving as a political unit, we cannot open the organization to anyone that says he's for SNCC, which would change the entire composition of the organization. Furthermore, the Campus Program meeting is not the place to discuss the composition of SNCC.

After further discussion, Porter withdrew his recommendation, and recommended that the campus groups hook-up with each other.

Discussion moved to the role of student groups in relation to the community. Stanley suggested that the student groups should explore the possibilities of putting news and press releases of SNCC in the local media, radio stations geared to the black community, church meetings, and newspapers.

Cortland pointed out that the various areas, economic, political, cultural, educational, in which student groups should relate to the community should be considered as one. First, he stated, the SNCC group should attempt to deal with the problems of the community in their areas. It must be recognized that students will not be in the community for any length of time; hence, they should attempt to organize a political organ in the community to deal with the problems much in the same way that SNOC does. The campus group itself should not try to be the organ that the community relates to. For example, Cortland pointed out that at Tuskegee, TIAL should have attempted to build a freedom organization instead of attempting to do things in the community on its own.

Several questions were raised about Cortland's position that, essentially, students should be organizers. The question of training was central. Students who are functioning in the community must receive special intensive attention from someone in SNCC, and most importantly, they can begin to develop themselves as they work.

Forman pointed out that SNCC is developing material which can be used by the campus traveler for the basis of setting up campus workshops on organizing, such as "Don't Shut Me Out", and other papers on organizing. When the issue of students being members of SNCC was raised again here, Forman responded to that by saying that association with SNCC staff people is not the means of gaining the knowledge and skills of an organizer. Also, it must be realized that an organization that moves politically must be able to function in terms of levels of command. This must be understood if SNCC is planning to develop units on over 100 campuses.

Forman began a discussion of the Student Union. He stated that college students need to be more fully within the community, and also must understand the accidental nature of their being in college while someone else of the same age is not. The Student Union could be a means of integrating students into the Freedom Organization, could function in the Youth Division of the Freedom Organization. Some of the snobbery of college students needs to be wiped out.

Tony Richardson discussed the Black Student Union for high school students he was working to develop in Philadelphia: mass rallies, gaining parent support planning to take over the school board, and cultural activities were used to organize the students. One failure of the program was that of not giving students issues to fight.

Cortland said that SNCC needs to move further than to college students and think in terms of organizing high school students. If we are seriously interested in developing new ways of thinking and new ways in which people see themselves, high school students, who are seeking ways to express themselves are

especially significant. Whoever works with high school students must be very carefully selected in that he must be someone with whom they could establish a working rapport. Then, high school students, if motivated, will do a lot of work.

Forman noted that the schools will not change and black people will not get quality education until the students themselves begin to move, until *they* begin to agitate for better education. He cautioned against constraining younger kids' demonstrations; we should let them go ahead and demonstrate in the ways they see fit. In terms of Cortland's idea of a Black Guard, it would be high school kids. They are the ones who can question their parents along such lines as "Why are you in the Democratic Party?" "What does that do for you?"

National Student Conference

It was proposed that SNCC hold a conference only of groups aligned with SNCC, not of a really broad range of students. The past SNCC student conferences have never been larger than 250 students, which have not been particularly fruitful affairs. It would be better to have something small and make it work than to attempt to hold a large conference right away. A national conference of 150 people doesn't represent anything. George Ware pointed out that the conference would be composed of students who have some involvement in the movement, even if it is only in terms of their rhetoric. Forman said the campus program should consider itself SNCC's green guard. There are more students in the cafeteria than at most conferences; SNCC people should . . .

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Senators have any questions before we recess? I wanted to return at 2 o'clock.

If there are any questions to be asked now—Senator Percy.

Senator PERCY. I have just one question, Mr. Chairman.

This will get back into an area that Senator Griffin was exploring a day or two ago on semantics.

I refer to page 5, the top third of the page, as to really what we mean by a militant black power leader.

It is my understanding that there are many fine leaders of the civil rights movement who look upon themselves as militant and who are fighting for black power.

In fact, I wouldn't resent someone saying I am militant in fighting for certain causes in which I deeply believe. That is not a disparaging term.

It says in the middle of the page:

It would be difficult to name a militant black power leader who does not frequently use the term "by any means necessary" in talking about the methods black people should use in seeking objectives.

Almost inadvertently, I think, you disparaged a great many people by that. I am just wondering whether Rev. Jesse Jackson, who leads a nationwide nonviolent movement called Operation Breadbasket, and who espouses peaceful means of change within the democratic process, would not really consider himself a militant black power leader, but who would be resentful if it were implied that he would use the phrase "by any means necessary."

Doesn't the same apply to James Farmer, who is a part of this administration, to Whitney Young, to Roy Wilkins, to Ralph Abernathy? Thurgood Marshall, in his earlier days, would have been a militant black power leader as he fought for certain rights of education and integration.

I wonder whether you wouldn't want to modify that sentence.

Mr. MANUEL. Senator, your point is well taken. That is why we went into the definition of the word "militant" as we use it in this investigation.

The whole concept evolves around change, whether that change be political, social or economic. We are talking about people who want change, who want reforms.

We make a distinction between those people who, as you say, seek change through the democratic process. We do not mean to disparage them in any way, shape or form.

We are addressing ourselves to people who advocate change through violence, and the advocacy of violence.

Senator PERCY. I wonder if this shouldn't be spelled out by staff members, rather than continue to use referencing explanations that have occurred days before, as we continue to use that word "militant" perhaps we ought to use the term "who advocate the use of violence to achieve their means."

Mr. MANUEL. Senator, If I may, that was spelled out in my opening statement as to what we meant in the definition of black power, militant, and so forth, as we are using it in this investigation.

It is tied closely and tied only through violence as a method of gaining change in this country, whether it be political, social, or economic.

We do not include in our presentation, nor do we intend to, those people who could be described as militant, using another definition, who use the democratic process to gain whatever change they think is necessary or proper or desirable.

Senator PERCY. I just hope in the testimony of staff members of the future we will find phraseology which, when those phrases are taken right out of context, will not be misunderstood as the thinking of staff members of the committee.

I fully understand what you mean.

Mr. MANUEL. I speak for myself and every investigator under me who has worked on this project, that this is what we mean when we talk about militant.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much.

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, I just want to echo the concern expressed by Senator Percy. I indicated on the first day of the hearings that concern. I think it is probably all right in some respects to adopt certain definitions of words, but I think we have to be aware that these hearings are being reported by different reporters from day-to-day, who have not, perhaps, heard the definition that was given on the first day of certain words, such as militant or black power.

We have to be aware of the fact that these hearings are being televised, and that the people who are watching portions of the hearings, who see or listen to these words being used, haven't had the benefit of some prior definition.

While I understand what you are saying, Mr. Manuel, I am still concerned about the misunderstanding that could flow from it.

Mr. MANUEL. Let me say this, Senator, further: We enumerated the organizations which we would be talking about in this investigation, namely, the Black Panther Party, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Republic of New Africa, Revolutionary Action Movement, and Students for a Democratic Society.

We are putting our evidence in by the staff within that context. We do not intend to disparage in any way or relate the bad use of the word "militant" to anybody who doesn't fit into this.

Senator GRIFFIN. As much as possible, let us use words that can't be misunderstood.

Mr. MANUEL. That is very difficult.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you use the word "militant" to describe those who threaten and plan to disrupt the society and take charge of things by force?

Mr. MANUEL. As I say, Mr. Chairman, our concept of militant and what we are dealing with here—

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you have said in the beginning. Where you use this term, you are talking about those who are willing to resort to and are advocating violence to obtain their objectives.

Mr. MANUEL. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Let that be understood from now on.

Mr. MANUEL. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Whenever you use that term—

Mr. MANUEL. We are not including anyone else.

The CHAIRMAN. If any of the staff has the word "militant" anywhere in their prepared testimony, where it does not apply to those who are actually advocating violence, or who are planning violence, participating in efforts to create disorder, let it be so stated.

Mr. MANUEL. That has been our intention all along, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Make it very plain. I don't want to reflect upon anybody. We have a condition in this country where today you are referring to these people who are doing these things and you call them militants, black militants, black extremists, revolutionaries, white and black alike, who are involved in these activities where they are dedicated to achieving their goal "by any means necessary." Is that right?

Mr. MANUEL. Including violence.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, if any staff member continues to use this word "militant" to describe in their own free definition of that word someone, to try to couple together those who use nonviolent means together with those who use violent means, I will continue to object on the basis that it is totally insensible to the use of that term which is commonly accepted throughout many areas of American activity as a perfectly acceptable word, so far as fighting for a cause in which they deeply believe right within the democratic process and not trying to tear the system down.

I don't think we should try to redefine for the purposes of this committee only the use of that term. I will continue to object to any staff member who uses it in that way.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator has the right to object. We will hear the testimony.

Are there any further questions?

The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:35 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, Percy, and Griffin.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:08 p.m., Senator John L. McClellan, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will resume.
(Members of the subcommittee present at time of reconvening: Senators McClellan and Griffin.)

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP R. MANUEL—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Manuel, you were in the process of reading your prepared statement when we recessed.

You will identify for us the place you left off.

Mr. MANUEL. Page 17, Mr. Chairman, starting with the second paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; you may proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. Another report at the staff meeting on May 7, 1967, was entitled "The Case of the Campus Tour," given by campus program member Ernest Stephens. In this four-page report, Stephens recounts the activities of the SNCC campus program, including the travel of Stokely Carmichael, George Ware, Stanley Wise, and other SNCC campus travelers. From a SNCC point of view, the report relates the impact of speeches given by SNCC officials at various college campuses.

At this point, the staff would like to present exhibit No. SN-17, which is "The Case of the Campus Tour" report given by Ernest Stephens of the SNCC Central Coordinating Committee meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received and numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 423" for reference, and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 423

[From SNCC Campus Program Staff Meeting, May 7, 1967]

THE CASE OF THE CAMPUS TOUR

(By Ernest Stephens)

In hopes that this can be made more than just a factual documentary I will proceed unacademically into this report. The overall results of the campus program activities during the past two or three months have been successful especially if one is lenient with one's definitions. The campus tour formally began after the Black Student Conference at Fisk University in Nashville; however, for purposes of anti-rigidity this report will begin with the "South Carolina State Incident".

There was a bit of trouble, chaos, and "confusement" in Orangeburg at the end of February as a result of several well defined facts, namely: 1) The presence in leadership roles of a number of non-audacious, naive, ill directed black students who decided they would raise a taste of hell because their school administration refused to re-hire two gray instructors (at best a poor issue for strife). This of course was incorporated along with a few complaints about the lack of academic and personal freedom which is a pattern at South Carolina State. Fortunately, there were three SNCC people there who could add a bit of fire to this struggle because the truth of the matter is that the student leadership patiently awaited SNCC guidance before it ever occurred to them to even call a meeting. For example, there were demonstrations with no spokesman, leader, or what have you, which ultimately resulted in the followers being very wary of the entire proceedings. There was an overnight sit-in in the union building where people played cards and drank cokes and a number of "shut-ins" on the President's lawn. Three "leaders" were singled out and removed from the school as a result of these disturbances and things proceeded again although very erratically. The white man, Tom Wirth, over whom the struggle had begun soon got up tight about his personal welfare and warned the three student lead-

ers about the ill effects of outside agitation. The suggestion was that they rid themselves of SNCC influence or the NAACP would withdraw legal support from their expulsion cases. The NAACP however ultimately showed its hand when their lawyers withdrew from the case because of his personal political ambitions in the town of Orangeburg.

At last meeting with the "involved" students they pledged their avid support of SNCC, apologized for their shortsightedness, and now wish to start a student chapter on campus designed among other things to get rid of "whitey".

The tour proper began at Stillman College immediately after the student conference at Fisk. Stokely spoke in the evening after a number of students had been prepared for this by having Stanley Wise, Cleve Sellers, and Warcell Williams handle individual classes earlier that day. The next school was Rust College at Holly Springs . . . there was a workshop held afterwards by myself and Howard Spencer on The Student's role. . . . Stokely then spoke in East St. Louis and was afterwards scheduled to speak at Mary Holmes Junior College in Westpoint, Miss. This engagement had to be cancelled because the white folks working in the St. Louis airport refused to allow Stokely to leave town in time.

Miles College in Birmingham was next on the agenda, and it was then that the white press began to get an inkling of what was going on and began to direct attention to the tour. A white reporter attended the evening session at Miles where Stokely spoke and asked a few well directed questions and filed a suit against Stokely for advocating the overthrow of the government. Stokely had said, "To hell with the laws of the United States" among other things.

Nashville was next where Stokely was scheduled to speak at Fisk, Tennessee State, and Vanderbilt in that order. On the evening after Stokely spoke at Vanderbilt a riot broke out near Fisk's campus the tenor of which raised very serious questions in terms of the unethical nature of the power structure and the police force.

The following is a press statement which I drew up for the Fisk students concerning the riot, which was never released to the press but was distributed in the community.

THE NASHVILLE INCIDENT

The perverse demeanor of police power becomes frighteningly vivid in time of crisis. This perversity which is directly related to the psychopathology of the fascistic mentality of white western civilization manifests itself as a savage and sadistically oriented mixture of paranoia and schizophrenia. Nashville has recently provided a lucid example of the nature and character of a brutal police state. The Police Department, under direct sanction from the mayor's office, has been given free rein to express through the brutalization of black citizens a vent for the individual hatred and complete lack of recognition of our humanity. The negative atmosphere created by the Nashville press not only during but prior to the rebellion when two weeks earlier SNCC held a Black Student Conference on Fisk's campus cannot be exonerated as a definite factor in creating an atmosphere of hostility, resentment, and tension. Not only does the responsibility for the armed warfare which occurred between black students and the police lie largely in the white power structure, but it is our contention that the situation is not coincidental, but the product of planned action.

If any one incident can be said to have touched off the rebellion, it is the confrontation of police and students who had formed a picket line in front of University Inn because a black student was thrown out and beaten by a mob of white cracker cops. The student allegedly was ejected because on one occasion, a year ago, he had supposedly been seen "raising hell" in this tavern. When students began to picket, scores of police poured into the area and harassed and intimidated the peaceful students. The fury of the crowd was sparked when the police directed a bus to drive through the crowd of students. The students were backed onto the campus by gun shots and billy clubs, as the police then began a head whipping session.

The police were supposedly firing into the air; however, three students were shot on the first evening that the students at Fisk and Tennessee State went to war with the Nashville Police Department. Several other students have been shot since. While Fisk University's administrative officials were channeling people away from the confrontation area, new Livingston Hall, a men's dormitory, was stormed by white cracker cops who crashed through the plate glass windows at the front of the building and ran up and down the halls shouting

and beating on doors and brutalizing students. Three girls were beaten and hospitalized in the process. One girl was shot through the window of her dormitory room.

Several student apartments were raided around midnight Sunday evening and approximately 25 students were dragged out of bed, carted away to jail, and booked under charges of inciting to riot. The police carried narcotics search warrants and the students' apartments were ransacked, leaving furniture and other items damaged and destroyed. No narcotics were found.

It is our position that the Nashville press, university administration officials, and so-called community leaders have neither the knowledge nor the authority to articulate * * *. The blame therefore lies with the evils of a corrupt and brutal system and not with those who oppose it. It is therefore our position that the actions of the student body in retaliation to the police brutality and intimidation is completely justifiable and that the chastisement should be directed toward the source of the evils, namely the press, the city power structure, and the police department.

Students were for three days beaten, intimidated, dragged off to jail and shot. Is it thus any wonder that students began to retaliate with rocks, molotov cocktails, and ultimately, guns? The mayor of Nashville answered the call of school officials to withdraw the police so that order could be restored by stepping up the police force in the Fisk-Tennessee State area to 400 policemen. Clearly what had begun as a peaceful student demonstration had been transformed into organized warfare by the Nashville police force under the direction of the mayor.

The two most significant things about the Knoxville engagement were:

- (1) the school barred the community from attending Stokely's speech,
- (2) that's where George Ware and I were during the time at which we were allegedly inciting to riot in Nashville.

Stokely went to New Orleans alone to speak at Dillard. It was not possible for an engagement at Southern University in Baton Rouge to be arranged at that time. Stokely then rejoined the tour in Jackson.

The following report on Jackson is by Cleve Sellers:

On the way to Jackson from Nashville we stopped in Tuscaloosa, Ala. at Stillman College. While we were there we were able to tell the Stillman students about the Nashville student rebellion and get them to agree to participate in a project on behalf of the Nashville students.

We started off the day in Jackson with an unauthorized visit and speech at Jackson State College. We were met on arrival by the president of the student body, who had attempted on several previous occasions to secure from the administration an official invitation for Stokely, but was denied. He called all the students together on the steps of the dining hall to hear Stokely speak. It is important to note here that there were about 2000 students gathered and they remained during the entire speech in spite of the fact that it had started to rain. After the speech, the student council president then took Stokely to have a closed door meeting with the school's new president. I look for considerable change at Jackson State College in the future.

After leaving Jackson State we went to Tougaloo where the 70-80 members of the Political Action Committee of Tougaloo were having a special banquet for Stokely. During the banquet we talked again about the students in Nashville and clarified some of the inaccurate press statements about the situation. After the banquet, Stokely spoke to the student body in the chapel. There were over 1000 people there to hear him speak, not only students but people from Greenwood, Edwards, Carrollton, Lexington and other towns in Mississippi. Perhaps the most exciting part of his speech was that on the Vietnamese War. Cries of "Hell no, We ain't going" were heard throughout the audience, as Stokely blasted the war.

(Following report from notes by Stanley Wise:)

At Florida A & M University in Tallahassee, Carmichael was not officially scheduled to speak on campus. However, more than 2,000 students greeted him when he arrived. He mounted a car to speak to the students to tell them that they should have the power to invite and enforce the invitation of anyone of their choosing they wanted to hear. He told them that any white man invited to the school would be allowed to speak in the auditorium and that he was not going to speak unless they could show him the same respect. Students immediately marched to the auditorium to take it over. One student climbed up a utility pole and entered the auditorium through an open window. The auditorium was

promptly filled and all doors blocked—standing room only. Stokely spoke at a church in Tallahassee later that evening filled with 450 people with 300-400 standing outside.

At Bethune Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Florida there was a capacity crowd of nearly 1300 people to hear him in the city auditorium. Carmichael was reportedly the first speaker to ever get the entire student body of Bethune-Cookman to travel the seven mile distance to the auditorium. The day prior to our arrival, the administration had just granted the students all the grievances they had presented to it over the past two years. After the rally in the auditorium, Stokely spoke to about 400 students in the dining hall that evening.

At the next stop in Florida, St. Petersburg where a SNCC group had been formed without any SNCC organizing in the area as the result of demonstrations about a mural depicting black people in a derogatory way several months ago, no church would allow Carmichael to speak. Therefore, the rally was held on the main drag in the black community. When we were going through the city, wherever Stokely appeared large crowds of people would gather. Three unmarked police cars and three carloads of reporters.

Stokely attempted to visit Joe Waller, the jailed leader of the St. Petersburg SNCC group, but was not successful. He was able to speak to him on the phone, however.

There were nearly six hundred people blocking the street when Stokely spoke at the rally, nearly one fourth of whom were local hunkies.

Following his trial for "inciting to riot" in Selma, Ala., the last college visited was Hampton Institute. The most outstanding incident during his speech at Hampton to nearly 1500 students was the outburst by one student wearing an ROTC uniform who got quite agitated while Stokely was talking about the war in Vietnam who jumped up and shouted at Stokely, "I'll kill you if my government asked me to!" He was promptly and strongly booed by the students and let out of the auditorium by a faculty member. That was on Monday. The following Friday there was an anti-ROTC demonstration at Hampton; fifty guys turned in their ROTC uniforms, and their action was supported by the women students who held a sleep-out Saturday night.

In Texas, Stokely spoke to capacity crowds at three universities. Two of the universities were white schools, the University of Houston and the University of Texas in Austin, which were arranged as fund-raising engagements by the SNCC chapter at Texas Southern University. There was a black group at Houston called COBRA which managed the technical details of this speaking engagement. At Texas Southern University, where there is a strong campus SNCC group and there have been militant protests to maintain it as a recognized campus organization, Stokely spoke in the afternoon to a packed auditorium of about 3000 students.

Participants in the tour were George Ware, Stanley Wise, Cleveland Sellers, Ernest Stephens, and Warrell Williams; Regina Pleasant and Simuel Schutz participated in the tour at different intervals.

Mr. MANUEL. Among the colleges which were visited in "the campus tour" reported upon by Stephens, was Texas Southern University in Houston, Tex., where a riot broke out May 16-17, 1967, in which a Houston police officer was shot and killed during heavy exchanges of gunfire on the college campus. Testimony in the subcommittee's hearings, part 1 of the printed record, shows clearly that the numerous disturbances which took place on the campus of Texas Southern and elsewhere in Houston before and during the riot were instigated and carried out by a group of experienced agitators, most of whom were SNCC members. Evidence in those hearings showed that the SNCC leadership in Houston planned and anticipated "aggressive and destructive violence" during the summer of 1967 in the city of Houston.

It is a fact that the "campus tour" of 1967, and excursions to certain urban areas, resulted in rousing discontent and unrest to the point of violence following the visits of SNCC leaders. Some examples, taken from the subcommittee's hearing record, show that Stokely Car-

michael spoke in Nashville four times during the 3 days immediately preceding the riot in that city.

In Houston, James Forman made inflammatory speeches about black power at two colleges, and the SNCC program and philosophy quickly gained strength; general disruption by SNCC members at Texas Southern University followed his visit. Rap Brown spoke in Cambridge, Md., in the spring of 1967; the same night, following his extremely inflammatory speech, a riot broke out in the Negro community.

At the May 7, 1967, meeting, Stokely Carmichael, then chairman, gave a report on the structure of SNCC in which he outlined the various criteria for staff membership and the differences between project office membership and national staff membership.

This document also identifies the major departments of SNCC as the communications department, the production department, the research department, the photography department, and the campus department.

He also identified the leaders of each department as:

Ethel Minor, communications.

Bill Mahoney, production.

Warcel Williams, Karen Edmonds, and Robert Moore, research.

Julius Lester, photography.

George Ware, campus programs.

James and Leon Jackson, Sojourner Garage.

In this report, Carmichael also gave a description of the duties and responsibilities of the executive secretary, program secretary, and chairman of SNCC.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to document this by inserting in the record staff exhibit SN-18, which is the report referred to made by Chairman Carmichael.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 424" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 424

THE STRUCTURE OF SNCC

It is imperative that if we are to continue functioning and to stay alive as an organization, we must begin to create a structure that will not begin to meet our demands. The structure that we have is archaic, to say the least. It is haphazard. It is run on the basis, to use Courtland Cox's phrases, individual initiative and allows for reduplicating of energies and most of time just an utter waste of energy. I think as an organization, we must now begin to stop groping with all sorts of nonsensical questions about authority and all that nonsense. There needs to be some type of authority in this organization.

We need to tighten up our organization so that our haphazard way of functioning will no longer exist or we will be destroyed. We need to tighten it up just in terms of our own security and our own protection. We need to begin to give authority to people so that resources can be allocated through clear channels so that manpower can be channeled through the correct sources and that we can begin to function and these people who are not functioning we can pick out and fire them.

We need to set a criteria for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Let it be crystal clear that the people whose names on the staff list who are at the staff meeting now are members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. In the future, anybody who wishes to become a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee must first have the local project put them

on staff on local SNCC. This does not mean they are on the staff of national SNCC. They can participate on policy decisions on the local area. To become a member of National SNCC and to become able to participate in the staff meeting and voting, they must first be on the staff for at least six months, at least six months. If you are on the staff for at least six months, you can attend the first staff meeting without voting privileges. At the second staff meeting you can attend with full voting privileges. After the end of six months, you can become a full member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee after having attended at least one staff meeting.

That means that your name will be added to the official list in Atlanta and that is where you are theoretically will receive your paycheck.

We should clarify what I mean by local area. This means, for example, when some one wishes to become a member of SNCC in Mississippi. Then the local project director might put them on staff at the okay of the state director. Then they are part of Mississippi SNCC. That does not mean they are part of National SNCC. They can sit in on the staff meeting of Mississippi SNCC. If National SNCC is having a staff meeting and they have only been on the staff for about four months, then may come. This will cut down on the number of people who just want to join SNCC because it is romantic and drift back. The person will first have to be on the Mississippi staff and then added to National staff. That is the only procedure by which a person can become a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Our recruitment for people will no longer be haphazard. The staff director should decide how many people he needs, what type of people he needs, skills he wants them to have. After he has listed the criteria of that, the type of people, male, female, the job of skills, etc., then if we have people who want to become members of SNCC who can fill the certain slots. We will not any longer recruit people haphazardly. We cannot afford to; we already have too many functionless people in the organization.

I just want to say one thing about the salaries. I think we have to priority our salaries should be given first to married people; whenever we have it, they should get it. Secondly, people in Atlanta should have their rent paid and have subsistence at all times. The rest of us in the field will just have to make it whenever we can. This should be an established criteria.

Okay, we want to move on now to the structure of the organization. SNCC should have to be structured a number of ways. We should start at the bottom with the local SNCC group which would be a local project. let's say Holmes County, Miss., you have a local project, you have a project director. The project director is responsible for the programs and the personnel and the resources of that given Holmes County. We also will have a state director. He will be the Mississippi State Director and all of the directors in that state in Holmes County, in LeFlore County, in Hinds County will be responsible to the state directors. The state director will be responsible for the carrying out of the programs, for the personnel and the resources. Above that we will have the Program Secretary to whom the state directors will be then responsible.

The . . . the local director can be responsible for hiring and firing people in Holmes County. If he hires someone in Holmes County and then fires them the appeal goes to the state director. If the person is on National Staff, then that person takes his next appeal, if the decision is upheld by the state director, to the Program Secretary. If the program Secretary upholds that decision and he is still not satisfied, he then goes to the Central Committee and then to the staff.

If that person is not on National staff, then he goes to the state director. If the state director upholds the local director's decision and he is still dissatisfied, his last appeal is the entire Mississippi staff. And if they uphold the decision there is no other recourse since he is not on the national staff.

The project director can be fired by the state director. The project director, if he feels this is an unfair decision, can then appeal to the Program Secretary and then the Central Committee and then the coordinating committee.

ATLANTA OFFICE

The Atlanta office is going to become very, very important as we move from now on. Therefore, it is no longer going to function in the haphazard manner under which it has functioned and the schedule is functioning under now. With the exception of perhaps, Freddie Green and Ethel Minog, no one comes into

the office at nine o'clock and every one runs to the cars at five to leave. The switchboard is unmanned half of the time and messages are not given and we can go on ad infinitum. I believe that the reasons that these problems now exist and will continue to exist is that there is not any one with authority to see that anyone has a specific function and that if they are not functioning are fired or told to get out of the Atlanta office. We must then move to a position that some one is responsible for the Atlanta office who will be in Atlanta and who will see that people who are not functioning and will assume that they do not wish to work for the organization.

I think that the Atlanta office should be managed by the Executive Secretary. The Executive Secretary should see to it that the Atlanta office is functioning. If he or she cannot do it by themselves, he should appoint some one to do it who will be sure to see that the Atlanta office functions.

I want to repeat that the Atlanta office can become a stable way for us to make some money but it must be able to function so that people write or call where messages get through. The Atlanta office should prepare a budget. It should state the number of people it needs to run the office, everyone else who does not have a position in the Atlanta office should not be in the Atlanta office and they should be asked to leave the Atlanta office; if they do not want to leave the Atlanta office and work in the field, they should be fired.

We should begin to look at the Atlanta office as it is structured. The major departments are the Communications Dept., the Production Dept., the Research Dept., the Photo Dept. and the Campus Dept. The Communications Dept. is headed by Ethel Minor. Her main job is putting out news releases, answering correspondence in terms of people asking for materials, keeping up with what projects are doing and send them out.

The Production Dept. is headed by Bill Mahoney. Of course, they are responsible for printing most of the posters and most of the leaflets, booklets and brochures we put out.

The Research Dept. is staffed by Warcell Williams, Karen Edmonds and Bob Moore. Their job is to do the necessary research needed for people to function in the field.

The Photo Dept. is headed by Julius Lester who is out of the country right now. They have been taking most of the photographs and using them in books and sending them out. I think the most noteworthy thing they have done was the SNCC calendar which was an attempt at something new this year which turned out to be quite successful.

The Campus Program is headed by George Ware. You've received on Sunday the details of that department.

I want to include in that the garage, the Sojourner Garage, which is headed by James and Leon Jackson.

Now I think that most of the departments in the Atlanta office have been functioning independently. I think that is good except that they should be coordinated. I do believe that they should have separate heads and should be independent so that when something needs to be done, you know who to go to. We will then be able to recognize who is not and who is functioning and who is responsible for what.

My own feeling is that when you want something done, you should not try and do it yourself but go to the people in charge. For example, when you want something done in printing, don't do it yourself and mess up but go to Mahoney. He must be spoken to and the deals must be made with him. We have to see our printing operation in terms of making money. We just cannot afford just to use it. It's just too valuable.

Secondly, in terms of the garage. I do not think that we can afford any more to have major repairs on cars outside of the garage. If that is done, we do not need the garage. Now I understand the complaints about the garage. I think the main trouble is not that we have had mechanics but that we have no capital. We are going to try to alleviate that problem by getting some money to start off with. Once the garage has some capital from which to begin, we can make it a commercial garage where we can make some money off of it. I think it is important to recognize that this organization cannot afford to pay \$400.00, \$300.00, etc. to other people to repair when we have a garage right here where it can be repaired.

I believe that once the Executive Secretary is given the job of managing all of the departments and given the authority to move, place people, to remove to replace people and to shift around people, then we will begin to have a good functioning office.

Three Elected Officials (Executive Secretary, Program Secretary, Chairman) : I want to give a little bit of criticism of myself and my role. I don't think that because of Ruby's illness, there is much criticism. Cleve I want to criticize by saying that I just don't think he ever understood the concept of Program Secretary but again, I think that is because things were never outlined for him and so he haphazardly floundered from one place to another doing what he thought he was to do.

Myself, as chairman, I think there are a number of criticism that can be leveled. I am not sure that if vocally I didn't carry the organization further than it wanted to go. I think the major criticism is that I was unable to work inside the organization, SNCC. Most of my work has been outside the organization, that is, in terms of speaking engagements and all of the talk of policy that there was little time left for me to work inside the organization. I think that is a trap that the chairman of this organization will inevitable fall into if we do not change the structure of the organization because there is no way for him to move and begin to move inside and there is so much frustration inside that I think they would rather turn to the outside rather than face the inside. This is because there is not any authority and they have no guidelines as what to do and they are afraid to move because whatever that move, they will be pounced on by people stepping out of their bounds.

I think that is very important because if we are to move inside internal SNCC and begin to bring the organization up tighter together, that is our major task between now and our next staff meeting. That is why I wanted to spend so much time on the structure of SNCC and outlining the roles of each of the elected officials. I want to deal first with the Program Secretary.

I think the duties of the Program Secretary should be number one, to allocate resources; all the resources in the organization except money, to all of the projects. That is to say it is not his job to be personnel director, but if in fact there are three cars and five projects calling for those cars, the decision as to the allocation should be made by the Program Secretary. His job will be to be in touch with all of the projects and what they are doing so that he can best decide which ones need the car. He should also be able to allocate manpower. That is, in terms of projects asking for X, Y, Z person, the program secretary will know who is available to work in those areas and assign them to those areas. The assignment of money should not come to the Program Secretary. I think it would be too hectic and confusing for him to be doing all of these things. Between the meetings of the Central Committee, he should decide the major programmatic areas that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee should undertake. That is, if there is a major programmatic area to be moved into between the Central Committee meetings, he will make the major decision. He should be in contact with the chairman and executive secretary. In the past, I think those decisions have fallen on the chairman and the executive secretary, especially the chairman because he moves around so much and people just come to him. Those decisions must be channeled to the Program Secretary.

He should be responsible for getting information to the staff concerning programs. He should be responsible for all agreements with other organizations, that would include coalitions, initial talks with any groups, endorsements, etc. The approval should come from the Central Committee. He should have the power to fire any member of the staff except the members elected by the Coordinating Committee. He should be on hand to accept speaking engagements. Between staff meetings, he should have at least one staff meeting with each state project. He should have a credit card and a car at his disposal. He must keep an up-to-date staff list which should be a monthly staff list and assignments. Any new additions to staff, should first come through the Program Secretary.

The Executive Secretary should be responsible for the functioning of the Atlanta office. He should set the policy for fund-raising and all fund-raising ventures must be approved first by the Executive Secretary. He will be responsible for keeping the financial records and make decisions about the allocation of money to the staff, must be responsible for calling together the Central Committee meeting and the staff meeting and must also be on hand for speaking engagements.

The administering of the organization should be left in the hands of the Executive Secretary.

Finally, I want to talk about the Chairman. I think the Chairman's only role can be main spokesman for the organization, period. For him to do anything else is absolutely absurd. I want to leave him open because we can talk more about that rather than to put it on paper.

Mr. MANUEL. We also have as exhibits reports to the—SNCC staff—from Ethel Minor, communications director, in which she outlines the activities of the communications department and its relationship to the overall SNCC structure; a report from the Student Voice (production department), recapping its activities and estimating its future programs; and a report from the Sojourner Motor Fleet which identifies it as the transportation arm of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

We would like to introduce at this time the three reports mentioned as Exhibits SN-19, 20 and 21.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received and appropriately numbered. (The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 425, 426 and 427" for reference and follow:)

Exhibit No. 425

MAY 5, 1967.

Report: To staff.

From: Ethel Minor, Communications Director.

COMMUNICATIONS DEPT.

Personnel, Ethel Minor, Director since Charlie Cobb left Atlanta; Carolyn Baker, steady volunteer worker (Claudia Tillman, SNCC staff member, who worked very well in communications will soon go on indefinite leave of absence and work on a part time basis. Yvette Jackson, volunteer worker, just began coming in to replace Claudia on Thursday, May 5th.

What We Do: The Communications Dept. of the Atlanta office handles (1) internal communications within SNCC (feeding to and receiving from local SNCC offices and projects, all kinds of information); and (2) external communications (feeding information to the public and receiving information from the public, other organizations, and individuals) (national and international).

SPECIFIC INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS WITHIN SNCC

1. Sending news information, press statements, memos, reports, and SNCC publications to staff. We request that local SNCC offices and projects keep us informed of their activities and need for information and materials. Unfortunately, we do not always have materials made to fill staff orders, and local offices and projects do not always keep us informed of their activities.

2. Relaying messages and information by phone to workers outside of Atlanta, receiving messages and information from them.

SPECIFIC EXTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

1. Distributing SNCC publications to people in the black community and all others who request information and willing to pay for it. A few months ago, we began to sell SNCC pamphlets and publications to all who are able to pay for them. To black students and other people in the black community not financially well off we give the information free or at a reduced cost. The sale of these publications has been successful, we get orders and money every day. We work closely with the Production Dept. in this matter—(Bill Mahoney, Wilson Brown, and Dena Malone).

2. Handling all communications and mail from people interested in SNCC, placing those people on our mailing list, sending information to them, answering questions that black people pose to us. Also answering mail from black people who attack SNCC and the movement. Dena Malone in Production Dept. works with us on mail list and name plates.

3. Handling communication and mail of a political nature, national and international, directed to Stokely or to SNCC in general.

4. Writing, printing, and delivering press statements and letters to the public, calling press conferences etc.

5. Writing and distributing SNCC Newsletter, which from now on will be a SNCC Newspaper on newsprint, regular newspaper. Probably will come out

once a month. Future plans of communications and production depts. include developing a regular magazine, professionally done, perhaps on a semi-monthly basis. On these matters, we work closely with the Production Dept., which does lay-out and printing of newspaper and any future magazine.

6. Talking to and meeting with various individuals (foreign reporters, foreign students or visitors, black students, and others) who come to the Atlanta office to "interview" or meet with SNCC people. Often, other SNCC staff members sit in on and talk with such groups. There is a conscious attempt at this point to carefully screen foreigners with whom we meet, and to grant interviews only to black and selected foreign newsmen.

7. Handling local calls from the Atlanta black community from people who call to "give information" to us on what has happened in their neighborhood—usually acts of violence or discrimination against black people.

PROBLEMS WE FACE

1. Relationship to press: See memo sent to staff a few days ago from communications. We must move to the position where our *only* communication with the press will be press statements and information purposely made available to them, and that will be *all*.

2. Loose organization and structure of SNCC and lack of discipline which hampers efficient operation of Communications Dept.

A. Constant flow of other SNCC staff personnel and visitors who come into office, sit around and talk about things not related to work, shout and mess around—this disrupts our work and makes it very difficult to function in this atmosphere.

B. A very serious problem, I feel, is the fact that anyone—outsiders particularly, feel free to come in, read over, and look through folders and letters concerning internal SNCC business and some matters which I consider confidential. We all must be aware of the precarious position which SNCC is now in due to: (1) agitation on black campuses and black community and agitational effect of spreading concept of black power, (2) our stand and agitation on the draft and Vietnam war, and (3) international relations. The situation in which we find ourselves demands that we become more security conscious and tighten-up in terms of structure and discipline. We in Communications have reluctant, up to this point, to request that people refrain from making themselves at home with communications business because the office has always functioned in a loose manner and no policy has been established to control this type of thing. I do feel that it is time that such policy and procedure be established.

3. Lack of personnel: At present, I am only staff member working in Communications. Carolyn Baker, who tentatively looks forward to joining SNCC staff has been a steady good worker, she is a volunteer at present, although she has assumed major responsibilities in Communications. Claudia Tillman, who handled requests for information and filled orders will now be on leave of absence and work only part time. Our new volunteer worker, Yvette Jackson, has only been with us one day and seems very capable and willing to work. We do not know how long she will stay.

4. Lack of sufficient funds for paper, ink, postage, etc.

5. Fact that Production Dept. is operating under handicap of lack of personnel there, thereby making it difficult to get publications printed on time, paper cut, etc.

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER SNCC DEPARTMENTS

We work closely with Production Dept. downstairs and with Research Dept. Research collaborated with us on getting facts and statistics and in the development of ideas and concepts for future publications. Production collaborates with us in developing ideas and concepts for publications, cutting paper, printing, helping with mail list.

MAY 8, 1967.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY US ON SUNDAY, MAY 7, 1967

1. The coordinating committee voted to accept the staff list enclosed in our folders, with the addition of Wendy Parris, James Jackson, Leon Jackson and Bill Hall, as the decision making body with the right to attend staff meeting and the

right to vote. The following persons added to the list have the right to attend staff meeting as observers, but without voting privileges: Norman Barnett (Duke), Bennie Greathart, Bob Hoover, Carolyn Baker, Michele Moreland, Jimmy Lyttle, Mrs. Ella Baker, Ernest Stevens, Alfred "Moose" Collins, and Don Howard.

2. That the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee apply to the United Nations Economic and Security Council for Non-Governmental Organization status.

3. That the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee declares that it is a Human Rights Organization interested not only in Human Rights in the United States, but throughout the world.

4. That: In the field of international relations the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee asserts that its position in relation to the governments of the world is one of positive non-alignment. It encourages and supports the liberation struggles against colonialism, racism, and economic exploitation.

Note: Resolution number 4 will be discussed further today, Monday, May 8, 1967, and the wording of the first sentence is to be changed.

SNCC STAFF LIST

If your name do not appear on this list please do not come you will only be asked to leave.

Fay Bellamy, Wilson Brown, Joyce Brown, Stokely Carmichael, Charlie Cobb, Courtland Cox, Lester Core, Karen Edmonds, Jim Forman, Freddie Greene, Rufus Hinton, Sheslonia Johnson, Julius Lester, Jennifer Lawson, Bill Mahoney, Dena Maloney, Fred Meely.

Evelyn Marshall, Ethel Minor, Bob Moore, Kathleen Neal, Regina Pleasant, William Porter, Donald Stone, Ruby Robinson, Cleve Sellers, Willie Ricks, Simuel Shultz, John Tillman, Claudia Tillman, George Ware, Stanley Wise, Warcell Williams, Ramona Battiste, John Battiste, Shirley Wrigat, Robert Fullilove.

Carol Carter, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Roberta Jones, John Wilson, Lester McKinnie, Monroe Sharp, Dorothy Dewberry, Danny Brown, Hubert Brown, Cornelius Jones, Carl Nealy, Johnnie Jackson, Julian Tyler, Theophilis Smith, Patricia Weatherly, Eddie Brooks, Lemme Boyd, John Buffington, Isaac Coleman, Ralph Featherstone.

Florida Henderson, Carolyn Tillman, Larry Fox, Robert Cableton, Myrtle Glascoe, Lee Bankhead, Andrew Green, Robert Fletcher, Jesse Harris, Fannie Lou Hamer, Mary Lane, James Jones, Charles McLaurin, Jesse Harris, Isiah Sellers, E. W. Steptoe, Hollis Watkins*, Phil Hutchins*, Denise Reese*.

EXHIBIT No. 426

THE STUDENT VOICE STAFF MEETING REPORT

At present the Student Voice is functioning primarily as a printing department for SNCC, as well as taking on small jobs for outside concerns. These jobs are based primarily in the Black community (requests from groups—Atlanta Bronze Pageant, and individuals—Rev. Samples, La Cuisine Club). It is from these jobs, as well as the sale of publications, that most of the income of Student is derived.

In addition to printing, the Student Voice is in the process of developing its communication base, with particular emphasis on the Black community. This is being done by attempting to re-activate old mailing lists, in order to see which of our former contacts are still interested in receiving information concerning SNCC's activities. The other approach is to contact groups and individuals in the Black community—both those who have shown some interest in SNCC, and those who have yet to be "involved." These groups include "grass-roots" people, as well as professionals, and students.

It is the feeling of the Student Voice that one of our primary purposes should be to educate Black people from all different strata, who are at different levels of awareness as to their condition in this society. It is the feeling of the Student

*Have been added to the staff. Chico Neblett has just returned from a leave of absence.

Voice that this education must be done graphically, as well as verbally, and must reach as great a part of the Black community as is possible, in as little time as possible.

It is the feeling of the Student Voice that there is a need for a kind of "mass media" for Black people on a nation-wide level. It is this void which a Student Voice printed newspaper could fill. Such a newspaper would not only inform the Black community of the activities of SNCC or of projects in the South, but of those events which are pertinent to all Black people. This would also encourage Black groups and organizations to keep in closer contact with us concerning their activities. Again, this contact should be without regard to a Black group's position or level of awareness. It is with these beliefs in mind, that the Student Voice hopes to broaden its base of communication, and thereby increase the number of people who will be able to receive direct information concerning SNCC activities.

The Student Voice with full facilities for operating an efficient print shop, hopes to eventually be able to take on larger outside printing jobs (newspapers for Black groups, magazines, books), and to make other services (name plate-making, addressing service) available to the Black community at less cost than other companies. At present Mr. Lowell Ware of the Atlanta Voice has requested that we make plates of his subscribers; in the future he is thinking of having us address his newspaper. This is a good source of income, and does not require much extra time.

Another function of the Student Voice is to operate as a mailing service, not just for SNCC, but hopefully for other groups. This would also increase SNCC's communication base through the use of mailing lists of these groups. The equipment is available. Our problem at this time is labor. If Student Voice is to be able to expand its activities and services it must have an adequate labor force. Not all persons need be skilled in order to work "downstairs", there is a great need for people to do good "old-fashioned, non-intellectual, manual labor", on a constant basis.

It is hoped that as part of a "mass media" communication in the Black Community, a series of comic books will be able to be developed and printed by the Student Voice. There are several artists and cartoonists who are willing to contribute their drawings to us for comic books, cartoons, etc. This endeavor would probably call for investment in better equipment in order that a finer quality of print can be produced.

There is also a need for improvement of quality in the work being done at present, such as posters, leaflets, etc., not just in printing quality, but also in appearance (layout, artistic design, coloring). As mentioned above funds will be needed to eventually invest in new equipment and its upkeep, as well as constantly having money on hand for supplies. Money will also have to be available to employ people with talents in specialized fields (graphic design, cartoonists, printers). At present Larry Dixon, who works as an artist for the Atlanta Voice, is also doing work for Student Voice, on a part-time basis. It is as a result of our being able to employ Larry's professional talents, that such works of high quality as the SNCC Tag Day posters, and Aframerican Report Vol. 1, No. 3 could be turned out by the Student Voice. Mr. Herman Bailey has donated his paintings to be made into prints, and the money from their sales given to Student Voice.

This brings us to the fund-raising aspect of Student Voice, with respect to SNCC. At present Student Voice is operating on a subsistence budget, needing every bit of money it can get to finance its operations (equipment, supplies, postage). However, it is hoped that soon Student Voice will become financially stable, and funds will be able to be plowed back into SNCC. At present this is done by allowing a commission of 40% on all sales of literature, with the idea of the 40% going to the general SNCC funds.

Attached is a prospectus of the Student Voice program for one year (includes proposed budget). Also attached is a statement of the present financial situation of Student Voice (approximate.).

STUDENT VOICE PROSPECTUS, 1967

An outgrowth of the struggles of the Afro-American in the civil rights movement was the development of a publishing company to essentially spread the news of the movement to the white and black community for its aid and support.

The early Student Voice Newspaper served this purpose. As the struggle of Afro-Americans has continued, it has become increasingly clear that the movement must address itself to developing the potential of its own oppressed Black community. The ramifications of this distinct shift in policy are vast.

The question asked is, "How do you use the graphic arts media to communicate with an essentially non-reading public?" The Student Voice has addressed itself to that question for the past two years. One early attempt in 1965 was the "Freedom Primer" book, Negroes in American History. This was a vividly illustrated Afro-American History book that projected through its text and illustrations the dramatic history of Blacks in America. The Freedom Primer read by 10 or 15 students in one rural community center does more to break down the myth surrounding Afro-Americans, i.e. "Niggers never did nothing anyway, so they ain't gonna do nothing good now," than a dozen street demonstrations.

Most people in the movement today who are community organizers, etc. recognize that they are engaged in a long range struggle with an unusual paralyzing self-hatred that is constantly inbred into "Negroes" by the distorted images and values they see of themselves projected by the mass media. Until we address ourselves to the battle for the right to control our image, define our identity and dignify our heritage, we have not yet begun to fight.

We seek to aid the development of community organizers through the publication of programed comic books that explain what a landlord can do, what a landlord cannot do, why you pay sales tax, or in a non-graduated sales tax fair to a poor man. We also print aggressive posters and pamphlets, leaflets and newsletters that raise questions about the very often over-looked facts of life for Afro-Americans.

As the movement's direction changes and it confronts new issues and dilemmas, some of its fundamental problems still exist. How do you inform, arouse and educate large numbers of people when you have limited manpower and resources? It is the purpose of the publications department of SNCC to educate Black People to the fact of their oppression and to speak of roads to liberation. Starting from the assumption that Black People are not the same as whites, the Student Voice would speak of our oppression and thus help give the Black man a tongue.

Because the language of the ghetto must be a dramatic one, the essential job of the Student Voice will be to place before the people—in writing and graphic form—spectacles which speak of oppression and liberation.

To accomplish this the Student Voice offers the following programs:

I. To continue to publish dramatic posters. SNCC posters in the past have effectively conveyed the message of one man, one vote; freedom now; police brutality. We also have posters of Samuel Younge, the Atlanta Riots, Malcolm X, and in the future, ones on Slum Housing, Unemployment, Black Pride and Self-Protection.

II. To continue to publish booklets, cards, letter heads, leaflets, stationary, etc. that serve to "tell it like it 'tis".

III. A special project which would develop comic books' potential as an educational mechanism.

Student Voice budget estimate (1 year)

Cost of production:

Afro-American (edited by Fay Belamy) News Report.....	\$720.00
Posters.....	570.00
Cards, letterheads, leaflets, etc.....	2,400.00
Comic books.....	3,600.00

Personnel:

1 Professional Printer at \$40 per week.....	3,840.00
2 Assistants at \$40 per week.....	3,840.00
1 Typewriter at \$40 per week.....	1,920.00
1 Administrator at \$40 per week.....	1,920.00
2 Graphic Artists:	
1 full-time Atlanta based at \$40 per week.....	7,680.00
1 free lance on commission.....

Total budget..... 28,490.00

Budget for Atlanta Office (monthly)

Blue Cross-Blue Shield.....	\$367. 00
Telephone bill.....	1, 700. 00
Stamps.....	500. 00
Geatner (stencils correction fluid).....	165. 00
Utilities.....	574. 00
CIT (monthly payment on the folder machine).....	117. 00
Maintenance for the building.....	570. 00
Repair on machine and service contacts.....	200. 00
Rents for the Atlanta office staff.....	975. 00
Georgia unemployment.....	228. 65
DC unemployment.....	21. 00
Subscriptions.....	12. 00
Paper.....	175. 00
Miscellaneous.....	75. 00
Travel.....	375. 00
Total.....	6, 265. 25

We have some outstanding old bills that amount to \$8,700.02. All of these bills are past due most of them are either left from last summer and some are before I came started working in the Bookkeeping Dept. My feeling is that they should be paid off as soon as possible before we get caught up in the summer. From past experience we know that we receive less money in the summer than any other time of the year. We should try to raise money for Bail Bond with the summer coming up.

EXHIBIT No. 427

To: Coordinating Committee.
From: Sojourner Motor Fleet.

We here at Sojourner, the transportation arm of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, feel that this report will sum up the whole transportation situation within the organization. As everyone knows any army fighting a war depends upon its transportation for mobility, except for us. We feel that the transportation system has been greatly overlooked.

The Sojourner Motor Garage can be one of the best equipped garages in Atlanta with a few minor additions in equipment. We can do everything to a car except body work and alignment. We also need help in fixing the cars. We are hoping that our budget in the future will include a body man, another mechanic (Donald Howard) and that an aligning machine will be our next piece of equipment.

The location of the garage is fair. It is situated on a main street near town where customers can find it. The building itself is big enough to accommodate a large amount of business. The only serious handicap of the building itself is the lighting which is hazardous, bringing complaints from the fire inspector and the insurance investigator.

Being relatively new to the organization, we felt a little timid about asking for policy changes. During the time that we have been here, we have heard a lot of comments about the transportation problems. But we honestly feel that the only thing wrong with the SNCC transportation is the policies which direct it. The policies are aimed at keeping the motor fleet unorganized and impoverished.

We have a lot of things in the garage that should be sold, but who can sell them? We have cars which should be pulled in, who can pull them in? What is the sense in having a garage run by a secretary? Why spend so much money on renting cars when you can put money in your own cars and have them on call at the garage.

There are enough cars in the organization to take care of its needs and still have four cars on call at the garage which would be capable of driving to California if necessary. As long as you as an organization refuse to acknowledge that the people who should make policy concerning cars are the people who know about them then we should close up the shop.

At the last Central Committee meeting the Sojourner Garage submitted a proposal that was accepted and passed by that committee. In that proposal we outlined things which the organization could do to make Sojourner a fund raising

aria of the organization. We still are waiting for its implementation. We still feel that the proposal is still workable with a few minor additions and one major addition. The minor changes are listed below:

(a) Instead of the original \$200 we are asking that \$500 be placed in the Sojourner account for primary funds and emergency funds. We lost one of the best cars we had in the station wagon because of lack of funds.

(b) That the director of Sojourner Motor Fleet be from the garage and a secretary be added to the staff of the garage.

(c) That all policies made by the central committee concerning Sojourner be approved by the director of Sojourner.

The one major change that we think is imperative at this time is that we think the coordinating committee should create a new job. Everyone has heard of the troubles that this organization has in getting back resources that they dispense to projects. We feel that one person in the organization should have the authority to go out and reposes these materials for the organization using any method that he deems necessary. A certain type of individual is needed for this job, and we feel that since the main resources we have trouble with is cars, we here at Sojourner feel that we should make the choice of the individual with the coordinating committee approval.

We hope that we will have the opportunity of meeting with the committee concerning all the particulars of this draft at any time they so desire.

SOJOURNER MOTOR FLEET.

Mr. MANUEL. One of the SNCC staff members present, Robert S. Hoover, gave a report of his activities in the area of East Palo Alto, Calif., and his successes in infiltrating the educational system in that community and its importance to SNCC.

In December 1969, Hoover was a leader in the violent demonstrations which occurred at San Mateo City College.

We would like to enter in as an exhibit Robert Hoover's report to the central committee which he gave in May of 1967.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 428" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 428

REPORT FROM EAST PALO ALTO, CALIF. STAFF MEETING MAY 1967

East Palo Alto is an unincorporated community of 20,000 people, with approximately 15,000 Blacks. It is located in the southeastern tip of San Mateo County, surrounded by the cities of Menlo Park and Palo Alto. East Palo Alto has been systematically reduced to a Black low income residential community by the cities of Menlo Park and Palo Alto annexing all of industrial and Bay front property and closed housing and employment opportunities in the area.

Fifteen months ago a group of people in the Black community got together and wrote a proposal for funds to hire a community organizer. They received \$17,000 for an eighteen month project. They hired me, Bob Hoover, in March of 1966. (This is the only case that I know of where a Black community has hired someone from within that community to organize it.) I started out by trying to stop the many small organizations from fighting amongst themselves. Soon they began to support each other . . . at this point we began to move towards a large organization with representation from all organizations and churches in the community. Now 30 of the 50 most important churches and organizations are signed up and attending meetings every two weeks. This has been a beautiful vehicle for developing new leadership and keeping the people informed.

About three months ago the Palo Alto Friends of SNCC agreed to pay part of the salary for a second organizer, Syrtiler Kabat.

I cannot go into detail about how and why things are happening but I think some important things are going on in East Palo Alto. I will name a few.

1. The community organization is trying to raise money to continue the position of the community organizer.

2. Syrtiler Kabat and myself were elected to the elementary school board last month.

3. There is a group of very active high school students.

4. Last month we kept a war on poverty program. . . Upward Bound . . . out of the community. This means we had to beat Stanford University and Washington on the issue of community control.

5. The community organization is very close to trying to establish a community cooperative fund

6. We have a school started by one of the most active organizations in East Palo Alto. This school is administered by Black people. It has 200 students and is growing. It is planning a summer project in which high school students will teach pre-school, kindergarten and first graders. The high school students will also attend classes in community organization and attempt to organize the block they will be working on this summer.

7. We are fighting for control of the job training center. We will seat ten people on the Board of Directors next month. We already have two on the Board . . . the ten will give us twelve out of thirty.

The beauty of all of this is that it is being done without help of any kind from the outside . . . the community is doing everything itself. We are learning that the Black community can build, control, and support its own institutions.

ROBERT S. HOOVER.

Mr. MANUEL. In order to further demonstrate the role of SNCC as an organizing instrument, we would like to introduce a document entitled "Where It's At—A Research Guide for Community Organizing."

Identified in the booklet as distributors are, among others: the Movement Press, the Radical Education project, Southern Students Organizing Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

This booklet, consisting of 95 pages, is a complete guide to the would-be community organizer for finding out any and all facts relating to any specific community so that radical groups can compile information that could enable them to organize and control any number of aspects of community life.

On page 95 of the booklet, there appears this statement:

The draft of the research guide was prepared with the aid of a grant from the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation.

The Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation is administered by attorney Victor Rabinowitz and other members of his family. Victor Rabinowitz was required by the U.S. Government to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as an agent for the Castro Government of Cuba.

We would like to introduce this document, Mr. Chairman, in its entirety.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 429" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. In 1968, SNCC published and distributed a pamphlet by James Forman, entitled "1967—High Tide of Black Resistance."

We would like to introduce this as exhibit SN-24. In this document, Forman details the history of the black revolutionary movement and enumerates the reasons why black militant groups should unite and move toward violent revolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he use the term "violent revolution" in the pamphlet?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir. There are references to it.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 430" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 430

1967: HIGH TIDE OF BLACK RESISTANCE

(By James Forman)

ODE TO 1967

The year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. Our liberation will only come when there is final destruction of this mad octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

To work, to fight, and to die for the liberation of our people in the United States means, therefore, to work for the liberation of all oppressed people around the world. Liberation movements in many parts of the world are now aware that, when they begin to fight colonialism, it becomes imperative that we in this country try to neutralize the possibilities of full-scale United States intervention as occurred in Santa Domingo, as is occurring in Vietnam, and as may occur in Haiti, Venezuela, South Africa or wherever. While such a task may well be beyond our capacity, an aroused, motivated, and rebelling black American population nevertheless helps in our indivisible struggle against racism, colonialism, and apartheid.

The above analysis is not new to many black militants. As we struggled in the United States during the last ten years and especially during the last eight years from 1960 to 1967, we were quite aware of the international effect of our struggle. We have been molding a stronger resistance spirit, forging a greater determination to fight against injustices, developing black consciousness and a spirit of internationalism. Today we see an upsurge of understanding that we live in the belly of the octopus.

We are a colony in his eye.

We are fixed in a strategic position.

We have a debt to repay for our ancestors who were wrenched from the shores of Africa and dispersed throughout the world by white western "civilization."

We have a responsibility to the future of all mankind but especially black people, our people.

We know this.

We have known it.

"The man" knows it, too. The man is the United States government. The man is everywhere around the world with his industrial-military complex, trying to save himself, white America, the apex of imperialism. The CIA, the warmakers, the Wall Street bankers, the Southern cracker-racists such as Senator James O. Eastland and the Northern counterparts such as Goldwater or Reagan or Rockefeller, Lyndon B. Johnson and all future managers of capitalism and the industrial-military complex—all these forces know that we are a colonized people in the United States, exploited, oppressed and suffering from a white Western racism which can never be eliminated under capitalism.

The man also knows this: We, the blacks, the people of African descent, the people suffering the most from racism and exploitation—we are explosive enclaves.

We have given proof of our revolutionary potential. The man does not want any more Harlema, Watts, Newark, Detroit. (But he ain't seen nothing yet!)

Therefore, we must be integrated into the mainstream of Western values. We must be "pacified." Contained. Punished. Silenced. Imprisoned. Or exterminated.

In that order are the means to be used. And to the man we say this:

You can only kill us, but we shall die fighting for our freedom. We shall die knowing full well that we have advanced the cause of liberation. We say to the man that there is no other way for us but to fight by whatever means necessary for our liberation.

We are dead already. We are only walking corpses as long as we don't struggle. You have killed too many of our people. You have killed too many people, period. Your time is up.

We want our world, boy.

We, the colored peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa!

To understand the full significance of what happened in the black liberation struggle during 1967, we must first analyze some of the major developments of the preceding 20 years.

The quest for independence by colonized people around the world, which became sharply accentuated after World War II, had its effect in the United States. Many young blacks talked of the changes that must come in the United States. Many who had fought during World War II began to say, "Since we have fought to make the world safe for democracy, let's fight for democracy here." However, lacking a mass organization led by blacks and dedicated first and foremost to the struggle of black people inside the United States, the frustration and anger of many young blacks could not be consolidated and channeled into mass activity.

The effect of McCarthyism throughout the nation in the 1950's also cannot be minimized. The fear of being labelled a Communist, of having one's family persecuted, of losing one's job, mitigated against the potential for large-scale black resistance immediately after World War II. The middle class and legalistic orientation of such popular "Negro" organizations as the NAACP and the Urban League, helped to thwart a rising tide of militancy. The treachery and abdication of revolutionary leadership in the labor movement further assisted the curbing of protest by many black workers. Guilt by association, certain words or deeds, together with a massive propaganda campaign to save the United States as a bastion of racism and exploitation, had its effect on black people.

Thus the powers-that-be bought time and suppressed the actions of many people actively concerned with black liberation. They instituted a permanent psychosis into the life of United States citizens the fear of Communism. While this mass psychosis was developing within the United States, the military-industrial complex was fast ascending, exterior to the United States, protecting the world from Communism and telling black soldiers in the Korean War that if they did not fight Communism abroad, there would be no country at home in which to fight against racism. The cold war and the policy of containment, as symbolized in the destructive McCarthy activities of the 1950's, had a freezing effect on protest and potential revolutionary activity inside black communities.

But the young black students who were born during World War II did not feel the chilling effect of McCarthyism so much. When most of them were finishing high school, Nkrumah was walking in the United Nations—tall, black, and proud. Sekou Toure, with his penetrating eyes, had said "hell no" to Charles De Gaulle. Images of black men in flowing African robes, sitting at the United Nations, and carrying on the business of their governments, had a profound effect on the consciousness of these black babies born during World War II. These new African realities disproved the old Hollywood images of black people as servants of Tarzan and rifle carriers for the Europeans. A new generation of blacks was emerging.

There were four events inside the United States in the fifties that greatly shaped our struggle today because of their effect on the consciousness of many black people, young and old: (1) The 1954 Supreme Court Decision; (2) The Montgomery Bus Boycott; (3) The lynchings of Emmett Till and Charles Mack Parker; and (4) The Little Rock School "Integration" crisis.

(1) In 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision, *Brown vs. The Board of Education*, that school boards had to desegregate with all deliberate speed. This ruling, which overruled a Supreme Court decision of 1896 upholding segregation, had both positive and negative effect. Among black people, it became a tool with which to challenge White Supremacy. Although desegregation was not in itself revolutionary, to work for desegregation was a revolutionary step at that time because it mobilized the energies of large numbers of hitherto inactive people. They became involved in ad hoc efforts to desegregate schools in different parts of the country: this agitation often produced valuable experience and consciousness. A new stage of struggle opened, although at this point it hardly involved the masses of poor black people.

On the other hand, the decision opened the way for the U.S. government to misrepresent the goal of black people as being "acceptance" into the "American way of life" in other words, integration. This is how the U.S. government, in its propaganda abroad projected the Civil Court decision. Years later, when a SNCC delegation of ten persons went to Guinea in 1964, we found even there an absence of understanding about the nature of our struggle.

In addition, the decision permitted white Southern politicians and their constituents to say that the government had ordered race-mixing which conjured up images of the noble, white Anglo-Saxon mixing his pure blood with that of black people, a horrible prospect from their viewpoint. One result of this was the emergence of the White Citizens Councils, to fight desegregation and maintain white supremacy. These Councils were like the Ku Klux Klan but were usually composed of middle class whites rather than the poorer white racists. They used white power to neutralize and drive out of business both blacks and whites who took positive steps to eliminate aspects of racism. One of their victims was L. C. Bates, the husband of Daisy Mae Bates, leader in the Little Rock school crisis.

Because of these activities and others by reactionary whites, implementation of the Supreme Court decision moved at an extremely slow pace. Ten years after the decision, 96% of the black children in the United States still attended segregated schools. This reality completely contradicted the claims of "justice" and "equality" set forth in American rhetoric. Thus, the Supreme Court decision itself ironically contributed to the erosion of black people's belief in legalism as a method of struggle.

(2) One of the crippling effects of our colonization was that many blacks throughout the country during the fifties complained that black people as a group simply could not get along together. "We cannot act as a group. Everytime one of us crawls to the top, the rest of us pull him back. Niggers ain't shit. Can't do nothing for themselves." These self-destructive and potentially self-fulfilling prophecies were common throughout the United States during the fifties. Therefore, when the Montgomery Bus Boycott started in Alabama, it had a tremendous impact on the consciousness of young people and many older people. It did not matter what the form of the struggle was—black people were getting together because a black woman of Montgomery named Rosa Parks had decided in 1955 that she was simply tired of going to the back of the bus, at the back and call of cracker conductors. She would sit and remain seated. She sat, and thus started the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

(3) The lynching of sixteen-year-old Emmett Till in Money, Mississippi and the lynching of Charles Mack Parker in Poplarville, Mississippi in the late fifties—after black men had fought in World War II and the Korean War—further heightened in people an awareness that the time for action was now. Somehow, the crackers had to be stopped from lynching black people in Mississippi and other Southern states. Over 6,000 known black people had been publicly lynched since "Emancipation."

(4) The image of nine young people, especially young black girls, walking through howling mobs of mad white men in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957, intensified the contradictions in the minds of many of us and further strengthened our determination to do something about this damn crazy system that would permit such a thing, even if it meant "burning it up."

It became quite clear that we needed a mass movement of black people, led by black people, for black people. We had to take certain techniques of mobilization used by the educated elite in Africa and apply them here as the first step in our liberation.

We had to shake the minds of our people free from the colonial shackles of fear—fear of the white man, fear of our own power, fear of acting in behalf of our own interest, fear of organizing ourselves into a self-interest group and placing our own destinies first and foremost in any consideration of what we did. We had to take positive actions in our lifetime if we were concerned about the future of our people.

The international situation was favorable to the development of our struggle, for the United States was engaged in the so-called cold war. We believed that it was necessary to dramatize events so that we could disprove the lie that the United States was a safe democracy, a place where all men lived in peace, and that the blacks were satisfied with the American way.

Such a movement would have to take to the streets. It could not let its creative potential be stifled by allowing legalism to determine Right or Wrong, especially when that legalism had almost always worked to our disadvantage.

Such a movement would have to begin in the South, where racism was most blatant. While racism pervaded all facets of life in the Northern cities, the signs reading "White only," "Not for Colored," "Niggers go to the back" were not found there. Young blacks growing up in Northern cities usually did not

have to face the legalized, open segregation of hotels, lunch counters, bus stations, and even public toilets which insulted the dignity of black people in the South. Usually, they could vote. The concentrated population of the Northern ghettos also created different problems and attitudes from those found in the agrarian South. It was in the South that the contradictions between American rhetoric and reality were greatest.

On February 1, 1960, four black students met at a "white only" lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina and ordered coffee. They were determined to break down the caste system in that particular place—a system that extended all over the Southern part of the United States and in some places in the North. News of this activity spread like a prairie fire throughout the United States, and students all over the South joined in the fight against segregation in public accommodations. Some brothers and sisters were saying they were crazy for sitting there but none could deny they were doing it together. Their actions had a profound impact on the consciousness of our people here in the United States and throughout the world. This was the beginning of what became known as "the movement."

At this time, Miss Ella J. Baker was working for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King. She wanted very much to get some student leaders together who were active in their different "guerilla" bases so that they might find ways to consolidate and unify their efforts. Hence, a call for a Youth Leadership Meeting was issued, and Miss Baker, one of those many unsung heroes of black liberation, worked diligently to get the students to recognize their own power and potential in future organization. The students resisted formidable pressures to become a youth arm of Dr. King's organization.

Out of this meeting on April 17, 1960, Easter morning, was born the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: an independent organization of Southern students, nearly all black, who were tired of legalism, who were tired of being told to wait for the courts, who were not afraid of the man, and from whom emerged many of our current black revolutionaries today.

There can be no question, no argument, about the vanguard role that SNOC as an organization has played since that morning in forging consciousness of the path of black liberation. This is an indisputable fact!

While black students were engaging in their vanguard work, farmers and other poor people of the South who had been denied the right to vote were also raising their voices in protest. In early 1960, in two counties of Tennessee (Fayette and Haywood), the White Citizens Council tried to drive out the black people—who made up the majority of the population—because many of them were "belligerently" demanding the vote. The whites set up a boycott, refusing to sell food and other goods to the blacks. In Fayette County, people erected Tent City and began living in the tents there to focus world attention on the plight of black people in that county. This occurred at the time when Lumumba was fighting for the life and future of the Congo. The significance of his actions was not lost upon those of us struggling in Tent City.

In Monroe, North Carolina at that time, Robert F. Williams was practicing active self-defense as opposed to passive nonviolence. His form of struggle and his later exile from the United States would prove to be omens of the future for other militant blacks.

By early 1961, it became clear that we needed to reappraise our actions and discover ways in which the momentum of the movement could be propelled forward. Several important developments resulted from that reassessment. In terms of strategy, our actions centered around the idea of putting the federal government on the spot by assaulting the contradictions between federal law and American reality. We would play off the conflict between the federal and the state governments of the South. On one level, this strategy took the form of continuing the challenge to segregated facilities. Thus the massive "Freedom Rides" for 1961 attempted to desegregate bus stations and other public facilities in the South, which were officially part of inter-state commerce and therefore came under federal law. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) initiated the Freedom Rides but abandoned them after a Greyhound bus was burned in Alabama. The Rides were then carried through to their final destination in Mississippi under the leadership of a determined group of SNCC students from Fisk University in Tennessee who said that they would die before they saw the Freedom Rides abandoned.

It was the Freedom Rides of 1961 which opened the iceberg of Mississippi. Inside that cold monster was poverty, repression, police and civilian brutality—

and a population waiting for someone to act. This brings us to the second major form of activity in 1961. We would try to get black people of the rural South registered to vote—the vote being guaranteed to all citizens under the U.S. Constitution. Hopefully, black people might then be able to win local offices in counties where blacks had a majority. To struggle for the vote or for electoral offices may sound like conservative efforts, but in a place like Mississippi—where black men had been killed for registering to vote—those aims had revolutionary implications. If we failed, at least we would have further exposed the lie of “democracy” in this country and we would have achieved some organizing of black people.

The experience of the movement's first year and a half also led to a complete reorganization of SNCC. After the summer of 1961, it was decided that we would no longer wait for spontaneity. It was necessary to develop a disciplined organization of young people who would work full time in the movement for subsistence wages.

This was the most important decision that SNCC could have made. It completely revolutionized the nature of how black people would struggle in the United States. (Even as I write this, I am aware that it is just in the last year that the movement in Puerto Rico, Movimiento pro Independencia de Puerto Rico—MPI—has decided to create such a cadre based on the SNCC experience, hoping to avoid some of our mistakes, especially the lack of a systematic political education program.) A full-time staff would provide us with people to assure that the efforts of the sit-in movement continued.

While we were working among the dispossessed of our people, we were testing out our theories of building a mass black consciousness. We did not call it that, however; we called it an identity, a recognition that as people you have the power to act. And if you don't, no one will. We tried to use ourselves as examples that one need not be afraid of the crackers.

We also decided we would not work for profits. We were convinced that making money was antithetical to working for the liberation of our people. If we started making a lot of money or receiving high salaries off of Civil Rights, we would lose our revolutionary consciousness because we would develop a vested interest in those salaries. We examined the history of protest movements and looked at the labor unions as a clear example of leadership selling out to make money. We wanted to structure our organization in order to have checks on ourselves, i.e. ways to keep ourselves revolutionary. We therefore lived among the rural people on their level of poverty. It is precisely because we lived as guerrillas that we were able to survive.

SNCC had no models. We were all young, all sixteen of us who decided that we would form this full-time cadre. Fourteen of us were students who had dropped out of college to give just one year to the movement. Two of us, Bob Moses and myself, were former school teachers. I had come for life, and Bob was not sure how long he would remain.

We had no money. We had no resources as an organization. One typewriter, one desk, and a very, very small office. But there was good will and sympathy throughout the country. Our decision to develop a staff left intact those affiliated college groups in the South from which many future SNCC staff members and officers would be recruited.

But developing a staff was not easy. Getting the intellectual youth to return to the farms and work among our people proved difficult indeed. Many arm-chair revolutionaries criticized us bitterly, calling us integrationists. They did little work themselves among the masses and failed to see the revolutionary implications at that stage of organizing people around the right to vote in the rural South.

We made one other important decision at that time. During the fifties, human rights and civil rights organizations—under the influence of McCarthyism—had begun placing in their constitutions a clause which said that they did not advocate changing the U.S. government by violent overthrow and that they did not admit as members anyone belonging to an organization with such goals. This, in effect, was a disclaimer of any association with Communism. Many of these groups went so far as to try and isolate or destroy any other organization which did not go along with that policy. SNCC, however, took a firm position of non-exclusion, based on the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution which guarantees freedom of speech and association. This led to our being viciously Red-baited on many occasions. Some groups even offered us

money if we would only insert a clause in our Constitution saying that we opposed totalitarianism. We always refused. This point is important, because there was still a strong streak of McCarthyism in the early sixties. There were many groups—as there are today—which were dedicated to patching up the American system instead of changing it basically.

In this period, world events continued to have an impact on the consciousness of black people in the United States. Few people of African descent living in this country could be unaware of the emerging, politically independent African nations. Even black preachers were praying for the success of the Mau Mau, if that's what it took to get the white devil out of Africa. Many activists showed their international awareness when they exhorted crowds of our people by saying that all of Africa would be independent before we got our freedom in the United States. The United Nations and the constant debate on the Algerian War, with frequent references to Dien Bien Phu, helped develop awareness of self-determination, the liberation of a subjected people from colonialism.

But it was the Cuban revolution, occurring only ninety miles from our shores, which demonstrated to many young blacks that revolution was possible and that total social change—the elimination of poverty and illiteracy, corruption and large scale economic exploitation—could not be voted in, but came only after an armed revolution. This realization, like the international consciousness of our people in general, was certainly more widespread in the Northern cities than in the South, and perhaps at its highest in New York City.

While SNCC continued to do its work in the rural South during the early sixties, other leaders were emerging in the North. It is within the understanding of the different problems facing North and South—described earlier in this article—that we must place the emergence of Elijah Muhammed and Malcolm X on the one hand, and the rise of Black Power and Stokely Carmichael on the other hand. The first two were basically products of the urban North, where black had traditionally been more aggressive. Black people in the North suffered from racism, certainly, and Malcolm X was reared in the climate of racism which pervades the entire nation. But the psychological effects of racism were not so destructive in the North; the North had at least the myth of equality, while in the South white supremacy ruled officially as well as systematically.

Thus, on the street corners of many Northern cities, the Muslims and the followers of Marcus Garvey and other nationalists were preaching separation, self-determination and black togetherness over the years. Elijah Muhammed and Malcolm X were products of an existing stream of thought, which arose from an analysis of the condition of black people which said that our problems cannot be solved without separation or revolution. After his rupture with Elijah Muhammed, who then advocated separation, Malcolm X took the road toward revolution and thereby began to galvanize the energies of many young blacks reared in the northern ghettos who were tired of the man's system.

Black Power and Stokely Carmichael arose not only from a recognition of racism but also from actual struggle for social change. They emerged directly out of SNCC's experience in the South. However, the influence of Malcolm X's ideas played an important role. The interplay between SNCC's Southern experience and the thinking of Northern blacks stimulated the emergence of Black Power.

It was in 1960, on the "Meredith March" in Mississippi, that a SNCC Secretary named Willie Ricks raised the cry of Black Power. In reality, he merely shortened the phrase "power for black people"—a goal of SNCC since 1961. SNCC had been working for black power since it first went into the rural areas to develop a struggle against denial of the right to vote. This drive culminated in 1964 with the efforts of the Mississippi Freedom Party, formed by SNCC, to challenge the right of the racist, white so-called "representatives" of Mississippi to be seated at the 1964 convention of the national Democratic Party. That drive reached another peak in 1960, with the efforts of a new, all-black political party to win local offices in Lowndes County, Alabama. Black Power, put simply, meant power for black people and it was not really a new idea.

But the intense and widespread articulation of that concept, especially by Stokely Carmichael, struck a responsive chord across the nation and internationally as well. This occurred because, by 1965, the problems of black people all over the United States—in both North and South—were becoming similar. Voting discrimination and segregation of public facilities had generally disappeared in the South after years of protest—that protest which produced the 1964 Civil

Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. At the same time, the newly established political rights of black people in the South were being undermined by whites in many ways: deliberate miscounting of votes, bribery, economic intimidation of voters. The South was becoming more and more like the North. The fundamentals of racism—inadequate housing, lack of jobs, insufficient medical attention, inferior education—remained basically unchanged throughout black communities, whether in New York or Mississippi. Thus the call for "Black Power" drew substance from the realities of the lives of black people across the nation. With the equalizing of our problems in North and South, the concept evoked a national response. It had emerged from the Southern experience, but had meaning for black people everywhere.

A whole new rhetoric and a new set of attitudes as well as policies emerged at this time. The phrase "civil rights movement," long moribund, died forever with the birth of "Black Power." The issue was not legal rights but power to make basic changes. At the same time, recognition of the need for black people to organize themselves and conduct their own struggle—together with the need for whites to fight racism in white communities—led to an increasing emphasis on all-blackness in SNCC as well as other militant groups.

Not surprisingly, accusations of "extremism" and "racism in reverse" filled the air. Those accusations reflected the fact that the slogan "Black Power" was frightening to white Americans in general and the U.S. government in particular because of its revolutionary implications. That government knows that whites have power and black do not. Therefore, the idea of poor black people, especially in the cities of the United States, uniting for power on the basis of independent political action—and against the foreign wars of the United States—represented a type of revolution.

Black Power loomed as a dangerous threat to the Democratic Party, the ruling party of the United States. It was the Democratic Party that rose to power in 1932, and remained there, by obtaining the "Negro" vote in many major cities. It was not surprising therefore when the Democratic Party, along with other rulers of the United States Government, set out to discredit and destroy those supporting Black Power.

The Democrats tried to accomplish this in many ways. First, Vice President Hubert Humphrey flew to the 1966 national convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and made a major address in which he stated, "We must support the NAACP's goal of integration." To the best of my knowledge, this was the first time that a President or Vice President of the United States had forthrightly enunciated that the United States government favored integration.

Secondly, the administration and the mass media tried to discredit the concept by associating it with violence and by making the use of violence illegitimate and contrary to the "American way." But the realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers that no white institution would stop the beatings, jailings and killings which they had witnessed over the years, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression becomes too great.

A third form of attempted destruction was exemplified in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania when the local police planted dynamite in the SNCC office there, thus disrupting its work to build an independent political party using the Black Panther as a symbol. In Chicago, the local police arranged a narcotics "plant" in the SNCC office and then had a national television network accompany them when they made the so-called "bust."

Thus there have been consistent attempts to isolate and destroy SNCC through the news media (by trotting out columnists to attack SNCC, including Roy Wilkins of the NAACP); by cutting off financial support through the intimidation of donors, by the harassment of investigating committees, by jail sentences and phony indictments. It is against this background of growing strength—and growing repression—that we shall now look at SNCC and other black militants in the year 1967.

HIGH TIDE OF RESISTANCE-REPRESSION-RESISTANCE: 1967

1967 was the year in which SNCC Chairman H. Rap Brown articulated the mass feeling that "if America don't come around, we must burn her down. To survive, you better get your gun." It was the year that black people in Newark,

Detroit, and 57 other cities raised the flaming, armed rebellion generated by Watts (1965) to a new level. It was also the year when the pattern of resistance, countered by repression, which in turn stimulated new resistance, became clearer than ever.

Black resistance rose to a new height, not only with the rebellions in fifty-nine cities but also with tumultuous revolts by Southern black college students. They were not sitting-in nonviolently this time, but repaying pistol fire with pistol fire, throwing rocks and bottles at the white racist Gestapo cops. At Texas Southern University, the friends of SNOC group was charged with the murder of one cop, found dead on the side of a building where there were no windows—a cop who had actually died from a ricocheting bullet of his fellow cop.

Black students at predominantly white colleges also prepared for resistance in 1967. They organized themselves for survival throughout the country, holding conferences and forming Afro-American Student Associations or Black Student Unions such as the one at San Francisco State College.

Black high school students, too, held conferences and formed organizations to discuss their role in the rebellions. Schools in Philadelphia, New Haven, Trenton and Los Angeles were but a few of those where revolt took place against the slighting of black history in the school curriculum.

All black youth, 1967, intensified their study of revolution and guerrilla leaders like Che Guevara became more important to them than ever before.

Black resistance in 1967 took the form of growing self-defense organizations, such as the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in California. These young blacks picked up guns and said: no more occupation of our communities by foreign white cops. Huey Newton, Minister of Defense in the Panther group, still languishes in jail on an illegal charge of killing one cop and wounding another. But the will to survive cannot be imprisoned and self-defense units continue to grow.

It was in 1967 that one of the original architects of the self-defense policy, Robert F. Williams, announced that he would return to the United States from his exile in Peking. In the U.S., he faces prosecution on a trumped-up charge of kidnapping which dates back to 1961.

Black resistance took the form of widening resistance to the draft. Ron Lockman of the W. E. Dubois Club, Eddie O'Quendo and Ernest Dudley were among the many blacks who said "No" to the illegal war. "Our fight is in the ghettos of the United States."

Many of the forces of black resistance came together in 1967 at the first Black Power Convention, held immediately after the Newark Rebellion, where militants met with moderates and middle-class blacks with poor blacks. They agreed that the United States was instituting genocide against blacks in various ways—the War in Vietnam, the sterilization of black mothers on welfare, the unwillingness to adequately feed, house and give medical attention to poor blacks.

Black militants also met white activists at the National Conference on New Politics and confronted them with the realities of revolutionary leadership, thus forging a new awareness of the roles which whites must play in white communities to fight racism and exploitation. The position taken by the black militants also undercut the efforts of Robert F. Kennedy to turn the Conference into another pro-Kennedy front. Meanwhile, many activists in the American peace movement—composed mainly of whites—moved in 1967 from the position that war is bad to the position of "Hell, no, we won't go." From protest to resistance. From "saving our boys" to fighting imperialism. Some 300,000 demonstrators went to the Pentagon, and many were beaten; thus, middle-class whites began to understand what had been happening for years to black people in the ghettos.

But if black (and white) resistance grew in 1967, so did the forces of repression. It was the year of growing conservatism and fascism in general. With the resignation of Defense Secretary McNamara, the Military-Industrial Complex emerged as the top policy-maker on the war in Vietnam. Its ultimate aim, affirmed by former generals on television, is clearly to stop China—and probably to go to war against China.

On the domestic scene, the domination of the U.S. Congress by racist elements was reconfirmed in 1967 by the unseating of Adam Clayton Powell, the Representative from Harlem, who supported Black Power. The same House of Representatives which unseated Powell had previously seated the racist Representative from Mississippi, despite the overwhelming evidence presented by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party of voting discrimination in that state. The House

was not going to allow some "crazy niggers" from Mississippi and from SNCC to challenge its right to seat racists among racists. They could, however, and did expell Powell a black man from New York. And that same House went on to appoint one of the white racists from Mississippi as head of a key committee, and replaced Powell as chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor with a Kentuckian.

As for the President, his true attitude was made clear in various statements. In a Presidential speech, he told black people that they were only 10% of the population and that whites, the other 90%, would have something to say about their rights. (He lied about our percentage; no one knows exactly how many of us there are, but the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has estimated 30%—60 million black folk!) Johnson also told the local police throughout the nation that it was up to them to serve as the first and last barrier against lawlessness. Johnson could not risk any more rebellions with an election coming up in 1968. Meanwhile George Wallace of Alabama campaigned intensely for the Presidency of the United States, castigating all the war resisters and saying that if elected, he would place all rioters in jail—concentration camps, in other words.

Against this background, repression raged. We spoke earlier about the forms of repression in the United States:

Integration into the mainstream of "American life" and Western values.

"Pacification" and containment.

Punishment.

Silencing.

Imprisonment.

Extermination.

In 1967, each of those forms was used or in preparation for use.

The 1967 appointment of Thurgood Marshall as a Supreme Court Justice was an example of the highest form of trying to integrate the "Overseas Africans" into the American system. His appointment was designed to convince young blacks that there is real opportunity to succeed in the United States. One need only work hard and incur the favor of the politicians and businessmen, and one is certainly rewarded in this society!

The election of Carl Stokes as Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, is another example of protected integration. Stokes was a safe person for the Johnson administration to back for mayor of Cleveland. He supports the Johnson Administration's policy in Vietnam. He is against a Civilian Review Board for the police. He has publiclly rejected Black Power leaders.

The election of Hatcher as Mayor of Gary, Indiana, has the potential of backfiring on the Administration, should Hatcher carry through on his anger against the racists who run the Democratic Party in Indiana and who failed to support his election. However, since the national Democratic Party has come to his aid, it may be that he will not take a position against the Johnson Administration.

Pacification was the method applied in Washington, D.C., where the colonial relationship of black and white can be seen more vividly than anywhere else in this country. The black and white population do not have self-government, and everyone, including President Johnson, knows that this is because blacks form 60% of the counted population. Within the last two years, members of SNCC have been agitating for complete "home rule" for the District of Columbia. This year, after failing to pass voting legislation through Congress, the President of the United States resorted to appointing a Negro mayor of Washington. The President is acting as all colonial powers do, when the natives become restless. He is trying to pacify us, the restless, rebelling blacks.

Containment: 1967 was the year in which the influence of the CIA on the National Student Association, labor unions and foundations was exposed—but people forget that there are other foundations well founded to carry on the CIA's job. The powerful Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation are two outstanding examples. After the election of Stokely Carmichael as SNCC Chairman, Presidential Advisor McGeorge Bundy called a meeting at the Ford Foundation where the discussion centered on how to isolate and destroy SNCC. Among those present were representatives of certain civil rights organizations, including the NAACP and the Urban League. Conservative American blacks with vested interests are, unfortunately, all too ready to help the containment process.

Punishment was the method used with Muhammad Ali ("Cassius Clay"), world heavyweight champion. A black man and a Muslim, he asserted that his religious beliefs prevented him from fighting in Vietnam and refused to be drafted. He was then stripped of his world title.

In New York City, Chase National Bank—the grand designer of financial exploitation around the world—fired nine of its black employees when they challenged discrimination in the bank's promotion practices. The employees won a hearing on their case before the New York Commission on Human Rights; the importance of this case to Chase was indicated by its hiring of former Governor Dewey of New York as its lawyer. Nine black people, most of them with families to support, against all that power: the Establishment is out to crush "uppity niggers."

Silencing: The old McCarthy Committee was reactivated under the name of the McClellan Committee. But this time the committee was not looking merely for so-called Communists. It was out to get Black Power people—all of them—on a conspiracy charge. In Kentucky, the local police officials conspired with the McClellan Committee and stole the records of the Southern Conference Education Fund in order to launch an attack on SCEF, SNCC, and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Justifying their actions by a statute rule unconstitutional ten years ago, they took possession of three truckloads of material and arrested SCEF staff workers on sedition charges. When SCEF lawyers presented the crime before the Federal Court, the Court concurred that the police acted illegally. In the meantime, however, important information had been duplicated.

Also in 1967, Congress passed a bill giving a new life to the McCarran Act. Under that bill, the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB)—the investigatory instrument of the old McCarran Act—will be authorized to investigate "subversive" groups with the approval of the Justice Department. Some parts of the McCarran Act have been declared unconstitutional, but still intact is that section which allows the President to declare an "internal security emergency" in the event of "national insurgency" (like the summer rebellions). The "detention centers" (concentration camps) located throughout the U.S. can then be filled by the rebelling blacks, imprisoned "indefinitely" without any possibility of legal redress. There are six other new provisions to this bill which makes it extremely dangerous for all militants.

1. The SACB must initiate proceedings and conduct hearings on at least one case by December 31, 1968, or go out of business.

2. The old criteria for defining a Communist front organization has been amended to the effect that the Attorney General may declare and order to register any organization.

3. There is a minimum of \$500 and a maximum of \$5,000 fine and a one year jail sentence or both for disrupting the hearings of a SACB meeting.

4. The registration of a "subversive" group is filed by the Attorney General with the SACB.

5. All privileges against the Fifth Amendment have been revoked. The SACB itself will grant immunity to all witnesses that appear. They are therefore obligated to testify.

6. No affirmative legal action can be brought against the Board to halt or interfere with its proceedings.

In 1967 Senator Eastland's Senate Internal Security Committee continued its illegal activities. This time, it stated that it had the records of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party—stolen at the National Conference on New Politics—and that the Committee would not relinquish them. Throughout the U.S., it is a crime to receive stolen goods but this notorious racist and plantation-owner from Mississippi can steal records without prosecution. It is not difficult to imagine how he will use them to intimidate militant blacks of the Freedom Democratic Party and other organizations.

The mass media, as a pillar of the Establishment, agreed in 1967 to help suppress black resistance through a technique of silencing. The press decided in that year to stop giving quick coverage to black rebellions. Such coverage only fanned the flames of the ghetto, they said. (Their gesture was clearly destined to failure; even the Establishment magazine, *Newsweek*, issued a special report saying that perhaps the problems of black people could not be solved under the present system of government.)

Imprisonment: the number of arrests of black rebels in 1967 has not been counted, but it reached well into the thousands. On June 21, 1967, the U.S.

decided that it could prevent the summer upsurge of rebellion by falsely arresting seventeen Afro-Americans for a so-called plot to assassinate moderate "civil rights leaders." They tried to use the name of RAM, the Revolutionary Action Movement, to smear this group of people. The truth is that some black government spies had conducted a network of lies to silence Max Stanford of RAM and other black militants. Faced with \$150,000 in bail which cannot be raised, Stanford awaits trial in America's kangaroo court system.

In Atlanta, Georgia, nine black people—mostly SNCC members—protested the draft at an Induction Center, were charged with destroying Government property and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

Cleveland Sellers, former Program Secretary of SNCC, said "Hell, No, I Won't go!" in 1967 and was sentenced to five years in jail. Many other blacks who also refused to be drafted received sentences of two to five years.

In Newark, New Jersey, poet-playwright LeRoi Jones was falsely arrested for carrying pistols in his car during the Newark rebellion. Jones told the judge, "You have no right to try me—you are white, and not one of my peers." On January 4, 1968, Jones received a sentence of two-and-one half years without parole. After reading aloud to the courtroom one of LeRoi's poems the judge stated that the poem was clear indication of Jones' intention to foment rebellions in Newark. (Jones is appealing his sentence.)

Toward the end of 1967, on Christmas Day, five people were arrested in New Haven, Connecticut on a charge of conspiracy to blow up a public building. And, as of December 31, 1967, H. Rap Brown was still a political prisoner on the island of Manhattan and a few counties to the north unable to travel more than a few miles. His supporters were mobilizing a campaign to free him from his "preventive arrest," fearing that his voice might be permanently silenced. Preventive arrest and confining militants to one locale may become a widespread technique which the U.S. government will use more and more in the future. Eddie O'Quendo of Brooklyn is another person under the same form of house arrest. One could say that the U.S. Government would like to encircle, isolate, and destroy a few leaders, hoping this will contain the masses of black people.

But the U.S. Government was preparing to go much further than imprisonment or the destruction of a few leaders at the end of 1967. Its new plans signified nothing less than extermination.

The Johnson Administration has been and is still devising highly sophisticated and brutal machinery to contain the armed rebellions. This included the distribution of a chemical called MACE to police departments—a potent form of tear gas that leaves its canister as a liquid but turns into a vapor upon contact. The victims, the black people, will find themselves blinded by the gas, their eyes irritated, and their oxygen supply severely reduced. We shall be blinded and dazed when the U.S. troops, the National Guard and the local police agents use Chemical MACE on us in the ghettos of the Octopus.

In addition to MACE, the government is manufacturing riot tanks that are half tank and half-armored troop carriers, to be used in the streets of such places as Detroit, Newark, Watts, Harlem, Chicago, Houston, and all other cities with large populations of blacks. This vehicle will carry up to fifteen men. It is air-conditioned and fully equipped with tear gas, fire extinguishing equipment, rifles, loud speakers, a floodlight system, a lookout turret, and six gun ports.

This tank also has a "curdler," a machine that makes a high shrill noise which the human ear cannot stand. Our extermination may take various forms in this country, but we shall all be permanently deaf if we are caught in a rebellious area.

The U.S. Government is researching and manufacturing other non-lethal but crippling ways to handle the revolutionary, rebelling blacks:

1. The Institute for Defense Analysis reports that the night stick is still the most important weapon.

2. Super water pistols.

3. Itching powder.

4. Sticky blobs of glue to wedge us together.

5. Dyes and infra-red markers to spray on blacks so that when they emerge into the light, they can be identified.

6. A large net that could be dropped from a helicopter.

7. Plastic confetti to spread on the streets, making walking difficult and escaping the bullet of a white racist cop impossible.

8. Foam generators to block streets and be sprayed on crowds.

9. Tranquilizing darts, normally used on wild animals, to be used on blacks—who are considered lower than animals by some crackers. These darts often prove fatal.

But the above are mere toys compared to the Stoner gun, so inhuman that it has reportedly been outlawed by international agencies. This gun fires a bullet which can go through ten feet of steel plus ten men. It has a grinding motion intended to tear up the intestines and kill instantly. A television report said that the Detroit police force has acquired one hundred of these guns, while the cities of Newark and Philadelphia are in the process of ordering them. The U.S. government is spending literally millions to produce items for the partial or complete genocide of black people.

The choices are clear; resistance or accommodation, struggle or servitude, freedom or death. White repression of black resistance has not destroyed that resistance but instead bred a new defiance. At the end of 1967, the spirit of resistance and acts of resistance still flourished.

At the same time, black resistance has taken on a new dimension: 1967 might be called the year of internationalization.

In May, 1967, SNCC formally declared that it was no longer a Civil Rights organization but a Human Rights organization interested not only in human rights in the United States but throughout the world. It declared its support of those liberation groups struggling to free people from racism and exploitation.

It further broadened its international perspective by sending Cleveland Sellers to Japan to attend a meeting of the radical peace organization, Gensuikyo, explaining the rising tide of resistance to the draft and the war by black Americans. Sellers himself, we have noted, faces a five-year jail sentence for refusing to be drafted if his appeal is denied.

In the late Summer, SNCC took a strong position on the Arab-Israeli conflict. It maintained that the basic issue of the conflict was aggressive, expansionist Zionism backed by U.S. imperialism. Although bitterly attacked by former supporters, SNCC refused to waver from its original stand.

That summer, Julius Lester and Charlie Cobb of SNCC traveled to Vietnam as representatives of the International War Crimes Tribunal to investigate the brutal actions of American imperialism against the Vietnamese people and to express solidarity with their struggle. Courtland Cox also served as SNCC representative on the War Crimes Tribunal. SNCC's position on the war in Vietnam had been set forth officially in January, 1966; today SNCC considers continuation or extension of that war as clearly necessary to vested interests of the Military-Industrial Complex. It also recognizes that the war is an experiment-ground for new weapons, to be used against insurgents in other parts of Asia, in Latin America, Africa and the United States itself.

The travels of Stokely Carmichael played an important role in the internationalization of black consciousness. In July, 1967, Carmichael was granted special delegate status at the Havana conference of OLAS (the Latin American Solidarity Organization). There he articulated the revolutionary aspects of the concept of Black Power, explaining to revolutionaries from around the world the thrust of black people in the United States. At that time, many of the unsung and unknown heroes were dying in the streets of Newark and Detroit while the United States Government feebly tried to explain the contradiction presented by the 101st Air Cavalry Division, just returned from fighting for "freedom" in Vietnam, occupying the streets of Detroit.

Carmichael went on from Cuba to Vietnam, Algeria, Syria, Egypt, Guinea, Tanzania, Scandinavia and France. He talked with leaders in all these countries, including Ho Chi Minh, Sekou Toure, Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere. The impact of his trip and his message about the conditions of our people evoked many responses. But the words of Fidel Castro at the closing of the OLAS Conference express, I am sure, the sentiments that world revolutionaries feel toward the struggle in the United States:

"It is logical that the exploiters, who for centuries practiced racism against the Negro population, now label as racists all those who struggle against racism . . . But it will not be long before they will discover something that is inevitable according to the law of society, the law of history. And that is that the revolutionary movement in the United States will arise from this Negro sector because it is the most exploited and repressed sector, the most brutally treated in the United States; the revolutionary vanguard within the United States will arise from the most mistreated, the most exploited and oppressed of the Negro sectors . . .

"The drawing together of the revolutionaries of the United States and those of Latin America is the most natural thing in the world and the most spontaneous. And our people have been very receptive to and very capable of admiring Stokely for the courageous statements he has made in the OLAS Conference, because we know what it means to make such statements within a society that applies the most cruel and brutal procedures of repression, that constantly practices the worst crimes against the Negro sector of its population; we know how much hatred his statements will arouse among the oppressors."

So it was that Julius Lester, George Ware, and Stokely Carmichael, representatives of SNOC in Havana, helped to move the concept of Black Power from the interior of the United States to a world forum at the OLAS Conference.

In August, the United Nations held a conference in Kitwe, Zambia, on Racism, Colonialism and Apartheid. Howard Moore, Jr., the law officer of SNCC, and I participated actively, trying to alert members of the world community to our forthright stand against United States policy in Southern Africa. We presented the position paper of our organization, "The Indivisible Nature of the Struggle Against Racism, Colonialism and Apartheid."

Following this conference, in late August, Chairman H. Rap Brown called upon black people to prepare themselves physically and psychologically for the day when we may have to form a Black International and return to Southern Africa to help liberate our Motherland.

On November 17, 1967, on behalf of SNCC I made a presentation before the Fourth Committee of the United Nations dealing with foreign investments in Southern Africa.

In the presentation we attacked the United States for buying arms from South Africa and for shifting some of the former Cuban sugar quota to South Africa. Our organization does not believe that the United Nations will solve the problems of oppressed people anywhere in the world including the black people in the United States. The futility of the UN debates on the Arab-Israeli war further made that clear. Still, we believe that whenever possible we should use the United Nations as a forum for airing our viewpoint.

In Los Angeles, on November 23-25, eight hundred black students from eleven Western states met at a Western Region Black Youth Conference. It was there that black athletes decided to boycott the 1968 Olympic games, thus indicating a thorough understanding of the International effects of our struggle. The Conference also passed a resolution encouraging student groups to consider SNCC as their International Wing, thereby recognizing the efforts of SNCC to internationalize the struggle of black people.

As the black liberation struggle becomes internationalized in its outlook, black resistance to the war in Vietnam will mount. Our struggle is clearly against racism, capitalism and American imperialism, whether it is directed against black people abroad or at home. Mounting resistance breeds repression, but the repression will only heighten the resistance. The technical destruction of a single organization such as SNCC would be unfortunate but it can no more stop the black liberation movement than the murder of Che Guevara can stem the tide of liberation in Latin America. We do not despair or fear the future. Too many brothers have taken up the cry: Freedom or Death. The year 1968 will surely bring the greatest repression we have seen to date. We must organize to meet the new techniques and weapons of the enemy with new strategies of our own. It will be a crucial year, a year in which the solidarity of liberation forces around the world is of absolutely vital importance.

Donation, \$1: additional copies may be obtained from SNCC, International Affairs Commission, 100 5th Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Mr. MANUEL. The contribution of SNCC toward the attainment of this goal is also detailed. On page 27, Forman states:

In Los Angeles, on November 23-25, eight hundred black students from eleven Western States met at a Western Region Black Youth Conference. It was there that black athletes decided to boycott the 1968 Olympic games, thus indicating a thorough understanding of the International effects of our struggle.

The Conference also passed a resolution encouraging student groups to consider SNCC as their International Wing, thereby recognizing the efforts of SNCC to internationalize the struggle of black people.

This conference was, in fact, sponsored by SNCC in an attempt to organize black student unions in the western part of the United States.

At this conference, Forman gave an address entitled "Liberation Will Come From a Black Thing," in which he again identifies black people in this country as a colonial population being oppressed and exploited by the power structure, and in this document he gives his reasons for the necessity of revolution and states further the strategy and tactics to achieve it.

I would like to introduce at this time the staff exhibit SN-25, a copy of the speech "Liberation Will Come From a Black Thing."

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 431" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 431

LIBERATION WILL COME FROM A BLACK THING

(By James Forman)

(Text of keynote speech delivered by Brother James Forman at the Western Regional Black Youth Conference held in Los Angeles, California on Nov. 23, 1967)

Brothers and Sisters: On behalf of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee I should like to thank the coordinators for inviting me to this conference. I think we should give them a resounding Thank You for their work, Brother Jahid Crooks, Sister Blake and all the rest. H. Rap Brown is not here because he is a political prisoner on the island of Manhattan, and that is part of a plan to isolate voices of black people that are opposed to the Government of the United States. Brother Snelling has said that one way the man destroys a people is to kill off its leaders. That is true, but in a movement well grounded in the masses, there must always be others to rise when one falls. Rap Brown sends you his greetings.

I have prepared a poem for this conference, based on its theme. I should like to dedicate it to Ruby Doris Robinson, the former Executive Secretary of SNICK, who died of a rare blood disease at the age of 25, and who had been involved with SNICK since she was seventeen years old. She was my ace boon coon. I should also like to dedicate it to Huey Newton and all the unsung heroes of the rebellions since Watts, 1964.

LIBERATION WILL COME FROM A BLACK THING

They are outright racists.
 They are too militant.
 They will push us to counteract violence.
 They do not understand.
 They seem to be anti-semitic.
 They used to be wonderful.
 They used to talk to us.
 They look at us with funny eyes today.
 They have just gone too far.
 They want to tear up the country.
 They do not understand it takes time.
 They are hurting their cause.
 They are communists
 They are violent.
 They.
 They.
 They.
 Rap Brown.
 Stokely Carmichael.
 Huey Newton.
 Ron Karenga.
 LeRoi Jones.
 The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.
 Non-Student Violent Commi .e.

Black Power.
Black Panthers.
SNICK.

Ram.

Self Defense.

Newark.

Watts.

Detroit.

Black Power Convention.

No whites allowed.

National Conference on New Politics.

They.

They.

They.

They have gone mad.

Insane.

And down in Los Angeles they talking bout liberation will come from a black thing.

What thing?

What kind of thing is this?

It's us.

We, them there things.

Remember.

Your shoe shine boy, all stooped over rubbing your feet and shuffling mine.

It's us.

Remember.

Standing in your kitchen, all pretty and fine while I don't have no time to stay in mine.

It's us.

Remember.

Down in Alabama, across in Mississippi, all through Texas, even out here in California.

U.S.A. can't make a dime, just hanging around loving and fighting my women all the time.

It's us.

Remember.

We your soldiers.

Fought in all dem wars.

Brother Crispus Attucks the one to fall first.

And now you got me fighting against my own kind—Santa Domingo, Vietnam, Congo.

Don'cha hear me.

Hell No.

Not this time!

It's us.

And don't you forget it.

The youngbloods.

We ain't got nothing to lose. All these books ain't right. You been teaching me wrong. Now I'm trying to keep my mind on taking care of business, not go into business.

My folks are out there, been there, but you foolded me; you kept telling me I was an individual. I had democratic rights, personal freedom, esthetic sensibilities, a sense of perspective, rationality, a profound primitive instinctual capacity. to remain the thing, praying to your god, making money for you, fighting your wars, killing my people.

It's us.

All of us.

We, the things.

Transformed.

Did it.

Standing tall.

The Man.

The Woman.

All uptight.

Together.

Now, what you gonna do with your thing?

Tomorrow morning in the seminar on racism, apartheid and colonialism, we will discuss the white something, from white something, from which arises the black thing. This means that we will not go into a detailed discussion of the economic forces and the industrial military complex that makes it necessary for us to have a theme such as we have.

LIBERATION WILL COME FROM A BLACK THING

The only correct way to discuss those words is from a historical context. Too often we look at an event, a situation, a slogan, a life history, a rebellion, a revolution and assume that its present characteristics have always been its past. For instance, in Vietnam we see a heroic struggle occurring where the Vietnamese people are using revolutionary armed force to repel their aggressors. Sometimes we fail to understand that the South Vietnamese had a policy of self-defense for at least four years—from 1955 to 1960—before they engaged in offensive armed struggle to liberate their country from the repression of the Diem regime and its United States backers. When the student movement started in February, 1960, many of the activists thought they had begun the black revolution. Many of us failed to understand the historical conditions which produced us and the actions we were taking against segregation in this country, especially, the deep South.

While it is beyond the limits of my time to go into a long discussion of the history of our people, it is absolutely essential to see our history as one of resistance. Our ancestors began to resist the enforced slavery long before they left the shores of Africa. Those of our brothers who sold their kinship into slavery found that there was resistance in the interior of Africa. The captured African did not voluntarily go to the shores of Africa and willingly board the slave ships that brought our forefathers to this alien land. They resisted in Africa.

They resisted the moment they were wrenched from the shores of Africa.

They resisted on the high seas.

They resisted in Virginia, Texas, Mississippi, South Carolina, whenever they were forced to work as slaves building the so-called great white civilization of the United States and the Western World.

We resist today!

We must continue at every step of the ladder of our liberation to view those previous rungs as battles for which we fought, as battle for which we paid dearly in our blood, sacrifice and toil, as battles which we could not win unless those below were willing to resist dead though they may be, unknown, unsung, many of those names no one knew. But they resisted and they died in the liberation struggle.

Those of us whose lives are obligated to keep the unknown martyrs before our consciousness and to dedicate our selves to more resistance until there are no more rungs of resistance, no more ladders of resistance, but only the ravines, the fields, the mountains, the inner cities and streets of revolution.

The opposite of resistance is accommodation. It is certainly true today that many of our people are accommodating themselves to the system of capitalism in which we live. Personally, I do not view much of the history of our people as accommodation. There may have been a few who accommodated themselves to slavery, a few informers here and there. Even during the period of Reconstruction, throughout the twentieth century, in the efforts of the Niagara movement, the Garvey movement, and most of the actions of the civil rights movement must be seen, from my viewpoint, the history of a people who were and are resisting a form of neo-slavery that existed after the so-called Emancipation Proclamation.

It is true that much of the visible leadership in the past has often been characterized as accommodating leadership, but I am not discussing just the visible leadership. Leaving aside judgments on certain visible symbols of leadership, I am talking about the masses of our people who have never accommodated themselves to the United States.

And it is among the masses that our youth must work.

Only from the masses of Black people will there come revolutionary leadership, a leadership that will not accommodate itself, that will not accommodate itself, that will continue to resist as our ancestors resisted, a leadership that will not mind dying for independence and freedom not only of blacks but for all oppressed.

For those of us who consider ourselves freedom fighters it is imperative that we view our history in this manner, a history of resistance, not of accommoda-

tion. It is imperative that we realize that our culture and our people have been able to resist to survive and to make it possible for us to deal more death blows to our oppressors.

Why have I devoted so much time to interpreting our history as one of resistance? There are several reasons. First, I assume all of us have certain factual knowledge of our history and those of us who do not will soon acquire that. But I am convinced that many of us have not interpreted those facts correctly. Certainly my interpretation is open to debate, a debate in which I am prepared to engage, and defend. Secondly, I am convinced that a faulty interpretation of our history is often damaging to our cause. For instance, Johnny Wilson, a member of S.N.C.C. recently attended a conference in Czechoslovakia where there were many representatives of National Liberation Front and the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam. The Vietnamese there assembled, people who are fighting and dying daily by the hundreds for their freedom, asked the American representatives to sing the song, "We Shall Overcome." They stated that they had sung the song often, for it gave them inspiration and much hope. One of the brothers from Newark attending the conference who may or may not have participated actively in the rebellion, jumped up and said: "No. We don't sing that song. The people who sang that song were crazy. They were nonviolent and we ain't." The Vietnamese were stunned. They are not crazy for singing it and I do not think all of us who sang it were crazy. People do not sing it today for many reasons. But the brother from Newark was only in Prague because there was a historical relationship between his presence there and the manner in which he got there. I am well aware that my presence here is due to many factors but if it had not been for the people who sang "We Shall Overcome" there is no question in my mind that I would not be here today.

To view our history as one of resistance is to recognize more clearly the colonial relationship that we have with the United States. Traditionally, when one thinks of colonialism, images of foreign powers occupying another land and subjecting its people are the kinds of mental pictures we frame. But our own colonial status is unique in that we are the descendants of people enslaved and transplanted into a colonial status. The rhetoric, the false claims, the meaningless phrases, all these try to tell us that we are citizens. We are Americans. I will not dwell on the absurdity of that, for we know too well that the internal rebellions in this country, led by Watts, would not occur if in fact that was the case.

The serious conditions in which we find ourselves as a people demands that we begin talking more of the colonized and the colonizer. If we begin to use those terms more and to describe their inner workings, especially the economic base on which colonialism is founded and the industrial military complex of Western countries which sustain it, we shall definitely advance the cause of our liberation. Any colonized people are exploited people. But all exploited people are not colonized. That is to say, we can have in certain situations, as we do in many countries around the world, people exploited because of their class positions in society. Within the United States there are many exploited whites, but they are not colonized. In most instances they form a part of the colonizing class. That is to say, we have in certain situations, as we do in many countries around the world, people exploited because of their class positions in society. When Fanon says we must stretch a Marxist analysis when we look at colonial situations, he is referring to this condition, even though he didn't explain it. My contribution to theory.

Unless my historical understanding is incorrect, the colonial relationships since the fifteenth century have all involved white Europeans and their American white descendants colonizing the darker people of the world. Therefore race is intimately involved in the colonizing experience. My own experience in various situations with my brothers and sisters have led me to conclude that it is necessary to view ourselves in these terms, the colonized and the colonizer if we are not to fall into the trap of seeing the cause of our problems as merely skin causes, black skin versus white skin. A purely skin analysis of the cause and continuing responsibility for our condition is not only theoretically incorrect but because it is theoretically incorrect, it will lead to some serious mistakes in programming.

When we view our colonial situation in the United States, it is easy, it is emotionally satisfying at times, and it may be the first step in nationalism.

which we must promote to view the cause as solely of skin. But if our analysis remains there and if we do not work to broaden our understanding, we are headed for a trick, a frustrating pit of despair.

A purely skin analysis for instance makes it very difficult to guard against reactionary nationalism. For instance, Dr. Hasting Banda of Malawi would undoubtedly and without question tell you that he is an African nationalist. A man with black skin, yet he visits Taiwan, tells us the United States is right for fighting in Vietnam, and is willing to open diplomatic relations with South Africa.

There is an aspect of our colonial experience, however which we often fail to examine, to look at, to determine its meaning for today and tomorrow, and which may help to shed light on the skin analysis. Hence, too often we overlook that our enslavement involved a duality—an alliance by some of our African ancestors with white slavers. The ruling class of many African territories and nations, the African visitors in many squirmishes and wars with other Africans cooperated with the white ruling classes and their merchants to get us to this country. This examination should in no way imply that I do not place the greatest burden upon Western Civilization for our enslavement, but I do not think it does much good to over look that many Africans were willing to make a profit off of our bodies.

Today in many instances we see similar situations—exploitation of blacks by blacks, especially in parts of Africa, and I could call a list of countries, and here in the United States. This exploitation has its own historical roots and any effective programming which we will do in the future must be aware of this current fact from its historical and class basis. A more profound analysis of this problem, the cooperation of the ruling class Africans with the slaving white merchants, has been made by a young historian, Walter Rodney, whom we met in Tanzania.

Brothers and Sisters, bold analysis of the last six or seven paragraphs of this paper places into sharp focus three ways of looking at the fundamental causes of our problems: One, we can take the position that says we are exploited solely because of our skin color. This I call the skin analysis. Two, we can take a second position that says our exploitation is solely due to our class position in this society. This I call the exclusive class analysis. We can take a third position that says that our exploitation results both from class positions as well as from our race. Given all that I said, it is obvious that I hold to the third position.

The absolute necessity for me to raise this as a discussion item arises from my own experience within the movement. Once during a discussion with one of my brothers, I used the word Marxian. He jumped up and pounded on the table and yelled: "But —, Marx was not a black. He was not black do you hear! He was a white writer."

Just recently we have come through some painful discussions in the New York area and we have seen some very deep tensions in the black community resulting from conflicts on this issue. And, this is very important because one brother was kidnapped based on this issue and three other brothers had to go get him and they almost got killed in the process of doing it, so that the situation is very pressing on my consciousness. For instance, the march on the Pentagon was advertised in the Inner City Voice, a revolutionary journal that started in Detroit after the rebellion. This journal called upon blacks to join the confrontation at the Pentagon. In the meantime there had been all sorts of discussion among some black militants on the East coast about what should be the relationship of black militants to the March. The brothers and sisters from Detroit did not know about these conflicts and therefore came to Washington to participate in the demonstration. They wanted the National Liberation Front, so they said, to know that there were blacks opposed to the war and who were ready to confront the establishment. However, at the march they were torn asunder because there were brothers and sisters who began to say: Black people are not relating to that thing. That's a white thing. And one so-called spokesman for a Black Power Committee said: black people are interested in their communities. And I'm still quoting him. The whites started this war so let them end it. We're tired of marching. We're headed for a black thing and that thing don't include marching on the Pentagon. We're concerned, this Black Power spokesman said, about the cutbacks in the Poverty program. We want jobs and better communities.

Within SNICK today, we are discussing revolutionary black power as opposed to reactionary black power, for we have seen instances where conservative forces have tried to explain away or excuse the revolutionary aspect of Black Power.

But an understanding of what is meant by revolutionary Black Power hinges on how one sees the fundamental causes of our condition today. Resulting from this analysis will flow many things and many decisions and many ways of solving our problem.

Within the concept of the colonized we must begin to speak more of the dispossessed, those who do not have. This is important for it determines where alliances are made. The dispossessed unite with the dispossessed. It must be clearly understood that the nature of the colonial experience is that racism is inherent in all its manifestations, even though the dispossessed unite with the dispossessed or even if the exploiters who are responsible for the colonizing are kicked out, the legacy of racism and remnants of the colonial experience remain and must be uprooted. The Chinese are saying in part through their cultural revolution that even though one eliminates the structural forms of capitalism, there are capitalistic ideas and thoughts that still remain and must be combatted.

As Chairman H. Rap Brown stated to the Black Caucus at the National Conference on New Politics, the dispossessed in the United States are the people of African descent, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican Americans, and many poor whites. We are the vanguard of that group because of our historical oppression and the racism inherent in it. Whether we will live up to our historical role and lead forward that revolution remains to be seen.

It is our job to go forth from this conference using whatever means necessary to liberate ourselves and other oppressed people, not only in the United States but throughout the world. In order to do this we must wage an unrelenting struggle against racism and exploitation of man. We must work, not for ourselves, but for the unborn generations that will carry humanity and our people to new heights, to a world without racism, to a world of no more resistance, but only a community of concern. For this world we must be prepared to fight and to die. And we must believe that we will win. We must believe that our fight and our deaths are not in vain.

How do we organize and what do we organize? One year ago, within SNICK, we have called for the formation of all inclusive political units, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. We have called for the formation of the Freedom Organizations. You can choose any name so long as it is an independent political organization that will service the needs, the total needs of the people. These organizations must build within themselves committees to deal with the economic, political, social, cultural, education and welfare needs of the people. They must have youth organizations, and it is up to us, those of us with the commitment to total change, with energy and time to go to the masses and organize them to do this work. One may well speak of revolution, but unless there is day to day, block to block, city to city and nationwide organizing there can be no fundamental changes in our lives. Those of us who consider ourselves politically hep, those of us who feel we have a consciousness, those of us who are prepared to take care of business—must recognize that unless there is mass participation by black people in efforts to bring about revolution, then that revolution will not occur, no matter how long we talk about it, rhetoric is not a substitute for work.

In fact, brothers and sisters, I do not mean to sound pretentious or presumptuous, or to degrade anyone's effort—but the reality is that there are so few people willing to do work among the masses of the people. That is why this conference is very important and we should all thank the organizers, for they have been willing to work, willing to mimeograph, to arrange meetings, to stay up late in order to organize. Blueprints for revolution have been around for a long time. And everyone that I have read has stressed the importance of active political organization. And in fact man you got to work in order to do any of that.

We are distributing at this conference a pamphlet prepared for a programmatic workshop of SNCC, entitled, "Don't Shut Me Out", or How to Become a Good Political Organizer, selling for 50¢. The pamphlet is not perfect, nothing is. But there are some valuable suggestions in that pamphlet that may help you in your work. I repeat and I speak out of experience. There is much to do and few to do it. We must work, work, work.

And as we work in the inner cities and in the rural areas we must be prepared to guard against the sabotaging of our work, the infiltration of our cadres by the FBI and the CIA and local police agents. We must not allow the McClellan Committee, the Eastland Committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee to isolate SNCC, to destroy the Panthers, to arrest and imprison other

militants because the man is afraid of RAM. We have to build visible defense committees and link all the militants in some confederation so that it will be more difficult to isolate and destroy any of us. Inner City newspapers must be established to provide alternative methods of communication, for all of us know that the man is not going to print anything but negative news of our movement.

Finally, we must protect our brothers and sisters and even as I say this there are some brothers in jail about whom there is not much active concern because we have allowed our own internal contradictions to divide us. This brother may not have done that the way some brothers would have done it. Therefore, he is left isolated. And to the degree that this occurs all of us stand to be destroyed. Granted that the forward thrust of the movement cannot be stopped, it can be halted and set back. Time and energy, the two most important assets we have can be uselessly spent if we are not immediately responsive to a crisis or even to take legal action in behalf of brothers that are arrested. This last point cannot be overstressed, for the man is picking up brothers all over the country and sometimes there is no response to their arrest. This is not the case with respect to visible symbols of leadership. Stokley Carmichael, Rap Brown, and so forth and so on and maybe even myself. It must also be true for the man behind the mimeograph sheet or the one who is taking care of the business. In other words we have to work to eliminate the class bias that is often apparent in many of our organizations and efforts.

And now brothers and sisters I must depart from the written script. I had some other notes but they are not here. As I said I am very tired and I have had to read this paper because I do not trust myself, my ability to be very coherent without leaning on the paper. I repeat it is very important that we begin to write down our thoughts. We must get away from the oral tradition. It is extremely hard to pass on to future generations ideas and information if it is all in the oral tradition. For six years as I served as the Executive Secretary, I would make speeches and none of them would be written. That means that if something had happened to me, if I had been annihilated in battle, then whatever ideas I may have had would not have been transmitted for they would have been lost. That is the problem with the Period of Reconstruction in our history. There were many strong black cats who were sheriffs and who were other lawmakers, but there is not much, if anything written by them, nothing that we can read and many of them could write. But as a people we have the oral tradition and they employed that, but for the future generation we must write. We must write from our own experience, for only we have all the insights into what we mean.

However, now I want to discuss about five points, or several things that we must do to counteract possible reactions and attempts to destroy us by the man. The first thing we must do is to stop all this loose talk, to keep our mouths shut. Because cats are sitting around doing loose talk and the man is gathering information and intelligence. The man is piecing together all this loose talk and making up conspiracy charges and what have you. This very well may have been what happened in New York because there were police informers involved in the charges. I don't know but certainly they were framed.

I know this is what happened with the Statue of Liberty case because Policeman Woods was the man who conceived of the idea, pushed the brothers into it by making them feel guilty because they weren't militant enough, a ranged for the dynamite, took a brother to pick it up and then testified against them in court. The result was they served three and one-half years and Woods is still free. That is a fact and you'd better read about the Statue of Liberty case before you go out every night talking about the revolution with any and everyone. The second thing deals with these research programs. I have been gathering some intelligence on them and I have discovered in one city, Detroit, that three researchers with some money who talked to over 250 brothers who discussed details of the rebellion, plans and stages for future activity. The researchers have taken the material back to the foundation. What do you think that it has done with it? Obviously the man has it. This has happened all over this country.

Immediately during and after the rebellion you see brothers talking to television cameras saying what they're going to do soon as the National Guard pulls out. They are just selling wolf tickets and giving out information on themselves. The man has an intelligence file on everybody. And he has gotten that information in part because we have been running off at the mouths cooperating with some research project about a rebellion. You don't make a rebellion and describe it until after it's all over. The third question deals with rumor mongering. For

the last two or three weeks I've gotten telephone calls with people saying that this person or that person is "the man" and when I check it out, it doesn't seem to be much basis in fact for the kind of rumors that are spreading. Such evidence as "this chick looks funny and she talks funny." I am not saying that there are no informers. There are enough FBI and CIA agents, even in this room, that we don't know about. We do not need to make the situation worse by spreading rumors that have no foundation based on facts and reality. One must check out these things before fingering a person.

What is the danger of rumor spreading? The danger is that the man uses this as a divisive technique. He puts the fingers on cats. He wants to create suspicion, he wants to divide and conquer, he wants to put the finger on cats by spreading ill-founded rumors. This has happened all over Africa. Liberation fighters have had to combat suspicions placed on them by the fingers of the man. And if we give in to this type of rumor mongering, we are contributing to that type of activity. We cannot expect favorable coverage of our activities. We must have our own papers. The fifth thing which is extremely important deals with splitting activities. As Brother Snelling said, "Everybody's black." Blackness is granted, it may not be sufficient, but certainly it is granted. But the reality is that the man is wearing Afros today, he is wearing dashikis. You dig it? He's wearing them. I've seen them in the crowds. When we were in Philadelphia on the so-called dynamite frame-up case, a cop, of whom we were suspicious, and had not seen for weeks, came around in a dashiki and a turban identifying with the masses. The brothers easily identify with me because I'm wearing a huba, the other brother is over there clean and taking care of business. See, we're in a trick. We have to watch out for this kind of activity because it is happening all over. That is why the man has so much intelligence in Harlem, because he has gone in there on that kind of basis and he's doing it everywhere else and we have to watch out.

The kidnapping in Washington was supposed to have happened because the brother wasn't black enough and some of the same people involved in the kidnapping put out a newsletter charging that there was an internal Communist conspiracy to kill black people at the demonstration at the Pentagon. It was admitted in the newsletter that there had been conversations with the police department, admitting there had been discussions about how this organization could keep down a rebellion in D.C. Also in the newsletter there were words to the effect that Robert Williams, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown were associating with governments that bring repression on black people in the United States. And yet this organization called itself the Black Man's Volunteer Liberation Army. I am not even saying that those who put out that newsletter were the man. Maybe they didn't put it out but they didn't disown it. It is obvious, however, that the effect was the same. The Black Community in Washington was terrorized. They did not know what was going to happen that day. Certainly they did not want to be involved in gun fights between blacks. When we fight like this among ourselves, only the man stands to gain. He got his peace and quiet in Washington at our expense. Black people were split and we must realize that blackness is going to be used more and more as a splitting tactic.

Remember, this government will use any means to control the upsurge of insurrectional activity coming from the inner city and we must not help him. This happened here at this conference. Those cats out there were trying to terrorize this conference. They had said they were going to do that. But they were stopped. When we have to fight among ourselves we don't have time to deal with the man. We just do not have the time to fight among ourselves. The masses get bewildered and they are not willing to go out on the streets if they feel they have to fight with brothers. It is difficult enough to get any of us out on the streets.

It's bad enough to have to deal with a hunky. Nobody wants to shoot a brother. In Washington the people who went to see about the newsletter and other matters did not want to shoot those cats. As a matter of fact it is my contention that the man was waiting for them to start something.

There is no better help we can give to the man than to fight among ourselves. In Washington it is a perfect set up. If the brothers had mounted their stairs to take care of business they could have been easily blown away.

So we must understand brothers and sisters that this is going to happen time and time again. Situations where we will be unnecessarily provoked will occur.

Brothers and sisters I am going to close. But I want to emphasize that

we have brought a lot of information in papers to this conference and we urge you to go back to your campuses and get this material distributed. Get your student activities office to stencil this material and you can pass it out. Do you realize that most books don't sell over 10,000 copies? When we mimeograph 15,000 copies of something we are beating Random House. What difference does it matter if it is not copyrighted and printed by one of the New York publishing houses before it has value.

The point is that we want the material read. Now you are hip enough to get all these Afro-American organizations started on your campuses. And I know not many of you on the West Coast go to all black schools. There aren't any. So you ought to be hip enough to get those mimeograph machines rolling and copy this material. If you do this we can have a distribution of 100,000 copies of the material printed and distributed in a month. We talk about alternative methods of communication. Well, we can do something with this material. If you don't like it, give it to somebody else to read and ask them to mimeograph it.

It is imperative that we do this, but to do it we have got to work. I am old and I know that, but I also know that most cats are shucking and jiving. They simply do not want to do any work. They want to sit down and talk about how black I am and how bad the man is, but they will not even get up and raise a quarter for a black organization.

Now I ain't going into no cultural historical analysis of that. It ain't nothing but out and out laziness.

Finally we must be concerned about the future. It is a trap to think in terms of our lives. Do you think that if those North Vietnamese soldiers were worried about their lives that they would put up the fight that they do at Dak To hill? And if you are too worried, you are expressing again individualism. And you are not concerned with the future. When you are not worried about your life and you are concerned about the future, concerned about all the unborn Huey Newtons, all the unborn Emmett Tills and Charles Mack Parkers and Sammy Youngs and Doris Robinsons, and when you are concerned about your own children, then you are ready to take care of business. And you ain't got no business having any children if you ain't gonna fight for their freedom.

Thank you.

Mr. MANUEL. Also at this conference, SNCC distributed to all in attendance, a document entitled "Don't Shut Me Out—How To Become a Good Political Organizer."

We would like to introduce this document as exhibit SN-26.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 432" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 432

DON'T SHUT ME OUT—SOME THOUGHTS ON HOW TO MOVE A GROUP OF PEOPLE FROM ONE POINT TO ANOTHER OR SOME BASIC STEPS TOWARD BECOMING A GOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZER

This paper is divided into four sections.

A. Toward a definition of power for us, the powerless.

B. The political organizer is a leader.

C. Three qualities of a good organizer.

D. Seven steps a political organizer must take if he is to be effective.

Prepared for S.N.C.C.'s programmatic workshops held in Atlanta, Ga., February 1 through 24, 1967.

This paper is also a response to some questions about leadership raised in the first issue of rock bottom.

JAMES FORMAN,
Organizational Secretary.

A. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF POWER FOR US, THE POWERLESS

Power, organization, education, hard work.

Power equals organization plus education plus hard work.

People seek power through immense organization which can best be maintained in continuous internal education and that means hard work.

Got it!

Power is obtained through organization and this is maintained through constant political education and that takes hard work.

Hard work plus education plus organization equals power.

Power, organization, education, hard work.

1. You work and work and work and if you're not willing to work, there's no need to read further, for in order to organize people you must be willing to outwork those you organize and you must not look for any thanks or praise. You have the strength from within that what you are doing is going to help in the long run of history and that is your reward.

2. You educate some people in the beginning as to what your objectives are which must be identical with the objectives of the organization.

You say: "This is the program of S.N.C.C. and we want you to understand why this program is important to us and why it should be important to you . . . if you agree with this program we expect you to educate others about it. We have a program of internal education for those whom we organize and we want you to use it so that all of us may grow strong. The more people we have who are united the stronger we will be. And that is why we must organize, and have organization.

3. "We move as a political unit. We are organized into similar units in other places. What I am telling you all our organizers are saying to people just like us, poor black people who have so much power, but that power is unorganized. It resides in you and me, but we must band together for strength that is why we are organizing into freedom organizations.

We intend to use those organizations as a force, a resistance force against racism, political and economic exploitation. We will tackle the problem of jobs, of income, of automation, bad housing, lack of quality education, welfare and the distribution of wealth, the destruction of our cultural ties in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. And we will also work with young people for we may well be a lost generation but we have a responsibility to the future. We must have organization on all levels. Every time one, two, or three of us are gathered we must organize ourselves and educate others and work hard.

4. This is a program for power, for black power, power for us.

B. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS A LEADER

Throughout S.N.C.C.'s history we have had various concepts of leadership expressed verbally and in action. We have also seen ourselves as self-effacing organizers who are not leaders in any sense of the word. We have on the other hand seen strong leadership exercised by self-effacing, so-called non-leaders. Some have said that we go into a community and work on whatever the people are interested in. Others have said this is nonsense; we have ideas and we work to see these ideas implemented. There is an interaction between us and people.

Notwithstanding our words, except for very few instances, we have always had plans—direct action, voter registration, freedom schools, community centers, independent political action, some economic programs, and so forth.

The debate over organizing in a community also found itself in discussions about how we organize S.N.C.C. We have passed through many stages—the beloved society, the community of equals, the leaderless leaders, interweaving and concentric circles, freedom high, "advanced stage of Camuism", beginning steps of Fanon—and now, I hope, into the concept of political organizers, disciplined, capable and willing to exercise leadership without guilt.

Hence, this section starts from the premise that any organizer is a leader, but it makes the strong assertion that any organizer who is working on a political program is a political organizer, a political leader. Viewing himself in this category, he must understand some of the implications and the responsibilities this leadership imposes upon him, for a political organizer occupies a strategic position of leadership.

First, the political organizer realizes that his leadership arises from and is nurtured by the people. While he brings personal qualifications to the group, these personal qualifications find expression through the group with which he is associated and the people he organizes.

The organizer must provide leadership through example, work, educating, and training others. He must be willing to do the nitty gritty and —— work that people are often not willing to do. At the same time through his own efforts he develops an awareness in others that they too have a responsibility to do the so-called dirty work. Failing to do this, his leadership will become negative and the people will soon let him know in one way or another: "Jack, you got to make it. Ain't nothing here for you to do. You goofed!"

Leadership implies the willingness to give direction and to struggle for its implementation. It implies a responsibility for planning, not only planning meetings, but other courses of action that must be taken. But it especially implies planning for meetings of all sizes. People are busy and leadership must be exercised in order to make matters more efficient.

The leadership of the organizer must inspire confidence and this results from a willingness to work hard, to educate and train others, and to realize his actions will affect the larger group with which he is associated. Therefore, he understands that he has to uphold the standards of the group, both the group with which he is organizing and the one with which he is associated (S.N.C.C. in our case). When one member of a larger unit goofs in this place it is very hard for another to go and salvage the situation. Time moves on but we have a responsibility not to retard or slow down the clock.

The organizer must recognize that it is very hard for people to say I don't know. They are protective of their egos as we all are. But as a leader, the organizer is very sensitive to the needs of those with whom he works. He tries to find a style of work that is helpful while at the same time preserving dignity. As he does this he and the people will develop more and more strength and will openly talk about their problems and search for answers.

The organizer is going to find that his position of leadership will make him the center of problem solving, if he allows this to happen. That is, many people will want him to solve the external and internal problems of the group. Also, depending upon the size and the organization of the group, he will find that many of the younger and more invisible members of the group will expect him to run interference with someone who is in an administrative position, to cut through the red tape. He, the younger and less visible member, has not found the strength or the method by which he can cut through some of the administrative details or get around the "bureaucratic hang-up."

The political organizer must find ways to shift the focus away from him as the problem solver. Organizational forms or structures must be found to minimize conflicts that are bound to occur. Also, people who assume administrative positions must recognize a difference in roles and a conflict of interest between what they must do and what the "non-administrator" wants to do. The "non-administrator" has to also understand the problems and the point of view of the administrator. These matters cannot be solved without constant discussion. Failing to discuss them and arriving at a point of view healthy for the entire unit—the fight is on, time is lost, energy is wasted, feelings are hurt, animosity and hatred begins to grow that affect the unity in many strange ways. Sometimes the so-called non-administrator turns to self-destructive acts and incidents that force people to become aware of his existence. The administrator reacts negatively and the circle goes around and around. A solution must be found!

There are other ways this problem can be stated: In the development of any political unit every person who joins it should be assigned and should assume some administrative responsibility. Every political organizer is an administrator in some sense of the word. There really is then only a difference in the hierarchy of administrators. However, there is a difference in the authority and the responsibility of some people within the unit. Sometimes there develops within different people who are working on a higher level of authority than others a certain vested interest in the roles they are performing. Many times they may not be aware of these interests themselves. Nor am I assuming that these vested interests are all negative. Yet these interests often clash with the vested interests of someone who is on a lower level of authority, what he has to do in order to get his job done is not the same that the person in a higher position of authority. The reverse situation does occur.

Let us raise this question another way, for the S.N.C.C. point of view. A person has been with the organization a long period of time and has executed all assignments, many of them very hazardous. He is still willing to take these assignments. Yet, he works in an obscure place, away from the capitol of S.N.C.C. or

even around it. However, it seems that in many little different ways there are negative reactions to him until there is again a hazardous assignment. He has to struggle to get some resources and yet others do not have to make the same struggle because they are a part of the so-called in-groups, he feels.

The political organizer must be aware of this problem as he builds units. He tries to make all those with whom he works realize they must struggle against inconsideration sometimes caused by overwork and not enough time to think of the problem from the other man's point of view. At the same time the goals and work of the unit must be agreed to by all or otherwise the problem will increase, common goals, acceptance of lines of authority, discipline, hard, forms of appeal and constant discussions are some methods by which the problem of conflicting interest can be solved.

There is a rule of administration that says one can delegate authority but he cannot delegate responsibility. This simply means that if I am in charge of X project I can give assignments and authority to this or that person but if the chips go down and I am called on the carpet it is administratively unsound and a weak-kneed position to put the blame on someone who is working under me. The political organizer is aware of this rule and accepts the responsibility for the failures of this or that project not working if it is under his jurisdiction or supervision. He discusses with those who were assigned to carry out certain functions and failed to do this and he may even take action. However, he should not shift the burden of the responsibility to someone else. After all, he was in charge.

Since he is a leader, the organizer must strengthen the unit and the transition in his own leadership. This is best done through the process of internal education. Any organizer carries with him certain skills, information, contacts, training and association with a larger group and the one with whom he works. Yet he must try to transfer some of these to as many people as possible. Without this attitude, the struggle enlarges itself at a much slower pace than necessary. Naturally in the process of working and developing an internal education program, the organizer is going to learn much from the people with whom he is working. Their ideas and their behavior are going to modify many of his ideas and behavior.

When and how the transition in leadership will take place is a very knotty question and the best solution is collective decision about the problem. It is highly debatable if the political organizer alone is best able to make this decision. In fact, he should not even try. He may well look at the situation from too personal a perspective and thereby cause damage to the unit.

The acid test of effective leadership by the political organizer is his willingness to submit his role for examination, evaluation and criticism. He must be willing to do this with the people with whom he is working and within the unit he represents. It is his responsibility to lead this discussion and to always insist that his role is up for constant evaluation. Naturally he must be willing to evaluate his own efforts, to admit mistakes, to correct them and move on, for there is work to be done.

It is of course easy to criticize this action or that one. *It is not so easy to suggest alternatives, but it is the responsibility of those who take potshots at the leadership of the organizer to suggest different methods of proceeding*—for the intent of constant constructive evaluation is to build something better, for there is still work to be done.

Finally, the organizer must himself realize that he is human. He will make mistakes. There is only so much that he can do in a given period of time and there is only so much that others can do. Perfection-seeking is a dangerous trait and leads to more destruction than perfection. We do what we can in the limited time we have. We make decisions based on information at the moment, information we may well find not valid five years from now, but we must move ahead, there is indeed much work to be done. The harvest is great but the reapers are few.

C. THREE CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD ORGANIZER

These three characteristics or qualities or traits apply to anyone who considers himself an organizer in any field or any arena, whether it is social work, political organizing, administration, or fund raising.

1. *He is creative.*—He is a self starter. He moves with a plan, with long and short range goals learned from collective discussion with his unit. If any cat

tells you that he has nothing to do, that he is waiting direction while he sits in a pile of dirt or sees a dirty floor, and does not get a broom right away, then that cat is not an organizer, he is saying in fact: "I am lazy and I'm not really a good hustler of work."

2. *He is a pusher.*—He has a goal in mind. He must get from A to Z in X amount of time. It is impossible to get there on time unless he pushes himself and pushes others who are working with him. Very important that he pushes himself first of all, for he has no right to expect others to follow a phoney lead. If he pushes himself and works hard, then others will willingly follow. We know when the pusher is shucking and jiving. Slavery is almost dead within the United States.

3. *He pays attention to details and he follows through. Lack of followup is the graveyard of most ideas and plans.*—This death often flows from taking on too many jobs, inadequate planning or record keeping, and sometimes downright laziness.

D. SEVEN STEPS A POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST TAKE IF HE IS TO BE EFFECTIVE

Combined with the three general characteristics of a good organizer in any field, these seven steps therefore constitute ten basic steps in becoming a good political organizer.

1. *He thinks he knows and, yet he may not know.*—The other guy may be right, for the organizer must learn from the people with whom he works. They can teach him something and he must learn it. There is no place for a dogmatic position nor a belief that I, the organizer, am absolutely right. I must have the last word. This attitude may well lead to the final work, but there will be few people around willing to listen.

2. *The good organizer seeks to understand the customs, the language, the history, the strong points and the weak points of the people with whom he works.*—Failing to do this, he weakens his own effectiveness. One of the tragedies of some middle class people working in the South is that it takes them a long time to get accustomed to the ways of the people and by the time they do they are ready to return home, sometimes full of romantic notions about the purity of the local folks and their beauty in the midst of poverty, disease, degradation and death.

3. *He assigns work to people, to men and women and to young people.*—He takes the attitude: "I must move on and organize others and if you really want to do this you must take steps yourself. I can help you get started, but if you ain't willing to work for your own liberation—then I must go!"

Have skills. Must travel.

No time for clinging vines.

Fertile fields I must find."

4. The organizer must also concern himself with his own survival and the survival of the unit with which he is working. He should first look for the necessary resources for survival in the area where he is working. There is a rule that no army is stronger than its supply routes. The first effort of the enemy is to attempt to destroy the supply lines. Dig, Vietnam. If the resources are coming from the area in which one is working, it becomes more and more difficult to cut them off unless the work itself is destroyed.

5. *He seizes every opportunity to develop a sense of struggle in the people with whom he works.*—He must be alert and look around for weak points in the system and motivate small and large struggles. He knows people grow and learn and develop from commitments and involvement. A spirit of defiance and fight does not arise just from study. Action is key to change and mass mobilization will knock down all sorts of doors.

6. *You must have a sense of timing.*—Pushing too fast when people are not ready will lead to negative reactions and the organizers will lose time. Yet, there are some issues which cannot wait no matter what the plan might be. People must react since we do not live in a controlled vacuum or a sealed box. An awareness that positive action is better than none and will have positive consequences of which we might not know—this is fundamental to developing a social awareness and a sense of struggle in ourselves and the people with whom we work.

7. *He must constantly improve his own intellectual development.*—He must take time to read, to write, to rest. He must constantly evaluate his actions and the actions of others and discuss them collectively with his friends and fellow-workers. We live in a rapidly changing world and the good organizer must be kept abreast of world events.

If the organizer keeps reading, studying, and writing about his experiences, the entire unit will grow and the organizer himself will acquire skills that make him very mobile, about to move into many different kinds of situations—an absolute must in our time.

Mr. MANUEL. In November and December 1967, SNCC officials sponsored other youth conferences in Chicago, Ill., and Baltimore, Md., which concentrated on the formation of campus groups which would reflect SNCC philosophy on their respective campuses and promote the programs of the national black antiwar, antidraft union headed by SNCC official John A. Wilson.

The January 1969 edition of Liberation magazine on page 35 ran the following ad:

Just as we were going to press, Fred Meely of SNCC called in to say that the SNCC National Youth Congress—which is an organization of high school revolutionaries with eight chapters around the country—will be holding a conference this summer in Atlanta, Georgia, and needs bread (money).

Fred suggests running fund-raising parties for which SNCC will provide high school speakers. The Congress also welcomes new members. . . . For information or to help out, write Fred Meely at 211 E. 10th St., NY, or phone him at 477-0000. Make checks out to National Youth Congress.

At this time, we would like to introduce this in evidence, Mr. Chairman, as exhibit SN-27.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 433" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. As stated previously, SNCC has sponsored a series of summer work-ins in Atlanta since at least 1966 to train college-age recruits in the spreading of SNCC philosophy on their respective college campuses. Certain aspects of this activity will be detailed when the subcommittee examines incidents of violence and disruption which have been organized at several predominantly black colleges in the South.

On May 17, 1968, five SNCC officials, one active in the South and four affiliated with the Los Angeles office of SNCC, were arrested in New Orleans, La., during the trial of H. Rap Brown for theft and possession of stolen property. The five are identified as follows:

Willie Floyd Ricks—Date of birth February 18, 1943.

John Clifford Floyd—Date of birth October 27, 1942.

Johnnie Raines—Date of birth September 19, 1946.

Mark Anthony Semien—Date of birth January 29, 1948.

Charles Gordon—Date of birth July 26, 1947.

When these individuals were arrested, the New Orleans Police Department, under a search warrant, took into protective custody certain documents and possessions of these persons.

Among the material seized under the search warrant were the items listed below:

Mr. Chairman, in the interest of time and with your permission, it is rather lengthy, I would like to insert all of the documents, or a certain portion of the documents, into evidence and point out to the Chair that in four of these cases these individuals were carrying—not carrying—they had in their possession 9-millimeter automatic pistols, which we also have as exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. The pistol may be filed as an exhibit for the present. Who is entitled to possession of it?

Mr. MANUEL. We have them under subpoena from the New Orleans Police Department.

The CHAIRMAN. It can be returned to them when it serves its purpose.

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What is it you want now? You have a lot of data listed under the names of these people.

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct. They include plans for sabotage. They include books on guerrilla warfare by various authors, including Che Guevara and others.

I would like to have the Chair's permission to insert all of these documents into exhibits for use of the subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received and appropriately numbered.

I see you have listed under John C. Floyd—what is this? "Among the material seized under the search warrant were the items listed below:"

Why do you have the name John C. Floyd? Were they seized from him?

Mr. MANUEL. From him. We have the names of the individuals and the corresponding material that was seized.

The CHAIRMAN. In the opening paragraph, you say a 27-page booklet by James Forman titled "1967: High Tide of Black Resistance."

Mr. MANUEL. Which we have already entered into an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It reads as follows:

The Year 1967 marked an historic milestone in the struggle and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement.

Our liberation will only come when there is final destruction of this mad octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Is that a quote from it?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. These documents all may be received and made exhibits, marked appropriately.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 434, 435, 436, and 437" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. I would like to skip to page 26.

The CHAIRMAN. The prepared statement as you prepared it will be placed into the record as though read.

Mr. MANUEL. John C. Floyd: (1) 9 millimeter automatic, serial No. T149166, made in Belgium. (2) A 27-page booklet by James Forman titled "1967: High Tide of Black Resistance." The opening paragraph is:

The Year 1967 marked an historic milestone in the struggle and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement.

Our liberation will only come when there is final destruction of this mad octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all of its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

(3) Two Department of State passport applications by Floyd.

(4) One metal automatic cartridge clip containing eight rounds of

9 mm. ammunition. One metal automatic cartridge clip containing seven rounds of .38 caliber automatic ammunition.

(5) A copy of the Crusader, a newsletter, Robert F. Williams, publisher—in exile.

(6) A 25-page pamphlet entitled "Black Power Manifesto" from the National Conference on Black Power. This was submitted by Charles S. Stone, Washington, D.C.; Ron Karenga, Los Angeles, Calif.; Dr. Nathan Wright, Newark, N.J.; and Omar Ahmed, Bronx, N.Y.

(7) A copy of the resolutions passed at the first Conference of the National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union, held April 12-14, 1968, New York City. (Exhibit SN-28.)

Charles F. Gordon:

(1) One Llama, 9 mm. automatic, serial No. 31624.

(2) A book by Frantz Fanon, titled "The Wretched Of the Earth." This is a Negro psychoanalyst's study of the problems of racism and colonialism in the world today.

(3) A paperback book titled, "Malcolm X on Afro-American History."

(4) The book titled, "Guerrilla Warfare," by Che Guevara.

(5) A two-page listing of U.S. firms having subsidiaries, affiliates or branches in South Africa. The stop sheet states that 36 companies (out of over 250) which should be considered priority targets because of one or more of the following criteria: (a) the significance to South Africa; (b) size of U.S. parent company; (c) connections with the U.S. Government; (d) advantageous U.S. locations.

This was prepared by the American Committee on Africa, 211 E. 43d Street, room 705, New York, N.Y. 10017.

(6) A single sheet of paper with the heading "Can A Black Man Get a Fair Trial," put out by the Peace and Freedom Party.

(7) A copy of the cover for the book titled "150 Questions For a Guerrilla," plus pages 55 through 66. These pages show various ways to use dynamite, incendiary bombs, and so forth, to blow up buildings, cars, steel beams.

(8) Two single sheets of paper with the heading, Self-Defense, which is broken down into three sections: (1) home; (2) communication; (3) individual self-defense. (Exhibit SN-29.)

Mark Anthony Semien:

(1) One C.R. 9 mm., automatic, Astra, serial No. 1117.

(2) A paperback book titled "Malcolm X Speaks."

(3) A paperback book entitled "Guerrilla and Counter-Guerrilla Warfare," by William T. Pomeroy.

(4) A paperback book titled "12 Years of U.S. Imperialist Intervention and Aggression in Laos." A Neo Loa Haksat publication.

(5) A 25-page pamphlet titled "Black Liberation—Now," issued by the Black Liberation Commission of the Progressive Labor Party, 336 Lenox Avenue, Harlem, N.Y. 10027.

(6) A 36-page booklet printed in the People's Republic of China, titled "Whence The Differences?"

(7) A 45-page booklet printed in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, titled "In South Vietnam U.S. Biggest Operation Foiled February-April 1967."

(8) A 37-page booklet from the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, titled "Apologists of Neo-Colonialism."

(9) A 40-page booklet by Robert F. Williams titled "Listen Brother."

(10) A 14-page booklet published by the Harlem Branch of Progressive Labor Party titled "The Plot Against Black America."

(11) A copy of the "American Rifleman," July 1967.

(12) A single sheet press release by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 100 Fifth Avenue, room 803, New York City, N.Y. 10011, April 23, 1968. This release supports the students' action at Columbia University. (Exhibit SN-30.)

Johnnie E. Raines III:

(1) One Astra, 9 mm., automatic, serial No. 9823.

(2) The book, "Negroes With Guns," by Robert F. Williams.

(3) A pamphlet by Herman Ferguson, Los Angeles (SNCC), titled "A Black Survival Curriculum."

(4) A letter from H. Rap Brown, written while he was in Parish Prison, New Orleans, La., February 21, 1968.

(5) A booklet on Resolutions Passed at the first Conference of the National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union.

(6) A two-page pamphlet called "Marching Through Selma," a special supplement of documents and analysis.

(7) A nine-page pamphlet entitled "Don't Shut Me Out," with reference to some basic steps toward becoming a good political organizer. This was prepared by (SNCC's) programmatic workshop held in Atlanta, Ga., February 1, through February 24, 1967.

(8) A copy of an order to report for induction in the armed services, April 2, 1968, along with a copy informing him that reconsideration of the above induction is under consideration.

(9) Copy of his application form, Department of State Passport Application.

(10) A 20-page booklet of a speech delivered by James Forman to the black caucus of NCNP Convention on September 2, 1967, titled "Profiles in Treachery."

This speech was made after James Forman returned from the International Seminar on Racism, Colonialism, and Apartheid in Southern Africa held in Eitive, Zambia, sponsored by the United Nations.

(11) A three-page pamphlet by national SNCC community projects in effect in Los Angeles. This paper is divided into the following projects: (a) legal defense—medical cadre, (b) liberation school, (c) SNCC newsletter, (d) self-defense units, (3) survival refuge stations, (f) Afro-American skills bank, (g) (NBAWADU) National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union.

(12) A Black Student Union Newsletter, Los Angeles, Harbor College, dated Tuesday, April 23, 1968.

(13) A personal notebook listing members of SYC (the security section of SNCC) along with SYC training schedules.

(14) A two-page handwritten letter to all SNCC security guards, listing also the staff members.

(15) A single sheet of paper with a formula for making explosives.

(16) An application sheet put out by New York SNCC office, 100 Fifth Avenue, asking the brothers and sisters to find time and help

with the workload in SNCC due to its expanding operations (exhibit SN-31).

SNCC publications: As reported earlier, SNCC has a corporate vehicle, "The Student Voice, Inc.", which is responsible for the printing and production of its publications. From 1962 through 1965, SNCC regularly published and disseminated a newspaper which was entitled "The Student Voice". In 1965, a west coast publication called **The Movement** which is printed regularly on a monthly basis, identified itself as being affiliated with SNCC and SDS.

In 1967, SNCC published and disseminated on a sporadic basis the publication called the SNCC Newsletter, two copies of which we have as exhibits. SNCC has also published a newsletter called the **Afro-American Report—News for You**.

That was generally circulated among its own members.

In addition, SNCC has published and disseminated many leaflets, flyers, and pamphlets of the type which we have introduced as exhibits. In addition to spreading SNCC propaganda, these publications have been a constant source of revenue for the organization.

Currently, the leadership of SNCC is involved in the affairs of the National Black Economic Development Conference. James Forman, on April 25, 1969, delivered a "Black Manifesto" at Detroit, Mich., which demands from white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues some \$500 million in so-called reparations for Negroes in this country. This "Black Manifesto," as it appeared in the Wayne State University paper, "The South End," is introduced here as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 438" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 438

[From the South End, May 1, 1969]

TO THE WHITE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ALL OTHER RACIST INSTITUTIONS

BLACK MANIFESTO

(Presentation by James Forman, delivered and adopted by the National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit, Michigan on April 26, 1969)

INTRODUCTION—TOTAL CONTROL AS THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF BLACK PEOPLE

Brothers and Sisters: We have come from all over the country, burning with anger and despair not only with the miserable economic plight of our people, but fully aware that the racism on which the Western World was built dominates our lives. There can be no separation of the problems of racism from the problems of our economic, political, and cultural degradations. To any black man, this is clear.

But there are still some of our people who are clinging to the rhetoric of the Negro and we must separate ourselves from those Negroes who go around the country promoting all types of schemes for Black Capitalism.

Ironically, some of the most militant Black nationalists, as they call themselves, have been the first to jump on the bandwagon of black capitalism. They are pimps: Black Power Pimps and fraudulent leaders and the people must be educated to understand that any black man or Negro who is advocating a perpetuation of capitalism inside the United States is in fact seeking not only

his ultimate destruction and death, but is contributing to the continuous exploitation of black people all around the world. For it is the power of the United States Government, this racist, imperialist government that is choking the life of all people around the world.

We are an African people. We sit back and watch the Jews in this country make Israel a powerful conservative state in the Middle East, but we are not concerned actively about the plight of our brothers in Africa. We are the most advanced technological group of black people in the world, and there are many skills that could be offered to Africa. At the same time, it must be publicly stated that many African leaders are in disarray themselves, having been duped into following the lines as laid out by the Western Imperialist governments.

Africans themselves succumbed to and are victims of the power of the United States. For instance, during the summer of 1967, as the representatives of SNCC, Howard Moore and I traveled extensively in Tanzania and Zambia. We talked to high, very high, government officials. We told them there were many black people in the United States who were willing to come and work in Africa. All these government officials who were part of the leadership in their respective governments, said they wanted us to send as many skilled people that we could contact. But this program never came into fruition and we do not know the exact reason, for I assure you that we talked and were committed to making this a successful program. It is our guess that the United States put the squeeze on these countries, for such a program directed by SNOC would have been too dangerous to the international prestige of the U.S. It is also possible that some of the wild statements by some black leaders frightened the Africans.

In Africa today, there is a great suspicion of black people in this country. This is a correct suspicion since most of the Negroes who have left the States for work in Africa usually work for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or the State Department. But the respect for us as a people continues to mount and the day will come when we can return to our homeland as brothers and sisters. But we should not think of going back to Africa today, for we are located in a strategic position. We live inside the U.S. which is the most barbaric country in the world and we have a chance to help bring this government down.

Time is short and we do not have much time and it is time we stop mincing words. Caution is fine, but 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.

We have heard the rhetoric, but we have not heard the rhetoric which says that black people in this country must understand that we are the Vanguard Force. We shall liberate all the people in the U.S. and we will be instrumental in the liberation of colored people the world around. We must understand this point very clearly so that we are not trapped into diversionary and reactionary movements. Any class analysis of the U.S. shows very clearly that black people are the most oppressed group of people inside the United States. We have suffered the most from racism and exploitation, cultural degradation and lack of political power. It follows from the laws of revolution that the most oppressed will make the revolution, but we are not talking about just making the revolution. All the parties on the left who consider themselves revolutionary will say that blacks are the Vanguard, but we are saying that not only are we the Vanguard, but we must assume leadership, total control and we must exercise the humanity which is inherent in us. We are the most humane people within the U.S. We have suffered and we understand suffering. Our hearts go out to the Vietnamese for we know what it is to suffer under the domination of racist America. Our hearts, our souls and all the compassion we can mount goes out to our brothers in Africa, Santa Domingo, Latin America and Asia who are being tricked by the power structure of the U.S. which is dominating the world today. These ruthless, barbaric men have systematically tried to kill all people and organizations opposed to its imperialism. We no longer can just get by with the use of the word capitalism to describe the U.S., for it is an imperial power, sending money, missionaries and the army throughout the world to protect this government and the few rich whites who control it. General Motors and all the major auto industries are operating in South Africa, yet the white dominated leadership of the United Auto Workers sees no relationship to the exploitation of black people in South Africa and the exploitation of black people in the U.S. If they understand it, they certainly do

not put it into practice which is the actual test. We as black people must be concerned with the total conditions of all black people in the world.

“ * * * no oppressed people have 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.”

—JAMES FORMAN

But while we talk of revolution, which will be an armed confrontation and long years of sustained guerilla warfare inside this country, we must also talk of the type of world we want to live in. We must commit ourselves to a society where the total means of production are taken from the rich people and placed into the hands of the state for the welfare of all the people. This is what we mean when we say total control. And we mean that black people who have suffered the most from exploitation and racism must move to protect their black interest by assuming leadership inside of the United States of everything that exists. The time has passed when we are second in command and the white boy stands on top. This is especially true of the Welfare Agencies in this country, but it is not enough to say that a black man is on top. He must be committed to building the new society, to taking the wealth away from the rich people such as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, the DuPonts, the Rockefellers, the Mellons, and all the other rich white exploiters and racists who run this world.

Where do we begin? We have already started. We started the moment we were brought to this country. In fact, we started on the shores of Africa, for we have always resisted attempts to make us slaves and now we must resist the attempts to make us capitalists. It is in the financial interest of the U.S. to make us capitalists, for this will be the same line as that of integration into the main-stream of American life. Therefore, brothers and sisters, there is no need to fall into the trap that we have to get an ideology. We HAVE an ideology. Our right is against racism, capitalism and imperialism and we are dedicated to building a socialist society inside the United States where the total means of production and distribution are in the hands of the State and that must be led by black people, by revolutionary blacks who are concerned about the total humanity of this world. And, therefore, we obviously are different from some of those who seek a black nation in the United States, for there is no way for that nation to be viable, if in fact the United States remains in the hands of white racists. Then too, let us deal with some arguments that we should share power with whites. We say that there must be a revolutionary black Vanguard and that white people in this country must be willing to accept black leadership, for that is the only protection that black people have to protect ourselves from racism rising again in this country.

Racism in the U.S. is so pervasive in the mentality of whites that only an armed, well-disciplined, black-controlled government can insure the stamping out of racism in this country. And that is why we plead with black people not to be talking about a few crumbs, a few thousands dollars for this cooperative, a thousand dollars which splits black people into fighting over the dollar. That is the intention of the government. We say . . . think in terms of total control of the U.S. Prepare ourselves to seize state power. Do not hedge, for time is short and all around the world, the forces of liberation are directing their attacks against the U.S. It is a powerful country, but that power is not greater than that of black people. We work the chief industries in this country and we could cripple the economy while the brothers fought guerrilla warfare in the streets. This will take some long range planning, but whether it happens in a thousand years is of no consequence. It cannot happen unless we start. How then is all of this related to this conference?

First of all, this conference is called by a set of religious people. Christians who have been involved in the exploitation and rape of black people since the country was founded. The missionary goes hand in hand with the power of the states. We must begin seizing power wherever we are and we must say to the planners of this conference that you are no longer in charge. We the people who have assembled here thank you for getting us here, but we are going to assume power over the conference and determine from this moment on the direction in which we want it to go. We are not saying that the conference was planned badly. The staff of the conference has worked hard and have done a magnificent job in bringing all of us together and we must include them in the new leadership which must surface from this point on. The Conference is now

the property of the people who are assembled here. This we proclaim as fact and not rhetoric and there are demands that we are going to make and we insist that the planners of this conference help us implement them.

We maintain we have the revolutionary right to do this. We have the same rights, if you will, as the Christians had in going into Africa and raping our Motherland and bringing us away from our continent of peace and into this hostile and alien environment where we have been living in perpetual warfare since 1619.

Our seizure of power at this conference is based on a program and our program is contained in the following MANIFESTO:

We the black people assembled in Detroit, Michigan for the National Black Economic Development Conference are fully aware that we have been forced to come together because racist white America has exploited our resources, our minds, our bodies, our labor. For centuries we have been forced to live as colonized people inside the United States, victimized by the most vicious, racist system in the world. We have helped to build the most industrial country in the world.

We are therefore demanding of the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues which are part and parcel of the system of capitalism, that they begin to pay reparations to black people in this country. We are demanding \$500,000,000 from the Christian white churches and the Jewish synagogues. This total comes to 15 dollars per nigger. This is a low estimate for we maintain there are probably more than 30,000,000 black people in this country. \$15 a nigger is not a large sum of money and we know that the churches and synagogues have a tremendous wealth and its membership, white America, has profited and still exploits black people. We are also not unaware that the exploitation of colored peoples around the world is aided and abetted by the white Christian churches and synagogues. This demand for \$500,000,000 is not an idle resolution or empty words. Fifteen dollars for every black brother and sister in the United States is only a beginning of the reparations due us as people who have been exploited and degraded, brutalized, killed and persecuted. Underneath all of this exploitation, the racism of this country has produced a psychological effect upon us that we're beginning to shake off. We are no longer afraid to demand our full rights as a people in this decadent society.

We are demanding \$500,000,000 to be spent in the following way:

(1) We call for the establishment of a Southern land bank to help our brothers and sisters who have to leave their land because of racist pressure for people who want to establish cooperative farms, but who have no funds. We have seen too many farmers evicted from their homes because they have dared to defy the white racism of this country. We need money for land. We must fight for massive sums of money for this Southern Land Bank. We call for \$200,000,000 to implement this program.

(2) We call for the establishment of four major publishing and printing industries in the United States to be funded with ten million dollars each. These publishing houses are to be located in Detroit, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and New York. They will help to generate capital for further cooperative investments in the black community, provide jobs and an alternative to the white-dominated and controlled printing field.

(3) We call for the establishment of four of the most advanced scientific and futuristic audio-visual network to be located in Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland and Washington, D.C. These TV networks will provide an alternative to the racist propaganda that fills the current television networks. Each of these TV networks will be funded by ten million dollars each.

(4) We call for a research skills center which will provide research on the problems of black people. This center must be funded with no less than 30 million dollars.

(5) We call for the establishment of a training center for the teaching of skills in community organization, photography, movie making, television making and repair, radio building and repair and all other skills needed in communication. This training center shall be funded with no less than ten million dollars.

(6) We recognize the role of the National Welfare Rights Organization and we intend to work with them. We call for ten million dollars to assist in the organization of welfare recipients. We want to organize the welfare workers in this country so that they may demand more money from the government and better administration of the welfare system of this country.

(7) We call for \$20,000,000 to establish a National Black Labor Strike and Defense Fund. This is necessary for the protection of black workers and their families who are fighting racist working conditions in this country.

(8) We call for the establishment of the International Black Appeal (IBA). This International Black Appeal will be funded with no less than \$20,000,000. The IBA is charged with producing more capital for the establishment of cooperative businesses in the United States and in Africa, our Motherland. The International Black Appeal is one of the most important demands that we are making for we know that it can generate and raise funds throughout the United States and help our African brothers. The IBA is charged with three functions and shall be headed by James Forman:

(a) Raising money for the program of the National Black Economic Development Conference.

(b) The development of cooperatives in African countries and support of African Liberation movements.

(c) Establishment of a Black Anti-Defamation League which will protect our African image.

(9) We call for the establishment of a Black University to be funded with \$130,000,000 to be located in the South. Negotiations are presently under way with a Southern University.

(10) We demand that IFCO allocate all unused funds in the planning budget to implement the demands of this conference.

In order to win our demands we are aware that we will have to have massive support, therefore:

(1) We call upon all black people throughout the United States to consider themselves as members of the National Black Economic Development Conference and to act in unity to help force the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues to implement these demands.

(2) We call upon all the concerned black people across the country to contact black workers, black women, black students and the black unemployed, community groups, welfare organizations, teachers organizations, church leaders and organizations explaining how these demands are vital to the black community of the U.S. *(Revised and approved by Steering Committee) of the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. All black people should act boldly in confronting our white oppressors and demanding this modest reparation of \$15 per black man.

(3) Delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference are urged to call press conferences in the cities and to attempt to get as many black organizations as possible to support the demands of the conference. The quick use of the press in the local areas will heighten the tension and these demands must be attempted to be won in a short period of time, although we are prepared for protracted and long range struggle.

(4) We call for the total disruption of selected church sponsored agencies operating anywhere in the U.S. and the world. Black workers, black women, black students and the black unemployed are encouraged to seize the offices, telephones, and printing apparatus of all church sponsored agencies and to hold these in trusteeship until our demands are met.

(5) We call upon all delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference to stage sit-in demonstrations at selected black and white churches. This is not to be interpreted as a continuation of the sit-in movement of the early sixties but we know that active confrontation inside white churches is possible and will strengthen the possibility of meeting our demands. Such confrontation can take the form of reading the Black Manifesto instead of a sermon or passing it out to church members. The principles of self-defense should be applied if attacked.

(6) On May 4, 1969 or a date thereafter, depending upon local conditions, we call upon black people to commence the disruption of the racist churches and synagogues throughout the United States.

(7) We call upon IFCO to serve as a central staff to coordinate the mandate of the conference and to reproduce and distribute en mass literature, leaflets, news items, press releases and other material.

(8) We call upon all delegates to find within the white community those forces which will work under the leadership of blacks to implement these demands by whatever means necessary. By taking such actions, white Americans will demonstrate concretely that they are willing to fight the white skin privilege

and the white supremacy and racism which has forced us as black people to make these demands.

(9) We call upon all white Christians and Jews to practice patience, tolerance and understanding and nonviolence; as they have encouraged, advised and demanded that we as black people should do throughout our entire enforced slavery in the United States. The true test of their faith and belief in the Cross and the words of the prophets will certainly be put to a test as we seek legitimate and extremely modest reparations for our role in developing the industrial base of the Western world through our slave labor. But we are no longer slaves, we are men and women, proud of our African heritage, demanding to have our dignity.

(10) We are so proud of our African heritage and realize concretely that our struggle is not only to make revolution in the United States, but to protect our brothers and sisters in Africa and to help them rid themselves of racism, capitalism, and imperialism by whatever means necessary, including armed struggle. We are and must be willing to fight the defamation of our African image wherever it rears its ugly head. We are therefore charging the Steering Committee to create a Black Anti-Defamation League to be funded by money raised from the International Black Appeal.

(11) We fully recognize that revolution in the United States and Africa, our Motherland, is more than a one dimensional operation. It will require the total integration of the political, economic, and military components and therefore, we call upon all our brothers and sisters who have acquired training and expertise in the fields of engineering, electronics, research, community organizations, physics, biology, chemistry, mathematics, medicine, military science and warfare to assist the National Black Economic Development Conference in the implementation of its program.

(12) To implement these demands we must have a fearless leadership. We must have a leadership which is willing to battle the church establishment to implement these demands. To win our demands we will have to declare war on the white Christian churches and synagogues and this means we may have to fight the total government structure of this country. Let no one here think that these demands will be met by our mere stating them. For the sake of the churches and synagogues, we hope that they have the wisdom to understand that these demands are modest and reasonable. But if the white Christians and Jews are not willing to meet our demands through peace and good will, then we declare war and we are prepared to fight by whatever means necessary. We are, therefore, proposing the election of the following Steering Committee:

Lucious Walker, Renny Freeman, Luke Tripp, Howard Fuller, James Forman, John Watson, Dan Aldridge, John Williams, Ken Cockrel, 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 Mouroe, Harold Holmes.

Brothers and sisters, we no longer are shuffling our feet and scratching our heads. We are tall, black and proud.

And we say to the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, to the government of this country and to all the white racist imperialists who compose it, there is only one thing left that you can do to further degrade black people and that is to kill us. But we have been dying too long for this country. We have died in every war. We are dying in Vietnam today fighting the wrong enemy.

The new black man wants to live and to live means that we must not become static or merely believe in self-defense. We must boldly go out and attack the white Western world at its power centers. The white Christian churches are another form of government in this country and they are used by the government of this country to exploit the people of Latin America, Asia and Africa, but the day is soon coming to an end. Therefore, brothers and sisters, the demands we make upon the white Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues are small demands. They represent 15 dollars per black person in these United States. We can legitimately demand this from the church power structure. We must demand more from the United States Government.

But to win our demands from the church which is linked up with the United States Government, we must not forget that it will ultimately be by force and power that we will win.

We are not threatening the churches. We are saying that we know the churches came with the military might of the colonizers and have been sustained by the

military might of the colonizers. Hence, if the churches in colonial territories were established by military might, we know deep within our hearts that we must be prepared to use force to get our demands. We are not saying that this is the road we want to take. It is not, but let us be very clear that we are not opposed to force and we are not opposed to violence. We were captured in Africa by violence. We were kept in bondage and political servitude and forced to work as slaves by the military machinery and the Christian church working hand in hand.

We recognize that in issuing this manifesto we must prepare for a long range educational campaign in all communities of this country, but we know that the Christian churches have contributed to our oppression in white America. We do not intend to abuse our black brothers and sisters in black churches who have uncritically accepted Christianity. We want them to understand how the racist white Christian Church with its hypocritical declarations and doctrines of brotherhood has abused our trust and faith. An attack on the religious beliefs of black people is not our major objective, even though we know that we were not Christians when we were brought to this country, but that Christianity was used to help enslave us. Our objective in issuing this Manifesto is to force the racist white Christian Church to begin the payment of reparations which are due to all black people, not only by the Church but also by private business and the U.S. government. We see this focus on the Christian Church as an effort around which all black people can unite.

Our demands are negotiable, but they cannot be minimized, they can only be increased and the Church is asked to come up with larger sums of money than we are asking. Our slogans are:

ALL ROADS MUST LEAD TO REVOLUTION
 UNITE WITH WHOMEVER YOU CAN UNITE
 NEUTRALIZE WHEREVER POSSIBLE
 FIGHT OUR ENEMIES RELENTLESSLY
 VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE
 LIFE AND GOOD HEALTH TO MANKIND
 RESISTANCE TO DOMINATION BY THE WHITE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND THE
 JEWISH SYNAGOGUES
 REVOLUTION BLACK POWER
 WE SHALL WIN WITHOUT A DOUBT

The CHAIRMAN. What paper is that of Wayne State University?

Mr. MANUEL. It is a publication of Wayne State University in Detroit, Mich. It is a college publication.

Various SNCC organizers, including Ronald Wilkins in Los Angeles and Julia Herve in Paris, have been active in presenting these demands to various church groups. With regard to Herve, the FBIS of October 8, 1968, reported on a story which appeared in the Cuban newspaper "El Mundo" on October 2, 1968.

We would like to introduce the Foreign Broadcast Information Service monitoring of that particular broadcast.

In the report, Herve is identified as the SNCC coordinator in Paris, France, who was in Cuba accompanied by Irving Davis, SNCC deputy director of international relations.

Further, the FBIS monitored a radio broadcast from Cuba on October 2, 1968, in which Davis makes statements regarding the coming use of guerrilla warfare as a tactic in the United States.

We would like to introduce this monitored broadcast as exhibit No. SN-34.

The CHAIRMAN. The document SN-33 may be received and appropriately numbered, and SN-34 likewise received and numbered.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 439 and 440" for reference. Exhibit No. 439 may be found in the files of the subcommittee and exhibit No. 440 follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 440

CUBA

SNCC OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED BY HAVANA RADIO

(Interview with Irving Davis, deputy administrator and acting director of international affairs of the Students Nonviolence Coordinating Committee SNCC.)

Question: Brother Davis, it has been said that the spirit of nonviolence died with Dr. Martin Luther King. Do you agree with that, and if so, how do think liberation of the Afro-American people can be obtained?

Answer: There is no question that the nonviolence struggle died with the death of Martin Luther King. I think, specifically, it died with the masses of people who still have faith in the American Government and in the constitution of the American Government and in the Constitution of the American Government in regard to nonviolent tactics because if they can kill a man like Dr. Martin Luther King, who stood for everything good, who stood for everything right, for mankind, they can [words indistinct] (?it is my deduction that the stand) that black people in America will have to take will ultimately result in armed struggle.

Question: One of the most widely used concepts in Afro-American nations today is that of the urban guerrilla as a method to oppose the growing growth of violence. What is your opinion on this?

Answer: Certainly, guerrilla warfare is going to become more, and more, a method that will have to be employed by people not only in America but throughout the world as they struggle for their liberation. To talk about conventional warfare, to talk about peace movements when those whom we face do not understand what peace is all about, what tranquility is all about, is foolish and even redundant. I think Malcolm X pointed this out when he said the students should be nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with them; but that the first law of nature (?is that everyone must defend himself, defend his right to survive.) Anyone who does not understand this, anyone who does not want to employ this tactic, is doing nothing more than committing suicide, putting his life into the hands of the aggressor.

Question: Now that we are thinking about peace, what is the position of SNCC regarding the growing antiwar movement in the United States, and what is your participation in this movement?

Answer: Well, we feel that to talk about peace in a world of total chaos, in a world of total oppression, is also foolish. Uh, as we said many times on many occasions, we are not interested in peace for Vietnam. What we are interested in is its victory, victory for the Vietnamese people. Those people who talk about peace, even those people who are in the governmental structures, such as the presidential candidates who speak about peace and honorable peace [- to them I would like to say--] the United States is in Vietnam dishonorably, so the sooner that they get out of Vietnam will be honorable. [as heard] So that is the point I would really raise--we talk about a victory, not peace for Vietnam, a victory for the Vietnamese people.

Now, we requested peace (?just because) [words indistinct] way back in [words indistinct] the States, I should say that we have no position in a peace (?movement)--if I want us to be realistic and honest about this.

I say this because I question, to some degree, the validity of those people involved in a peace movement. You see, what I mean by that is this: For 400 years black people in America have been a threat. But these same people who cry for peace, the same people who go into the streets and subject themselves to the brutality of the police, I can think of no time in history when these people have been willing to get into the streets and put their life on the line for the liberation of black people in America. So therefore once again, we are not concerned with the peace movement. We are concerned with the liberation movement.

Question: Do you believe that the Afro-American people can achieve their full independence without the liquidation of U.S. imperialism?

Answer: Not only cannot the Afro-American people achieve their liberation without the liquidation of U.S. imperialism, I do not think that the peoples (?of other nations can) without the liquidation of U.S. imperialism.

Question: What has been the result of the changes within your organization after the staff meeting last June?

Answer: This has been very interesting and very important, we feel. You see, we discovered many things as a result of our organization's inception which began about 8 years ago. One of the things that we discovered is that as long as the imperialist government has one individual that it can point its finger at, for example, Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, or Malcolm X, as long as they have one individual that they can point their finger to, this very often stagnates the movement. Because of this, we decided to establish the system of naming 10 deputy chairmen, 10 comrades to voice the ideology and the position of our organization.

One of the advantages of this system is that we can have 10 comrades in 10 different places at one time, capable of voicing, simultaneously, the ideologies of our movement. At the same time, it would be much more difficult for imperialism to halt our movement by simply physically eliminating an individual. Besides, it helps us to get away from individual charisma, of individual leadership, and to bring about a collective leadership. We now have a central committee that is composed of a tremendous number of people. This is the governing body of the organization. Between the chairman, the deputy chairmen, and the central committee we have a national program secretary whose primary function is to transmit mandates handed down by the Central Committee to the deputy chairmen and to our (?people) throughout America and throughout the world.

Question: Now will you tell us something about the new SNCC program for the black liberation struggle and how do you intend to carry out that program?

Answer: In our staff meeting that was held in June of this year, we made clear our position, we made clear our objectives, we made clear our goals; and that was that we would make a struggle against capitalism, racism, and imperialism that oppress people throughout the world, no matter where they are, no matter what color they might be. One of the mistakes that we made in the past—which relates to the other point about individual charisma—is that much of our movement was geared toward the rhetoric, was geared toward the rousing of spirit and concern and awareness of our people, which was so very necessary at that time due to the colonial conditions and the brainwashing that our people had been subjected to for 400 years.

Now, black pride, black consciousness, black awareness, black is beautiful—all of these slogans, we feel, will be necessary elements to combat against white racism. We feel that we have successfully launched an attack on white racism. Now we no longer feel the necessity to arouse the interest of our people, to awaken the spirit of our people, just as Malcolm X, Brother Rap Brown, and Stokely Carmichael have done. We feel now the necessity for programs, programs geared not toward reform, not toward (?the individual), not toward black capitalism, but (?toward total liberation).

Question: What connection do you see between the struggle of the Afro-American people and that of the peoples in the third world?

Answer: Well, there is, definitely. We can quote from Malcolm X again, if we talk about the international arena. You see, Malcolm did not become a threat to the imperialist government until he began to travel abroad, until he began to talk about the international arena, until he began to talk about our problems as being the same problems of oppressed peoples throughout the third world. And we see the necessity for our linking up with our brothers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. That the same man who has his foot on top of our head in America, in fact, has his foot upon three-fourths of the earth, and that the moment that these three-fourths of the earth unite, geared toward the one objective—to destroy imperialism wherever it is set—we will be moving more and more toward true liberation for all people.

Question: What is the SNCC position in connection with the forthcoming U.S. presidential elections?

Answer: Prior to the discovery that Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information for the Black Panther Party, whose leadership is based in Oakland, prior to the discovery that he is not at the required age to be a presidential candidate, he was advocated as the black people's (?candidate), primarily because we feel that the Black Panther Party is the party that the black people need on a national level. Black people need a national political party, a national political apparatus. Since that no longer is a reality, our suggestion to black people is that they not vote. And I would like to go into detail and explain the tactics.

The major reason for that being that we realize that black people carry the balance of power in the (forthcoming) presidential elections and in other elections throughout the United States. Now, since (we sway the balance of power) for the Democrat or the Republican Party, if we do not participate, or if we refused to vote, that means that the Republicans and the Democrats will have to struggle with each other and will be forced into a stalemate.

If they are forced into a stalemate, what will then happen is that the House of Representatives will have to make a decision upon who would be next presidential candidate or presidential electee, and (given) the racist nature of America, we are sure that probably would be Wallace is elected. This would mean that the height of repression will be reality. This would mean that the black people will no longer have to be forced into the trickery of "this person is a liberal, that person is not [word indistinct] for us," since I believe that Wallace is one of the most honest white men in America. Wallace has stated very clearly how he feels about those black people who are struggling for their liberation. If that happens, black people in America will see that there is no alternative but to take up arms to defend their lives and the lives of their loved ones.

SNCC LEADERS DISCUSS AIMS AT PRESS MEETING

[Excerpt]

Irving Davis and Julia Herve, leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who are visiting our country on the invitation of the Revolutionary Government, reiterated to national and foreign newsmen the objectives of the Afro-American struggle as well as their ties with and support of the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the third world. "Our struggle is not racial," affirmed Irving Davis, SNCC deputy director of International relations, responding to a question. He added: "The black liberation movement of the U.S. has now discounted racism. The black man is no longer ashamed of his hair, his skin, his lips."

A reaction has been produced aimed at destroying the ideology of white superiority over the Negro. Today the objectives of the Afro-Americans' struggle are aimed at destroying the imperialist system. Then he emphasized the internationalist nature of the struggle when he pointed out: "Those who suffer oppression in any part of the world can count on the support of the liberation movement of the North American Negroes." Davis spoke out in favor of the victory of the heroic Vietnamese people over the U.S. imperialist forces. "The Vietnamese are doing good work and I am sure they will win."

"There are no ideological differences between SNCC and the Black Panther Party, and although there may be differences in methods, this does not mean that the objective is different," said I. Davis in one of his replies. Irving Davis revealed that SNCC has changed its internal structure, expanding the number of national leaders and creating a collective leadership composed of a large Central Committee. This is to prevent the personalization of leaders by the capitalist press which is done in an attempt to destroy them. A Propaganda Secretariat headed by P. Hutchings has been created to coordinate the different fronts.

For her part, Julia Herve, SNCC coordinator in Paris (shown in the photo) referred to the 22 March Student Movement's ties with the demands of the Afro-Americans. The young leader also denounced the sterilization campaign of United States authorities within the Negro population aimed at impeding their development. [GRANMA of 2 October, page 8, quotes Julia Herve as reporting that there are clinics in the United States where black women are being sterilized and saying that SNCC is investigating this.]

U.S. NEGRO AIMS GUERRILLA WARFARE VIEWS

"Guerrilla warfare shall increasingly become the method of common struggle not only in the United States but also in all the battles for national liberation in the rest of the world" (Irving) Davis, deputy director for international relations of the Students [Non-violent] Coordinating Committee [SNCC], told Prensa Latina. He added that to the degree that the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America join in the struggle we shall be advancing toward final liberation.

Davis, who is in Havana, touched on the Afro-North American Liberation movement when he said that in the wake of Martin Luther King's assassination, the black masses cannot hope to gain anything by nonviolence. As he stressed SNCC's condemnation of the aggression against Vietnam, Davis emphasized that his organization's position is not to demand peace but to back the victory of the Vietnamese people. "We are committed to the liberation movement, not to the peace movement," he added.

Mr. MANUEL. One of the questions put to him by his interviewer was as follows:

One of the most widely used concepts in Afro-American nations today is that of the urban guerrilla as a method to oppose the growing growth of violence. What is your opinion on this?

Answer by Mr. Davis:

Certainly, guerrilla warfare is going to become more and more a method that will have to be employed by people not only in America but throughout the world as they struggle for their liberation. Talk about conventional warfare, to talk about peace movements, when those whom we face do not understand what peace is all about, what tranquility is all about, is foolish and even redundant. I think Malcolm X pointed this out when he said the students should be nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with them. But the first law of nature is that everyone must defend himself, defend his right to survive. Anyone who does not understand this, anyone who does not want to employ this tactic, is doing nothing more than committing suicide, putting his life into the hands of the aggressor.

The CHAIRMAN. What tactic was he referring to there? You were reading from something I didn't have before me.

Mr. MANUEL. It is from exhibit SN-34, captioned "SNCC Official Interviewed by Havana Radio."

The CHAIRMAN. What paragraph were you reading?

Mr. MANUEL. I was reading the question starting in the fourth paragraph, concerning urban guerrilla warfare on the first page, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. "Now that we are thinking about peace," is that the way it starts?

Mr. MANUEL. No. The answer starts "Certainly, guerrilla warfare is going to become"--- --

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

One of the most widely used concepts in Afro-American nations today is that of the urban guerrilla as a method to oppose the growing growth of violence. What is your opinion on this?

Answer:

Certainly, guerrilla warfare is going to become more and more a method that will have to be employed by people not only in America but throughout the world as they struggle for their liberation.

Is that what you were reading?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes. He amplified on this, Mr. Chairman, if you will turn to the last page of the same exhibit, captioned "U.S. Negro Aims Guerrilla Warfare Views," the text of this statement which came out of Havana, and we quote:

Guerrilla warfare shall increasingly become the method of common struggle not only in the United States but also in all the battles for national liberation in the rest of the world, Irving Davis, Deputy Director for International Relations of the Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee told Matina.

Along with Forman, the principal spokesman for SNCC philosophy since 1968 has been Program Chairman Phil Hutchings.

We have compiled some of Hutchings' statements regarding SNCC philosophy and activities as they have appeared in the movement press, as follows:

As reported in the Militant of July 12, 1968:

Hutchings spoke in favor of the concept of black united fronts. He also called for the formation of a mass black party with the Black Panther as its symbol. In regard to picking up the gun, he impressed the need first for political education, an education that would provide goals and objectives for use of the gun.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, we would like to introduce——

The CHAIRMAN. This is Hutchings? This is a speech from Hutchings?

Mr. MANUEL. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the head of the——

Mr. MANUEL. He is currently the program secretary of the SNCC national office.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have that document there? What does he say in there?

Mr. MANUEL. Just what I quoted. With regard to picking up a gun, he emphasized the need first for political education, an education that would provide goals and objectives for the use of the gun.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Let that be received as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 441" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 441

[From the Militant, July 12, 1968]

BLACK POLITICAL CONFERENCE

(By Derrick Morrison)

NEWARK—When the Newark Black Political Convention was adjourned June 23, it signified that this community had taken a big step forward in organizing black people to fight for political power.

The three days of deliberations, organized by the United Brothers of Newark, which is spearheaded by LeRoi Jones, were very much together in direction and planning.

The first two days were devoted to workshops on the various aspects of an overall political program. The principal speakers were LeRoi Jones; Sonny Carson of Brooklyn CORE; public educator Herman Ferguson, recently convicted on frame-up charges of conspiring to kill certain civil rights leaders; and Ron Karenga of the US organization in Los Angeles.

On the third day of the convention, an overall political program was ratified by the delegates. Then candidates were selected to run on this program for two openings on the city council. The conference would up with a speech by Phil Hutchings, program director of SNCC.

The total attendance at the convention was over 1,000. In the evening during the principal speeches, 500 to 600 people were seated in the auditorium of Kinney Junior High School. About 100 delegates representing over 200 organizations attended the deliberations. Although the young brothers and sisters composed the majority, at least 40 percent of the convention was over 30. This meant that the convention represented a cross-section of the black community. Brothers dressed in black dashikis served as the security guards.

LEROI JONES

Jones was the speaker the first night. He ran down why the convention was called and outlined its objectives.

He said, "As black people, we have never participated in the democratic processes. . . . Why do we need a political convention? Everybody knows that we

are the majority in Newark. . . . We will get candidates who are sent here by the federal government, Standard Oil, and *Time* magazine. . . . We want to cut the field down so that only one black candidate runs for each position. . . . The city is controlled by white people, white people in corporations, people who have never been in Newark. . . . We want to govern ourselves; what we want is the power for black people to control their community."

He stated that the people attending the convention were in the vanguard, and that by 1970 black people could establish control of Newark by electing their own mayor.

Commenting on the police department, he said, "To quote from Huey Newton, 'The police department is an occupation army.' It is here to protect white people's belongings. Black policemen are what we need, people who think about benefitting the black community. Seventy percent of the police force should be black."

On narcotics, he said, "Heroin does not grow on trees. It is refined in factories and produced to enslave black people."

He said that black "children are not getting educated, but getting trained to be house servants and field servants. Trained to be cannon fodder in Vietnam."

On the following day Herman Ferguson explained what had happened at his trial and how the whole thing was a total farce. From there he launched into a description of Negro politics and black politics. He described Negro politics as "window dressing—a few politicians here and there. Negro politics ends when the polls close on election day. Negro politicians are put into office by the machine, not by black people. Negro politics is antiblack and anti-Negro." He used Harlem Democrat Percy Sutton and Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes as examples of Negro politicians. "Black politics," he said, "is a manifestation of black power, which leads us into black nationhood. . . . Radical problems require a radical solution. Black politics addresses itself to radical surgery."

EDUCATION AND POLITICS

In his attack on the public educational system, Ferguson pointed out that "public education re-enforces the self-hatred of the black child and the superiority of the white child. Black politics understands that you do not separate education from politics. Education and politics must go hand in hand. The problems of education require a political solution. The school curriculum is Anglo-Saxon based, not African-American based." He called for working with the Nation of Islam to develop a solution to problems of education.

Ferguson also mentioned his campaign for U.S. senator, which is being run by the black caucus of the Freedom and Peace Party of New York State.

That night, Carson and Karenga spoke. Carson, dressed in a combat dashiki, praised Newark for setting an example for the rest of the country. He dwelt on the situation in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville, New York, school district where, according to Carson, the local governing board composed of black parents fired "10 pig teachers."

After "331 pig teachers" walked out in support of the 10, Carson said, "'Adolph' Shanker [president of the United Federation of Teachers] and Donovan [head of the Board of Education] got the shock of their lives when the governing board fired all 330 pig teachers." At present the parents are running the schools, and come next September, Carson said, the community will be prepared to keep the teachers out of the schools by any means necessary.

Karenga came on stating that 1968 is the year of the Black Panther since it is an election year. He pointed out that the Black Panther originated in Lowndes County, Ala. Lowndes County, he said, was not a failure but a lesson. He stressed the necessity of forming black united fronts in order to unite black people.

To the advocates of guerrilla warfare, he said that revolution has to be waged on all fronts, below ground and above ground. Fighting for public office is not a cure-all but a step forward in politicizing the masses.

Karenga developed five criteria that would separate a black politician from a Negro politician. The first criterion was that the black politician would be accountable to the black community, not to the Man.

The second criterion was that the black politician recognizes that the system is totally bankrupt and should be destroyed. The job of the black politician is to deliver this message to those who refuse to listen to the same message on the street corners.

The third criterion was that the black politician practices the politics of disruption; that is, he brings up all types of controversial issues in the interest of

the black community. This type of politics will show the people what they really have to do to take power.

The fourth criterion was that the black politician is politically astute, acting neither as a Democrat nor as a Republican. You can use one of the party labels, but don't take it seriously. (This criterion was his weakest, in the opinion of this writer, as it did not clearly break with the racist Democratic and Republican parties.)

The fifth and last criterion was that the black politician supports cultural nationalism.

CLOSING SPEECH

After the delegates ratified the program and selected their candidates, Phil Hutchings gave the final speech. This was Hutchings' first major address since his election to the position of program-director of SNCC. He is also a member of the United Brothers.

In the beginning of his speech, Hutchings called for the formation of black united fronts. These united fronts, he stated, serve four purposes. First, they serve as an umbrella of protection for everybody, militants and moderates alike. The moderates need the militants because they cannot speak directly to the people on the streets. The militants need the moderates because they do not have an organized base.

Secondly, the fronts serve as an example of black people coming together. Thirdly, they provide a forum for discussion and debate of every viewpoint in the black community. Finally, the fronts serve as a local base for national hook-ups.

He mentioned two obstacles to the establishment of real black control of the black community. One is the control that whites exercise over the county and state. To resolve this, black people would have to take over the country. The second is the existence of capitalism, which he described as updated feudalism, another word for slavery.

BLACK PANTHER

Noting that there is no difference between the Democratic and Republican parties, Hutchings called for the formation of a mass black party with the Black Panther as its symbol.

In regard to picking up the gun, he emphasized the need first for political education, an education that would provide goals and objectives for the use of the gun.

He ended the meeting by calling for support to the Vietnamese in their heroic struggle against American imperialism.

On the second day, reports from the workshops were given to the convention. These reports were mimeographed and formed the basis of the candidates' political platform.

The workshop on city financing passed several resolutions. One of these resolutions stated: "The city of Newark has 100 percent more people in it during the day as opposed to its night population. We provide many services to the people that come to work here during the day and leave again at night. Resolution: Institute a commuter payroll tax on nonresidents." This work shop also proposed a head tax to be levied at the Newark airport.

The City Housing and Land Workshop passed resolutions opposing the construction of route 75 and other highways that would cut through the black community. They also proposed that the Model Cities Program be under the direction and control of the black community. They proposed further that new housing be "planned and built by black people in the neighborhoods and with black contractors and workers."

The proposals of the Urban Education Workshop boiled down to a demand for black community control of the schools.

Narcotics addiction, day and night care centers, and the community health services were discussed in the Health and Welfare Workshop.

The Law Enforcement Workshop called for the development of a police-community relations program, hiring of more black policemen, and a complete review and revision of the judicial system.

A Black Labor Committee to deal with the labor problems of black people was called for by the workshop on employment.

The formation of a black united front was suggested by the Political Organizing Workshop.

On the third and last day, after unanimously approving these reports, the convention dealt with the selection of candidates. The leading idea was to unite the black community behind two black candidates for the two openings on the city council in the upcoming nonpartisan elections. If an aspirant lost at this convention, he then would not run.

When each of the candidates had spoken and been questioned by the convention, the 70 delegates present overwhelmingly selected Donald Tucker as the candidate for the East Ward, and Theodore Plukney as candidate for the councilman-at-large position.

Lexus Thompkins, a Republican, and Leon Ewing, a councilman recently appointed by Mayor Addonizio, lost the support of the convention. The question and answer period revealed that they were not willing to abide by the decisions of the convention.

Both Tucker and Plukney are nationalists now working in the antipoverty program in Newark.

Mr. MANUEL. In an interview which appears on page 129 of a special edition of *Tricontinental* magazine, dedicated to the memory of Che Guevara, printed in Cuba, and distributed in this country, Hutchings stated:

It is very, very important that black people in America see themselves as part of the Third World, and see that the kind of struggle waged by Comandante Guevara and Fidel Castro has great meaning for us. That struggle points to the whole question of self-defense—the necessity to pick up a gun.

In the final analysis, the struggle has to be violent. Only by confronting the question of violence—which is the basic rock of this country—are we able to confront the real nature of the aggressor, of racism and capitalism.

This quote appeared on page 129 of *Tricontinental* magazine, as I say, which was published in Cuba, and, incidentally, mailed from Cuba to our committee box that we use to receive publications.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 442" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee; p. 129 of that book follows:)

EXCERPT FROM EXHIBIT No. 442

CHE GUEVARA AND AFRO-AMERICANS

(Phil Hutchings)

(Several leaders of the black movement in the United States have pointed to Major Ernesto Che Guevara—alongside Malcolm X and Frantz Fanon—as one of the great sources of inspiration for their revolutionary ideas. *Tricontinental* asked Phil Hutchings, Program Secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), to give us his opinion on this question. In a short interview taped at the SNCC New York headquarters, a top leader of this combative organization gives his interpretation of the role played by Che's ideas in the radicalization of the Afro-Americans' struggle for their total liberation.

(Phil Hutchings, former Newark SNCC Director, took over his new post last June 21.)

We think that the effect of Comandante Guevara's thought has been very profound in the black community, on several levels. Probably most important is the effect of his teachings about the internationalism of the struggle: the fact that people can be revolutionary no matter what their nationality and the fact that the major questions facing us are questions of capitalist and imperialist oppression. These are the forces opposing the liberation struggles all over the Third World.

It is very, very important that black people in America see themselves as part of the Third World, and see that the kind of struggle waged by Comandante Guevara and Fidel Castro has great meaning for us. That struggle points to the whole question of self-defense—the necessity to pick up the gun. In the final analysis,

the struggle has to be violent. Only through violence, only by confronting the question of violence—which is the basic rock of this country—are we able to confront the real nature of the aggressor, of racism and capitalism.

We think that the writings of Comandante Guevara along this line and his message to the Tricontinental about international proletarian solidarity are very important. They have a tremendous effect upon the consciousness of black peoples and their realization of the need to pick up the gun and fight.

This realization has been implemented in the black communities of the United States, particularly by the Black Panther Party of California. The Panthers have mobilized around Huey P. Newton (its Minister of Defense, who is now in prison) and around the whole awareness of the need for self-defense as well as the need to go beyond self-defense and create a political party. We see the creation of viable party as the way to begin to move in a revolutionary struggle in order to deal with the true nature of oppression—with racism and capitalism.

Mr. MANUEL. It should be noted that SNCC has formally aligned itself with the Havana-based, Latin-American Solidarity Organization, a Castro-led network of guerrilla fighters whose primary aim is to support revolution in Latin America and among the black people in America.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the documentation of that?

Mr. MANUEL. That appears in the document we have already introduced as an exhibit, "High Tide of Black Resistance, 1967."

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a quote from it?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is in an exhibit?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. Stokely Carmichael, accompanied by George Ware and Julius Lester, was an honorary delegate at the LASO Conference in July 1967.

LASO is Latin-American Solidarity Organization. That conference was held in Cuba.

SNCC has, in the past, either formed alliances with other militant organizations or has itself aided in the creation of such organizations. Some examples of this activity are as follows:

First. On November 8, 1968, during a Black Liberators rally in St. Louis, Mo., Phil Hutchings, program secretary of SNCC, announced that SNCC and the Black Liberators had just completed an alliance. It was announced that Charles Koen, prime minister of the Black Liberators, would become a deputy chairman in the SNCC organization.

Then we go into the Black Panthers, which we have already covered.

With your permission, in the interest of time, I will not read it again.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. Second. On February 17, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information for the Black Panther Party, announced the merger of SNCC and the BPP. Rap Brown, James Forman, and Stokely Carmichael were named national officers of the BPP. This alliance was allegedly severed in July of 1968, mostly due to a conflict between James Forman of SNCC and David Hilliard of the Black Panther Party. However, many officials of SNCC continued to be active in the Black Panther Party. These include:

Stokely Carmichael—BPP prime minister.

Carver "Chico" Neblett—A Black Panther field marshal from Boston, Mass., area.

James Garrett—former SNCC west coast coordinator who helped organize the BPP in San Francisco and served as Black Student Union advisor while at San Francisco State College. He is presently connected with the Black Studies Department of Federal City College in Washington, D.C.

Robert Alfonso Brown—former head of the SNCC office in Chicago, who is now a deputy minister of defense for the Black Panther Party for the Midwest.

Kathleen Neal—(now known as Kathleen Cleaver) served as a SNCC secretary in both Washington, D.C., and Atlanta, Ga., and is currently minister of communications for the Black Panther Party.

SNCC officials who hold positions of influence in other organizations include:

John A. Wilson—who is the National cochairman of National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union;

John Tillman—who is the southern region coordinator for the National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union;

Ella J. Baker—who is also a New York staff member for the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the board director for the fund for education and legal defense, one of SNCC's main financial conduits.

Ivanhoe Donaldson—who is now director of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.

Further, J. Edgar Hoover, in his testimony before the House Appropriations Committee on February 16, 1967, stated:

In espousing his philosophy of black power, Stokely Carmichael has been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, Field Chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a highly secret organization of Marxist-Leninist, Chinese-Communist oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals and has afforded Stanford assistance and guidance in forming a Black Panther Party in New York City.

Mr. Chairman, we would like to introduce that particular portion of Mr. Hoover's testimony concerning the association of Carmichael and Stanford, with the comment that we will have further testimony from other witnesses on this very same subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 443" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 443

FBI APPROPRIATION 1968. TESTIMONY OF JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, ON FEBRUARY 16, 1967. EXCERPTS

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

The SNCC is a nonmembership organization which has extensively engaged in voter registration work in the South, utilizing field workers who are paid nominal salaries.

Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC, was the moving force behind establishing the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Lowndes County, Ala., which is an all-Negro, highly militant political party utilizing the black panther as its symbol. The use of this symbol has given rise to the term "Black Panther

Party." Carmichael utilized "Black Power," with its exclusion of persons of the white race, as a rallying cry to establish this party. It was on this platform he was chosen chairman of SNCC in May 1966 when the organization adopted Carmichael's philosophy of "Black Power."

Carmichael was born June 29, 1941, at Trinidad, West Indies. He became an American citizen in 1953 by derivation after both parents had been naturalized. A college graduate from Howard University, Washington, D.C., in 1964, Carmichael has been active in SNCC since its beginning in 1960. He has been arrested a number of times during civil rights demonstrations in the South and was charged with inciting to riot for his participation in the racial disturbance in Atlanta on September 6, 1966. This case is pending. Since assuming chairmanship of SNCC, Carmichael is generally considered the chief architect of "Black Power." Indicative of his philosophy concerning racial matters are the following public statements made by him.

"This non-violence bit is just a philanthropic hang-up. I don't see why people keep thinking about that. The violence is inevitable.

"When you talk of Black Power, you talk of bringing this country to its knees. When you talk of Black Power, you talk of building a movement that will smash everything western civilization has created. When you talk of Black Power, you talk of the black man doing whatever is necessary to get what he needs. We are fighting for our lives."

SNCC has taken an active stand in opposition to U.S. participation in Vietnam, and in this regard, Carmichael has stated—

When Johnson calls, let's stand together and say no, I'm not going. Any black man who fights in this country's Army is a black mercenary.

In espousing his philosophy of "Black Power," Carmichael has been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement, a highly secret all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist, Chinese-Communist-oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals, and has afforded Stanford assistance and guidance in forming a Black Panther Party in New York City.

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Mr. MANUEL. That concludes our presentation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Miller, did you have any comment?

Mr. MILLER. No, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You were just there to assist Mr. Manuel in his presentation, is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You may step aside. Call the next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Sgt. Justin E. Dyer, recalled.

TESTIMONY OF SGT. JUSTIN E. DYER—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. You testified yesterday. You have been previously sworn. You will proceed under the same oath.

Do you have a prepared statement for this presentation?

Mr. DYER. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You may proceed with it.

Mr. DYER. This prepared statement is in regards to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Los Angeles chapter.

I. History

The first known SNCC office in Los Angeles came to the attention of the Los Angeles Police Department in December 1964. It was located at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, suite 307, under the name Mississippi Freedom Project. In 1965, Clifford Vaughns and Jimmy Garrett were active in civil rights projects and turned out a volume of printed material regarding the "Mississippi Voters' Registration Drive."

This address was still used by Clifford Vaughs and his partner, Lew Irwin, doing business as Vaughs Irwin Productions, in September 1966. They produced newsreel and documentary material for radio and television stations. Their work is slanted toward civil rights demonstrations.

SNCC was active throughout 1965 and 1966 as a two-man organization. Its operations were basically speeches by Vaughs and Garrett, propaganda to civil rights groups showing unrest in Mississippi, photographing demonstrations and appearances at demonstrations.

Activity ceased at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, suite 307, around December 1966 or January 1967. The building manager could not recall exactly and her records were not available—inquiry made May 12, 1969.

The Los Angeles chapter of SNCC was opened again in February 1968. It was reorganized by Tommy Jacquette, a local known militant. Jacquette stated to a reliable informant that he was asked by Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown to reorganize and set up a SNCC office in Los Angeles. This request came after Carmichael and Brown attended a Black Panther rally in Los Angeles on February 18, 1968.

On March 11, 1968, the files of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power indicated SNCC signed for service at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles. The application listed the organization as political. Officers were listed as Tommy Jacquette, president; Franklin Alexander, vice president; and John Floyd as secretary.

On June 25, 1968, Ronald Wilkins and several members of SNCC were observed moving furniture from 1994 West Jefferson to 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles. The move was official on July 9, 1968. The owner of the property at 1994 West Jefferson had doubled their rent in an effort to move them and it was successful.

During a SNCC class held on September 31, 1968, at 4506 South Western, Los Angeles, it was discussed that SNCC was no longer a nonviolent organization, but is a militant organization and will organize the black people for the forthcoming revolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Who made the statement that it was no longer a nonviolent organization?

Mr. DYER. It was in a general discussion. The informant who was there did not know the individual. It was a ranking member. There were five or six people there and all of them were SNCC functionaries.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. DYER. The revolution will take place in 1971.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that quote from? Is that what was said?

Mr. DYER. That was said at the meeting, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. DYER. Shermont Banks, spokesman for the Black Panther Party for self-defense in Los Angeles, stated in August 1968 that SNCC was a dead organization and most of their ex-members are now in the Panther Party.

Walter Bremond, of the Los Angeles Brotherhood Crusade, and formerly chairman of Black Congress—an amalgamation of local militant Negro organizations—stated that SNCC was formerly a member of Black Congress but was now a dead organization.

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

II. *Organization and Structure*

Mr. DYER. SNCC national headquarters is located in Atlanta, Ga.

The Los Angeles headquarters is located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles. This address is on a main north-south street in an area having an ethnic composition of approximately 90-percent Negro in both residential area and businesses on Western Avenue. Western Avenue in this area has small apartment houses, liquor stores, TV, and general merchandising.

SNCC in Los Angeles is not a membership organization. Membership is limited to a controlling nucleus run by the Los Angeles director. General membership is characterized as Friends of SNCC. The latter category are those who donate contributions, give lipservice, and are in general accord with SNCC. The Friends of SNCC would not be characterized as a cohesive organization.

Line of command in Los Angeles SNCC would be Ronald Wilkins, west coast director; Charles M. Williams, a.k.a. Mike, Los Angeles director. Further succession in command is not known. Currently, SNCC has about five members and is not active.

Periodically on campuses within the Los Angeles area, SNCC chapters are formed. As of late, the Black Student Union and the Students for a Democratic Society have taken over their function.

III. *Membership*

Officers and membership as of March 30, 1969: Deputy chairman of National SNCC representing the West Coast is Ronald Leroy Wilkins, a.k.a. Brother Crook. Appointed to this position the first part of May 1968. Prior to February 27, 1969, he was also Los Angeles director of SNCC.

Los Angeles director of SNCC: Charles Maynard Williams, a.k.a. Mike Williams. Named to this position, February 27, 1969. This position previously held by Ronald Wilkins in conjunction with his post of west coast national representative. Williams stated to a confidential informant that he took over the job as "Brother Crook" had been traveling extensively outside of Los Angeles and was unable to run the Los Angeles office.

Other officers and members are: Thomas D. Scott, program director; Sandra Scott, secretary; Michael Seals, editor; and Ronald Taylor, member.

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, I know you have ruled that his testimony will be printed in the record when it has not been read. Where names are mentioned in the testimony, I believe in the previous witness' testimony he skipped some names which had already been referred to earlier.

Perhaps it was all right because it would have been repetitious. I just wonder. We are putting material into the record which could be interpreted as being derogatory.

The CHAIRMAN. I have no objection. It is a matter of expediting.

Senator GRIFFIN. I have some questions of whether we should do that or not.

The CHAIRMAN. It becomes a part of the record and everybody knows it. There is nothing concealed. I suppose the press has copies of this.

Angeles Black Congress, indicated that SNCC was a dead organization. He states that SNOC had been a part of Black Congress.

On February 27, 1969, a confidential source reported that Charles Maynard Williams, also known as Mike Williams, was named Los Angeles director of SNCC, replacing Brother Crook, true name Ronald Wilkins, who is deputy chairman of SNOC on the west coast.

It was stated that Brother Crook has been traveling extensively outside the Los Angeles area and has been unable to run the Los Angeles office. The confidential source states that meetings are sporadic and usually consist of three to four people.

It was reported, April 7, 1969, that SNCC no longer holds official meetings due to its small membership. The only meetings are gatherings in the SNCC office during the day when their program is discussed.

IV. Programs and Activities of the Organization and Their Impact on Specific Communities

SNCC states that its purpose is to build indigenous, trained leadership on college and high school campuses and in local communities; organize and guide local protest movements which are never identified as SNCC projects; and expand the pilot voter registration project.

On March 8, 1968, SNCC held a meeting protesting the shooting of Gregory Clark by LAPD. The meeting was attended by approximately 100 people. Franklin D. Alexander, previously of the DuBois Clubs, chaired the meeting. The group did not concur with the findings of the inquest. The main topic was revenge for the murder of a black man. When conversation strayed, it was Bobby Hodges who would get it back to the issues at hand. She kept repeating, "Stop talking about killing that officer, just go and do it."

It was decided at this meeting that the police officer involved in the shooting would be tried by a people's tribunal. The meeting was held at the Jefferson Boulevard address and was attended by SNCC members and several from the paramilitary organization headed by Ron Karenga, known as "US."

Posters were displayed in the area predominantly inhabited by Negroes with a picture of Officer Carlson, the officer involved in the shooting of Gregory Clarke. The photo was labeled "Wanted, LAPD cop, Warren Carlson for the Murder of Gregory Clarke."

On March 17, 1968, a people's tribunal convened in South Park within the city of Los Angeles. Members of SNCC represented the prosecution and also had a representative for the defense which did nothing. Officer Carlson was found guilty and a unanimous decision was reached for the death sentence to be imposed on Officer Carlson.

On April 5, 1968, Los Angeles SNCC called for a general strike to commemorate the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. A tribute was held at South Baptist Church in Los Angeles for Martin Luther King, sponsored by SNCC.

On April 9, 1968, SNCC sponsored a protest at the Broadway department store, 4101 S. Crenshaw Boulevard, due to the failure of the store to close down business on the day Martin Luther King's funeral was held.

On April 5, 1968, officers of LAPD arrested four members of SNCC, when they were observed standing in front of SNCC, 1994 W. Jeffer-

son, holding guns. On attempting to arrest these individuals, they barricaded themselves in SNCC headquarters and it was necessary for LAPD officers to force their way into the office and arrest Clarence Gregory Sullivan, George David Hopkins, Michael Robinson Seals, and Mark Anthony Simien, who all claimed to be members of SNCC. The four were armed with rifles and shotguns.

On May 4, 1968, officers responding to a disturbance of the peace call at the home of Franklin D. Alexander, observed a Black Panther member at the scene. The Panther member went into the apartment of Alexander and was overheard by the police informing the occupants that officers were in the apartment house. At this time, officers heard an automatic weapon being cocked. Officers entering the apartment recovered four handguns and a quantity of ammunition.

Members of Los Angeles SNCC were stopped by the Texas Highway Patrol in Fort Stockton, Tex. They stated they were en route to the H. Rap Brown trial in New Orleans. Officers found a 9-mm. Astra automatic belonging to one of the members.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, before we get too far from page 7, in the center of the page it refers to a people's tribunal being convened, and so forth.

What action followed that?

Mr. DYER. Actually, sir, it was nothing.

Senator PERCY. Nothing happened?

Mr. DYER. No, sir.

Senator PERCY. Will you explain? First of all, will you explain how we have this information that a death sentence was imposed, and is it a practice for them to impose a death sentence and then simply do nothing about it, or is the implication that they intend to follow through and do something about it?

Mr. DYER. Sir, the first implication was that they did intend doing something about it. A tribunal was held in an open city park. It was attended by many people, myself included. The outcome was a severe criticism of Franklin D. Alexander because he was the one fomenting this particular tribunal. He had it.

They made a rather ridiculous conclusion and, therefore, were not capable, or it would be inadvisable, to carry it out. Therefore, it ended up as the downfall of Franklin D. Alexander within the organization.

Senator PERCY. What has been the outcome of other people's tribunals? Is this sort of a symbolic performance or a ritual they go through, where they do not intend action, or do they follow through frequently with action but in this case because of, say, public attention to it, they didn't dare?

Mr. DYER. This was the first, to my knowledge, in the city of Los Angeles. They did have a second, and then later we have had several tribunals by the Black Panthers in which they were ostracizing other members of the black community.

Senator PERCY. And they did follow through?

Mr. DYER. Nothing was done other than branding them "Uncle Toms" or other slanderous remarks.

Senator PERCY. So it is sort of an exercise in futility. It is a symbolic thing but they do not necessarily try to follow through or intend to?

They all have copies.

We can take the time to read it.

Senator GRIFFIN. No; I just raised the question.

The CHAIRMAN. All I was trying to do was expedite it.

I can appreciate you might come to a name sometime that you might want to raise a question about. All I am trying to do is expedite it.

At the same time, I don't want to expedite it at the expense of doing an injustice to anybody. If the Senator prefers, I would be glad to have it read.

Where did you stop?

Mr. DYER. Page 3, membership history.

SNCC started in Hollywood with Clifford Vaughns operating a small office at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, suite 307, under the name of Mississippi Freedom Project. The name Jimmy Garrett soon became known and associated with SNCC operating out of the same office. The operation continued throughout most of 1966.

The year 1967 was marked with little or no activity from SNCC.

After a Black Panther rally on February 18, 1969, at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, at which Stokely Carmichael, James Forman, and H. Rap Brown attended—all national officers—Tommy Jacquette stated he was asked by Carmichael and Brown to establish SNCC in the Los Angeles area. SNCC established an office at 7228 South Broadway in Black Congress which is an amalgamation of Negro militant organizations.

On March 11, 1968, the files of the department of water and power indicated SNCC signed for service at 1904 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles. The application listed the organization as political: Tommy Jacquette, president; Franklin Alexander, vice president; and John Floyd, secretary.

Corroborating the information from water and power, a reliable source operating in the SNCC organization stated the officers were: Tommy Jacquette, chairman; Franklin Alexander, vice chairman; John Clifford Floyd, secretary; Angela Y. Davis, treasurer; Ronald Leroy Wilkins, organizer; Barbara Rene Harding, program director; and Stanley Alexander, office manager.

William Tut Hayes stated on March 19, 1968, that there was no real membership in SNCC. People drop in and use the building for a meeting place. He answers the phone when he is there as generally there is no one else there to do it. He claims Los Angeles SNCC is basically the same as Black Congress. The difference between the two organizations is that Black Congress got out of hand and Los Angeles SNCC moved to their own headquarters.

On May 17, 1968, John Clifford Floyd, Mark Anthony Simien, Charles Franklin Gordon, Jr., and Johnnie Edson Reines III, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department in Louisiana when they attempted to jump their motel bill at a Negro motel and for possession of stolen property. These four members of Los Angeles SNCC had in their possession a list of Los Angeles SNCC members which included the following:

Ronald Leroy Wilkins, Angela Davis, Bobby Hodges, Rene Harding, Frank Harding, Franklin Alexander, Mike Williams, Tut Hayes, Tommy Scott, Clarice Allen, Charles Franklin Gordon.

Senator METCALF. Mr. Chairman, what is a Negro motel? I thought the civil rights bill changed that.

Mr. DYER. Sir, I put that in there to basically indicate they were defrauding their own people as their normal program is to get at the so-called honky, which is the white person.

Senator METCALF. Is this a motel at which only Negroes go?

Mr. DYER. The information we had from the New Orleans Police Department was that it was a motel in a predominantly Negro area and it was my assumption that at that time it was generally inhabited basically by Negroes and not Caucasians.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. DYER. On May 20, 1968, information was received from a confidential source operating SNCC that another reorganization had taken place. Officers were:

Tommy Jacquette, western field representative for SNCC; John Clifford Floyd, president; Franklin Alexander, vice president; Barbara Rene Harding, program director and secretary; Ronald L. Wilkins, organizer; William Tut Hayes, Jr., spokesman; Angela Y. Davis, assistant treasurer; Stanley Alexander, office manager; Bobby Joyce Hodges, assistant treasurer; George David Hopkins, security officer; Mark Anthony Simien, security officer; Michael Robinson Seals, security officer; Frank C. Harding, security officer; Thomas D. Scott, photographer.

The above officers are believed to comprise the entire membership.

Around the first of May 1968, Ronald Leroy Wilkins, a.k.a Brother Croop, was appointed deputy chairman of national SNCC to the west coast.

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

Mr. DYER. On June 21, 1968, Los Angeles SNCC held a reorganization meeting at its headquarters, 1094 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, Calif., for the purpose of electing new officers. A confidential informant states that Irving Davis, program director for New York SNCC, told Ronald Leroy Wilkins to replace Franklin Alexander. The reason given was that Franklin Alexander is a Community Party member and that it would be better for the organization to remove him.

Another source stated that Stanley Alexander, Bobby Hodges, Barbara Rene Harding, and Charles Franklin Gordon were also dismissed from SNCC. Others were removed, but identity and reasons are unknown.

Information later received that Franklin and Stanley Alexander and Angela Davis went into the Communist Party.

On July 3, 1968, a confidential source states that Ronald Wilkins, director of Los Angeles SNCC, expelled Shelly Ann Smith, Tony Aubrey, Mark Simien, John Floyd, Johnny Raines, and Charles Franklin Gordon for disobeying rules of SNCC. Reasons given were that Simien, Floyd, Raines, and Gordon were arrested; and Smith and Aubrey went to New Orleans, La., without permission of Los Angeles SNCC.

On August 13, 1968, confidential source states Charles Maynard Williams and Thomas D. Scott are associates to Wilkins. They help administer the SNCC organization. On February 9, 1969, Walter Bremond of Los Angeles Brotherhood Crusade and previously of Los

Mr. DYER. That would be a conclusion that I would arrive at; yes, sir.

Senator PERCY. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this held in public?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir; in a city park.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator PERCY. I think, Mr. Chairman, it is quite important that we try to bring out—the statement left as it would be meaningless unless we knew what the performance was all about and whether they actually did follow through with it. I think the sergeant's explanation clarifies it for me.

Senator METCALF. Mr. Chairman, how does he know that an automatic weapon was cocked?

Mr. DYER. Where was that? In the apartment?

Senator METCALF. You say, "At this time, officers heard an automatic weapon being cocked."

How do you know it was an automatic weapon?

Mr. DYER. It was a very distinguishable sound.

Senator METCALF. You can tell the difference between the sound of the cocking of an automatic weapon and a weapon that isn't automatic?

Mr. DYER. Possibly, that is the conclusion of the officer at the time. The weapons were found and they did hear the sound. I would feel confident in my own mind that I could tell if a weapon was being cocked. It has a very distinct sound.

Senator METCALF. You can tell that it is an automatic weapon?

Mr. DYER. Generally, when the bolt is slammed with a spring behind it, it has a different ring to it than something which is bolt action and is muffled by the handle.

Senator METCALF. I spent a lot of time as a weapons instructor, and I have some misgivings about that.

Mr. DYER. I can appreciate your viewpoint. The fact was that I was taking the information from written reports made by the officers in the field at that time. I have no firsthand knowledge of that.

Senator METCALF. Then you say, "Officers entering the apartment recovered four handguns."

Were those automatic weapons?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

Senator METCALF. What kind of weapons were they?

Mr. DYER. I don't recall, but they favor the Astra automatics basically, with the same philosophy as the Panthers, with 9 millimeter.

Senator METCALF. What automatic?

Mr. DYER. The Astra. It is a 9 millimeter.

Senator GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, the testimony of the previous witness, Mr. Manuel, referred at one point to the arrest of five SNCC officials. He also referred to the fact that certain material seized under a search warrant was taken from each individual. What was taken went into the record without being identified.

I want to know at this point if a search warrant was issued for each of those five SNCC officials who was arrested and from whom material was taken. I have noted that in each case the list includes an "automatic weapon."

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know how important it is, but if it is auto-

matic or not automatic, if you have a weapon that will kill somebody, I think that is important.

Mr. DYER. I believe I cover that in my statement about two paragraphs down.

The CHAIRMAN. I guess an officer who heard the sound, presumed it was an automatic, and then saw the automatic weapons. That would be pretty conclusive to me.

If he made his report after the incident, I guess he could tell if the weapon was automatic or not.

Mr. DYER. On May 22, 1968, it was reported that Frank Harding purchased reloading equipment which was capable of reloading all-type rifle shells. He ordered 12 riot shotguns and two cases of 12-gauge 00 buckshot, stating he wanted delivery prior to June 1, 1968. The next day he purchased a Colt fountain pen flare gun and stated that if it worked the way he wanted it to, he would buy another 12 flares.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you get this information?

Mr. DYER. From the individual who sold it to him.

The CHAIRMAN. This is information you checked out from the individual who actually sold it to him?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir, and subsequent to that, we did purchase one and tested it. It would go, I believe it was well over 400 feet vertically, burning all the way.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean the riot guns?

Mr. DYER. No, the pen flare. It was the same individual that he ordered the shotguns from.

The CHAIRMAN. The shot was fired and it would go 400 feet without the fire being extinguished?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thus making it a weapon at the 400-foot range?

Mr. DYER. It was an excellent incendiary device.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. DYER. On May 17, 1968, members of the Los Angeles SNCC were arrested by New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, La. They were arrested for defrauding an innkeeper and possession of stolen property. During the search, marijuana was found in their possession. Weapons were found in attaché cases carried by the Los Angeles SNCC people, however, the police department could not identify the weapons with a particular individual. All four weapons were 9 mm. One was a Browning, one Astra, one Llama, and a CR automatic.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were arrested?

Mr. DYER. Four, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Four arrested and four different weapons found?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But they couldn't identify the weapon and the individual, which one had which?

Mr. DYER. That is right. They were found in briefcases.

In one of the attaché cases there was a manual on sabotage and guerrilla warfare tactics.

I had some of that to submit as evidence, but Mr. Philip Manuel, who preceded me, has already submitted that.

On August 5, 1968, Ronald Leroy Wilkins, director of Los Angeles SNCC and deputy chairman of national SNCC was arrested with

Thomas D. Scott, also a member of SNCC. The two men were arrested for kidnaping of a 19-year-old male named Richard Males. The youth was held against his will at 2724 South Cimarron, the home of Scott. Scott and Wilkins were trying to obtain information from Males. None of the parties involved would tell officers the reason for the kidnaping; however, Males stated to officers that he was in fear for his life. Weapons registered to Wilkins were confiscated and kidnaping charges dropped, due to failure of victim to testify.

On August 17, 1968, Frank Charles Harding claimed to have a .50-caliber machinegun, grease guns, AK-47 assault rifle, Claymore mines and ground-to-ground rocket launchers. He stated California and particularly Los Angeles, would not have major disturbances—only slight harassment. He said California would be communications and supply center for the Nation as guns are easy to get in California.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did he make that statement?

Mr. DYER. He made that to one of our confidential informants.

On August 21, 1968, at a meeting of Los Angeles SNCC at their headquarters at South Western, Wilkins, director of the organization, discussed plans to bomb the Los Angeles Police Department, the FBI, and Federal buildings along with some of the utility companies.

The purpose of the bombing would be to intimidate the whites, to cause panic, and to disorganize. This would also have the effect of a more militant attitude on the part of the Black Nationalists.

No specific details were discussed as to how, when, and who would perpetrate the bombings. Wilkins also encouraged SNCC members to infiltrate the police and sheriff's departments in order to nullify their plans when the black revolution begins.

The October 5, 1968, *People's World*, an organ of the Communist Party, shows a photo of the SNCC Youth Corps standing guard for Charlene Mitchell's speaking engagement at an SDS rally.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that Charlene Mitchell was the presidential candidate for the Communist Party, and her two brothers, Franklin Delano Alexander and Stanley Alexander, are both members of this particular chapter of SNCC.

They are the two Alexanders that I referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. Candidate for president?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir. She has been, I think, for the last two, if I am not mistaken.

It was reported that a high school principal had a rifle turned in to him by a young Negro student. The rifle was described as expensive and the student stated it was given to him by SNCC and that SNCC was also furnishing other Negro militants with firearms. Due to fear on the part of the high school principal, the incident was not reported to the police department.

V. Finances

Kenneth Rottger furnished a check for \$10,000 to the Los Angeles Sports Arena manager in Los Angeles, as a \$10,000 insurance bond which was posted in order to obtain the arena for a black congress-sponsored rally for the defense of Huey Newton on February 18, 1968. This rally featured James Forman, H. Rap Brown, and Stokely Carmichael as speakers, all of which hold national offices in SNCC. It should be noted that Kenneth Rottger's wife is Elizabeth Rottger, a sponsor for the Los Angeles Committee for the Foreign Born, a cited

Communist Party front organization. She is a sponsor under the name of Betty Chesley.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the \$10,000 check for rent of the arena?

Mr. DYER. It was strictly an insurance bond. He got it back.

On April 2, 1969, Kenneth and Betty Rottger of 1218½ Queen Anne Place, Los Angeles, contributed \$10 to SNCC. On the same date, the Women Strike for Peace, 5899 West Pico, contributed \$50 to SNCC.

A bank account for SNCC was opened February 26, 1968, with a deposit of \$430.20. The account was at the Bank of Finance, 2651 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles. Account number 01-018-604 was in the name of Los Angeles SNCC, 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles. It was opened by John Floyd and Angela Y. Davis.

A new signature card dated May 7, 1968, superseding previous cards, authorized signatures of Bobby Joyce Hodges and Ronald Leroy Wilkins.

Confidential information was received in June 1968, that the account was closed by the bank. The account was overdrawn and no attempt was made to cover a \$38 overdraft.

A report dated May 22, 1968, alleges that a Mr. Broder who owned the Standard Club of California, 3084 Motor Avenue, Los Angeles, was regularly supplying financial assistance to SNCC. A business rundown on that club made June 26, 1967, indicated that it was frequented by gamblers and bookmakers. It listed a Jack Broder as president, Robert Broder as vice president, and Beatrice Broder as secretary-treasurer. All of the Broders are Caucasian.

On May 7, 1968, SNCC received several checks totaling near \$1,000. On May 15, 1968, two more checks totaling more than \$1,000 were received by SNCC. The informant could not recall where the checks came from.

On September 4, 1968, Tommy Scott indicated that SNCC was in poor financial condition and did not have funds to meet current office expenses.

On December 17, 1968, at a meeting of the Socialist Workers Party, it was announced that they had donated \$200 to SNCC.

On January 17, 1969, a confidential informant stated that the Peace Action Council contributed \$10 to SNCC.

On April 7, 1969, information was received that SNCC had not been able to raise funds for the rent. There were also indications that SNCC was indebted to several merchants in the Negro community.

On July 21, 1968, at a meeting at 1994 West Jefferson, it was stated that they would move to their new address of 7404 South Western. It was stated that they had a 1-year lease and rent would be approximately \$90 a month. The lease was signed by Charles Maynard Williams, also known as Mike Williams, who also signed all of the rent checks.

VI. *Aims and Objectives*

The basic aims of SNCC in Los Angeles are:

- Mobilization for revolution;
- End the war in Vietnam;
- One man, one vote; and
- Self-determination by the black man.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you get that information?

Mr. DYER. From their own publication, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have their publications been made an exhibit?

Mr. DYER. No, sir; they have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have them?

Mr. DYER. We have them in Los Angeles. They were not incorporated in the report.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any question about them, gentlemen? Do you want the exhibit received?

Senator PERCY. Yes, I would like to. I think, Mr. Chairman, that is an exceedingly good place, because in looking ahead I do not see that Sergeant Dyer amplifies at all on the aims and objectives. When you take three out of the four of the objectives, end the war in Vietnam, one man, one vote, and self-determination by the black man, it sounds like this is apple pie and motherhood.

You have a lot of responsible citizens who would be for those three objectives. The first one is subject to some interpretation, mobilization for revolution.

Mr. DYER. Sir, that particular category is covered.

Senator PERCY. You don't mean a social ice cream picnic on Sunday afternoon.

You have observed firsthand what they really mean by mobilizing for revolution.

Could you describe what you really feel the aims and objectives of this organization are, as you have seen it, in addition to all this documented material that you have helpfully presented to us?

Mr. DYER. Mr. Percy, as far as that particular category is concerned, I have documentation which I will submit in a few minutes which covers that particular aspect.

As far as the others are concerned, a lot of this is lip service. You have something that appeals to everybody, just like motherhood and apple pie. Everyone is for it.

Senator PERCY. In other words, they are concerned with objectives and goals. Such as one man, one vote. A lot of people are for that.

Mr. DYER. Everybody should be.

Senator PERCY. They try to take a total objective in which they can attract a lot of support and then mobilize people into the group on that premise. Are they actively concerned with revolution in the American Revolution sense, or with destruction, without anything to replace it?

Mr. DYER. It would be my opinion that they are organizing basically for guerrilla warfare to take place in the streets. They stated in one meeting, that the revolution would come in 1971. It may or may not. Elijah Mohammed of the Muslims, he had a specific date. I don't think there is any credence to it.

But it does give a goal so that the people involved are goal oriented. They have something to strive for. Most of your militant organizations which are talking militancy, such as revolution and that, they have to have an active program to keep the interest.

If it is just lip service and nothing to do between the initiation to the finalizing of it, everyone drops out. When that time comes, there is no one there.

This movement was very well emphasized in the Muslim movement.

Senator PERCY. What is the end purpose of the guerrilla warfare? You are envisioning that they are training for fighting in the streets with weapons to accomplish what purpose? To just disrupt or to seize and take over?

What do you envision the purpose to be?

Mr. DYER. Actually, as far as my experience has been concerned in Los Angeles, there really has never been a finalization as to what the ultimate end would be.

It is basically designed to aggravate and agitate and disrupt, and at that time it was always in the background, the assumption that then someone else would take over and there would be designed leadership. Whether that information would come from the entire investigation, I would like to think so.

Senator PERCY. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. What do we mean by self-determination by the black man?

Mr. DYER. Generally, the feeling in Los Angeles is that the Negro has no say in government. He is subjected to the will of the establishment and the establishment is the government.

The police department, as a function of that government, invokes the will of the government on them and they are strictly kept in a subservient position.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they want a different government?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they want a government solely for black people?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir. We have one instance in Los Angeles at this time, implemented in the school board. There is in Los Angeles, an area which they refer to as the ghetto, and in this particular area they want self-determination and self-control of their schools.

We have implemented a program in which the schools themselves—there is a selected few—that this particular program will be implemented. It is a trial basis to see exactly how it will run.

The people involved, the parents of the students, or at least this is my interpretation of it, will say what the classes will be, what will be taught, who will teach them, what food will be there, whether it is soul food—that is one of the demands of a lot of the BSU—and they will run that particular school.

The CHAIRMAN. They? Who?

Mr. DYER. The community themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought most schools were run that way.

Mr. DYER. It takes it out of the category of being run and controlled by the school board, and the Los Angeles School Board covers the entire city, plus some of the surrounding communities.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that primarily a black community?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. A community of black people?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we have communities of white people and they want to do the same thing. Would it be fair to one as it would be to the other? Should it be motherhood and apple pie to the white people to do the same thing?

Mr. DYER. I would assume that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I would, too, but it seems to me that in doing this you get completely divergent from the overall objective of eliminating race as an issue and discrimination.

If this is apple pie for colored people, it seems to me it also would be motherhood and apple pie for white people who want to do the same thing in their community, and, thus, you again disrupt the whole effort at eliminating discrimination on account of race, creed, and color.

I just say these are the things that are causing agitation, in some instances on the part of white people, in some instances on the part of colored people, and some organizations.

As long as these things go on, it is going to be very hard for this country to get away from these prejudices, hatreds, and so forth, that have caused this friction.

To me, this isn't apple pie and motherhood unless it applies to each. In principle, if we would like to have self-government, that is good. But if we are going to separate the races to have it, white people to have a separate government for themselves and black people to have separate government for themselves, it seems to me we are dividing rather than bringing the races together in harmony.

I can't agree that that is a laudable objective unless we agree that that is what we should do in this country with respect to our races.

Senator PERCY. Sergeant, as I understand you, SNCC want separatism, they want separate government, they want to segregate from the white community.

If this is true, what role, if any, did they play in the recent mayoralty election? Did they abstain? Do you know, firsthand, whether they supported Tom Bradley?

Would they look on him as an Uncle Tom for running for office within the establishment, and working within the existing political system?

Would they disavow his political aspirations and try to create a separatist establishment for themselves?

Mr. DYER. Mr. Percy, I have no firsthand knowledge. Being that SNCC has gone down to only about a five-man operation, we haven't paid that close attention to them. As far as the mayoralty campaign in Los Angeles, a lot of the other militant organizations, such as US and the Panthers have branded Mr. Bradley as an Uncle Tom.

I think collectively they all feel that way. But in the final analysis, I am sure they would vote for him.

Senator PERCY. In other words, you have no knowledge as to SNCC and what SNCC people did in that campaign?

Mr. DYER. That is correct, sir.

Senator PERCY. But your evidence is that the Black Panthers did actively engage in the Bradley campaign?

Mr. DYER. No, sir. They stated that Mr. Tom Bradley was an Uncle Tom.

Senator PERCY. So they, then, disavowed associating themselves with anyone who would run for office within this system?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

Senator PERCY. In other words, they do want to destroy this system if they can, and create another system, whatever that may be?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

Senator METCALF. This is the Black Panthers? When you say "they," you mean the Black Panthers?

Senator PERCY. The Black Panthers.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Proceed.

Mr. DYER. A report dated August 11, 1967, information was received from a special officer working for a private detective agency. The information was never verified. Information stated that two persons were members of SNCC and were attempting to organize a teenage rifle club.

Do you want their names read in? We never verified it.

The CHAIRMAN. You were never able to verify it?

Mr. DYER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The names you have here you were not able to verify?

Mr. DYER. That is right. The information was given strictly by a private detective and there was no information on our part.

The CHAIRMAN. That part that is not verified we will not print in the record.

Mr. DWYER. On April 25, 1968, a SNCC meeting was held at 7228 S. Broadway (L.A. Black Congress). The purpose was to organize a picket demonstration directed to the Broadway department stores because they did not close on the day of the funeral for Dr. Martin Luther King.

On May 3, 1968, Angela Davis, protocol officer of L.A. SNCC, spoke at the College Center Group at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, Calif. Davis states that SNCC's major projects consisted of karate and rifle club training for its membership. They intend to organize the Negroes politically and economically. They intend to set up legal and medical teams to combat police brutality.

Senator METCALF. Is there anything wrong with organizing Negroes politically and economically?

Mr. DYER. No, sir. I am not trying to present a one-sided picture. I want a picture of both sides.

Senator METCALF. I am not going to concede police brutality, but if there were brutality it would certainly be justification to set up legal and medical teams to combat it?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

Senator METCALF. There are a lot of people around the country, including some members of the U.S. Senate, who suggest to people ways to avoid the draft, which is in your next paragraph.

It seems to me that this might take place at a church meeting or a Boy Scout meeting, a youth council, a lot of things.

I don't see how this is directed at anything that is illegal or wrong. It would seem to me that some of these political activities are justified and should take place.

Mr. DYER. Generally, when something is stated it depends on the particular tone of voice, and you can determine the intent by the inflection of the voice.

At this particular meeting, the informant who reported this particular information, the connotation gave the impression that it was strictly derogatory, that they were doing something to stir up the community, not to enhance the community.

Senator METCALF. Certainly, organizing the Negroes politically and economically might not be good for one political group but it would certainly be good for the other.

Mr. DYER. That is very true. But two people involved here, the Alexanders, are both in the Communist Party now. They both stated they were. When they are talking about politically, they are not talking about your system of government.

Senator METCALF. If they are talking about politically in the Communist Party, you should say so. But if they are going to organize them in the Republican or Democratic Party, or some other recognized party, it seems to me that that is in the mainstream of American action.

These are the things that we encourage. Senator Percy was suggesting that maybe they shouldn't be encouraged to go their own way but they should be encouraged to participate in an election that was held where a black man, Mr. Bradley, was running for mayor.

I just left a meeting with people who were suggesting that we have the same sort of an organization for the Indians of America, a separate school, because we found out that their educational system has broken down; a separate political organization so that they can get in and assert some of their rights.

Believe me, while they are red, they are not Red Communists. I just don't see what the point is in bringing out some of these things that are perfectly legitimate activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe he is trying to show the good as well as the bad. He is trying to give you the facts. Just preceding it, he said that the man announced that his major projects consist of karate and rifle club training for its members.

Senator METCALF. I am for that.

The CHAIRMAN. You are for that?

Senator METCALF. I have been a strong opponent of gun control legislation. I feel that the National Rifle Association and its training programs has done a great job, in my State at least, in gun safety, in weapon safety and handling.

I suppose karate is just as good a sport as some of the others. I would prefer to run than fight. So I am a track and field man.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I hope they don't get into the Democratic Party, because I don't want them.

Senator METCALF. But there are dozens in Montana who take rifle club training every year, every week, under the auspices of the National Rifle Association. Those boys and girls go out and have a better record of hunting safety than in many other areas.

These things have to be tied up, I will say to the witness. They are not bad in themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. I think there is a lot of string that can be used to tie these things up in some way.

Let us proceed.

Mr. DYER. On November 1, 1968, SNCC was observed counseling young Negro males on ways to avoid the draft.

At a meeting on December 3, 1968, Ronald Wilkins, Charles Williams, Lamar Channell, and Bobby Hodges discussed the importance of setting up a black history and a black studies program in local high schools and colleges. This meeting took place at 7406 South Western.

On January 17, 1969, a meeting was held to discuss the ways of avoiding the draft and the importance of the Negro in politics. The meeting was a black political liberation meeting held at 5427 South Central. This address is frequently used by SNCC people.

On March 14, 1969, a source advised that Mike Williams, director of Los Angeles SNCC, stated that attempts were being made to have junior and senior high schools conduct a mass boycott of all schools in the Los Angeles area. This was a period in which the Black Student Union was having walkouts in the schools.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose? What was the objective in having a walkout?

Mr. DYER. At this particular time we had the Black Students Union somewhat successful in forcing school walkouts.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the reason given? What were they protesting?

Mr. DYER. They were initially trying to get rid of certain teachers that they disliked. They were branding certain ones prejudiced. They wanted a different kind of food in the cafeteria. They wanted black studies programs.

The CHAIRMAN. They had a lot of grievances that were involved?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir; social dress clothing, for one thing.

On July 5, 1968, William Tut Hayes handed a manual to one of the community relations officers. The next seven pages are copies of that manual and the following three pages are drawings alleged to be made by William Tut Hayes.

I have said the next seven pages are copies of that manual but they are in an exhibit here.

The CHAIRMAN. So that is an error?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir.

The manual deals with survival for the following 3 months when you will be involved in a riot or in a riot area. The manual was obviously addressed to the Negro population.

I would like to introduce that as an exhibit at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 444" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DYER. *SNCC Youth Corps (SYC)*: On May 17, 1968, four members of a Los Angeles SNCC were arrested in New Orleans, La. In their possession they had material concerning SNCC Youth Corps. It described the organization as follows:

SYC organization: The organization consists of a security office in charge (SOI), three section commanders, and nine group commanders. The group commander is in charge of 10 members of the SYC. A section commander is in charge of three group commanders and 30 members of the SYC.

This is basically a military type organization and they are attired in uniforms consisting of black pants, sweatshirts monogrammed with SYC, boots, and field jackets.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you call that a military uniform? I am trying to clear this up, if somebody questions it. Why do you call that a military uniform?

Mr. DYER. That is not by terminology, sir. That is their material. I believe it probably is incorporated in Mr. Philip Manuel's testimony, as it did come from—

The **CHAIRMAN.** It was taken from their description of it? Are you sure of that?

Mr. DYER. Yes, sir; verbatim. The rest of the page is from that. If you would care to delete it, as it was entered in testimony by Mr. Philip Manuel—

The **CHAIRMAN.** Proceed to read it. There might be some question about it.

Mr. DYER. **SYC Classes:** SYC classes will be carried out in an orderly fashion dealing strictly with the subject to be instructed and only those directly involved with SYC will be admitted to classes.

Classes will begin on time and will be 1 hour and 30 minutes in duration of which 1 hour will be spent covering material and the remaining 30 minutes will be open discussion of the material covered.

The curriculum from SYC will include the following courses: Orientation, drill, code of conduct, liberation school, political education, recruitment, maintenance, and security.

The membership of the SYC is only open to Negro males between the ages of 14 and 17.

In the information obtained in New Orleans, it was indicated that there were, at one time, 15 members in Los Angeles SNCC SYC school.

On May 27, 1968, eight members were observed between the ages of 15 and 17, drilling in the church parking lot on the southwest corner of Cimarron and Jefferson Boulevard, in Los Angeles, Calif. This lot is across the street from the SNCC headquarters. The eight youths were wearing SYC sweatshirts.

On June 31, 1968, at a meeting of Los Angeles SNCC at the Jefferson location, it was reported that SYC youth, ages 12 to 18, will work voluntarily in the SNCC program.

On July 17, 1968, a source advised that a member of SNCC said that SYC would be discontinued and would no longer be a project of SNCC.

On July 21, 1968, at a meeting of SNCC, it was stated that the security program would be deleted. In the future it would be reorganized as a security as well as a training committee in the use of rifles and small arms. The SYC would be voluntary workers in the SNCC program and would not be militant. They would only assist in handing out literature and other menial tasks.

On August 23, 1968, Ronald Leroy Wilkins stated to personnel of another agency that the SYC program had been terminated.

It is felt by the writer that the militant attitude of the SYC caused too many police cars to be around SNCC headquarters. The fear of police entering their headquarters and possibly seizing their literature probably was the greatest deterrent to the SYC program.

On February 20, 1969, a three-page brochure was received from a confidential source investigating activities of SNCC. The papers describe Self-Defense Clubs and was written by Attila (identified as Charles Franklin Gordon, former SNCC member and currently a Black Panther) and Mike (identified as Charles Maynard Williams).

The brochure is not dated. Both men were in SNCC at the same time, from May 1968 to June 1968.

With regard to the verbatim typed copy being in a state of disrepair, it was retyped and I would like to enter it as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 445" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

VII. *Secrecy*

Mr. DYER. The current address of 7406 S. Western Avenue, has the windows draped with thin split bamboo. It is almost impossible to see in if the interior lights are not on. There are two eyepieces set in the door to peer out at a wide angle and to observe who is at the door. The glasses are set on each side of the door, allowing two people to look out without being observed. After the lease was negotiated, the owner has not been allowed in the building.

Members approaching the office will stop in the middle of unlocking the door if they observe a police car.

At the prior address of 1994 W. Jefferson, the windows were covered with newspaper after SNCC observed unusually heavy police patrol in their area.

An arrest of SNCC members on April 11, 1969, indicated that for security reasons, one member sleeps in the building.

VIII. *Relationship to Other Domestic Organizations*

On April 8, 1969, Danny J. Bakewell, a member of Neighborhood Adult Participation project, was observed handing out SNCC handbills calling for a general strike. Bakewell was at Manual Arts High School asking for the students to walk out as a part of a weeklong demonstration after the death of Martin Luther King.

On May 7, 1968, SNCC received a telegram from Alianza Federal De Pueblos Libres protesting arrests and prosecutions of members of SNCC.

June 2, 1968, Anthony Ashley, a leader of Los Angeles SNCC, spoke at the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles and indicated that the Negroes were attempting to set up a new Republic of Africa which will be established in several Southern States. He said this government would be recognized by the United Nations and most Communist countries. He estimated that it would be approximately 10 to 15 years before this government could be established.

On July 28, 1968, at a forum sponsored by the Cyril Briggs Club of the southern California district Communist Party at 3048 Victoria, Los Angeles, it was announced that Franklin and Stanley Alexander and Angela Davis had been expelled from Los Angeles SNCC due to their affiliation with the Communist Party. This meeting was held at the home of Rose Chernin Kusnitz, a member of the Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights. This organization has the same people that made up the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. The national office known as the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born was cited as a Communist front organization.

Ronald Wilkins was a featured speaker at the Women's strike for peace meeting, August 13, 1968, at 5800 West Pico Boulevard.

The People's World of October 5, 1968, has an article on page 3 entitled "Charlene Mitchell's Southland Swing." Charlene Mitchell is on the national committee of the Communist Party and is the sister of Franklin and Stanley Alexander who are both identified with SNCC.

There is also a photograph of Charlene Mitchell flanked by two guards from the SNCC Youth Corps.

I would like to offer that particular article as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 446" for reference may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. DYER. On October 17, 1968, Philip Hutchings, program chairman for National SNCC, was the featured speaker at the Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles. He stated that the SWP should support the black nationalist movement and specifically SNCC.

On January 22, 1969, at a meeting of the Negro Commission, southern California district, Communist Party, at 2128 Third Avenue, it was announced that the CP should support black nationalist organizations and SNCC was mentioned. This address is the home of William and Joan James.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything further?

Mr. DYER. No, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

Senator METCALF. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Griffin?

Senator Percy?

Senator GRIFFIN. No questions.

Senator PERCY. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Call the next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Lt. Earl Halveland.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you 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 HALVELAND. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LT. EARL HALVELAND

The CHAIRMAN. Identify yourself for the record, please.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Lt. Earl Halveland.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a prepared statement?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I am Lt. Earl Halveland of the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department. I am commander of the intelligence unit. I have a statement relative to the SNCC organization as it pertains to their activities in our area.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been with the police department?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Twenty-four years.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held your present position?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Three years.

The CHAIRMAN. You are chief of intelligence?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Commander of the intelligence unit is the correct title.

The CHAIRMAN. Commander of the intelligence unit?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anyone in the intelligence unit higher in rank than you?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

I. History

Lieutenant HALVELAND. The history of the SNCC organization: The awareness of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee locally came shortly after the October 1963 issue of Esquire came out with the "Battle Plans of Integration," naming St. Louis as one of the target areas with police brutality as the object of attack.

SNCC organizing locally started in the summer of 1964 by Dorie Ladner, Negro, female, who was a nationally paid SNCC field representative from Mississippi. Dorie came to St. Louis to raise money and physical support for Southern Christian Leadership Conference and SNCC activities in Mississippi.

Upon her arrival in this city in the summer of 1964, Joyce Ladner joined her sister Dorie in establishing the SNCC organization in the area. While Dorie Ladner was active soliciting financial and physical support for the SNCC and SCLC civil rights movement in the South, her sister Joyce enrolled as a graduate student in the Washington University School of Arts and Sciences where she immediately started working with white liberal university groups.

I would like to submit as an exhibit this pamphlet entitled "A" Battle Plan for Integration."

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the exhibit will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 447" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. On July 24, 1964, Joyce Ladner appeared with a group of students and teachers in support of the CORE, Congress of Racial Equality, organization picketing of the National Park Service in protest of employment discrimination by labor unions who were at that time constructing the Gateway Arch.

Joyce Ladner through her active participation with the Washington University groups, was instrumental in the forming of the first "Friends of SNCC" chapter in the St. Louis area during the early months of 1965. The newly formed group was made up of Washington University students.

I would like to submit as an exhibit a letter signed by eight individuals, one of whom is Joyce Ladner, directed to the National Park Service protesting their failure to achieve an integrated work force at the Jefferson National Memorial expansion.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, let it be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 448" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. SNCC made its first public appearance locally at an organization April 30, 1965, when they organized a demonstration at Lambert Airfield against Lester Maddox. They demonstrated under the name of Washington University Friends of SNCC and were led by John Noell, with the support of W. E. B. DuBois members, Ronald Landberg and Billie Collins.

Although SNCC's initial membership numbered about 25, it soon expanded to about 100 persons, made up primarily of Washington University students who were also members of CORE and Student Peace Union organizations.

I would like to submit at this time another document.

The CHAIRMAN. The document may be received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 449" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. SNCC's address at this time was 740 De Mun, which was also the office of the Experimental Ministry and Campus Christian Fellowship and was used as an answering service and mail drop. Literature distributed by this newly formed organization contained the residential telephone numbers of local SNCC members, Dave Finke and John Noell. After SNCC's first official demonstration, they expanded under two names, "Washington University Friends of SNCC," student branch, and "St. Louis Friends of SNCC," the adult support branch. Both organizations had separate chairmen but one joint steering committee.

I would like to submit two of their documents, identifying the John Finke and the address and the telephone number of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 450" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. On June 13, 1965, at the home of Phyllis and Nathan Margolin, SNCC held a fundraising rally which was attended by about 150 people, with the national chairman of SNCC, John Lewis, being the featured speaker. They were successful in raising enough money to rent office space for a regional SNCC office in St. Louis and to pay a field representative.

Dave Finke, who had been active in national SNCC activities in Chicago, Ill., prior to coming to this city, was named the paid field representative in the State of Missouri for the national SNCC organization. His responsibilities were to coordinate the efforts of the Friends of SNCC and other affiliated groups.

I would like to submit this copy of the information pertaining to the arrival of the regional organizer for SNCC, with his name, address and phone number on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, it may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 451" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. In June 1965, Dave Finke opened a regional SNCC office at 6146 Delmar. The SNCC projects directed by Dave

Finke, were physically and financially supported by the Washington University Friends of SNCC and the St. Louis Friends of SNCC. Dorie Ladner and Joyce Ladner, who were now permanent residents of the city, were the main liaison between white liberal groups and black militant groups.

SNCC continued their local operation until September 9-14, 1965, when, due to the lack of success in fundraising, the local office was closed and Dave Finke returned to Chicago.

After the departure of Finke, national SNCC was not represented in this city. Washington University student John Noell became the unofficial head and coordinator of both Washington University Friends of SNCC and the adult branch of this organization, St. Louis Friends of SNCC.

I would like to submit at this time an exhibit identifying Miss Dorie Ladner as the director of SNCC's Natchez, Miss., project.

At this time she was residing in our city.

Also, two letters under the letterheads of St. Louis Friends of SNCC, advising of organizing activity in St. Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received and numbered.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 452A and 452B" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Former members retained their membership and responded when called upon to actively participate in SNCC activities supporting other compatible groups, including local black militants and peace and anti-Vietnam groups which were springing up at this time.

The history of SNCC locally also includes a close association with other organizations, namely W. E. B. DuBois, SDS, Student Peace Union, CORE, and Campus Christian Fellowship.

The early activities of SNCC were coordinated with the actions of other local groups. SNCC's main purpose was the support of civil rights projects in the South or fundraising. In order to raise any semblance of a picket line, SNCC called upon other organizations for physical support in their local demonstrations.

Locally, SNCC remained in the background until 1968 when the new national director of SNCC, Philip Hutchings, started his "black unity" move, and in November 1968, formed an alliance with the local Black Liberators. Charles Koen, the prime minister of the Black Liberators, was named Midwest deputy chairman of SNCC and Hutchings was named general field marshal of the Liberators.

Even with this alliance, SNCC has not openly been active as an organization here, but is active through ABC, Black Liberators and War Lords. Their activity in St. Louis consists of giving advice to local black militants, as in the sit-in at Washington University and St. Louis University by the ABC groups.

The following is a chronological history of their local activities as a motivating or support organization.

February 8, 1965—SNCC supported ACTION's picketing at the Chase Park Plaza Hotel, advocating a boycott of the State of Mississippi. This demonstration was directed toward U.S. Senator John Stennis of Mississippi who was a guest speaker at the Mississippi

Valley Waterway Association dinner. Orville Leach (alleged Communist Party member), Ronald Landberg (W. E. B. DuBois Club), and Cathy Noel (nee Casstevens, SNCC) were among the pickets.

April 30, 1965—The first local demonstration by Washington University Friends of SNCC staged at Lambert Airport. This protest was directed against Lester Maddox, a segregationist from Georgia, who was to speak at the American Legion Hall in Fenton, Mo. Ronald Landberg and other members of the W. E. B. DuBois Club supported this action by their participation.

I would like to submit a photograph of these subjects demonstrating at the airport upon his arrival.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 453" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. May 9, 1965—"Mother's Day Walk for Peace." This activity was sponsored by the St. Louis Citizens for Peace in Vietnam organization and was supported by the Washington University Friends of SNCC who participated in same.

I would like to submit a photograph of the subjects engaged in this particular activity, with the prior announcement of the demonstration to be held at the Soldiers Memorial.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 454" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. On May 11, 1965—Washington University Friends of SNCC were prepared to demonstrate against the Hammerrill Paper Co. on direction of the national SNCC office. This activity was called off at the last minute as it was felt that the local office as a target was too insignificant.

June 13, 1965—A SNCC fundraising party was held at the home of Phyllis and Nathan Margolin. The guest speaker was national SNCC Chairman John Lewis who had traveled through the St. Louis area, to assist in establishing a regional office. About 150 persons attended this affair, each paying \$5 admission. Other funds were obtained through the sale of paintings donated by Washington University students.

June 21, 1965—SNCC organized a memorial service at the new Federal Building, 1500 Market Street, for the civil rights worker, Jonathan Davis, who was killed in Haynesville, Ala. This group urged Federal protection for civil rights workers traveling throughout the country.

The speakers included Dave Finke, Lucian Richard, and Reverend Wrenn, at 740 De Mun Street, the address advertised by the SNCC organization.

July 14, 1965—SNCC physically supported the ACTION organization picket line demonstration at the Laclede Gas Co. protesting the discriminatory hiring practices of that company.

July 21, 1965—SNCC organization physically supported the ACTION picketing demonstration at the 9th District Police Station protesting the fatal shooting of one Melvin Cravens, who was shot by a police officer attempting to escape custody.

I would like to submit a mimeographed pamphlet that was passed out on the streets at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 455" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

II. *Organiaztion and Structure*

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Organization and structure—The first SNCC structure set up locally was established in June 1965 after a fundraising rally on June 13, 1965, at a Friend of SNCC's home, one Phyllis Margolin. The structure at that time consisted of one paid national field representative, Dave Finke, who operated the SNCC office at 6146 Delmar. From this location, he helped direct and coordinate the efforts of St. Louis Friends of SNCC and the Washington University Friends of SNCC. Both organizations are structured with separate cochairmen, but the same steering committee, with structure being as follows:

St. Louis Friends of SNCC: Mrs. Phyllis (Kitty) Madeson, co-chairman; and Mrs. Fred Wharton, cochairman.

Washington University Friends of SNCC: John Noell, cochairman; Marjorie Cohen, cochairman; and Joyce Ladner, cochairman.

Consolidated Steering Committee: Marvin Madeson, Fred Wharton, Dr. Lucy Jean King, and Dr. Donald Suggs.

In June 1968, SNCC restructured their organization to meet the changing times. This restructure was necessary to regain the support from other organizations which had been lost due to the revolutionary radical trends under such leaders as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown.

National SNCC has between 28 to 30 full-time paid staff members, one of these being Charles Koen. Koen, in the name of SNCC, is trying to organize East St. Louis militant groups such as the War Lords, Black Egyptians, and local Black Liberators into an alliance, with himself as a SNCC representative being the directing force.

I would like to submit a document released by the SNCC organization advising of the various deputy chairman and the restructuring of their organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 456" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 456

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE,
New York, N.Y., June 17, 1968.

SNCC REORGANIZES

Within the past two years repression against the Black community has increased to the point where we are now faced with the question of whether or not we survive as a race of people. Along with this repression, we have witnessed the intense persecution of militant Black leaders such as Max Stanford, Huey Newton, Stokely Carmichael, Cleve Sellers, Herman Ferguson, and H. Rap Brown who served as chairman of SNCC from May, 1967 until June, 1968.

In order to better deal with this repression and persecutions and to better continue our struggle against racism, capitalism and imperialism, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, at our annual staff meeting held in Atlanta, June 11-15, decided to restructure the organization.

The following people were elected Deputy Chairmen of SNCC:

George Ware of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Johnny Wilson of New York City
Donald Stone of Atlanta

James Forman of New York City

Bob Smith of Atlanta

Brother Crook of Los Angeles

Former Executive Secretary, Stanley Wise of N.C. and Louisiana

Other Deputy Chairmen will be elected later. Phil Hutchings of Newark was elected Program Secretary.

Rap Brown continues to be active in the organization.

Some of the crucial issues discussed at the staff meeting included: (1) Creation of a national mass political party; (2) Anti-war, anti-draft activity; (3) Formation of liberation schools, and (4) Southern student unions. Knowing that police repression will be increased and intensified this summer in the Black community, SNCC also discussed survival refugee stations throughout its projects and defense units.

GUIDELINES FOR ORGANIZATION

Each youth group seeking to be represented and recognized by the Youth Congress must come up to the following standards.

1. Must have a chairman;
2. Must have a military commander;
3. Must have a treasurer; and
4. Must have a secretary.

Each group must have a central committee of ten. This committee must be produced at the call of congress, and or any or more of the above officers.

The chairman must have a general assembly of at least forty people, the names of these people must be submitted to the national chairman, address, tele., etc.

The military commander must have from 15 to 40 people on stand-by and in training at all times.

The treasurer must have a treasury of at least \$25.00 in the local community. The treasurer cannot spend more than 50% of the treasury in one year.

The secretary must submit written records of all meetings and transactions to the national secretary.

Each member in the group must commit himself to the following principles:

1. All internal problems must be resolved through discussion.
2. To carry out in the name of the organization, only those things that have been approved by the central committee and those in command.
3. To struggle against racism, capitalism, imperialism and opportunism.
4. To do nothing that will cast the organization in disfavor of black people, or expose its members to harm.
5. To be prepared to fight the man if necessary.
6. Never attack anyone, except in defense.
7. Promote unity among black people.
8. Never collaborate with police or enemies of our people.
9. Obey the organization discipline.
10. Always tell black people the truth.

Members will be expelled for violating this code.

Each person will be required to buy a \$2.00 membership card. The money will go in the national treasury.

Each local group will adopt and pass five resolutions related to the struggle which will be carried to the regional meeting, regional meeting will adopt 5 points which will be carried to the national meeting. This will be done once a year.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Presently, SNCC structure consists of SNCC members on local campuses who are also active in other organizations. SNCC, at this time, has no local leader or headquarters. Charles Koen is the regional director in this area, coordinates national projects with local members, operating within the structure of other organizations.

III. *Membership*

The only members of SNCC in this area are Charles Koen, Joyce Ladner and Dorie Ladner. All other SNCC support comes from organizations such as Friends of SNCC, groups which include members of Black Liberators, Association of Black Collegians, Students for a Democratic Society, CORE, and various peace groups.

Friends or supporters of SNCC operating from other groups who demonstrate and support SNCC efforts are:

Edward S. Bailey, Black Liberators; Lois A. Barrett, CORE; Leanne C. Botsko, ACTION; Virginia Brodine, SANE; H. Rap Brown, SNCC; Howard Buchbinder, SPU; Judy Buchbinder, SPU; Cathy Casstevens, DuBois; Stokely Carmichael, SNCC; Billy G. Collins, DuBois; Dwight Corrin, SDS; Robert Curtis, CORE; Leon H. Dent, Black Liberators; Dave Durham, ACTION; Joe W. Ellington, Black Liberators; James Feely, ACTION; Ted and Carol Goertzel, SPU; Percy Green, ACTION; Loretta G. Hall, CORE; Philip Hutchings, SNCC; Ruffin Harris, SPU; Dr. Lucy King, SNCC; Terry Koch, SDS; Charles Koen, Black Liberators; Devereaux Kennedy, DuBois; Dorie Ladner, SNCC; Joyce Ladner, SNCC; Ronald Landberg, DuBois; Orville Leach, ACTION and C.P.; Marvin and Kitty Madeson, SNCC; John W. Noell, SNCC; James Peake, DuBois; Ivory Perry, CORE; Ruth Porter, R.O.R.; Donald Stahl, SPU; Frank D. Washington, Black Liberators.

I have a copy concerning the individuals, their identities, their arrest records, and their organizations in which they belong, for each one.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 457" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

IV. *Programs and Activities*

Lieutenant HALVELAND. SNCC's activity locally having the most effect on the community were the visits of national SNCC officers brought here by black militant groups for fund-raising purposes. The appearance of these subjects and their militant speeches were closely followed by various incidents of violence against persons and property.

(At this point Senators Metcalf and Percy withdrew from the hearing room.)

Lt. HALVELAND. September 10, 1967—H. Rap. Brown arrived in this city for the purpose of speaking before a gathering at the Lincoln High School in East St. Louis, Ill. His visit was sponsored by the East St. Louis Core. After his arrival, he spent some time in conference with members of St. Louis CORE and also visited the Pruitt Igoe housing projects where he attempted to gather a crowd to no avail. After departing this area, he went to the Lincoln High School where he addressed a large gathering with an inflammatory-type speech. Following this function the East St. Louis, Ill., area experienced a series of civil disorders and destructions against both business and residential buildings.

June 4, 1968—Concerning the fatal shooting of a holdup suspect, one Monica Hollingshed, Negro female, 17 years of age, by a St. Louis police officer, wish to state that on this date members of the Black Economic Union (the forerunner of Black Liberator organization), CORE, ACTION, ZULU 1200's and Midcity Community Congress held a mock trial at the intersection of Leffingwell and Franklin Avenue which is the heart of the Negro ghetto, charging the officer involved in the above incident with murder.

Ocie Pastard, the executive director of the Midcity Community Congress, acting as trial judge, and James Rollins—a member of the

CORE organization, acting as foreman of the jury—and selecting 11 other persons at random from the crowd of about 100 persons present to act as jurors.

Rollins, who did most of the talking, instructed the jurors to be impartial and bring in a just verdict. Rollins also instructed the witnesses, one of whom was the victim's father, not to refer to the defendant—police officer—by name but instead to use the terms “fat cat,” “white racist,” “honkie,” “pig,” and “murderer.” Charles Koen and Percy Green (ACTION) were also present and made comments throughout the trial referring to the many instances in this city where black people are alleged to have been murdered on the streets by white racist cops.

This mock trial lasted about 1½ hours after which the jury deliberated for about 30 seconds bringing in a verdict of guilty. After which, James Rollins urged the spectators to go out and determine for themselves what punishment the white racist should get for murdering a beautiful black girl.

August 1968—During the month of August 1968 the various business establishments located in the area of the Black Liberator headquarters, 2810 Easton Avenue, were visited by members of this organization proposing a watchman-protective service furnished by that organization and operated by the members.

One of the subjects who visited several of the business establishments with this proposed service was Willie Taylor, an active member of the Black Liberator organization, who, after presenting the proposed service, commented further to these businessmen that they do business all day in the Negro ghetto's area but that they go home at night, leaving their business places unprotected, continuing that when they return to their business places in the morning they might find their windows broken or other damage done to their properties. Taylor advised these proposed customers that if they would purchase the watchman protective service the members of the Black Liberator organization would make sure that no damage would come to their businesses.

At the request of Charles Koen, prime minister of the Black Liberator organization, the area businessmen held a meeting on August 21, 1968, for the purpose of allowing Koen to present the complete details concerning the proposed watchman protective service.

Koen stated that the proposed service would be handled by a security wing of the Black Liberators, and that the proceeds from same would go to establishing a school in the area for black children. He further stated that they did not want white police checking doors and providing security in the Negro ghetto area, adding that they would make their own black laws and that any violators would be taken to the Black Liberator headquarters and dealt with.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that a kind of extortion or setting up a government within a government?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. It is exactly what I would characterize it as, Senator.

The result of the mentioned meeting was the refusal by the businessmen to subscribe to the proposed service and several of the businessmen present were very outspoken against Koen and the watchman service topic. Within 24 hours after the mentioned meeting, several of

the business establishments located in the area in question suffered damage to their buildings—broken windows, and so forth—from persons unknown.

The CHAIRMAN. In that instance, the implied threat was performed?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. It was very clear.

The CHAIRMAN. And within 24 hours.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. That is right, sir. I have here a report of destruction of property to a business right in that area.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received and properly identified.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 458" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

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

Lieutenant HALVELAND. August 16, 1968—Adam Clayton Powell was brought to the St. Louis area by the St. Louis Small Businessmen's Association to be a guest speaker at a fundraising rally at the Kiel Auditorium. The moneys derived from this function were to aid and develop the small businesses operated by Negroes in this area.

Upon his arrival at the St. Louis Municipal Airport, Powell was met by a group of six Black Liberators dressed in their organization garb and acting as alleged security for Powell. Powell was taken to the Clayton Inn Motor Lodge where he took up temporary residence during his stay in the city. Members of the Black Liberator Organization maintained a security guard on his room throughout his visit which extended for 3 days.

August 16, 1968—Adam Clayton Powell was escorted by members of the Black Liberator Organization to the 2700 block of Franklin Avenue for the purpose of walking about the Negro ghetto conversing with the area residents. With his appearance at this location, members of the Black Liberator Organization appeared on the street armed with weapons, shotguns, and rifles, for alleged security purposes. Powell remained in this area for only a short while, returning to his motel room.

Two of the mentioned members of the Black Liberator Organization, who had appeared on the street displaying weapons were arrested a short time later out of the area by members of this department. Both being charged with carrying concealed weapons and one with violation of the National Firearms Act—sawed-off shotgun.

I would submit as an exhibit the police report pertaining to the arrest of the two individuals and the weapons seized.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 459" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. August 18, 1968—Adam Clayton Powell appeared at Kiel Auditorium where he addressed a very small gathering of about 200 persons. No incidents occurred at this gathering; however, Powell did defend the actions of the Black Liberators and Charles Koen also stated that members of the organization had taken the security measures mentioned above to prevent Powell from being killed and his dream for the Negro people destroyed.

August 29, 1968—Stokely Carmichael, the former national head of SNCC, arrived in St. Louis under the sponsorship of the Black

Liberator Organization. The purpose of his visit was to raise bail bond and legal fees for Lt. Joseph Thomas of the Black Liberators who had been arrested and charged with violation of the National Firearms Act during the visit of Adam Clayton Powell.

I would submit as an exhibit a leaflet distributed prior to Stokely Carmichael's arrival, advertising his visit and the purpose to obtain bail money and legal fee assistance for Lt. Joe Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 460" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. During the speech delivered before a gathering of about 1,000 persons at the Sheldon Memorial, Stokely Carmichael made numerous remarks of an inflammatory nature which coupled with the racial tension which prevailed in the city at this time could have had a direct influence on the following mentioned incidents of violence which occurred following his visit.

September 1, 1968—Two subjects were shot in two separate incidents for no apparent reason by subjects unknown while they were walking on the street.

September 4, 1968—One subject was fatally shot while walking at the intersection of 18th and Locust for no apparent reason by persons unknown who were passing in a speeding vehicle.

September 4, 1968—Charles Koen, prime minister of the Black Liberators, and four other members of this organization were arrested on charges of general peace disturbance and upon being searched at the ninth district station, officers found concealed in Koen's right boot, two hand-drawn diagrams for the construction of a dynamite timing explosive device, firebombs, and incendiary explosive devices.

The CHAIRMAN. He was the leader of the Black Liberators?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. This is from Mr. Koen's right boot. He is the prime minister, yes sir, and the Midwest regional director of SNCC.

The CHAIRMAN. The prime minister is generally the leader of the country.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Their particular structure is similar to military lines with the exception of the leader, who is known as the prime minister. Beyond that they have generals, colonels, captains, so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a high-ranking officer.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. He is the leader, yes, sir.

I would like to submit as an exhibit, Senator, the police report pertaining to the arrest, and also copies of the incendiary and bombing explosive device which were seized at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. They may be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 461A and 461B" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. September 4, 1968—Shortly after these arrests, the following incidents occurred: Shots were fired through the front window of the residence of Police Lt. Fred Grimes, ninth district watch commander, who was on duty at the time of the mentioned arrests.

I have a copy of the police report pertaining to the firing into his home.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked, "Exhibit No. 462" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. A firebomb was thrown through the window of the firm of C. W. Gates Realty Co. located at 2921 North Union, establishment is owned and operated by St. Louis Police Commissioner, Col. C. W. Gates.

I have a copy of the report pertaining to that particular incident.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 463" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Shots were fired through the front window of the Ninth District Police Station, 3021 Lucas Street.

I have a report of that incident.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 464" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. September 13, 1968—Charles Koen, prime minister of the Black Liberators, and Leon Dent, general in the Black Liberator Organization, were arrested for State and city traffic violations. While being booked at the ninth district station, these subjects assaulted one of the officers involved in this case. This leading to an altercation at this time and location involving Koen, Dent, and officers attempting to restrain them.

Additional charges of assaulting a police officer were placed against both subjects.

They have subsequently been convicted, sentenced to 6 months in the city workhouse, and fined \$500.

However, this conviction is being appealed.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the sentence or punishment for assaulting the officer?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Six months in the workhouse and a \$500 fine.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they now working it out?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir; they are free on appeal.

The CHAIRMAN. They are out on appeal?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They haven't paid any of the sentence?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir.

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

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I have here the police report pertaining to that particular incident, the injury to the officers, and the charges filed.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 465" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Based on the above incident, Koen and Dent took full advantage of the local news media, alleging that they had been the victims of an unprovoked beating at the hands of the ninth district officers.

Taking advantage of the large amount of news coverage that fol-

lowed this incident as a result of their allegations, Koen and Dent appealed to other groups for support in their police brutality claims.

Several meetings were held at the Page Park YMCA which were attended by members of the following organizations: CORE, ACTION, ZULU, 1200's, Black Liberators, SNCC, SDS, all local peace and anti-Vietnam groups.

Out of these meetings the "Save Our City Coalition" was formed, same being made up of all of the above-mentioned organizations. The purpose of same to make an attempt to stop the current friction existing between the St. Louis Police Department and local militant groups, thereby lessening the chance of racial violence in this city; however, this newly formed coalition group at once began a very well organized movement against so-called police brutality and, taking advantage of the ninth district incident, used the local news media in an attempt to establish a civilian review board for the St. Louis Police Department.

The first action taken by this coalition group was on September 24, 1968, when the various business establishments associated with the four members of the St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners, the Governor's local office, and the mayor's office were the target for demonstrations.

The above action was followed by demands being made on the board of police commissioners, Mayor Cervantes, and the ninth district commander.

November 2, 1968—Six members of the Black Liberator Organization picketed the ninth district station during which time Leon Dent presented a list of demands to the district watch commander, same calling for the firing of the officers involved in the above-mentioned incident occurring at that station on September 13.

I would like to submit the leaflets distributed at that time pertaining to the actions and plans for their protest.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 466" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. November 16, 1968—Shots were fired into the ninth district command station. Shortly before, an anonymous phone call received at that office informed them this action would be a retaliation for the arrest of a Black Liberator confined there. The incident resulted in damage to property and minor injury to police officers.

I would like to submit a copy of the police report pertaining to the firing into the police station and the damage to the police station and the injury to the police officers as a result.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 467" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. December 5, 1968—A large group of Black Liberator members dressed in organizational garb marched through the ninth district station in open defiance hoping to provoke the officers.

January 10, 1969—Two semiautomatic weapons were recovered adjacent to the home and on the property of a female member of the

Black Liberator Organization, one Harriet Cross. This subject is now a student at the St. Louis University and a member of the Association of Black Collegians and recently participated in a sit-in at that university.

With the Senator's permission, I would like to let you see these particular weapons that were recovered.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Who do you associate these weapons with?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. These two weapons were recovered under the rear porch, and I have a police report pertaining to this particular activity which I am going to submit as an exhibit, in the rear home of a woman and who was a member of the Black Liberators.

She is now a student at St. Louis University, and she is a member of the Association of Black Collegians. She recently participated in a sit-in at that university. These guns were seized.

The CHAIRMAN. She is a member of this organization of which Dent and Koen are members?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And these guns were found where?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. These guns were found under the rear porch, in the rear of her home.

The CHAIRMAN. How close is that to the headquarters of this group?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. It is some good distance away, in the west end of the city as opposed to the central section of the city where their headquarters are located.

The CHAIRMAN. How did the guns happen to be found?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Two of our officers received information as to the probable secretion of these weapons at that location.

The CHAIRMAN. Had the guns been exhibited before that anywhere?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. We have never been able to determine if these were the guns that were used in firing into the police station or into the police lieutenant's home.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have the guns here?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have pictures of them?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir; I do not. I have a police report pertaining to the recovery of them that I would like to submit as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. The picture may be received. You can't put the guns in as an exhibit.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I can't put them in as an exhibit?

The CHAIRMAN. You may make pictures of the guns and submit them for an exhibit.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. All right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The report will be received as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 468" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. What are they? Submachineguns?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Semiautomatic .45—

The CHAIRMAN. While you are testifying, your assistant can expose one of them.

V. *Finances*

Lieutenant HALVELAND. **Finances:** Principal method obtaining funds has been through rallies, benefits, anonymous donations, and from sympathizers and professional performers who have contributed.

Locally, funds have been raised through rallies such as given at the Nathan Margolin home where those in attendance paid \$5 admission price that made them a Friends of SNCC member, and paintings donated by Washington University students were sold at \$10 to \$15 each. There were 150 people in attendance at this rally.

Another method was public appeal for money or supplies through the news media or mailing lists of other organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Your associate who has accompanied you, your assistant, has exhibited before you a weapon. I ask you to look at it and see if you identify it as one of the weapons you found about which you have testified.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir; it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the other one identical? Is it the same kind of gun?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. It is a .30-caliber carbine semiautomatic weapon.

The CHAIRMAN. Not the same kind?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Not the same kind; no, sir. However, it is still a very deadly weapon.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure it is.

How many cartridges does that hold?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. It will hold 30, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It has 30 rounds of ammunition when fully loaded?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Submit a picture of it.

I will let a picture being made by the photographers be made an exhibit for the record.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. These guns are still being held as evidence. We are hopeful that further investigation might lead to a link-up between the firing into the station and into the lieutenant's home.

(Photographs referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 469" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Did the woman make any claim to them?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she deny them? Did she have any explanation for them?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. We were unable to interview her, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why? She lives there.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. We would like to get a statement from her. However, she is reluctant and noncooperative.

The CHAIRMAN. She doesn't want to give a statement?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you tried to get a statement from her?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. We have been trying to find her.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. We have been trying to interview her.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't had the opportunity?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. She knows the guns were found, doesn't she?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. There was a young juvenile present at the home when the officers found the guns, who identified themselves to her, and told her they were police officers and that these guns had been seized.

We are hopeful that this person might have informed the resident of the premises.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I might mention also, and submit as exhibits, correspondence we have had with other jurisdictions in tracing the origin of these particular two guns. We have been successful and have been able to determine that these two guns were purchased by a subject who is known to be a member of the Black Liberator Organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to give his name?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. His name is Tony Jenkins.

The CHAIRMAN. Where and when were they purchased? Do you have some document there identifying the time as to when they were purchased?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I have documentation showing that they were sold to a local sporting goods company. We have examined this particular sporting goods company's records and determined the purchase of the guns by Tony Jenkins.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. That may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 470" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Some organizations and people have lent SNCC the use of their premises free of charge for mail drops, benefits, donation drops, or answering service.

Some such organizations locally are Trinity Church, Berra Church, and United Campus Christian Fellowship.

VI. *Aims and Objectives*

Original aims and objectives of SNCC have been to establish the rights of the black man and insure their continuance legally. Their No. 1 issue as of their June 1968 reorganization, is the creation of a national political party.

Their objectives as of their last national election in June 1968 are:

1. Creation of a national political party;
2. Antiwar and antidraft activity;
3. Liberation school;
4. Southern student unions; and
5. Defense units.

While these are the national objectives of SNCC, the Friends of SNCC chapters can still pursue their own local projects, such as police harrassment and brutality.

VII. *Secrecy*

SNCC has always cloaked themselves in secrecy by never opening to the public or news media their membership lists. Their national strategy meetings have always excluded news media, and in most instances their meetings and location have been passed on by word of mouth so as not to publicize their occurrence in advance.

SNCC in reality is a small group influencing larger associated groups, and the purpose of their recent restructure was to divide the

top echelon in such a way that legal pressure in any area would not destroy the overall leadership of SNCC.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you something about the guns. Are these guns commonly used in the State of Missouri around St. Louis for hunting purposes?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Not a .45 caliber automatic submachine gun, no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the principal use of it?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. It is a very deadly, destructive weapon. I could think of no other reason except to kill with it.

The CHAIRMAN. They are not regular hunting weapons.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these the kinds of weapons generally found in the home for local protection?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I would hardly think so.

The CHAIRMAN. So the automatic, then, is a special weapon?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. While this may be a semiautomatic weapon, Senator, it doesn't take too much manipulation of the sear of this gun to make it fully automatic.

The CHAIRMAN. It can be made fully automatic?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you describe it as a military weapon in fact?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it used by the military?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. And generally that is true of the carbine, too, isn't it?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir; it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

VIII. *Relationship to Their Domestic Organizations*

Lieutenant HALVELAND. SNCC, in the North, depends on support from other organizations they can influence. Because of the violence associated with their early activity in the South, they have maintained an image of being the real dedicated fighters and martyrs of the black cause.

Their influence extends to the following organizations who have assisted and supported SNCC in advancing their causes: CORE, Action, Zulu 1200's, Black Liberators, SDS, and W. E. B. DuBois.

All these are in St. Louis.

April 15, 1968—SNCC, under Dwight Corrin, SDS member, held a rally at Washington University seeking help to get W. E. B. DuBois on campus.

Senator GRIFFIN. What do you mean get them on campus?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Recognized as an organization on campus.

Senator GRIFFIN. Do you know whether or not the organization was every recognized by that university?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. It was not, no, sir.

I have a memorandum from the county police department relative to the activities on campus of Dwight Corrin, the SNCC member whom I just mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 471" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. September 19, 1966—Devereaux Kennedy, W.E.B. DuBois chairman, trying to form a federation of SNCC, SDS, SPU, and W.E.B. DuBois.

I would like to submit another memorandum relative to this activity by Devereaux Kennedy.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they successful?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir; they were not.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 472" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. The members of the organization later joined SDS.

The CHAIRMAN. But they did not join the coalition?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. The coalition was unsuccessful.

October 6, 1966—Washington University students picketed police commissioner, Colonel Dowd's home. Although a CORE project against the indiscriminate use of firearms by police, most of the students participating were members of SNCC.

I have a memorandum relative to this activity and their demonstration around the police commissioner's home.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 473" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. February 2, 1967—Washington University friends of SNCC members were linked to students on campus youths of narcotics by St. Louis County authorities.

I have the police report pertaining to that particular arrest and the association of the members of the SNCC organization.

The CHAIRMAN. What did the SNCC organization do in connection with that arrest?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. They were friends of the people arrested. They were noted by the county investigating officers as possibly being present when some of these narcotics were being used.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know what significance it has. It will be received for whatever value it may have.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 474" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. April 6, 1967—Stokely Carmichael, National SNCC director, was brought to East St. Louis by East St. Louis CORE and while in this area, through the help of Dorie Ladner, was used by St. Louis CORE to give a talk on a parking lot of Jefferson Bank in behalf of demonstrators arrested for picketing the bank and violating a court injunction. The appeal trial of these arrested subjects was going on at this time.

September 10, 1967—1 hour after H. Rap Brown left the East St. Louis rally sponsored by East St. Louis CORE and an earlier tour of IGO Pruitt projects in St. Louis area, violence broke out in East St. Louis and surrounding areas. One youth was shot and 40 fires were set in Negro neighborhoods.

The CHAIRMAN. That was after Rap Brown had spoken at the rally?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir. An hour after he left the community was experiencing numerous firebombings, a youth was shot, and the whole community was disrupted.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that occur after Brown spoke or before?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. After he spoke and had left town.

The CHAIRMAN. It started within an hour?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Within an hour; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any excerpts from that speech?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Senator, this occurred in East St. Louis, Ill., which is across the river from us.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have, do you know?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Certainly, they have documentation reports, damage, destruction, injuries.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. September 19, 1967—Devereaux Kennedy, former W.E.B. DuBois chairman, and 1967 Washington University student assembly president, addressed a rally in support of the coming October 21, 1967, peace march to be held in Washington, D.C.

October 19, 1967—Devereaux Kennedy, student assembly president, and other known members of Friends of SNCC, left St. Louis for peace march in Washington, D.C.

March 19, 1968—Members of SNCC working with SDS and ADC, held a rally at Washington University against the university's involvement in South Africa through their financial investments.

Senator GRIFFIN. I notice this one Devereaux Kennedy identified as student assembly president.

Is that the same thing as president of the student body?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. Was he chairman of the W. E. B. DuBois organization at the time he was elected president of the student body, do you happen to know?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. At that time, the W. E. B. DuBois Club had disbanded and he and others were attempting to form the SDS chapter on campus.

Senator GRIFFIN. Was his identification with these groups a matter of common knowledge on the campus?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. It is a very interesting and disturbing kind of a situation.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I believe he is listed on the chart, the SDS chart.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. We will get into his further activities on a national scale.

July 1, 1968—Julius Lester, SNCC member, named himself as author of leaflets handed out at the new Federal building which were critical of the Government's views on poverty.

I would like to submit as an exhibit this particular exhibit distributed at that time bearing the name of Julius Lester and distributed by the Students for a Democratic Society at Washington University.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so received and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 475" for reference and follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 475

FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TRACKS

Let there be no doubt about it. There is going to be violence in the ghetto this summer.

Even if all blacks stay inside, eat watermelon and watch TV from March until October, there is going to be violence. The police and the military have made that inevitable. The Pentagon announced last week that it has supplied weapons and heavy artillery to every major city where there is a likelihood of violence. The Attorney General has announced that the army will stand ready all summer to back up the National Guard. The government has made extensive preparations for the coming summer. If necessary they'll hire somebody to go throw a rock through the window of a ghetto store. Anyway, you go, there is going to be violence this summer.

From these extensive preparations made by the government, it appears that their concern is not "riot control", but the extermination of blacks. This may sound paranoid, but when one hears public officials and the press referring to a "Hostile minority" that must be dealt with, that which appears to be paranoia is only sober realism. When Time and Newsweek report that white housewives in Kansas City, Missouri and Dearborn, Michigan, are being given free lessons in pistol shooting by the police at the police station, it is all too reminiscent of the South African government's training and arming of white women, and we all know where South Africa is at.

So it's not going to be a "long, hot summer." The days of sweating it out until first frost are over. It's going to be "Bloody Summer" and the likelihood is that black undertakers may ask for a mid-summer cease-fire so they could have a few days to recuperate from overwork.

America's relationship to blacks is very clear. Blacks were brought here because they were an asset to the economy. Now the economy no longer needs them. Not only are there no jobs for blacks, there aren't even enough for whites. It's a big enough job trying to figure out what to do with unemployed white workers who are being displaced by automation. The second factor is that blacks are a hostile minority. They're like the Vietnamese, in that you really aren't sure whether or not that black working behind the counter at Nedick's (a New York hot dog chain) can really be trusted. He may get off work and go straight to some kind of black power meeting. And what about that black who works next to you on the job? Was he really telling the truth when he said he didn't like Rap Brown or was he just saying what you wanted to hear? Eartha Kitt proved you can't trust blacks. The story out of Washington is that she was thoroughly checked by the FBI before being invited to the White House, and they said she was O.K. And then look what she did. One congressman said, "We can't even trust our Toms anymore."

So faced with a hostile minority that can be trusted and is totally useless, the solution is evident. Exterminate them.

Of course, this will not all take place this summer, but the wheels are clearly in motion. The government thinks in a long-range perspective—10, 20, 50 years. This is their long-range program for their "hostile minority." It points up the necessity for those of us who oppose this government to begin thinking, also, in a long-range perspective. At the present time, however, many people on the left think only in terms of issues—Vietnam, anti-draft activity, Latin America—and they move from issue to issue without ever coming to grips with the roots of the various issues. (And the roots of all the issues are the same.) It is necessary for us to begin to project what the government is going to do and what our response to that will be. To do that, it is necessary to (1) know our enemy and what he is capable of, and (2) know what we stand for. This calls for a level of political understanding and commitment that is not yet evident.

Faced with the prospect of extermination, blacks are arming themselves, and saying thereby, if you are marked for death, just don't die without knowing that some honky is going to be buried the same day you are. And preferably, two or three. The question then becomes, what will be the response of the white radical to the government's extermination program for blacks? James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is asking white revolutionaries for the following in the event that he is assassinated:

Ten war factories destroyed.
 Fifteen police stations blown up.
 Thirty power plants demolished.
 No flowers.

One Southern governor, two mayors and 500 racist white cops dead.

A generous sustaining contribution to SNCC.

And for the assassination of Stokely and/or Rap, he is asking that the above figures be doubled.

That is one effective answer. For those whites who eschew violence, but still think of themselves as radicals or revolutionaries, there are other effective answers. But the time to think of what to do is not on the morning you pick up the paper and through half-awake eyes read that 10,000 blacks were shot down the night before. The time to prepare now, so that when 10,000 are shot down, a response from the American white revolutionary community will be swift and effective.

For those who read this and can only view it as extreme paranoia, reflect on the history of this country—the rape of Africa for black slaves, the extermination of the Indian, the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the war in Vietnam. America's history shows that its capacity to murder is unfathomable. Hitler is held up to us as the example supreme of a madman, but only so that attention will be drawn away from our own history. That history is an unending record of madness and insanity. Blacks are taking up arms to respond to this madness. It is not the role of whites to argue against this. Their role is merely to decide what their effective response to the madness will be.

JULIUS LESTER, SNCC.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. July 19, 1968—Presidential campaign rally held at Kiel Auditorium by George Wallace brought out members of ACTION, CORE, and ZULU 1200's.

SNCC picketed on the outside distributing derogatory literature with reference to Wallace's actions against SNCC workers in Selma, Birmingham, Montgomery, and Tuscaloosa, Ala. On the inside, members of the aforementioned organizations kept up a continuous harassment until eventually 11 were arrested for general peace disturbance.

I would like to submit the official police report along with some of the pamphlets that were distributed on the streets and inside the auditorium at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, let it be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 476" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. September 7, 1968—Phillip Hutchings, national director of SNCC, was brought to St. Louis by the Black Liberators, spoke at Sheldon Memorial, 3678 Washington Boulevard, in support of the Black Liberators' constant stand in protecting the black community. He was the main speaker at this fundraising rally to collect funds for bail bond for recently arrested Black Liberators. Hutchings and several others were arrested for unlawful assembly after the rally.

The CHAIRMAN. Why was that unlawful assembly?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. The statutes of Missouri, on the statements which were made at this particular rally, were considered by the officer present to be inflammatory and in violation of the lawful assembly ordinance.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a local ordinance?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. It is a State statute.

The CHAIRMAN. A State statute?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

I have here a copy of the arrest report pertaining to these individuals which I would like to submit.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened to them? They were arrested. What happened?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. They have since been released from custody through a ruling in the circuit court that while their remarks may have been inflammatory, subsequent events did not prove their intent to be unlawful in the nature of which they were expressed.

In other words, nothing happened after these inflammatory remarks were made. Therefore, they were not in violation of the unlawful assembly statute.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. They have been released?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In effect, they were acquitted of it.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Right. They were initially found guilty and, through appeal, were later released.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 477" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. January 6, 1969—Black Liberators brought two well-known SNCC members, James Forman and Phillip Hutchings, to the Gateway Theater for a fundraising rally.

Forman, in this instance the main speaker, spoke on revolution and socialism.

January 21, 1969—Black Liberators are linked to purchase of automatic weapons with investigation that revealed weapons recovered in rear of Black Liberator sister, Harriet Cross' home had been purchased by Black Liberator member.

That was previously submitted as an exhibit, Senator.

January 31, 1969—Koen, as midwest director of SNCC, gives up leadership of Black Liberators to organize East St. Louis Black Egyptians, Warlords & Black Culture, Inc.

February 10, 1969—Koen held SNCC meeting in Springfield, Ill., with various Midwest nonaffiliated militant groups, one of the main topics being what action they should take against police harrassment. Shortly after this meeting on February 21, 1969, the ninth district station in St. Louis was firebombed.

February 26, 1969—Koen called for a national SNCC conference to be held here or on the East Side March 1, 1969.

This conference was never held.

I would like to submit an official copy of our police report pertaining to the firebombing of the ninth district police station.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 478" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Lieutenant HALVELAND. February 28, 1969—Yusuf Shabazz, self-professed successor of Charles Koen as leader of the Black Liberators, proposed a meeting of all local militant organizations to discuss overall future plans for the black people of the city.

This particular meeting was never held.

IX. Relationship to Foreign Governments and Foreign Organizations

Local members of SNCC and Friends of SNCC do not have, to our knowledge or records, any relationship with foreign governments. But

it has been common knowledge through the news media that former SNCC officers have traveled abroad and have had contact with foreign organizations, such as Carmichael's visits of Communist-controlled countries.

X. Publications, Newspaper, and Leaflets Printed and Distributed by the Organization

SNCC, locally, has never published a newspaper and those leaflets originating entirely from local SNCC and distributed from that organization, dealt largely with fundraising requests or advertising coming rallies and visits, examples of which are interspersed as part of the documentation of the preceding information.

XI. Influence and Participation in Government

Locally, we have no information of the SNCC organization having a policymaking role or influence in government.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, have you anything further?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I do have a documentation on the SDS.

Senator, in this regard I have a corrected copy—the copy you have I have corrected—because certain exhibits were numbered incorrectly. I have corrected it.

The CHAIRMAN. All copies to the press would have to be corrected.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you a question: You have another statement which you have prepared on the SDS, is that correct?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Students for a Democratic Society.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is along the lines of the one you have just given on SNCC, is that correct?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Very similar; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't mean it is identical, but it is giving a description of the operation and activities.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. The individuals, the organization and activities.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, of SDS in your jurisdiction.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I haven't had an opportunity to read it, but it is quite lengthy. I would like to just ask you a question or two.

Have you examined it and do you now have before you a corrected copy, making any corrections that you found should be made?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I have, sir, and I have given a corrected copy to Mrs. Watt.

The CHAIRMAN. Then as it is corrected, do you state under your oath that every fact and statement contained therein is true to the best of your knowledge and belief?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And if permitted to read it and be examined, you would so state in each instance?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Without objection, I will let it be printed in the record as part of your testimony.

I. History of the Organization

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Students for a Democratic Society, SDS, as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Mich., in June 1962.

Information locally as to SDS organization reached this department's intelligence unit by informant during September 1965 when it was reported that the fall semester at Washington University would see the debut of SDS.

In an article appearing in a local newspaper, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch—October 1, 1965, the columnist related that official recognition of SDS at Washington University had been deferred by the board of student affairs until the organization specifically explained what its program would be.

The article went on to relate that Mr. John Moore, a graduate student, was the president of the Washington University chapter. Further, that he was born in Paragould, Ark., and served two and a half years in the Army after being graduated from the University of Arkansas. The chapter executive-secretary was listed as Mr. Jay Weinstein, a graduate student and a native of Chicago, Ill.

In a subsequent Post-Dispatch article dated October 3, 1965, it was reported that a Berkeley-type program of agitation at Washington University was discussed at a secret meeting of top-level leaders of the DuBois Club in Chicago on September 4-5, 1965. Additionally reported that several members of the St. Louis DuBois Club attended the meeting with James M. Peake, Jr., area coordinator, and they were instructed to work closely with the SDS at Washington University. Pictured in this article, were President Moore, and Executive Secretary Weinstein, of the Washington University SDS chapter.

Washington University SDS, from its inception, operated in close conjunction with the established organizations of the W. E. B. DuBois Club and the Student Peace Union (SPU). After the university failed to recognize the DuBois Club and the subsequent involvement of the SPU, SDS inherited both groups supporting members. Submitted as exhibit S1 to this report is a statement prepared by the local DuBois Club. This statement reflecting that at the DuBois Club's national convention in San Francisco in June 1964, the young people in attendance were agreed that they had inherited crucial problems which must be solved, "Unemployment rising, slums grow worse, schools are overcrowded, hospitals are inadequate, police brutality, and denial of justice commonplace."

A Post-Dispatch article dated November 8, 1965, covering the SPU and reflecting it as being organized in the fall of 1964 by a Ted Goertzel. Goertzel, 22 years old, of Ventura, Calif., was a graduate student in the department of sociology and was attending Washington University on a \$2,600-a-year Defense Education Act fellowship, provided by the Federal Government. Goertzel was denied classification as a conscientious objector. However, he was classified as a noncombatant and had a student deferment. Some quotes attributed to him in this exhibit, "I will advise students at Washington University not to fight if drafted, but this will not be done by SPU as an organization." Referring that SPU sees, "the Army of the United States as the invading army and our country as the country of aggression."

Speaking of the demonstration against Vice President Humphrey when he spoke on campus on October 28, 1965, "We planned it, but we asked SDS to be cosponsors." The article goes on to state that SPU works closely at Washington University with SDS and the DuBois Club. The three organizations have overlapping memberships and their leaders confer regularly.

Early in its formation, SDS locally associated itself with anti-Vietnam demonstrations as well as matters pertaining to alleged cases of police brutality. This group was quick to align itself with the various black militant organizations, both having in common the police brutality aspect of their grievances. Subsequently, membership of the black militant organizations lending its numerical support in the anti-Vietnam demonstrations.

This group and individual association, to include alleged members of the Communist Party, to be explored in more detail in that portion of this report dealing with the programs and activities of the organization and their impact on the community.

II. *Organization and Structure*

The national headquarters for SDS is located at 1608 West Madison Street in Chicago, Ill. 60612. The last officially designated "president" of the Washington University SDS was George R. Lipsitz. During his tenure as president, he received a letter of reprimand from the Washington University Conduct Committee, this growing out of his participation in a demonstration against Dow Chemical. Lipsitz presently resides in New York.

Currently, SDS at Washington University has not made public any specific designations of individuals in respect to office title. However, surveillances and information from informants is indicative of the local chain of command being in the following order of importance:

(1) Terry Koch, (2) Mark Antell. Both Koch and Antell were very active in the initial organization of SDS being directed in their activities by Devereaux Kennedy. Kennedy, while espousing his interest in SDS, was, at the same time, holding the position as chairman of the DuBois Club, Washington University chapter.

Typical of Kennedy's revolutionary ideas and course of action is reflected in an article appearing in a local newspaper, the *Globe-Democrat*—September 4, 1967. Kennedy is quoted by the columnist as calling for "outright revolution and the overthrow of the U.S. Government." Kennedy further advocated terrorism on such a scale that it would "demoralize and castrate America."

Previously submitted as an exhibit is a copy of *U.S.A. Magazine*, dated February 9, 1968. Kennedy, at this time, was the student body president at Washington University, and is quoted in the magazine during his participation in the 3-day conference conducted by the Center for the Study for Democratic Institutions, late in August 1967 at Santa Barbara, Calif.

Page 3—

I'll tell you the steps that I think will be needed. First of all, starting up fifty Vietnams in Third World countries. This is going to come about by black rebellions in our cities joined by some white people. People in universities can do a number of things to help it. They have access to money and they can give these people guns, which I think they should do. They can engage in acts of

terrorism and sabotage outside the ghetto. Negro people have trouble getting out because they cordon those areas off, but white activists can go outside, and they can blow things up and I think they should.

Page 6—

When I talk about revolution, that's what I mean. I'm not talking about eliminating dialog; I'm saying that you have to place your dialog within this context of events. I see this process coming a lot quicker than our friend from SNCC sees it. I don't think it's going to take seventy-five years. I think you are going to see chaos in the United States and in the world within our lifetime, in the next twenty-five years.

Submitted as Exhibit S2 is a characterization sheet on Kennedy. Koch and Antell, Dwight Corrin, Joel Allen, and other members and supporters of SDS are characterized in Exhibits 8 and 9 of SDS.

III. *Membership*

The strength of the SDS organization at Washington University has continually fluctuated. However, a hard-core following is estimated at about 15 to 20 persons. The following named subjects are known to be the influential leaders of this number and a characterization of these persons is submitted in exhibit S-2.

Members and supporters of SDS: Lois Ann Barrett, Eric Blanchard, Thomas Edward Burkart, Judith Rea Buchbinder, Howard Irwin Buchbinder, Don Cotton, Kathryn Louis Castevens, John Cohen, Margery Cohen, David Darst, Richard Freer, James Hamilton, Mark Harrington, Ronald Landberg, Orville Truman Leach, Martin Liebowitz, Brian Maloney, Mercene Verona Mintz, David Morgan, Horace McGill, Jim O'Neil, Charlotte Beth Peskind, Jerome P. Schiller, Andrea Smith, David Sparenberg, Bernice Wehrmeyer, Charles Joseph Wehrmeyer, and Michael Jacobs.

From this inner organizational cooperation, SDS is able to draw on membership for numerical support, 150 to 300 persons, at a given demonstration effort.

IV. *Programs and Activities of the Organization and Their Impact on Specific Communities*

Programs and plans for activities staged or participated in by members of SDS have, at times, created an atmosphere of extreme emotion and high tension which could have resulted in violent incidents and destructive actions within our community.

Individual acts, verbal harangues, and provocative literature, handed out at demonstrations, generate emotions and solicit hostility on the part of onlookers and passersby who may not hold the same beliefs as the demonstrators.

On numerous occasions, at demonstrations staged by or participated in by members of SDS, alleged members of the Communist Party have been observed carrying placards, distributing leaflets and handbills and in close conversation with SDS members. (Demonstrations where alleged Communist Party members participated are indicated by an asterisk*.)

In addition, the advance intelligence information learned and gathered, of proposed acts or demonstrations, have required additional police service, planning, and programing. The utilization of manpower and materials over and beyond the normal police function and service,

overtaxes the capacity of the individual officers and capabilities of the police organization. Indirect impact is suffered by the reduction of the morale in the police agency, the lessening of the stamina of the individual officer and the disruption of his normal family life.

Further difficulties are encountered in the recruitment of probationary officers and the ability of the department to maintain a trained police force necessary to adequately serve and protect the entire community.

Specific incidents where arrests for violence occurred, in which members of SDS participated are submitted as follows: Exhibit S3—Police report dated October 6, 1966, demonstration at the home of Col. Edward L. Dowd, president of the Board of Police Commissioners, for the city of St. Louis by members of SDS and others protesting the fatal wounding of a suspect by police officers. Fifteen subjects were subsequently arrested, charged with "General peace disturbance" and "Failing to obey the reasonable order of a police officer." Members of SDS arrested on this occasion were: Richard (Terry) Koch, Mark Antell, Susan Abrams, Devereaux Kennedy, Dwight Corrin, and Jane Goldman.

Exhibit S3—A formal police report dated December 8, 1967, a demonstration occurring at 4950 Fountain, during the scheduled stop and appearance of Vice President Hubert Humphrey, eight arrests were effected, these subjects being charged with "Individual peace disturbance." Three of the arrested individuals—Richard Snowdon, Richard Pervo, and Myrna Saltzman, all members of SDS.

Exhibit S3—Formal police report dated December 8, 1967, relates the arrest of three SDS members—Richard (Terry) Foch, Thomas Cahill, and Brian Maloney, each charged with "Peace disturbance."

Exhibit S3—Formal police report dated December 8, 1967, reflects the arrest of Alan Harris Fleck, SDS member, charged with "Public disturbance of peace" during the demonstration at the appearance of Vice President Humphrey.

Exhibit S3—Reflects the arrest of 12 individuals in the lobby of police headquarters, who had gathered to protest the earlier arrests of SDS members. Those arrested include Martin Liebowitz, SDS member; Judith Buchbinder, WSP; Charlotte Peskind, WSP; Dagmar Wiison, WSP; the other subjects being associated with peace and civil rights groups.

Exhibit S4—A news article dated December 12, 1967, from Student Life, Washington University newspaper, which relates the arrested subject's version of the arrests of December 8, 1967. Exhibit S4—Also an article from Student Life dated December 7, 1967, indicates the version of those subjects arrested at 4950 Fountain on December 8, 1967. A Globe-Democrat article dated August 30, 1968, reflects the convictions and fines assessed for the disturbances on December 8, 1967.

Exhibit No. 49—Photographs, showing the demonstration activity at the Chase Hotel during the appearance of Vice President Humphrey on December 8, 1967, also showing the activity of police headquarters demonstration in support of those earlier arrested.

Exhibit No. 61—A Post-Dispatch news article dated May 20, 1968, relates that those arrested at 4950 Fountain Avenue on December 8, 1967, had filed a \$300,000 suit against three St. Louis police officers for violation of their rights for speech and assembly.

Exhibit No. 62—A formal police report dated July 19, 1968, reflects the arrest of 13 Negro militants charged with "General Peace Disturbance" in their attempt to disrupt speaking engagement of presidential candidate former Gov. George C. Wallace.

Persons observed outside of the auditorium picketing in sympathy of the militants included: Joel Allen, SDS; Mark Antell, SDS; Thomas Burkart, SDS; Joyce and Dorie Ladner, SNCC; Hershall Walker, alleged Communist Party; Orville Leach, alleged Communist Party; Percy Green, ACTION; Solomon Rooks, CORE; Darnell Crawford, CORE; Leroy Bryant, Black Liberators; Precious Barnes, ACTION and Black Liberators.

Exhibit No. 63—Also leaflet prepared for the demonstration, and also distributed, in protest of George Wallace and racism citing examples of alleged police brutality in Alabama.

Exhibits Nos. 64 and 65—Same copies from local newspapers which show Negro militants disrupting the Wallace speaking engagement. Exhibit No. 66—A photograph showing white persons in attendance at the Wallace rally participating in disruptive acts. Exhibit No. 67—A photograph of demonstration activity outside of the auditorium.

Exhibit No. 68—Copy of a leaflet distributed in front of city hall, 1200 Market, protesting the repressive measures of the Chicago police during the Democratic convention, by a group identifying themselves as Friends of the Mobilization. Exhibit No. 69—A Post-Dispatch article dated August 31, 1968, showing a photograph of the demonstrators and indicating in the article Mike Jacobs, SDS, as one of the organizers of the Friends of Mobilization.

The following persons were observed participating in the demonstration: Terry Koch, SDS; David Sparenberg, SDS; Tom Burkart, SDS; Mike Jacobs, SDS; Mark Antell, SDS; Charlotte Peskind, WSP; Howard Buchbinder. It was also at this demonstration that Michael Benjamin Weissman, Washington University student, tore his draft card and handed it to a police officer. Weissman was later indicted by the U.S. district court, subsequently convicted and sentenced to 5 years and fined \$10,000, as indicated in articles. Exhibits Nos. 70 and 71 from the Post-Dispatch and Globe-Democrat dated November 20, 1968. Exhibit No. 72—Shows the subject's draft card after having been torn. Exhibits Nos. 73 and 74—Also photographs, show Weissman being interviewed following the tearing of his draft card. Exhibits Nos. 75 and 76—And other participants in this demonstration, specifically Mark Antell and Charlotte Peskind. It was also at this demonstration that Mark Antell was observed to proceed to the center of the demonstration activity, raise his right arm and fist and shout, "Up against the wall (obscene)."

Exhibit No. 77—A formal police report from the St. Louis County Police Department dated December 6, 1968, reflects the arrest of Michael Sherrod Siskind, a Washington University student and a self-admitted member of SDS who was charged with "possession of a bomb" after having been observed placing the incendiary device against ROTC property on the Washington University campus.

Exhibit No. 78—A Globe-Democrat article dated December 13, 1968, reflects the indictment of Michael Siskind for attempted firebombing and identifies him as a member of SDS.

Exhibit No. 79—A Post-Dispatch article dated February 21, 1969, reflects Siskind pleading guilty to the charge in the U.S. district court, subsequently being sentenced to 5 years.

Exhibit No. 80—A Post-Dispatch article dated December 6, 1968, reflects members of the Association of Black Collegians (ABC) assisted by members of SDS occupying the campus security office and the chancellor's office at Washington University. Also reflecting the demands of the students and to protest the arrest for burglary of Kendrick Holder, SDS members, when he attempted to break into the campus ROTC building.

Exhibit No. 81—A Post-Dispatch article dated December 7, 1968, reflects students leaving the occupied premises after the administration had granted more participation in the decision making processes and granting to drop the ROTC program.

Other activity and demonstrations participated in or staged by SDS and its members from its inception in this community to the present time include:

OCTOBER 16, 1965

Demonstration against the war and the Selective Service System, sponsored by SDS. Participants included Percy Green, ACTION; Mark Antell, SDS; John Moore, SDS; Ron Landberg, W.E.B. DuBois; Orville Leach, alleged Communist Party; Dwight Corrin, SNCC; photos of these subjects are submitted as exhibits Nos. 82-83. Exhibit No. 84, also a leaflet prepared by SDS announcing the demonstration and the necessity to end the war and to protest Selective Service System.

OCTOBER 21, 1965

Demonstration at 6411 Chippewa, appearance of spokesman for the National States Rights Party, SDS sponsored demonstration. Participants included: Dave Mount, SPU-SDS; Ronald Landberg, W.E.B. DuBois; Billy Collins, SDS; Ivory Perry, CORE; and Ron Levy, SDS.

OCTOBER 28, 1965

Washington University antiwar protest at appearance of Vice President Humphrey. Participants were Ronald Landberg, Hershall Walker, alleged Communist; Taylor Jones (CORE and alleged Communist Party), Jane Goldman (SDS), Billy Collins, John Noell (SNCC), Ron Levy. Exhibit No. 85—a Post-Dispatch article dated November 3, 1965, states the university would file disciplinary charges against several students from the DuBois, SDS, and Student Peace Union who shouted and chanted during the time the Vice President was speaking. Exhibit No. 86—Post-Dispatch article dated November 7, 1965, reflects the members of the above organizations who had been charged by the university for their disruptive actions, were in turn accusing the university of political discrimination.

NOVEMBER 4, 1965

Demonstration at the appearance of the South African Ambassador protesting apartheid and U.S. money invested in South African

firms. Participants included Ted and Carol Goertzel, SPU-SDS; Ronald Landberg; Eric Blanchard, SPU; Robert Epps; and Taylor Jones.

NOVEMBER 11, 1965

Soldier's Memorial, Armistice Day ceremonies and antiwar demonstration. Participants included Ronald Landberg, Ted and Carol Goertzel, Donald Stahl, SPU; Eric Blanchard. Leaflet distributed, exhibit No. 87.

DECEMBER 2, 1965

An antiwar demonstration at the Chase Hotel during the appearance of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, pickets included Ted and Carol Goertzel, Jay Weinstein, Jane Goldman, Donald Stahl, Hershall Walker, Rick Alexander, Dwight Corrin, Eric Blanchard, Martin Liebowitz, Terry Koch, Dave Morgan. Exhibit No. 88—a Globe-Democrat article dated December 3, 1965, reflects members of SDS picketing and singing during the appearance of the Secretary.

DECEMBER 11, 1965

SDS members distributing leaflets in the downtown area also picketed in opposition to the war, as indicated in article dated December 12, 1965, from the Post-Dispatch.

FEBRUARY 14, 1966

University City police report dated February 14, 1966, exhibit No. 90; February 15, 1966, exhibit No. 91; February 16, 1966, exhibit No. 92; February 17, 1966, exhibit No. 93; and February 18, 1966, exhibit No. 94, reflect the passing out of literature against the war in Vietnam and the Selective Service System; leaflets were distributed by members of SDS, including Ronald Landberg, Jane Goldman, Richard Phillip (Terry) Koch, Devereaux Kennedy, Dwight Corrin, Rick Alexander, Gary Farrell, David Morgan, and Billy Collins. Exhibit No. 97—a Globe-Democrat article reflects the distribution of these leaflets by members of SDS.

FEBRUARY 19, 1966

A demonstration at the Federal building, being antiwar and anti-draft in nature, participants included Ronald Landberg, Hershall Walker, Dwight Corrin, Dave Mount, Dave Morgan, Terry Koch, Ken Holder, Ted Bloom.

MARCH 24, 1966

A demonstration at seventh district police station in protest of a police shooting, participants included Martin Liebowitz, Orville Leach, and Percy Green.

MAY 7, 1966

Exhibit No. 98—a leaflet distributed announcing Mother's March for Peace, sponsored by the WILPF. Participants included Martin Liebowitz, John Cohen, Ted and Coral Goertzel, Hershall Walker, Orville Leach, Percy Green, Ivory Perry, Robert Curtis (CORE), and Ronald Landberg.

NOVEMBER 5, 1966

An antiwar march which ended at Eighth and Olive Streets and whose sponsors included Orville Leach, Devereaux Kennedy, Mark Antell, Terry Koch, John Cohen, Dave Mount, and Dave Durhan (SDS).

DECEMBER 10, 1966

Human Rights Day rally featured speakers to be Julian Bond, sponsored by WILPF, SDS, SLUAC, exhibit No. 100, a Globe-Democrat article reflects the appearance of Julian Bond at a human rights rally and indicates one of the sponsoring organizations to be SDS.

MAY 1, 1966

An antiwar parade from Jefferson Memorial Forest Park to the quadrangle at Washington University. One of the leaflets distributed exhibit No. 101—titled "Uncle Sam Wants You—Nigger!" Confidential source states this leaflet was printed at the direction of Devereaux Kennedy, Dwight Corrin, and Terry Koch in the amount of 3,000 copies. Exhibit No. 102—an identical leaflet obtained at 3021 Hickory Street on April 24, 1967, the mentioned address being a grade school in a predominantly Negro neighborhood. A similar leaflet bearing the same title, "Uncle Sam Wants You—Nigger!" exhibit No. 103—was obtained on March 19, 1968, at the Peace Information Center, 6244 Delmar, same distributed by that organization and was published by the St. Louis chapter of Women's Strike for Peace.

JULY 7, 1967

A demonstration at the appearance of the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, at Ninth and Locust Streets. Demonstrators included Dwight Corrin, Terry Koch, Hershall Walker, Billy Collins, Eric Blanchard, John Cohen, and Eldora Speigelberg. Upon the arrival of the President, Koch and Corrin began singing, "Hey, hey LBJ. How many kids did you kill today?"

OCTOBER 19, 1967

In support of a national day of protest against the war in Vietnam, same to occur on October 21, 1967, at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., the following subjects are known to have departed from said city to participate: Dwight Corrin, Martin Liebowitz, Terry Koch, Devereaux Kennedy, Eldora Speigelberg, Charlotte Peskind, and Bernice Wehrmeyer. At an SDS meeting on the Washington University campus September 19, 1967, Terry Koch passed out leaflets—exhibit No. 105—titled "Confront the War Makers" and which indicates the departure of transportation and the cost involved.

OCTOBER 21, 1967

A demonstration was held at the Federal building as a local sympathetic protest in support of those who had traveled to the Pentagon.

A leaflet distributed—Exhibit No. 106—titled “Why They Confront the War Makers” relates the cost of the war and the need for the U.S. Government to abandon its position in Southeast Asia. Also included are photographs of those persons who participated in this demonstration including Rory Ellinger, SDS; James Hamilton, YSA; Rosemary Hamilton, YSA, leaflet titled “Help Us Prolong the War in Vietnam,” distributed concludes with the statement, “Join SDS and other protest groups here at Washington University in urging Ho Chi Minh to fight on.”

JANUARY 8, 1968

An ad hoc committee protesting police action demonstrated at the appearance of Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Participants included Mark Antell, Joel Allen, John Cohen, Terry Koch, George Lipsitz, Dave Mount, Martin Liebowitz, Hershall Walker, Ivory Perry, Solomon, Rooks, James and Rosemary Hamilton, Howard and Judith Buchbinder, Robert Epps, Charlotte Peskind, Eldora Spiebelberg, Bernice Wehrmeyer. Exhibit No. 112—A leaflet stating the police must stop brutality, harassment, and intimidation was distributed. Exhibit No. 113—A Post-Dispatch article dated January 9, 1968, states that 200 persons marched during the appearance of Ramsey Clark.

FEBRUARY 14, 1968

A demonstration on the campus of Washington University against recruitment by the Dow Chemical Co. was supported by SDS. Participants included Dwight Corrin, Terry Koch, Martin Liebowitz, George Lipsitz, John Cohen, Yvonne Logan. Exhibit No. 114—Prepared by Terry Koch and George Lipsitz, set forth their feeling concerning the recruiting on college campuses by the manufacturer of war material. Their statements are also included in an article dated February 16, 1968, in Student Life, Washington University officials publication.

FEBRUARY 22, 1968, 9:30 A.M.—11:30 A.M.

Representatives of the Communist Party appeared at Busch Center on the campus of St. Louis University to distribute literature from a table which displayed a 3 foot by 3 foot sign reading: Communist Party USA. Those observed paying particular interest to the activities were: Mike Collins (SDS), Jane Dundon (SDS), and Francis Broderick, also Hershall Walker. Representative identified himself as Joseph Brandt, white male 50, 5 foot 8 inches, 200 pounds, member of Communist Party, was there to establish Communist publication “The Daily Worker.”

MARCH 1, 1968

A demonstration protesting the investment by Washington University in corporations located in South Africa, was held during a founders day dinner. Participants included Dwight Corrin, Kendrick Holder, Terry Koch, John Cohen, and Jerome Schiller. Exhibit No. 21 is a leaflet requesting the withdrawal of these investments and the elimination of ROTC on the campus was distributed.

MARCH 21, 1968

A ceremony arranged by SDS on the Washington University campus at which Devereaux Kennedy spoke in protest of investments and holdings in South Africa in commemoration of the Sharpesville massacre. Exhibit No. 117, exhibit No. 118—also a memorandum to SDS from the St. Louis Committee in Africa, thanking SDS for interest in South African matters. An additional leaflet, also distributed was by SDS announcing this event and suggested that Washington University get out of Apartheid, in South Africa.

MARCH 25, 1968

A demonstration held by SDS members at the installation of Archbishop Carberry included: James O'Neil, and Francis Broderick. Exhibit No. 120—a leaflet distributed during the demonstration urges the bishop and all other clergymen to take a strong stand against the war in Vietnam.

APRIL 26, 1968

Demonstration at the Mart Building Induction Station in protest of the war and the selective service system, also in support of Louis Wehrmeyer, who was to refuse induction on that date. Exhibit No. 121—a leaflet submitted through the Peace Information Center, calling for all interested persons to participate in the demonstration. Participants included Terry Koch, Jim O'Neil, Jane Dundon, Francis Broderick, Richard Freer, Eldora Speigelberg, Bernice Wehrmeyer, Guy Nassberg, Martin Liebowitz, Judy Buchbinder.

APRIL 28, 1968

The visit of Dr. Benjamin Spock at St. Louis University. The audience included: Orville Leach, Hershall Walker, Buy Nassberg, James O'Neil, Richard Freer, Howard and Judith Buchbinder. Also appearing was James Rollins who is cochairman of the National Conference of New Politics, along with Dr. Spock. And who is presently at liberty on appeal of a 5-year sentence for narcotic violation.

MAY 12, 1968

A demonstration at the offices of members of the Board of Directors of Washington University by SDS. Participants included: Kendrick Holder, Terry Koch, Jane Goldman. Exhibit No. 122—same prepared by SDS, again asks Washington University trustees to withdraw investments in South Africa.

JUNE 26, 1968

A demonstration at the Federal building by members of SDS in support of the "Poor People" arrested in Washington, D.C. Distributed at this demonstration was a leaflet Exhibit No. 123, titled "From the Other Side of the Tracks" which had been composed by Julius Lester, of SNCC, which states that the police and the military have made violence inevitable.

Exhibits No. 124 through No. 127, also photographs of Mark Antell, Guy Nassberg, Terry Koch, and Don Cotton, taken at this demonstration.

JULY 18, 1968

Members of SDS picketed at the Chase Hotel, residence of the French council in support of striking French students and workers. Demonstrators included Terry Koch and Tom Burkart.

AUGUST 12, 1968

A demonstration at the old Federal building in support of David Darst and his refusal to be inducted. Included were Tom Burkart, Terry Koch, Martin Liebowitz, Hershall Walker, Charlotte Peskind. Exhibits Nos. 128 and 129 also 130 and 131 reflect this activity and leaflets distributed.

AUGUST 22, 1968

A demonstration at the Mart Building in support of draft resister, Dennis Cummins. Included were Kirk Garcia, Terry Koch, Martin Liebowitz, Mark Antell, Mike Jacobs, Judy Buchbinder, Charlotte Peskind, and Bernice Wehrmeyer. Exhibit No. 132, explains Cummins resistance and solicits demonstrators in his support.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1968

A "Save Our City Coalition" meeting attended by David Darst, James Hamilton, Orville Leach, Hershall Walker, Howard Buchbinder, Martin Liebowitz, Terry Koch, in support of the Black Liberators. Exhibit No. 133 which proposed an emergency news service for the coalition to operate in conjunction with the St. Louis Free Press was proposed by David Sparenberg, Mark Antell, and Clay Claiborne.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1968

A demonstration in support of the Black Liberators was held in the lobby of police headquarters. Participants included: Terry Koch, Gilbert McEwen (SDS), Martin Liebowitz, Charlotte Peskind, Lois Bock (WILPF). Exhibit No. 134—St. Louis Post-Dispatch dated September 9, 1968, shows the photograph of Terry Koch addressing the demonstrators in the lobby.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1968

Demonstrations were held at the business places of the members of the board of police commissioners in protest of police activities. Exhibits Nos. 135 and 136—reflect the views of SDS and the members of the coalition.

OCTOBER 1, 1968

A meeting on Washington University campus by SDS to make plans to demonstrate at the World Series against the police and in support of the Black Liberators took place. Those present included: David

Sparenberg, Terry Koch, Martin Liebowitz, Mark Antell, Charles Koen, Samuel Petty. Exhibit No. 136—an article appearing in "Student Life" dater October 1, 1968, reflects this meeting.

NOVEMBER 5, 1968

A Post-Dispatch article quotes Prof. Howard Buchbinder urging students not to vote. Participants at this meeting as indicated in the article, exhibit No. 138, were SDS, Black Liberators, ACTION.

NOVEMBER 4, 1968

Demonstration at the Federal Courts in support of Dennis Cummins. Those observed included, Martin Liebowitz, Guy Nassberg, Howard Buchbinder, David Darst, Richard Freer, Eldora Spiegelberg, exhibits Nos. 139 and 140—seeking support for Cummins were distributed.

DECEMBER 6, 1968

The Association of Black Collegians (ABC), assisted by SDS took over the security office and the chancellor's office at Washington University.

DECEMBER 16, 1968

Federal Building in support of Dennis Cummins. Participants included Terry Koch, Martin Liebowitz, Richard Hazelton, Richard Freer, David Darst. Exhibit No. 141—distributed by Cummins thanking everyone for their past assistance and soliciting their support. On February 17, 1969, another demonstration was held, attended by SDS members, in support of Cummins.

FEBRUARY 20, 1969

Tom Hayden, a national spokesman and cofounder of SDS spoke on the campus of Washington University on the subject "Revolts in the University."

MARCH 18, 1969

A demonstration was held at the Federal Building in support of 27 prisoners in the Presidio stockade. Those present: Martin Liebowitz, Jerry Stein (SDS), Don Cotton, Terry Koch, Richard Hazelton, John Cohen, Joe Necker. Exhibit No. 142 announcing this demonstration was distributed prior to the demonstration.

V. Finances

Investigation has failed to reveal the establishment of any permanent bank account for SDS. Prime source of income is believed to be derived from meetings upon the call for voluntary contributions.

One small source of income, other than as indicated above, is realized in the sale of the St. Louis "Free Press." A more detailed coverage of this being submitted in that portion of this report dealing with publications. The local SDS organization is not, to unit knowledge, the recipient of any Federal projects, nor benefiting from any private foundation grants.

VI. *Aims and Objectives*

A previously submitted document titled "An Introduction SDS" which was received from a unit informant. The article is categorically stating aims and objectives broken down as to SDS's aims and goals with brief excerpts from each as quoted, beginning with page 4:

(A) ON VIETNAM AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

SDS completely opposes 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.

(B) ON THE DRAFT AND MILITARY

SDS demands the abolition of the Selective Service System. We see the draft as racist and antidemocratic, procuring manpower for aggressive wars abroad. 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 brothers 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.

(C) 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, together as a people.

(D) ON LABOR AND THE STRUGGLES OF WORKING PEOPLE

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.

(e) 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. The recognition of this process has been the driving force in our work to transform student "alienation" into a radical force reaching out and uniting with constituencies beyond the campus in struggles against oppressive university administrations.

An editorial appearing in the *Globe-Democrat* on May 14, 1969, wherein the following quote is attributed to Carl Davidson, theoretician of SDS: "Ultimately we have access to only one source of power within the knowledge factory. And that power lies in our potential ability to stop the university from functioning."

During the annual SDS conference in Michigan in June 1968, workshops were conducted on "sabotage and explosives" and instructions were given on how to make and use various firebombs and other destructive devices against strategic government buildings, Selective Service, and police facilities.

Previously submitted is a document entitled "An Argument for Sabotage as the Next Logical Step Toward Obstruction and Disruption of the U.S. War Machine." This 12-page mimeographed document contains detailed instructions for making incendiary time bombs, Molotov cocktails, and sabotage devices. An article appearing in the *New York Daily News*, dated March 7, 1968, makes reference to and quotes certain portions of this document 3 months prior to its distribution during the above conference.

With regards to SDS' views on revolution, the following is quoted from previously submitted exhibits titled "An Introduction to SDS." From page 7, exhibit No. 43—

Within our vision, all authentically revolutionary movements are seen as first, last, and always movements for human freedom, whatever form their demands may take in a given historic period.

This statement can justifiably be interpreted to mean that the end justifies the means.

VII. *Secrecy*

Local encounter by members of this unit with SDS affiliates at meetings and demonstrations resulted in these persons of interest providing generally only that information designated for release to the news media. Interviews of known persons in an effort to ascertain identities or group association of unknown demonstrating participants has always met with negative results.

Conversation and information passed on during regular SDS meetings is indicative that prior strategy sessions have been held in order to map local policy and participation in demonstration efforts.

Efforts by law enforcement agencies to gain cooperation from local SDS leaders in order to formulate advance plans for demonstration incidents has been met with negative results. The leaders being advised that law enforcement interest is centered around the idea of insuring a peaceful event. SDS leaders seemingly hold to the belief that the more unexpected circumstances confronting law enforcement personnel, the more successful the affair. Advance information concerning any given demonstration effort has only been derived through confidential informant coverage.

Locally, this unit has not incurred the usage of code or cover names within the SDS movement. However, SDS members have often been found participating in programs not immediately associated with their respective organizational title, that is, Peace Information Center, St. Louis Draft Resistance Union and others that could be interpreted as the use of fronts.

VIII. *Relationship to Other Domestic Organizations*

SDS with its local supportive element has actively participated in those national events supported by their organization and others sympathetic to their cause. Events of national cooperation and support are as follows:

(A) October 3, 1967, saw the arrival of the Peace Torch Marathon. The symbolic torch, allegedly lighted at the Hiroshima memorial on August 27, 1967, was to be carried across the United States until ultimately reaching Washington, D.C. This event being conducted in conjunction with the 22d anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and was designed to serve as a reminder of the terrible cost of nuclear war. Submitted as exhibits Nos. 147 and 148 are photographs taken during supporting demonstrations in St. Louis. The event locally being organized by SDS and the Peace Information Center group association and names of individuals of interest are identified on the exhibits.

(B) October 20, 1967, was departure date for local participants in the March on Washington conducted on October 21, 1967. Organization of the trip from St. Louis local demonstration conducted to coin-

cide with events in Washington, D.C., all being spearheaded by SDS and the Peace Information Center.

Submitted as exhibits Nos. 149 through 151 are photographs taken by the unit at departure scene. Known members of SDS, PIC, and alleged members of the Communist Party being present and identified in exhibits as well as other supporting organizations, this is, ACTION and SNCC.

Also submitted are photographs of the local demonstration in support of events at Washington. Again, this being held on the date the affair was occurring in the District of Columbia. Subjects and group association identified on the exhibits to include SDS, YSA, WSP, and WILPF.

Other such events receiving local support and participation from SDS and its supporting element were the Poor People's March and a local demonstration in support of subjects arrested at the Chicago convention.

Typical example of interlocking membership locally was the formation of the Save Our City Coalition (SOC). Submitted as exhibit No. 154 is an article appearing in the October 4-18, 1968, edition of the SDS publication, St. Louis Free Press. In essence, the article listing 12 local groups combined with SDS to initiate the following demands:

1. Calling for dismissal of officers involved in an arrest incident with a local black militant organization as the Black Liberators, whose former prime minister, Charles Koen is now Midwest director of SNCC.
2. Calling for civilian review board composed of members of SNCC.
3. Call for voter education to make the community aware of real issues involved.
4. Twenty-four hour watch on police stations and their activities therein.

Continued cooperation among some members and organizations comprising the SOC is witness at each demonstration event occurring locally in St. Louis.

IX. Relationship to Foreign Governments and Foreign Organizations

The only evidence in this particular category locally would fall under those previously cited incidents and events wherein alleged members of the Communist Party were observed. No hard core information has been developed by this unit as to any financial support or direct communication existing with SDS locally and any foreign government.

X. Publications, Newspapers, and Leaflets Printed and Distributed by the Organization

The prime circulated SDS oriented document appears locally in the form of the St. Louis Free Press, referred to by the SDS members as their underground publication.

The first edition of the St. Louis Free Press appeared in St. Louis on May 17, 1968. Copies were being distributed at the Peace Information Center with offices at 6224 Delmar. The initial edition being sold for 20 cents and gave as the reason for its establishment:

Our world has changed so radically in the past few years, that many of us feel powerless to do anything about the problems we face. That is why we have created this newspaper. It is about the world we live in, and even more about the future world that is being built while we sit by.

Violent revolution and police repression have become accepted facts of life in America. We await a summer that we know in advance will bring large scale violence in our cities, and we listen as police officials discuss the counter-violence they are planning in our names.

We calmly watch the use of tear gas and night sticks on our TV screens, and we see large sections of what were American cities burning before our eyes. Tanks roll through our streets, machine guns rake buildings and molotov cocktails are commonplace. Military maneuvers are held in cities because that is where soldiers are being trained to fight.

The times are a'changing and these are not times to mince words. There is no time left for that. We have got to think about the unthinkable, we have got to call a spade a spade, we have got to raise questions that people everywhere are asking and we have got to begin to find realistic answers to them. That is what the St. Louis Free Press will be about. It is a creation and a product of the times. (Indicated quotes from Vol. I No. 1 dated May 17, 1968—Submitted as Exhibit #153.)

The first edition contained no information as to contributing sources of staff. The second edition of this printed issue appeared dated May 31, 1968 as Vol. I, No. 2. The editorial staff for this issue being printed on page 4 and are as follows, with group association indicated in parenthesis.

Sue Abrams (SNCC, SDS, PIC) ; Tom Burkart (SDS, PIC) ; Fred Faust (SDS, PIC) ; Warren Hofstra (PIC) ; Marty Liebowitz (SDS, PIC, CORE) ; Mary Anita Martin (PIC) ; Guy Nassberg (SDS, PIC) ; Howard Rothman (PIC) ; Ann Schoales (PIC) ; Ann Summer (SDS).

Neither of the first two issues indicated place of publishing. However, did give for subscription ordering as the Peace Information Center, 6244 Delmar.

An intensive investigation was launched to ascertain the printing location of this publication as an effort to obtain information from staff personnel was met with negative results. Subsequently, June 6, 1968, Unit officers received information that Howard Rothman, currently residing at 4531 Chouteau, Apartment 2 north, was an advertising representative for the Free Press. This subject was contacted telephonically, after investigation at this residence revealed attached to the mailbox for his apartment—"Advertising Department St. Louis Free Press."

On June 10, 1968, it was confirmed that the company was printing the referenced document and had so produced two copies as of this date (both mentioned above).

Subsequent issues of the paper were obtained, reviewed and filed. Each found to contain at one time or the other, SDS oriented material, SDS authors, anti-Vietnam material and antipolice reporting. The following groups submitting one or more articles for publication: SDS, ACTION, SNCC, Peace Information Center, and Liberation News Service.

Review of subsequent issues also containing quotes allegedly made by such notables as Che Guevera, Hitler, Mao Tse-Tung, Castro, and Robert Williams. Each issue covered in detail any past demonstration conducted in reference to alleged cases of police brutality, anti-Vietnam activities, campus meetings, and so forth.

Issues were found to contain advertisements appealing to soldiers recently released from active duty, with emphasis being on Vietnam veterans to "tell it like it is" with instructions to partake of this activity

at the Peace Information Center. Also advertisements of draft counseling classes, with the location of these sessions being the PIC. During the months of January and February of 1969, there were no issues published. However, March and April 1969 issues have been printed and distributed.

Editorial type cartooning was practiced frequently to express views of commentaries on such subjects as police brutality, the Vietnam war, and other peace group activities. However, none incurred as much public attention and subsequent police arrests as the one appearing in the February 1969 edition of the Free Press, Columbia.

Missouri volume 4, No. 3 (Exhibit No. 156).

This paper contained the same SDS oriented material and other related articles as appearing in the St. Louis Free Press. The referenced cartoon on the front page depicting one police officer raping the Statue of Liberty and another officer raping the Statue of Justice, each in turn being assisted by other officers depicted as restraining the two statues. This cartoon bearing beneath it the inscription "With Liberty and Justice for All." This cartoon having originally appeared in the San Francisco, California's version of the Free Press, known as the Movement.

The selling of this newspaper, in violation of the University of Missouri-Columbia ban on obscene material, resulted in the arrest of the following four students, the arrests being effected by Columbia, Missouri city police while the paper was being distributed off of campus property:

Herbert Markham, freshman from Arnold, Mo.; Patricia Vandiver, junior from Bonne Terre, Mo.; Walter Barga, junior from Belton, Mo., and Barbara Papish, graduate student from Danbury, Conn.

Each of the above being identified as members of the local Missouri University SDS chapter and each subsequently being charged with "Possession and attempting to sell obscene literature." Related police report is submitted as exhibit No. 157.

On March 20, 1969, the above referenced Papish who was subsequently dismissed from the college, appeared in St. Louis, Missouri with Martin Liebowitz, graduate student at Washington University and an editor of the St. Louis Free Press, before the St. Louis chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic society, at the Gateway Hotel Press Club facilities.

These subjects were invited guests of the society which was to decide whether or not it supported the editors and publishers of the Free Press in the obscenity controversy. The meeting ended with a resolution being passed to the effect, "Students or others, irrespective of their points of view, should not be inhibited in expressing their constitutional rights to publish and distribute."

As indicated in the beginning of this report, the paper was initially being sold for 20 cents. However, upon issuance of the third edition, the price was increased to 25 cents, remaining at this scale up to and including the seventh edition.

Issuance of the eighth edition showed a change in price to 15 cents in St. Louis, 20 cents elsewhere, remaining at this scale up to and including the 16th edition. Volumes 1 and 2 for the year 1969 again being sold for 25 cents.

Orders averaged about 3,000 copies per issue with an average production cost of \$170 to \$180 per issue, this being a potential profit of about \$580, initially realized.

The original firm printed editions of the Free Press up to and including the 11th edition. Subsequent publishing was done by a St. Louis firm who printed editions volume 2 No. 2, April 11, 1969.

Currently, members of the editorial staff themselves, are seeking the services of another printing company.

Only two arrests in St. Louis have developed involving the St. Louis Free Press. On July 17, 1968, Thomas Burkart an associate of known members of SDS and demonstration participant, was arrested on charges of general peace disturbance. Arrest effected after a police officer made inquiries of Burkart as to the nature of the material he was passing out and when he verbally berated the officer, with obscenities, was subsequently arrested. See attached police report, exhibit No. 159.

Juveniles were taken into custody by Florissant police officers for selling without a permit on July 15, 1968, after being observed selling the Free Press. See attached copy of related police report, exhibit No. 160.

Other means of communications is distribution of leaflets generally found to be hurriedly prepared to meet the tone of the demonstration activity occurring at a specific moment. They are often handwritten, with accompanying cartoon depictions, copies being made to accommodate distribution to any on-lookers during the demonstration. Reproduction of these documents have been previously presented as exhibits in that portion of this report dealing with section IV.

XI. Influence and Participation in Government

No information has been developed locally which can align the SDS organization in St. Louis with a Federal or local government-funded project.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything you want to add to it?

This is separate. If any member has any questions to ask you about it, you will either be called back or the questions will be submitted to you in writing and you will be required to answer under oath.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I will be glad to, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the exhibits which you tender will be received and numbered in order.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 479 through 517" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee).

Senator GRIFFIN. I do have one or two questions about the SDS statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, Senator.

Senator GRIFFIN. I was asking earlier about this student leader Devereaux Kennedy. I notice in your statement on the SDS that you focus on him and some of his activities. And naturally, we are interested not only in the organization of these various groups, and so forth, but I am sure we must also be very much interested in just how much impact they are having on the campuses in general, and to what extent they are actually being followed by the students.

So when we see a situation like this where the chairman of the DuBois group, a leader in the SDS, is actually elected by the student body to be the student president, I think we want to sit up and take notice, especially when I see on page 4 of your statement that he is quoted as calling for—

Outright revolution and the overthrow of the United States Government.

Then a little further on page 4 of this statement—

Kennedy, at this time, was the student body president of Washington University and is quoted in the magazine during his participation in the 3-day conference conducted by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, late in August 1967, at Santa Barbara, California.

And then you quote him—

I will tell you the steps that I think will be needed. First of all, starting up fifty Vietnams in Third World countries. This is going to come about by black rebellions in our cities joined by some white people. People in universities can do a number of things to help it. They have access to money and they can give these people guns, which I think they should do. They can engage in acts of terrorism and sabotage outside the ghetto. Negro people have trouble getting out because they cordon those areas off, but white activists can go outside, and they can blow things up and I think they should.

I am not going to go on and read some of the others.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I think as it goes along it gets worse.

Senator GRIFFIN. "When I talk about revolution, that is what I mean." You are quoting him as saying that. This is taken from the magazine which was reporting on his participation in the conference at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Quoting further:

I am not talking about eliminating dialogue; I'm saying that you have to place your dialogue within this context of events. I see this process coming a lot quicker than our friend from SNCC sees it. I don't think it's going to take seventy-five years. I think you are going to see chaos in the United States and in the world within our lifetime, in the next twenty-five years.

Tell me a little bit about Washington University at St. Louis. How large a student body does it have? What is the makeup of its student population?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. They are upper class. Students are children from upper-class families.

Senator GRIFFIN. What is the enrollment there, would you say?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. 7,000 to 7,500.

Senator GRIFFIN. Is this Devereaux Kennedy white or black?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. He is white. He is from New York State. He is a graduate, a 1968 graduate, of the University.

Senator GRIFFIN. Some of the other witnesses who testified concerning the SDS have made some reference to faculty participation, or support. I haven't gotten through your statement, but do you have anything in here concerning the extent to which, if any, there is faculty support for these organizations?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir; there are members of the faculty who I believe support these young men and their SDS activities and organizational drives.

Senator GRIFFIN. Do you have names in here?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. Yes, sir.

Senator GRIFFIN. On what page is that?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I don't have the same copy you have, Senator. Do you have the list of the subjects listed as friends and supporters of SDS, Senator?

Senator GRIFFIN. I am trying to locate it.

On page 5—that doesn't identify these people as to whether or not they are faculty members.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. If I might mention, Senator, in the characterization of Terry Koch, on the last page—

Senator GRIFFIN. I am not trying to get you to testify to anything that isn't in here, but I want to focus attention on the faculty people if they are in here.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I would be quoting from a Post-Dispatch article of December 6, 1968:

Student Sit-in Group Moves to Basement in Washington University Protest.

Toward the end of the article it refers to a debate between the chancellor, Mr. Elliott, and the Students for a Democratic Society members. Much of the debate that lasted until late in the morning centered on the arrest of A. Holder, who is a member of SDS, who was arrested for burglary, attempting to break into the ROTC building on campus. The students demanded that Elliott do everything he could to obtain Holder's release. When Elliott appeared before the students at 1:47 looking drawn and weary, he said that he was very distressed over Holder's arrest, because the crime for which he was charged was a felony that probably would be pressed by the State.

He said that he had been told that Holder had admitted the crime to the police. "That's a damn lie," someone shouted. Ignoring the interruption, Elliott continued by stating that he would see whether he could convince the St. Louis County Prosecuting Attorney Gene McNary to drop the charges. "In my opinion, however, we will not succeed, because the prosecuting attorney has been itching to get his hands on people like this." He warned that Federal charges might be brought against Holder, because the building he was alleged to have entered contained Federal property.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you very much.

I take it there isn't anything to add in terms of the extent to which the faculty people are involved.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I think a good, strong, upright faculty could stop some of the activity that goes on on campus. I think taking a definite stand against some of their activities could put a stop to it.

Senator GRIFFIN. I agree with that as a generalization.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. That would be without interfering with anyone's rights. I think they could make a stand which would eliminate some of the violence and destruction which occurs.

Senator GRIFFIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything else to add?

Lieutenant HALVELAND. No, sir. I would like to make sure, though, that our copies are right and corrected.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you can stay and make sure that those that go to the press have been corrected. They are in the process of doing that now, some of the staff people.

We wish to thank you for your cooperation. You have been very helpful in your testimony. I trust that the conditions in your community will improve, that some of these things will not recur.

Lieutenant HALVELAND. I am hopeful also, Senator, and I would like to, on behalf of my associates, on behalf of myself and our police department, thank you and the committee for the opportunity to appear.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 5 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, June 26, 1969.)

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

APPENDIX

EXHIBIT No. 380

BLACK PANTHER



COLORING BOOK

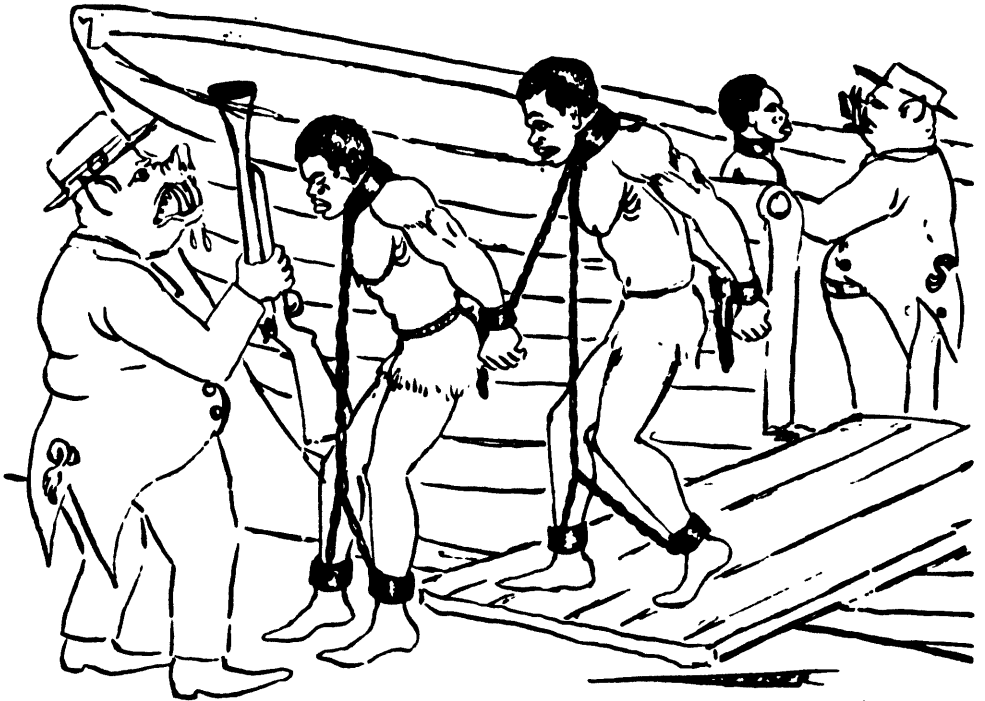
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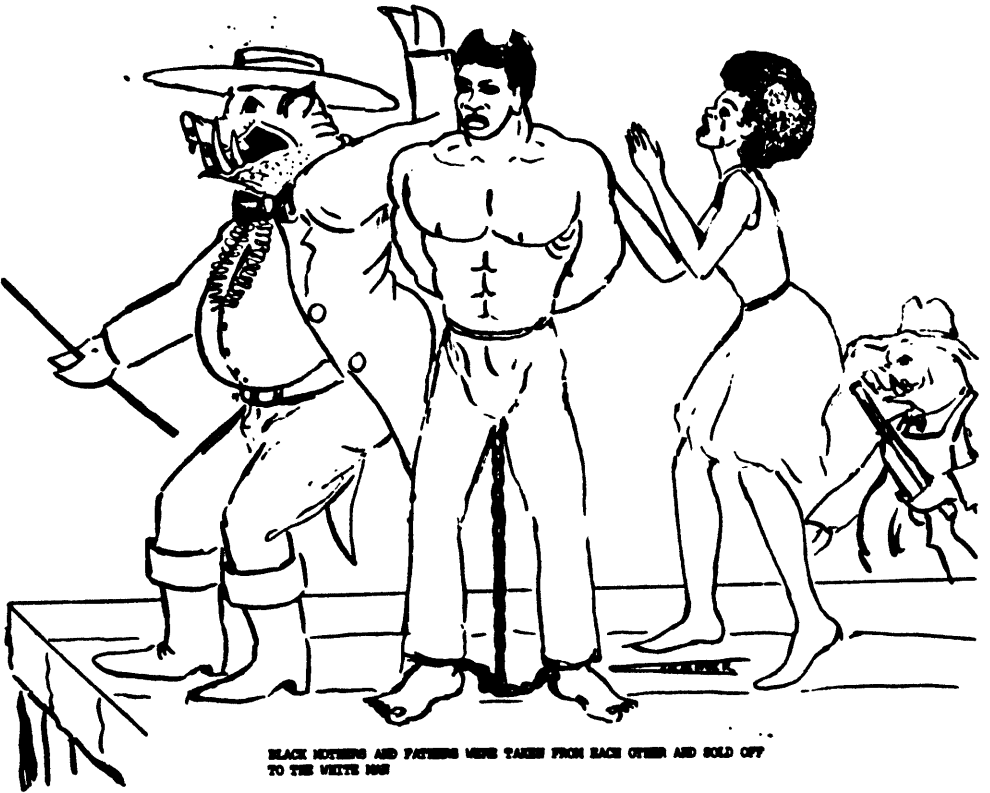
THE BLACK MAN IN AFRICA HAD GREAT WARRIORS AND BEAUTIFUL CITIES.



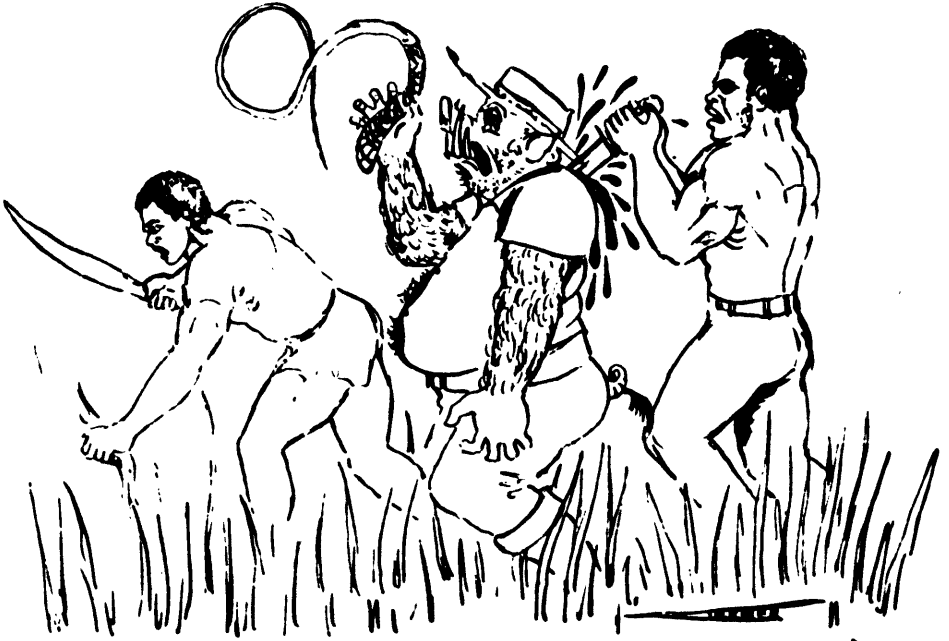
THE WHITE MAN WANTED THE RICHES OF THE BLACK MAN. THEY CAME WITH GUNS AND FORCE AND TOOK THEM.



THEY MADE SLAVES OF THE BEAUTIFUL BLACK WARRIORS AND BROUGHT THEM TO AMERICA.



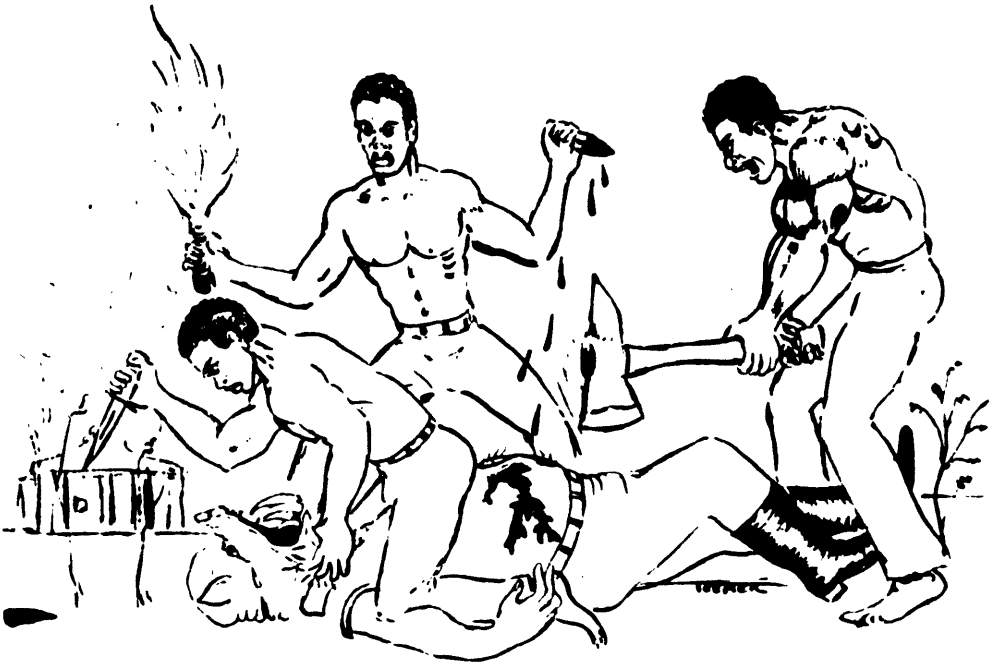
BLACK MOTHERS AND FATHERS WERE TAKEN FROM EACH OTHER AND SOLD OFF TO THE WHITE MEN



THE STRONG BLACK MAN DIDN'T LIKE BEING A SLAVE SO HE FOUGHT THE WHITE MAN BACK.



SAM TUNER, A STRONG SLAVE, SHOWS THE BLACK MAN NOT TO FEAR THE WHITE SLAVE OWNER.



"OFF THE PIG" BEAUTIFUL BLACK MEN!

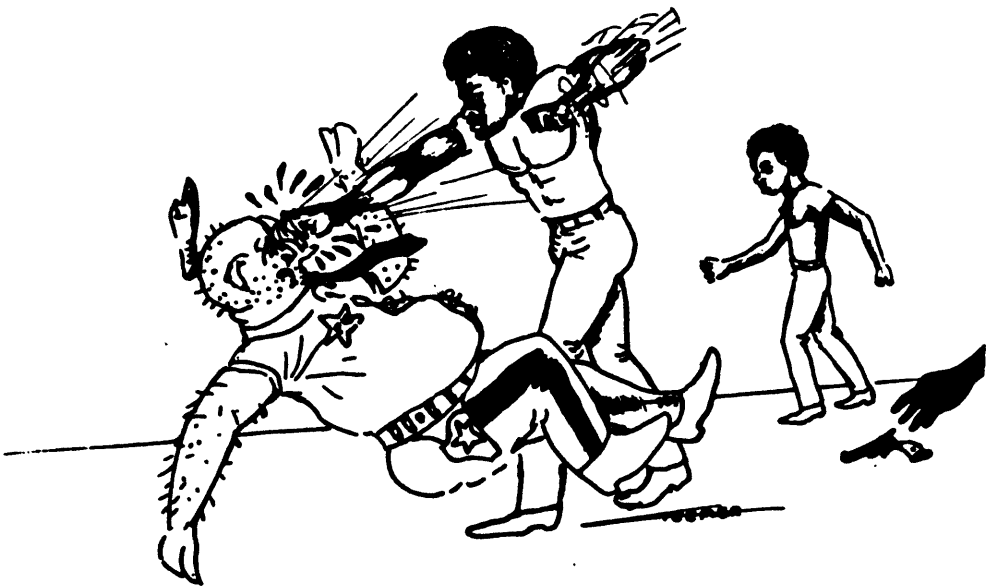


THIS IS A PIG. HE TRYS TO CONTROL BLACK PEOPLE.



THE PIG TRYS TO PROTECT THE WHITE STORES IN BLACK COMMUNITIES THAT NOB BLACK PEOPLE.

10

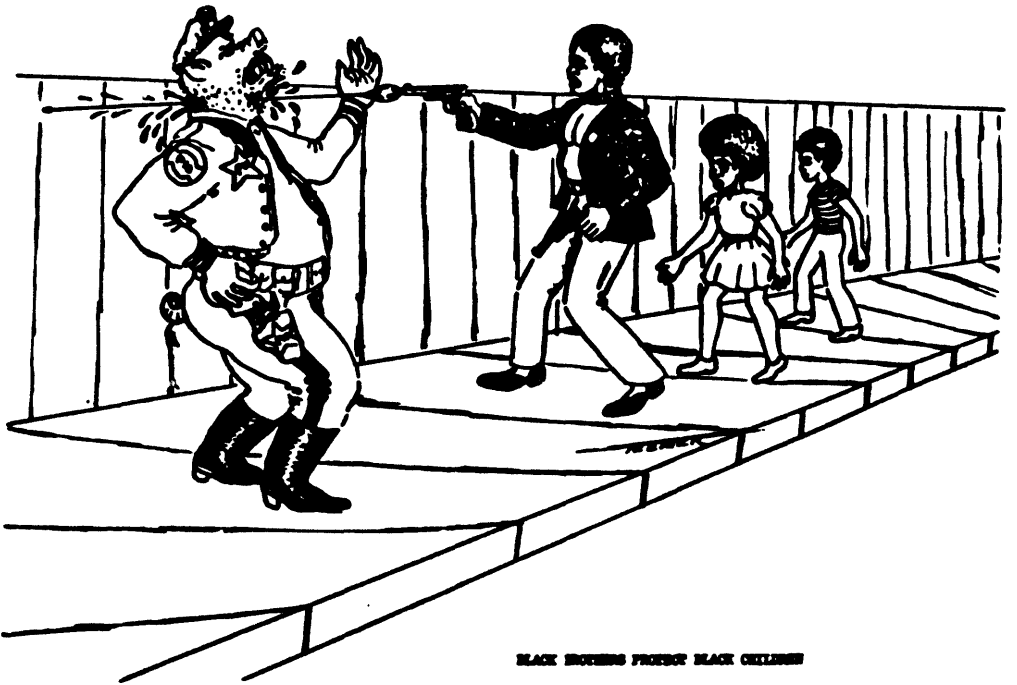


BLACK BROTHERS ARE TIRED OF THE WHITE NOB IN BLACK COMMUNITIES

11



HURY F. HENTON, LEADER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, ORGANIZED THE BLACK BROTHERS TO DEFEND THEIR FAMILIES.



BLACK BROTHERS FRIGHTEN BLACK CHILDREN



BROTHERS AND SISTERS DEAL WITH THE WHITE STORE OWNER THAT ROBS BLACK PEOPLE



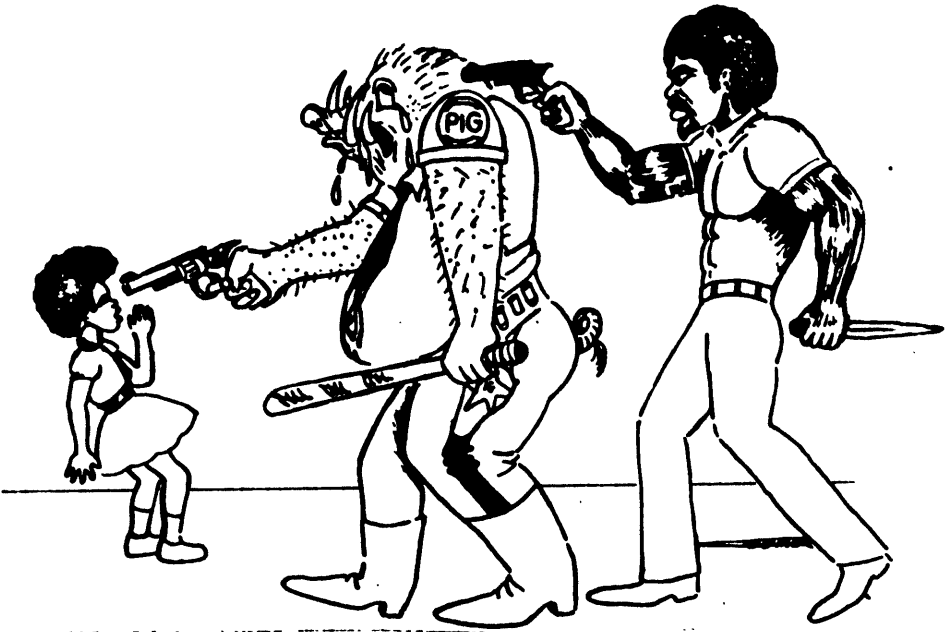
THE BRAVE BLACK PANTHER DEFENDS HIS FAMILY



"BEWARE OF THE FIG," BROTHERS AND SISTERS



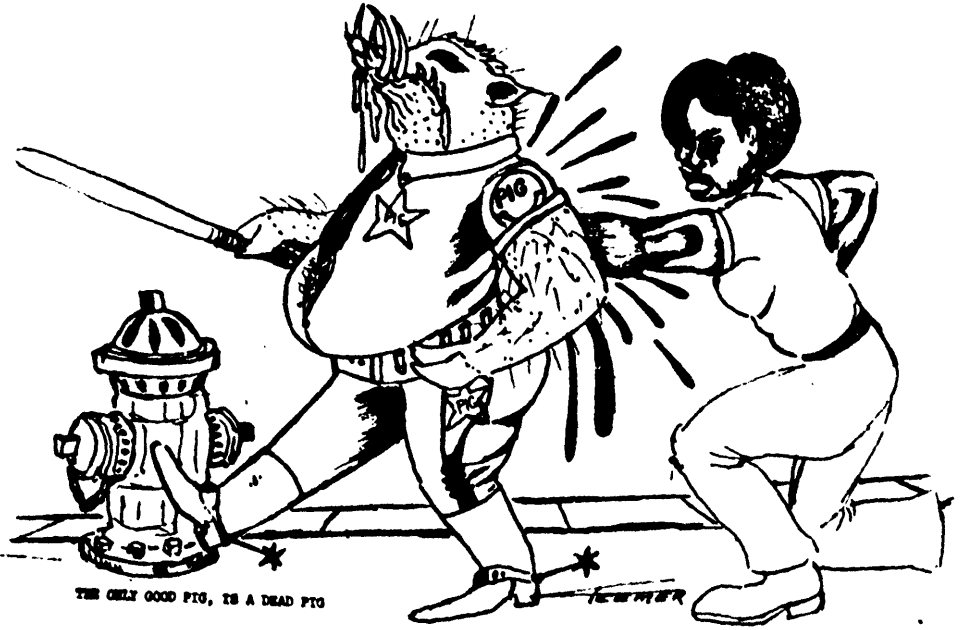
THE JUNIOR PANTHEON DEFENDS HIS MOTHER



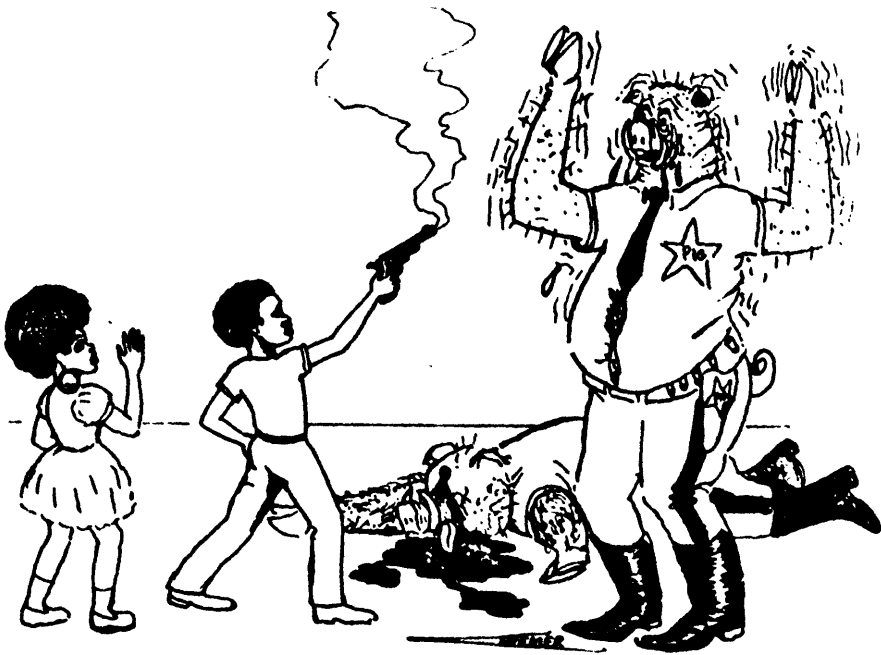
THE PIG IS AFRAID OF THE BLACK MAN. HE STRIKES OUT AGAINST LITTLE CHILDREN



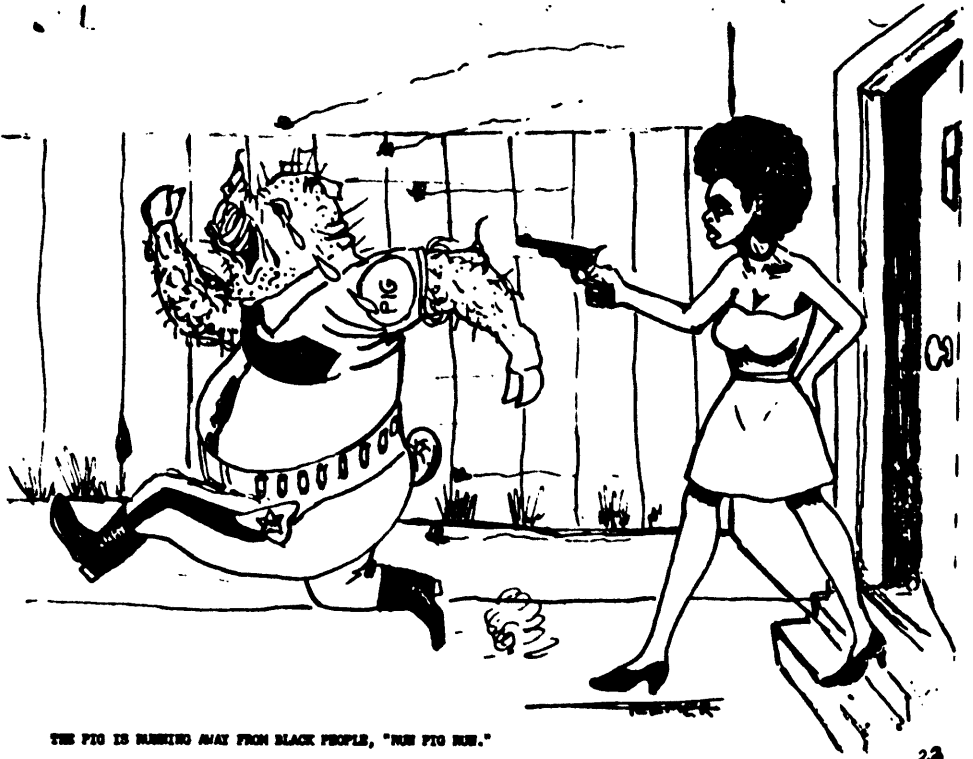
THE BLACK PANTHER THINKS AND LOVES BLACK PEOPLE



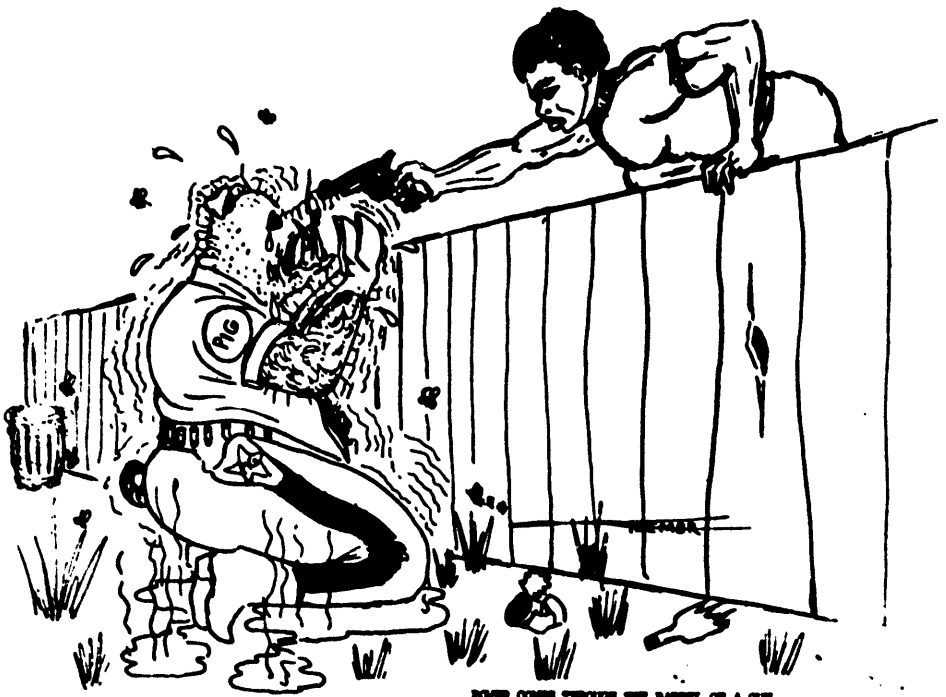
THE ONLY GOOD PIG, IS A DEAD PIG



THE PIG IS AFRAID OF BLACK CHILDREN BECAUSE THEY ARE BRAVE WARRIORS



THE PIG IS RUNNING AWAY FROM BLACK PEOPLE, "NOW PIG RUN."



POWER COMES THROUGH THE BARREL OF A GUN