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**GIFT OF THE
GOVERNMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES**

Committee on Un-American Activities
House
90th Congress

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SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING,
AND BURNING

PART 1

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETIETH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

OCTOBER 25, 26, 31, and NOVEMBER 28, 1967
(INCLUDING INDEX)

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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ALFRED M. NITTLE, *Counsel*

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

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 90TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 10, 1967

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-ninth Congress, together with all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, be, and they are hereby, adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Ninetieth Congress * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

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

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

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

SYNOPSIS

On October 25, 26, 31, and November 28, 1967, a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities held public hearings in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, on the subject of subversive influences in riots, looting, and burning.

The subcommittee was composed of: Hon. Edwin E. Willis, chairman; Hon. William M. Tuck, of Virginia; Hon. Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; Hon. John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and Hon. Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina. Hon. John C. Culver, of Iowa, was appointed October 25, 1967, as an associate member of the subcommittee to serve at such times as Chairman Willis was unable to be present.

The purpose of the hearings was to determine "the extent to which, and the manner in which" acts of rioting, looting, and burning in various cities in the United States had been "planned, instigated, incited, or supported by Communist and other subversive organizations and individuals, and all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

On October 3, 1966, Chairman Willis had directed the committee staff to undertake a preliminary inquiry into the rioting, burning, looting, and other tragic acts of violence which have afflicted a number of principal cities in the United States. The chairman appointed Representatives Tuck and Watson to oversee the general conduct of the preliminary inquiry. Mr. Tuck rendered a report to the full committee on August 2, 1967, which clearly indicated that Communist and/or other subversive elements have been involved in acts of rioting, looting, and burning in the United States to a significant degree.

In his opening statement, Mr. Tuck stated that there had been "well over 100 riots" in the past few years, several dozen of which can be classified as "major disturbances." Property damage estimates were staggering, as were the cost—in the millions of dollars—of overtime for police and fire departments, mobilization of National Guard and Federal troops, in addition to millions of dollars in lost business in the riot-torn areas.

Congressman Tuck stated that while poverty, unemployment, discrimination, and lack of educational opportunity may be factors contributive to riots, these factors have existed both in this country and abroad in years past—and to a greater degree than in recent years—without rioting.

Mr. Tuck said:

It is not the view of this committee that Communists or other subversive elements are the sole cause of the recent riots; that without these elements there would have been no riots at all. * * *

* * * * *

It is my personal view that those persons who have gone about counseling, urging, and advising so-called civil disobedience—which is no more than calculated violation of any law you do not like, the root of anarchy—have created disrespect and contempt for law and order which has contributed to the mob violence.

Congressman Tuck stressed that only 2 to 5 percent of the Negro population had taken part in the riots, and these figures represented a small minority of the total Negro population in America. He added that even this small minority was comprised, in significant part, by youths, teenage gangs, and persons with criminal records.

In his opening statement, Mr. Tuck also noted that other inquiries have been undertaken for the purpose of judging the factors contributing to the riots, but that the jurisdiction of the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities was limited to subversive activities (in the perspective of the riots) and would "not embrace social problems as such."

Commenting on the historical aspects of riots, the Virginia Congressman said:

Throughout history riots have been used for political purposes. They can be, and have been, deliberately instigated to weaken and undermine existing governments and pave the way for the establishment of a new and different type of governmental system.

In 1960 the Annual Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities stated:

There is considerable evidence that, in the United States, as well as on a world scale, the Communists feel that the present tactical situation calls for increased utilization of rioting and mob violence. * * *

Mr. Tuck regretted that the committee analysis had proved to be accurate.

TESTIMONY OF ARCHIE MOORE

Former professional light heavyweight boxing champion, Archie Moore, now a resident of San Diego, was the lead-off witness, in the committee's hearings.

Mr. Moore, recipient of the 1968 outstanding citizen of San Diego award, stated that he did not see any sense in rioting and submitted a statement he had earlier delivered to the *San Diego Union*. The article by the boxing champion, published as a page-one feature, was reprinted by many other newspapers. It stated in part:

Granted, the Negro still has a long way to go to gain a fair shake with the white man in this country. But believe this: If we resort to lawlessness, the only thing we can hope for is civil war, untold bloodshed, and the end of our dreams.

We have to have a meeting of qualified men of both races. Mind you, I said qualified men, not some punk kid, ranting the catch phrases put in his mouth by some paid hate-monger. There are forces in the world today, forces bent upon the destruction of America, your America and mine. And while we're on the subject, do you doubt for a minute that communism, world communism, isn't waiting with bated breath for the black and white Americans to turn on each other full force? Do you want a chance for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the land of your birth, or do you want no chance at all under the Red heel?

Mr. Moore stated that he had devised a program—called ABC, Any Boy Can—based on "truth, honesty, respect for self and for other people, their rights and property." The ABC program teaches young Negroes and whites in the ghettos the basics of moral, physical, and spiritual self-defense.

He added:

A good student in the ABC class does not lie, steal, cheat, smoke, gamble, refuse to go to church, play hooky from school, get into trouble, participate in riots,

throw bombs, smoke dope, smoke weeds, use narcotics of any kind, use LSD * * *. We do teach them this is wrong.

TESTIMONY OF CLARENCE MITCHELL

Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was sworn in and stated that he had been director of the Washington Bureau since 1950 and began his work with the well-known civil rights organization in 1945.

Mr. Mitchell read a prepared statement into the record in which he praised committee chairman Edwin E. Willis for his courageous challenge of the Ku Klux Klan.

In his statement, Mr. Mitchell said: "It is my opinion that it is an insult to the millions of law-abiding colored people to align them with the terrible destruction and violence that we have witnessed in some of our cities." He added: "It is my opinion that the vast majority of colored people in this country seek to settle their grievances and to achieve their objectives just as all other Americans, through the lawful channels of the land."

Mr. Mitchell noted that his impression was that "Communists have never made any great headway in recruiting colored followers and they do not have any substantial following at this point."

The NAACP bureau director noted that long before many other groups were conscious of Communist infiltration his organization had avoided contacts with Communists. The NAACP had "an ironclad rule that we didn't want anybody who was Communist affiliated or an out-and-out Communist."

Further, Mr. Mitchell stated that the NAACP had initiated a concerted campaign at the local level during the summer of 1967 in hopes of heading off violence in communities. Demonstrating just one facet of this campaign, Mr. Mitchell offered for exhibit several printed cards and bumper stickers which had been printed and distributed by the NAACP. The cards and bumper stickers read:

KEEP COOL, Let the Other Guy BLOW HIS TOP
THE OTHER SIDE WINS IF WE LOSE OUR COOL
BRICKS THROUGH WINDOWS DON'T OPEN DOORS

The NAACP director said that it was his opinion that a "great deal of the turmoil in this country is fomented by the playing up of those who are willing to say anything that is irresponsible for the purpose of getting on television or getting into the papers." He recalled getting a call from a lady who represented a very reputable lady's magazine. She asked Mr. Mitchell to "help her find a Negro who was a college graduate, who was disillusioned by the war in Vietnam, disillusioned about our domestic policy, and therefore had decided to become a sniper." The woman had been assigned to "keep looking for that particular kind of Negro" for a "Christmas story."

TESTIMONY OF ASA T. SPAULDING

Mr. Asa T. Spaulding, resident of Durham, N.C., and president of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, was the next witness. Mr. Spaulding had started with the insurance company in 1932

and worked his way up from assistant secretary to comptroller to vice president in 1948 and finally to president in 1959.

The witness is a member of the board of directors of a number of large financial institutions and a trustee of Howard University and Shaw University. Mr. Spaulding is a recipient of a Presidential citation in 1946 for his work in helping to stabilize the economy of the United States Government during World War II. The witness had recently returned from a trip to Africa as a member of a trade mission for the U.S. Department of Commerce and had recently completed a tour of military installations in this country under the auspices of the Department of Defense.

After reading his personal statement to the committee, Mr. Spaulding read a statement on his company's position in the current civil rights struggle.

In conclusion, Asa T. Spaulding, himself a Negro, stated:

I am of the opinion that Communists never miss an opportunity to capitalize on dissatisfaction, strife, and turmoil no matter what the cause. * * * their alliances are more or less "marriages of convenience," subject to being dissolved when it will serve their interest to do so.

I, therefore, doubt that Communists "sincerely have the interests of the Negro at heart," or that they will work with the Negro in his efforts to achieve full equality * * *.

TESTIMONY OF WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR., ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

Mr. Young was unable to appear before the committee on October 25, 1967. However, he submitted a statement which the chairman authorized to be inserted in the record. The statement read in part:

In the light of the deaths, injuries, arrests, and destruction of Negro-owned property this past summer, it is obvious that the interests of Negro citizens are not advanced by riots. * * *

In answer to the question concerning whether or not Communists sincerely have the interests of the Negro at heart, the statement pointed out that the "Communist Party has spent much time and effort in wooing the Negro population, all to no avail" and that there "is little evidence that Communists have any significant influence on the civil rights movement. * * *"

TESTIMONY OF EVELLE J. YOUNGER

At the start of the afternoon session of the committee hearings on Wednesday, October 25, 1967, the first witness to be called and sworn in was Evelle J. Younger, district attorney for Los Angeles County, Calif. Mr. Younger told the committee that he grew up in Nebraska and received his A.B. and LL.B. degrees from the University of Nebraska. He then went on to graduate studies in criminology at Northwestern University.

After Northwestern, Mr. Younger joined the FBI as a special agent. He served with the Army Counterintelligence Corps.

He has been deputy city attorney in Los Angeles, in the Criminal Division; prosecuting attorney in the city of Pasadena; and on the municipal and superior court in Los Angeles for 11 years before becoming district attorney in 1964.

Mr. Younger stated that his first major involvement with rioters and rioting was in 1965 during the Watts riot, where approximately 2,500 felony cases were prosecuted. The district attorney defined a riot as "thousands of people engaged in burning, looting, assault, and murder." A riot, he said, "involves a complete breakdown of law and order. * * * it most certainly is one tremendous crime spree."

Commenting on his own experiences with rioters, he said :

We have been experiencing a number of actions by persons who resort to physically coercive methods to effect change which, in effect, amount to a repudiation of the orderly governmental process—professors and clergymen urging young men to resist military service; the editor of the UCLA student newspaper urging students to violate the laws against the use of marijuana; public figures advocating a refusal to pay taxes because the Government finances programs with which they disagree.

* * * * *

When police are called upon to perform their duty to preserve order and protect life and property, they are often jeered, insulted, and spat upon by the very people they are paid to protect.

Screams of "police brutality" drown out those who urge higher standards of training and better pay and a higher degree of professionalization to produce better law enforcement. * * *

Concerning technical developments in our society which affect a riot situation, Mr. Younger said :

Unquestionably, the television medium can be a major factor in contributing to or sustaining a riot. A newspaper can also do much to mold and influence public opinion over a period of time.

However, he noted :

Only TV can inspire immediate action—good or bad. TV can be the monster or the Jolly Green Giant, depending on how its power is used.

Mr. Younger said that the TV stations in the United States are licensed to be operated "in the public interest, necessity, and convenience." He added that—

if Rap Brown is making an inflammatory speech before 20 people? * * * should TV come along and give him an audience of several million * * * is it in the public interest?

* * * * *

When does TV stop reporting news and start creating news? At a recent Ku Klux Klan convention in southern California, there were literally more TV cameras present than delegates.

* * * * *

Should rioters be able to use TV as a means of publishing battle orders?

He stated that the "riot-prone group" comprises only about 5 to 10 percent, and most of this extremist fragment of the Negro race are "young and they are psychotic. Each is a potential killer."

Mr. Younger opined that :

These racists, haters, political extremists, and agitators and the confirmed criminals are the real villains [in any riotous situation]. * * * They comprise at most 20 percent of the participants in any modern American riot. * * *

The Los Angeles district attorney continued :

Certainly, after a riot starts, this group moves in fast and pours fuel on the flames and tries to make the riot as bloody, as damaging, and as extensive as possible. The fact is, though, that while this 20 percent could probably start a riot, they cannot sustain it. Only the remaining 80 percent of the 5 to 10 percent can sustain a riot, make it last anywhere from 24 hours to a week.

Mr. Younger was asked if he had any suggestions toward eliminating or reducing the possibility of riots in the future. He replied :

First, we must insist that all Americans obey all our laws at all times, *period*. Not just the laws they like, but all laws, *period*. * * *

* * * * *
 Step II: Free the slaves. * * * And we must be honest with the Negro and say we are not talking about equal cars or equal homes or equal salary, but equal opportunity.

In concluding his testimony, the Los Angeles district attorney said :

While we are working out our problems, let us get rid of our national inferiority complex. Government should cease its preoccupation with introspection and feelings of guilt and should stop espousing the idea that society is at fault for riots. This self-pity syndrome is extremely dangerous. * * *

Mr. Younger was thanked for his contribution by Mr. Tuck and was questioned on certain points of his testimony by various members of the subcommittee.

The district attorney noted that his statement was not a criticism of television, but rather "a concern that television is so powerful that the potential for doing great damage during the riot is there."

The district attorney restated an earlier point made in his testimony—that the Communists and other extremist elements are quick to move in once the riot starts in order to exploit the disruption to their own ends.

TESTIMONY OF ADRIAN H. JONES

The next witness, Adrian H. Jones, was sworn in and gave his address as 8365 East Beach Drive NW., Washington, D.C. The witness attended public schools in Roslyn and Spokane, Wash. He received a master of arts degree in psychology from the University of Kansas in 1963. The witness had been studying for the past 4½ years in the sociology department of the American University. At the time of the hearings he had completed all the course work and qualifying examinations for a Ph. D. and was writing his dissertation on civil disturbances.

The witness served two tours of duty in Europe and participated in the occupation of Japan from 1946 to 1949. He is former commanding officer of the Harlem Military Police detachment and former provost marshal of Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

For 4½ years prior to the hearings, he had been engaged in research and study in the area of internal security. He is employed by the Center for Research in Social Systems of the American University.

Mr. Jones is the coauthor of a study entitled "Combating Subversively Manipulated Civil Disturbances" and is guest lecturer at the International Police Academy. He is also a guest lecturer for the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

The witness noted that "law enforcement has not been extensively researched." Due to the controversial nature of investigations into riots, his studies were systematically approached from three separate areas: (1) political subversion, (2) community conflict, and (3) the control of mobs and crowds. His study encompassed historical, social science, police operational, and news media references.

Addressing the question of salient basic elements necessary for any riot, the witness noted that group hostility or antagonism, latent or

active, "must be aroused to a high emotional stage in order to trigger a crowd to violent action."

Mr. Jones gave "dissident groups with real or imaginary grievances" as the number one basic component element in a riot situation. He added that dissident groups may be subversive or nonsubversive.

Another essential element for a riot is a physiological crowd. These crowds may be "spontaneous, casual, or planned and intentional." Other important components essential to riots are: the agitator, who may or may not intend to trigger a riot; the precipitating incident, either accidental, spontaneous, natural, or developed; internal security forces brought in to try to control civil disturbances; and the general population of the community.

In determining the "character of a riot" it must be considered that "the subversive is interested in a riot for a political purpose." Normally, subversives do not hope to overthrow a government through one riot, "but they do see in a riot a means of weakening the existing power structure and of turning people against it."

The witness spoke of the evidence which indicates a riot is subversively manipulated and noted that an analytical device or system had been developed in order to eliminate speculation. The riot must be broken down into four phases and each phase analyzed separately.

The four riot phases are: (1) the precrowd phase, (2) the crowd phase, (3) the civil disturbance phase, and (4) the post-civil disturbance phase.

The precrowd phase is defined as a "preparatory period which is characterized by the development of antagonisms within a community between groups which have a different position on some economic, social, political, or other issue."

In a subversively manipulated riot, the precrowd phase is marked by: (a) the existence of a subversive organization used to create conflict; (b) selection of target groups "on the basis of the conflict potential in the community"; (c) preconditioning measures to influence the attitudes of target groups; (d) the acquisition and storage of weapons and explosives and the planning of escape routes for key individual leaders.

In the crowd phase, the crowd is "turned into a mob which throws aside all restraint and engages in collective social violence."

Subversive elements bent on starting a riot "may themselves insure that a crowd will be present" by planning a meeting or rally or "staging an incident" which will draw a crowd.

"Once the crowd is assembled, the subversives deploy their personnel in the crowd to agitate and excite it" by shouting slogans, circulating rumors, or making speeches.

The most vulnerable crowd is one which has been preconditioned in the aforementioned precrowd stage to react emotionally to certain slogans, phrases, and accusations.

In the civil disturbance, or actual riot phase, the witness noted, the highly excited crowd becomes a "mob which through a kind of emotional contagion engages in large-scale, collective social violence."

In a riot which is manipulated by subversives, a "booster incident will be initiated—rocks will be thrown, windows broken, a fire or fight started" and "sniping or looting" may also occur. "A martyr will be exploited or perhaps even created—someone who has been arrested,

wounded, or killed by the riot-control forces or intentionally injured or killed by the subversives."

Mr. Jones, in answer to a question at this point in the testimony, stated "that there is a formal organization that attempts to protect the very important subversive manipulators in order to preclude their being arrested."

The witness then went into the fourth stage or "post-civil disturbance phase" of the riot which is characterized as that "period when the violence is ended and social order has been restored."

If subversives are involved, evidence of efforts to further violence will be noted in a continuance of propaganda and agitation. "Demands which the Government cannot possibly meet will be made."

The witness then directed his testimony to the question of countermeasures to the rioting and said:

The basic objective of internal security forces is to restore order, the corollary is to reestablish respect for law and order and public safety. * * *

One of the techniques of controlling crowds is very solidly based upon the specific panic response which is expressed by individuals in the desire to escape or take flight from an immediate threatening area. * * *

He noted that chemical munitions (i.e., tear gas) or streams of water cause individuals to start thinking of themselves. Usually this has the effect of dispersing the crowd.

Clues which signify the plotting of a riot may include: "the observation of known subversives moving into an area, the discovery of arms caches, the circulation of propaganda, attempts to hire demonstrators, attempts to train and orient agitators, arrangements for safe houses and escape routes."

Countermeasures suggested by the witness to an apparent plot to create a riot include "either to disperse the crowd or to bring the crowd under control, to maintain contact with the leaders, and possibly to give the dissidents some sort of outlet."

Mr. Jones commented on countermeasures in the actual riot or civil disturbance phase and said:

The procedure of the United States Army is to first use a show of force; then to use riot-control formation; then to consider the use of streams of water; then the use of chemical agents; then fire by selected marksmen; and finally, under very extreme conditions, full fire power.

In the postdisturbance period, countermeasures include the use of intelligence in identifying the subversive agitators. During this period the authorities involved should listen to the complaints of members of dissident groups. It is equally important "to get information to the public to undercut the lies, half-truths, and rumors of subversives."

The witness was apprised of current investigation and research of the committee which indicated that certain groups in the United States were actually advocating guerrilla warfare and insurgency in this country. He was asked if he saw a relationship between subversively manipulated riots and insurgency or guerrilla warfare. He answered that he felt that subversively manipulated riots are definitely a part of the political weapon system of the international Communist movement.

At the close of his testimony, Mr. Jones indicated that his research spanned a length of time dating prior to the rash of riots in the summer of 1964.

The witness made a passing reference to the October 21, 1967, demonstrations at the Pentagon, stating:

I think there is certainly some evidence based upon my analytical scheme to support the contention that someone was trying to incite riotous violence in this particular instance.

TESTIMONY OF HERMAN D. LERNER

On Thursday, October 26, 1967, the subcommittee convened at 10:25 a.m., and the next witness, Herman D. Lerner, was sworn in. Mr. Lerner, who resides at 6825 Laverock Court, Bethesda, Md., stated that he was born in Baltimore, Md., in 1923. He attended public schools in Baltimore and studied the physical and social sciences at the University of Maryland. His studies were interrupted in 1943-46 for a term of military service, after which he resumed college and graduated with an A.B. degree in 1948.

Mr. Lerner did graduate work at Harvard University, where he was a teaching fellow in social change. Since that period he has done additional periodic graduate work at the American University.

For the past 14 years, the witness had been conducting many studies of military systems, research planning and utilization, social and economic issues, and political trends.

Mr. Lerner is a member of various professional associations in operations research, sociology, management, and general science.

Concerning fields of study related to organized rioting, the witness stated that over the past 10 years he had studied "national cohesion, military strategy, general and limited warfare, political rioting, crime, and internal security, with special reference to military-civilian relations, force, propaganda, and strategy."

Commenting particularly on an Office of Naval Research study into riots, during his tenure with them, the witness said:

As for the possibility of rioting as a tactic in general warfare, this was a problem which the study team looked into since it was believed that there would be enormous destruction during a thermonuclear war and that military units might be required to cope with many emergencies, including threats to naval installations and internal security which might arise from political rioting and insurgencies.

The witness listed five headings under which an analysis of recent urban rioting in the United States could be classified: (1) "urban disorganization and poverty"; (2) "community conflict (social, religious, economic, ethnic, racial, et cetera)"; (3) "criminality and delinquency"; (4) "domestic subversion"; (5) "foreign subversion."

The witness defines subversion as "any activity which has as its objective the illegal displacement of power from one group to another; * * * the weakening or destruction of national cohesion through propaganda, military and industrial sabotage, or other economic or political measures."

He added: "Subversion is political criminality."

Drawing a distinction between domestic and foreign subversives, Mr. Lerner said:

A domestic, or "benign" subversive is a person whose disloyalty, alienation, and illegal activity are directed against our national institutions, including our political structure and the incumbents of power, but whose loyalty and allegiance to the Nation—as a people—are still intact.

A foreign or "malignant" subversive, on the other hand, is a person who is uncommitted to the Nation and who may in fact be an agent of a foreign power with primary allegiance to that power.

Turning to the circumstances under which political rioting occurs, the witness explained that three subjects must be considered here: (1) "the functions of government"; (2) "how those functions are defined or interpreted by the persons governed"; and (3) "organized exploitation of real or alleged governmental inadequacies and injustices."

In answer to the query of how "people react to organized exploitation of the failure of governmental authority and power, either real or alleged," the witness replied:

The most important determinant of this reaction is the set of basic attitudes and sentiments which people already have concerning the Government.

* * * * *

An urban Negro is a low-income group in the U.S. is unlikely to compare himself with an urban Russian or an urban Chinese or * * * a man in Harlem ordinarily will not compare himself with one in Watts, and vice versa.

* * * But he is more likely to view himself with other nearby Negroes who have more than he or with nearby whites * * *.

This sense of comparative or relative deprivation which results from consistently unfavorable comparisons causes frustration, which in turn may lead to aggressive tendencies * * *.

The witness observed that authorities in the field of crowds, mobs, and riots had denoted certain "features of aggressive group action which are noteworthy for an understanding of recent urban rioting in the United States."

These include:

- (a) weakening of customary restraints or inhibitions which ordinarily block illegal behavior and overtly aggressive action against authorities;
- (b) moral support for aggressive action from other participants in the group;
- (c) reinforced or increased power of the individual;
- (d) intensification of the influence of what might be called negative or antisocial norms; and so forth.

The witness reviewed the steps or stages in the development from a psychological point of view. These stages are: the preconditioning or propaganda stage, a feeling of resentment over unjust deprivation stage, the assembly or crowd-forming stage, the "riot-inciting idea or incident," and finally the riot.

The riot will have several kinds of significance to the participants, including: "physical and symbolic redress, or righting, of injustice" through damage, looting, or burning, which "symbolizes the punishment of the guilty," the "power holders and others identified with the established order."

Following the riot, the political goal of the rioter—ordinarily an increase in legitimate power (actual or symbolic)—either is achieved or not achieved.

Mr. Lerner then stated:

These stages should be understood as general concepts which help describe much of the recent political rioting. They do not necessarily apply to all cases. * * * Also, guerrilla units—one person or small groups—may take advantage of the riot by sniping and by other specialized acts or theft, destruction, and terror.

Mr. Lerner was asked if he found evidence of subversion in political rioting. He replied, "Yes. There is no question about it." He cited examples from the testimony of J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Director, regarding subversion in certain riots in the United States. He said it was also announced and documented by congressional committees (that evidence of subversion in riots exists) and added:

But even if we were to cast aside the official information such as that which I have just quoted * * * there would be no question about the existence of subversion in recent urban rioting because the acts of many of the rioters—individually and collectively—are themselves subversive.

Mr. Lerner stated that there "are definite patterns which are repeated over and over again in subversively manipulated riots and in their development," and cited as examples the "frequent, systematic repetition of * * * standardized events, styles, and sequences in widely dispersed areas" such as Watts and Harlem.

Mr. Lerner pointed out the involvement of teenage gangs in riots and added:

Youths are more suggestible and impressionable * * * are more readily disposed to physical responses to frustration * * * more idealistic, more highly sympathetic to the underdog, and more highly displeased over apparent deficiencies in the social structure than adults.

All of these characteristics make youths a good target for propaganda by those who may wish to represent themselves as sincere, legitimate reformers or idealistic revolutionaries.

Mr. Lerner presented his suggestions for dealing with riot situations. He divided his recommendations into (a) "emergency steps" and (b) "long-term programs," stating that: "Emergency steps are those which should be taken immediately at the threat or outbreak of a riot."

"Among the long-term recommendations," he suggested:

- (1) Make ethnic "hate" activities a Federal offense * * *
- (2) Impose limited weapons control [on subversives and criminals] * * *
- (3) Formulate a set of civil duties which corresponds to civil rights * * *
- (4) * * * selectively and temporarily reducing rights to speech and assembly of subversives * * *
- (5) * * * devise specific, workable programs for bringing the quality of Negro life in this country to an acceptable level * * *
- (6) Provide a program for rehabilitation of subversives and insurgents * * *
- (7) Consider the advisability of broadening the mandate of this committee [House Committee on Un-American Activities] * * * to encompass increased constructive action toward dealing with the conditions which create subversives in this country and toward rehabilitation of subversives.

Mr. Tuck thanked the witness for his testimony and discussed further the definition and classification of subversives.

TESTIMONY OF HON. SAM YORTY, MAYOR OF LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

On Tuesday, November 28, 1967, the subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met in the committee hearing room in the continuation of public hearings into "subversive influences in riots, looting, and burning."

The witness, Hon. Sam Yorty, mayor of Los Angeles, Calif., was sworn in and stated that he was, by profession, an attorney at law.

Mayor Yorty was a Member of Congress in 1950 to 1954 and mayor of Los Angeles since 1961.

His tenure in the California Legislature in the mid-1930's gave him an opportunity to study the subject of communism. Since that time, the witness has maintained an interest in Communist activities.

In answer to a question concerning his opinion of underlying factors which caused the riots in the last few years, Mayor Yorty replied :

I would certainly say that one of the factors is the constant repetition of subversive propaganda, the agitation, and propaganda conducted by the Communist Party within the framework of their historic objective to break down the respect for government, certainly for law and order, and to personalize, as they always do, this objective mainly in the police officer.

Asked if he believed these riots have been spontaneous or planned, the mayor said, "I think that there are some of both." He added :

I think that the propaganda over the years has been so constant and at times very effective * * *.

I also think there are some riots where subversive forces have actually planned * * * incidents that they would hope would spark a riot.

Mayor Yorty introduced an exhibit into the record, a pamphlet entitled "The Big Lie." The pamphlet, produced by the Los Angeles city government, contained a short history of the charge of police brutality over a period of 21 years—or since 1946, by the Communist Party.

The witness stated that law enforcement has been handicapped "by the reinterpretation, really the rewriting of the Constitution by the United States Supreme Court * * *." He cited examples of the exclusionary rule of evidence, the rules of search and seizure, and the registration of known criminals.

Mayor Yorty recalled that Lenin, in his writings, as early as 1902, had made reference to police brutality and noted that he knew of no period in history where the "campaign against the police has been quite as effective as it is today."

The mayor was asked if police brutality charges were made in his city during the Watts riot. He replied that an attempt was made "to blame the police for the rioting," and added: "This led to my unpleasant confrontation with Dr. Martin Luther King," who—

persisted in arguing that the police were to blame for the rioting. Then he went out and got before the cameras and newspapers and made that same charge. I felt it necessary to answer that charge and to tell him that it was very unfair for him to come out to Los Angeles and try to blame the police for the rioting.

Mayor Yorty then stated that he did not "know of any case where an officer has had to be dismissed for brutality."

The mayor noted that there were many people who made charges of police brutality whose motive was to discredit the police department and to carry on the so-called Communist struggle campaign to "break down respect for the law enforcement officials and * * * eventually * * * break down the ability of our Government to operate."

The Los Angeles mayor said that :

Unfortunately, the nature of news is * * * usually negative. The bizarre makes more news than the everyday hard work of law enforcement.

Mayor Yorty saw a need for people to understand the Communist Party and its apparatus. He said :

The public has been conditioned to feel that the charge of communism is some kind of smear on innocent people. * * *

He cited several examples of "conditioning" of the American public "until they have lost their understanding of the true effectiveness of Communist agitation and propaganda."

The witness submitted that he "wouldn't want to go so far as to say that no policeman has ever been guilty of brutality," but that "the major problem is brutality to police on the part of citizen groups."

In considering a question propounded by staff director McNamara on whether riot legislation should be levied at the State or Federal level, the mayor said :

I think you have to take whatever action you can at every level. I don't think trying to maintain law and order is just a matter for any one level of government. * * *

The Los Angeles mayor commented on the Communist-manipulated demonstration against the President on June 23, 1967, in his city. He noted that the "police permit for the so-called parade was issued to a person who has been identified as a Communist." The parade was slated as a demonstration against the war in Vietnam, but, as the mayor noted, the "war in Vietnam just happens to be the current issue that the Communists use to try to cause citizens to confront policemen and to defy them."

The mayor also noted that the demonstration reached riot or near-riot proportions.

Don Healey, former husband of one of the leaders of the Communist Party in California, Dorothy Healey, was the identified Communist who had obtained the parade permit for the riotous demonstration on June 23, 1967, in Los Angeles.

Prior to the clashes with the police on June 23, about 10,000 had turned out to parade past the hotel where President Johnson was speaking. As the parade reached the hotel, elements in the front stopped short. Police were ordered to disperse the crowd, as the parade permit stated that the parade was to continue its movement. Hard-core agitators at the rear of the crowd got behind the crowd and pressed the people in front onto the ranks of police. This led to clashes.

The mayor said that the people in America did not understand the Communist theory of the struggle. He added :

We have a constant series of struggles in this country, all the time conducted, of course, in most cases by legitimate and sincere people who will never understand that they have become part of the struggle.

The June 23 demonstrations in Los Angeles were organized and sponsored by the Peace Action Council. The chairman of this Peace Action Council is Irving Sarnoff, a fifth amendment witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities on September 5, 1958. Sarnoff is identified in a committee report as a member of the district council, Communist Party, Southern California District.

The mayor quoted from a Communist Party *Manual on Organization*. The manual was demonstrated to be a good example of where the Communists try to take advantage of a movement in the country, such as the current civil rights movement.

Mayor Yorty stated:

I think it is rather apparent that over the long years the Negro people did not prove very susceptible to Communist propaganda and agitation * * *.

But I do think that in the civil rights movement today there is a growing success on the part of the Communist apparatus to manipulate some of the organizations. * * *

The Los Angeles mayor was asked if he had any recommendation, in addition to antiriot legislation, which might help solve the problem of rioting and looting.

He indicated that some action in the nature of a reversal of recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions which have restricted "the ability of law enforcement agencies to do their job" might be in order.

The chairman, Mr. Willis, and members of the committee expressed their gratitude to Mayor Yorty for his excellent contribution to the subject under investigation.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT H. MEHAFFEY

On Tuesday, October 31, 1967, at 10 a.m., the subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met in the continuation of hearings into "subversive influences in riots, looting, and burning."

Mr. MehaFFEY was sworn in and stated that he was employed with the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a research consultant.

Mr. MehaFFEY read excerpts from Committee Exhibit No. 3, the staff papers on various organizations in this country whose activities have included racial agitation.

Prior to Mr. MehaFFEY's testimony on the investigation and research carried out by the committee staff in conjunction with the present inquiry, Mr. Smith, general counsel of the committee, stated:

Because some of these organizations are relatively new and others are small and little known, the subcommittee has agreed that staff documents containing basic data about these organizations and also statements which they or their recognized leaders have made concerning riots, the use of violence, and related issues should be made a part of the record.

General Counsel Smith stated that the purpose for inserting the staff papers at this point in the chronicle of testimony "is to make the record clear." Mr. Smith added:

When facts are presented about these organizations and individuals in these hearings, the general nature of the groups will be known and understood. * * *

Mr. Smith emphasized that the documents to be presented "are not intended to convey any more than they actually say." He noted that some of the organizations are openly Communist and subversive. "Others have been cited as Communist and/or subversive by official agencies." Other organizations, not cited, should not be interpreted as a committee finding or implication that the organization is Communist or subversive.

Committee Exhibit No. 1 is headed: "International Communist Statements on Racial Agitation and Riots in the United States."

Committee Exhibit No. 2 is headed: "FBI Statements on Communist Racial Agitation."

Committee Exhibit No. 3 contains the following organizational reports:

- Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA).
- W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA).
- Freedomways* (magazine).
- Progressive Labor Party (PLP).
- Socialist Workers Party (SWP).
- Workers World Party (WWP).
- Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF).
- Spartacist League.
- Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (also known as SNCC, SNICK).
- Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC).
- Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).
- Liberator* (magazine).
- ACT.
- Organization for Black Power.
- Freedom Now Party.
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).
- Nation of Islam (NOI).

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

Part 1

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1967

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. William M. Tuck presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina; also John C. Culver, of Iowa, in absence of Mr. Willis.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Tuck, Culver, and Ashbrook.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Chester D. Smith, general counsel; and Alfred M. Nittle, counsel.

Mr. TUCK. The committee will please come to order.

This hearing is being held pursuant to a resolution adopted by the full committee August 2, 1967. That resolution reads as follows:

WHEREAS, on October 3, 1966, pursuant to the Rules of the Committee, the Chairman directed the Committee staff to undertake a preliminary inquiry into the rioting, burning, looting, and other tragic acts of violence which have afflicted a number of principal cities in the United States, for the purpose of determining whether these acts of mass violence have been planned and instigated by subversive elements or to what extent, if any, such elements have succeeded in broadening and prolonging them after they have broken out; and

WHEREAS, the Chairman appointed Representatives Tuck (D-Va.) and Watson (R-S.C.) to oversee the general conduct of the preliminary inquiry; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Tuck has today made a report to the Committee on the results of this preliminary inquiry; and

WHEREAS, the report rendered by Mr. Tuck clearly indicates that Communist organizations and individuals, and also other subversive organizations and individuals—that is, organizations and individuals advocating, inciting, or participating in activities to effect by force and violence, or other unlawful means, political, economic, or social changes in our form or system of government as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States—have been involved to a significant degree in the activities of violence aforesaid; and

WHEREAS, there is presently pending before the House and the Congress proposals for remedial legislation concerning these activities, and numerous requests have been made on the Floor of the House for investigation of the circumstances underlying these activities; and

WHEREAS, by the Rules of the House this Committee is authorized and directed as a whole, or by subcommittee, to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation; and

WHEREAS, the Committee on Un-American Activities is directed to report to the House the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable;

NOW, THEREFORE, for the purposes and pursuant to the authority above-mentioned:

BE IT RESOLVED, that investigation be made, and hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a subcommittee thereof, be held in Washington, D.C., or at such other place or places as the Chairman of the said Committee or subcommittee may determine, on such date or dates as the Chairman may designate, relating to the incidents of rioting, burning, looting, and other acts of violence in principal cities of the United States for the purpose of determining the extent to which, and the manner in which, these acts of force and violence have been planned, instigated, incited, or supported by Communist and other subversive organizations and individuals, and all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

During the past few years, there have been well over 100 riots in this country. Several dozen of them at least can be classified as major disturbances. The damage they have done to the country is truly staggering. It is estimated that the riots which have taken place this year alone have cost the Nation over \$100 million in property damage, plus millions more for overtime for police and fire departments, for the use of National Guard and Federal troops, and in addition still more millions in lost business.

Over 16,000 people have been arrested during the riots. For months to come the courts in many cities will be tied up in disposing of their cases. Over 3,200 persons have been injured; 85 have been killed.

The suffering, the physical and mental anguish, the riots have brought to many people cannot be measured in dollars and cents. No standard of measurement has yet been devised for such trouble.

These facts alone make it clear beyond all question that everything possible must be done to prevent similar disturbances in the future. Yet they spell out only part of the damage that has been done. The riots have also caused internal tension and dissension. They have threatened our national unity.

Beyond that, they have caused tremendous damage to the United States abroad and, in so doing, have given great aid and comfort to our enemies, thus impairing our national security. Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, and Havana have rejoiced at these disturbances and have taken full propaganda advantage of them to undermine the standing and prestige of the United States among other nations and peoples.

We cannot measure precisely the damage done to our country in this area, but in real value it is surely greater than our material losses. It is easier to rebuild a city than a nation's image.

Riots are not new. Practically every nation has suffered from them at some time in its history. We have had them before—but never on the scale of the last few years.

It is not the view of this committee that Communists or other subversive elements are the sole cause of the recent riots; that without these elements there would have been no riots at all. It is generally

acknowledged that a variety of factors and conditions are usually involved in outbreaks of mass violence. It is also true, however, that these elements alone fall short of adequately explaining the disturbances that have wracked our country in recent years.

Poverty may be a factor—but people here and in other countries have suffered much greater poverty in the past, and still suffer it, without rioting.

Unemployment may be a factor—but at times in the past unemployment in the riot areas has been greater than it is today and people have not rioted.

Discrimination may be a factor—but in this area, too, there have been decided improvements in recent years, and many doors are now open that were not open before.

Lack of educational opportunity may be involved—but there are now 320,000 Negroes attending our colleges and universities, and today the Negro in America has more than twice the opportunity of attending college than the white European has.

We know that the weather is involved. Riots generally occur in hot, humid weather. They do not take place during blizzards. But there is certainly nothing the Government can do about the weather.

Some sociologists say that boredom arising out of too much free time is a factor; that antipathy to work on the part of some persons is another. Many other factors have been suggested.

It is my personal view that those persons who have gone about counseling, urging, and advising so-called civil disobedience—which is no more than calculated violation of any law you do not like, the root of anarchy—have created disrespect and contempt for law and order which has contributed to the mob violence.

There is another point about the riots which I believe it is important to stress. Estimates as to the proportion of the Negro population taking part in them have generally varied between 2 percent and 5 percent.

Even the larger figure represents a small minority. In addition, it has generally been recognized that a significant part of this minority has been made up of youths, teenage gangs, and persons with criminal records. This indicates that the rioters have not been representative of the adult Negro population.

Another important—and tragic—fact is that the principal victims of the riots, the persons who have suffered most from them, have been the law-abiding citizens, the majority, in the riot-torn Negro areas.

Obviously, judging accurately and in perspective all the factors contributing to the riots and coming up with a satisfactory answer to them is a most difficult and complicated task. Other inquiries have been undertaken for this purpose and to propose both short- and long-term solutions. This committee's jurisdiction is limited to subversive activities. It does not embrace social problems as such.

Throughout history riots have been used for political purposes. They can be, and have been, deliberately instigated to weaken and undermine existing governments and pave the way for the establishment of a new and different type of governmental system.

The Congress and the public have a right to know if elements in this country who are opposed to our form of government, who want to tear it down and replace it with another, have been involved in instigating the violence that has done so much damage to our Nation.

At this time in history, there are few things that pose a greater danger to our overall security than the deliberate instigation of mass violence which is designed to destroy our national unity, set citizen against citizen, groups and classes of citizens against their Government, and undermine the power, the prestige, and the good name of our country in all parts of the world.

This committee has explicit and unquestioned authority to investigate such activities.

Investigations conducted by this committee over a period of almost 30 years have revealed that individuals and organizations with these aims exist in this country. Have they been involved in any way in these riots or in instigating them?

This question must be answered. If we are going to find a solution to the causes of these riots, then this as well as other factors must be explored thoroughly. If only a partial investigation is made, if certain factors are ignored, then only a partial, incomplete, and unsatisfactory answer will be found.

A preliminary inquiry into this matter was made by the committee over a period of 10 months. It was on the basis of that inquiry—an inquiry which clearly revealed subversive involvement in the riots—that the committee determined to conduct a full-scale investigation.

As usual, there has been opposition to our investigation. Moscow radio started out the new year—on last January 2—with an attack on the committee's preliminary inquiry. It said, "the progressive forces of America demand that the witch hunters cease the shameful investigation."

Various Communist and fellow-traveler groups in the United States and certain self-proclaimed civil rights leaders have taken the same position. This is par for the course. It does not disturb the committee, which is confident that the American public is completely capable of judging the motivation behind these protests.

An explanation for Moscow's concern on this matter, perhaps, is found in the committee's Annual Report for 1960, which included a chapter on "Mob Violence as a Communist Weapon." In that chapter the committee stated:

There is considerable evidence that, in the United States, as well as on a world scale, the Communists feel that the present tactical situation calls for increased utilization of rioting and mob violence. * * *

That same chapter also said:

The U.S. Communist Party, the committee believes, will follow the orders of Moscow, which has told it, in effect:

"Internal violence is the order of the day. Riots are one of the weapons you are to use in the present situation to assist our grand strategy for victory."

I regret to say that the above-quoted committee analysis, or prediction, whichever you may call it, has proved to be accurate.

Finally, I believe the last paragraph in that chapter of our Annual Report for 1960 deserves repetition because it spells out clearly the issue we face in this inquiry into the role of the Communists and the subversives in rioting:

It is not merely the committee that will be the target of Communist force and violence. Whether future Communist-inspired mob violence has the committee or some other agency or group as its target, it will be freedom and the United States form of representative government which, in the final analysis, are under

assault. The violence will be part of an over-all plan of battle, engaged in by the Communists to promote the coming of the day when Khrushchev's dream will come true and the United States of America, like all other nations, will have its effective government in Moscow.

I regret the chairman of the committee, the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana, is not here due to illness in his family, but he appointed a subcommittee on October 19, 1967, by memorandum as follows:

TO: MR. FRANCIS J. MCNAMARA,
Director, Committee on Un-American Activities.

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Honorable William M. Tuck, Honorable Richard Ichord, Honorable John M. Ashbrook and Honorable Albert W. Watson, as associate members, and myself, as Chairman, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C., commencing on or about Wednesday, October 25, 1967, and/or at such other times thereafter and places as said subcommittee shall determine, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the Committee on the 2nd day of August, 1967, authorizing hearings concerning subversive influences in the riots, the looting and burning which have besieged various cities in the Nation, and other matters under investigation by the Committee.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 19th day of October 1967.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis,
EDWIN E. WILLIS,

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

Since then Mr. John C. Culver, of Iowa, has been also appointed.¹

Are you ready, Mr. McNamara?

MR. MCNAMARA. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

MR. TUCK. Will you proceed.

MR. MCNAMARA. Will Mr. Archie Moore come forward, please.

MR. TUCK. Will you stand and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. MOORE. I do.

MR. TUCK. You may be seated.

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

TESTIMONY OF ARCHIE MOORE

MR. MCNAMARA. Mr. Moore, state your full name and address for the record.

MR. MOORE. My name is Archie Moore. I live at 3517 E Street, San Diego, California.

MR. MCNAMARA. What is your business or profession, Mr. Moore?

MR. MOORE. My business now is youth guidance. My former profession was the professional light heavyweight boxing champion of the world for 11 years.

MR. MCNAMARA. As I recall, Mr. Moore, your boxing career spanned approximately 30 years, and during that time you engaged in 228 ring appearances and set an all-time record of 136 knockouts; is that correct?

¹ By order dated Oct. 25, 1967, Mr. Culver was appointed as an associate member of the subcommittee to serve at such times as Chairman Willis is unable to be present.

Mr. MOORE. That is correct, Mr. McNamara.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, at this point, if the director will yield, I want to take the opportunity of welcoming Mr. Moore to this committee. I think all of the committee know who Archie Moore is. As a matter of fact, he has been one of my favorite sports figures since I was just a small figure.

Mr. Moore, I have followed your work since you were light heavyweight champion of the world. I have noticed that in your work as a good samaritan you have excelled just as much as you did in the ring.

It is a pleasure to have you with us today, Mr. Moore.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, Mr. Ichord.

Mr. TUCK. Let the record show that the other members of the committee share those views and—

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Chairman, could I say also at this point, Mr. Moore, that I think your fight against Yvon Durelle in Nova Scotia in 1958 was the most inspiring and courageous demonstration I have ever seen in competitive athletics. I want to commend you at this time.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, Mr. Culver.

Mr. TUCK. You may proceed.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Moore, are you appearing today in response to an invitation and request of the chairman that you testify in these hearings?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. McNAMARA. Is it not a fact, Mr. Moore, that in addition to being the former light heavyweight boxing champion of the world you are also "Mr. San Diego"?

Mr. MOORE. A title that was given me this year for 1968, "Mr. San Diego."

Mr. ASHBROOK. Will you repeat that? The acoustics are very bad.

Mr. McNAMARA. "Mr. San Diego." It is an annual award presented to an outstanding citizen of San Diego, or the outstanding citizen, I should say.

Mr. Moore, the instances of rioting, looting, and burning which have taken place in this country during the past few years have been a matter of deep concern to all Americans, no matter what their race, religion, or national origin.

Will you tell the committee your reaction to these riots?

Mr. MOORE. My reactions to the rioting are that it does not make sense for people to riot in this sense. It does not make sense to loot and burn and destroy people's property or do any kind of things that are wrong, morally or physically wrong; to harm other people, to shoot at people whom you don't even know, and this sort of malicious disturbance.

Mr. McNAMARA. As indicated in the chairman's opening statement, Mr. Moore, and in a committee release of August 2, there is evidence of Communist and other subversive involvement in these riots. That evidence will be presented for the record in later hearings of the committee.

Will you state for the committee your belief concerning the Communists' professed interests in civil rights for Negroes and other minorities? Are they sincere in this? Can minorities accept them and work with them in their efforts to win full equality?

Mr. MOORE. This is only my opinion.

I do not believe in the Communist doctrine. I have been to an anti-Communist meeting, at which Senator Dodd was present, in San Diego to hear a speaker who was also a writer of a book on communism, Dr. Fred Schwarz.

What Dr. Fred Schwarz relayed to the public at this meeting thoroughly convinced me that the communistic area was not one I wanted to be in and that they would seek to destroy a nation the way, mostly, worms destroy fruit, from the inside.

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

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Moore, a few months ago you wrote a statement about rioting which you submitted to the *San Diego Union*, which published it as a page-one feature. This statement has won national acclaim. It has been circulated abroad by the USIA, the United States Information Agency.

Will you be good enough at this point to read that statement for the record, please?

Mr. MOORE. I will.

The devil is at work in America, and it is up to us to drive him out. Snipers and looters, white or black, deserve no mercy. Those who would profit from their brother's misfortunes deserve no mercy, and those who would set fellow Americans upon each other deserve no mercy.

I'll fight the man who calls me an Uncle Tom. I have broken bread with heads of state, chatted with presidents and traveled all over the world. I was born in a ghetto, but I refused to stay there. I am a Negro, and proud to be one. I am also an American, and am proud of that.

The young people of today think they have a hard lot. They should have been around in the '30s when I was coming up in St. Louis. We had no way to go, but a lot of us made it. I became light heavyweight champion of the world. A neighbor kid down the block, Clark Terry, became one of the most famous jazz musicians in the world. There were doctors, lawyers and chiefs who came out of that ghetto. One of the top policemen in St. Louis came from our neighborhood.

BAIT FOR SIMPLE-MINDED

We made it because we had a goal, and we were willing to work for it. Don't talk to me of your "guaranteed national income." Any fool knows that this is insanity. Do we bring those who worked to get ahead down to the level of those who never gave a damn? The world owes nobody—black or white—a living. God helps the man who helps himself!

Now then, don't get the idea that I didn't grow up hating the injustices of this world. I am a staunch advocate of the Negro revolution for the good of mankind. I've seen almost unbelievable progress made in the last handful of years. Do we want to become wild beasts bent only on revenge, looting and killing and laying America bare? Hate is bait, bait for the simple-minded.

Sure, I despised the whites who cheated me, but I used that feeling to make me push on. If you listen to the professional rabble-rousers, adhere to this idea of giving up everything you've gained in order to revenge yourself for the wrongs that were done to you in the past—then you'd better watch your neighbor, because he'll be looting your house next. Law and order is the only edge we have. No man is an island.

Granted, the Negro still has a long way to go to gain a fair shake with the white man in this country. But believe this: If we resort to lawlessness, the only thing we can hope for is civil war, untold bloodshed, and the end of our dreams.

We have to have a meeting of qualified men of both races. Mind you, I said qualified men, not some punk kid, ranting the catch phrases put in his mouth by some paid hate-monger. There are forces in the world today, forces bent upon the destruction of America, your America and mine. And while we're on the subject, do you doubt for a minute that communism, world communism, isn't waiting with bated breath for the black and white Americans to turn on each other full force? Do you want a chance for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the land of your birth, or do you want no chance at all under the Red heel?

NOT ONE SQUARE INCH

There are members of the black community who call for a separate nation within America. Well, I do not intend to give up one square inch of America. I'm not going to be told I must live in a restricted area. Isn't that what we've all been fighting to overcome? And then there is the element that calls for a return to Africa.

For my part, Africa is a great place to visit, but I wouldn't want to live there. If the Irishmen want to go back to the Emerald Isle, let them. If the Slavs want to return to the Iron Curtain area, OK by me. But I'm not going to go any part of Africa to live. I'm proud of ancestry, and of the country that spawned my forefathers, but I'm not giving up my country. I fought all my life to give my children what I'm able to give them today; a chance for development as citizens in the greatest country in the world.

I do not for a moment think that any truly responsible Negro wants anarchy. I don't think you'll find intelligent—no, let's rephrase that—mature Negroes running wild in the streets or sniping at total strangers. God made the white man as well as the black. True, we haven't acted as brothers in the past, but we are brothers. If we're to be so many Cains and Abels, that's our choice. We can't blame God for it.

Something must be done to reach the Negroes and the whites in the ghettos of this country, and I propose to do something.

'ANY BOY CAN'

As a matter of plain fact, I have been doing something for the past several years. I have been running a program which I call the ABC—Any Boy Can. By teaching our youth, black, white, yellow and red, what dignity is, what self respect is, what honor is, I have been able to obliterate juvenile delinquency in several areas.

I would now expand my program, change scope. If any boy can, surely any man can. I want to take teams of qualified people, top men in their fields, to the troubled areas of our cities. I know that the people who participated in the recent riots, who are participating and who will participate, are misguided rather than mad.

If some bigot can misguide, then I can guide. I've spent too much of my life building what I've got to put it to torch just to satisfy some ancient hatred of a man who beat my grandfather. Those men are long dead. Do we have to choke what could be a beautiful garden with weeds of hate? I say NO! And I stand ready to start "Operation Gardener." I invite the respected Negro leaders of our country to join me.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Moore, you referred in your statement to your youth guidance program, ABC, Any Boy Can.

Will you outline the program for the committee, telling when and why and how it was started, what its purposes are and its principles and accomplishments?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir. ABC is a program that I devised years ago and I wanted to work on this program. However, being champion of the world occupied most of my time.

But having a fine memory, I memorized parts of this program. I memorized very vividly many parts of this program, feeling that it would help young people step off in life with their best foot forward because this program was based on truth, honesty, respect for self and for other people, their rights and property. With this program, a youngster in 2 short months would show some signs of dignity.

We all know and feel that when a youngster is fearful of things that might happen to him his potential is down real low. So, in order to bring this potential up he must be motivated. How can I motivate this youngster who is in the neighborhood, who is going to school and is having his lunch taken away from him by the bigger boys and being

pushed around, made to get into trouble? I feel that teaching them the basics, only the outline of physical self-defense, coupled with this moral and spiritual self-defense with which to guide him, will serve as a guideline for him because, surely, when all the youngsters know that a boy has taken physical education or boxing instruction, they do not pick on him very much.

Sometimes there will be a fight in order to prove certain things, but generally the boy who has taken self-defense lessons wins out, and he can go his way down life's trail, down life's hard road, pursuing the trade or profession or career he wants to pursue in life.

So, in teaching this program, first in Vallejo, California, and now in San Diego, we have wiped away a lot of troubles and we have the youngsters interested more in their school work, in their homework, in church work, and things in the neighborhood—clean up, paint up, and be clean inside and outside.

They are not in trouble in school. Why? Youngsters are rewarded for their efforts. We may take them to a fish fry. We may take them to a father-and-son banquet. Many of these children have never been to these seemingly insignificant things such as a businessmen's luncheon in order to perform their little ritual before the men.

Doing this is a type of reward because the ABC litany is based on truth, honesty, respect and dignity. It is based on that triangle, that triangle that is the strongest form of support ever devised by men. It can hold as much as you place upon it as long as it is the truth for the rest of your life.

A good student in the ABC class does not lie, steal, cheat, smoke, gamble, refuse to go to church, play hooky from school, get into trouble, participate in riots, throw bombs, smoke dope, smoke weeds, use narcotics of any kind, use LSD—use all the drugs I don't know anything about. We do teach them this is wrong.

Also we teach them that what is right is to go to church, be a good American, be a good citizen; go to school, go to high school, get a high school education, go to college; get a degree as doctor, teacher; become a Congressman, Speaker of the House, any of these things—even Vice President or the President. And I am waiting with bated breath for one of my ABC boys to be a President of the United States. This is my belief.

Mr. McNAMARA. I think, Mr. Moore, that dream may well come true. You have stressed physical defense, based on your career in the boxing ring, in your youth program, but you have also brought out very clearly, I think, a very vital fact—that this is used only as a supplement to, or instrument for, building character in the youth of America.

Mr. MOORE. That is right.

Mr. McNAMARA. Can you tell us in how many cities the program is now in operation?

Mr. MOORE. The program is in the city of Vallejo, California, 36 miles northeast of San Francisco. It is in San Diego.

Mr. Walter E. Washington, Commissioner of this city, has asked me if I would be interested in bringing it to this city. I informed him I would be willing, well, after my commitment in San Diego, to come to Washington and show how we can curb vandalism in a hurry.

Mr. McNAMARA. Can you state a few facts or statistics which illustrate the impact, the beneficial effect, which your ABC program has had on youth?

Mr. Moore. Yes, sir.

In 1965 there was vandalism damage in Vallejo to a housing project where I was called upon to promote the sale of 350 homes. The vandalism damage, according to the figures set by the managers of the branches who ran the housing project, was \$7,500 per month. It had been running in that area for 5 years.

The ABC program was put into this housing project, 850 homes, 350 vacant. Within 3 months' time the battle damage dropped from \$7,500 to less than \$70, all within the space of 3 months because the youngsters were bent on cleaning up their homes, keeping their lawns mowed, staying out of trouble.

The whole thing caught on like wildfire. In the ensuing 18 months all of the houses were sold. There are no houses vacant in this particular tract now. With this job well done, then I was out of a job. I went to another place to work. I went to San Diego to begin it there.

Now the school papers that I have must be about 8 inches thick of straight A's or B-plus averages of the youngsters who are participating in the ABC program. The principals of the schools have been writing very fine reports about the ABC program, the effect it has had upon the students of the schools.

The antisocial activities have actually been really curbed and things bettered by the presence of ABC.

Mr. McNAMARA. Could you tell us, Mr. Moore, if there has ever been an instance in which any member of ABC has been involved in a riot or civil disturbance?

Mr. Moore. No, there has been none because, since my boys have been in ABC, there has been very little absence from school. There has been no participation in any semblance of a riot or disturbance among the youngsters. They do not even have fights any more. The only fights they have are the fights that we provide for them with gloves on in the little intercommunity bouts.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Chairman, that completes the staff interrogation of the witness.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Ichord.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Moore, is your organization wholly privately supported, or do you receive any Government funds?

Mr. Moore. I do not receive any Government funds. I would like to have funds available to me, because I feel that if a city like Washington or New York is suffering from vandalism and damage, which they all are, I can curb vandalism damage by 50 percent in the first year.

In the next 2 years we can cut it another 25 percent. Then pretty soon vandalism damage will end, be actually choked out of the juvenile delinquency factor. And the source, the main source of juvenile delinquency, is the vandal factor. Vandalism comes from a little tiny seed called disrespect.

Your little boy, my little boy 5 years old, we can take him to someone's home and if we don't tell him to be quiet he might push a glass of water off the table and break it and think it is cute. His mother might say, "Johnny is a little boy, he does not mean any harm," but

unless she does that [indicating spanking] and lets him know that that is wrong, his appetite will grow.

As he grows without restraint, his appetite grows the same way. Soon he is 16 years old and he is bigger than his father. He will tell his father he wants tires on his car, slicks—

Mr. ICHORD. Are you organized as a charitable corporation?

Mr. MOORE. I am a charitable, nonprofit corporation. I am supported partly by the city recreation funds, by the mayor in San Diego, and private sponsorship under Lucky Stores in California.

Mr. ICHORD. Have you made any application for Government funds under perhaps the poverty program?

Mr. MOORE. No, I have not. But I have been talking and talking my head off to a lot of Government people. Everybody who sees the program says this is a beautiful program and this is a program that can help these youngsters step off in life with their best foot forward. I guarantee you that none of my youngsters will ever be caught in a riot.

Mr. ICHORD. To your knowledge, have there been any poverty programs organized along the line of your program?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir. We have a very unique way of communicating with the youngster through a ritual. If we are in this room and we belong to ABC, a person can walk into this room and he would not understand what we are talking about, because we teach in signs and symbols.

I know you men who belong to fraternal organizations know exactly what I am talking about. This ritual is a very unique way of communicating and keeps other boys from going into the different clubs and taking over, because one student will know the other.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I would point out to the members of the committee that Mr. Moore is a fellow Missourian and I want to express my appreciation for all of the good things he has done. Again, I welcome you to this committee as a truly great American, Archie Moore.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, Mr. Ichord.

Mr. TUCK. The gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. CULVER. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Ashbrook.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would like to ask Mr. Moore a couple of questions.

There is obviously a tugging and pulling of different ideas in the country, people trying to give direction of one sort, and you are working on another side.

Working with youth as you have been doing for years, you should be in a position to appraise the effect of what might be called the other ideas that are abounding in the country, those who would incite to disobedience, those who would preach the opposite of what you preach, trying to stimulate hatred.

As I read your wonderful letter that you put in the San Diego paper, the heading as a matter of fact is, "Archie Moore Speaks Against Hate." There are others in the country who have not been doing this, some for what might be called political reasons, Communists, others because they might happen to be misguided.

You converse and communicate and have fellowship with these young people in ABC. Can you feel, in any way, the effect on them of this other idea that is being preached in the country—whether it be

from Communists or from misguided people—the hatred. Do you come into contact with this daily, and what force and effect does it have on the young people with whom you deal?

Mr. MOORE. It does not have any force on the young people with whom I deal because, when they come to me, they come to me because ABC means "Any boy can—if he wants to."

Mr. ASHBROOK. He has already made a commitment?

Mr. MOORE. He has made a commitment that he wants to come to me, and he does not want anything else. I teach him not to be ashamed of who he is or what he is, whether he is red, black, white, or brown. Don't be ashamed, come in and we will teach you.

Then he walks out with pride after 8 weeks of indoctrination of ABC. He is proud because he has then earned a uniform. This is his identification. He has earned a uniform symbolizing America.

Mr. ASHBROOK. On the adult level people like yourself might be called "Uncle Tom" and people who are not revolutionary or radical enough. I am sure the young people must come under the same kind of persuasive effort by some people—don't go with Archie Moore, there is another way of doing this.

I wonder if you see this pressure being exerted anyway on any of your young people or those you would like to influence?

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Ashbrook, I have taken my students to Berkeley university, to the young people there who were 19, 20, and 18 years of age, and put them on the stage. I have gotten standing ovations in many schools from the youngsters who are older than my youngsters, who say and express a desire to help me teach them; they want me to teach them so they can help teach, because they feel they are missing something in their lives. They would like to be able to teach this to their brothers and sisters and friends in their neighborhoods.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I think we are probably missing something in the country, a little bit of what you are teaching and a little bit of what you have been giving these people. I think it has been missing in other parts of the country.

Mr. MOORE. I would like to say that this idea was formed over 30 years ago. I did not get the final answer until a few months ago. I asked a minister to help me put this thing together.

He said put God in front of it and make it like E, G, B, D, and F, every good boy does fine—white, black, yellow, and brown—and make it a youth club, no separation, because if you take out one of the five faces of man you cannot have harmony. You must have harmony amongst mankind. If you take out the brown face, you miss a very resounding chord. If you take out a black one, the same thing. If you take out a white man, the same thing. You must have the E, G, B, D, F, every good boy does fine, in order to have that good harmony pitch.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Thank you.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Watson.

Mr. WATSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Champ, I want to commend you, with the others, for the position you have taken publicly and for the testimony you have given here this morning. Certainly, no one would, in his right mind, call you an Uncle Tom. But we know this accusation is going around here.

Are you aware of who is fomenting this label of Uncle Tom simply because you dare not to engage in violence and radicalism?

Mr. MOORE. No, I do not.

Mr. WATSON. It has come back to you, Champ, that you are an Uncle Tom or you are a sympathizer or what-have-you. Have you been able to trace it back to any particular source?

Mr. MOORE. I don't care, I don't care. "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me."

Mr. WATSON. I commend you for the wonderful job you are doing now.

Concerning this ABC program, am I correct in understanding that that is wrapped around you, the man, Archie Moore?

Mr. MOORE. It is wrapped around my theory, my ideas. It can be taught by people other than me, people who have a type of following, maybe an image, you see. Maybe, who knows, a basketball player can teach it, a football player can teach it. A good physical education instructor can teach it. You can teach it in your neighborhood.

Mr. WATSON. Have you brought these other leading figures into your program, or is it just virtually your program now?

Mr. MOORE. I am now bringing men into the program, but I have to screen out the applicants because I want them to be morally sound and physically able and to have a decent background.

When you teach ABC your teaching will rub off on the student because he will like many things that you do. That is why I say a teacher must not lie, cheat, steal, smoke, drink, or gamble. He must not. We do not want our youngsters to smoke, drink, or gamble. We don't want them to lie or cheat. These are the six basic things we don't want them to do.

Doing one of those things will get him put out of the club.

Mr. WATSON. Do you actually have a staff or an organization to carry on your ABC work?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir; in San Diego.

Mr. WATSON. What size staff?

Mr. MOORE. I have a 12-man staff.

Mr. WATSON. Twelve men who are actively out in the community working with your boys, both prospects and members of ABC?

Mr. MOORE. We have some men who will take applications. We have members of the board of directors, and we have three student instructors. The thing about ABC is that after 8 weeks the youngster is a teacher of a sort himself, a minor teacher himself. The longer he stays with us, the better he can teach us.

Mr. WATSON. I like this idea. Approximately how many boys do you have presently in the membership?

Mr. MOORE. In the membership I have worked with over a hundred boys in Vallejo; that group up there is under the direction of one youngster, Dwight Calloway, who is about 14 years of age. I have to send a man up there to take care of the administrative business.

The group I have in San Diego, I have 85 now and there are about 85 more that want to enroll, but I want to take them in certain periods because I don't want to retard one group in order to break another group in.

Mr. WATSON. With the obvious success you have in that program, Champ, you mean to tell me that no official of the Office of Economic Opportunity or any other agency has beaten a path to your door and asked your help?

Mr. MOORE. I would like very much to have an audience with Mr. Shriver. I met him yesterday for the first time in my life in the dining room somewhere, across the street.

Mr. WATSON. My question is: Up until this time has no official come to you and asked for your help and how he might assist you financially in broadening your program?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

Mr. WATSON. That is a sad commentary on the whole thing. Perhaps the trouble is that you don't have enough big jobs to dispense and give out.

Mr. MOORE, let us look at your background.

How much education have you had?

Mr. MOORE. My education has been limited in school, but I have picked up a lot of knowledge; maybe it is not education, but it is a lot of knowledge.

Mr. WATSON. It is real education, and I have been impressed with it this morning by your testimony and your eloquence. If we can pin it down, Champ, to encourage other people, how much formal education have you had?

Mr. MOORE. I finished the ninth grade in school.

Mr. WATSON. You finished the ninth?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WATSON. That is commendable. And yet here you are, having achieved what you have achieved here today. Let me ask you a couple more questions.

Are you familiar with the organization RAM, Revolutionary Action Movement?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir; I am not.

Mr. WATSON. You have heard of it before?

Mr. MOORE. I have read about it, in sketches, but I have not paid any attention to it.

Mr. WATSON. You are not familiar with RAM, or any of the people who are members of RAM?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

Mr. WATSON. You know of no members?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

Mr. WATSON. So far as you know, you have never talked with any members of RAM?

Mr. MOORE. I don't know of any. My time is 100 percent ABC, because I feel that this is the revolutionary step to close the gap of communication with people between youth.

Mr. WATSON. Your time is spent in constructive endeavors rather than destructive endeavors?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WATSON. Are you familiar with any of the members or leadership of the so-called Muslim movement, the black power movement, and what-have-you?

Mr. MOORE. I know Cassius Clay, who likes to be called Muhammad Ali. I know him because I taught him as a fighter.

Mr. WATSON. I think you did a good job in teaching him as a fighter. I have some misgivings in other respects.

Champ, you have never gone to some of these people individually and tried to talk with them? I assume you would know some of the leaders of these groups that foment the disorder and distrust and hate.

Have you ever gone to them individually or attempted to talk with them and reason with them?

Mr. MOORE. I don't personally associate with people who would foment any kind of trouble or disturbances, because I am not about to sacrifice any youngster in my cause, because I have youngsters of my own.

Before I would foment a thing and push a youngster out to bear the brunt of what I did not accomplish in my lifetime, I would be guilty of these things. I have tried to keep my youngsters out of trouble, out of areas of trouble, trying to show them the right way to go so that they can then become these fine people that they want to become.

Mr. WATSON. So far as you are concerned your advice to anyone, regardless of his race or creed or color, is to stay away from such reactionary groups as RAM and the others and try to devote his efforts to more constructive endeavors, rather than destructive endeavors?

Mr. MOORE. I don't know what RAM represents. I do not really know what the Black Muslims really represent.

The only thing I have heard about the Black Muslims is that they have a very good health habit. They don't eat pork and they keep clean, you see. This is the only thing that I have heard about them. They may do some talking about other things, but these things don't interest me, what they talk about, because I know that ABC would be the best solution to many problems.

Mr. WATSON. Of course, you are aware that RAM's objectives aren't laudable at all?

Mr. MOORE. I don't even know RAM.

Mr. WATSON. Do you not recall reading recently that some of the RAM membership plotted to assassinate Roy Wilkins and some of the other leaders?

Mr. MOORE. No. I must have glanced at it in the paper, but I did not pay it any attention.

Mr. WATSON. They often say that to do a good job you have to be aware of what the enemy is doing, too. I applaud you for your efforts. Obviously, you have been so busy in the constructive field you have not paid any attention to these other people, but we are disturbed about it.

I applaud you for your efforts. I hope, as a result of your presence here today, that some of those Government officials who are so vitally concerned with the matter of helping the less fortunate will come to see you and get some ideas as to how you have been so successful.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Watson, I could not see anybody harming Mr. Wilkins.

Mr. WATSON. I couldn't either, but you had some birds up there that planned to do it, and they are under indictment now, Champ. That is the problem with which we are trying to wrestle. I think you are doing an outstanding service. You are a good American, and I applaud your efforts.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Moore still looks like he is in top physical condition. Are you still working out in the ring?

Mr. MOORE. No; I only go through the motions with the youngsters. I couldn't go one round.

Mr. ICHORD. You look like you have stayed in pretty good shape. I know it was always a mystery as to how old you were before you stopped fighting. I am not going to ask you to tell your age—

Mr. MOORE. The next question, please? [Laughter.]

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Culver.

Mr. CULVER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Moore, the purpose of these hearings is to determine whether the acts of mass violence we have experienced in our cities this summer have been planned and instigated by subversive elements. Do you have any information that you might be able to provide the committee which would indicate to the extent that subversive elements have either planned or instigated the riots that we have had this summer?

Mr. MOORE. No, I don't. I read sometimes a lot of things. A recent article I thought so much of that I clipped it out and put it in a brochure that I have. It was on the decline of civilizations. Of 21 great civilizations, 19 died from moral decay and they all progressed in this sequence.

Mr. CULVER. But you don't have any firsthand information that you could provide the committee based on your own personal experience that the riots this summer were either planned or instigated by subversive elements?

Mr. MOORE. No.

Mr. CULVER. The other purpose of the hearings is to determine if such elements have succeeded in either broadening or prolonging these riots after they have broken out.

Do you have any personal firsthand information that you can make available to the committee to substantiate that particular inquiry?

Mr. MOORE. No, I don't, Mr. Culver.

Mr. CULVER. I wonder if you, in your own personal experience in the Negro community, have had the opportunity to discuss personally with those elements within the American Negro community who are generally considered to be either radical or subversive or Communist in their objectives in the ghetto?

Have you ever had an opportunity to visit with any people that in your judgment you would personally classify as properly falling into that categorization?

Mr. MOORE. I stay as far away from these elements that would destroy America as I can.

Mr. CULVER. You have not had a personal firsthand opportunity even to discuss with them their objectives or their tactics?

Mr. MOORE. I suppose by them referring to me as Uncle Tom they do not even care to discuss these things with me. They know that I would not take it anyway.

Mr. CULVER. I would just like to indulge in a selfish inquiry, Mr. Chairman, if I may at this point.

As I said at the outset, I think, Mr. Moore, that your successful defense of your championship in Nova Scotia in December 1958—

Mr. MOORE. In Montreal.

Mr. CULVER. —in Montreal, was the most inspiring and courageous demonstration I have ever witnessed, I think, in athletic competition. I wonder if you considered that to be your most difficult fight.

I know you fought all over the world for many, many years. I would be anxious to learn whether you thought that was your most challenging fight.

Mr. MOORE. No. I am fighting now in the last round of the greatest fight of them all. This is the fight to help young people. I need all

the help that anybody and everybody can give me, because basically this is your fight, this is your brother's fight, this is my fight, my brother's fight, because we are all involved in youth work.

You have some youths in your family, so does everybody else. We are all directly involved in this fight.

Mr. CULVER. I certainly wish to commend you, as the other members have, Mr. Moore, for your remarkable personal contribution in this area and in this effort. I personally feel that this is the kind of determination and program which certainly will avoid the serious kind of subversive consequences ultimately that might well arise from the problems that we face in urban America.

I also think that if you demonstrate the same courage that you did in that particular fight in this effort I would like to bet on you. I don't think you have many disciplinary problems in the ABC program.

Mr. MOORE. No, we don't.

Mr. CULVER. I also would like to ask you one last question.

What, Mr. Moore, do you consider to be the causes of these riots in cities that we have experienced this summer?

Mr. MOORE. I would feel that there has been a lack of understanding of the Negroes' so-called problem, which actually is the white man's problem, was caused by the white man. This is the truth.

And there has been so much bypassing the Negro until he has to cry out. And the people who do cry out, even in radical tones or radical overtones, they are trying to be heard, they are trying to be heard. Some people can stand a lot of pain, a lot of suffering, without uttering a cry. Some people can't. If you step on some people's toes they will yell out.

Mr. CULVER. What are they crying out about specifically, Mr. Moore?

Mr. MOORE. They are crying out about job opportunity more so than anything, then equal housing or equal opportunity to get housing, education. This is what they are crying out for.

First they want jobs. They have to have money in order to function.

Mr. CULVER. Do you think they need a Communist to tell them they don't have adequate housing or job opportunities in this country?

Mr. MOORE. I don't think they have to have anybody to tell them that. They know that, but they need to be heard. They do need to be heard.

Mr. CULVER. Can you think of anything that would strengthen more the Communist appeal in this country than for a continuation of the denial of those opportunities that you make reference to?

Mr. MOORE. I feel we should strengthen our forces. We should be more cohesive to understand one another's problems internally.

Mr. CULVER. Do you think the subversive elements who have as an objective the alteration of our democratic institutions and processes as we understand them would have much of an audience in the Negro ghetto if these longstanding grievances and discriminations were alleviated?

Mr. MOORE. I don't believe so. I really don't believe so.

Mr. CULVER. Thank you very much, Mr. Moore.

The other question I have is this: In your excellent statement to the San Diego newspaper you say: "They should have been around in the '30s when I was coming up in St. Louis. We had no way to go," and "The young people of today think they have a hard lot."

Then at another point in the article you state, "I've seen almost unbelievable progress made in the last handful of years."

My question to you really is: Do you suppose that this country is experiencing greater racial stress today between the races in an acute way because of the fact that some progress has in fact been made and that, as a result, the Negro community recognizes the possibilities of greater equality approximating full equality, and when you were a young man growing up during the depression it was inconceivable to ever entertain in a realistic way such a general recognition by this society?

In short, I am saying, if you are in jail and the door is locked tight and there is not a crack of light, are you likely to throw yourself against it?

Whereas in the alternative that that door is somewhat ajar—not open but ajar—and the light starts to come in, as the light started to come in in terms of America dealing responsibly with the Emancipation Proclamation by tearing down some of the barriers that existed for some years, when that door is open a crack don't you think it is then, and only then, that it is likely somebody will throw himself against the door and try to push it all the way open?

Mr. MOORE. This is a question that could be answered in more ways than one, because certainly being in a room where there is no crack of light, there may be this person who is game enough to throw himself against the door in order to jar open a crack. This has to be done.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is what you have done.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you.

And get a crack open in a sense, in hopes that somebody will stick a foot in, now that they can see the light. Now we have made unbelievable progress, and Mr. Asa Spaulding, who sits in the audience here, has done an amazing job with an insurance company and investment company. I look with high hope and honors to him and his organization.

Mr. CULVER. When you make reference, and I say this as one of your greatest sports admirers for many, many years, when you make reference to the fact that in your block, for example, you cite the fact that a lot of us made it, you cite your own case, which I think is inspiring and very exciting, but you did it through your great physical courage and determination, with your fists.

The other man you cite, Mr. Clark Terry, the outstanding musician, did it through his very remarkable artistic gifts. Both of these avenues in our society were freely available and open to a Negro at all times in American society, somewhat more open, relatively speaking, in the case of musicians today than ever before.

My question is: What are we going to do about broadening the field of opportunity for Negroes so that for some to achieve in quantity, in equality of opportunity across the whole board, the whole spectrum of life's opportunities, vocationally, professionally, how are we best going to achieve that so that success in the route to excellence is not limited to the speed of your feet, the power of your fists, and the gifts of your musical soul?

Haven't you really in effect said that some of us made it, but we made it on a very special narrow path of opportunity at that time, and now our great problem for those within your own community who don't possess comparable skills and gifts like most of us in this room have to

have a broader general opportunity. I think great progress has been made there, too.

I think we should continue. In my judgment it is no surprise that the subversive elements, those who seek to destroy this Government by any conceivable way, are exploiting this opportunity, this great crisis in the society today between the races.

It seems to me that we do ourselves a disservice if we do not properly acknowledge that these subversive elements would have little to prey upon if you were making the American society work well and truly fulfill the inspiring declarations of our Constitution in bringing into reality equal opportunity for every citizen.

Now it seems to me that the most effective way that we can deal with the understandable danger of subversive exploitation which they are most anxious to do as you properly indicate, set black against white in this country, is to eliminate what I would personally acknowledge to be very legitimate and just frustrations and grievances.

It seems to me if we put our energy and attention on this gigantic assignment, and spend less time in seeking simplistic scapegoats for the cause of these conditions in our country, that we are not only going to be well on the road to having a better society in America, but we will deal the most devastating blow possible against communism and its appeal in this country.

I share your belief it is in the areas of housing, jobs, and education that we have to mobilize our resources. And I think in that effort, making America work well in all its greatness, we have definitely the best opportunity to fight Communists most effectively not only in this country, but throughout the world.

Mr. TUCK. I may say to the witness that the gentleman from Iowa also is quite an athlete. He is a former All-American football player.

Mr. CULVER. That is very kind of you. It is a nice thing about Congress, if you ever did anything in athletics you get better every year. I can assure you if you ever went to a game in which I participated that very kind and enthusiastic caricature would hardly be appropriate.

Mr. TUCK. I wish to commend the witness for the very fine, constructive work in which he is engaged and say also that his testimony is very impressive and inspiring.

We thank you very much for coming today.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you. Before you put me out—

Mr. WATSON. I would like to ask him one final question.

I am sure that we have all profited by the colloquy between you and my esteemed colleague, Mr. Culver. But so that we might get back on the track here, as I understand your position, your life and your program and your philosophy dictate this. Regardless of the adversity, regardless of the problems that a person might have, the solution to those problems is to be found through education, through obedience to the law, through attendance at church, and in no way is it to be found in rioting and violence in the streets of America.

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WATSON. That is your philosophy?

Mr. MOORE. That is my philosophy.

Mr. WATSON. And that is your testimony today.
Thank you, sir.

Mr. TUCK. Do you have anything further to add?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

I would like to close by saying that the pursuit of happiness is every man's opportunity. The pursuit of happiness. I would rather pursue happiness than be pursued by people who destroy happiness.

And ABC still has such a wide scope—you do not understand, you cannot conceive, of what is in a youngster's mind, what he wants to be.

Maybe many of you gentlemen in this very room are not doing some of the things that you have set out in your life to do when you were a little boy, or what you wanted to be. Maybe you wanted to be a great singer, something like that. Maybe you are not good at that. Well, we will give these youngsters that choice to let them name the things that they want to try to be in life.

Let them be part of that program, organize that program ABC for them. Let them be a part. Let them be the working part of this program. Let them be the cause, let them run their own program.

You quoted something a while ago when you said man set against man. This is a Biblical quote. Father will be against son, nation against nation, rumors of wars. This is in the Bible. You can find this.

These things are coming to pass. But let us hold these things off by teaching our youngsters how to get along in the harmony that every man needs in his lifetime. Let us make the resounding note. If it is the black key, let it hit loud and clean and clear. If it is the white key, let it hit loud, clean, and clear. The red key the same way, the brown key and yellow key. Let it be a resounding harmony.

Mr. ICHORD. I have one more question, Mr. Chairman.

I noticed in your statement, Mr. Moore, that you came out against a guaranteed national income, which many of our liberal friends embrace. I wonder why are you against such a program as a guaranteed national income? What is your philosophy behind that, Mr. Moore?

Mr. MOORE. Let me ask you a question. Maybe I can answer this with a question.

Well, suppose that there is a man out in the field pulling weeds, and you are up here making laws and presiding and governing things. Your work is more complex and more difficult than his. His is easy. Maybe he can pull weeds 1 hour and he will be through. You have to work all day, slaving over books and paperwork.

Do you feel that he should earn as much as you are? What I am saying is that if I can devise an idea that can cause a hundred thousand people jobs and job opportunities, why should I be salaried \$40 a week, the same as a man who is pulling weeds 2 hours a day?

Mr. ICHORD. What you are saying is that all every man is entitled to regardless of his race, color, or creed is opportunity?

Mr. MOORE. Equal opportunity, opportunity to develop.

Mr. Asa Spaulding, should he be making \$40 a week or \$100 a week that he is paying his man who is cleaning his yard? He is president of the company that he devised from his own ideas and hard work and labor? No.

Mr. ICHORD. I agree with you.

Mr. TUCK. We thank you very much.

Will you call your next witness?

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Clarence Mitchell.

Mr. TUCK. Will you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MITCHELL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CLARENCE MITCHELL

Mr. MITCHELL. Governor Tuck and Members of the Committee: In preparation of my testimony I had assumed that the chairman, Mr. Willis, would be here and I have included in it a little reference to him, which I will read, because I want very much to be on record as saying it.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Mitchell, before you proceed with your statement, would you kindly state your name and address for the record, please?

Mr. MITCHELL. My name is Clarence Mitchell. I am director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP. Our office is in the Congressional Building, 422 First Street, Southeast.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Mitchell, is your appearance before the committee today in response to an invitation and request of the chairman to Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, that he or another representative of that organization testify in the committee's hearings?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is correct.

Mr. Wilkins indicated that I was to represent the association.

Mr. McNAMARA. Can you tell us, Mr. Mitchell, how long you have held the position of the director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP?

Mr. MITCHELL. I have been director of the bureau since 1950. I began my duties with the organization in 1945, when I was labor secretary.

Mr. McNAMARA. In addition to your work with the NAACP, have you from time to time been engaged in service with the Federal Government?

Mr. MITCHELL. I have from time to time given volunteer service in the areas of employment, housing, educational matters, and things of that sort.

Mr. McNAMARA. I understand, Mr. Mitchell, that you have a prepared statement to read for the record.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, I do, Mr. McNamara.

Mr. McNAMARA. Will you proceed?

Mr. MITCHELL. Thank you.

Mr. TUCK. I may say to the witness that the chairman, Mr. Willis, would have liked to have been here today. We do expect him here next week.

I may further add that he expressed himself on many occasions as being highly pleased with your cooperation with him and your willingness to appear before the committee and give us the benefit of your testimony.

Mr. MITCHELL. Thank you very much, Governor Tuck.

As I stated, I am Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I want to thank you very much for this opportunity to appear and to present testimony at this hearing.

At the outset I would like to express appreciation to Chairman Willis for his courageous challenge of the Ku Klux Klan. The terrible implications of Klan activity were emphasized in recent days during the trial of individuals for murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi.

I would just like to say for the record that if we are to stamp out lawlessness in this country, the people themselves must show concern. We need just laws, we need prosecutors and courts that are above corruption, but in the end we also need determination by the people themselves that they will uphold the law.

I would like to use this forum, Mr. Chairman, to salute the people of Mississippi who served on the jury in that case to which you referred.

I do not know a thing about their views on civil rights, segregation, and whatever else might be their philosophy. But I would say that it is a great thing in our country when people who are entrusted with the duty of seeing to it that the law is upheld fulfill that duty. It is my opinion that to the best of their ability they did that. This is what I mean when I say, in the end, if the people do not uphold the law we cannot have law. If they do, the law will prevail.

As I understand it, the committee is addressing itself to two questions. These were set forth in the chairman's letter of October 11, 1967. First, whether rioting, looting, and burning are compatible with the American system of government and whether it will serve to advance the interests of Negro citizens in the United States.

The second question, whether or not Communists sincerely have the interests of Negroes at heart and Negroes, therefore, can accept them and work with them in their efforts to achieve full equality in this country.

On behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as an organization and myself as an individual I answer both if these questions with an emphatic "No."

With reference to question number one, I would like to point out that throughout its long history the NAACP has always been against lynching, mob violence, and the destruction of property. I might say I have strong personal views about that, too.

Right after I finished college in 1932, I was assigned to cover a lynching as a newspaper reporter. I was against mob violence then when I saw it and I am against it now, regardless of who is the perpetrator of mob violence.

We are opposed to lawlessness and have spent most of our existence, as well as most of our funds, trying to build a society in which this idea will prevail, of law and order. We also seek just laws, which in themselves promote peace and tranquility by strengthening the faith in the Constitution of the United States as a means of obtaining redress for grievances.

We are aware of the underlying causes that promote discontent in this country. The fact that unemployment is higher among minority groups, that many must live in ghetto areas because of restrictions on housing, and a century of mistreatment, all combine to build frustrations and desperation.

I might say, Governor Tuck and Members of the Committee, that it is a fact that the rate of unemployment among Negroes in this

country is about three times the rate of unemployment among white people. We have problems which stem from not getting the right kind of educational training.

I was in Meridian this weekend and had the pleasure of seeing a private school which some people have started down there for the purpose of training young women to be secretarial workers. They were taking them through all the things you need to know in order to be a good secretary. But the persons in charge of that school pointed out that all too often, even though the applicants and the trainees have completed high school in the regular public school system of that area, they really have only the equivalent of an eighth grade education, which means that there are serious deficiencies in English and in other things that would be needed in order to be ready to go into the mainstream of life in this country.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, if I may interrupt there.

Your figures there, Mr. Mitchell, include both Negro males and females. I am certain that that is true. I wanted to ask you this question. I was rather surprised to notice a headline in one of our metropolitan papers a number of days ago—I did not read the entire article.

The gist of the headlines, anyway, was that the unemployment figures of Negro males was less than whites. Are you acquainted with that article? I was rather surprised to hear that such a thing would be true.

Mr. MITCHELL. I did not see that, Mr. Ichord, but I would say it is a very unusual thing if it is true. I can't imagine any area in this country—

Mr. ICHORD. The statistics were undoubtedly limited to a specific area. I did not have an opportunity to read the article in full. I thought you might be acquainted with it.

Mr. MITCHELL. I am sorry, I didn't see it.

Mr. ICHORD. Go ahead.

Mr. MITCHELL. Under the leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson, the Nation is engaged in a great struggle to right some of the wrongs which I have mentioned. The positive things that are being done, such as encouraging Federal aid to education, promoting better health, insuring equal job opportunity, and strengthening civil rights legislation, are all a part of the Nation's effort to keep our pledge of equality under law. I just would like to say, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that I can't emphasize too much the belief that I have that, if we could pay a little more attention to some of the direction that the President is trying to give in handling some of these problems in our country, I think we would have a few more solutions than we now get.

For example, there is no doubt in my mind that the rent supplement program is a very valuable thing in these ghetto areas of the country. The President asked for \$40 million for that. The committee in the House cut him back to \$10 million. Then when we got to the floor, it did not get through at all.

On the other hand, there are some people who are attacking the President and saying why doesn't he do something about housing, why doesn't he do something about these problems in the cities? Well, I think the best way to find out the effectiveness of the Presi-

dent's program is to try to give him the things that he is asking for, see whether these work, and then if somebody has a better idea on how it might be improved, I would be all for it and I guess the President would be, too. But if he can't get what he is asking for, which is really modest, I think that it is kind of idle to speculate on what we might do if we had a whole lot more.

Although a great deal has been accomplished, we are all aware of the need to move further and faster. Yet I do not share the views of those who seem to think that rioting, looting, and burning are actions of the mass of discontented colored people in this country. It is my opinion that it is an insult to the millions of law-abiding colored people to align them with the terrible destruction and violence that we have witnessed in some of our cities.

I think I am voicing the sentiment of the great number of people in NAACP when I say that, because riots in Newark broke out when we were in our convention in Boston. We passed a resolution, an emergency resolution, and the gist of that resolution was that while there are problems we do not condone violence, we are opposed to it, and with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record an excerpt from that resolution.

Mr. TUCK. That may be done.

(Document marked "Mitchell Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

MITCHELL EXHIBIT NO. 1

EMERGENCY RESOLUTION ON NEWARK, N.J., RIOT OF JULY 14, 1967

This convention of the NAACP can understand, but not condone, quick violence which occurs to express mass resentment over a particular outrage.

We cannot understand nor do we in any way condone prolonged and seemingly stimulated riotous destruction of life and property extending over days and nights and spreading, apparently under plan, to persons and places not involved in any specific occurrence.

* * * * *

We call upon all law-abiding citizens of both races to act promptly and sternly to put down such violence. Any indulgence of this destruction of life and property under the color of frustration over items that warrant more than routine attention, but do not warrant rioting, will be but an encouragement to an anarchy in which the whole society loses.

There must be a rooting out of evils in race relations and a thorough redress of legitimate grievances, but insurrection cannot be tolerated as the instrument for the attainment of these goals.

7/15/67

(At this point Mr. Culver and Mr. Ashbrook left the hearing room.)

Mr. MITCHELL. I have no firsthand knowledge of who it is that lights the fires, who throws the bricks, or who engages in sniping, but I do know that those responsible for these crimes are only a minuscule part of the total population. It is my opinion that the vast majority of colored people in this country seek to settle their grievances and to achieve their objectives just as all other Americans, through the lawful channels of the land.

With regard to question number two, it should be mentioned that long before many organizations were conscious of the problem of Communist infiltration, the NAACP instinctively avoided such contacts. We have always believed that the colored citizens of the United States are an inseparable part of the Nation. We never have, and do not now, believe that foreign intervention of any kind can settle our problems.

We do believe that application of the principles of the Constitution of the United States will lead to freedom and progress. On June 23, 1950, the 41st Convention of the NAACP meeting in Boston passed a resolution "unequivocally condemning attacks by the Communists and their fellow travelers upon the Association and its officials." The convention also authorized the board of directors to "suspend, reorganize, lift the charter or expel any unit if it became infiltrated or dominated by Communists." This resolution has been reaffirmed in all subsequent conventions.

I might say that, even before that resolution, in 1949 Mr. Roy Wilkins, the executive director of our organization, made a similar pronouncement about participation of Communist groups in a big mobilization that we were having down here for civil rights.

We have been and are equally opposed to organizations that operate on the extreme right, as well as the extreme left. Although our organization has taken an official position on communism, it is my opinion that the great majority of colored Americans did not need any reminder from us on this subject. The hopes and aspirations of these citizens are the same as those of other Americans. We cherish freedom of speech, freedom of worship, the right to vote, and the right to be secure against oppression by tyrannical government.

It is my opinion that the Communists have never made any great headway in recruiting colored followers and they do not have any substantial following at this point. I believe that one of the surest ways to reveal the weakness of communism is to make our own system of government work for the benefit of the most humble as well as the greatest of our citizens. This is the objective of the NAACP, and I believe that we will reach that goal within our lifetime.

Mr. TUCK. Do you have any questions, Mr. Ichord?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

I think Mr. Mitchell has made a very significant observation of the policy of the NAACP in regard to its refusal to work with the Communists.

I observe that many organizations that truly started out as pacifist organizations have made a very serious mistake. As a matter of fact a few such members have testified before this committee that they will accept anyone regardless of his political convictions as long as he professes to be working for peace. Many truly pacifist organizations have gotten into some very serious trouble. Of course, you have indicated it is going to be very difficult, maybe some of your more militant civil rights organizations have also made the same mistakes by thinking that they can work with Communists who are not truly interested in the cause of civil rights, but to tear down and destroy our institutions and our Nation.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would say, Mr. Ichord, first that I am very careful to define our philosophical position when I answer a question like that. We do not concede that any other civil rights organization is more militant than we are in what we are trying to do.

Mr. ICHORD. I agree with you.

Mr. MITCHELL. We feel that the word "militant" is the wrong word in some of these organizations. You might call them reckless and irresponsible, but certainly not militant. Now I think that there are some which are not as scrupulous as we are in trying to make sure that those

who become members are loyal citizens of the United States who believe in the Constitution of the United States. It is my opinion that that is a very serious error. I think that the one thing that binds us all together as Americans, regardless of what might be our political or religious or racial or social beliefs, is the belief that the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land. That is what I think ought to be the test. So I agree that those who have done that—I am not prepared to say how many or who—but I would say those who have done that have made a very serious tactical error.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. McNamara.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Mitchell, in your statement, in addition to mentioning the resolution opposing communism adopted by the NAACP in 1950, you referred to a civil rights mobilization which the NAACP had initiated at an earlier time and mentioned the fact that, in this instance, the NAACP had specifically rejected any Communist support on that. Could you give us further details about that?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, I could, Mr. McNamara. I have with me a Xeroxed copy of a news article which was published on December 1, 1949, which sets forth the position taken by Mr. Wilkins at the time when we were having in Washington a big mobilization for civil rights. We called in all possible religious, fraternal, labor, and other groups that would participate in that effort. But we had an ironclad rule that we didn't want anybody who was Communist affiliated or an out-and-out Communist connected with it. Needless to say, a lot of people attacked us for that position, but we held to it and this article delineates the position. With your permission, I would like to offer it as an exhibit.

Mr. TUCK. Without objection, and the Chair hears none, it may be made a part of the record.

(Document marked "Mitchell Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McNAMARA. For the record, Mr. Chairman, I think it might be of interest to summarize the incident. What happened was that William L. Patterson, who was the executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, an organization which has been cited as Communist and subversive by this committee, by the Attorney General, by the Subversive Activities Control Board, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, wrote to Mr. Roy Wilkins, who was then acting secretary of the NAACP, asking him why the Civil Rights Congress had not been invited to this mobilization.

Mr. Wilkins sent him a reply explaining why and he made public both Mr. Patterson's letter and his own reply. I think it is interesting to place in the record at this point one quotation from Mr. Wilkins' reply—

the organizations of the extreme left, when they campaign for civil rights, or in behalf of a minority, do so as a secondary consideration, activity upon which is certain to be weighted, shaped, angled, or abandoned in accordance with the Communist Party "line."

We can have no truck with such unity.

The Pilot, the official publication of the National Maritime Union, in commenting on this exchange of letters, stated, "the Communist-Coalition crowd has been totally dishonest with the Negro and other minority people."

Mr. Mitchell, is it also true that subsequent to that period, in 1956, at the time of another civil rights mobilization here in Washington in which the NAACP had a very vital interest, your organization learned of stepped-up Communist efforts to infiltrate the civil rights movement and took steps to defeat that maneuver?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is true, Mr. McNamara. We were having another mobilization here of the organizations that customarily work with us on civil rights matters.

Mr. McNAMARA. This was the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is what it was called. Mr. Wilkins serves as the chairman of that. It is a nonpaid position, but he is the chairman of that group which is a combination of a number of organizations. At that time we not only made a declaration against Communist participation, but we had a rather effective screening system which was most efficient in keeping out those who tried to force their way in. Some went to rather imaginative lengths to try to get in. For example, there was one group that came down from New York and gave out a large number of NAACP membership cards that apparently they had printed on some kind of clandestine press. But, in any event, they were turned down when they presented themselves, and we were able to keep them out.

Mr. McNAMARA. It is my recollection, Mr. Mitchell, that at that time Mr. Wilkins sent a notice to the 1300 branches and youth councils of the NAACP pointing out this Communist effort and warning of the damage that would be done to the civil rights movement if it is successful. Is that correct?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is correct.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Mitchell, I have a few stickers here, approximately 2 by 4 inches in size. I would like to hand these to you and ask you to identify these and tell us about their origin.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, when you are confronted with a crisis such as we are confronted with in this country on racial violence, men of good will or women of good will try very hard to find ways of doing all they can to head it off. Mr. Wilkins in his way undertook to do that. He got out a memorandum which was sent to all of our branches on June 15, 1967, in which he tried to spell out specific things that local branches might do with the hope of trying to head off violence in their communities. One of the things that appeared at the bottom of that was the slogan "KEEP COOL, Let the Other Guy BLOW HIS TOP." That is reproduced in this little card here. Another was "THE OTHER SIDE WINS IF WE LOSE OUR COOL." That is reproduced on this card.

The third was, "BRICKS THROUGH WINDOWS DON'T OPEN DOORS," and that is this little exhibit.

(Stickers marked "Mitchell Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MITCHELL. In addition he followed that up with a telegram dated July 25, which went out to 450 of our key branches in urban areas, reminding them of his admonition of June 15 and also urging them to step up their effort to try to prevent trouble.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer the memorandum for the record and return to the staff director the exhibits which he handed me.

Mr. TUCK. Without objection, and the Chair hears none, the statement will be incorporated in the evidence offered by the witness.

(Document marked "Mitchell Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Mitchell, these stickers you refer to bear the imprint of the NAACP; is that correct?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is correct.

Mr. McNAMARA. The NAACP has furthered and promoted their distribution and use throughout the Nation; is that correct?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is correct, Mr. McNamara.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Mitchell, you have been active for a good many years in the civil rights movement. We have, I think, seen a new phenomenon in this area. That is the sudden rise to national and even international prominence of some self-proclaimed civil rights leaders, people whose accomplishments in the field are actually nil. But almost overnight they have gone from obscurity, from being unknowns, into the spotlight of national attention. Would you care to comment on this development?

Mr. MITCHELL. I would, Mr. McNamara, because I would like the country to realize that the precious right of a free press, free communications media, has to be safeguarded by people who recognize their responsibility in handling the news with the proper perspective. It is my opinion that a great deal of the turmoil in this country is fomented by the playing up of those who are willing to say anything that is irresponsible for the purpose of getting on television or getting into the papers. I think, too, that the press has a great responsibility to explore these matters before they are given wide distribution.

For example, a couple of weeks ago I was on a plane coming from New York and picked up a copy of *Time* magazine that said the Negroes of this country have become so enchanted with the idea of black power that they are even starting black fraternities. They mentioned one of them, the Omega Si Phi fraternity. It just happens that fraternity was started back in 1911 by Bishop Edgar Love of the Methodist Church, and I am sure that its founders had no remote notion about black power or any other kind of ideology at the time. They were doing what most fraternities are organized to do, and that is have a good social time.

I think that the responsible publications ought to be very careful in making sure that before they say a thing like that, they check it out.

Another young lady called me from a very reputable magazine and asked whether I could help her find a Negro who was a college graduate, who was disillusioned by the war in Vietnam, disillusioned about our domestic policy, and therefore had decided to become a sniper. She was from a reputable magazine. She said she had been assigned to do this for a Christmas story. It was a lady's magazine.

I tried to explain to her that that kind of person probably did not exist. I offered, if she wanted me to get a balanced and true picture of what Negroes are thinking these days, to try to help her find a cross-

section. She said no, she had her assignment and she had to keep looking for that particular kind of Negro.

Well, this runs through most of the media. I do hope that those who are in positions of responsibility take a second look at some of the things that they are doing in the way of promoting irresponsible people to prominence.

Mr. McNAMARA. The staff has no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TUCK. The gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, we want to thank the witness for his very helpful testimony. I would just ask one or two questions.

Of course, you are aware of the fact that the Communist Party in their last meeting, which was public, said that the two major objectives that they have are to move into youth groups and into civil rights groups. You are aware of that, are you not?

Mr. MITCHELL. I am not aware that they made that statement recently, Mr. Watson, but I am sure they have been making that for a long time. I am not surprised to find that they have now announced it again.

Mr. WATSON. So, consequently, it would be expected that this group of sympathizers would try to move into the civil rights field, and you and your organization would be on your guard to try to prevent it as much as possible.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, we would not need to wait for newspaper warning. We're always on a 24-hour alert on things of that sort.

Mr. WATSON. Following that question, if there be such infiltration into your organization by the Communists and Communist-front groups, then would it naturally follow that you would want this committee or any other responsible committee or organization to identify such Communists or Communist sympathizers if they have infiltrated into your organization?

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, Mr. Watson, I think I understand what you are getting at.

Mr. WATSON. It is a direct question. I assure you I have no tricks in this at all.

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to respond in as gracious a manner as you have asked the question, but one of the things that we have always felt is that if, in our organization, we are asking for due process and if we are advocating adherence to the orderly determination of guilt or innocence, then we have to practice that ourselves. So for our part we would not look to any other source for information on who is or who is not a Communist. We would wish to establish our own orderly procedures. We would want to be sure that such persons had a day in court and we would want to be the people who are responsible for ousting them and identifying them if that be necessary.

I do not think that we would want to, and I am saying this very respectfully, I do not think that we would want a committee of Congress, the Attorney General of the United States, or a court to block out for us what is a Communist, who is a Communist, and that kind of thing. I think, because we are people with some knowledge and some sophistication, we would want to make that determination ourselves.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Mitchell, I agree with you. I think the basic purpose of identification by whatever source would be to give you the op-

portunity to do exactly what you said you wanted to do and that is to expel these members from your organization.

I believe there would perhaps be some valuable help to be given to you from the Subversive Activities Control Board, this committee here, and the Department of Justice because, regardless of how fine an organization you may have, I dare say that there are sources at our disposal that you would not have at your disposal. At least I was hopeful that you might welcome the help and the assistance of this committee in identifying any possible Communist sympathizers or actual Communist activists in your organization.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Watson, I am sure, as a lawyer, you would not value documentary evidence as much as you would the direct testimony of people and evidence that you could obtain on a firsthand basis yourself. We adhere to that rule in our organization, that no matter what a newspaper might say or what a Government reporter might say, we would want to give the accused or the party charged his day in court and before what would be equivalent of a jury of his peers, for the purpose of deciding from our own knowledge whether he is or is not a Communist.

Mr. WATSON. I might say, and I am not going to prolong this particular line of questioning, but I am sure you will concede that this committee and other agencies would act responsibly in this fashion before any organization or any individual would be placed on a subversive list. I hope you appreciate that fact.

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, we always hope that all agencies of Government will act with responsibility. I do believe, though, in the separation of powers. I do believe that in the Congress you can engage in factfinding and come out maybe right on the mark. But I do believe that the function of making a determination of guilt or innocence is really a function of the judiciary. Even with the best of intention on the part of the executive branch and all these others, I think that the final determination ought to be in the hands of the judiciary. This is a hard decision for me personally because I know of my own knowledge that the Government of the United States has information on who is guilty in some of the more terrible murders that have taken place in the areas of civil rights. The Government, for example, knows who killed Medgar Evers. The Government knows who is responsible for the bombings and the dynamitings in the South that have resulted in the murder of people. But for various reasons those in charge of prosecution have not submitted that evidence to the grand jury and to the courts.

Now all of my instincts tell me I wish we would have some way through a committee of Congress or through the executive branch to bring these culprits to justice. But then I know that, under our system, until they are brought into court they really are presumed to be innocent.

Mr. WATSON. And the statement that you have just made contradicts your earlier position that you think that the court should make such determination of a person's Communist affiliation, because you have just apparently expressed a complete lack of confidence in the judicial system in some areas of this country.

Mr. MITCHELL. I haven't expressed, that I am aware of, any lack of confidence in the judicial system. I have said that under the Constitu-

tion and under our doctrine of separation of powers we use the judicial system to determine questions of guilt or innocence.

Mr. WATSON. Then you are fearful of the procedures. As I understood, I thought you made the statement that you wished that the legal authorities would move forward in this field and they have not.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. Did I misunderstand your position, or do you want to modify it?

Mr. MITCHELL. I don't want to modify it. I would like to restate it. I said that I knew that the Government of the United States had information which would indicate the guilt of the persons involved in these crimes that I have mentioned. By Government, I meant the executive branch, which of course is the Department of Justice. I indicated that for reasons best known to themselves they have not submitted this to a grand jury. I was attempting to give you my more or less animal reaction to that, and that is that emotionally I wish that somehow or other we could get this into the works and get something done.

But when reason takes over I know that, if we are to preserve the system of government under which we live, even those accused of the most dastardly crimes have to have their day in court and until a court does get those cases and makes some determination of them the people are presumed to be innocent.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Mitchell, I am not defending the press at all because I have had my grievances with them, too. But did I understand you to say or imply that the irresponsible conduct of some individuals in the field of civil rights and racial disturbances should be exonerated or perhaps overlooked because they happened to receive great play in the press?

Mr. MITCHELL. No, Mr. Watson. What I was saying is that we don't have enough of the kind of thing that I have coming out of one of your papers—not yours, but out of your State. Now I would like to submit this for exhibit purposes. Since I have only one copy, I would appreciate it if your committee could duplicate it in some way. Our executive field director down in South Carolina sent me a copy of a news story in the August 8, 1967, *Charlotte Observer* and in the August 1967—I think that is the *Palmetto State*, isn't it?

Mr. WATSON. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. Both of these stories indicate efforts on the part of the NAACP, under the leadership of Reverend I. DeQuincey Newman, to take positive steps to cooperate with the State in trying to head off possible violence.

As you will see, these apparently were on the front page in big headline type. There are pictures of people involved. I am sorry to say that this is not done by many, many publications in this country. You can get much more publicity as a Negro if you talk about burning down the Capitol or wanting to do something violent and destructive, maybe shoot Roy Wilkins, or something of that sort. You can get a whole lot more publicity by doing that than you can get by these constructive things.

All I would hope is that the responsible publications would start looking at the whole picture and put some of these people who make wild statements in proper perspective so that you can see that they are

really only speaking for themselves, and maybe even not themselves, because they change from day to day, depending on what is the most attractive thing to say for the headlines.

Mr. WATSON. I share your sentiments, and we are happy that this is taking place in South Carolina. We have what we feel a very excellent record in this particular field. I am happy for that. But at the same time, without public exposure of the Rap Browns and Stokely Carmichaels and some of the other radical, irresponsible people by the press, perhaps the people would never know about them. Hopefully your people will be governed accordingly and not be misled by these people. But apparently a great many of them have been. I agree with you it is not a majority. But I think you will concede that a great many of them have been wittingly or unwittingly misled by the likes of Brown and Carmichael.

Mr. MITCHELL. No, Mr. Watson, I would say I believe in the exposure of wrongdoers, but I don't believe in overexposure to the point that you make the wrongdoer a kind of folk hero.

Mr. WATSON. Do you believe any of your people conclude that Rap Brown and Carmichael are heroes?

Mr. MITCHELL. I would say that the only way you can answer that kind of question is through a Harris poll or a crystal ball or something of that sort. I would not say "yes," but I would say that when you see a person's picture in a four-column cut on the front page of a leading metropolitan paper, as happened here, with all sorts of television and radio equipment around him taking down every word he says, I would think that somebody is going to believe that that fellow must be saying something pretty important. I feel that this is a question of judgment, and it would be my opinion that you could do the same thing of exposing whoever you wanted to expose by doing it with maybe at least a two-column picture or maybe putting it on the inside page.

I just think that we live in a period when the news competition is such that people strive to get the thing that is going to be the most sensational. I think you can be sensational by saying that somebody is going to come in here and blow up the Capitol. But, of course, it would seem to me irresponsible to say that if there is no basis for it in fact.

Mr. WATSON. I might make this one final statement. I think you and I share the same thinking in that regard. I personally have thought many times that I had made a real earth-shaking statement in a news release, but I could not even trip up a newsman to give it to him, and others would rush out to get a shot at the likes of Carmichael and Rap Brown.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TUCK. We thank you very much for your statement and the help you have given the committee.

Will you call the next witness.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Asa Spaulding.

Mr. TUCK. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SPAULDING. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ASA T. SPAULDING

Mr. McNAMARA. Will you state your full name and address for the record, please?

Mr. SPAULDING. My name is Asa T. Spaulding. I live at 1608 Lincoln Street, Durham, North Carolina.

Mr. McNAMARA. What is your business or profession, Mr. Spaulding?

Mr. SPAULDING. I am president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Mr. McNAMARA. Could you tell the committee how long you have been associated with that company?

Mr. SPAULDING. I have been associated with the company for over 40 years. As a matter of fact, it is the only job I ever had. I worked there during the summer when I was in high school right on through until I went back—finishing my education and I went back as a full-time employee of the company. That was in 1932. I was elected actuary of the company in 1933. I held that position until 1935, when I was also elected assistant secretary. In 1945 I was elected comptroller. So I was actuary, assistant secretary, and comptroller from 1945 to 1948, when I was elected vice president, actuary, and comptroller, which position I held until January 1, 1959, when I became president of the company.

Mr. McNAMARA. Are you appearing today, Mr. Spaulding, in response to an invitation and request from the chairman that you testify in these hearings?

Mr. SPAULDING. I am.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Spaulding, you are a man of many accomplishments and activities and the hour is growing late. I will not ask you to spell out all of them, but I would like to state for the record that you are a member of the board of directors of a number of large financial institutions, that you are a trustee of Howard University and Shaw University, that you received a Presidential citation in 1946 for the work you did to help stabilize the economy of this Government during World War II.

You have been active in church work. You were a member of a United States delegation to a UNESCO general conference and I believe, Mr. Spaulding, you have recently returned from a trip abroad where you were inspecting military installations for the Department of Defense. Is this correct?

Mr. SPAULDING. There is a slight correction. I recently returned from a trip to Africa as a member of a trade mission for the United States Department of Commerce. I have just returned from a JCOC, the Joint Civilian Orientation Conference, under the auspices of the Department of Defense, where the military installations of this country were inspected. That ended on October 19.

Mr. McNAMARA. I understand that at the end of this month you will be going to Germany for 2 weeks at the invitation of the West German Government to observe progress which has been made there under the Marshall plan. Is that correct?

Mr. SPAULDING. That is correct.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Spaulding, do you have a statement which you have prepared for submission to the committee?

Mr. SPAULDING. Yes, I do, Mr. McNamara.

Mr. McNAMARA. Would you care to read that?

Mr. SPAULDING. I would like to.

Mr. TUCK. The committee expresses its gratification that you have come here. I would like to say that while the present witness is not my constituent I have the privilege of living only 40 or 45 miles from him. I know of the great work that he is engaged in in North Carolina. I know of the respect in which he is held by people of both races all over the State of North Carolina. He has one of the largest insurance companies in that State. He enjoys an unusually high degree of confidence and esteem by the people, generally, of the great State of North Carolina.

Mr. SPAULDING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee on Un-American Activities:

I am here today in response to your request to express my views on the following two basic issues:

1. Whether rioting, looting, and burning are compatible with the American system of government and whether they will serve to advance the interests of Negro citizens in the United States;

2. Whether or not Communists sincerely have the interests of the Negro at heart and Negroes, therefore, can accept them and work with them in their efforts to achieve full equality in this country.

Before expressing my views on the two basic issues in question, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, I would like to quote from an article I wrote in July 1963, which reads in part as follows:

A BURNING ISSUE

The situation may have changed materially by the time this appears in print, but as of the time of its writing, there is no more burning issue facing the American public than that of Civil Rights.

NOT A PHONY

Let no one be misled into believing that this is a phony issue which will go away if ignored, or that Communists are solely responsible for the current racial unrest and activity in this Country. The origin of the motivation is deep-seated in the Negro himself, in his determined desire to have the same freedom of movement, choice, and opportunity as his fellow Americans of other races.

NOT A SURPRISE

Careful observers of racial trends since World War II, and especially since the Montgomery, Alabama, bus incident in 1955, have not been taken by surprise by what they see today. The coming events clearly cast their shadows before them, but far too many either buried their heads in the sand or assumed the attitude that "when ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise," and refused to become concerned.

It has been abundantly clear to many for several years, that the desire for freedom and a better way of life on the part of underprivileged peoples throughout the world is an ever-rising tide, and the flow of it might be DAMNED but can not be dammed. Nor can this desire be crushed without destroying a major portion of the human race.

TO BLOCK EVOLUTION IS TO INVITE REVOLUTION

. . . In these rapidly changing times, too strenuous efforts to block accelerated evolution in the progress toward social, economic and political justice can but be an open invitation to revolution.

DEBT IN DEFAULT

The promissory note made to the Negro 100 years ago, embodying the American Promise and the American Dream as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Bill of Rights, and proclaimed through the Emancipation Proclamation, fell due long, long ago. . . . The present generation is demanding payment of the principal *now* and in full. This is the temper of the times. The serious question confronting America today is whether or not she will honor and fulfill her obligation.

YOUTH DETERMINED TO COLLECT

The young people are on the march. . . . They will not be deterred by arrests, jail sentences, fire hoses, police dogs, or death itself; for they feel that freedom and *first-class citizenship* are in the air . . . and they are determined to collect the full amount of the promissory note at this time. . . . I am convinced that the walls of segregation and barriers of discrimination based on race must go, and are certain to be washed away by the onrushing tide of history and change.

This article was written 4 years ago.

BRIDGES ACROSS CHASMS

All deprived peoples are still seeking bridges across the chasms separating their state and condition from that of the lands of greater opportunities and better living. The wide, cultural, educational, economic, social and political gaps separating members of the human family must be narrowed and/or bridged soon so that whosoever will may cross over to that better way of life.

The privileged ("the haves") will know no peace or happiness again until these bridges are built. . . . It is because these cries have been unheard so long that we have our Newarks and Detroit of today.

The foregoing statement, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, is not an attempt to justify the riotings, looting, and burnings which have taken place, but rather is an effort to put them in proper perspective.

OPPOSED TO RIOTING, LOOTING, AND BURNING

I would like to make it abundantly clear, however, that while I support all appropriate efforts to have America live up to the ideals and principles upon which the Nation was founded, I do not and cannot support and/or condone the wanton destruction of human life and property. I therefore oppose rioting, looting, and burning and consider them incompatible with the American system of government.

Whether or not from the short-range viewpoint they will serve to advance the interests of Negro citizens in the United States may be debatable. I would observe, however, that that which is taken by force must be held and/or maintained by force unless and until the hearts and minds of those involved are changed.

Right here I would like to read a statement from the current issue of the house organ of my company on the company's position:

[For the More Abundant Life]

According to St. John, 10th Chapter and 10th Verse, one of the purposes of the coming of Jesus was that man might have life and have it more abundantly. This is the objective of the Civil Rights struggle. This, too, is the *mission* of life insurance and the purpose for which North Carolina Mutual was organized, and is the purpose to which it is still dedicated. It seeks *not only to destroy poverty*, but *also the causes of poverty*; and is the enemy *not only of crime but also what breeds it*. Its aim is to help ward off misery, relieve distress, dispel fear and keep hope for the future alive.

[*Against Want and Despair*]

North Carolina Mutual has long been engaged in the war against poverty and want, ignorance, poor housing, despair, and the causes of unemployment and crime; and in trying to convert hopelessness into hopefulness.

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, in his address at the dedication of the Company's new home office building, had this to say:

"A quarter of a century ago, it was the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company which was unique among Negro businesses in recognizing the importance and significance of FHA insured and VA Guaranteed Mortgages. In the mid-forties, 75% of such underwritten mortgages held by Negro-controlled enterprises were in the portfolio of this insurance company . . . there have been scores of instances when no other source of mortgage money was available to a Negro family. . . ."

[*For Understanding and Cooperation*]

During the period of the race riots following World War I, the then General Manager, C. C. Spaulding, wrote the personnel throughout the Company's territory, in part, as follows:

"The delicate issues of our economic and civic life . . . require all the caution, steadfastness, and Christian uprightness which the leaders of both races can summon for their settlement. This is the time for Negroes to talk to our white friends and not *about* them. We must make our position clear to the friends of the race, and with them, guide our country through this perilous time."

It was also pointed out that "cooperation and mutual friendliness of the races is the great hope for the development of the South" and that since "cooperation is a two-way street, the Negro should not be expected to do all the co-ing while the white man does all the operating."

[*The Maturing Negro*]

In addressing 250 agents and other representatives of the Company on June 20, 1919, at White Rock Baptist Church in Durham, Mr. Spaulding said:

"The Negro's future in America depends more on what he does for himself than on what others may do for him. I am proud that the Negro is no longer regarded as a baby, but as a full grown man and must therefore take the place of a man. The Negro is proud of his race and is not trying to get away from it."

[*Faithful to Its Mission and Heritage*]

North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company would be unfaithful to the *Mission* of life insurance, to the purposes for which it was organized, and to its heritage, were it not to support the Negro, and/or any other deprived people, in all legitimate struggles for the "more abundant life." The Company has no other intention than to measure up to its responsibilities as a good citizen in support of all appropriate efforts to have America live up to the ideals and principles upon which the Nation was founded—first class citizenship, and equality of opportunity and treatment for all its citizens. It cannot condone the wanton destruction of human life and property, however, and therefore opposes riots and rioting. To do otherwise would be to engage in a war against its own aims and purposes which are "not to injure nor to pain, but to heal the very causes of sorrow, and to help make a better world for all."

These are sentiments of the company that I represent. With your permission I would like to present a copy of this to you, Mr. McNamara, for the record.

(Document marked "Spaulding Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TUCK. We have a roll call in the House of Representatives. It will be necessary for us to recess. I would suggest that we recess until 2:30.

Mr. SPAULDING. Mr. Chairman, with your permission could I read these two last paragraphs which will cover the statement? And then,

if possible, I should leave here by 3:15 to catch my plane back to Durham, if possible.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, so far as I am concerned, I want to commend Mr. Spaulding. He has a wonderful operation in North Carolina. I appreciate the calm and considerate and intelligent manner in which he has approached this problem. In view of his travel plans, I certainly would have no questions.

Mr. TUCK. I would suggest you complete the statement then.

Mr. SPAULDING. I want to cover the question on Communists.

I am not an authority on Communists by training, experience, or association; but from my limited readings and observations, I am of the opinion that Communists never miss an opportunity to capitalize on dissatisfaction, strife, and turmoil no matter what the cause. It is also my feeling that their alliances are more or less "marriages of convenience," subject to being dissolved when it will serve their interest to do so.

I, therefore, doubt that Communists "sincerely have the interests of the Negro at heart," or that they will work with the Negro in his efforts to achieve full equality in this country beyond the point where it means more to the Negro than it does to the Communists and their cause.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee.

Mr. TUCK. We thank you very much. We appreciate your taking the time to come here and give the committee the benefit of your views.

Mr. SPAULDING. Thank you. I am very happy to have had the privilege of appearing.

STATEMENT OF WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR., ON BEHALF OF NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

Inasmuch as Mr. Young was unable to appear on this date, he submitted the following statement which the chairman authorized to be inserted at this point in the record.

(The statement follows:)

STATEMENT BY WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, PREPARED FOR THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE, WASHINGTON, D.C., OCTOBER 25, 1967

The chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives has requested that the National Urban League express its views on two queries by the committee.

The first question is: "Whether rioting, looting, and burning are compatible with the American system of government and whether they will serve to advance the interests of Negro citizens in the United States."

The National Urban League has repeatedly gone on record as opposing violence and rioting. We submit a statement in which we joined with other organizations in expressing this viewpoint.¹ In the light of the deaths, injuries, arrests, and destruction of Negro-owned property this past summer, it is obvious that the interests of Negro citizens are not advanced by riots. This is recognized by the overwhelming proportion of Negro citizens who did not participate in such activities this summer.

It would be a mistake, however, to expect the millions of Americans who have been denied equal rights and who suffer from prejudice, discrimination, jobless-

¹ See pp. 768, 769.

ness, inadequate housing and education, poor health, and a myriad of other social ills based on poverty and racial discrimination to bear their lot in silence. Their anger at the obvious injustice of their plight and at the lack of massive programs which would end poverty and racism must be recognized. So long as people feel they have nothing to lose, appeals to logic and reason will fail.

The question is not, then, whether rioting is "compatible with the American system of government," but whether the American system of government has been as flexible and as energetic as it should be in including all American citizens in the fruits of our society. If we were to take immediate steps to end the racial gap which condemns a disproportionate number of Negro citizens to poverty and inadequate necessities of life, we would not have to worry about rioting.

The second question posed by the chairman is: "Whether or not Communists sincerely have the interests of the Negro at heart and Negroes therefore can accept them and work with them in their efforts to achieve full equality in this country."

In every country in which there exists a poor and downtrodden group in the population, the Communists have found their strength in that group. In every country that is, but the United States. The Communist Party has spent much time and effort in wooing the Negro population, all to no avail. If anything, its appeal to the Negro population in the United States has been less than with any other group of citizens.

Negro citizens do not want to change the American way of life. The whole history of Negro efforts to secure equality is an indication that Negro citizens desire, above all else, inclusion on an equal basis in American society.

There is little evidence that Communists have any significant influence on the civil rights movement. Their record is not one which inspires trust among Negro citizens, and Negro citizens do not accept them and do not work with them.

The National Urban League welcomes this opportunity to comply with a request for information by a committee of the United States Congress. The National Urban League, Inc., is a professional community service organization committed to securing equal opportunities for Negroes and other minorities in all areas of American life. It is nonpartisan and interracial in its leadership and staff.

[The joint statement referred to on p. 767 follows:]

From: Public Relations Department, National Urban League, 55 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-0302.

Contact: Guichard Parris.

The following is the text of a statement issued jointly by, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney M. Young, Jr., on July 26, 1967, and released from the headquarters offices of the NAACP—20 West 40th Street, New York City:

Developments in Newark, Detroit and other strife-torn cities make it crystal clear that the primary victims of the riot are the Negro citizens. That they have grave grievances of longstanding, cannot be denied or minimized. That the riots have not contributed in any substantial measure to the eradication of these just complaints, is by now obvious to all.

We are confident that the overwhelming majority of the Negro community joins us in opposition to violence in the streets. Who is without the necessities of life when the neighborhood stores are destroyed and looted? Whose children are without milk because deliveries cannot be made? Who loses wages because of a breakdown in transportation or destruction of the place of employment? Who are the dead, the injured and the imprisoned? It is the Negroes who pay and pay and pay, whether or not they are individually involved in the rioting. And what for?

Killing, arson and looting are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke, and call specifically for such action. There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and its people.

We who have fought so long and so hard to achieve justice for all Americans have consistently opposed violence as a means of redress. Riots have proved ineffective, disruptive and highly damaging to the Negro population, to the civil rights cause, and to the entire nation. We call upon Negro citizens throughout the nation to forego the temptation to disregard the law. This does not mean

that we should submit tamely to joblessness, inadequate housing, poor schooling, insult, humiliation and attack. It does require a re-doubling of efforts through legitimate means to end these wrongs and disabilities.

We appeal not only to black Americans, but also to our fellow white citizens who are not blameless. The disabilities imposed upon Negro citizens are a century old. They remain because the white citizenry in general supports these restrictions.

The 90th Congress has exhibited an incredible indifference to hardships of the ghetto dwellers. Only last week, the House defeated a rat-control bill which would have enabled the cities to get rid of the rats which infest the slums. And finally, we fully support President Johnson's call "upon all our people (black and white alike) in all our cities to join in a determined program to maintain law and order, to condemn and to combat lawlessness in all its forms, and firmly to show by word and deed that riot, looting and public disorder will just not be tolerated."

No one benefits under mob law. Let's end it now!

Mr. TUCK. The committee will recess until 2:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., Wednesday, October 25, 1967, the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1967

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:20 p.m., Hon. William M. Tuck presiding. Subcommittee members present: Representatives Tuck and Ashbrook.)

Mr. TUCK. The committee will please come to order.

Mr. McNamara, will you call the next witness, please?

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Evelle J. Younger, please.

Mr. TUCK. Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, to the best of your knowledge and belief?

Mr. YOUNGER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF EVELLE J. YOUNGER

Mr. McNAMARA. Will you state your full name and address for the record?

Mr. YOUNGER. Evelle J. Younger. I reside in Los Angeles at 2461 Chiselhurst Drive.

Mr. McNAMARA. Will you state your position, Mr. Younger?

Mr. YOUNGER. District attorney, Los Angeles County.

Mr. McNAMARA. Will you give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. YOUNGER. I grew up in Nebraska, attended public schools there, and got my A.B. and LL.B. degrees from the University of Nebraska. I took graduate work in criminology at Northwestern University.

Mr. McNAMARA. And your professional background?

Mr. YOUNGER. Following my studies at Northwestern, I entered the FBI as a special agent. I was employed in that capacity until after Pearl Harbor, when I was in the Army for 4 years, serving with the Counterintelligence Corps and with the Office of Strategic Services.

I was later recalled during the Korean war, serving with the Air Force in the Office of Special Investigation.

I am now the research director of OSI of the U.S. Air Force Reserve.

Following World War II, I was, in turn, deputy city attorney in Los Angeles, in the Criminal Division; prosecuting attorney in the

city of Pasadena; and on the municipal and superior courts in Los Angeles for 11 years before I became district attorney in 1964.

Mr. McNAMARA. In the course of your work as a law enforcement officer, have you had occasion to have experience with rioters and rioting?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes. Our first major involvement, of course, was with the Watts riots. Having been involved actively in that insofar as the handling of the approximately 3,500 felony cases was concerned—I should say 2,500 felony prosecutions—and the attendant problems of court calendar, physical movement of prisoners, and so forth, I developed quite a professional interest in cause and effect and followed the other subsequent riots quite closely, through the papers and also through our own investigative sources.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Younger, as a law enforcement officer and the head of the largest public prosecutor's office in the United States, how would you describe or classify a riot?

Mr. YOUNGER. A riot, as I use the term, and without regard to Webster's definition, involves thousands of people engaged in burning, looting, assault, and murder.

A riot, as opposed to an unlawful demonstration or civil disobedience, also involves a complete breakdown of law and order. Whatever else a riot is—racial protest, rebellion, social revolution—it most certainly is one tremendous crime spree.

Mr. McNAMARA. Riots have plagued society for centuries, and there are certain social, economic, and political conditions which have long been recognized as basic elements in a riot situation.

In your opinion, however, is there a new element in our culture which has contributed to the wave of rioting that has taken place in this country during the past few years?

Mr. YOUNGER. In part, riots are excesses attributable to widespread disobedience of, and lack of respect for, law and order. There has not been a time in our recent history when the rule of law was so in jeopardy—not just from militant extremists, but from citizens in all walks of life and all levels of society.

Many Americans regularly and openly disobey laws they don't like. To them the traditional method of seeking changes in the law by urging legislative action seems old fashioned.

We have been experiencing a number of actions by persons who resort to physically coercive methods to effect change which, in effect, amount to a repudiation of the orderly governmental process—professors and clergymen urging young men to resist military service; the editor of the UCLA student newspaper urging students to violate the laws against the use of marijuana; public figures advocating a refusal to pay taxes because the Government finances programs with which they disagree.

These are all examples of conduct which tend to encourage rebellion against all authority, especially among those persons who are not well enough educated or sufficiently sophisticated in their thinking to discern the difference between the classic concept of civil disobedience and the idea of simply breaking laws to accomplish an end which they seek.

It is one thing to deliberately violate a specific law which is believed to be unconstitutional for the purpose of testing that law's constitutionality, but it is an entirely different thing to advocate rioting and law-

breaking by large masses of people to accomplish some political or social change, when the law which is being broken is totally unrelated to the end that is sought to be accomplished.

Overriding this growing tendency to resort to physical coercion is the increasingly popular attitude that because the protesters' cause may be just, they may be excused from responsibility for any transgression.

When police are called upon to perform their duty to preserve order and protect life and property, they are often jeered, insulted, and spat upon by the very people they are paid to protect.

Screams of "police brutality" drown out those who urge higher standards of training and better pay and a higher degree of professionalization to produce better law enforcement. Those interested in more and bigger riots could hardly ask for more.

Mr. McNAMARA. In addition to this, is there a new technical development in our society which, for good or evil, can have an important effect on a riot or a potential riot situation?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes. Unquestionably, the television medium can be a major factor in contributing to or sustaining a riot. A newspaper can also do much to mold and influence public opinion over a period of time.

If I determined to elect or defeat a candidate, promote a bond issue, or obtain passage of very controversial legislation 2 years hence, I would want to own a major newspaper. But, if I wanted thousands of people to do something tomorrow—or even tonight—I would want to own a TV station.

When Knute Rockne wanted to inspire his team to superhuman effort, he did not write out his fight talk and hand it to his players. He spoke to them, fists pounding, red faced, breathing hard, eyeball to eyeball!

Only TV can provide that kind of communication. Only TV can inspire immediate action—good or bad. TV can be the monster or the Jolly Green Giant, depending on how its power is used.

Radio has many of the strengths and weaknesses of both newspapers and television. Radio is, in a sense, less powerful and dangerous than television when it comes to generating immediate action.

Newspapers—like any other private business in America—are operated for profit. Subject only to the laws of libel and contempt of court, a newspaper can be completely irresponsible; and nothing can be done about it so long as enough people buy the paper to keep it operating.

TV, on the other hand, while legitimately interested in making money, does not have the same freedom of operation that newspapers enjoy. TV uses the airways, and the airways belong to the people. The spectrum will only hold so many channels.

The Federal Communications Commission was empowered by a 1934 act to allocate radio and TV channels to be utilized "in the public interest, necessity, and convenience." To encourage a station to maintain this high standard, the act provides that a TV license must be renewed every 3 years. Courts have repeatedly held that a TV station holds a license "as trustee for the people."

There are approximately 641 TV stations in the United States. Not once has the FCC ever lifted a license. The FCC must believe, there-

fore, that each and every TV station is being operated "in the public interest, necessity, and convenience."

What is the "public interest"? Using that as a yardstick, what should be shown on TV and what should not? There are no easy answers, particularly when we are concerned with TV coverage during demonstrations, protests, and actual or potential riots.

For example, if Rap Brown is making an inflammatory speech before 20 people—and that is about as good as he can do without TV—should TV come along and give him an audience of several million?

It is exciting viewing, but is it in the public interest?

Suppose during a near-riot situation in a major city the head of the NAACP calls a meeting designed to discuss problems and ease tensions. Suppose 500 people are listening attentively as he gives a calm, reasonable analysis of the situation. Suppose a member of an extremist group crashes the meeting and, before anyone can stop him, runs to the stage shouting hysterical accusations and threats against "Whitey." Who gets the most TV coverage? The hate-filled extremist, or the responsible head of the NAACP? What about the public interest?

When does TV stop reporting news and start creating news? At a recent Ku Klux Klan convention in southern California, there were literally more TV cameras present than delegates.

Suppose that during a riot 100 policemen are trying to disperse a crowd which remains in a public park in violation of the curfew. Ninety-nine policemen go calmly and efficiently about their jobs. They move with caution and restraint. They submit to jeers, insults, even minor physical abuse. Suddenly one policeman breaks under the strain, starts screaming obscenities and flailing about with his nightstick, hitting anyone in range—men, women, or children. Should that be televised? It is true. It is honest reporting. It is dramatic. Is it in the public interest?

Should rioters be able to use TV as a means of publishing battle orders?

Suppose during a lull in a big city riot, a person who had admittedly taken part in the riot was saying, "It ain't over yet. We are just getting warmed up. It's still 'burn, baby, burn!' But tonight it's not Watts, but Bel Air. If you want some action, be there at 10 o'clock." Should that go over the air? Is it in the public interest? It would certainly create a great story. There would be excitement in Bel Air and great viewing for the stay-at-homes. But how about the public interest?

Not too long ago, the famous Sunset Strip became a hangout of hippies, agitators, and unruly juveniles. Before long, the Strip attracted public interest. It is now a matter of record that on several occasions the crowds erupted into a frenzy of senseless violence.

Here is what the news editor of KPOL in Los Angeles reports in the spring 1967 issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review*:

More than once during the Sunset Strip trouble, reporters, cameramen and soundmen from at least two stations, one of them network owned and operated, encouraged the crowd to violence. Their shouts amounted to: "C'mon, let's have some excitement. How about rolling a car? You're on TV!" The crowds became a mob; windows were broken, cars were damaged, and citizens were terrorized.

On the other hand, television can respond responsibly and in the public interest to prevent the eruption of a riot. For example, on

May 7, 1966, less than a year after the Watts riot, Leonard Deadwyler was killed by a policeman's bullet after a 5-mile high-speed pursuit through residential and commercial Los Angeles streets. One officer had approached the curbed Deadwyler car on the right side. He reached across the woman passenger in the front seat and pointed his gun toward the driver. The car had not come to a full stop. It lurched forward. The officer's feet left the ground, the gun went off, and the driver was fatally shot through the chest.

It turned out later that Mrs. Deadwyler, the passenger in the front seat, was pregnant and had said she was in labor and was being taken that night to the hospital. A white handkerchief had been tied to the automobile's radio antenna. Its purpose—according to later statements—was to alert others to the emergency nature of the trip.

The Deadwylers were Negroes. The officer was white. I might add, too, Mr. Deadwyler was intoxicated, with a blood alcohol reading of .35, and his driving at speeds of 70, 80, 90 miles an hour through commercial and residential areas obviously suggested to the officer that he was chasing more than just a speeding driver. So the officer was alert to every possibility when he arrived at the car. I might say also Mrs. Deadwyler did not give birth for 2½ months. She was not in labor that night.

In any event, almost immediately after the tragedy, from Watts and other communities largely inhabited by Negroes, there were charges of police brutality, of "legalized murder" by officers, and similar allegations. A tense and sometimes bitter atmosphere spread through many Los Angeles neighborhoods.

It was at this time, when tension was great and suspicion and resentment were increasing steadily and swiftly, that a coroner's inquest was about to start. The largest courtroom available could not accommodate more than 300. Many of those who could not get in muttered angrily that they were kept out deliberately and that the whole procedure was "rigged."

Inside, the packed courtroom was equally noisy, the atmosphere equally bitter, and when sheriff's deputies tried to clear the aisles they were greeted with jeers. The inquest was delayed. It was impossible to get started that day.

At this point, representatives of KTLA-TV in Los Angeles decided it would be a good thing if all persons—those in the courthouse and others at home—could see and hear the inquest. This station offered to take all conflicting daytime programs off the air and carry every minute of the sessions, no matter how long they went on. The coroner agreed to this proposal, and live coverage started.

As each day passed, tempers in the community cooled, and crowds in the courtroom grew smaller. Eventually, there were vacant seats in the courtroom at all times. Several million persons were home watching the inquest from the calm and comfort of their living rooms.

When the last session was over and the jury came in, the community accepted without excitement the verdict that the death was accidental, and the officer should not be prosecuted.

The inquest lasted 8 days. KTLA cameras and newscaster George Putnam covered the proceedings with a high degree of skill that made a tremendous contribution to public understanding. It enabled the citizens to see the machinery of justice in action, and it explained the

processes, so nobody could successfully argue that any facts were suppressed.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Younger, what, in your opinion, are some of the basic factors in the creation of a potential riot situation?

Mr. YOUNGER. Again, now talking about a full-blown riot, as opposed to demonstrations, civil disobedience, and so forth, there are, in my opinion, four indispensable conditions which must exist in a community before a full-blown riot can occur.

First, hot, humid weather. In recent years there has never been a successful riot in a snowstorm, or a heavy rainstorm is also bad.

Second, there must exist a disadvantaged minority, a group that has been mistreated by the majority—in ways ranging from polite discrimination to physical abuse—for a substantial period of time. Any kind of minority will do, but historically most major riots have involved religious, ethnic, or racial minorities.

Often throughout our history this condition has existed to a substantial degree—for example, during the early period, when the Irish were the favorite target of the majority, and later when the Italian-Americans in the East and the orientals in California took the brunt.

There has never been a period in our history, however, when this condition existed to the degree that it exists today. Unlike the Irish and Italians, the Negro did not come to this country voluntarily, so his resentment against mistreatment is logically greater. Also, the Negro, though a free American for over 100 years, has been the target of discrimination and prejudice during this entire time—a more than adequate period. Also, fortunately or unfortunately, the Negro looks “different” and is easy to identify.

Then, too, the Negro minority is just the right size. Five percent is adequate; 10 percent is ideal for riot purposes. The Negro comprises 11 percent of our population.

Third, tension must exist between the races. If this tension reaches the level of hysteria, as it has in some cities in this country, then the riot climate is ideal.

Speaking of tension, we cannot be surprised when we hear the Powells, Carmichaels, and Rap Browns cry, “Blood will flow!” “Riots are essential!” “Go get your guns!” et cetera, et cetera, et cetera. But we must be amazed to see the help these extremists get from some supposedly reasonable people.

For example, I recent heard a self-proclaimed civil rights leader in my community say that unless a certain number of jobs were created immediately and given to persons without regard to skill or qualifications, there would certainly be another Watts. When I accused him of inviting trouble, he was highly incensed and claimed he was just reporting the “facts.”

It has become standard operating procedure for a city, county, State, or Federal legislator or administrator who wants to dip into the pork barrel and get millions of dollars poured into his district under some poorly planned and potentially useless project to urge passage on the basis that it is essential to prevent a riot.

Recently, the Republican Coordinating Committee in Washington accused the President of playing politics and refusing to act to prevent a riot in Detroit, and Lyndon Johnson, understandably irritated, forgot that a President is supposed to rise above this sort of thing

and responded by blaming Governor Romney for not stopping the riot there. On the same day, Senator McClellan blamed the Supreme Court for "creating an atmosphere in which riots flourish." A few days later, Governor Romney, in a most intemperate statement, accused President Johnson of lying. These are examples of tension-creating incidents occurring at the highest governmental level.

Fourth, there must be the widespread disobedience of, and lack of respect for, law and order, which I mentioned earlier.

When these "conditions" exist in sufficient degree, a riot will start. Some Communists and extremists claim credit for starting certain of the recent riots, but they are just bragging. The fact is, all the recent riots have started accidentally, triggered by some explainable incident.

The incident usually, but not always, involves a confrontation between a Negro and a white policeman; but in Hartford, Connecticut, a fight between two Negroes was sufficient. The rumor following the incident has normally been more important than the incident.

In Watts, the rumor that the police were beating a pregnant Negro woman—who was not pregnant and was not beaten—started the riot.

In Newark, a Negro taxi driver was arrested for a traffic violation, but the false rumor that he had been killed by a white policeman triggered the riot.

Normally, after the incident, the rumor follows; the crowd gathers following the rumor; then, if someone starts throwing rocks and breaking windows—and so far, someone always has—the riot starts.

Mr. McNAMARA. Generally speaking, Mr. Younger, what kind of people, from your observation, take part in riots, and what percentage of a community do these people usually comprise?

Mr. YOUNGER. In recent riots involving Negroes, rarely have more than 5 to 10 percent of the Negroes in the community actively supported or participated in the riots. The responsible Negroes—the other 90 to 95 percent—are the big losers in any riot and they are understandably more frightened by and critical of those who participate in the riots than are members of the white community.

The riot-prone group—the 5 to 10 percent who get involved—breaks down as follows: a very small percentage are the extremists, the haters, those whose feelings against "Whitey" are deep and violent. They are blinded by rage. They will burn nine Negro dwellings to get one owned by a white man. They claim, and possibly believe, that by promoting violence they promote the welfare of the Negro. Actually, and unfortunately, this conviction is strengthened by the fact that, after a riot in a particular city, we move in, spend massive amounts of money, and try to do things we should have done 50 years ago.

Most of those in this group are young and they are psychotic. Each is a potential killer. These are the bombers and snipers. These are the ones who give the killing of policemen and firemen top priority in any riot. This group of extremists is very small, but seems to be growing steadily.

White extremists have not been actively involved in any recent major riot. It has been rumored, however, that white extremists have given financial support to black extremists. I have seen no confirmation of this rumor, but there is considerable logic behind it. For example, if I were the head of a white extremist group held together by hatred of the Negro and had some money in the treasury, I would

give that money to some militant revolutionist like Rap Brown or Stokely Carmichael, who preaches hate, violence, and rebellion and who, for some reason I will never understand, manages to get massive attention in the media, far out of proportion to his importance. I cannot imagine a more effective way to slow the progress of the Negro.

In addition to the haters, you have a small percentage of political extremists and agitators—principally Communists—involved in every riot. These people want riots to occur for political reasons. You also have a small percentage of professional or confirmed criminals—mostly thieves—who want riots to occur because they can operate at maximum speed with minimum risk in a riot. For example, I recall one professional burglar who had a ball during the Watts riots. As soon as things really got going, he backed a moving van up to the rear door of an appliance store and cleaned out the store. He got as far east as Kansas City, driving his van full of stoves, TV sets, and refrigerators, before he was caught.

These racists, haters, political extremists, and agitators and the confirmed criminals are the real villains. They are criminals in the truest sense. They are dangerous. They comprise at most 20 percent of the participants in any modern American riot. They probably are strong enough to start a riot, but they have not started one yet—they have not found it necessary. Enough riots start accidentally to keep any extremist or criminal reasonably happy.

Certainly, after a riot starts, this group moves in fast and pours fuel on the flames and tries to make the riot as bloody, as damaging, and as extensive as possible. The fact is, though, that while this 20 percent could probably start a riot, they cannot sustain it. Only the remaining 80 percent of the 5 to 10 percent can sustain a riot, make it last anywhere from 24 hours to a week.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Younger, will you suspend? We have a call for a vote. We will be right back.

Mr. McNAMARA. There will be a recess just long enough for the members to go over to the floor and return.

(A brief recess was taken.)

(The subcommittee reconvened with Representatives Tuck and Watson present.)

Mr. TUCK. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Younger, I believe you were answering the question of the type person who usually becomes involved in a riot at the time the committee recessed. Would you care to complete your answer?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes. I referred to the haters, the extremists, the political agitators, the Communists, the professional criminals. These people all put together represent only about 20 percent of the persons involved in a riot. That leaves the 80 percent.

Now, this 80 percent of these people in this group are not sufficiently stable or responsible to be part of the 90 to 95 percent of the Negro community who are not potential rioters. On the other hand, they are not confirmed criminals. They are not basically bad. We might characterize them as junior-grade criminals. They are the looters, the burners, and the rock throwers. They are the backbone of any riot. Most of them have been previously arrested, but that is not significant—the fact that a Negro in a shum area has been arrested does not

necessarily mean that he has done anything wrong. Many have prior convictions, usually misdemeanors, usually petty theft.

These junior-grade criminals, however, have one thing in common—a resentment toward the so-called power structure. Consciously or subconsciously, they harbor a grudge. In some, the hatred or resentment is deep enough to permit them to burn buildings. In others, it is not that strong, but strong enough to enable them to participate in looting. In others, it is strong enough only for rock throwing. In some, it is so weak that the person would not even steal, except that the riot provides an irresistible opportunity.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Younger, if you wanted to start a riot, what kind of a city would you select as a target?

Mr. YOUNGER. I would select a city where the conditions I outlined above exist in abundant measure. It need not be a big city—even Waterloo, Iowa, a town of 75,000, will do—so long as the necessary conditions exist. I would not select a city that has recently experienced a riot.

Once citizens of a community know a riot can happen, they try harder to prevent a repeat. It is difficult to start a second riot. Also, the police are better prepared after the first riot. For example, there is a very critical period after the first rock is thrown, the first window broken, when the police can move in with massive but restrained force, and possibly prevent a riot.

The first time, however, police action is not likely to be swift and decisive enough. That, of course, is understandable. Just as a puppy who is spanked every time he barks is not likely to be a good watchdog, so is a police department that for years has been accused of being overly aggressive apt to be not aggressive enough. In Los Angeles and Newark, the police did not overreact; they underreacted. You cannot count on that a second time.

Also—and this might surprise you—I would not select Los Angeles, Newark, or Detroit; but I would select a city like these—a city where some effort has been made to help the Negro. I would not select a city where the Negro is no better off than he was 25 years ago, where there has been no progress or attempt at progress. I would select a community where the voters have elected Negro Congressmen or State legislators or city councilmen or have representatives on the police commission.

A little bit of freedom is a heady wine. When a Negro has a taste of a better life, he understandably wants more. The perfect rioter is one who has experienced excitement, who has tasted a bit of success and is hungry for much of it, who has achieved minor gains and now demands massive rewards as his due.

Mr. McNAMARA. Having selected your target city, Mr. Younger, what would you then do to trigger a riot?

Mr. YOUNGER. I would step up existing tensions by increasing the anger, fear, resentment, and/or frustration of the disadvantaged minority and then wait for, or create, the incident which will trigger the riot.

Mr. McNAMARA. What specific steps would you take to do this?

Mr. YOUNGER. I would select a white extremist, a Nazi, or a member of the KKK to go on one of the radio or TV "talk" shows, where the wilder and more antagonistic the guest, the more time and exposure he gets, and have him relate the rumor over the air that 100 Negro

snipers have been imported from some named city outside the State to shoot up, not Watts, but Beverly Hills, Glendale, and San Marino. I would encourage him to brandish a firearm, if the host on the show would permit it, and say something like, "By God, let 'em come. I'm ready!"

Just to be on the safe side, I would arrange for several other people to repeat this on all the talk shows as often as possible. Then, I would have another person phone in and say that he is a gun dealer and has only five weapons left.

Every gun in town would, of course, be sold within a matter of hours. The Negro extremists would react as anticipated. Policemen would naturally get worried and show it. Leaves would be canceled. The police chief or sheriff or district attorney would say, "Keep calm"—but no one would be listening.

I would then arrange for a TV commentator to bring a TV camera and crew and accompany me into the area selected as the site for the riot. Of course, it would be in a Negro area, preferably the worst in the city.

Most TV station managers and commentators are responsible citizens. They know that TV is an immensely powerful force—for good or bad. But some commentators and stations are preoccupied with ratings and will do almost anything to get dramatic, exciting footage. I would recruit one of this kind. This commentator would probably know all the tricks, but here are some suggestions I could pass on to him:

Find a black nationalist and ask him his reaction to the way the whites are buying up all the guns. He will say that this proves what he has been saying all along, that Whitey is out to exterminate the Negro and that the Negro must move first—"Kill or be killed!"

Then find another youth screaming, "Burn, baby, burn!" or "Get Whitey!" or some similar war cry. This kind always loves to go on TV and gets twice as wild when the filming starts. Before he goes on, ask him if he heard the rumor that 30 minutes before, in another area of the city, a white policeman shot and killed a Negro teenager for stealing a package of cigarettes from a drugstore. Naturally, he will relate the rumor as fact on the air and scream a call to all blood brothers to arm themselves.

I would tell the commentator, "Be sure you don't let the head of the Urban League or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People get on the air and try to calm people down."

I would ask him to stick around as long as possible after the riot starts. "You'll be safe as long as you have film in your camera. Be sure and identify and film the first liquor store that is broken into, so that some inclined to stay at home will get into the act. Concentrate on shots of violence. For example, when a policeman reacts to provocation, show the reaction, not the provocation. If someone kicks a policeman in the groin, don't film that; but be sure and have the camera on when the policeman strikes out to defend himself."

Having started the TV operation, I would then move on until I found two Negro young men fighting. It should not be difficult. Teenagers—white or black—are inclined to be physical. I would phone the police, tell them a gang of Negro teenagers was attacking a white man.

When the first police car arrived, I would phone again and give another false report and get another car to the same area.

The crowd would be growing fast. I would have others phone in more false reports and get more police cars. The more the better. If other fights had not started by this time and if the police had not yet been stoned or spat upon, I would go up to someone in the rear of the crowd—where they could not see the police clearly—and tell him that I saw one of the white policemen in the back seat of a police car pistol whipping one of the Negro teenagers who had his hands cuffed behind him and his feet chained together.

By this time, I would have started an A-1, king-size, bloody riot!

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Younger, I hate to interrupt you, but we are engaged in a sort of foot exercise. We have another very important vote. We will have to recess a few minutes and then come back.

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Chairman, all I have left is in the nature of a conclusion. May I leave a written copy of my conclusions and ask you to incorporate that into the record? Would that be of assistance to you, or would you rather I wait?

Mr. TUCK. We would like to have you do that, but we would like to ask you a few questions.

Mr. YOUNGER. I will be happy to wait. I thought you might want to save the time.

(A brief recess was taken.)

(The subcommittee reconvened with Representatives Tuck and Watson present.)

Mr. TUCK. Go ahead, Mr. McNamara.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Younger, do you have any suggestions that you would make on steps that could be taken to eliminate or at least to reduce the possibility of riots in the future?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes, I do, and let me say, Mr. Chairman, I suspect everybody in America has an opinion on riots and what could be done, and should be done, to stop them. And I suppose everyone would like the opportunity to express their personal opinion on what to do to stop them.

I am grateful to you for inviting me here and giving me a chance to express myself.

I think I know what we in America must do in order to stop riots, but we may not yet be ready to do what must be done.

Sooner or later we are going to have to do two things:

First, we must insist that all Americans obey all our laws at all times, *period*. Not just the laws they like, but all laws, *period*. Not just when a policeman is polite and has the preferred color skin, but always, *period*. We must make everyone obey the law, not just the bad guys with guns or burglar tools, but college professors and famous people whose hearts are pure and who are just trying to stop the war in Vietnam—everyone, *period*.

You have been hearing similar statements from prominent politicians and public officials for months. But if you have listened closely, there has always been a qualification: Laws must be obeyed, *but*; not laws must be obeyed, *period*. Laws must be obeyed, "but unless we create more jobs, there will be more riots," or "but unless we spend X billion dollars on slum clearance and higher welfare payments, blood

will flow," or "but you can't expect people without hope to respect the law," et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

The time has come to say the law must be enforced and obeyed, *period*. The President of the United States said for the first time on July 27, 1967, during his statement to the American people concerning the riots, "The law must be enforced and obeyed, *period*." When every responsible citizen in the United States says the law must be enforced and obeyed, *period*—then we are ready for Step II. Step I without Step II will not provide a permanent solution.

Here is Step II: Free the slaves.

Are we ready for that yet? I wonder. If so, we must be absolutely honest with ourselves and the Negro. To ourselves, let us admit we have not done what is necessary so that the Negro will be treated equally with the white American. And we must be honest with the Negro and say we are not talking about equal cars or equal homes or equal salary, but equal opportunity.

What have we done in the past? The average white American has practiced discrimination in varying ways in varying degrees. He will vote against a school bond issue that would provide needed new educational facilities in a Negro district, then help prepare gift boxes to distribute to poor Negroes at Christmas time to demonstrate lack of prejudice.

We have been afraid to let the Negro come all the way up. We have been afraid to give him equal educational and employment opportunities. Let us face it. We might have successfully kept the Negro in slavery, but we cannot keep him half free.

When the day comes that a Negro child has the same life expectancy as a white child born on the same day, when a Negro child entering kindergarten has the same eventual opportunity to get a job as his white classmate, and when the Negro can live any place he can afford without insults or harassment, then on that day Stokely Carmichael will not be able to afford a trip to Cuba or Vietnam.

Let us be honest and admit that just throwing money at the Negro problem has not made it go away. In the past, after a riot occurs, we have poured money into the area; but we often spend it not to provide opportunity, but as a bribe. We say, in effect, "Here, Negroes, are X million dollars. Spend it; any way; spend it fast; there's more where that came from; but please—no more riots."

It is going to cost an enormous amount to give the Negro and other disadvantaged minorities equal opportunities across the board. Let us spend money wisely on true job skill training and placement and on projects like Headstart and compensatory education programs that truly speed the day when the Negro has equal educational opportunities, and not on absurd antipoverty programs where we hire unqualified people to do unnecessary jobs and where we hire untrained and inexperienced, unemployable people to administer the program, so the cost of administration will be over 50 percent and we can get rid of the money faster. This particular program at least provides the poor Negro with a good laugh. It truly does. They really get a good laugh out of that.

It will not be easy or cheap to provide equality of opportunity for the Negro, and it will take a long time. When all Americans are truly ready, then progress can be made. I say let us do it now. The sooner

the better, not because we love all our fellow human beings as we do ourselves—that is too much to expect—but because enlightened self-interest requires that we solve the so-called minority problem permanently—and there is no other way to do it.

Finally, I offer a suggestion. While we are working out our problems, let us get rid of our national inferiority complex. Government should cease its preoccupation with introspection and feelings of guilt and should stop espousing the idea that society is at fault for riots. This self-pity syndrome is extremely dangerous. Let us stop worrying about what the Russians and Chinese Communists will say about us. Let us say to the world: "Sure, we have problems—we have problems because our citizens, including Negro citizens, enjoy a higher degree of freedom than has been enjoyed in any other country in the history of the world. When we have trouble with a minority, we don't exterminate the minority. We try to solve the problem. Our system of government isn't perfect. It's just the best ever devised by man!"

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me the chance to appear.

(At this point, Mr. Ichord entered the hearing room.)

MR. TUCK. We thank you very much for taking the time to come here today.

I would like to apologize for the committee for these several interruptions. When we invited you here, we could not foresee that.

MR. YOUNGER. Not at all, Mr. Chairman. As a taxpayer, I am glad to see the conscientious manner in which our Congressmen operate.

MR. TUCK. We try to get ourselves recorded as much as we can, particularly on important matters such as we have on the floor today.

Thank you for your expert testimony here on the subject of how riots may be started.

I believe you brought us a very sensible answer as to how riots may be stopped, that is, by firm adherence to the enforcement of law and to require strict obedience of the law on the part of all persons, irrespective of positions in society or official life, local or national, they may occupy.

I have been a strong adherent to that view. I have had responsibilities along that line in law enforcement in the past. I have insisted on it, and we have law enforcement in our State most of the time.

I believe, as you indicate you do here in your statement, that law enforcement can be maintained at the local and State level. The difficulty in some areas is that outsiders, those representing outside organizations, the Federal Government, even, have sent men in there who seem to have the effect of impeding or hampering the police or harassing them.

I believe that the citizens in the localities and States in our Nation are competent to enforce the law, if given free rein and encouraged to do so.

I was rather astonished, however, to hear you state that none of the riots had been caused by any outside influence, that they just happened.

I am not an authority on that subject, but we have had some disturbances not too far away from my home. According to the press, as I understood it, in Cambridge, Maryland, some woman came over there and agitated those people and started one of the riots. Then they had a second riot in Cambridge, started by Stokely Carmichael.

I have the feeling that while conditions may be ripe for riots in

certain cities, certain areas of the country, the riots frequently, or most always, are caused by some outside agitator.

Mr. YOUNGER. I do not think that has happened in the major riots so far, sir. I think outside agitators have moved in as fast as they could. I have described the categories, that certainly Stokely Carmichael would fit my description as a racist and as a hater, and the Communists and criminals, they will move in fast.

I also said they could start a riot. I could start riot. If I had a television camera and crew, I could start a riot in any city in the country, given these conditions.

A small group of dedicated Communists could start a riot, but it just has not been necessary so far. As I say, we have enough riots accidentally to keep any of those people well satisfied.

Mr. TUCK. We have not had many of them in the past. We went through the worst depression known in history in the 1930's. People all over the country, all races, suffered financial distress and some deprivation. We did not have any rioting.

Mr. YOUNGER. You mean during the depression?

Mr. TUCK. Sir?

Mr. YOUNGER. I did not hear all that.

Mr. TUCK. During the depression of the 1930's, which was probably the worst depression this country ever experienced.

Mr. YOUNGER. On the contrary, you can get some authorities who say not only riots, but crime generally, was at the lowest level of our history during the course of the great depression.

There are all sorts of explanations for this. One is that people were out of jobs, they stayed home, and the family unit spent more time together and were more of a unit than ever since. There were fewer families where the father and mother were working. For whatever reason, the fact is that crime was very low during the depression.

Mr. TUCK. I commend you also for your statement in regard to your undertaking to solve all these problems by the appropriations of public money. That amounts, in my judgment, to what appears to be blackmail. "If you don't give us so much money, we will have a riot."

Mr. YOUNGER. I agree completely.

Mr. TUCK. Do you have any questions, Mr. Watson?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank Mr. Younger for coming over and giving us his very forthright testimony. Certainly he has had experience in an area where they have suffered a very devastating riot.

Watts is in your district?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. I share the sentiments of the chairman of the subcommittee in calling for a firm and effective law enforcement policy and respect for the law, period, without the buts, ifs, ands, and the equivocations.

I see from your testimony, and as I listened to it, you attached a lot of blame to the TV medium for either instigating the riot or at least prolonging it or aggravating it.

Was that the situation in Watts?

Mr. YOUNGER. No.

Mr. WATSON. Since you have made that statement, I will not argue this matter, but I notice a lot of conjecture in here as to what might

be done to start a riot. Let us get down to the facts. I agree with you that you could start one, as you have outlined.

What precipitated it in Watts? Was it the TV, or what was it?

Mr. YOUNGER. No, I don't think television, and I respectfully suggest that if you check my statement again you will find, rather than a criticism of television, a concern that television is so powerful that the potential for doing great damage during the riot is there.

The Watts riot was in no way caused or prolonged by television, in my opinion. The thing that triggered it was this thing I said, the incident involving the woman.

The conditions were all there: the hot, humid weather, the area in town which was depressed; and in that connection it is interesting to note, if you have been to Watts, it is not that bad. Watts, for example, compared to Harlem, looks pretty good.

This is another thing we learned during the Watts riots. People in Harlem don't compare themselves to people in the Congo. People in Watts don't compare themselves with people in Harlem. The people in Watts compare themselves with people in Bel Air. That is where the dissatisfaction comes.

All those elements existed. Then you had a woman, a female barber, a Negro woman who had a smock on. She looked pregnant. The police officers were engaged in arresting two young men for driving under the influence of liquor.

In the course of the arrests, the crowd gathered. They were insulting and booing the police, and so forth. Somebody, as the police were leaving with these two young men under arrest, somebody in the crowd spit on one of the policemen. The policeman thought it was this woman.

Just to show you how ironic it can be, she was not the one that spit on the policeman.

They grabbed her. They tried to pull her out of the crowd. A tug of war ensued. The rumor got started back in the crowd—they could not see what was going on—somebody said, "They are beating up a pregnant woman."

The story spread. It was at that moment that they started throwing stones at the police car.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Younger, prior to that, had you noticed any agitation, and so forth, which would give rise to conditions that would permit the triggering of such a massive riotous condition?

Do you mean to tell me that you and the officers were unaware of any agitation by any group or any individual in the Watts area?

Mr. YOUNGER. Certainly there is always, and there has been for years, and I am afraid there will be for years to come, agitators in every large city. Some agitate on the basis of race. Some have other causes. There was the normal activity along those lines. There were the junior-grade Stokely Carmichaels, and so forth, that were expressing dissatisfaction over various things.

But if you mean was there any increased amount of agitation, any program of fomenting violence, something that should have warned us that a riot was going to occur, I will say "no."

I will concede that a great many people in our community, after the Watts riots, said they knew the riots were going to occur, but I never heard them say that before the riots.

Mr. WATSON. In other words, you never observed or had presented to you any evidence of leaflets or pamphlets or anything else being circulated by any organization or any individual in the Watts area, trying to capitalize on this explosive situation?

Mr. YOUNGER. As I say, you will always get a certain amount of that, but there was no increased or stepped-up activity along those lines just prior to the Watts riots.

Mr. WATSON. We are not concerned, necessarily—at least I am not—about stepped-up activity.

Are you aware of any organization that was engaging in any activity in this regard prior to the riot? If so, could you name that organization? Such as RAM, the Black Panthers, or the Communist Party, U.S.A.? Do they have an office, the U.S. Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist group?

Mr. YOUNGER. They have an office of sorts, I guess, that moves around from time to time. I don't know where it is currently located.

We certainly have that information in our files. I am sure they were distributing pamphlets prior to the Watts riots, just as they probably are doing today out there, but on a very small scale.

It would be a mistake, I think, because they were distributing pamphlets. They have been distributing pamphlets since I got out of high school, and it would be a mistake, I think, to assume that because they were distributing pamphlets that that had anything to do with the Watts riots.

There were no political overtones at all to that crowd that gathered around the officers when they were trying to arrest these two boys for drunk driving. That group had started the riots, started them spontaneously, because they thought the police were beating a pregnant Negro woman.

There were no political overtones or implications in it at that time. It would be simple if there were. I wish that I had evidence, and it would be a nice thing if we could blame all the riots on the Communists, the black nationalists, or something like that. Then we could all go out and round them up and solve our problems. But it is not that easy.

Mr. WATSON. In other words, you do not consider the activity of this Communist group or any other group of any consequence out there?

Mr. YOUNGER. Not in the Watts riot or the major riots we have had so far.

I say that they could start a riot in any major city. Right now they could.

Mr. WATSON. Then if they could, Mr. District Attorney, would not a part of the process of inciting to riot be the distribution of inflammatory leaflets and pamphlets? You would not tell us that they have not done that in your area, would you?

Mr. YOUNGER. I say as long as I can remember there have been Communists and other political agitators distributing leaflets and pamphlets. That is certainly true.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. D.A., I don't want to interrupt you. Perhaps we have taken this activity too lightly and that has given rise over the course of years to the explosion we had last summer back in Watts. Would that not be a reasonable conclusion?

Mr. YOUNGER. You mean taken too lightly the distribution of the leaflets?

Mr. WATSON. I mean the effect this distribution might have upon the people during a hot period, when you have, I assume, additional young people out of school, and so forth, the effect this inflammatory material might have on them.

Mr. YOUNGER. I suppose, it is a personal thing, I suppose I have been somewhat more concerned than maybe the average person. I don't think that so far as I am personally concerned I have been unmindful of the effect that these leaflets, and so forth, might have on people. I don't know if the community generally has taken it too lightly.

Mr. WATSON. A group of people who are distressed and denied various opportunities, as you say they have been, would they not be more susceptible to inflammatory leaflets of this nature?

Mr. YOUNGER. I believe so.

Mr. WATSON. As a consequence, should we not be more concerned about the possible effect?

I have heard some people say, well, there are only a handful of people. I can go out myself and get me a printing press and print up a hundred thousand leaflets, and if I put them in the right hands, although I am one individual, I believe it would have a rather adverse effect, so far as fomenting dissidence and discord. Would that not be a fair observation?

Mr. YOUNGER. I think that is so. I think there is no question but what this would be an effect.

I also think that there is a built-in dissatisfaction and discord in many cities in the country for a variety of reasons so that it really is not necessary for the Communists to create discord, because it already exists in ample degree in many communities.

Mr. WATSON. But they would exploit it and take advantage of it; would they not, sir?

Mr. YOUNGER. No question about it.

Mr. WATSON. That is where we do have some degree of serious concern, or should we not?

Mr. YOUNGER. I agree.

As I said before, I think the only reason we have not had some Communists or, rather, extremists start a riot is for the very simple reason that—I am not being facetious when I say there has been enough to keep them satisfied. We have had enough riots to satisfy every Communist in the country. If that were not the case, I think the Communists could start a riot in any major city in the United States.

Mr. WATSON. Perhaps you and I might differ on that score. I don't think the Communists are ever satisfied. I believe it is their intention to break down our system of government. I don't believe they will be satisfied until it is completed.

Mr. YOUNGER. If we have a few more summers like last summer, that could happen.

That is what I meant when I said that I think even the most extreme should reasonably have been satisfied with the trouble we had in our Nation last summer. Certainly we could not tolerate that every summer. That is obvious.

Mr. WATSON. On page 11 of your testimony you state as a fact, "The fact is, all the recent riots have started accidentally, triggered by some explainable incident."

I have heard to the contrary about Chicago. Are you aware of what triggered that, where the woman was killed by the fire truck?

Mr. YOUNGER. I have heard that.

You mean the riot in Chicago was planned?

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. YOUNGER. I have heard that about every riot. I have heard that about Watts and Newark and every place else. I have not seen evidence to that effect. You may have. I have not.

I have sent members of our Bureau of Investigation to personally work with other police agencies during the course of these riots to see if we could find any evidence of a pattern that might help us predict where the next riot was going to occur, and so forth.

I have never seen any evidence to the effect that any of the major riots were deliberately started or deliberately planned.

Mr. WATSON. After they erupt spontaneously, who comes in and carries the ball in order to prolong it?

Mr. YOUNGER. The people who want riots, and that includes the Communists, the haters, and the criminals. They are there as fast as they can be, in every instance.

Mr. WATSON. Can you give us any positive evidence of Communist implication?

I am not trying to pin you down, but I just want to try to establish a fact here. Is or is it not?

Mr. YOUNGER. I don't know how to say it any differently than I have said it.

I think in every riot in every city in the country the local police department can identify and can provide you with the names of known Communists that appear on the scene as soon as a riot starts.

I don't have that information at present, but I have received from other police departments throughout the city that type of information, people who appeared and tried to keep the riot going, tried to prolong it, and so forth, but this is again in the nature of moving it along after it started.

Mr. WATSON. You state on page 12, "This group of extremists is very small, but seems to be growing steadily."

That is based upon factual information that you have obtained in the course of your responsibilities as district attorney and directly involved with law enforcement?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes; although I think you could base it just on the reading of the daily newspapers, the number of extremist groups that spring up and their membership.

It used to be that the Muslims were about the only group of its kind. Now they are just one of a great many of the type of group who believe in varying degrees in black power, black supremacy, and so forth.

There are a great many Muslim-type organizations now, with larger membership. That is what I base that statement on, that they seem to be growing.

Mr. WATSON. I have one final question.

On page 13, again referring back to the extremist groups, you say, "They probably are strong enough to start a riot, but they have not started one yet."

Mr. YOUNGER. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. Factually, there is no basis for that statement. That is an assumption upon your best judgment, because I would assume, in view of your earlier answer, that you could not give me any direct involvement by Communists per se, or others, that you could not answer that positively, but yet it is a subjective determination on your part.

Mr. YOUNGER. I suppose there is a certain amount of opinion, based on all of this. Every time an investigator in any police agency conducts an investigation, and I read that investigation report and arrive at certain conclusions, I suppose it could be argued that what I was doing was forming an opinion based on that investigation.

If that is what we mean by "opinion," then it is opinion. On the other hand, we certainly made every effort in the Watts riots to see if this was the product of a conspiracy, if it was planned by the Communists, the black nationalists, or anybody else.

We have as good a local law enforcement as you will find in the country. All the facilities at our command, the sheriff's department, the local police department, our own, the attorney general's, nobody could find any evidence that it was other than a spontaneous eruption.

This is the experience that other local law enforcement agencies have had in the communities where the riots occurred last summer, if you can accept and rely on the written reports which we have received from them, and which you presumably will receive.

Mr. WATSON. Have you personally seen any riots started in the manner in which you say that you would start one, if you were of that inclination, where we brought in a white extremist and had that white extremist to appear on TV?

Mr. YOUNGER. No.

Mr. WATSON. You have not?

Mr. YOUNGER. No.

Mr. WATSON. In fact, we have found from evidence up in Cambridge and in other areas, where in fact one man is under indictment now, Carmichael or Rap Brown, for going up and inciting a riot.

I believe you would conclude that perhaps there is some evidence that, on the contrary, some of the colored extremists have precipitated a riotous condition.

Mr. YOUNGER. Oh, yes. I think one extremist is as dangerous as the other. I was just using hypothetical cases.

Mr. WATSON. That is hypothetical, but factually the only example we have is where the other extremist has precipitated a riot. That is factual, is it not?

Mr. YOUNGER. Again, it depends on what you mean by precipitated the riot. Certainly the black extremists, the Stokely Carmichaels and that brand of extremists certainly have done more talking about "blood will flow," and that sort of thing than any white extremist I have heard about.

Mr. WATSON. And I do not condone the white extremist, but I believe this condition is certainly aggravated or precipitated more by the other extremity than it is by that.

I should not like for the public to feel that this has precipitated such incitement, because to my best knowledge and on the basis of your testimony, the proposition, or the hypothetical case you have given has never happened.

Mr. YOUNGER. No. As I say, it was hypothetical in large measure. I was merely trying to make the point that while you might arouse the Negroes with the Stokely Carmichael-type speech, that if you were going to start a riot, you would want also to arouse the entire white community and get them scared and mad, and that in turn would have a spin-off.

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir; but, Mr. D.A., you must admit that the part of the white person has been one of reaction, rather than one of initiating this, in every instance I have heard about.

If you can relate any instance where they have triggered it, rather than reacted, then I think the committee would like to hear it.

Mr. YOUNGER. No, I am sure that you are right. I am sure that you are right.

Mr. WATSON. That is one thing that disturbs me about all of this. You call for strict compliance with law on the part of the people, but here we find again that we are trying to place the blame, by hypothesis or otherwise, upon the white agitator.

I have no love for them at all and I have no brief for them, but again I do not want to excuse the agitator, whether he is black, white, brown, or yellow.

Mr. YOUNGER. I may have explained myself poorly. At least I failed to communicate with you what I was trying to do in this hypothetical.

The great mass of the Negro community, not the Carmichaels, but the great mass of this 80 percent of the 5 to 10 percent that you need if you are going to have a real, great big, A No. 1 riot, they need something to frighten them before they will get into a mood to conduct a riot.

Ordinarily, Stokely Carmichael can run down the middle of the street in Watts, and any other place in the country, and say, "Come on, folks, let us go down and burn Whitey," and nobody will follow him.

When they get mad and excited enough so that they will follow a Stokely Carmichael, then you will have a riot.

I simply was making the point that if I wanted to be sure that this great group of people would be mad and excited enough, one thing I would do would be to have a white man in the community buy up all the guns, which happened after the Watts riots.

You can start a rumor that will cause every gun dealer in town to sell out in a couple of hours. That in turn will get the great mass of the people, without which you cannot have a big riot, that will get them excited and scared.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. D.A., I close with this. Again I appreciate your testimony—it has been very helpful—but I believe you will conclude that in Watts and in every other riot that we know anything about, the white population has acted with restraint, and I believe much more restraint than I as an individual could have practiced if I had my store burned down.

Do you not agree with that?

Mr. YOUNGER. I agree completely. There was surprising restraint. I am amazed there has not been a group of white hoodlums after these riots go down in the area with shotguns and really start a war. This has been an amazing thing to me.

Mr. WATSON. If the responsibility is assessed to the white man, are we not inviting him to adopt the attitude that, since he will be blamed

for it all, and I don't want it on such a basis—"If I am going to be accused of it, then we will see whether we can take the responsibility in our hands." God forbid that that day should come.

Thank you, sir.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Ichord?

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you.

I am sorry that I was not able to be present to hear all of your statement, Mr. Younger.

On page 21, you state, "Let us spend money wisely on true job skill training and placement and on projects like Headstart and compensatory education programs that truly speed the day when the Negro has equal educational opportunities."

I could not agree more with that statement.

You feel, then, that the true way to solve a problem of poverty is through education and training?

Mr. YOUNGER. I think so, through the long haul—

Mr. ICHORD. Assuming that we have equal opportunity?

Mr. YOUNGER. Right. That is our best hope for over the long haul, is education.

Mr. ICHORD. You leave the inference that some of our poverty programs may be doing more harm than they are good.

Will you elucidate on that?

Mr. YOUNGER. Yes. To start with, I will say I hope I left more than an inference. I intended to make very plain that some of them are doing more harm than good.

I think anything we do to sustain the conviction held, justifiably by many people now, that if they cause enough trouble, we will keep pouring money indefinitely in an area, as a bribe, to use the chairman's words, except where the money we put in is related to some worthwhile program of education and job training, except for that, I think they are all harmful or potentially harmful.

I think many of the jobs created in our community and other communities under the antipoverty program were purely make-work jobs.

Mr. ICHORD. You state, "In the past, after a riot occurs, we have poured money into the area; but we often spend it not to provide opportunity, but as a bribe."

You would not say that the money we poured into Watts was used as a bribe; would you?

Mr. YOUNGER. No; but I think when we are in a position of spending money as fast as we have been spending it immediately after a riot, that we often do spend it unwisely.

I do not think that we get our money's worth out of this type of spending, under pressure, so to speak, hurrying and getting everybody happy before next summer arrives. I do not think that that makes good sense in a lot of cases.

Mr. ICHORD. So many of these conditions that exist, that contribute to a riot, do you feel that they can all be cured by governmental action? You are not saying that governmental action alone is the panacea?

Mr. YOUNGER. I sure don't. I probably have much less faith in governmental action than most people that have allocated these funds. I suspect I have much less faith in governmental action than most men in Congress.

I just do not think it is that simple. I do not think, to use the phrase

I used in here, I do not think you can make this problem go away by throwing money after it.

I do think it is going to take lots of money to do the essentials, where it is going to take a lot of money before we are going to get to the situation in this country where the average Negro child going into kindergarten is going to be as well equipped as is his white classmate to understand what is going on in school.

That is why Headstart or some type of program like Headstart is absolutely essential, because unless the child starts even, he will never catch up and you will have a dropout someplace along the line who, if not a potential troublemaker, is potentially one more name on the relief role.

Mr. ICHORD. You say it is a problem of long-range solution, you are not going to do it overnight?

Mr. YOUNGER. Right. I don't know if just giving somebody money and pretending that they are doing a worthwhile job for a few months—I don't really know if that helps us any or not. It may create an attitude on the part of that individual that will make it more difficult for them to respond to a truly effective job training program.

Mr. ICHORD. I did not hear all of your statement, but I take it that you listed the inciting factors of riots as many; there are many factors that go to make up a riot.

Certainly you cannot explain it on poverty alone. For example, in your Watts riot, I think the average income of the citizens of Watts is much higher than the average income of my own congressional district.

Mr. YOUNGER. That is right, and a relatively high percentage of the people involved were employed in the Watts riots, also.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TUCK. Thank you very much, sir. We appreciate your testimony.

Mr. YOUNGER. Thank you again, gentlemen, for your courtesy.

Mr. TUCK. Will you call the next witness, Mr. McNamara.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Adrian Jones.

Mr. TUCK. Will you solemnly swear the testimony you give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JONES. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ADRIAN H. JONES

Mr. McNAMARA. Will you state your full name and address for the record, please?

Mr. JONES. Yes, I will. My name is Adrian H. Jones. My address is 8365 East Beach Drive, Northwest, Washington, D.C.

Mr. McNAMARA. What is the date and place of your birth, Mr. Jones?

Mr. JONES. I was born on 21 February 1918 in Roslyn, in the State of Washington.

Mr. TUCK. Does he have an extra copy of his statement?

Mr. McNAMARA. No, sir. These will be answers to individual questions.

Will you give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background, please, Mr. Jones?

Mr. JONES. Yes. I attended public schools in Roslyn and in Spokane, Washington. I attended Gonzaga University in Spokane from 1937 through 1941. I entered the Army in 1942. I have a bachelor of science degree in military science from the University of Maryland, awarded in 1956. I have a master of arts degree in psychology awarded by the University of Kansas City in 1963.

For the last 4½ years I have been studying in the sociology department of the American University. I have completed all the course work and qualifying examinations for a Ph. D. and I am presently writing my dissertation on civil disturbances.

Mr. McNAMARA. A brief résumé, please, of your professional or employment background.

Mr. JONES. I entered the United States Army in 1942. I served for a period of 20 years. I retired in 1962 as a lieutenant colonel, Military Police Corps. During that time I had two tours of duty in Europe, the first during World War II and the second from 1955 through 1958. During my last tour of duty I was a member of 508th Military Police Battalion. I served 2 years in that battalion at Munich, Germany, as plans, training, operations, intelligence, and security officer. I also participated in the occupation of Japan from 1946 to 1949.

My assignments in the United States include 2 years as commanding officer of the Harlem Military Police detachment and an assignment as the provost marshal of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. I also served as the military adviser to the two military police battalions of the District of Columbia National Guard for a period of 2½ years.

Mr. McNAMARA. During the course of your military service, did you take any additional educational courses?

Mr. JONES. Yes. During that time, I completed the Military Police Officer's basic and advanced courses at Fort Gordon, Georgia, the Military Police criminal investigations course, and the Military Police industrial security course.

Mr. McNAMARA. In what type of work have you engaged since your retirement from the military service in 1962?

Mr. JONES. For the past 4½ years I have been engaged in research and study in the area of internal security. That is the maintenance of public confidence, public safety, law and order. I am employed by the Center for Research in Social Systems of the American University.

Mr. McNAMARA. That was formerly known as SORO, the Special Operations Research Office?

Mr. JONES. That is correct.

During the time I have been with this organization I have co-authored a study entitled "Combating Subversively Manipulated Civil Disturbances." I am a guest lecturer at the International Police Academy, Public Safety Division, of the Agency for International Development. My subject there is the "Psychological Aspects of Civil Disturbances."

I am also a guest lecturer for the International Association of Chiefs of Police. My subject there is "Police Community Relations and Social Science Research."

Mr. McNAMARA. Have your studies, Mr. Jones, concerned civil disturbances or riots both here and abroad and both those which are non-subversive, as well as those which are subversive in nature?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. McNAMARA. Is it also true that your emphasis has been on internal security problems created by subversive manipulation of riots and on what internal security forces can do to counter these elements?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. McNAMARA. Would it be accurate, Mr. Jones, to say that you have a total of approximately 25 years of experience, study, and research in the handling of unruly and criminal elements, both individual and group?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. McNAMARA. What in your opinion, Mr. Jones, is the relationship between internal security and subversively manipulated riots or civil disturbances?

Mr. JONES. I would like to repeat something that I previously said, that internal security is conceptualized as the maintenance of public confidence, public safety, law and order. The subversive manipulation of riots is designed to disrupt this internal security and finally to break it down completely.

Mr. McNAMARA. Regarding your studies and research on this subject, would you outline for the committee the approach you have taken?

Mr. JONES. Yes, I will.

First, I would like to say that law enforcement has not been extensively researched. The approach taken in studying subversively manipulated civil disturbances was to integrate material from three different areas. Those areas are political subversion, community conflict, and the control of mobs and crowds. This systematic approach was selected because everything surrounding a riot tends to become controversial. This includes reports by committees and commissions and also research. Perhaps all individuals who become involved in the prevention, control, and investigation of riots should ask, "Am I helping with the solution or am I part of the problem?"

Mr. McNAMARA. What methods were used in your study and research?

Mr. JONES. This study was cross-cultural and used the historical descriptive method based upon information gathered from secondary sources, which included historical, social science, police operational, and news media references. The study utilized a social science approach which included the investigation of the social, psychological, economic, and political aspects of the problem.

Civil disturbances, regardless of the scope of the salient issues involved, take place in specific geographical areas which are social communities—such as villages, towns, cities, and the subdivisions of larger cities. These communities can be described along several dimensions. These dimensions are characterized by their social, religious, economic, and geographic composition.

Mr. McNAMARA. Did your study reveal, Mr. Jones, certain differences between riots and civil disturbances that might be classified as natural or spontaneous and those which are subversively manipulated?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. McNAMARA. We will go into those differences later. At this time would you tell the committee whether your studies reveal, as well, that there are some basic elements necessary for any riot, whether it is subversively manipulated or not?

Mr. JONES. Yes, there are identifiable salient basic elements.

Mr. McNAMARA. What is one of these basic elements?

Mr. JONES. One of the basic elements that can be identified is group hostility or antagonism. Now this antagonism or hostility may be latent or active. It may arise from anger, frustration, fear, or anxiety. It may be felt or directed against other groups or against authority. This hostility or antagonism must be aroused to a high emotional stage in order to trigger a crowd to violent action.

Mr. ICHORD. On that point, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Jones has done a great deal of study in regard to riots. Would you give as simply as you can, sir, your definition of a riot? I am sure we do not have any legal definition of a riot.

Mr. JONES. Yes, I will. This is one of the methodological problems in studying riots in social science-type research.

There are several legal definitions. These definitions, however, are not satisfactory for research purposes. For research purposes we have defined a riot as an unruly type of social violence, usually engaged in by a large number of people. We don't want to say 100 people or 20 people because we feel this would cause us to eliminate some of the riots that should be studied.

Mr. ICHORD. That is violence to persons or property?

Mr. JONES. That is correct.

Mr. McNAMARA. From the community viewpoint, Mr. Jones, who and what are the basic component elements in a riot situation?

Mr. JONES. I would say, number one, *dissident groups with real or imaginary grievances*. And I would like to say that we found out in the course of our study that it does not make too much difference whether a grievance is real or imaginary as long as it is a powerful determinant of human behavior.

Now these dissident groups may be subversive or nonsubversive. They may be groups that are anti-status quo or anti-other groups, or groups that may be dissident for a variety of other reasons.

One of the essentials is a *crowd*. There are several ways of describing a crowd. A physiological crowd is located close together. Psychological crowds that have the same attitude and the same frame of mind are very important. These crowds may be spontaneous, casual, or planned and intentional.

One of the important components is the *agitator*. The agitator may or may not be subversive. He may or he may not intend to trigger a riot.

Another very important component element is the *precipitating incident*. This incident may be either accidental or spontaneous, natural or developed.

Another basic component that we find is the various types of *internal security forces* that are brought in to prevent or try to control civil disturbances.

Then another important element is the *general population of the community*.

Mr. McNAMARA. In answering an earlier question, Mr. Jones, you indicated that a considerable amount of research had already been done on the subject of community conflict. Will you tell us briefly what that research indicates?

Mr. JONES. Yes. Community conflicts, once they have begun, tend to resemble one another markedly. The initial issues of controversy undergo significant changes with the passage of time. Specific issues tend to give way to general issues and new grievances arise. The new issues tend to be one-sided in that they allow response in only one direction. Thus they do not disrupt the internal solidarity of the individual groups in the conflict, but tend to strengthen this intragroup solidarity.

These issues must be controversial enough to gain the attention of members of the community who have not previously been involved in the conflict. As the community conflict continues to escalate, the competing groups become completely polarized upon the salient issues. Hostility and suspicion also increase in magnitude. The probability of social violence increases as the community conflict becomes more intense.

Mr. McNAMARA. You also stated, Mr. Jones, in answering an earlier question that your studies revealed there were certain differences between what might be called the spontaneous riot and those that are subversively manipulated. Can you tell us what those differences are?

Mr. JONES. Yes. Basically, of course, the big difference is that the ordinary riot just develops more or less because of prevailing conditions. The other type is deliberately planned or instigated.

In determining the character of a riot, it must be kept in mind that the subversive is interested in a riot for a political purpose, not for the sake of violence alone. He is opposed to the existing form of government. He wants to change it, to substitute a new and different type power structure for the existing one. He uses the riot as one means of gaining this objective.

Normally, subversives have no hope of overthrowing a government through one riot, but they do see in a riot a means of weakening the existing power structure and of turning people against it. This, of course, is the basic first step in destroying an existing political system. Subversives do not want to solve existing social, political, and economic problems; they are not spontaneously rebelling against social, political, or economic situations, but are using a real or concocted grievance to promote their cause. They have a definite ideological attachment and purpose.

Mr. McNAMARA. How can you tell, Mr. Jones—that is, what do your studies indicate to be clues or evidence of a riot which is subversively manipulated?

Mr. JONES. First, let me say that the reason we developed this system, this analytic device, was so that speculation about this matter might be eliminated. We find that people in discussing the subversive manipulation of riots tend to use what we call validation by specific example. This type of approach is very unscientific, and almost anything that one can think of can be validated by selecting an appropriate specific example. Accurately distinguishing a spontaneous from a subversively manipulated civil disturbance can be a very difficult task.

Our research reveals that in order to systematically study riotous civil disturbances the time sequence involved can be broken down into four phases. Each one must be individually studied and analyzed. Intelligence information is essential to the study of these phases, which are as follows:

The precrowd phase, the crowd phase, the civil disturbance phase, and the post-civil disturbance phase.

Mr. McNAMARA. Would you discuss each one of these phases in turn, indicating the differences during each phase between the spontaneous riot and the one that is subversively manipulated, starting with the precrowd phase?

Mr. JONES. Yes. The precrowd phase, this is the preparatory period which is characterized by the development of antagonisms within a community between groups which have a different position on some economic, social, political, or other issue. If the riot which follows, however, is subversively manipulated, study and analysis based on intelligence information will reveal the following about the precrowd phase.

(a) A subversive organization, newly created or in existence for some time, is working to develop a riot situation. The first step is to build the organization, to recruit and train its personnel to put its plans into action. Subversives train their members and followers in crowd manipulation, in riot tactics, and the use of weapons. They give them instructions on issues that can be used to create conflict in the community.

(b) They select their target groups on the basis of the conflict potential in the community. A basic Communist belief is that masses are subject to manipulation and can be utilized for Communist purposes. Subversives identify dissident groups, that is, target groups, within the community and attempt to infiltrate their ranks.

(c) They launch vital preconditioning measures to influence the attitudes of these target groups. Subversives use flyers, posters, rumors, and all available means of communication to increase hostility and antagonism, to aggravate grievances, to stimulate frustrations, dissent, anxiety, anger, and to develop emotional stress.

Through these preconditioning communications they attempt to unite dissident groups. To do this they concentrate on local bread-and-butter issues. They repeat certain themes over and over again. Specific slogans and phrases are used to condition the target groups to react to these slogans and phrases under emotional stress.

They try to personalize the enemy, to direct the resentment of the people against a specific person, symbol, or object. It may be the mayor of the city administration or the chief of police. In instances such as agitation against the war in Vietnam, it may be the Secretary of State, or the Secretary of Defense.

The issues on which they agitate are usually specific to begin with. Gradually they are changed and become more general. The issues are carefully selected so that they will not create differences among the individuals who compose the target group, but rather will tend to unite them.

An example is police brutality.

Issues on which subversives agitate must be controversial to arouse interest, tension, and frustration. At the same time they are expressed in moral terms so as to win support for those making the charges and to create antagonism against those accused. For example, the charges can be inefficiency, dishonesty, brutality, and claims that the subversive or front groups are fighting for justice, equality, and so forth.

Accusations will be so general that they cannot be disproved. They will also be nurtured by rumor and slander.

(d) Finally, this precrowd phase or period will be used by a subversive element or group to acquire and store weapons—guns, Molotov cocktails, explosives, and anything else they decide to use in the civil disturbance phase. This will include, if they do not already have it, the acquisition of printing equipment and paper and the establishment of routes of escape for important subversive individuals.

Meetings and rallies are also arranged to assist in the preconditioning of the target groups.

Mr. McNAMARA. What are the characteristics, Mr. Jones, of the crowd phase in the development of a riot?

Mr. JONES. This phase, of course, is indispensable. You cannot have a riot without a crowd that is turned into a mob which throws aside all restraint and engages in collective social violence.

A crowd may assemble for any number of reasons. For example, a sporting event, a political rally, an automobile accident, a fire, or an arrest.

Subversive elements bent on starting a riot may plan to take advantage of a crowd assembled under any of these circumstances, or they may themselves insure that a crowd will be present at a certain place and time by planning a meeting or rally that will attract people or by staging an incident in a certain area at a time when they know a crowd will immediately collect.

Once the crowd is assembled, the subversives deploy their personnel in the crowd to agitate and excite it and to increase its hostility. Slogans will be shouted, rumors circulated, speeches made, all of which are designed to arouse the emotions of the crowd and thus direct it to acts of violence.

The most vulnerable crowd, of course, is one which through the processes I have already mentioned has been preconditioned to react emotionally to certain slogans, phrases, and accusations.

Mr. McNAMARA. What are the characteristics, Mr. Jones, of the civil disturbance or actual riot phase?

Mr. JONES. Briefly, this is the period when the crowd, agitated and highly excited over some issue, has been turned into a mob which through a kind of emotional contagion engages in large-scale, collective social violence.

Again, if there is no subversive element involved, analysis may reveal that this collective violence developed more or less spontaneously or naturally. No evidence, usually, can be found of any individual or group intent to spark the violence.

The picture is different, however, if there has been subversive manipulation. Analysis will usually reveal deliberate effort to incite the mob to violence by the chanting of slogans or songs, by exhortations to violent acts, and other devices which raise the emotional excitement of the mob to the point of violence.

A booster incident will be initiated—rocks will be thrown, windows broken, a fire or fight started. There may also be sniping or looting.

A martyr will be exploited or perhaps even created—someone who has been arrested, wounded, or killed by the riot-control forces or intentionally injured or killed by the subversives.

When a riot is subversively manipulated there is often evidence of

deliberate attempts to block the effectiveness of the police or other riot-control forces in order to impair their ability to end the violence.

Mr. McNAMARA. May I ask this question, Mr. Jones? Have you also found it to be a characteristic of this phase that sometimes the subversive elements will utilize guards of strong-arm men to protect certain of the leaders in triggering these acts of violence?

Mr. JONES. Yes. There is evidence that there is a formal organization that attempts to protect the very important subversive manipulators in order to preclude their being arrested.

Mr. McNAMARA. What about the post-civil disturbance phase?

Mr. JONES. Briefly, this is the period when the violence is ended and social order has been restored.

If there has been no subversive manipulation, this period is usually characterized by the contending groups' or elements' efforts to avoid further violence. There is a reaction against the damage, destruction, injury, and so forth, that has taken place. A certain sense of shame and realization that things have gone too far.

Once more the picture is very different if subversives are involved. Evidence will be found of deliberate efforts to inflame further violence. Propaganda and agitation will be continued in an effort to keep the issue which sparked the violence alive. There will be a campaign to exploit the riot through leaflets, rallies, rumors, martyrs, and so forth.

Demands which the Government cannot possibly meet will be made. The unwarranted ouster of a certain official will be called for. The intent of the subversive is to make the Government appear uncompromising and thereby undermine the confidence and respect of the target groups in the power structure. The intent is to maintain the interest and emotional excitement of the community, to prevent the calming of emotions and the elimination of resentment.

Mr. McNAMARA. Your studies, Mr. Jones, have also involved the question of countermeasures to the rioting. What have they indicated on this subject?

Mr. JONES. Let us keep in mind that community conflicts which become riotous involve a struggle for favorable public opinion between dissidents and the civil police and other internal security forces. Action of internal security forces must be based upon this fact.

The basic objective of internal security forces is to restore order, the corollary is to reestablish respect for law and order and public safety. Some of the things that the internal security forces must consider are the nature of the crowd and the emotional factors involved.

One of the techniques of controlling crowds is very solidly based upon the specific panic response which is expressed by individuals in the desire to escape or take flight from an immediate threatening area. Chemical munitions or streams of water develop this response; they cause people who are acting in concert in a mob to immediately start to thinking about themselves as individuals again, about their own protection.

The use of force, and the alternatives to the use of force, present one of the most difficult problems faced by riot-control forces.

I think it is indicated that force is probably more properly used against a spontaneous and unorganized crowd. Force has not historically been so effective against groups that had formal leadership,

that is, who have leaders that have psychological control of the members of the crowd.

Subversives attempt to capitalize on the police use of force in order to further alienate dissident segments of the population. Yet we find that the show of force is certainly essential and, in addition to the show of force, the force of the state sometimes has to be used and there has to be a willingness to commit this force of the state under the appropriate circumstances.

In controlling crowds and mobs, internal security forces are cautioned to avoid emotional involvement by being overly identified with dissident segments of the community. This identification, or lack of identification, usually results in overreaction against crowds with whom, for example, the majority of the civil police force does not identify.

It usually results in underreaction against crowds composed of segments of the community with which they overidentify. But more dangerous than anything, it causes vacillation before action is taken.

The use of the military in the control of crowds and riots does have some value. Usually military units are highly trained and highly respected. They are outsiders who are not emotionally involved in the community conflict and once the riot is ended they usually leave the community. And if any hostility has been generated against them it usually dissipates.

Mr. McNAMARA. Do your studies also indicate, Mr. Jones, that there are various countermeasures that are particularly adapted to the different phases of rioting, the precrowd phase, crowd phase, and so on?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. McNAMARA. What are the countermeasures that you would suggest, based on your studies, for the precrowd phase?

Mr. JONES. I feel that a vital countermeasure here is the creation and use of an intelligence information collection system. Now I would like to point out that combating subversive manipulation of civil disturbances requires the collection of political intelligence. This is a function which must be performed regardless of what it is called.

Among actions that can be taken in the precrowd phase is maintenance of contact with dissident groups. This allows for the surveillance of not only these groups, but also of subversive elements. It allows for the surveillance of known troublemakers likely to join in disturbances. One of the other countermeasures that can be taken during this time is to give people information to counter the subversives' preconditioning propaganda and agitation. People apparently have a psychological need to be informed during a time of crisis. I feel that the internal security forces can demonstrate the readiness to use force. Sometimes this is enough. It apparently aids in building public respect if the show of force is efficient and impartial. Another technique that can be used is the infiltration of subversive groups.

Now in terms of organizing and planning countermeasures, training internal security forces personnel and making prearrangements for mutual assistance with other internal security forces are important.

Mr. McNAMARA. During this period, Mr. Jones, are there definite clues to the plotting of a riot?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. McNAMARA. What are they?

Mr. JONES. Some of them are the observation of known subversives

moving into an area, the discovery of arms caches, the circulation of propaganda, attempts to hire demonstrators, attempts to train and orient agitators, arrangements for safe houses and escape routes, an increase in hostility toward the police, infiltration of known subversives into nonsubversive groups.

Mr. McNAMARA. What countermeasures would you suggest based on your studies during the crowd phase?

Mr. JONES. This is a very important time. If countermeasures fail during this phase, a riot will ensue. If countermeasures are successful, there will be no riot. One of the basic objectives is either to disperse the crowd or to bring the crowd under control, to maintain contact with the leaders, and possibly to give the dissidents some sort of outlet.

For example, let them state their grievances, try to use the leaders in order to control the crowd. Another countermeasure that can be taken during this specific time is to prepare and station riot-control forces to handle any situation, to utilize a clear show of force, to arrest agitators if there are legal grounds, and to identify the riot leaders and to remove them if possible.

Mr. McNAMARA. What about the actual riot or civil disturbance phase?

Mr. JONES. Once this particular phase is started, it is very difficult to avoid the use of the force of the state. This force is sometimes applied through batons, riot-control formations, police dogs, and chemical munitions. The procedure of the United States Army is to first use a show of force; then to use riot-control formation; then to consider the use of streams of water; then the use of chemical agents; then fire by selected marksmen; and finally, under very extreme conditions, full fire power.

Firmness is very essential. Looters, as has been shown, are normally stopped by the threat of injury or arrest if these measures are taken before the looting becomes widespread.

Mr. McNAMARA. What countermeasures would you suggest for the postdisturbance period?

Mr. JONES. The danger here is the spread or the revival of violence. This danger is much greater when there is subversive manipulation. Again intelligence is important to identify the subversive agitators. Another very important thing is for the authorities involved to listen to the complaints of members of dissident groups whether they feel these complaints are based on fact or fiction.

The judicious use of prohibitions is apparently very important. It is important to get information to the public to undercut the lies, half-truths, and rumors of subversives. This can be done through the use of the press, the radio, television, and statements by officials. Measures can be taken to calm and to relieve tensions and emotions. Riot-control forces in this particular phase are cautioned to avoid commitments that can't be lived up to. An example would be the imposition of a curfew in an area so large that the available riot-control forces could not enforce that curfew.

Another possible technique here is to arrange meetings, set up committees to talk over the particular problems involved in the social situation that led to the riot.

Effective countermeasures are almost wholly dependent upon intel-

ligence. In other words, the riot-control forces must know what subversives are doing. Only then can effective countermeasures be planned.

Mr. McNAMARA. Do your studies indicate, Mr. Jones, that a riot can be predicted?

Mr. JONES. There are indications that this must be done in terms of probability, and not in terms of will or will not happen. Much of what passes for prediction is actually "postdiction" or after the fact. It involves what I have previously identified as validation by selected example, and in this sense it is very unsystematic.

Mr. McNAMARA. What element in a community plays a major role in determining the outcome of a riot?

Mr. JONES. I think that in determining the outcome of a community conflict that involves riotous social violence that what we call the audience or the uncommitted members of the community play a very vital and significant role. Sometimes it is very difficult to get these uncommitted members involved in the conflict on one side or the other.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Jones, current investigation and research of the committee indicate that there are some groups in the United States today which are actually advocating guerrilla warfare and insurgency in this country. I believe your study of riots was related largely to their relationship to insurgency and guerrilla warfare in other countries of the world. Based on your broad study of this subject, what relationship do you see between subversively manipulated riots and insurgency or guerrilla warfare?

Mr. JONES. Based upon the research I have been engaged in, I feel that subversively manipulated riots are definitely a part of the political weapon system of the international Communist movement. Other elements of this political weapons system are assassination, sabotage, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare.

Mr. McNAMARA. May I ask this question, Mr. Jones, again based on your studies: Do you think there is a tremendous problem or a very difficult problem for a subversive element—granted that certain underlying factors that you have described exist in that community—to launch or trigger a riot?

Mr. JONES. No, I do not. I feel that the possibilities of manipulation of riots apparently haven't been exploited to the extent that my research indicates they can be exploited.

Mr. McNAMARA. Would you say that with fairly good knowledge of mob psychology, group behavior, and sociology, a group or element, if it so desired, could emotionally work up a community to a point—through the processes you mentioned before—of psychological conditioning, propaganda, and agitation, to bring members of a community to a point where even though they were not initially on the spot, shall I say, a riot could be triggered by some precipitating incident such as arrest by a policeman?

Mr. JONES. Yes; I would say that is certainly possible if one were careful in identifying the community concerned to make sure that some very deep social, racial, or political cleavages existed. I would say, however, in my opinion if a subversive individual wanted to make sure that the riot ensued, he would not leave anything to chance. He would not depend on a spontaneous incident. He would attempt to create this incident himself.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Chairman, that concludes the staff interrogation of Mr. Jones.

Mr. TUCK. We thank you very much.

I want to apologize for keeping you around here so long, but we could not help it.

Mr. JONES. That is quite all right. Thank you, sir.

Mr. TUCK. Your testimony has been very eloquent. Could the stenographer write up that testimony and make it available to members of the committee, particularly certain phases of it, between now and the future hearings, not tomorrow but next week?

Mr. McNAMARA. I am sorry, I could not quite hear.

Mr. TUCK. I say could the stenographer write up this testimony or parts of it for the benefit of the committee when we examine some of these other witnesses next week or the week following?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes, sir. We will have a transcript of it tomorrow or the day after, and we can duplicate it for that purpose.

Mr. TUCK. That will be fine.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank Mr. Jones for a very learned presentation. Of course riots, Mr. Jones, are nothing new to this country or to any nation which has endured for any length of time. We have had in the past labor riots, racial riots. These don't seem to fall right in the category of racial riots as such, though; do they?

Mr. JONES. No, they don't.

Mr. ICHORD. The ones we have had recently?

Mr. JONES. Let me mention, first, that my research started before the rash of riots during the summer of 1964 in the United States. We identified the type of rioting which ensued in the United States in 1964 originally as racial rioting. We then discovered that this perhaps was not the correct label. We then tended to talk about these riots as Negro riots. However, Puerto Ricans were involved in at least two instances in 1966. We therefore had to do a little rethinking and we started calling these urban ethnic riots because there is a possibility that the other ethnic groups, disadvantaged groups, for example, Mexican Americans, might be involved in the same type of social violence.

Mr. TUCK. They are more in the nature of rebellion against constituted authority.

Mr. JONES. Again, sir?

Mr. TUCK. These uprisings are more in the nature of rebellion against constituted authority; are they not?

Mr. JONES. They could be interpreted that way; yes, sir. This, however, is only one of several interpretations.

Mr. ICHORD. How would you characterize what happened over at the Pentagon Saturday? It started out as a demonstration. Would you say that developed into a riot situation when a certain portion of the group tried to rush the Pentagon? Would you call that a riot situation? How would you characterize that?

Mr. JONES. Yes, I think this perhaps could not be characterized as a full-blown riot. I think it has been mentioned previously here that maybe a full-blown riot is accompanied at least by a temporary breakdown of law and order. I think control was maintained there at all times. I think there is certainly some evidence based upon my analytical scheme to support the contention that someone was trying to incite riotous violence in this particular instance.

Mr. ICHORD. In the riots that have occurred in the cities, we seem to have the gathering of the crowd at certain places; then you have prolonged periods of just hoodlums looting and burning, rather than really being motivated by what occurred back at the gathering of the crowd.

Mr. JONES. Yes. This is true. I didn't explain what I meant previously by booster incident. This is an incident that tends to keep the riot going. One of the very favorite types of booster incidents is looting. Many people who have poor social control are drawn into the looting situation. It is difficult to tell at this time if it is necessary for someone to say let us start looting, follow me, or if at this particular time the people have a certain psychological set whereby when they see a store or group of stores they spontaneously start to loot.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Watson.

Mr. WATSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to join with you and my colleague from Missouri in thanking Mr. Jones. It is obvious that you have made a very thorough study of this. I think it is a very fine statement you have given us.

You say you are in the process now of writing a book, reducing this to booklet form or something? Did I understand correctly?

Mr. JONES. The information upon which this testimony is based is already published in the form of a research document which is called "Combating Subversively Manipulated Civil Disturbances." I am presently in the process of writing a research report on rioting which has taken place in the United States during the period 1964, 1965, and 1966.

Mr. McNAMARA. Do I understand correctly, Mr. Jones, that that is your doctoral thesis?

Mr. JONES. That is correct.

Mr. WATSON. I think it would be helpful in giving us a clearer insight into various characteristics that you have outlined here. Have you gone in depth far enough to classify the particular riots that we experienced last summer?

Mr. JONES. No, I have not. Let me add this: What I was attempting to do here is to create an analytical device which would allow an evaluation of the riots for that period, for any period, for any country, for that matter.

Mr. WATSON. I think you have done a good job in that regard. That is why the chairman and I were discussing, if we could get these four phases that you outlined, then perhaps it would help the committee later, as we have witnesses describe these riots, to approach it and try to intelligently characterize the various riots that we have had based upon your detailed study as outlined in the four phases.

Mr. JONES. I think it will be a good use to which this analytic device can be put. Some of the information when viewed within the framework of this particular scheme might be very revealing.

Mr. TUCK. We thank you very much.

The committee will recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. JONES. Thank you, sir.

(Whereupon, at 5:45 p.m., Wednesday, October 25, 1967, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, October 26, 1967.)

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

Part 1

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1967

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:25 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. William M. Tuck presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina; also John C. Culver, of Iowa, in absence of Mr. Willis.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Tuck and Ichord.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Chester D. Smith, general counsel; and Alfred M. Nittle, counsel.

Mr. TUCK. The committee will come to order.

Mr. McNAMARA, will you call the first witness.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Herman Lerner.

Mr. TUCK. Come around and raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, to the best of your knowledge and belief?

Mr. LERNER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HERMAN D. LERNER

Mr. McNAMARA. Will you state your full name and address for the record, please?

Mr. LERNER. Herman D. Lerner, 6825 Laverock Court, Bethesda, Maryland.

Mr. McNAMARA. What is the place and date of your birth?

Mr. LERNER. Baltimore, Maryland, 1923.

Mr. McNAMARA. What is your educational background, Mr. Lerner?

Mr. LERNER. I attended public schools in Baltimore. In 1942-43 I attended the University of Maryland, where I began studies in the physical and social sciences.

My studies there were interrupted for several years for military service. I resumed study at the University of Maryland in 1946, concentrating in sociology and political science, and was graduated with an A.B. in 1948.

I continued my professional education that year with graduate work at Columbia University in sociology, anthropology, and psychology.

From 1948 to 1952 I did graduate work in a doctoral program in social relations at Harvard University, where I specialized in social change and national character studies and where I was a teaching fellow in social change.

Since that time I have had additional graduate education periodically in social and behavioral science, including sociology of science, criminology, and other subjects at the American University.

Mr. McNAMARA. What is your professional or employment background?

Mr. LERNER. My first employment was in administrative work with the U.S. Maritime Commission. I was in the U.S. Army from 1943 to 1946, serving first as a combat infantryman and later as an administrative assistant in the war rooms of the general staff of the 103d Infantry Division and the 3d Armored Division during operations in the European theater—in France, Alsace, Germany, and Austria.

From 1951 to 1952 I was employed by Harvard University and shortly thereafter began my career as a researcher and consultant in behavioral and social sciences.

For the past 14 years I have conducted many studies of military systems, research planning and utilization, social and economic issues, and political trends.

In recent years I have been interested in relating scientific knowledge to the needs of those who support scientific research. I am currently engaged, as one of several contractors, in a study at the Office of Naval Research on the utility of research for the Navy.

I have conducted research for Government agencies and private organizations, including the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force, Department of Commerce, Radio Corporation of America, General Electric Company, International Business Machines Corporation, national associations, and research firms.

I am a member of various professional associations in operations research, sociology, management, and general science.

Mr. McNAMARA. In what fields of study—related to organized rioting—have you concentrated in the past 10 years?

Mr. LERNER. Over a period of about 10 years I have done studies periodically of national cohesion, military strategy, general and limited warfare, political rioting, crime, and internal security, with special reference to military-civilian relations, force, propaganda, and strategy.

In 1961 I prepared and gave a 20-hour course with two colleagues on the psychology of group behavior in emergencies, which dealt primarily with behavioral aspects of rioting. This course was given to police officials who came from Greece, Colombia, Venezuela, and Vietnam. It was based on the study of open literature—books and articles—on rioting.

In 1963, while with the Applied Psychology Corporation, I took part in a study for the Office of Naval Research on the recuperative

capacity of the Navy and the Marine Corps in the event of thermonuclear war. During that study I analyzed various problems connected with internal security during general warfare and I prepared a paper on "Psychological Aspects of Political Rioting and Its Control."

For the past few years I have been a visiting lecturer at the International Police Academy, Agency for International Development, on causes and characteristics of riots and on crowd and mob psychology.

At the IPA I have given numerous lectures and seminars to hundreds of police officers from South America, Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. During this time I have exchanged a great deal of information regarding causes and control of rioting, with emphasis on political disturbances and their significance for internal security and international relations.

As part of my background for this testimony, I have been reviewing open literature on recent rioting in the U.S.

Mr. McNAMARA. Referring to the study you made in 1963, undertaken for the Navy and Marine Corps, would it be correct to deduce from the nature of that study that, at that time, two of our defense agencies were looking to the future for any contingency they might have to face and were taking steps to be prepared, and then, second, that one of the possibilities they anticipated was that in the event of a thermonuclear attack on this country, in conjunction with that attack or immediately after it, the foreign powers which launched the attack might attempt to use their agents in this country to incite political rioting in their efforts to bring about the defeat of the United States.

Would that be a fair inference from the nature of the study you mentioned?

Mr. LERNER. In reply to the first part of your question—whether the Navy and the Marine Corps were concerned about various contingencies—the Office of Naval Research is an agency of the Marine Corps and the Navy which does take very long-range views. The Army and the Air Force also have comparable agencies. ONR is interested primarily in what may happen 15, 30, or 40 years from now. It helps develop the physical and behavioral sciences in ways that will improve our naval security and power.

As for the possibility of rioting as a tactic in general warfare, this was a problem which the study team looked into since it was believed that there would be enormous destruction during a thermonuclear war and that military units might be required to cope with many emergencies, including threats to naval installations and internal security which might arise from political rioting and insurgencies.

Mr. McNAMARA. In addition to your studies and lectures, have you engaged in the writing of articles, papers, and reports on the subjects in which you have specialized?

Mr. LERNER. Yes. Since 1958 I have prepared approximately 38 articles, reports, and papers on various subjects in the fields of social science, research and development management, public affairs, and national policy.

Not all are in the public domain. Some of these are classified material. I also have written approximately 18 articles, reports, and papers on human factors engineering, technology, and industrial psychology since 1954.

During the same period I have published several dozen reviews and commentaries on studies and papers in criminality, delinquency, and other forms deviant behavior in urban areas.

Mr. McNAMARA. What, Mr. Lerner, do your studies reveal or indicate are the basic subjects or problems which must be considered in any discussion of urban political rioting?

Mr. LERNER. There are five or six major sets of problems which can be subdivided further into many categories, depending on our interests. For an analysis of recent urban rioting in the United States, I believe it is convenient and meaningful to consider these problems under the headings of: urban disorganization and poverty; community conflict (social, religious, economic, ethnic, racial, et cetera); criminality and delinquency; domestic subversion; and foreign subversion.

Mr. McNAMARA. Would you describe what you mean by "urban disorganization and poverty"?

Mr. LERNER. "Urban disorganization and poverty" refers to all those physical, cultural, social, and economic characteristics of city life which are associated with slums or ghettos.

Among these are crowded population; substandard health conditions; uncomfortable and demoralizing living quarters; inadequate food and clothing; feelings of estrangement and hopelessness ("no one cares about us"); unemployment; educational deficiencies; low-income jobs with high drudgery content; and the presence of what might be called "pathological cultures," such as criminality, delinquency, drug addiction, alcoholism, and other kinds of behavior which spoil, weaken, or pervert the quality of life—even for those persons who are not participants in these cultures, but who must experience them because they are neighbors.

Mr. McNAMARA. And what do you mean by "community conflict"?

Mr. LERNER. "Community conflict" refers to any strife between two or more groups within a community over social, religious, economic, ethnic, racial, or political issues.

Even if the problems of urban disorganization and poverty could be solved overnight, the ethnic and racial contention which has been generated over the past 10 to 15 years probably would itself be sufficient to cause periodic eruption of rioting by Negroes and Caucasians, although by no means on the scale which we have witnessed in recent years.

The pressures for segregation and for integration, the provocative demonstrations, the backlash, the separatist propaganda and agitation, and the rapid growth in acceptance of white and black racial myths—while related to urban disorganization and poverty—are sufficiently independent and powerful to constitute a distinct set of problems or "pathologies" requiring its own set of remedies.

Mr. McNAMARA. Would you elaborate on the subject of "criminality and delinquency," which you have indicated as another matter? What must be considered in the study of this problem?

Mr. LERNER. The category of "criminality and delinquency" refers to the various forms of antisocial behavior which are in violation of the law. These forms of behavior range from professionally and chronically criminal acts as a way of life—that is, as a full-time or part-time occupation or avocation—to incidental, impulsive, opportunistic, or symbolic acts.

The looting which takes place by backing a truck up to an appliance store, loading it with goods, and transporting the goods halfway across the country—as cited by Mr. Younger—suggests the involvement of a professional burglar.

On the other hand, most of the widespread, mass thievery which has occurred during rioting in recent years and which has involved persons who take advantage of the apparent availability of appliances, clothes, food, and so forth, would represent incidental, opportunistic, and impulsive forms of criminality and delinquency.

They all have in common an intention to engage in action which violates a law, some sort of actual behavior which constitutes a violation, harmful consequences which have been forbidden by law, and several other technical characteristics of crime, such as the concurrence between criminal intent and criminal action, a causal relation between the action and the harmful consequences, and the existence of legal prohibitions and legally prescribed penalties for the behavior. Therefore, they are all, technically speaking, criminal or delinquent acts.

Unlike the problems in the first two categories, those that we have referred to here as criminality and delinquency may not be sufficient in themselves to cause *large-scale* rioting.

Professional criminals and amateur or incidental lawbreakers have been participating in recent rioting usually as opportunists who take advantage of momentary chaos and disorder to benefit in a comparatively petty way.

But *small-scale*, localized disorders can be caused by organized criminals or gangs who plan to exploit the confusion by engaging in burglary; and such disorder also can be provoked by demonstrators who may deliberately violate local ordinances as symbolic protests against real or alleged injustices—sometimes represented by the ordinances themselves—or real or alleged injustices committed by persons in positions of authority.

Noteworthy characteristics of criminality and delinquency as related to urban rioting are:

1. They can be provocative of small-scale riots.
2. They are conducive to subversion—both in the near term and the long term. In the near-term situation they provide opportunity for subversive exploitation. In the long term, they depreciate respect for law and authority and thereby reduce community resistance to subversive influences.

MR. MCNAMARA. What, Mr. Lerner, is the relation of urban disorganization and poverty, community conflict, and criminality—the first three subjects you mentioned—to “domestic subversion” and “foreign subversion,” the two subjects which are of particular interest to the committee?

MR. LERNER. The first three subjects have two major kinds of significance for subversion: exploitability and fertility.

The problems which are represented by those subjects can be exploited by subversives. That is, they provide opportunities and instruments for subversive activity. The problems related to urban disorganization and poverty are not created by subversives; but these problems themselves do create a tremendous degree of frustration and resentment which can be channeled by subversives into destructive acts such as those which we have experienced in the recent riots.

The racial discord—which is part of community conflict—in the same way can be channeled into acts of rioting, burning, looting—acts which do not resolve the discord, but instead aggravate it.

Criminals and delinquents can be utilized as gangs to intensify and prolong rioting which has already begun—and at least theoretically can be used to help initiate a riot in an area which is already riot prone.

On the other hand, even if professional subversives did not already exist, the kinds of problems which we have grouped under the first three categories would in themselves breed subversive activity. Without any other class of problems, we should expect that rioting would occur in this country periodically, either because of the resentments derived from urban disorganization and poverty or because of the resentments caused by various forms of community conflict—especially the racial.

And we should expect that among the participants in such riots there would be persons whose objectives were not limited to protest, to criminal opportunism, or to solution of poverty or conflict problems within the framework of existing institutions and legal procedures. Persons with subversive goals—bred in the deeply frustrating and embittering conditions which we have referred to—would emerge.

Mr. McNAMARA. You have made quite frequent references to subversion and subversives. What do you mean by those terms?

Mr. LERNER. Subversion is any activity which has as its objective the illegal displacement of power from one group to another; the weakening or destruction of the social, political, and economic institutions of a society; or the weakening or destruction of national cohesion through propaganda, military and industrial sabotage, or other economic or political measures.

The aim of a subversive is not to solve problems, but to exacerbate and create problems; not to improve our institutions, but to destroy them; not to arrive at consensus, but to cause disunity; not to cure, but to control a society through illegal means.

While Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals, and the various interest groups which are represented by legal political organizations seek to win advantages for their respective groups, they compete for these advantages within existing political institutions and within conventional rules of the game.

Debate, strikes, boycotts, legislation, price competition, and specific and workable programs of social and economic change are among the activities and products of legal political action. Among those who engage exclusively in legal political action, there apparently is no problem of loyalty and allegiance to the Nation. But among those who engage in subversion, the problem is disloyalty and loss of allegiance to our institutions.

Subversion is political criminality.

Mr. McNAMARA. What distinction do you make between domestic and foreign subversion?

Mr. LERNER. A domestic, or “benign” subversive is a person whose disloyalty, alienation, and illegal activity are directed against our national institutions, including our political structure and the incumbents of power, but whose loyalty and allegiance to the Nation—as a people—are still intact.

He can say truthfully, "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the Republic for which it stands"; and presumably he would help defend this country against attack from the outside.

A foreign or "malignant" subversive, on the other hand, is a person who is uncommitted to the Nation and who may in fact be an agent of a foreign power with primary allegiance to that power.

Although he may have been born in this country and may retain his citizenship, his allegiance to the Nation is minimal or nonexistent.

In the first case we have a revolutionary who is genuinely interested in the well-being of the Nation, although he may be misguided. In the second case, we have a revolutionary who is uninterested in the welfare of the Nation and may be bent on weakening or destroying it so as to gain advantage for one or more other nations.

Mr. McNAMARA. Why do you make a distinction between these two types of subversion and deal with them separately? That is, the domestic and the foreign.

Mr. LERNER. The distinction is made for the same reason that distinctions are made among and within all of the five classes of problems which we have mentioned; namely, that all are separate kinds of problems and therefore may require different solutions, even though they may be related to one another in political discourse and action.

Benign and malevolent subversiveness are closely related social and political diseases. But a remedy for the first may be the improvement of the operations of our society, while a remedy for the latter may be entirely different. If we cure or remove the benign, we may do so permanently. If we remove the malignant, it will probably recur.

A domestic subversive who theoretically seeks social justice, albeit through illegal means, is quite different from a foreign subversive who—functionally speaking—is an invader and who, in the early stages of the invasion, makes substantial use of the power of ideas rather than the force of arms and therefore should be treated accordingly.

The former can be acting in good faith where the Nation as a whole is concerned. The latter is more likely to be an instrument of nations antagonistic to ours (although he is also likely to believe that he is merely enlisting their support).

Admittedly the distinction between these two types is crudely drawn. We should examine the nature of subversiveness much more closely than we have done customarily. We may find that the chances for rehabilitation of persons in various kinds and degrees of subversiveness will vary. Domestic subversives probably would be more easily retrievable than the others.

Mr. McNAMARA. Based on your studies, Mr. Lerner, what are the circumstances under which political rioting occurs?

Mr. LERNER. In answering that question, it is helpful to consider three subjects: the functions of government, how those functions are defined or interpreted by the persons governed, and organized exploitation of real or alleged governmental inadequacies and injustices.

Mr. McNAMARA. Would you explain each of those in turn, beginning with the first one you mentioned, the function of government.

Mr. LERNER. Although there are many conceptions of the functions of government and how they should be performed, there are certain

kinds of activities which are essential to the existence of a society and which normally are performed by the government in modern societies.

Among these essential activities are: promulgation and enforcement of laws; maintenance of internal and external security; equilibration among conflicting interests when equitable settlements cannot be reached by the conflicting parties themselves; devising and administering programs for the economic, social, and medical health of the nation, and maintenance of enough of a sense of national unity and understanding to permit the nation to operate as a unified system.

Every citizen may be thought of as a party to an implied, quasi-contract with members of the government. In exchange for his vote and for the payment of his taxes he expects that a large number of functions and services—essential and nonessential—will be performed and that they will be performed with degrees of competence and justice which are greater than he could expect if he found it necessary to perform those functions alone or in the absence of government.

Now most citizens may not think of the existence of an implied contract of this kind and may not express their conceptions of governmental functions in this way. But I believe that this statement is consistent with the positions which most citizens would take.

Regardless of how we may prefer to express it, from a behavioral standpoint, the function of government is to meet the terms of the implied quasi-contract—as defined and interpreted by the citizen.

Mr. McNAMARA. Would you explain what you mean by the definition or interpretation of the function of the government, as distinguished from the actual function?

Mr. LERNER. This definition or interpretation is usually quite vague and changing. It is based largely on feeling, sentiments, and incomplete information. But it is especially significant because the attitudes which a person has toward the incumbents of government and—under some circumstances—the degree of allegiance which he has toward the government depends greatly on the way in which he appraises the competence and the justice with which governmental functions are performed. It is not the actual competence or the actual justice, but the way in which these qualities are perceived or understood that affects the attitude a person will take toward his government.

One of the indispensable characteristics of American interpretations of just and equitable performance of governmental functions is the idea that there is to be uniformity in the way that Government functions and services are applied.

It is expected that all groups and individuals will be treated by the Government on the basis of the same standards. It is expected also that the benefits or the penalties which a person receives from the Government will depend on what he does rather than on which group he belongs to.

Another indispensable characteristic of governmental justice as understood in this country is the idea that Government has some responsibility for assuring that there is no gross inequity in distribution of goods, in social status, or in any other aspect of the society.

Poverty, racial and ethnic prejudices, urban blight, educational deficiencies, crime and delinquency, for example, are regarded as concerns of the Government, although there are differences of opinion

as to the extent to which these concerns should be occupying the Government, rather than private organizations.

Such characteristics of our American definitions of governmental functions appear prominently in discussions of causes and remedies of recent urban rioting, although they frequently do not appear to be conspicuous in the thinking of those who have been engaged at least vocally in the rioting.

Mr. McNAMARA. And what about the third factor you mentioned, the exploitation of real or alleged inadequacies of government?

Mr. LERNER. Many persons in political life are inclined to take advantage of the flexibility and the vulnerability of our conceptions of the Government. Through information management, one-sided arguments, demonstrations, and sometimes through fabrications, skillful efforts are made to influence the conception which the public has of the Government for partisan purposes.

In recent years much of the partisan exploitation of alleged governmental inadequacies has been related to realistic problems—difficulties in enforcing school and housing integration; failure to eliminate deplorable living conditions; failure to provide adequate educational and occupational opportunities; and other conditions for which authorities at all levels of government may be held responsible—at least in part.

(However, I believe we should understand that no one alive today is actually responsible for the general social and economic conditions which have contributed to the riot-proneness of certain areas. We are all victims of the past.)

But associated with much of the rioting in the past few years, there has been a continual barrage of unrealistic charges regarding various local urban issues in the public communications media and in handbills and pamphlets circulated by political groups.

A highly persistent and vitriolic kind of exploitation has occurred in the form of grossly exaggerated and sometimes wholly false charges. I am referring to such charges as police brutality, genocide, and monolithic opposition of the "white power structure" to racial justice.

Mr. McNAMARA. How do people react to organized exploitation of the failure of governmental authority and power, either real or alleged?

Mr. LERNER. The most important determinant of this reaction is the set of basic attitudes and sentiments which people already have concerning the Government.

But other conditions are also important. For example, the degree to which the negative sentiments expressed by the exploiters are consonant with the feelings of the people; the esteem in which the exploiters are held by the people; the extent to which people feel deprived when they compare themselves with others; et cetera.

The latter condition is worth examining a bit. How does anyone know when he has enough of anything that he values: security, health, love, food, clothing, housing, intelligence, wealth, and so forth?

Assuming that minimum physical requirements are met, there is really no absolute standard which one can apply. It is only through comparison with others that one can arrive at a judgment. Whom a person chooses as a standard, of course, is a vital decision.

An urban Negro in a low-income group in the U.S. is unlikely to compare himself with an urban Russian or an urban Chinese or, as indicated in the testimony yesterday afternoon, a man in Harlem ordinarily will not compare himself with one in Watts, and vice versa.

Yet, if such a person were to appraise his standard of living against that of a Chinese, a Russian, or an average European, he might regard himself as relatively fortunate. But he is more likely to view himself with other nearby Negroes who have more than he or with nearby whites, many of whom may appear wealthy to him. And therefore he is likely to feel deprived and to be unaware or unmindful of the existence of many thousands of American whites who are poorer than he is.

This sense of comparative or relative deprivation which results from consistently unfavorable comparisons causes frustration, which in turn may lead to aggressive tendencies, especially when there are feelings of hopelessness and when there are organized efforts to incite negative tensions, emotions, and activity. The targets of aggression may be any person, organization, property, or symbol which can be associated with the frustration. A frustrated person may even attack himself—through self-depreciation, ulcers, alcoholism, drug addiction, or other forms of self-destruction, including suicide.

The forms and directions of aggression which may occur are determined by personal and situational factors. Propaganda, education, and also agitation by political agents may provide stimulants and opportunities for violent action such as that which takes place in riots. Under these circumstances, the targets of aggression are persons or symbols representing authorities or other persons who are in one way seen as responsible agents or as beneficiaries of the frustrating circumstances.

Mr. McNAMARA. Rioting is a group, rather than individual, action. What are the basic differences between individual and group behavior which affect rioting?

Mr. LERNER. Authorities in the field of crowds, mobs, and riots have made a number of observations about differences between individual and group behavior which help to account for some aspects of public disturbances.

Among the features of aggressive group action which are noteworthy for an understanding of recent urban rioting in the United States are:

- (a) weakening of customary restraints or inhibitions which ordinarily block illegal behavior and overtly aggressive action against authorities;
- (b) moral support for aggressive action from other participants in the group;
- (c) reinforced or increased power of the individual;
- (d) intensification of the influence of what might be called negative or antisocial norms; and so forth.

Mr. McNAMARA. What are the characteristics of group behavior in a riot situation?

Mr. LERNER. Two ways of looking at this are the external view and the subjective view.

Mr. McNAMARA. Would you explain each of these. What are the external characteristics?

Mr. LERNER. External characteristics which are ordinarily cited by specialists in this field are:

Mental homogeneity—that is, participants in the riots seem to be of a similar state of mind and attitude;

Emotionality—that is, deep and volatile emotions appear to be expressed;

Irrationality—there often appears to be little reason for the destructive activity which a mob or rioters become engaged in;

Tendencies for growth—that is, crowds seem to accumulate to attract bystanders, and to grow rather quickly;

Spirals of emotion and aggression—that is, there seems to be a progression of incidents from mild disturbances to more intense ones, and this progression may be repeated.

Mr. McNAMARA. What are the subjective characteristics?

Mr. LERNER. Participants in riots are reported to be under tension which requires some kind of discharge. They are also sometimes seen as being in need of direction.

Another characteristic is the feeling of anonymity: since most participants feel themselves as being part of a large group, they tend to identify closely with the crowds and the events around them and to believe that they themselves are not being given attention as individuals. Therefore, they believe that they can engage in acts anonymously.

This characteristic leads to another one that is frequently mentioned, namely, decline in the sense of responsibility—this refers to the weakening of customary restraints and to the intensification of negative norms which we mentioned earlier; but it involves primarily the feeling that there is no personal accountability for any of the damage that is done.

Another related characteristic is an impression of universality—the belief that everyone is doing it; that the feelings, attitudes, and actions are shared by everyone.

Regression is another trait which is mentioned—a tendency to revert to childish, infantile, and primitive feelings.

Another characteristic is narrowing of perception—that is, the focusing of attention on one idea, one act, or a small number of incidents so that there is a loss of perspective.

Mr. McNAMARA. What are the steps in the development of a riot from a psychological point of view? How can these characteristics you have mentioned be used to stage a riot?

Mr. LERNER. First, we should refer to a propaganda stage or a pre-conditioning stage, or some such label—something which occurs prior to the riot itself and which extends over a protracted period.

Mr. McNAMARA. Will you enlarge on that? What happens in this stage?

Mr. LERNER. This stage may take place over days, weeks, months, or years. It involves the dissemination of messages which are strongly opposed to authority, who may be characterized as incompetent, unjust, corrupt, or brutal.

In recent years in urban areas these kinds of propaganda have taken the form of allegations regarding the evils of whites, the unyielding opposition to blacks by the “white power structure,” police brutality, genocide, and so forth.

In addition to these kinds of negative and destructive propaganda, we have witnessed what could be a healthy encouragement of Negro consciousness and self-appreciation if it could be kept free of racism and divisiveness.

On the other hand, there also have been some efforts to encourage civil and uncivil disobedience. The effects of these various positive and negative forms of propaganda and education are only partly understood and should be examined carefully by political leaders and social scientists so that we can learn to realize more benefit and to incur less damage from these activities.

Mr. McNAMARA. After the propaganda stage, what is the next step in the development of a political riot?

Mr. LERNER. The next stage—it is actually almost concurrent with the first one—is a feeling of resentment over unjust deprivation, that is, over the real or imagined comparative deprivation that we referred to before.

Normal dissatisfactions—as a result of propaganda—become deepened into great resentment and high levels of tension over real or imagined failures by authority to meet their terms of the implied contract between citizen and government.

Mr. McNAMARA. What step or development follows that?

Mr. LERNER. Persons may assemble to observe some kind of altercation during an arrest or for some kind of demonstration. There usually are rumors—natural and synthetic—which heighten the tension of the crowd.

Demonstrations, speeches, sprinkling of agitative activity throughout the crowd, shouting of abuses against authority, exhortations toward violence, and sometimes corrective police action bring the level of tensions to a point almost necessitating violent discharge. The crowds wait for direction and for discharge of tension and are not placated by admonitions to be peaceful, even when these admonitions come from people to whom the crowds have been sympathetic and who have stirred them into this state of tension.

Mr. McNAMARA. What follows the crowd crisis?

Mr. LERNER. What might be called the riot-inciting idea or incident.

Mr. McNAMARA. What do you mean by that?

Mr. LERNER. An incident, or an especially inflammatory statement, provides a spark which sets off large numbers of persons into destructive activity. The riot-inciting event may be the shooting of a popular figure; the impact of a flying wedge of policemen on a trapped crowd; the beginning of some minor but conspicuous damage which diverts the attention of the police or which cannot be controlled, and so forth.

Mr. McNAMARA. Then what happens?

Mr. LERNER. The riot. External and internal characteristics such as those mentioned earlier are activated, and rioting occurs.

Mr. McNAMARA. How would you explain this riot action from the psychological viewpoint?

Mr. LERNER. The riot has several kinds of significance to the participants. One of these is a physical and symbolic redress, or righting, of injustice. That is, the damage, the looting, the burning, which are reflected by rioters give them feelings of at least partial punishment

of authority for the supposed injustices which have incensed the crowd over an extended period of time and immediately prior to the riot.

In the eyes of the participants, the authorities or the power holders and others identified with the established order have been guilty; and the rioters have been victims. The damage symbolizes the punishment of the guilty. This drama of crime and punishment, because of its nature, also tends to increase the status of the participants in an imaginary power struggle. They feel they have demonstrated to themselves and to the world that they have more power than was expected and that they can exert greater control over authority than before.

Mr. McNAMARA. Following the riot itself, what is the next stage or step?

Mr. LERNER. A political goal of the rioter either is achieved or not achieved; and, where professional organizers are concerned, strategic and tactical plans are adjusted for new rounds of political action, which may or may not include demonstrations, riots, sabotage, or insurgencies, but almost always involves a new propaganda and agitation program which takes into account the lessons and the results of the rioting.

A political goal of the rioter ordinarily is an increase in legitimate power—actual or symbolic. That is, he seeks policies, representatives, or circumstances which are more responsive to his preferences, needs, and control than in the past; and he wants this increased responsiveness to be an accepted, unchallenged fact.

He seeks representatives whom he believes will meet the terms of their implied contract more competently, and more justly than has been the case, on the basis of his opinions and standards.

Where professional subversives are involved, especially what we have called foreign subversives, follow-through exploitation of the riot will occur irrespective of whether the kinds of political goals that I have just referred to have been achieved. They seek renewal and intensification of community tensions, disorder, and confusion. Such efforts may be coordinated with other diverse efforts by foreign powers and their agents to gain advantage in international relations.

These stages should be understood as general concepts which help describe much of the recent political rioting. They do not necessarily apply to all cases. It should be understood also that during political rioting of this kind, other action by opportunists can occur. For example, much of the looting is a nonpolitical accompaniment to the riots. Also, guerrilla units—one person or small groups—may take advantage of the riot by sniping and by other specialized acts of theft, destruction, and terror.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Lerner, you have studied much of the available open literature on the subject of political rioting. You have given it much thought; you have applied your knowledge of the social sciences to the matter. Based on these things, do you find evidence of subversion in political rioting?

Mr. LERNER. Yes. There is no question about it.

It is a matter of routine knowledge among those who have given some careful attention to this subject. The existence of subversion in the political rioting of recent years already has been announced and documented by agencies which are responsible for surveillance over such matters, including congressional committees and the FBI.

As an example of this I would like to quote from testimony of John Edgar Hoover, February 16, 1967, before a House Subcommittee on Appropriations:

Communists and other subversives and extremists strive and labor ceaselessly to precipitate racial trouble and to take advantage of racial discord in this country. Such elements were active in exploiting and aggravating the riots, for example, in Harlem, Watts, Cleveland, and Chicago.

The question therefore is not whether there has been subversion in the rioting, but rather has the subversion been of such a nature and of such a degree that warrant new legislation, new enforcement measures, or reexamination of judicial interpretations?

But even if we were to cast aside the official information such as that which I have just quoted and if we were to deal only with the information which is available in public news media and in the libraries, there would be no question about the existence of subversion in recent urban rioting because the acts of many of the rioters—individually and collectively—are themselves subversive.

All the rioting is criminal; some of it is conducive to subversion; and some of it constitutes what we have called domestic subversion.

The question is, What has been the *role* of subversion in the rioting? Now these acts may range from comparatively minor civil and uncivil disturbances which may be regarded as borderline cases between petty criminality and subversion—even though there is some controversy over their legitimacy—to the occasional open acknowledgement by participants that their intention is to burn down the entire Nation, to destroy the “white power structure,” to set up a separate black nation by force, and so on.

Mr. McNAMARA. In addition to the items you have mentioned, what further evidence do you find of subversion in political rioting?

Mr. LERNER. Leaders frequently and openly proclaim their intentions to foment a riot and to destroy the existing power structure or form of government, and they take credit for having instigated rioting and violence.

The kinds of statements that I am referring to may be illustrated by the following: The first quotation that I have here is from the *New York Times* of July 26, 1967:

Stokely Carmichael was quoted by the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina today as saying that American Negroes were organizing urban guerrillas for “a fight to the death.”

* * * * *

According to the agency’s account—

And this is quoting Carmichael:

“In Newark we applied war tactics of the guerrillas,” he said. “We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to be a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death.”

He said he decided to come to Cuba because of the message of Che Guevara last April which “called on Latin-American revolutionaries to create two, three or more Vietnams.” He said the leader was an “inspiration to American Negroes,” and so on.

There are dozens of such quotations here.

Another example is from a recent speech by H. Rap Brown here in Washington, D.C.:

We stand on the eve of a black revolution, brothers. Masses of our people are in the streets. They are fighting tit for tat, tooth for tooth, a eye for an eye, and a life for a life. The rebellions that we see are merely dress rehearsals for the revolution that's to come. We better get ourselves some guns and prepare ourselves. I want to tell you why. I want to tell you why you have to be armed to win against this animal—and a hunky ain't nothin' but a animal. Plainfield, New Jersey, was the most successful, most successful rebellion rather, that had been held in America. * * * Evil is evil! Lyndon Johnson is evil. The only reason Goldwater lost the election was that he told the truth. He told niggers he hated them, Johnson fooled you, you runnin' around here thinkin' that a two-gun outlaw, a cracker from Texas was gonna love black people. Johnson is the most violent man going. He is killing black people in Vietnam and he's killing them in Detroit.

The point here is that this kind of talk can whip up crowd feeling, as it presumably did in Cambridge. This is one form of subversion. It also, incidentally, could be judged as criminal libel.

Mr. McNAMARA. In addition to these open proclamations, what other evidence have you found of subversiveness in political rioting?

Mr. LERNER. There are definite patterns which are repeated over and over again in subversively manipulated riots and in their development, for example:

The style and timing of many police brutality allegations have been identified by specialists on the riots as characteristic of certain subversive groups; the poster entitled "Wanted for Murder" with the name and the picture of a policeman who has been made a temporary symbol of police brutality was used both in Harlem by the Harlem Defense Council, a subsidiary of the Progressive Labor Movement, during the 1964 riots and in Los Angeles; the stoning of firemen after fires have been set; the organized chanting of slogans; the references to genocide; the distribution of inflammatory handbills by known subversive groups giving instructions on how to make Molotov cocktails and on how to disrupt and to kill white persons; the actual behavior of rioters in a manner consistent with these instructions; and the use of youth and student groups as auxiliaries in ways which a number of subversive groups have done over the years.

The frequent, systematic repetition of such standardized events, styles, and sequences in widely dispersed areas could not be accidental. For such events to have occurred just once would have required planning, organizing, training, and preparing.

Mr. McNAMARA. Is there any other evidence?

Mr. LERNER. Yes. In some cases even long-range hopes and plans are stated orally or in writing.

One of these statements which may be cited—this is quoted from *The Crusader*, monthly newsletter published by Robert F. Williams, February 1964—describes a Negro revolution of the United States. Williams, the exiled leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, is reported to have met Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and Lin Piao and to have worked with guerrilla warfare specialists in Peking and Havana. Here is the excerpt:

When massive violence comes, the USA will become a bedlam of confusion and chaos. The factory workers will be afraid to venture out on the streets to report to their jobs. The telephone workers and radio workers will be afraid to report. All transportation will grind to a complete standstill. Stores will be destroyed and looted. Property will be damaged and expensive buildings will be reduced to ashes. Essential pipe lines will be severed and blown up and all manner of sabotage will occur. Violence and terror will spread like a firestorm. A clash will occur

inside the armed forces. At U.S. military bases around the world local revolutionaries will side with Afro G.I.'s. Because of the vast area covered by the holocaust, U.S. forces will be spread too thin for effective action. U.S. workers, who are caught on their jobs, will try to return home to protect their families. Trucks and trains will not move the necessary supplies to the big urban centers. The economy will fall into a state of chaos.

This racist imperialist oppressor will not be brought to his knees, simply because of the fighting ability and military power of Black Freedom Fighters and their allies inside the U.S., but because of the creation of economic, chaotic conditions, total disorganization, frustration of his essential and ultra vital organs of production, and adverse conditions created by the world wide liberation struggle. Such a formidable enemy will fall prey to the new concept of revolution because of his ultra modern and automated society and the lack of psychological conditioning of his forces. Our people have already been conditioned by almost 400 years of violence, terror and hunger.

The new concept of revolution defies military science and tactics. The new concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities with the paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas. The old method of guerrilla warfare, as carried out from the hills and countryside, would be ineffective in a powerful country like the USA. Any such force would be wiped out in an hour. The new concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern and fierce weapons. The new concept creates conditions that involve the total community, whether they want to be involved or not. It sustains a state of confusion and destruction of property. It dislocates the organs of harmony and order and reduces central power to the level of a helpless, sprawling, octopus. During the hours of day sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping. Night brings all out warfare, organized fighting and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces. Such a campaign will bring about an end to oppression and social injustice in the USA in less than 90 days and create the basis for the implementation of the U.S. Constitution with justice and equality for all people.

Mr. McNAMARA. In addition to the statement of such plans, are there other elements which also provide evidence of subversion?

Mr. LERNER. Yes. There are usually standardized and grossly unfair attacks on forces or agencies of authority and law and order—police, city administration, security and defense agencies, et cetera.

The agency attacked will depend on the location of the riot (ghetto area, university campus, et cetera); the nature of the rioters and audience (students, general population, Negroes, et cetera); and the immediate objective of the riot (violence to undermine local authority, to discredit National Government policy, domestic or foreign), et cetera. The Secretary of State or of Defense would not be a useful target in a ghetto, but they would be on a campus. On the other hand, the police are a natural target in slums, regardless of the racial composition of the area. And it is a normal tactic of Communists and other subversives and insurgents to attack the police. As observed by J. Edgar Hoover:

The riots and disorders of the past 3 years clearly highlight the success of this Communist smear campaign in popularizing the cry of "police brutality" to the point where it has been accepted by many individuals having no affiliation with or sympathy for the Communist movement.

We should bear in mind also that evidence of subversive involvement—both domestic and foreign—has been presented in detail by many specialists, including undercover agents and former participants. The most recent example that I know of is a small book by Phillip A. Luce called *Road to Revolution*. Moreover, there have been a number of reports in the press—although it is difficult to establish their validity—that rightwing groups may have had a hand in some of the rioting such as that which occurred in Los Angeles and Detroit.

If this were true and if the groups involved had subversive objectives, this would constitute another form of domestic subversion in the recent rioting.

But I believe we should be less concerned with the validity of reports of this kind or with the actual causal relationships between subversive activity and rioting and more concerned with the *potentially* destructive aspects of subversive presence in rioting areas.

Mr. McNAMARA. In discussing patterns which appear in political riots and which are evidence of subversive influence, Mr. Lerner, you mentioned the involvement of young people. It is true, is it not—and generally accepted—that youths are more easily aroused emotionally and stimulated to violent action, than are older persons?

Mr. LERNER. Yes. Young people are more volatile and more emotional than older persons; and this is true for both positive and negative emotions. And insecure youngsters are more apt to act impulsively than comparatively secure youngsters. Resentful and unhappy young people can be stimulated to violent action with relative ease.

Mr. McNAMARA. Would you also say, Mr. Lerner, that the type of youth who would be a member of a teenage gang would be less capable of making an objective analysis of some alleged injustice than would the average youth?

Mr. LERNER. Assuming that you refer to a member of a delinquent gang, I would say that a boy of that kind would be both less able and less willing to make an objective analysis of an alleged injustice than other, better adjusted youths.

The gang member, because of his life experience, already has a strong disposition toward assuming injustices for two major reasons:

He does not need proof of the existence of widespread injustice. His own life experience constitutes an enormous, unpardonable injustice to him. Therefore, his emotional structure and his beliefs are highly receptive and congenial to any suggestion of injustice. He has firsthand evidence of injustice, and he is accustomed to episodes of anger and aggression.

The second reason for the gang member's disposition to accept allegations of injustices with less objectivity than other persons is that, on the average, boys in delinquent gangs are less informed about public affairs outside of their own immediate experiences and less inclined toward careful weighing of facts than other boys of comparable age.

Mr. McNAMARA. Is it also true, Mr. Lerner, that youths generally are much more open or susceptible to suggestion than are adults and have a stronger inclination toward physical outlooks or solutions to their problems than do adults?

Mr. LERNER. Yes. Youths are more suggestible and impressionable than adults. And even well-adjusted, privileged, and intelligent youths are generally not well informed about public affairs.

Youths are more readily disposed to physical responses to frustration and they tend to be more idealistic, more highly sympathetic to the underdog, and more highly displeased over apparent deficiencies in the social structure than adults.

All of these characteristics make youths a good target for propaganda by those who may wish to represent themselves as sincere, legitimate reformers or idealistic revolutionaries.

These qualities also make young people good recruits for auxiliary roles in demonstrations and riots. A high proportion of the participants in recent urban riots have been youngsters; and many of these persons have been organized and trained to make Molotov cocktails and to perform other operations during riots.

Mr. McNAMARA. Based on your studies, Mr. Lerner, would you have any recommendations for dealing with riot situations?

Mr. LERNER. Yes. I would divide them into emergency steps and long-term programs; and since these hearings, as well as the jurisdiction of this committee, are limited to inquiry into subversive activity, I would emphasize measures here for dealing with that problem.

Mr. McNAMARA. What immediate or emergency actions would you recommend?

Mr. LERNER. Emergency steps are those which should be taken immediately at the threat or outbreak of a riot. These include isolation of agitators and roundup of militant leaders. Ideally, known organizers and agitators, as well as their associates, should be insulated from riot situations.

Also emergency regulations should permit police to forbid public assembly temporarily during tense periods. Public accounts of riots have shown frequently that outbreaks of violence occurred only after rumors and inflammatory accusations against police have been made during crowd crises.

At least twice during the New York riots, for example, outbreaks occurred after protest assemblies and demonstrations had raised crowd tensions to apparently unbearable levels.

There must be a strong showing of competence and force whenever a crowd crisis seems to be emerging. The community also must be informed that police force will be used immediately during any attempted violence, and the police must execute their riot-control plans promptly, intelligently, and firmly.

The police must also make provisions for maintenance of control of force and control of communications. That is, special emergency provisions must be made for protection of stores which sell firearms, newspaper plants, television and radio stations, and arsenals.

Steps of this kind may appear unnecessarily rigorous and repressive, but they are recognized as essential by persons who have observed or analyzed organized political rioting in various countries, including the United States.

Mr. McNAMARA. In answering that last question, Mr. Lerner, you made reference to rumors and the almost universal use of them in the course of recent riots in this country. I believe that Gordon W. Allport is recognized as one of the outstanding authorities in the sociological field on the subject of group or collective behavior; is that correct?

Mr. LERNER. Yes. He is a distinguished social psychologist who has done fine work on rumor, prejudice, and related problems.

Mr. McNAMARA. I have a quotation from a statement he made in 1947. I am wondering if you would agree with it: "We may state as dependable law that no riot or lynching ever occurs without the aid of rumor."

Would you agree with that statement?

Mr. LERNER. I would have to think about it a little bit. Perhaps he was overstressing rumor or preoccupied with it, because the statement

appears to exclude exceptions. The phrase, "no riot or lynching ever," sounds absolute and final.

In one sense the statement probably can be defended on psychological grounds because, no matter what the facts are, a person tends to sharpen and distort them in order to give himself justification for violent behavior which is normally proscribed by conscience and by law.

In that sense, I would say probably he was correct; but I would prefer to state the law something like this: "Riots or lynchings generally occur with the aid of rumor." This is related to the "riot-inciting idea" which was mentioned as one of the events in a political riot sequence in our discussion today. In any case, there is ample evidence that rumors—especially concerning supposed misbehavior of police during arrests, questioning, or crowd control—have played a substantial part in igniting our recent riots.

Mr. TUCK. Let us take a 5-minute recess.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. TUCK. The committee will come to order.

Proceed, Mr. McNamara.

Mr. McNAMARA. Based on your studies, Mr. Lerner, what long-term recommendations would you make for dealing with riot situations and potentials?

Mr. LERNER. Among the long-term recommendations—and all of these must be regarded as tentative and as being offered by one citizen involved in a personal study of these matters and still in the study stage—are the following:

This committee, I believe, should examine the feasibility of legislation or other action which would accomplish or encourage these items:

(1) Make ethnic "hate" activities a Federal offense; outlaw incitement propaganda directed against ethnic groups—racial, religious, or national.

Legislation of this kind could be equivalent to section 6 of the Race Relations Act of 1965 in Great Britain which reads as follows:

Incitement to racial hatred. (1) A person shall be guilty of an offense under this section if, with intent to stir up hatred against any section of the public in Great Britain distinguished by colour, race, or ethnic or national origins—

(a) he publishes or distributes written matter which is threatening, abusive or insulting; or

(b) he uses in any public place or at any public meeting words which are threatening, abusive or insulting,

being matters or words likely to stir up hatred against that section on grounds of colour, race, or ethnic or national origins.

(2) Impose limited weapons control on those who have been engaged in subversive, as well as other criminal activity. The movement toward increased regulation in the distribution of arms is gaining substantial support. There is at least as much basis for limited access to arms by subversives as by other criminals.

(3) Formulate a set of civil duties which corresponds to civil rights. In every society rights imply duties, and the implied contract between the citizen and his government assumes both rights and duties.

Those duties which Americans expect of themselves in exchange for their rights should be made explicit and should be incorporated in our Constitution.

The terms of our vague, quasi-contract between government and citizen should be made somewhat more precise than they are now. One of the natural duties which should be made explicit is to uphold the legal system and to refrain from weakening it. Failures to discharge duties should be associated with suitable reduction of rights.

(4) Renew consideration of the desirability of selectively and temporarily reducing rights to speech and assembly of subversives. In 1947, the U.S. President's Committee on Civil Rights strongly opposed "special" limitations on the rights of Communists and Fascists to speak and assemble. This is a quotation from the report of that committee:

Our national past offers us two great touchstones to resolve the dilemma of maintaining the right to free expression and yet protecting our democracy against its enemies. One was offered by Jefferson in his first inaugural address: "If there be any among us who wish to dissolve the Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." The second is the doctrine of "clear and present danger." This was laid down as a working principle by the Supreme Court in 1919 in *Schenck v. United States* in an opinion written by Justice Holmes. It says that no limitation of freedom of expression shall be made unless "the words are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent." The next year in a dissenting opinion in *Schaefer v. United States* Justice Brandeis added this invaluable word of advice about the application of the doctrine: "Like many other rules for human conduct, it can be applied correctly only by the exercise of good judgment, and in the exercise of good judgment, calmness is, in time of deep feeling and on subjects which excite passion, as essential as fearlessness and honesty."

The situation today is materially different from that of 1947. Today, I believe that reasonable, honest, and prudent men—who examine the evidence and who exercise good judgment and calmness—will conclude that the danger we face is sufficiently clear and present to warrant our imposing a selective, temporary reduction of the rights to speak and assemble. I feel that this point of view should be put to the test of a national referendum during the 1968 election.

(5) Encourage Negro and white leaders who are committed to the solution of Negro and other poverty problems—rather than to unyielding opposition to authority—to devise specific, workable programs for bringing the quality of Negro life in this country to an acceptable level, when compared with that of Caucasians. And in doing so emphasize that the programs should be for all economically disadvantaged Americans and that they should be based on standards which can be applied uniformly, without racial preference.

Among the items which should be considered in programs of this sort are establishing of occupational training and opportunities outside of congested urban areas. Productive and continuous employment would give the poor and the young a big enough stake in our society to make them securely resistant to malicious and divisive propaganda and slogans. Dispersion of those in congested areas would diminish opportunities of subversives to organize mob action by chronic dissidents.

(6) Provide a program for rehabilitation of subversives and insurgents along with the restrictions on them. This program should involve gradual restoration of rights as progress is made in rehabilitation, and it should include occupational training for riot participants.

(7) Consider the advisability of broadening the mandate of this committee—or of broadening the interpretation of the current man-

date—to encompass increased constructive action toward dealing with the conditions which create subversives in this country and toward rehabilitation of subversives.

This committee, I believe, should be concerned with the general question of national cohesion, unity, and understanding because successful control of subversion requires both positive as well as repressive measures.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Lerner, we commend you for your very exhaustive and scholarly study and dissertation on this subject. Thank you for coming before our committee and cooperating with us in this respect.

I am sure your statement and views in regard to these matters, together with your recommendations, will be given careful consideration by the members of the committee in formulating plans as to what can be done under these conditions.

I have taken from the statement that you have made some little time back in your testimony that you agree with a great many of us that civil disobedience is really subversive.

Is that right?

Mr. LERNER. Civil disobedience is by definition criminal or delinquent when it violates law. It is subversive if the objective is to weaken or overturn the institutions or the Government of the country.

Mr. TUCK. I recognize you can make a distinction between violating a law just for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of an act, but one who goes out and continues to engage in acts of civil disobedience in violation of the law of the State, locality, or the Federal Government, that is subversive under your definition; is it not?

Mr. LERNER. Continual violations of law, whether we call that subversive or not I think is partly a matter of taste as to what kind of word we want to use.

Mr. TUCK. You seem to find some more euphemistic term. After all it really amounts to subversion, does it not?

Mr. LERNER. I am not inclined to look for a more euphemistic term. On the contrary, I have referred to it as criminality and delinquency and I think that is bad enough.

Mr. TUCK. I think so, too.

I don't see much difference between criminality and subversiveness except that subversiveness implies overthrowing the form of our Government, whereas criminality carries with it only the connotation of the violation of the laws for the convenience of the individual.

How would you describe the conduct of a person or a group who congregate in front of a person's place of business or congregate on a principal street of a city in such a fashion as to impede and hamper and harass the public in transacting their business in the ordinary course of trade or in pursuing their chosen avocation?

Mr. LERNER. Presumably that kind of activity is opposed to the local ordinances. If it is, then it is what I call criminal and/or delinquent.

Mr. TUCK. What would you call a program such as is being espoused now by certain individuals, of bringing a group of people here to the Capital of the United States, the seat of the Government of the United States, to engage in some sort of activity described by those individuals as disruption, supposedly meaning the disruption of the activities of

the civilians of the city and also disruption of the activities of the Government of the United States?

MR. LERNER. Again a question is, would the program be in violation of the law. If yes, it would be criminal and delinquent.

If no, that raises still another question, and that is, what is the motive. If the motive, for example, is to overthrow the Government or to weaken the structure of the Government to the point where it can be overthrown, then you can begin to speak in terms of an incipient subversiveness. One key to a solution of this definition and classification problem is whether or not what is being done is consistent with, or opposed to, local ordinances. Another key is motive. Still another is effect.

MR. TUCK. Intent is generally one of the principles of law. I am just a country lawyer, but the act generally carries with it intent.

If the effect of what this organization proposes to do is to disrupt the Government of the United States in time of war—and we are certainly in a limited war, in a national emergency—then it seems to me that that would border on the traitorous.

MR. LERNER. In sentiment I agree with you, if an intent of that organization is to interfere with the conduct of the war to our disadvantage.

I feel that any such activity, if the purpose is to disrupt the Government during time of war and to compromise the national interest in relation to an adversary, borders on something that is traitorous or subversive.

I would say my attitude is consistent with yours, Mr. Chairman, as to how we should feel about these things; and I would examine intent, action, and effect in such cases before passing judgment.

MR. TUCK. Thank you, sir. I am glad we agree.

I also notice a statement you made in regard to an emergency authority. You understand the function of this committee is not passing of any social or economic legislation.

We are interested, of course, in the solution of the social and economic problems that disturb the people of this country at this time. Nevertheless, it is the function of this committee, certainly to a large extent, to deal with subversive activities and activities destined to thwart the Government in its functions.

I notice you mention emergency authority. I take it from what you said that you believe in the use of whatever force necessary by the police to suppress this lawlessness and to require these people to adhere strictly to the law?

MR. LERNER. I would say very definitely yes, although I would say this reluctantly. Whatever force necessary should be used quickly, firmly, and intelligently. But better yet, circumstances which make force necessary should be prevented by other methods if possible.

MR. TUCK. I do not believe in using more force than is necessary. I do not believe in police beating up some individual after he has already subdued him. But you do agree with me that it would be helpful in these instances if the police would use whatever force is necessary to subdue a person who is engaged in an unlawful activity?

MR. LERNER. Yes, sir. That is a function of the police.

MR. TUCK. The gentleman from Missouri.

MR. ICHORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Lerner, Mr. McNamara asked you the question, how do you explain the riots from a psychological viewpoint. Part of your reply was that, in the eyes of the participants, the authorities have been guilty, the participants have been the victims, and the damage symbolizes the punishment of the authorities.

I wonder if that is very descriptive of a great many of the riots the Nation experienced this summer in that a great part, if not a majority, of the damage was inflicted upon Negro property itself?

MR. LERNER. I think that is an interesting question.

I would like to comment, before we get to the Negro aspect of it, on whether there are other features of the summer riots which indicate that for certain kinds of participants the damage did not symbolize punishment of the guilty. To the extent that subversives were involved, for example, you might question whether they felt that we were punishing anybody who was really guilty.

But even an outright cynic or a psychopath, lacking in conscience, would need some kind of justifying cause or excuse—valid or invalid—to motivate large numbers of persons to engage in rioting. It might seem that some people do not need an excuse, but only an opportunity. Yet, except in rare cases, we would find that they do have an excuse—often an irrational, irrelevant, and highly personal one, but nevertheless one which would cause tension. My point is that the mass of the rioters would need some justification for themselves to behave that way. And the damage—destruction, theft, loss of life, loss of dignity, and so on—signifies a redress of real or imagined injustice, however vaguely the injustice may be understood; and therefore inflicting that damage helps to discharge tension.

As for the damage inflicted on Negroes or on Negroes' property, we should understand that middle-class and wealthy Negroes are a symbol of authority and an object of aggression to lower-class Negroes just as whites are.

An illustration of the negative feelings which poor Negroes sometimes have toward middle-class and wealthy Negroes occurred during the rioting in Detroit this summer, when it was reported that a rioter threatened a well-dressed Negro standing nearby: "We will get you rich niggers next."

This example demonstrates that a person who has been comparatively deprived, a person who believes himself to be socially or economically disadvantaged relative to others, can feel deeply hostile toward them. Because they seem to be favored beneficiaries, they symbolize to him the social order that has been evil or guilty as far as he is concerned.

The fact that they possess more than he constitutes evidence of this guilt in his thinking. You might say this does not really make sense. But psychologically and emotionally it does make sense. We resent people who have more than we have irrespective of what group they belong to. We tend to think of them as being guilty because they have more. Poor whites sometimes feel this way about middle-class and rich whites. Among Negroes the negative feelings may be compounded and intensified by racial overtones, as expressed by terms like "Whitey" and "Uncle Tom."

Mr. ICHORD. To them then a great many of the authorities are the Negroes themselves in position of authority, Negro policemen, for example?

Mr. LERNER. I did not understand the question.

Mr. ICHORD. To them the authorities are the Negroes themselves?

Mr. LERNER. Partly speaking.

Mr. ICHORD. For example, a Negro policeman?

Mr. LERNER. Yes. The object of their aggression and the symbol of their authority partly is the advantaged Negro community, including Negro policemen.

Mr. ICHORD. I have heard many speakers say and have read many times that the Negro riots are the result of a hundred years of deprivation and discrimination. You indicated that you partially subscribe to that theory when I believe you said at one time to a great extent we are victims of the past.

Don't you think this is somewhat oversimplifying the matter; that is, in terms of relativity, the Negro today, even in the urban ghetto, is much better off politically, economically, and socially than he was 25 or 50 years ago or for that matter at any time in the history of the United States?

Mr. LERNER. It is true that it would be an oversimplification to state that the riots are just the result of generations of disadvantage or to state that we are victims of the past and nothing more. Apparently there is some misunderstanding because I said that we were not responsible for the acts of previous generations.

I do not feel that it is valid or constructive to say that the problem we face today is simply a result of what has happened over the last hundred years, or 350 years. The problem is what is happening now in this generation. Certainly Negroes are much better off today than they were a hundred years ago. They are much better off today than Negroes and whites in other countries, or some whites in this country, for that matter.

I am reminded of a statement attributed to Dick Gregory by *Life* magazine recently:

At a national conference of Black Power leaders held in Newark after the riots there, Dick Gregory * * * summed up in one word the direction of the 1967 riots. If asked what they wanted, Negroes, he recommended, should reply, "Nothing." Gregory explained: "How in the hell are you going to make a list of 400 years of them misusing you?"

But it would be unrealistic and almost meaningless to think of compensation for the deprivations of past generations. Other groups besides Negroes also could make lists of past deprivations and grievances. What would we do about the white Anglo-Saxon Protestants in the Appalachia and other descendants of the early settlers whose standards of living are lower than that of urban Negroes? What would we do about the families who lost 780,000 in the war which freed the Negroes? What would we do about southerners who were economic and social victims of that war and its aftermath and who sometimes even today are regarded as social inferiors by some persons in the North? A complete social and historical accounting would include a fantastic inventory. This sort of thinking would lead to impossibly complex, impractical, and meaningless tradeoffs. We can try to ar-

rive at equitable settlements only within the framework of living generations.

The point I was making earlier was that Negroes compare themselves with those who are immediately contiguous with them. People in Watts do not compare themselves with those in Harlem or in Cuba, but with those in Bel Air or some other community nearby.

This comparison results in a sense of deprivation that brings about feelings of resentment and aggression.

When I said that we are all victims of the past I meant that the entire community—all of us, white, blacks, everyone—are victims of our history. None of us has created the circumstances, the prejudices, the attitudes, and the values which constrain us, although we can influence them.

Therefore, none of us can be held wholly responsible for the situation. No one is really guilty. All of us are products of our heritage. I would say that the best that each generation can be expected to do is to make a determined effort to provide dignified social treatment and sufficient opportunities for satisfactory education, employment, and quality of life for everyone and to base compensation for work on uniformly applied standards of performance rather than group membership, except where physically and mentally handicapped persons are concerned. And I do not know of any scientific evidence that Negroes are a physically or mentally handicapped race.

Mr. ICHORD. I am very much interested in your long-term recommendations and particularly in regard to making "hate activities" a Federal offense. Of course, you realize that in this field we do encounter serious constitutional difficulties. That is, under our system of government the responsibility for enforcing most of our criminal laws has rested with local units of government, and to a great extent I think this has been the genius of the Federal system, the idea, the principle that government works better the closer it is to the people.

It is true that rioting has been widespread. It is a serious national problem. But aren't we going to be to a great extent modifying our system of government if we enact detailed Federal laws making this type of activity a criminal offense?

Mr. LERNER. Sir, it is my opinion that the answer is "no." As for legal tradition, our legal and political tradition is an outgrowth of that of Great Britain, which has been noted for its liberality and its concern for individual rights.

If it can be done there and it is consistent with their tradition, it seems to me it would not be inconsistent with ours. You have introduced another point, that is, the question of whether legislation of this kind should be Federal or State in scope.

I believe that the hate-incitement propaganda such as that which we have discussed is serious enough, very clearly serious enough since it is a national problem, to make this a Federal offense.

We consider something like counterfeiting a Federal offense. Printing, possession, or distribution of counterfeit money or possession of plates is each subject to Federal penalties of 15 years' imprisonment. If instead someone prints, speaks, or otherwise manufactures and distributes hate propaganda, this kind of currency—counterfeit ideas designed to divide and destroy—is much more seriously threatening and

damaging to our national cohesion, unity, and health than counterfeit money is.

Accordingly, if our system of legal control and remedies is to be rational, effective, and equitable, we should have Federal cognizance and regulation in the field of hate propaganda; and we should impose penalties which are at least as great here as for counterfeiting.

Mr. ICHORD. Don't you think that we have overlooked the responsibility of local units of government which have the prime responsibility; the enforcement of law, the keeping of law and order, is the responsibility of police, your district attorneys, your city councils, your State and other local units of government.

I know in my home State there were considerable rumors this summer of a riot going to occur in the city of St. Louis. As a matter of fact, I had one civil rights leader call me, quite concerned about being approached by one of Carmichael's cohorts who tried to persuade him that he could achieve fame by becoming another Carmichael.

There were considerable rumors of riots going to occur in St. Louis. But the Governor of the State stepped in and made it very clear by a very well-publicized announcement that he would meet force with force and that disobedience of the laws would not be tolerated in the State of Missouri.

The riot situation or the propensity to riot disappeared overnight. I am wondering if we have not been directing too much attention to the responsibility of the Federal Government in this field, and not to the responsibilities of the local units of government.

Mr. LERNER. From a broad perspective, sir, I believe I am not really qualified to answer that question so well as you are since I believe you have been observing both State and Federal action against crime and subversion more closely than I.

I can only speak in terms of personal preference. Since that preference is not a strong one and since I do not believe it is an issue here as I understand it, I would simply say I feel it should be a Federal offense and that I do not feel that we are overemphasizing the role of the Federal Government.

But this is a personal opinion.

I am much more concerned with the substance of the recommendation apart from its implementation on a Federal versus a local level. Although I am here to respond to your questions, sir, I am curious and, if I may, I would like to ask why this is an issue?

Mr. ICHORD. Of course, it is a matter of personal feeling.

By philosophy I have long been concerned about the movement of power from our local units of government to the Federal Government. This is the reason for my thinking along this line.

I am not naive enough to think that in our 50 States at all times you are going to have fair and just enforcement of the law. But I am optimistic enough to think that at least a majority of the time in the 50 States, in the majority of the 50 States, you are going to have fair and just enforcement of the laws.

When we move all responsibilities to the Federal Government there may be a time when we might have a Federal Government which is not a fair and just government and then we are really in trouble.

That simply is the—perhaps I am oversimplifying it—reason for

my concern about the Federal Government assuming broad responsibilities in the field of keeping peace and order.

Mr. LERNER. Sir, I understand and appreciate your explanation.

My comment, therefore, is that if we get to the point where our differences or discussions concern whether this kind of law should be a Federal law or State law, we would have made great progress.

First we would have to reach agreement on the question of whether we are going to have any law like that.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Chairman, I have one more question.

Mr. TUCK. We have a roll call. We can't remain here very long.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Lerner, when Mr. Younger was testifying yesterday and outlining the steps he would take if he wanted to start a riot, he said that he would not go to a city where no progress had been made but, on the contrary, he would select one where there had been definite improvement of the lot of the Negro. He did mention the fact that this might sound surprising to many people.

I have here a quotation from a study of the Los Angeles Watts riot made by some professors of the University of California Department of Sociology and based on what they found it would seem that they would agree with Mr. Younger. This is a quotation from their report:

Our data contradict the common notion that those persons who are the most deprived will sense the greatest frustrations and express the highest levels of discontent. Instead, they support the other common contention that those most aggrieved are those who have begun to overcome traditional barriers but who are impatient with the yet-existing constraints placed upon them. This point of view is well expressed by Pettee:

[They quote George S. Pettee, *The Process of Revolution*.]

"The consciousness of repression leads to discontent only when it is felt unnecessary. This is the reason why a rising class, which is actually becoming constantly better off objectively, generally rebels most readily, and why the most severe repression has so often failed to cause a revolution."

Would you care to comment on that finding as it is related to the view of Mr. Younger?

Mr. LERNER. That point of view has been expressed very widely by social scientists in recent months as one explanation for the fact that, even though there has been objective improvement in the lot of the Negro, there has been a tremendous amount of overt, violent aggression.

I think that there is a great deal of soundness to it. It is consistent, by the way, with a classic study in sociology which was done in a different field but which expresses a similar principle, a study which was published under the title of "The American Soldier."

This was large-scale studies of soldiers' attitudes on a wide variety of subjects. It was observed regularly that the adjustment to military life, feelings about military service, attitudes toward promotion, and other characteristics seemed to depend to a significant extent on the comparisons which soldiers made with others. Their standards, expectations, and aspirations seemed to arise from these comparisons.

For example, Air Corps personnel, whose opportunities for promotion were substantially greater than those of men in the ground forces, nevertheless were more critical of promotion policy than the latter.

Men in the Air Corps, when comparing themselves with others, apparently learned to be more highly sensitive to promotions and more expectant of them than ground forces personnel.

(Similarly, it may be reasoned, in recent years Negroes have begun to expect more, have been more likely to compare themselves with whites, and therefore have experienced greater impatience and resentment than before.)

An idea that has been expressed several times during this session, the idea that was referred to as relative or comparative deprivation and which was brought up during the discussion with Mr. Ichord, was developed and used by analysts in that study to explain many of the findings.

However, I think one other point ought to be made about this. To those concerned with constructive remedies, simply referring to comparative deprivation does not explain sufficiently the rise in Negro and other urban violence. And this is not just a question of the impatience of those who have recently begun to taste a change for the better. Nor is it simply discontent over what may be felt to be unnecessary repression.

I think other important elements also are involved. I am not completely clear on what these are, but I think the situation should be looked at very carefully. For example, I believe it would be highly dangerous to ignore the needs of youth in slums—of all races. In terms of job opportunities their lot is worsening, not improving. It would be at least equally dangerous to ignore the divisive influences of the very small groups of professional agitators and revolutionaries, a number of whom obscure and aggravate the problems with intensification of race hatred. And it would be disastrous to overlook the potential insurgency implications and the coordination with groups in other countries.

We cannot simply dismiss such matters and say that Negroes have more freedom than before, that they have had a taste of the good life, and that they want more. Some of that may be true. But we must look at the situation more carefully than this, both as scientists and as law-makers.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Lerner, I might say I share fully the views expressed by the gentleman from Missouri to the effect that the responsibility for the enforcement of law and suppression of lawlessness rests entirely with the locality and the States. The Federal Government has no business whatsoever in that area.

I am also concerned about another one of the long-range recommendations with respect to this British law. I am afraid that that might depend on what I like to think of as our freedom of speech.

The Virginia Bill of Rights, which has been incorporated into the Constitution of the United States, says that freedom of the press is one of the bulwarks of liberty and therefore all men have a right to speak and publish their sentiments on all subjects, being responsible only for the abuse of that right.

Of course, I think it is possible to draw a law dealing with the incitation to riot by someone. Certainly if someone who would be guilty of preaching hate would be violating some law to preach hate, I am afraid that might impinge on our constitutional liberties.

Mr. ICHORD. What the chairman is saying—the English under their parliamentary system of government can pass such laws very easily;

but under the constitutional form of government which we have, where you run up against the first amendment rights, freedom of speech, it is extremely difficult to draw an effective law within the meaning of the Constitution.

Mr. TUCK. Even if it were desirable it would not be constitutional.

Mr. LERNER. Mr. Chairman, I agree that the question should be asked in the context of our form of government rather than the parliamentary form and suggest that we ask it and at least one other question that was mentioned during the recommendations, in the form of a referendum to the Nation. This step certainly would be consistent with our tradition and practices.

Let the people decide whether the situation today is dangerous enough, whether the kinds of things we are talking about are in themselves intrinsically dangerous enough, to warrant such laws and such limitations, if you will, of freedom of speech.

We already limit other abuses of speech such as obscenity, libel, and contempt. In fact, in criminal libel, even the truth is not always a defense. And the Supreme Court at one time upheld an Illinois law against hate activity in a case involving a white supremacist. Therefore, it may be feasible to draw up a constitutional and effective statute on ethnic incitement.

Let us put at least two of the questions which we have raised here—(a) legislative control of ethnic hate activities and (b) emergency curtailment of rights by those engaged in subversion—in the form of referenda or in the form of an equivalent mechanism for expressing the will of the electorate.

Mr. TUCK. We thank you very much.

We have a roll call. The committee will stand in recess to meet again on the call of the chairman.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p.m., Thursday, October 26, 1967, the subcommittee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

Part 1

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1967

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina; also John C. Culver, of Iowa, in absence of Mr. Willis.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Ichord.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Chester D. Smith, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Donald T. Appell, chief investigator; and William A. Wheeler, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mayor, will you please stand?

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

Mayor YORTY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF HON. SAM YORTY, MAYOR OF LOS ANGELES, CALIF.¹

Mr. McNAMARA. Will you state your full name, address, and occupation for the record, please?

Mayor YORTY. Sam Yorty, Los Angeles, California.

Mr. McNAMARA. You are the mayor of Los Angeles?

Mayor YORTY. I am.

¹ Mayor Yorty, because of other commitments, was unable to testify during the initial phase of the committee's hearings in October. However, because he, like Mr. Evelle J. Younger, Mr. Adrian H. Jones, and Mr. Herman D. Lerner, was asked to testify as an authority on the subject of subversive influences in rioting, his testimony is included in part 1 of the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show, as everyone here knows, that Mr. Yorty was for a long time a distinguished Member of the House from California.

Mayor YORTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I worked hand in glove with him for years and years. I look back with pleasure to those years.

By the way, Mayor, where is Norris Poulson? He was also a colleague of ours.

Mayor YORTY. Norris Poulson?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mayor YORTY. He is living down at La Jolla. Unfortunately, he had some kind of injury to his voice, and it never cleared up. So, he has a very difficult time speaking. Otherwise, he is fine.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. McNamara.

Mr. McNAMARA. Will you give the committee a brief résumé of your background, please, Mayor?

Mayor YORTY. Yes. By profession, an attorney at law.

I first served in the California Legislature way back in 1936-1940.

I was an intelligence officer in the Air Force in 1942 to 1945 and again in the California Legislature in 1949 and a Member of Congress in 1950 to 1954 and mayor of Los Angeles since 1961.

Mr. McNAMARA. You referred, Mr. Mayor, to your service in the California Legislature in the 1930's. Did your duties in the legislature at that time develop in you any particular interest in the subject of communism?

Mayor YORTY. Yes. Those were the days of, I think, one of the most successful united front periods of the Communist Party, U.S.A. They had succeeded in infiltrating very heavily into at least one department of the State government, the Relief Department. It was so bad that I created the first State committee to investigate Un-American Activities by my resolution; of course, the legislature created it but it was my resolution, in 1939.

I was appointed chairman of the committee, and for 2 years we conducted a rather vigorous investigation which ultimately resulted in just abolishing the agency. It was so badly infiltrated we could not clean it out. We abolished it and turned the administration of relief over to the counties of the State rather than the State. Of course, I wrote a report in 1940 of our activities which I will be happy to let you have for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The report will be received for our files.

(Document marked "Yorty Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McNAMARA. The committee in which you played a leading role in organizing, Mayor Yorty, is still existing; is that not correct?

Mayor YORTY. It exists now as a senate committee, but when I was chairman it was a committee of the State assembly. After I left the legislature, it became a State senate committee and it has gone on and continued its work; yes.

Mr. McNAMARA. Ever since those days in the thirties, have you maintained a more than casual interest in the subject of communism?

Mayor YORTY. Yes. I have maintained an interest in their activities. They have certainly maintained an interest in mine.

Mr. McNAMARA. I would like to state for the record, Mr. Chairman, that the committee, as you know, originally hoped to have Mayor Yorty testify in the initial phase of our hearings along with Mr. Adrian H. Jones, Mr. Herman D. Lerner, and Mr. Evelle J. Younger, who testified as authorities on the subject of rioting in general. Unfortunately, Mayor Yorty had other commitments at that time and could not appear. This is the first day on which we have had hearings since then that he was free to testify before the committee.

Mayor Yorty, as mayor of one of the largest cities in the country, what, in your opinion, are some of the underlying factors which have caused the riots which we have seen take place in the last few years?

Mayor YORTY. I would think, Mr. Chairman, that it would be very hard in a relative order to name all the factors. But, because of the scope of this committee's hearing, I think that it would not be helpful to you to dwell at length on the social causes, such as discrimination, and upon some of the difficulties suffered by the minority people in the economic field, and so forth.

But I think for this committee I would certainly say that one of the factors is the constant repetition of subversive propaganda, the agitation, and propaganda conducted by the Communist Party within the framework of their historic objective to break down the respect for government, certainly for law and order, and to personalize, as they always do, this objective mainly in the police officer.

Mr. McNAMARA. Based on your experience, Mr. Mayor, do you believe that these riots which have taken place have been spontaneous or planned?

Mayor YORTY. I think that there are some of both. I think that there has been a broad propaganda campaign to create the right atmosphere for a violent opposition to law and order.

(At this point, Mr. Ashbrook entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. What you say with reference to your State, Mayor, that what happened in Watts is what occurred with reference to New York City—Harlem. An atmosphere certainly was created which was ripe for riots. By "created," I mean created by subversive elements.

Mayor YORTY. I believe that. I think that the propaganda over the years has been so constant and at times very effective, at times not quite so effective, but over the years it has been effective so that you create an atmosphere where a riot may break out spontaneously, in appearance, but actually where there has been a great groundwork laid for it.

I also think there are some riots where subversive forces have actually planned, perhaps only a demonstration as far as the general participants know, but where subversive elements would plan incidents that they would hope would spark a riot.

Incidentally, at this point, Mr. Chairman, perhaps you would be interested in this little folder which we put out in Los Angeles, entitled "The Big Lie." This is just a short history of the charge of police brutality, mainly in our community, but also nationally. The charge, of course, is contained in Communist publications such as *The Worker* and, on the West Coast, the *People's World*.

The first one we have listed here, but certainly not the first one where the charge has ever been made, is in 1946, called "Police terrorism." It says, "Negro is brutally beaten while shopping with family." Now,

that is 21 years ago that this was published on the West Coast in the *People's World*.

Then I think it is interesting to skip up here to a later one, 1964, in *The Worker*. It says, "Police Brutality to Be Detroit Election Issue."

Then again in 1965, in *The Worker*, "Negro Lad Is Latest Victim in Detroit of Trigger-Happy Cop."

So, for 21 years, by this little record that we have developed, we have had this agitation against the police department to inflame the people against the police.

I think this is part of the background of things that are happening in the country today. We have enough of these folders for all the members of the committee and the press, if they are interested.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Chairman, I would like to request that the Mayor Yorty report, "The Big Lie," which he has just described, be accepted for the hearing record as Yorty Exhibit No. 2.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Do you have copies?

Mayor YORTY. Yes, sir.

(Document marked "Yorty Exhibit No. 2" follows:)



Mayor Yorty Reports:

THE WORKER
June 21, 1964

THE WORKER
Sunday, December 27, 1964

Anti-Brutality Bill
Bottled Up; Police
Pressure Hearing

Police Brutality to Be
Detroit Election Issue

THE WORKER
No. 361 July 21, 1964

Murphy's Gestapo Cops
and
Rage

THE WORKER
Sunday, January 3, 1965

Negro Lad Is
Victim in Detroit
Trigger-Happy

BIG

DAILY PEOPLE'S WORLD
Friday, January 1, 1965
LA cops end year
with more brutality

PEOPLE'S WORLD
August 18, 1962

Charges traded as LA cop
brutality probes are launched

Cited on page 186 of the
Guide to Subversive Organi-
zations and Groups in the
United States, U.S. Senate
Committee on U.S. Internal
Security, House Report 1960
(Communist Party of the
U.S. in an affidavit filed
with the Government by House
Committee on Un-American
Activities, 8-17-64, Page 64
and volume 2, 1-17-64, Page 64)

Halt police terrorism

LA conference
to hear
out
Police terrorism
Negro brutality
while sleeping

Oakland cops cry
'Communist plot'
'Red' scare used to bury
charges of brutality

Communists accuse Yorty
intimidation
charged in
brutality case

Police terror
Negro brutality
while sleeping
Killer-cop defended

Citizens body urged
to hear charges
of police brutality

YORTY EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

WHILE PROTECTING YOU

197 police officers were murdered by criminals in the United States between 1960 and 1964.

57 police officers were murdered by criminals in 1964.

The number of policemen murdered annually in the line of duty has DOUBLED since 1960.

18,000 police officers were attacked while enforcing the law in 1964, or ONE OUT OF EVERY 10 POLICEMEN IN THE NATION.

7,738 policemen were physically injured in these attacks, or ONE OUT OF EVERY 24.

IN LOS ANGELES

13 officers have been murdered in the line of duty in the past 13 years, 4 OF THEM IN THE LAST 2½ YEARS.

In 1964, 592 officers were attacked in Los Angeles, or ONE OUT OF EVERY 9.

Since 1952, attacks on Los Angeles police officers have INCREASED 284%, with almost similar increases indicated in all other large cities.

The foregoing are facts obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Department of Justice, and the Los Angeles Police Department.

There are other facts which the police officers must accept in the course of protecting the public.

Verbal abuse of the police is a fact.

Attacks by self-seeking individuals and groups are a fact.

Citizen apathy is a fact.

Citizens "not wanting to get involved" is a fact.

Unrealistic paroles of convicted criminals are a fact. (Of the 13 police officers killed in the line of duty in Los Angeles, 8 were murdered by convicts on active parole.)

Overly technical Supreme Court decisions reversing convictions of even confessed criminals are a fact.

And, there is another fact that law enforcement agencies must accept.

The police of our nation have long been a prime target of the Communist Party.

When Lenin set forth the principles of the Communist revolution, dwelling primarily on the need to destroy law enforcement throughout the world, he recognized that governments can only be overthrown if respect for law enforcement is first impaired.

Writing in "State and Revolution" in 1917 (copyright 1932—International Publishers, New York) Lenin stated:

"To destroy officialdom immediately, everywhere, completely . . . to reduce all officialdom to naught... is the direct and urgent task of the revolutionary proletariat."

Following this doctrine, the Communist Party has continued to deal with mass emotional appeal. Capitalizing on the resistance of some people to any discipline, the Communist press has seized upon the propoganda-loaded phrase... POLICE BRUTALITY, and has led many unsus-

pecting dupes into helping to carry out the Party's poisonous program.

Ignoring Budapest, Warsaw, Prague, and other places where Communist police have murdered and imprisoned countless innocent victims, the Communist press in this country attempts to twist every arrest into an act of American "police brutality." The deceptive and constantly repeated cry is the same in every non-Communist country—the "Big Lie" technique they have used so effectively throughout their history.

ACCORDING TO U.S. NEWS (SEPTEMBER 6, 1965):

In Berkeley in 1964, student demonstrators at the University of California staged disorders in defiance of university authorities and police. A student "Police Brutality Committee" began grinding out propoganda before the first arrest. Students were primed to start chanting "Police Brutality" as soon as officers arrived on the scene.

"Students were instructed to go to the university hospital and report injuries. One police official reported: 'When the physician on duty asked several what they were doing there, they replied that they didn't know—they were there because they were told to report to the hospital.'"

"At other hospitals, attendants treated 'victims' for hoarseness and headaches and sent them home—while five highway patrolmen were undergoing treatment for actual injuries received at the hands of the rioters. One patrolman was hospitalized for a week."

YORTY EXHIBIT NO. 2—Continued

An official of the International Association of Police Chiefs, Charles E. Moore, told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that the demonstrations at Berkeley were a classic example of techniques used by Communists to "destroy the public confidence in the police—when they destroy the symbol of authority and of the laws, you bring about anarchy."

As long ago as May, 1941, the Daily Peoples World carried a story attacking the Los Angeles Police Department for "brutality" and "picket line crashing" during some strikes. The story reported that a "delegation" called on then Mayor Fletcher Bowron to protest these alleged actions by police.

The delegation included a number of persons identified in House Un-American Activities Committee hearings as Communists, and/or members of numerous organizations cited by that and other investigating committees as Communist or Communist-front organizations.



The communist press in the United States is constantly seizing upon the arrests of any member of a minority group as material for headline attacks on the police. After the initial stories, they follow up with emotional appeals, "committees for justice" for whoever the arrestee may be. They then arrange communist protest meetings, etc.

It is important to note that a search of back issues of communist papers in this country failed to turn up a single report of police officers being killed in the line of duty.

The obvious question arises: Is every charge of "police brutality" inspired by the communists? The answer is "no," but the communist distort, magnify and seize upon every such charge, valid or not, in order to carry on their propaganda war against our protectors. Of course, every police department in the country receives some valid complaints of police misconduct made by sincere citizens. The Los Angeles Police Department itself metes out harsh discipline to officers found guilty of any misconduct. So does the County Sheriff's Department. Seven deputy sheriffs were recently discharged for alleged mistreatment of some prisoners who were charged with injuring a fellow deputy.

The true facts are ignored by the communists and malcontents. Their concern is with utilizing charges to cause a maximum corrosive effect on both public opinion and the law enforcement agencies. The important thing to them is that through

a constant barrage of attacks and repetition of claims, the public's confidence in their police may be impaired, and the officers' morale damaged. These are the ends toward which they work, and in which they are too often unintentionally aided by individuals and groups whose motives are honest, but whose facts are wrong.

The effect on the police officer, the citizen's first line of defense against criminal elements, has been demoralizing.

Captain William Beall of the Berkeley Police said: "A policeman dreads the moment when someone will yell 'brutality.' That charge robs him of his dignity. It takes away everything he is trying to do—what he believes in."

In Washington, D.C. on August 26, 1965, Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield decried the "loose charge of police brutality" and stated, "The police are not privileged to take sides or discriminate as among laws. Their job is to uphold the laws and, on the whole, they do an excellent job."

Statements like the foregoing made by one of the nation's leading lawmakers; expressions of confidence from those who implement those laws; and a sprinkling of posters and bumper stickers announcing "Support Your Local Police" are not enough to overcome deleterious effects of the waves of anti-police propaganda which have been flooding the country in recent years.

The destructive nature of this

YORTY EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

propaganda must be understood by the public; understood and recognized for what it is; and what it is intended to accomplish. The list of results is impressive. For example:

Police departments everywhere are finding it almost impossible to recruit men for what appears to be a thankless job. Resignations are becoming more frequent, and fewer experienced men are continuing on the job after reaching minimum retirement requirements.

Police "brutality" is being blamed for almost every riot and violent demonstration. This was particularly true of Los Angeles in 1965, where an attempt by State Highway Patrol officers to arrest a man for alleged drunken driving touched off a riot. Although the man whose arrest caused the riot pleaded guilty to the drunk-driving charge, the communist press here and abroad used the riot to hammer away at asserted "police brutality." The Communist line called for pinning the blame for the riot on the police instead of the lawless elements who attacked policemen, firemen, and their fellow citizens while burning and stealing their property.

Police personnel whose efforts are needed to enforce the laws are being forced to spend countless hours reporting, investigating or answering charges of "misconduct"—most of them baseless. Many of the complaints boil down to a "hard stare" from an officer, or "the officer's tone of voice."

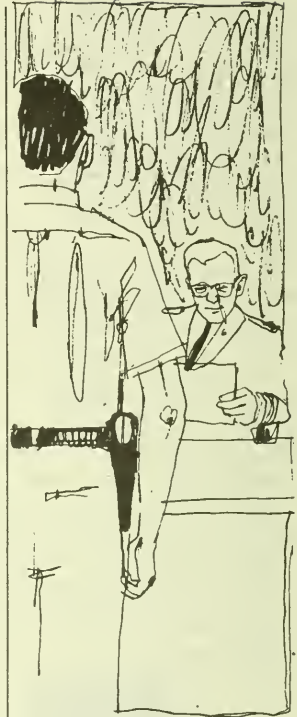
Courts, sitting in judgment on even the most brutal and

hardened criminals; child killers, rapists, narcotic peddlers, seem to go out of their way to take note of the slightest hint of even technical mistakes by the police.

Officials everywhere are concerned that the quality of law enforcement will decline in the face of these continued attacks on the person, character and effectiveness of police officers. Deputy Commissioner Joseph G. Martin of New York City said: "The eager, dedicated young policeman starts out at a trot. Then this kind of thing slows him down to a walk. Finally you find him dragging his feet—he doesn't know where he stands, so he does nothing."

This may be a little exaggerated—but the danger that it can become literally factual is increasing. To a policeman, EVERY arrest presents a danger either to his person or his character. The physical danger he accepts as part of the job, but he should not be subjected to thoughtless ridicule and public indifference toward his efforts to do his job.

And, although a concentrated attempt is being made to make the people believe otherwise, the Los Angeles Police Department has the machinery to see that the police officer does his job properly. Complaints are exhaustively investigated, by the department itself, sometimes by the District Attorney or the F.B.I. Verified cases, including "discourteous language" and "hard stares," as well as those alleging "excessive force," are dealt with according to the severity of the incident.



To all well administered police departments, self-examination, self-disciplining and self-correction are a never-ending pursuit. In order to enforce the law, they know that their own record must be kept clean, and although they use every method to keep it so, blemishes occur. The real ones they cut away; the imagined and manufactured ones are a problem for all citizens. We must help in the search for truth and the exposure of falsity.

YORTY EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

Reports from everywhere show that crime is continuing to increase at an alarming rate. In order to keep up with it, the police departments of the world must seek more and better men. Better methods are developed by better men. It is an evolutionary cycle, with the hoped-for end result being more and better protection for the citizen. Under attack from the criminal and from those who would destroy their dignity and character, the law enforcement officers nevertheless doggedly provide the public with protection of their persons and property. They provide the first line of defense of our constitutional rights.

If we are to expect and accept that protection, we must also accept our responsibility to those who protect us. This responsibility entails an awareness of the problems and dangers our law enforcement officers face every day and night on our behalf.

It calls for our confidence in them; in their ability and determination to enforce the law without discrimination or prejudice; and in their tireless efforts to discipline themselves in the face of constant, often planned, provocation.

Above all, we must be alert to the fact that manufactured charges and the "Big Lie" are not only a real danger to our system of law enforcement, but a very real threat to the free world.

SAM YORTY, MAYOR
City of Los Angeles

8 Part II—WED., MAR. 2, 1966 Los Angeles Times 3*

Yorty Strikes Back at Criticism by Lawyer

Points Out That Defense Attorney's View Differs From That of Enforcement Officials

BY GENE BLAKE

Times Staff Writer

Mayor Samuel W. Yorty struck back Tuesday at noted attorney Joseph A. Ball, who had assailed the mayor for his criticism of recent court decisions in criminal cases.

"Mr. Ball does not have the responsibility for enforcing the laws in an urban center so he is not an authority on our law enforcement problems," Yorty said.

"A defense attorney is not apt to have the same attitude toward unwarranted technical reversals as those of us who have to enforce the laws."

Yorty said Ball, a past president of the State Bar and chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union lawyers division here, "defends accused persons before the judges whose decisions he seeks to defend by attacking me personally."

Ball said Monday that Yorty's assertions the decisions are contributing to increased crime are "absurd."

The Long Beach attorney also said Yorty's "irresponsible remarks" are unjust, not based on fact or reason and are undermining public confidence in the courts.

But Yorty said Ball apparently agrees with his position relative to "many of the decisions reversing convictions of confessed criminals on technicalities where there has been no miscarriage of justice."

This referred to Ball's view of the Dorado case, which held confessions inadmissible if the defendant had not been warned of his right to counsel and to remain silent.

Ball said that while he agrees with the fairness of the procedure as being a

"prophylactic against coercion," he does not believe it to be a matter of constitutional right requiring reversals.

"Some of the decisions which have caused the most difficulty," Yorty pointed out, "were split decisions with the justices themselves divided and critical of each others' opinions."

Criminal trials, Yorty reiterated, should be a search for truth and not a game in which lawyers for guilty criminals obtain technical reversals of convictions.

"The public has a right to be interested in the administration of justice," he said. "It is not a private preserve for criminal lawyers."

Qualifications for Police



"to protect and to serve"

YORTY EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued



OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
LOS ANGELES CALIFORNIA 90012



**Mayor Yorty
Reports**

BULK RATE
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
Los Angeles, Calif.
Permit No. 25934

Mayor YORTY. I am sure if one had more time you could go back to the early statements of Lenin—I have forgotten the exact quote, but I think he said the police are the last bulwark of the bourgeoisie, and the application of the propaganda against the police department follows strictly party lines.

Mr. TUCK. Mayor Yorty, have you found that the decision of the courts and several Federal laws in respect to law enforcement have had a tendency to impede or hamper the police in the enforcement of the law?

Mayor YORTY. We are very handicapped, not by any laws that you have passed, but by the reinterpretation, really the rewriting of the Constitution by the United States Supreme Court, in the exclusionary rule of evidence, the rules of search and seizure, registration of known criminals, and so forth; law enforcement has become increasingly difficult.

The young police officer in many cases is very uncertain as to what his rights are in enforcing a law. We are sort of in a transitory period where we are going to have to get some settled rules so that the police officer will know what his rights are and what the citizen's rights are and not be so uncertain as to just what he can do.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Mayor, you have referred to the earlier works of Lenin where he emphasized the necessity of smashing the state machinery.

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

Mr. McNAMARA. He referred specifically to the police as a part of the state machinery which the Communists and the workers must smash. I believe you mentioned, did you not, that the work you had in mind was "State and Revolution"; is that correct?

Mayor YORTY. No, but I think that quote is from that one, about 1917.

Mr. McNAMARA. I think it is of interest, Mr. Chairman, that in addition to his "State and Revolution" statement, Lenin in 1902, in "What Is To Be Done," made the following statement. He complained about the fact that the Russian workers "as yet display so little revolutionary activity in connection with the brutal way in which the police maltreat the people."

Then he went on to say of the Communist, "he must be able to group all these manifestations"—that is, manifestations of tyranny and oppression—"into a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation."

These quotations certainly verify the statement made by Mayor Yorty to the effect that these headlines and the agitation which has been carried on in this country throughout the years in various cities by Communist elements go back to the basic teachings of Lenin.

Mayor YORTY. That is correct. I know myself of no period in our history where the campaign against the police has been quite as effective as it is today.

I notice, Mr. Chairman, that before a House Appropriations Subcommittee, John Edgar Hoover said on February 16, 1967:

The cumulative effect of almost 50 years of Communist Party activity in the United States cannot be minimized, for it has contributed to disrupting race relations in this country and has exerted an insidious influence on the life and times of our Nation. As a prime example, for years it has been Communist policy to charge "police brutality" in a calculated campaign to discredit law enforcement

and to accentuate racial issues. The riots and disorders of the past 3 years clearly highlight the success of this Communist smear campaign in popularizing the cry of "police brutality" to the point where it has been accepted by many individuals having no affiliation with or sympathy for the Communist movement.

So, we have a pretty good authority there, I would say, certainly the best in the world, on the effectiveness of this campaign against the police.

Another statement before the Appropriations Subcommittee, which I am certain that you all recall, was made by Mr. Hoover on February 10, 1966. He said:

At a still higher level, the national headquarters of the party, on August 15, 1965, instructed the southern California party district to prepare articles concerning the riots for early publication in *The Worker*, an east coast Communist newspaper. Special efforts were to be made to play up the "police brutality" angle. Major portions of subsequent issues of *The Worker* and *People's World*, a west coast Communist newspaper, were devoted to the uprising in Los Angeles and its aftermath. Each article faithfully followed the line set by party headquarters.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mayor Yorty, were police brutality charges made in your city during the Watts riot?

Mayor YORTY. Yes. An attempt was made, of course, to blame the police for the rioting. This led to my unpleasant confrontation with Dr. Martin Luther King. We had always welcomed him to our city on previous occasions and tried to work with him in the field of civil rights. But, during the aftermath of the rioting, he rushed out to Los Angeles and in a private meeting with some of his aides and our chief of police, Mr. William Parker, he began to blame the police for the rioting.

I pointed out to him that the police department of Los Angeles is run by a civilian commission; they are actually the head of the department. I also pointed out to him that three of the five members were from minority groups and, also, that one of the persons at the meeting with Dr. Martin Luther King was the father of a member of the police commission.

But he persisted in arguing that the police were to blame for the rioting. Then he went out and got before the cameras and newspapers and made that same charge. I felt it necessary to answer that charge and to tell him that it was very unfair for him to come out to Los Angeles and try to blame the police for the rioting.

Mr. McNAMARA. Your exhibit, Mayor, and various items that we have read in the Communist press over the years indicate that many charges of brutality have been made against the police in Los Angeles, as in the case of other cities.

Will you tell the committee whether or not any police officers in Los Angeles, since you have been mayor, have been dismissed for brutality?

Mayor YORTY. I don't know of any case where an officer has had to be dismissed for brutality.

We, of course, investigate every charge that is made to us of police brutality, first within the department, and then I have instructed our civilian police commission that if people are not satisfied with the action of the department that they can ask the commission to hold a hearing.

I think the best example of the big lie technique was the case where one of the newspapers in Los Angeles, not a Communist newspaper, but one that circulates only in the Negro area, had a picture of two

little girls who looked like twins on the front page with an inflammatory story saying that they had been arrested in front of their classmates and dragged out, I think handcuffed, in front of their class. I made an investigation of this myself, and it wasn't at all true.

I won't bore you with a lot of details that are not necessary to make the point, but the little girls had been, through some good police work identifying people, had been in a restaurant, were brought into the principal's office, and they were asked if they had been in the restaurant and they said "yes" and that their brother, and so forth, was there. So, the police went and got the brother, and he took the police to where he had thrown out a billfold, and mainly a passport, which was what was worrying the victims—they were Mexican citizens and they had lost their passports.

The story was so different from that which appeared in the paper that I ordered—not ordered, but I told the police commission that I felt that they should hold a hearing on this matter so that the public could get the truth. Those who were involved in making these charges themselves requested that we not hold the hearing. This is rather typical.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I think you make the point in your report—isn't the key factor here that the people who are making these charges don't care about the truth? Time and time again they make these accusations and allegations and the facts might be totally contrary to what you are saying.

Here you are in a position as a responsible public official having to investigate every charge and every allegation. Don't you come to the conclusion, as most of us do, that these people do not care about the truth? The truth is not in them, and it is an attempt to rile up the public, to play on the humanitarian instincts of good and right-thinking people, but when you get down to it they don't care about the truth.

Mayor YORTY. I think yes; you are correct. There are many people who make these charges whose motives are to discredit the police department and to carry on the so-called Communist struggle campaign, creating every struggle that they can so that in a cumulative way they break down respect for the law enforcement officials and, of course, eventually they hope to break down the ability of our Government to operate.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You have a high standard as a public official, and they don't have the same standard. And you are fighting an uphill battle with your standards, trying to compete in the minds of the public and public opinion when they don't have the same standard and they don't mind using lies, smears, and everything else.

It is a terrible battle in every one of our cities that you and other mayors have to wage, and we certainly commiserate with your problem. We recognize what it is.

Mayor YORTY. You are right.

Getting back to the specific case of the two little girls, for instance, I am sure that the facts of the case were never published, so that the public got only one side. Unfortunately, the nature of news is that it is usually negative. The bizarre makes more news than the everyday hard work of law enforcement.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Isn't it also the fact that when a charge is made you never fully convince everybody it is not true? There are always going

to be some people who think there was some substance to it and if you add enough of these over a period of time the big lie technique, as you say, is successful.

Mayor YORTY. It is successful. There is a tendency on the part of most people who do not understand subversive agitation or propaganda, to say, "Well, where there is smoke, there must be some fire."

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes.

Mayor YORTY. And the subversives keep up such a drumfire of these charges that there is no chance for the truth ever to catch up, and innocent people are misled.

Mr. ASHBROOK. This is what this committee continually runs into. And the American people, to their credit, think from the high standards that you do and they cannot possibly contemplate that there are people who do not operate on the principles of truth, and so forth.

Mayor YORTY. I think you have made a very important point, Congressman.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You have the problem; we have the same problem. The average good American just does not want to think that there are people in their midst who subvert, lie, deceive.

Mayor YORTY. They simply do not understand communism or the Communist Party and the way it operates and, of course, your job has been made increasingly difficult over the years.

We badly need now for people to understand the Communist Party and its apparatus. They are not getting the information, and I think that for the protection of our country they must get it. I certainly feel that the inquiry that you are conducting now is of extreme importance because perhaps you can dramatize the issue enough to get some attention to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mayor, but, as you may suspect, I was just told this morning that there are certain elements in the press, which should know better, who are lambasting the committee for conducting these very hearings.

Mayor YORTY. Well, of course, that is to be expected—

The CHAIRMAN. I told them on TV this morning: They don't want any part of me; I don't want any part of them. They don't like me; I defest them. There is nothing we can do that will ever be right in their eyes.

Mayor YORTY. The public has been conditioned to feel that the charge of communism is some kind of smear on innocent people. Now, if you call a Communist a Communist, that is immediately called McCarthyism, and ever since the days of Senator McCarthy this has been the first cry that goes up.

So, the public, I don't think, is capable of differentiating between a charge that a Communist is a Communist and a charge that somebody who is not a Communist may be a radical, and there is a vast difference, of course. But we have to overcome that, and I think your committee through the methods that you employ can, with the persistent hard work that you have to do, overcome it.

I think under your predecessor, Tad Walter, we came a long ways because of the care you have used in protecting witnesses against loose charges. But there has been, there is no question about it, an atmosphere in the country that when you say a Communist is a Communist or that a certain demonstration was planned by the Communists and carried

out by them, then you immediately have to say, "Well, I am not saying that everybody in the parade or in the demonstration was a Communist," because otherwise they will accuse you of saying everyone was a Communist when the innocent dupes in many cases are not; they are just used.

I do think the time has come when this committee needs to do the very job that you are doing.

There is another thing that disturbs me. The constant effort to get a détente with Russia in the international field seems to more or less paralyze the executive branch of the Government in their exposure and combating of domestic Communists.

So, we find Premier Kosygin constantly berating the United States, calling us imperialists and other names, but no retort of a similar magnitude from our side. So, it is a one-sided deal in the international field in our constant hope that Russia will help us get out of the Vietnam war if we are just nice to them.

I think all of these things are having a cumulative effect of conditioning our people until they have lost their understanding of the true effectiveness of Communist agitation and propaganda.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mayor Yorty, would it be correct to summarize your answer to my last question—when we were discussing police brutality—by saying that many charges have been made against police in Los Angeles, that these have all been investigated and, to your knowledge, not a single policeman has been dismissed because of a verification of charges of brutality against him?

Mayor YORTY. I wouldn't want to go so far as to say that no policeman has ever been guilty of brutality, and if we catch one we certainly fire him. But I know of none as a result of rioting in 1965.

I will say because of the way we select our police officers, the training they have, the restraints we use on them, that the major problem is brutality to police on the part of citizen groups.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Mayor, on the same point, I would like to quote a paragraph from a release made by your office on May 27, 1966, and ask you if you would like to make any comment on it, and this is relative to the spreading of police brutality charges and constant agitation against the police:

"In Los Angeles, where the hate-spreaders have been most active, attacks on police officers have increased 284% since 1952, and 13 have been murdered in the line of duty. Now, the Progressive Labor Party handbill"—

You were referring to a handbill put out by the Peking Communist-oriented Progressive Labor Party at the time—

"calls for ALL police to be 'wiped out.' Just where does the right of free speech begin and end?" the Mayor asked.

Would you care to make a further comment on that statement you made in 1966?

Mayor YORTY. Only to say that I think it is just as true in 1967. This is a very serious question, especially the delineation between the area of free speech and the area of actually inciting riot and insurgency.

Of course, Chief William Parker and I went before our State legislature and tried to get the legislature to enact a law making it a crime to incite to riot. We did that because under our State laws we had no authority at the local level. The field had been preempted.

We went up to the legislature with a draft of a State law that we felt would be helpful to us and helpful to the situation. We got a law prohibiting inciting to riot, but after a couple of amendments it was useless. The amendments said that we had to prove intent to cause a riot and also that there had to be not only a clear and present danger but the legislature added the word "immediate." So you had to prove an intent to cause a riot and immediate danger.

We know of no way to prove immediate danger unless the riot ensues, and if the riot ensues we don't need the act. We have other statutes governing riots, and so forth.

I do have an interesting report here from our city attorney analyzing this legislation as proposed and as finally enacted that might be useful to people in some other cities and States who are interested in this problem. It is from the very able attorney in the city of Los Angeles, Mr. Arnebergh.

(Document marked "Yorty Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McNAMARA. Would it be your recommendation, Mr. Mayor, that this should be handled on the local—city or State—level or the Federal level? Would you recommend Federal legislation in this area?

Mayor YORTY. I think you have to take whatever action you can at every level. I don't think trying to maintain law and order is just a matter for any one level of government. If we had authority at the city level to enact the legislation as we proposed to the legislature, I am sure that our city council would do it. We don't have the authority so we go to the State. Of course, where people move across State lines, then you have the basis, I think, for Federal legislation.

Mr. McNAMARA. It is my understanding, Mayor, that you had planned to introduce as an exhibit a publication entitled *Day of Protest, Night of Violence*, published by the ACLU,¹ in reference to this general matter we have been discussing in reference to Los Angeles.

Mayor YORTY. Yes. This is a publication put out after the President appeared in Los Angeles and where I feel you had what I would call a manipulated mob that turned into—whether I would want to term that a riot or not, I am not sure, but it was very close to it.

Mr. McNAMARA. That was on June 23d of this year?

Mayor YORTY. When the President appeared in the city of Los Angeles. Of course, some elements of the manipulated riot were certainly present. The police permit for the so-called parade was issued to a person who has been identified as a Communist.

The police commission actually did not want to issue the permit because it felt that we were opening the door to the very sort of thing that happened. The city attorney ruled that we had to issue the permit; we had no choice.

Mr. McNAMARA. This permit, Mr. Mayor, was issued for a parade in front of the hotel, is that right, where the President was speaking?

Mayor YORTY. It was to start in a park. They had authority to come up to the hotel. I have forgotten whether they were under that permit permitted to come in front of the hotel. I believe they were; yes.

Mr. McNAMARA. The purpose of this parade and demonstration was to protest the war in Vietnam; is that correct?

Mayor YORTY. That was the stated purpose; yes. But I would say that again you have to look in the background. The war in Vietnam

¹ American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California report (July 1967).

just happens to be the current issue that the Communists use to try to cause citizens to confront policemen and to defy them.

I would say in the real background is the Communist Party's movements to attempt to break down law and order. Of course, as far as the war in Vietnam goes, that is the current issue that I think has been the most successful of any that they have been able to use in the past. They have created a highly emotional situation. They are far more effective now than they were, say, in 1940. In 1940, the slogans were about the same. The peace delegations were the same and the same motivation.

But in 1940, of course, they were accusing the allies of conducting an imperialist war, Britain and France on May Day 1940, Flag Day, when Paris surrendered. But in those days, of course, Russia was an ally of Hitler. So, the allies were the imperialists, and Roosevelt was called all kinds of names.

Strangely enough, in California, in that year, a peace delegation was also formed, as is being formed now, and Roosevelt was denounced in about the same way that President Johnson is now being denounced by the peace delegation formed.

I notice in my report written in 1940 I said:

The Communists are today finding themselves exposed by their necessary fidelity to the rapidly changing whims of Comrade Stalin, Czar of all the Communists. In California, upon finding themselves in this position, and thus unable to continue to work as Democrats, they were recently forced to arrange for the filing of an independent slate of Democratic Convention delegates, nominally pledged to Lieutenant Governor Ellis E. Patterson—a slate which used as its slogan one borrowed directly and totally from an official Communist May Day pamphlet which said in part:

"We, the working people, must promote the building of a new mass party of the people—a broad peace party that will fight for us—only through such an anti-imperialist people's front and party—can we best advance our fight for JOBS, SECURITY, DEMOCRACY, AND PEACE."

That was in 1940.

I think in 1940 their propaganda and their peace slate would have been more successful except for the fact that we were not actually fighting. So, today, because we are fighting in Vietnam, they are more effective.

I was very much surprised the other day to read an account of a statement in the *Strike for Peace*, in which this woman said that the demonstrations and the dissent here in the United States are a second front. Certainly, that is true, but I am surprised that she would say it.

Mr. McNAMARA. I might point out, Mayor, that the *Vietnam Courier*, which is published in Hanoi, has made the same statement, that there are two fronts against the United States today, one in Vietnam and the other one here in our cities, and it was referring specifically to the riots.

But going back to this demonstration in Los Angeles on June 23d of this year, is it your recollection that the person who applied for the permit for that parade was Don Healey?

Mayor YORTY. That is correct. He is the former husband of one of the leaders of the Communist Party in California, Dorothy Healey, an openly admitted Communist over the years.

Don Healey, back in the days of the united fronts, when they infiltrated the Democratic Party in California, in 1936 and 1940, was

the head of Labor's Nonpartisan League. It was quite a bit later before he was identified as a Communist.

Mr. McNAMARA. In reference to this publication, would you care to describe for the committee, Mr. Mayor, its general content?

Mayor YORTY. It is a highly inflammatory account of what happened on June 23d, attempting, of course, to put the whole blame on the police for the violence that ensued. I do have this copy with me, Mr. McNamara, if the committee would like to look at it.

Mr. McNAMARA. We would like to have it.

(Document marked "Yorty Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McNAMARA. Can you tell me this, Mayor? This demonstration was primarily and allegedly a demonstration against the war in Vietnam.

Does this book which you have just turned over to the committee emphasize or accentuate the racial issue?

Mayor YORTY. I would say, on the whole, it is not so much the racial issue in that publication. It is an attempt to involve a broader spectrum of the public against the police.

The police also told me that they felt that as they tried to get the crowd back, to move them back so they could not carry out the threat of rushing into the hotel where the President was, and so forth, that they felt that the hard-core manipulators of the mob probably were at the back holding the mob in toward the police so that the dupes were more in the front and therefore could say the police used force on them and they could not get out.

They didn't know that the manipulators were blocking them in so they could not get out and forcing them against the police officers.

Mr. McNAMARA. Am I correct in my recollection, Mayor, that what happened on this occasion was that a permit had been granted for this group—I believe it was some 10,000 people all told that turned out—to parade past the hotel where the President was speaking and that when they reached the hotel, instead of continuing on the march, some elements in the front stopped short, creating a ganging-up of all these demonstrators in front of the hotel, and then, because this was in violation of the permit, the police were directed to disperse the crowd? It was then, as you say, that the police have indicated to you that the hard-core agitators got behind the crowd so that they could not be dispersed by the police. This, of course, led to clashes.

Mayor YORTY. Of course, I feel myself from the very inception of the planning of this demonstration that the Communists involved in it and the hard-core subversives were hoping to manipulate the mob so as to cause violence. Of course, I don't have to tell the members of this committee this is their constant purpose. It is part of what they call the struggle movement.

The best description of struggle movements I have seen in a long time is in the book called *Viet Cong*, written by a man named Pike¹ who worked for our Embassy, I think, in Saigon, who made a great study of the Viet Cong. He points out in the early days of the Communist struggle movement they would try to get the people even to protest like the location of a school or the location of a post office or

¹ Douglas Pike, *Viet Cong: The Organization and Techniques of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966).

something like that because, to the Communists, any attempt to organize the people and to take part in any kind of cause that results in a struggle against authority is useful for their purposes.

I think this is one thing that our people don't understand, when you say that the Communists are involved in something, say, like the erection of a public building in a city and it may be where they can make a cry that you are destroying a park or something like that. To the general public it sounds a bit absurd to say there is a subversive influence in this, but they don't understand the Communist theory of the struggle. It is any kind of dispute that the Communists can get in and infiltrate and make contacts and cause confrontations with the Government where people can be called corrupt. Anything that discredits authority, they will do.

We have a constant series of struggles in this country, all the time conducted, of course, in most cases by legitimate and sincere people who will never understand that they have become part of the struggle.

Mr. McNAMARA. There was a direct confrontation, am I right, on June 23 in Los Angeles on the occasion of this demonstration we have just referred to?

Mayor YORTY. Yes; to protect the President and enforce the law, the police had to resort to some physical force.

Mr. McNAMARA. Is it not a fact, Mayor, that the demonstration on that day was sponsored and organized by the Peace Action Council?

Mayor YORTY. That is correct.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Chairman, I would like to state for the record that the chairman of the Peace Action Council is Irving Sarnoff, who was a witness before this committee on September 5, 1958, and who invoked the fifth amendment in response to various questions concerning Communist Party membership and activity.

The committee in its report on the Southern California District of the Communist Party identified Sarnoff as a member of the district council, Communist Party, Southern California District. It also indicated that he had been active in earlier years in various Communist youth organizations, American Youth for Democracy, the Labor Youth League, and so forth. He attended conventions, as a delegate, of the Southern California District of the Communist Party.

Mayor YORTY. I notice, Mr. McNamara, that in my same report—I gave you a copy of that 1940 report, didn't I?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes.

Mayor YORTY. That there is one reference here to the Communists trying to organize the Negro citizens. It is a quote that I made from a Communist Party *Manual on Organization*. This is their own document. It says:

Who are the allies of the American working class? The *Open Letter*, adopted by the Central Committee in July, 1933, very clearly answers this question.

Their open letter says:

The main task of the Party in its work among agrarian toilers is, above all, the organization of the agricultural wage workers, organizing them into the trade unions and the Party, organizing and leading strikes of the agricultural workers for better wages and working conditions. Such strikes, in many places, have already played an important part in the development of the farmers' movement. * * *

The other important ally of the American proletariat is the mass of 13,000,000 Negro people * * *.

The Party can stand at the head of the national revolutionary struggle of the Negro masses against American imperialism only if it energetically carries through the following tasks:

"The Party must mobilize the masses for the struggle for equal rights of the Negroes and for the right of self-determination for the Negroes in the Black Belt. * * *"

I think this is a good example of where the Communists try to take advantage of a movement in the country, and they call it a struggle, infiltrate and then turn it into a confrontation between the Government and the people in a manner where they can manipulate it and help the Communist Party.

I think it is rather apparent that over the long years the Negro people did not prove very susceptible to Communist propaganda and agitation and showed a high degree of resistance, which certainly most still do. That is obvious from the fine performance of the Negro soldiers in Vietnam; it is really excellent.

But I do think that in the civil rights movement today there is a growing success on the part of the Communist apparatus to manipulate some of the organizations. I think the places visited by some of the so-called leaders of Negro organizations recently would indicate more success than they have achieved in the past, the Communists have achieved, in influencing some segments of the Negro people.

Now, Wallace Terry, who is a writer for *Time* magazine, and a Negro, recently referred to some of these people, in a statement he made in Los Angeles, as self-appointed leaders without constituencies, and was very critical of them.

Mr. McNAMARA. Do you have any comment to make, Mayor, on the manner in which some of these self-appointed leaders have been built up?

Mayor YORTY. Yes.

It is the feeling of Negro leaders—real Negro leaders like Wallace Terry—that these highly inflammable agitators have been given more attention than their following warrants. This has a tendency to build them up.

Mr. McNAMARA. It was interesting, Mr. Mayor, that you quoted from the *Manual on Organization*. I would just like to state for the record that that document, *The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization*, was written by a man named J. Peters, and published by Workers Library Publishers, a Communist Party publishing house, in July 1935.

This was really a handbook for Communist units and cells throughout the country, widely sold, studied, and distributed in Communist circles.

J. Peters, the man who wrote this book, had numerous aliases—Alexander Stevens, Isador Boorstein, Alexander Goldberg, R. Goldberger, Steve Lapin, Steven Lapur, Steve Miller, J. V. Peters, Jack Roberts. And in 1948 Whittaker Chambers identified Peters as the head of the Communist underground in this country; and in the following year, on May 9, 1949, Peters left the United States voluntarily under the threat of deportation.

It is generally recognized now that he was the "C.I. Rep" or the representative of the Comintern, the Communist International, in this country for a period of many years, bossing the Communist Party for Moscow.

In his *Manual on Organization*, in addition to the quote you used, Mr. Mayor, on the subject of agitating the masses and the racial issue, he made specific reference on various occasions to "police brutality" as an issue. Here is one quote. He is talking about party discipline and the need for it and he wrote:

Let us take an example from the class struggle. The District Committee decides that a demonstration should be held against police terror and gives directives to the Sections to mobilize the whole membership to get the greatest possible number of workers to the demonstration. * * *

And another quotation—where he is talking about shop units of the Communist Party, and he says:

The Shop Units must convince the workers of the necessity for organizing unions, of the necessity for united struggle for better conditions, for freedom of organization (union recognition), for equal rights for Negroes, against police terror * * *.

Then he harps on the issue of the "police terror."

Finally, again, in speaking of party street units, he says that they must agitate and get the workers to react "to every issue." Naming the issues, he refers to problems of unemployment, the high cost of living, sanitary conditions, and so on. Then he makes a specific reference again to "police brutality" as one of them.

So, going back to 1935, the Communist Party, in an official manual or handbook for all its members, was emphasizing the issue of police brutality as something that all Communists should agitate on.

Mayor YORTY. There is another point in reference to the Communist Party that I am sure the committee knows, but I think this quote is interesting because of its origin. It is from the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*. This was their official history of their coming to power. A quote from it says:

In opposition to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary policy of defending the bourgeois fatherland, the Bolsheviks advanced the policy of "the defeat of one's own government in the imperialist war." This meant voting against war credits, forming illegal revolutionary organizations in the armed forces, supporting fraternization among the soldiers at the front, organizing revolutionary actions of the workers and peasants against the war, and turning these actions into an uprising against one's own imperialist government. * * * Lenin held that the policy of working for the defeat of one's own imperialist government must be pursued not only by the Russian revolutionaries, but by the revolutionary parties of the working class in *all* the belligerent countries.

* * * * *
The Bolshevik Party was the only proletarian party which remained faithful to the cause of Socialism and internationalism and which organized civil war against its own imperialist government. * * *

I think that quote is interesting because we see the party directed by the Communists today working against their own government in a war, working for our defeat, and placing the same label on our war, "imperialist."

Mr. McNAMARA. Mayor, in addition to the subject of legislation, antiriot legislation, which you have previously mentioned, would you have any other recommendations that you would make to help solve the situation, this problem of rioting and violence?

Mayor YORTY. Would you repeat that, Mr. McNamara?

Mr. McNAMARA. In addition to the recommendation of antiriot legislation, would you have any others you would make to help solve the problem of rioting and the use of riots in the cities?

Mayor YORTY. I think that antiriot legislation is one factor of a much bigger problem, and that is the problem that I believe Senator McClellan and his committee is now investigating, and that is the restricting of the ability of law enforcement agencies to do their job because of some of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, based mainly on the exclusionary rule and followed by Escobedo and some of the decisions that have made the job of the police officer extremely difficult and, I think and I believe most mayors would say, have weighted the scales a little bit too much in favor of the criminal, forgetting the rights of the victim.

Anything that makes law enforcement as difficult as these decisions make it certainly plays into the hands of the criminal element and those who do not respect the rights of other people.

(At this point, Mr. Ashbrook left the hearing room.)

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Chairman, that completes the staff interrogation of Mayor Yorty.

The CHAIRMAN. Mayor, this committee is extremely grateful to you for your interest in the subject of its investigation and for the great contribution which you have made to its success. I know that you have been in the forefront of this subject, that your city was victimized in part by this subversive onslaught against its institutions, and you yourself were booted and had to suffer all kinds of insults, I know.

We appreciate your appearance.

Mayor YORTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have some other quotes that I did not put in the record, but if you would like to have them I will just leave them with you, that I think are of historical interest and will put the problem in a little better perspective.

Mr. TUCK. I would like to associate myself with the chairman's remarks and to commend the mayor for the manner in which he has conducted the office to which he has been elevated.

Mayor YORTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, may I also thank Mayor Yorty for coming here and contributing as much as he has to the hearings.

I, frankly, am distressed, Mayor. I don't know what we are going to do to counteract the so-called big lies, such highly inflammatory and deceptive publications as the one which you gave to us today. We can have a Rap Brown or Carmichael appear and we can have the committee room full and overflowing from the chandeliers.

I am sure the American people are disturbed about hearing your side of the picture, hearing from a responsible official. Somehow or another, we do not see any evidence of much interest on the part of the people. I am not condemning the press. As you say, the public demands the grotesque, and they demand the negative rather than the positive of these things. I am sure the press is just reflecting the attitude of the public. But I am disturbed.

I am encouraged that you say that we are making a little headway. Frankly, I think it is mighty slow.

Do you have any suggestions other than what you have made here as to how we might counteract this big lie in such publications as this and the apparent apathy on the part of the public and the press in hearing from a responsible citizen as a mayor of the great city of Los Angeles, when we will have a corporal's guard here. But when

such an insane man as Brown or Carmichael appears, then we will have this room overflowing. How do you counteract this?

MAYOR YORTY. Of course, Mr. Watson, part of this fits into the same frame of reference relative to some of these decisions of our highest Court.

When I was chairman of the committee in California, if a witness refused to answer a question we could file a contempt charge against him, and we successfully prosecuted probably a couple of dozen people.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't the courts finally undercut that practice?

MAYOR YORTY. If I were chairman of the committee today, we couldn't be as effective because the witnesses would simply do like they do before you, take the fifth amendment. That is why I think the public does not have the same interest in the work of your committee because you are so stymied when a witness can sit down and say "fifth amendment" and that is the end of the interrogation.

We badly need correction of some of the procedures if the Congress is to get the facts before the people. If this committee could get the facts to the people, the interest would be much greater. When they read a series of questions and the answer is "fifth amendment," that is not very interesting reading.

MR. WATSON. Mr. Mayor, what have you done to try to counteract this particular publication right here, *Day of Protest, Night of Violence*, published here with the most incendiary, most inflammatory pictures I have ever seen, obviously taken with that in mind by photographers specifically for that purpose?

What have you done officially to try to counteract this particular publication?

MAYOR YORTY. Our city council decided to conduct an investigation itself, but so far the investigation is not effective because some of our police officers have been sued for damages and the city attorney does not think that we should require them to testify before the city council until the lawsuits are settled. So, that is one phase of our effort to combat the big lie.

I myself constantly talk about it before our citizens. I must say the vast majority of the people of Los Angeles are strongly behind our police department. We think it is a very fine police department. We think we have a very good chief.

But you still, of course, have the elements to deal with that have a deliberate purpose in defying police officers, causing mobs to confront them. There is constant subversive agitation and propaganda. Unfortunately, we have to say it is more effective today than I have ever seen it.

MR. WATSON. When the man applied for the permit to conduct this parade which resulted in this publication, plus other unfortunate incidents, did the city announce publicly that this man was a Communist, an admitted Communist?

MAYOR YORTY. No; I don't recall that that was done by the city, as such.

MR. WATSON. The city granted the license.

MAYOR YORTY. Yes. We did not want to grant it, and the police commission did not want to grant it.

MR. WATSON. But the city attorney said you had to grant it.

Mayor YORTY. Yes. So then I asked that the city attorney draft a new ordinance giving us a little more control over the so-called parades. He drafted it. I sent it to the city council. Of course, the leftwing elements, some not so leftwing, accused me of trying to stifle free speech and dissent, and so forth, which is not our purpose at all.

We do feel that the general public should have greater control over who parades, where and when they parade. We think that the public safety should give us the right to have reasonable control. We are not trying to stop all parades, as they accuse us, or stifle free speech, but we are trying to provide some reasonable regulation.

Mr. WATSON. Even if you published the fact that the man who had applied for a permit was a Communist, he would still have had his followers there, I am sure.

It is the purpose of this committee, and we are discussing amendments to the Internal Security Act today on the floor, if we could just let the American people know who head up these things and then if the American people or some of them are going to be stupid enough to go over and follow these Communists, then that is their responsibility.

But I would encourage you, in the absence of any legal prohibition, that in the future, and you have real problems in California—we don't have any problems in South Carolina at all—I guess we will be having them but we are just country boys down there and we are not sophisticated enough for these attacks—but I believe it would help if you would publicize the fact that the permit has been granted and was granted to "X Jones," an admitted Communist, and give his background and affiliation and then if the people want to run behind this Commie, they can do it.

I appreciate your testimony.

Mayor YORTY. Your reports are truly helpful, very factual and helpful to those of us who read them. Unfortunately, the subversive propaganda drums away every day, in very clever ways, coming from strange sources, while your reports tend to get a one-day notice in the media and that is the end of it.

So, we badly need your constant counteraction to the subversive propaganda, an explanation from here of who these people are and what they are doing. If it could be more continuous, I think it would be more effective.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ichord.

Mr. ICHORD. I, too, want to join with my colleagues in thanking Mayor Yorty for his very excellent testimony.

I do have one question I would like to ask the the mayor.

Mayor, many Americans and several people in the press appear to be looking for a simple and single causation factor for the riots that recently occurred in our cities.

Bearing in mind that the subject of this investigation is the extent of subversive influence, at least in agitating the riots, in dealing with the causation factors, and I may be departing from the purview of our jurisdiction, would you not say that the causation factors are multiple?

Mayor YORTY. Of course, that is perfectly obvious.

Mr. ICHORD. But your position is that in view of the material which you have illustrated in your report and which you have handed to the committee, such activity could not help but have some influence.

Mayor YORTY. I think that is certainly one of the factors. I am certain it is.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, may I pursue that line of questioning just a step further?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. WATSON. I am aware that there are many causative factors here, but most of the causative factors have been with us throughout the years. Is that not correct? In fact, the situations with many of our minority groups have been worse in former years than they are today. Is that not a correct statement?

Mayor YORTY. Well, answering only from the standpoint of Los Angeles, I think that some of the factors are different.

I think involved in some of this, of course, is the tremendous migration to our urban centers, where you have new people coming into your city who are not even accustomed to urban living. They are not equipped for the kind of jobs that are now available in urban centers. I think this is somewhat of a new factor in being aggravated.

Mr. ICHORD. If the gentleman will yield at that point, certainly in the case of the Watts riots you could not point to economic deprivation as being a primary causative factor, because it has been pointed out that the average income of the Watts district is much higher, and was much higher at the time of the riots, than the average income of many of our own congressional districts.

Mayor YORTY. This might be, and no doubt is, true of those who are employed. But you have a great number of people there who are not employed.

Mr. ICHORD. You have a high unemployed percentage?

Mayor YORTY. Yes. It is very hard to keep an accurate count because that south central area of Los Angeles is a corridor. A lot of new people come in and only go through there. Some of them have stopped seeking employment. I am not sure that our figures are entirely accurate. We are trying now to get more accurate figures. This, of course, creates part of the atmosphere where agitation can be more effective.

Mr. ICHORD. I am very well acquainted with your problem because I do come from the St. Louis area and we do have a similar influx of new people although not to the extent that I think you have in Los Angeles.

Mr. TUCK. Mayor, did I understand you in the other part of your testimony to say that the riots ensued almost immediately following the parade?

Mayor YORTY. Well, I don't think you could say when the parade stopped and the rioting started except when they got to the hotel where the President was, I feel myself this became the manipulative type of situation where plans had been made in advance by subversives to cause a confrontation with the police, which was their main objective, and they succeeded.

Mr. TUCK. Any person in his right mind would not want to impinge on the constitutional rights of anyone to assemble in a peaceful demonstration, but when it is known in advance that these demonstrations may well serve as a catalyst to set off a riotous condition that results in murder, looting and burning, and other violations of the law, it seems

to me some steps should be taken to prevent people from having those permits.

Mayor YORTY. I agree.

Mr. TUCK. So far as I am concerned, I don't think it is right to permit those demonstrations that will cost the Government money for the people to demonstrate or that will result in bloodshed.

The CHAIRMAN. Especially when we know in advance that the demonstration is for the sake of troublemaking.

Mayor YORTY. Well, it is a sad day in our country—

The CHAIRMAN. Demonstration for the sake of making trouble and demonstration for the purpose of redressing a wrong are two different things.

Mr. TUCK. That is right.

Mayor YORTY. Well, when the President of the United States can't come to your city without the most elaborate precautions and the stripping of other areas of the city to provide police to protect him, it is a pretty sad day in the country.

The same thing, I understand, happened to Secretary Rusk in New York the other day.

I think the public of the United States is ready to do something about it if we can provide the means of control that are reasonable.

The CHAIRMAN. Our problem is how can we let them know. Here we are this morning. We have been at these hearings now for a long time. I don't want to take the press to task because you can't win that way. They want a raucous hearing before this committee in order to lambaste us for throwing witnesses out. But when we have a hearing with people of intelligence and dedicated public servants such as yourself, who describe these abhorrent conditions, then what? Tomorrow morning you will not see this reported, undoubtedly.

Mayor YORTY. Well, we shall see.

Mr. WATSON. May I ask one further question along the same lines that we were interrogating on a moment ago?

While some of these causative factors have been in existence for many years, I will agree with you that we have some new ones, such as the migration of these minority groups into the urban areas. But do you not agree, sir, that there is more effort on the local, State, and national level today to eliminate some of the economic and sociological causative factors than there has ever been in the past 100 years of this country?

Mayor YORTY. That statement is not refutable; there is no question about that.

Mr. WATSON. So we would have to say that the rioting or we would have to conclude, I think reasonably, that the rioting and the other conditions that we have had during recent years would more nearly be the result of the Communist agitation in these particular areas, rather than just blaming it on the sociological and other factors which have been in existence for many years.

Mayor YORTY. Well, I think that the Communist factor is more effective than it has been before and partly because of the movement of people into the urban centers and the conditions with which they are confronted there. There is no question about it that when you have people who are not really part of the American economy, they have no training for a job that is available to them and they are simply

put on relief, that they are certainly more subject to subversion than a person who has training and has a job. Now, the kinds of jobs that untrained people can do in the Los Angeles area are disappearing.

Mr. WATSON. They are all over the country, are they not?

Mayor YORTY. So you have an aggravation of the problem. You have tremendous want ads looking for employees.

Mr. WATSON. There is no genuine interest on the part of the Communist agitator or manipulator of this unfortunate circumstance to improve the lot of these people, but rather to cause disunity and unrest and a general breakdown in law and order.

Mayor YORTY. The purpose of the subversive is always to exploit any situation that he can find. That is not only true in our cities; that is true in the Middle East; that is true every place.

The public has no idea of the success of the international Communist Party in the world today. There is not a conflict, even in Nigeria, where they have moved in with a group at Lagos to help them against Biafra, at the same time they tell the Biafrans that we have refused help to them, that they have the situation confused, both sides hate us: Biafra because we don't help them and Lagos because they are getting help by the Russian Communists. They move in every place in this world that they can create more confusion, the more opportunity for their kind of propaganda to make Communist incursions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you again, Mayor Yorty.

Mayor YORTY. I was pleased to be here.

* * * * *

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, Tuesday, November 28, 1967, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, November 29, 1967.)

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

Part 1

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1967

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:00 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina; also John C. Culver, of Iowa, in absence of Mr. Willis.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Chester D. Smith, general counsel; and Herbert Romerstein, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

* * * * *
The CHAIRMAN. Mr. MehaFFEY, please raise you right hand.¹

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

Mr. MEHAFFEY. I do.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, before he starts his testimony I have a few documents I would like to introduce.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, in preparation for these hearings the staff has prepared a compilation of statements by foreign Communist powers and organizations on the recent riots in this country. Inasmuch as there are groups in this country which have been involved in the riots and which take orders from these powers, or openly adulate them and hold them up as models, it is believed these statements are relevant to this inquiry.

¹ Testimony of other witnesses who testified prior to Mr. MehaFFEY's appearance on this date is printed in part 2 of these hearings.

Is permission granted to make these statements a part of the hearing record as Committee Exhibit No. 1?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection they will be included.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 1." See pp. 863-878.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the staff has also compiled statements made by the FBI and its Director, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, during the past 6 years on the subject of Communist activity in the area of racial agitation. Because the FBI has a network of informants within Communist and other subversive organizations and is in a better position to know what these organizations are doing than any other agency of Government, and because these statements are relevant to this inquiry, permission is requested to make this compilation a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. That compilation will be made a part of the record.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 2." See pp. 878-883.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, in connection with Mr. Mehaffey's testimony, investigation and research which have been carried out by staff in connection with this inquiry have revealed that certain organizations as such have been directly involved in riots and racial incidents involving violence; that individual leaders and members of other organizations have played a role in certain of the riots; and, finally, that certain organizations and/or their leaders have been engaged in the dissemination of inflammatory racial propaganda and agitation which, expert testimony has indicated, may well contribute to the outbreak of riots.

Because some of these organizations are relatively new and others are small and little known, the subcommittee has agreed that staff documents containing basic data about these organizations and also statements which they or their recognized leaders have made concerning riots, the use of violence, and related issues should be made a part of the record.

The purpose is to make the record clear. When facts are presented about these organizations and individuals in these hearings, the general nature of the groups will be known and understood. It is emphasized that these documents are not intended to convey any more than they actually say. Some of these organizations, as the documents make clear, are openly Communist and subversive. Others have been cited as Communist and/or subversive by official agencies. Still others have not. In such cases, the inclusion of these documents in the record is not to be interpreted as a committee finding or implication that the organization is Communist or subversive.

Permission is requested at this time to enter these documents, to be presented by Mr. Mehaffey, into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Permission is granted.

Mr. SMITH. It was originally planned that all these exhibits would be placed in the record before receipt of testimony concerning the Harlem riot of 1964 and racial agitation in New York City prior to and since the riot. A number of factors prevented this being done. Therefore, it is requested that these exhibits be placed in the record before the testimony of Detective Hart and immediately following that of those witnesses who testified as authorities on the subject of rioting.

The CHAIRMAN. The request is granted.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT H. MEHAFFEY

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, Mr. Mehaffey, just in a thumbnail sketch form, can you read highlight excerpts from some of the staff documents referred to by counsel which you are now submitting for the record?

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibit No. 3." See pp. 884-922.)

Mr. MEHAFFEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Give the reporter your full name.

Mr. MEHAFFEY. Robert H. Mehaffey.

Mr. SMITH. Where are you employed?

Mr. MEHAFFEY. I am employed with the House Committee on Un-American Activities as research consultant.

Mr. SMITH. Will you proceed.

Mr. MEHAFFEY. Thank you.

(At this point, Mr. Mehaffey read excerpts from Committee Exhibit No. 3, the staff papers on the Communist Party, U.S.A., the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, and the Progressive Labor Party. As he finished the excerpts from the document on the Progressive Labor Party, the following exchange took place:)

The CHAIRMAN. Off the record, gentlemen.

There is a quorum call going on. I think I will try to make it.

The committee will stand in recess for 20 minutes.

(Brief recess)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:50 p.m., Tuesday, October 31, 1967, the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 10:00 a.m., Wednesday, November 1, 1967.)

(Committee Exhibits Nos. 1 through 3 follow:)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST STATEMENTS ON RACIAL AGITATION AND RIOTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Foreign Communist parties and capitals, in statements and commentaries broadcast to all parts of the world and published in international and national Communist journals, have not only welcomed and supported the racial riots in this country, but have made it clear that it is their desire that additional riots take place—a message that will not be lost on their U.S. followers.

They have described the "so-called riots" as justified "insurrections" and "rebellions," as "revolutionary violence" which is a part of the class struggle in this country and the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism.

They have placed full blame for the riots on the United States Government. They portray the riots as "massacres" in which Negroes are "murdered" and numerous "atrocities" are committed against them by the police and military forces called in to restore order. The riot cities are "battlefields" in the "limited war" of "genocide" being waged by the U.S. Government against Negroes in this country.

The statements of Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, and Havana quoted in this exhibit, as well as similar statements made by these and other Communist capitals not reproduced herein, have a number of obvious purposes:

1. To discredit the United States' everywhere by creating the impression that the Negroes in this country are so brutally treated and oppressed that, unable to tolerate conditions any longer, they have risen in rebellion against the Government;

2. To make it clear to Communists in all parts of the world that, in whatever way possible, they are to publicize, support, and promote individuals and orga-

nizations in the U.S. engaging in racial agitation and the instigation of rioting;

3. To convey the message to U.S. Communists that they themselves should do all they can to promote the outbreak of riots which, for obvious reasons, are believed to assist in the accomplishment of Communist objectives both here and abroad;

4. To convince civil rights organizations and activists, and Negroes in general, that Negroes in this country cannot achieve full equality unless the United States ends the war in Vietnam, i.e., pulls out of Vietnam and permits the Communists to take over that country;

5. To the degree that these statements reach Negroes in the United States, they are clearly designed to arouse hatred, resentment, and enmity against the Government and create a willingness to riot in the future against an allegedly coldblooded, oppressive regime that is making a calculated effort to wipe out the Negroes in the United States.

THE SOVIET UNION

MOSCOW RADIO, ENGLISH LANGUAGE COMMENTARY TO SOUTH ASIA ON THE WATTS RIOT, AUGUST 16, 1965:

"The residents of the Negro ghetto [Watts] staged a peaceful campaign against segregation a few days ago. The racists tried terror to impede them. * * * This small civil war * * * has witnessed the local and federal administrations taking the side of the racists. Tens of thousands of police and national guardsmen, reinforced by regular troops are taking action against the Negroes.

* * * * *

"It is remarkable that the massacre in Los Angeles took place exactly two weeks after Congress passed a bill on Negro voting. * * * The bullets, bayonets, and teargas used * * * is eloquent disapproval of the fairy tale about race harmony for which the present American administration is allegedly fighting. * * * These events have proved that the struggle for equality cannot be won by demonstrations and singing of psalms alone."

MOSCOW RADIO ON WATTS RIOT, AUGUST 16, 1965:

"The Los Angeles events have further demolished the fairytale of freedom and democracy in the United States. For the Negro population * * * these principles meant thousands of arrests, hundreds of wounded, and dozens of murdered people. * * * The population, cut off from the rest of the world, is facing hunger. Police and National Guardsmen are combing the ruined streets. Acting on the hysterical command of the City Police Chief Parker, they go on arresting, arresting, arresting. * * * The bloodstained events in Los Angeles began six days ago with a peaceful demonstration against racial discrimination. No one stopped the racists when they attacked the demonstrators. But the full force of the strongest military power of the capitalist world was brought to bear on the Negroes of Los Angeles when in their despair they took up arms. * * *

"The word 'ghetto' often occurs in reports from Los Angeles, sometimes in conjunction with the term 'Warsaw.' Many people are reminded of the events linked to rising of the population of the Jewish ghetto in the Polish capital occupied by the Nazis. The Nazis quelled this rising with bestial and methodical cruelty.

* * * * *

"the soldier who disperses a Negro demonstration is being morally prepared for killing people in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic. * * * reports from Los Angeles stress that the behavior of U.S. soldiers in the city's Negro quarters is reminiscent of their action in Santo Domingo. * * * It is no accident that Vietnam, Santo Domingo, and the American city of Los Angeles are joined in one line, the line of the fight against the common foe, American imperialism."

TASS INTERNATIONAL SERVICE, AUGUST 17, 1965:

"News coming from Los Angeles shows that the actions of the Negro population of that city have been suppressed by the most ruthless means.

* * * * *

"politicians accentuate individual cases of 'violence' by the Negro population * * * Despite the demagogic statements of U.S. officials * * * the Negroes still remain in the vise of inequality in all spheres of life. * * * What is happening in fact is that Negroes from rural areas, particularly from the southern states,

* * * pour into the big cities in search of a better life * * *. But in the city ghettos they find the same hopelessness * * *.

* * *
 "The bloody events in Los Angeles, just as last year's events in Harlem, have a common basis * * * the absence of radical action by the government to restore the elementary rights of the Negro population; that is, such measures which are not in the interests of the monopolies.

"The demands for change in the status of the Negro population in America keep rising, and where this movement encounters most reactionary forms of official resistance * * * it takes violent forms. * * *"

MOSCOW RADIO BROADCAST TO U.S. TROOPS IN VIETNAM, MAY 17, 1967:

"The American FBI and the CIA sent a secret letter to the commander of the American occupation forces in South Vietnam which dealt with the alleged unreliability of Negro soldiers and proposed measures to strengthen controls over them. * * * In the United States itself, a new movement against racial discrimination has started * * * Negro soldiers serving in the U.S. Army will not be indifferent to this. * * * American Negro soldiers are fully aware of all this and they themselves are subjected to racial discrimination * * *.

"* * * General William Westmoreland * * * issued an order for Negro soldiers to be thrown into the most dangerous areas and to use them for cover for the white soldiers. Because of his orders, the Negroes are sent to parachute troop detachments, which suffer the greatest losses in the Vietnam jungle. * * *"

"Perhaps there are some Negro soldiers listening to this program. If so, do they ask themselves in whose interests they have to rot in the Vietnam jungles * * *? For the interests of those who lynch their fathers and brothers in America * * * The Negro soldiers must not betray their ideals and their hopes for freedom and equal rights. And it is exactly this that the Vietnamese patriots are fighting for. They are fighting the same Yankee racists against whom today the black ghettos of America are rising in their just struggle."

MOSCOW RADIO BROADCAST TO SOUTH ASIA, JULY 25, 1967:

"America has never seen the likes of it before and America is * * * accustomed to racial disturbances. Real battles are raging in the streets of American cities. * * *"

* * *
*"The United States is actually on the brink of civil war. * * * Earlier it was the South that was the citadel of racism. Now Negroes are beaten up and killed in the North too. * * * the full power of the police and the army, tanks and armored cars, is thrown against the unarmed Negroes.*

"American racism is celebrating a gory victory. It is suppressing, killing, beating up, arresting, and imprisoning. * * *"

* * *
 "The Negro movement is growing in scope and vigor * * *. Experience has shown them that only by fighting can they accomplish anything. In Newark * * * there was a national conference by representatives of the Negro movement. * * * The conference decided to set up a single center to coordinate and unite the movement for Negro rights. * * * Rap Brown, one of the delegates, said: There are three forms of genocide in the United States today. There is the genocide toward the Negro children in Mississippi * * *. Then there is the police genocide * * *. Finally, there is the war in Vietnam. * * * American imperialist circles are now waging two race wars—one against the Negroes at home, the other against Asians in Vietnam. * * *"

MOSCOW DOMESTIC RADIO COMMENTARY ON NEWARK RIOT, JULY 25, 1967:

"The long, hot summer of Negro demonstrations * * * is now at its height. * * * there was an explosion in Newark. For six days the unarmed Negro population of the city, rising in despair to the din of police shooting * * * tried to force the federal authorities in Washington to listen to them. The response of the authorities was that dozens of Negroes were killed, hundreds wounded, and thousands arrested. * * * the wave of despair and anger spread throughout the country * * *. The rising in the Negro ghetto of Newark spread to New Brunswick, Plainfield, Minneapolis, Birmingham, and finally reached the country's largest cities, New York and Detroit. * * *"

AN ARTICLE IN *NEW TIMES* (MOSCOW) OF AUGUST 16, 1967, TITLED "REAPING THE WHIRLWIND," AND WRITTEN BY HARRY FREEMAN, A U.S. CITIZEN AND TASS CORRESPONDENT IN THE U.S., STATED:

"Last year there were insurrections in Negro ghettos of thirty-eight cities across the United States. * * *

* * *
 "By cutting funds for the ghettos, they made slum insurrections inevitable, and they were prepared to use force at home just as they were using it abroad * * *
 * * *

"As the world knows, there were major ghetto insurrections in Detroit, Michigan, and in Newark, New Jersey. * * * The guardians of American 'law and order' were ruthless in suppressing the ghetto insurrections in these two cities.
 * * *

"the entire struggle of the embittered black slum dwellers across the land has assumed a new character. * * * It bears the heat of dynamite. * * * the rulers of the United States * * * find themselves engaging in a thus far 'limited war' to suppress black people at home * * *. The battlefields and potential battlefields at home may be less numerous than in Vietnam, but surely sufficient to cause concern to Washington strategists as they try to calculate in what cities and in what numbers army troops may be required to supplement reservists and police.

"No one can gauge precisely the power of the social dynamite stored in the country's ghettos: no one can surely predict how far the 'limited war' on the home front will escalate. What is clear is that the country is in the midst of an internal crisis of major proportions.
 * * *

"young and new leaders in the struggle, such as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, clearly welcome the insurrections * * *."

COMMUNIST CHINA

On August 12, 1963, there was held in Peking, China, "The Rally of People From All Walks of Life in Peking Opposing U.S. Imperialism and Supporting the American Negroes' Struggle Against Racial Discrimination."

Four days earlier, on August 8, while receiving a group of visitors from Africa, Mao Tse-tung, at the request of Robert Williams (who was then visiting Peking with his wife), made a statement on the theme of the above-mentioned rally.

EXCERPTS FROM MAO TSE-TUNG'S STATEMENT WHICH WAS READ AT THE RALLY FOLLOW:

"An American Negro leader now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, * * * has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to take this opportunity to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.
 * * *

"The American Negroes are awakening and their resistance is growing stronger and stronger. * * *
 * * *

"A gigantic and vigorous nationwide struggle is going on in nearly every city and state, and the struggle is mounting. * * * the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of sharpening class struggle and sharpening national struggle within the United States * * *

"I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite * * * and support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle. * * * I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. * * *"

EXCERPTS FROM OTHER SPEECHES AT THE AUGUST 12, 1963, RALLY:

Liu Ning-I, representative of the People's Organizations of China and president of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions:

"The current struggle of the American Negroes which started in Birmingham is a great revolutionary struggle * * * for the liberation of the Negroes. * * * it shows that the American Negroes have discovered a correct path in their struggle, that is, the path of unity and resolute struggle against the reactionary ruling class. * * * Just as Robert Williams, a leader of the American Negroes in exile in Cuba, has said, 'The stranglehold of oppression cannot be loosened by a plea to the oppressors' conscience. Social change in something as fundamental as racist oppression involves violence. You cannot have progress here without violence and upheaval.' Casting away their illusions about the reactionary ruling class, the broad masses of Negroes have moved from the courts to the streets and carried on resolute struggles. Here lies the real hope of the liberation of the American Negroes. Robert Williams said, 'The future belongs to today's oppressed and I shall be witness to that future in the liberation of the Afro-American.' * * *

"The struggle of the American Negroes against racial oppression and for freedom and equal rights is a component part of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations the world over. This revolutionary struggle springing up in the heartland of U.S. imperialism is of very great significance to the common struggle of the people of the world against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, and gives a powerful support to the fighting peoples of different countries. * * *

"In our common struggle we shall for ever give each other encouragement and support. * * * By relying on their firm unity and resolute struggle * * * and on the sympathy and support of the world's people, our American Negro brothers will certainly win great victory in their just struggle * * *

"People of the whole world, unite! Stop the U.S. imperialists' fascist crime of persecuting and suppressing the American Negroes!

"Long live the victory of the American Negroes' struggle against racial oppression!"

Frank Coe,¹ "An American Friend Living in Peking":

"All the American people will be happy over this great meeting * * * to support the struggle of the American Negroes.

"All our people will likewise be grateful for Chairman Mao Tse-tung's historic statement on this struggle. This is the first time a world leader * * * has called on the people of all countries to unite against * * * U.S. imperialism and to support the American Negroes in their struggle against it. * * * it is also the first time that Chairman Mao Tse-tung has personally issued a statement of this kind. * * *

¹ A former official of the U.S. Treasury Department and of the United Nations who was identified as a member of a Soviet espionage ring composed of Government employees in the sworn testimony of Elizabeth Bentley before this committee on July 31, 1948.

On Aug. 13, 1948, Frank Coe appeared as a witness before this committee and denied that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party or that he belonged to a Soviet espionage group.

Coe subsequently, however, appeared as a witness during four hearings conducted by Senate investigating committees. At all four hearings he invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions pertaining to Communist Party membership. At three of the hearings he also refused, on the same grounds, to answer questions regarding espionage activities.

On Dec. 3, 1952, 2 days after the first of these appearances, he was dismissed as secretary of the United Nations International Monetary Fund. On June 5, 1953, in testimony before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Coe denied that he was then engaged in espionage activities and that he had been engaged in espionage on Dec. 2, 1952. When questioned about espionage on Dec. 1, 1952, and a period of time preceding that date, Coe invoked the fifth amendment. He also invoked the fifth amendment when the committee asked if he was under orders of the Communist Party.

On May 15, 1956, he testified before a Senate committee that Elizabeth Bentley's charges had been false, but invoked the fifth amendment when questioned about past or present membership in the Communist Party.

After the Supreme Court decision in the Kent-Briehl case, Coe was issued a passport on July 31, 1958 (the State Department had denied him one in 1951).

He went to Red China later that year and has resided there since that time.

"The movement of the U.S. Negroes against racial discrimination is necessarily a part of the world-wide united front against U.S. imperialism * * *. The vigor and power of this movement in the United States is yet another proof that this international united front is inevitable. This united front is bound to achieve victory.

* * * * *

"People of the whole world, unite to support the American Negro people in their struggle against racial discrimination !

"People of the whole world, unite to overthrow the common enemy, U.S. imperialism !"

Anna Louise Strong,¹ recorded speech on behalf of herself and the following three Americans and one Canadian living and working in China :

- Talitha Gerlach*, China Welfare Institute, Shanghai ;
- Dr. George Hatem* (Ma Hai-teh), for 30 years in China's Public Health Service ;
- Bertha Hinton*, Peking Institute of Foreign Languages ;
- Doris Nielsen*, "wartime progressive member" of the Canadian Parliament :

"We want to bear witness that we, Americans, living, working and traveling extensively in China, have seen for ourselves how widely the Chinese people * * * are interested in the American Negroes' struggle for Freedom and give it their full support. * * *

* * * * *

"Second, we wish to inform the American Negroes that China herself is an example that shows that racial discrimination and inequality can be abolished * * *

* * * * *

"the experience of the Chinese people suggests that the American Negroes will not gain the full benefits under the present social system in America. * * * So, * * * we think and hope you also realize that final victory cannot be won until you overthrow the monopoly capitalism of America, your final enemy, and also the enemy of the American people and of the people of the world.

* * * * *

"This Negro struggle is not yet the American Revolution but may spark it. As more and more of the American working class and progressives join to support the Negro movement for 'Freedom Now', this may win a new birth of freedom for all exploited Americans and reinforce the anti-imperialist struggles of the world."

MESSAGE ADOPTED AT THE AUGUST 12, 1963, RALLY :

"The struggle waged by the more than 19 million American Negroes is an entirely just one. It enjoys the sympathy and support of the Chinese people * * * The Chinese people deeply admire their American Negro brothers for their dauntless and indomitable spirit and most resolutely support their just demands.

* * * * *

¹ Anna Louise Strong has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by several witnesses in testimony before this committee. She was also identified as the representative from the CPUSA to the Soviet News Agency Tass in the early 1930's.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, after extensive hearings, issued a report on the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1952. It stated that Miss Strong had also been a collaborator with agents of the Soviet intelligence apparatus.

Miss Strong went to Russia in 1921 for the American Friends Relief Mission. She became a correspondent for Hearst magazines and the North American Newspaper Alliance, traveling widely in Russia, China, and Central Europe. In 1930 she founded the *Moscow Daily News*, the first English language newspaper in Moscow.

In 1949 she was arrested by the Soviets on spy charges and deported from the U.S.S.R. In 1955 the Soviet Government cleared her of these charges and said that she had been framed by former Russian police chief Lavrenti Beria.

In June 1955 Miss Strong, then a resident of California, applied for a passport. The State Department refused her application. In 1958 she was granted a passport after the Supreme Court ruled that the Secretary of State could not withhold passports because of "beliefs or associations." Congress, it said, "has made no such provision in explicit terms; and absent one, the Secretary may not employ that standard to restrict the citizens' right of free movement."

Miss Strong has been a resident of Communist China since 1958. Although she is now over 80 years old, she was reported to have joined the Red Guards, China's revolutionary youth movement, in 1966. Chinese leaders honor her as a veteran revolutionary. Mao Tse-tung himself was host at a special banquet on her 80th birthday.

As for years in the past, she is presently serving as foreign correspondent in Peking for the *National Guardian* and publishing "Letter from China," which is mailed to the United States.

"The struggle of the American Negroes is not an isolated one. Their struggle is closely linked with the struggle of * * * the whole world against imperialism headed by the United States and these struggles are inspiring and supporting each other. We are firmly convinced that, as long as they close their ranks and persevere in the struggle, our Negro brothers and sisters in the United States will triumph no matter how arduous the struggle and how tortuous the path may be. * * *"

PEOPLE'S DAILY (PEKING) EDITORIAL, AUGUST 12, 1963:

"Today, the people from all walks of life in the Chinese capital will hold a grand rally in support of the American Negroes' just struggle against racial discrimination. * * *

* * * * *
 "The U.S. Negroes' struggle * * * cannot but be a severe struggle against the U.S. monopoly groups' brutal exploitation and reactionary rule.
 * * * * *

"The American Negro people's struggle for equal rights is an inseparable part of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world. Every success in the American Negroes' movement provides vigorous support and inspiration for the revolutionary movement of the people in other parts of the world. The revolutionary people everywhere firmly stand on the side of the American Negroes and evaluate highly their just struggle. The struggle of our American Negro brothers will be extremely arduous and they still may meet various kinds of setbacks. But as Chairman Mao Tse-tung points out in his statement: '. . . with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people.' "

SECOND PEKING "RALLY OF PEOPLE":

A second "Rally of People from All Walks of Life in Peking Opposing U.S. Imperialism and Supporting the American Negroes' Struggle Against Racial Discrimination" was held in Peking on October 10, 1963. Excerpts from speeches at this rally follow:

Robert Williams, "An American Negro Leader":

"The government of the U.S.A. is the world's greatest hypocrite. * * * It has forfeited its right to even exist on the face of the earth * * *"

* * * * *
 "Patriots and friends, it fills my heart with joy for so many of us to join together in a common cause against a common enemy. * * *"

* * * * *
 "U.S. racism is a cancerous sore that threatens the well-being of humanity. It can only be removed and a cure effected by a surgical operation performed by the great masses of the world. * * * The government of the U.S.A. is an enemy to all the world. Freedom in the U.S.A. is a farce. * * *"

"In the name of the African captives of racist America, I thank you for your support of a common struggle against a common enemy. Again, I thank Chairman Mao for his appeal for universal support of our struggle. Patriots, in unity and solidarity with our oppressed brothers, let our battle cry be heard around the world: Freedom! Freedom! Freedom now or Death!"

Kuo Mo-Jo, chairman of the China Peace Committee:

"As Mr. [Robert] Williams points out, it is high time for the American Negroes to take action. * * *"

"We are glad to see that the struggle of the American Negroes is developing with full speed. * * * The struggle of the American Negroes is a component part of the American people's revolutionary struggle, and of the world-wide struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism and for emancipation. The struggle of our American Negro brothers strikes at U.S. imperialism from the heartland of this common enemy of the people of the world. Every victory they win supports and inspires the revolutionary movements of the people of all countries. Similarly, the struggles of the people of the world against imperialism

headed by the United States, gives powerful support to the struggle of the American Negroes. * * * We are deeply concerned for the revolutionary struggle of the American Negroes and the American people, and we regard their struggle as our own, their victory our victory. We solemnly reiterate here that the 650 million Chinese people will always support the struggle of the American Negroes and the American people as a whole, until they win the final victory."

MESSAGE TO AMERICAN NEGROES ADOPTED AT THE OCTOBER 10, 1963, PEKING RALLY:

"People from all walks of life in Peking are gathered * * * to pledge resolute support to American Negro brothers and sisters in their struggle against U.S. imperialist racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights. * * * The Freedom March on Washington on August 28 * * * marks a new upsurge in the American Negroes' struggle. * * *

* * * * *
 "The American Negroes' struggle is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle of the American people and of the liberation struggle of all oppressed nations and peoples. * * * The Chinese people will always stand by their American Negro brothers and sisters as well as the American people as a whole in the fight against U.S. imperialism * * *."

On August 8, 1964, a rally was held in Peking to celebrate the first anniversary of Mao Tse-tung's statement in support of American Negroes.

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES MADE AT THIS RALLY FOLLOW:

Frank Coc:

"Comrade chairman, comrades, and friends: One year ago today Comrade Mao Tse-tung issued his historic statement calling upon the people of the world to unite and * * * support the American Negroes in their struggle * * *. The statement was * * * widely circulated among the American Negroes, despite the efforts of the U.S. capitalist press to suppress it. * * * By now almost every national liberation struggle in the world has declared that the struggle of the Afro-Americans is part of its own cause. So have all the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in the world. * * * Negro leaders are reaching out to form links with the national liberation struggles throughout the world. * * *

* * * * *
 "Afro-Americans are beginning to talk more and more about armed self-defense, * * * about guerrilla warfare, and civil war. Why not armed self-defense? * * *

"The U.S. Marxist-Leninists advocate armed self-defense; black nationalist organizations advocate it and are gaining ground. Some of the leaders liken the stand of nonviolence to that of Khrushchev, and the stand of the more militant leaders to that of Mao Tse-tung. Negro intellectuals are saying that the tactics of nonviolence are not sufficient * * *. These local leaders are tending to the view that violence must be met with violence (applause).

* * * * *
 "These 20 million people, battering down the walls of U.S. imperialism from within, are a great support for every people's struggle in the world. * * *

* * * * *
 "Speaking for the people of the United States of America, whether white, black, red, brown, or yellow, I wish to say to this rally in Peking: We the American people oppose and condemn the aggression of the U.S. Government against the DRV. * * * support the North Vietnamese people * * *. We want the Vietnamese people to win and we are sure they will * * *

"Soon there will be no (Negro people?) willing to serve as cannonfodder * * *

"We, the American people of all colors, are grateful for the support the Chinese people have given to the struggle of our Afro-American people. * * *

"We thank the people of Peking for organizing this splendid rally of support and for your confidence in our victory (applause). Long live the heroic American Negro people! Victory for their struggle (applause) !

* * * * *
 "Finally, on behalf of all the American people, I wish to thank Chairman Mao Tse-tung for the statement he issued one year ago declaring the support of the

Chinese people for the struggle of the American Negro people and calling on all of the people of the world to do likewise. * * *

Kuo Chien, secretary of the China Women's Federation :

"We people of all circles in the nation's capital are holding a rally to support the American Negroes' just struggle against racial discrimination and commemorate the first anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's statement. * * * in the name of 650 million Chinese people, I solemnly declare that we shall always—unswervingly and resolutely—support and thoroughly carry out this great call of Chairman Mao's (applause). * * * We pay high tribute and pledge resolute support to the American Negro brothers who persist in their heroic struggle * * *."

PEKING RADIO COMMENT ON WATTS RIOT, AUGUST 15, 1965:

"Leaflets distributed by the demonstrating Negroes * * * linked up their struggle * * * with the battle fought by the other oppressed peoples of the world against U.S. aggression. One leaflet reads in part: 'After years of frame-ups, brutalities, and intimidations, the black people are throwing off control of the same rulers who are making war on people throughout the world—in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and the Congo.'"

PEKING RADIO COMMENT (ENGLISH LANGUAGE) ON WATTS RIOT, AUGUST 16, 1965:

"The struggle of the Negro people in Los Angeles and other places in the United States is a veritable revolutionary movement, and, like the revolutionary movement of other peoples, the struggle of the American Negroes will be crowned with victory, says the PEOPLE'S DAILY commentator today.

* * * * *
 "The Chinese people firmly support the just struggle of their American Negro brothers and strongly protest against the atrocities of the U.S. ruling circles against them. * * * On the surface the Negro question is a national question. But as Chairman Mao Tse-tung said: 'In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle.' * * * Class contradictions between the Negroes and the monopolist groups are irreconcilable [sic]. * * *

* * * * *
 "One new characteristic of the Los Angeles struggle is that the Negro masses link their struggle against the domestic reactionary policies of the Johnson Administration with their struggle against its policy of aggression abroad. * * *

* * * * *
 "The American Negroes know full well that they are not alone in their struggle. The anti-U.S. forces throughout the world are on their side and fight shoulder to shoulder with them. * * *

PEKING RADIO COMMENT ON THE WATTS RIOT, AUGUST 17, 1965:

"The dauntless Negroes * * * in Los Angeles are continuing their heroic fight * * * against large numbers of police and national guard who had been brought in to carry out cruel suppression * * *.

* * * * *
 "The struggle 'has given some Negroes a feeling of importance and power they never had before,' he said.

* * * * *
 "In the Negro district, 15,000 national guardsmen and police kept up the bloody suppression against the Negroes. * * *

"These national guardsmen and police are now slaughtering innocent inhabitants. * * *

* * * * *
 "One of the salient features of the present Negro fight is that from the very beginning of their fight, they took up arms in resistance. They seized guns from the racist arms dealers, * * * hit back at the racists and killed racists and killed racist army-men and police. Thousands of Negroes have stood in the van on this tumultuous fight. This shows that the Negroes hate to the bone the class oppression and the social system of discrimination."

PEOPLE'S DAILY, EDITORIAL ON THE WATTS RIOT, AUGUST 19, 1965:

"'more and more American Negroes are coming to realize * * * that they must meet counterrevolutionary violence with revolutionary violence' * * *

"The editorial points out that the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination is an inseparable part of the worldwide revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations and people. * * *

"The editorial says that 'the 20 million American Negroes * * * have become an important revolutionary force in the United States that cannot be overlooked. * * *

* * * * *

"It notes that the American Negroes have, since the beginning of this year, taken an active part in the widespread struggle in the United States against the U.S. Government aggression in Vietnam. 'This important development in the Negro movement in the United States marks a great advance in the revolutionary level of the American Negroes' struggle for emancipation.'

"Two years ago Chairman Mao Tse-tung said in his statement in support of the just struggle of the American Negroes: 'The fascist atrocities committed by the U. S. imperialists against the Negro people have laid bare the true nature of the so-called democracy and freedom in the United States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.'

* * * * *

"*' * * The African people and the other peace- and justice-loving people of the world must join the Negroes * * * in resolutely carrying through to the end the struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies * * * The bond which links the American Negroes with the revolutionary people in other countries in their common struggle will be strengthened as the Negro movement grows in the United States.'"

On March 3, 1966, all Peking newspapers featured the statement which *William Epton*, vice president of the Progressive Labor Party, had made before the New York State Supreme Court on January 27 before being sentenced to 1 year in prison following his conviction of conspiracy to riot, advocacy of criminal anarchy, and conspiracy to advocate criminal anarchy.

Epton's quoted statement read in part as follows:

"It is imperative that the student, intellectual, and worker unite to stay the hand of the government before it is too late; and in the same light—the black people must organize themselves to struggle for their right to self-determination and for their liberation. I say here, openly and publicly, that the black people will not walk into the concentration camps, the furnaces, and the gas chambers. We would sooner die fighting first before we allow this to happen to us.

* * * * *

"When the future equivalent of the Nuremberg trials take place, it will not be Bill Epton who will be standing in the docket. It will be the Johnsons, the McNamaras, the Bundys, the Rusks, the war-mad industrialists who make war for profit and their agents who will be tried for crimes against humanity."

PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL, MARCH 4, 1966, ON THE ABOVE-QUOTED EPTON SPEECH:

"The speech of William Epton, vice president of the U.S. Progressive Labor Party, before the U.S. court * * *. He ruthlessly exposed and condemned the U.S. ruling group * * *. In his uprightness one sees the heroic mettle and militant spirit of a revolutionary.

"The U.S. * * * want to strangle the revolutionary struggle of the people with their police, courts, and prisons. * * *

"Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: 'To start a war, the U.S. reactionaries must first attack the American people. They are already attacking the American people * * *. The people of the United States should stand up and resist the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries. * * * The persecution of William Epton * * * will bring about more violent resistance struggle among the American people.

* * * * *

"The persecution of Epton is * * * a mark of the stepped up fascistization by the American rulers. * * * the enemy of the American people * * * is none other than the Johnson administration. More and more American people have come to

know this. They are rising up to resist the attacks of the American reactionaries * * *. Epton has put it well: we would sooner die fighting than walking into the concentration camps, the furnaces, and the gas chambers. * * * Keep up the fight, courageous Americans! The people the world over * * * will be on your side and will fight to the end against the common enemy—U.S. imperialism.

* * * * *
 “Just as Epton has pointed out, the day will come when the U.S. ruling group will be tried by the American people and brought to the gallows by them.”

“**BREAKING THE FETTERS OF ‘NON-VIOLENCE,’**” ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN AUGUST 5, 1966, ISSUE OF PEKING REVIEW:

“the American Negro struggle * * * is breaking away from the doctrine of ‘non-violence’ * * * and is embarking upon the path of opposing counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. * * *

“The slogan ‘black power’ which reflects the growing militancy of the Negro people was raised for the first time * * * when a Negro ‘freedom march’ was staged * * *

“The high militancy of the American Negroes has also found expression in the recent changes of leadership and policies of a number of important Negro organizations. The Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, which had been active in organizing Negro struggles in the south, changed its leadership in May to a more militant one which openly calls for armed self-defence. * * * the Congress of Racial Equality * * * adopted a resolution announcing an end to ‘non-violence’ * * *. ‘The philosophy of non-violence is dying.’

“It is reported that the ranks of the Negro armed self-defence organizations are rapidly swelling. The Deacons for Defence and Justice formed last year has now established 50 to 60 branches in five southern states. The Revolutionary Action Movement which has its headquarters in Philadelphia is now also active in New York, Chicago, Detroit and other industrial centres in the north. * * * However, the history of the American Negro struggle shows that violent suppression by the ruling circles can only hasten the new awakening of the Negro masses and make more people realize that their sole hope is to meet violence with violence.”

On August 8, 1966, a rally was held in Peking to mark the third anniversary of Mao Tse-tung’s 1963 message in support of American Negroes. The rally was reportedly attended by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi and 10,000 Chinese people. A message to Robert Williams from William Epton, vice president of the Progressive Labor Party, was read at the rally. Williams was one of the rally speakers, as was another American, Sidney Rittenberg.

EXCERPTS AND SUMMARIES FROM RALLY SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS, AS PUBLISHED IN THE PEKING REVIEW, AUGUST 12, 1966, FOLLOW:

William Epton’s message:

“The black people in the U.S.A. are in the midst of their struggle to achieve their self-determination and liberation. We, at the same time, offer our resolute support to the heroic Vietnamese people who are waging a militant armed struggle against U.S. imperialism to win their self-determination. We salute the Chinese people for giving leadership to the world revolutionary movement against U.S. imperialism, and revisionism led by the Soviet Union. We join hands with you on this occasion with the knowledge that the world revolutionary movement will be victorious over U.S. imperialism and its revisionist collaborators.’”

Sidney Rittenberg,¹ summary of speech:

¹ Foreign correspondent in Peking for *The Worker* in the late 1950’s and early 1960’s. Although Rittenberg was dropped from *The Worker’s* list of foreign correspondents after 1962, he continues to reside in Communist China.

Chinese Communist publications and broadcasts describe him as “an American journalist” and “an American friend” living in China when commenting on his frequent speeches to various rallies in Peking.

Several of his speeches have been broadcast in English by Radio Peking; *Peking Review* has reported and summarized others.

Rittenberg has openly proclaimed his admiration for communism—Chinese style—and has expressed the hope that “imperialism will be smashed all over the world and the cause of socialism and communism will be victorious.”

In a speech to a rally on Apr. 10, 1967, Rittenberg “wished Chairman Mao a long life, because, he said, ‘only his teachings can guide the revolutionaries of all countries to rebel against the old world and to carry the world revolution through to the end * * *.’”

“Chairman Mao’s brilliant analysis of the national struggle * * * has opened the way for the rise of the black freedom struggle to a new stage * * *. He noted that the American Negro people are abandoning the false doctrine of ‘non-violence’ for slogans of ‘meet counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence.’ He also said that they are increasingly identifying their fight with the Champion of Liberation, Mao Tse-tung, and the Gospel of Freedom, Mao Tse-tung’s thought.”

“ * * *, [a Red Chinese newspaper] said, the American Negro masses have not only come to realize the need to win power but also to understand that power has to be seized by means of violence. * * * ”

Kuo Mo-fo speech :

“The Chinese people hail the heroic struggle of their American Negro brothers!

* * * * *

“The facts have proved that the exploited and oppressed American Negro people are the most staunch and most reliable revolutionary force in the United States.

* * * * *

“Chairman Mao has said that the fascist atrocities of the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have exposed the true nature of the so-called American democracy * * *. Like all reactionary ruling classes in history, the reactionary U.S. ruling clique has all along relied on violence to maintain its rule. Therefore, it is inevitable that the American Negro people should use violence to resist the reactionary U.S. ruling clique. * * * ”

* * * * *

“By striking hard at U.S. imperialism in the battlefield, the Vietnamese people have rendered powerful support to the struggle of the American Negro people. Similarly, by fighting against U.S. imperialist racial discrimination, the American Negro people have in turn given important support to the Vietnamese people’s struggle against U.S. aggression * * *. In the past three years, our American Negro brothers have firmly opposed U.S. imperialism’s expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam by refusing to enlist and burning draft cards * * *. They have done a good thing, and the right thing too! We are deeply convinced that * * * our American Negro brothers * * * will surely rise in still more vigorous action and push their struggle against tyranny to a new high in order to support the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression * * *. In the struggle * * * against U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist leading clique is playing the role of number one accomplice to U.S. imperialism * * *. It has never supported our American Negro brothers * * * it absurdly describes the correct stand of supporting the national-liberation movement as ‘substituting a racial point of view for the point of view of class struggle.’ * * * and consequently gives support to U.S. imperialism’s reactionary internal policy. Not only does it serve as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism in the latter’s expansion of the war of aggression, but it has at the same time placed itself in the shameful position of helping U.S. imperialism attack the American people and the American Negroes.

* * * * *

“In the excellent revolutionary situation * * * it is our primary task at present to form the broadest and most genuine international united front against U.S. imperialism. This front includes the broad masses of the American Negroes and the American people * * * ”

* * * * *

“The Chinese people are friendly to the American people. * * * the most reliable friend of the American Negro people. In your struggle, you will always receive infinite sympathy and active support from the Chinese people. * * * ”

STATEMENT SUPPORTING AMERICAN NEGRO PEOPLE’S STRUGGLE ADOPTED AT THE RALLY:

“The American Negroes’ struggle has begun to take the road of using revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence. * * * The American Negroes’ struggle has been ever more closely linked up with the American people’s movement against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam. This constitutes a powerful support to the Vietnamese people’s struggle against U.S.

aggression * * * as well as to the anti-U.S. struggle of the people of the whole world.

* * * * *
 "The American Negroes' struggle is by no means isolated. They will for ever receive boundless sympathy and resolute support from the 700 million Chinese people * * *"

PEKING RADIO BROADCAST, JULY 28, 1967:

"By its ferocity and its ruthless methods in suppressing the Negro movement, the Johnson administration has given a profound lesson to more and more Afro-Americans by negative example. This has greatly hastened their awakening. On the day Johnson made his speech, H. Rap Brown, a young Negro leader who has stood out prominently in the current struggle, forcefully and pointedly replied to Johnson's threats when he gave a press conference and attended a mass meeting in Washington. Brown said that 'the black man has the immutable will to be free and has no recourse but to rebel.' He stressed that 'violence is necessary' and that the black people must get their guns because the white rulers 'don't respect nothing but guns. . .'. His militant speech reflects the determination of the awakening Afro-American masses to rebel."

PEKING RADIO EDITORIAL COMMENT IN ENGLISH ON DETROIT RIOT, JULY 30, 1967:

"The swift and vigorous spread of the Afro-American people's armed struggle against racial oppression has thrown the White House into complete confusion. This proves to the hilt that the US ruling circles who appear to be formidable are no more than a paper tiger. * * *"

"The roaring flames in Detroit have scared the US ruling circles. * * *"

"It is not the fighting Afro-Americans who are afraid of the US ruling circles; it is the US ruling circles who are afraid of the Afro-American masses * * *."

* * * * *
 "More and more Afro-Americans have embarked on the road of combatting counterrevolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. This is what the US gangsters fear most. * * * If the people in the United States unite, the revolutionary people of the world unite, and together wage a common struggle, the handful of reactionaries in the United States will be completely isolated and besieged ring upon ring by the masses of the people thus accelerating the doom of US imperialism."

PEKING RADIO BROADCAST, AUGUST 1, 1967:

"stooges like Martin Luther King issued statements publicly supporting the Johnson administration's violence against the Afro-Americans. This at once unmasked these champions of 'nonviolence' for what they really are—opponents of the revolutionary violence of the oppressed and supporters of the counter-revolutionary violence of the oppressors.

* * * * *
 "However, the level of political awareness of the Afro-American masses is daily rising and they have come to realize more clearly than ever the need to resist violence with violence. * * * Neither the US ruling circle's violent suppression nor the humbug of 'nonviolence' preached by Martin Luther King and his ilk can prevent the Afro-American masses from taking the road of struggle by violence and promoting the Afro-American movement."

PEKING RADIO BROADCAST, AUGUST 2, 1967:

"Lyndon Johnson * * * made a speech on 27 July calling for the intensified suppression of the armed struggle of Afro-Americans * * * and asked the Afro-Americans to be 'law-abiding' and 'responsible' and to 'share in America's prosperity.'

* * * * *
 "But what kind of stuff is American law? Friedrich [sic] Engels pointed out long ago that bourgeois law is a 'whip' against the proletariat. * * * To the Afro-Americans, such laws mean that they must put up with the privation of monopoly capitalism * * *. The broad sections of Afro-Americans and working people in the United States must destroy such laws and smash the state apparatus

of monopoly capital if they are to free themselves and win liberation. The Afro-Americans have torn up Johnson's '(farce)' and bravely taken up arms to struggle against racial oppression. Their rebellion is justified and they have done well, very well.

"Johnson clamored to stop the 'violence' * * *. His bluster about stopping the 'violence' means that they are allowed to wantonly massacre the Afro-American masses while the latter should not resist. * * *

* * * * *

"The broad masses of Afro-Americans will * * * be fully aware that in order to achieve complete liberation, the monstrous imperialist system must be wholly and thoroughly overthrown."

PEKING REVIEW, AUGUST 4, 1967, COMMENT ON DETROIT RIOT:

"Beginning early July 23, several thousand Afro-Americans in Detroit, the fifth largest city in the United States, mounted a stirring armed struggle against fascist police violence. * * *

* * * * *

"Inspired by the militant heroism of Detroit's Afro-Americans * * * Black Americans in other cities and states also rose in armed rebellion. * * *

* * * * *

"The powerful, surging Afro-American armed struggle against racial oppression is of great significance * * * to the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism. The raging flames of the Afro-American struggle were ignited at a time when U.S. imperialism faces an impasse in its war of aggression against Vietnam and when the struggle of the people of the world over against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs is pressing ahead powerfully. Fighting Afro-Americans are dealing telling blows at U.S. imperialism from within the United States, smashing down the reactionary power structure's so-called 'law and order' and paralyzing and causing confusion in more than a dozen cities. Because this rising armed struggle against oppression is battering fiercely at U.S. imperialism's rule at home, it will inevitably weaken U.S. imperialist aggression abroad and aggravate its already insurmountable difficulties. The struggle of the Afro-American masses will not only give tremendous impetus to the revolutionary struggle of the entire American people; it will provide powerful support for the struggles of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, especially for the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation."

PEKING RADIO COMMENT ON SUMMER 1967 RIOTS, AUGUST 5, 1967:

"A vigorous Afro-American struggle against racial oppression has swept the length and breadth of the United States this summer. * * *

"The massive armed resistance that broke out in Newark and Detroit * * * has added a brilliant new page to the annals of the Afro-American people's struggle for liberation.

* * * * *

"The Afro-Americans have begun to realize * * * that they simply cannot get anywhere by adopting the 'nonviolent' means * * *.

"Meanwhile, the Afro-Americans have broken the shackles of bourgeois legality and morals. * * *

* * * * *

"their struggle will certainly grow ever stronger and win final victory. Just as Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, 'With the support of more than 90 percent of the people of the world, the Afro-Americans will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism * * * will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people.'"

PEKING RADIO, AUGUST 9, 1967, BROADCAST OF EXCERPTS FROM ARTICLE WRITTEN BY THE RED GUARDS AT THE INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY:

"The heroic Afro-Americans have taken up arms and rebelled. The raging flames of their struggle * * * were warmly hailed by revolutionary people the world over.

"Four years ago, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the people of the world, made the 'statement supporting the American Negroes * * *.' Chairman

Mao scientifically analyzed the development of the Afro-Americans' struggle and pointed out the road of their struggle. This brilliant work of historic significance has dealt a fatal blow to the US * * *. Chairman Mao pointed out: 'In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle.'

"This brilliant truth has been incontestably borne out * * *.

* * * * *

"The struggle of the Afro-Americans is powerfully supported by the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle of the peoples of the world. Victory will belong to the Afro-Americans. Let the imperialists and their apologists of all shades and hues lament in the midst of the song of triumph of the Afro-Americans."

CUBA

HAVANA RADIO BROADCAST, AUGUST 16, 1965, BY SERGIO ALTISAR:

"Los Angeles continues to be the pivotal center of the rebellion of the Negro masses * * *. When * * * the police used the most brutal repressive measures, the insurrectional wave, like an uncontrollable fire, extended to other cities and districts * * *. The police terror employed by both local and federal authorities recalls the worse periods of the pogroms and anti-Negro slaughters in the so-called U.S. Dixieland.

* * * * *

"Despite the threats by President Johnson and the murderous actions of the military and police riflemen, the movement of Negro rebellion has gone on the march * * *."

SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO TO THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION (LASO), BROADCAST BY HAVANA RADIO, AUGUST 11, 1967:

"However, it is untrue that they [U.S. Negro movement] have no program. * * * the Negro sector * * * has devoted its energies to defend itself, to resist, and to struggle. * * * From this Negro segment * * * will merge [sic] the revolutionary movement in the United States. * * * from the Negro segment will surge the revolutionary vanguard within the United States. Around this revolutionary movement—which does not emerge as a result of race problems, but from social problems—* * * in US society, from this oppressed segment, the revolutionary movement will emerge. * * * a vanguard of a struggle called someday to liberate all of US society. * * * we must reject * * * this attempt of presenting the Negro movement in the United States as a racist problem. * * * we believe that the revolutionary movement throughout the world should give Stokely utmost support * * *. Our solidarity can * * * aid to protect Stokely's life.

* * * * *

"This internationalism is not proclaimed. It is practiced. The US Negroes are * * * resisting with weapons! * * * taking up arms to defend their rights. * * *"

HAVANA RADIO, AUGUST 25, 1967, BROADCAST, TEXT OF RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE LASO CONFERENCE. THE RESOLUTION READ IN PART:

"In the new phase of the struggle of the Negro people symbolized in the rebellions in the ghettos by the citizens of Watts, Selma, Chicago, Harlem, and more recently Newark and Detroit, leaders have arisen who know how to interpret correctly the anxieties, inclinations, and aspirations of the Afro-American people; * * * the relations of the U.S. Negro movement with the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have been raised to a higher level * * * during the events * * * in Newark and Detroit, the Negro masses have responded * * * practically converting these cities into battlefields * * * the struggle of the U.S. Negro is part of the struggle of all the U.S. people against the U.S. imperialist government and is tied * * * to the struggle of all the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America against Yankee imperialism, which, in fact, establishes the necessity and the advisability of forming a militant solidarity movement between the Afro-American people and the peoples of the three continents:

"The peoples of * * * the First LASO Conference, fully support the struggle of the U.S. Negro * * * and urge them to answer the racist violence of the U.S. * * * with stepped-up direct revolutionary action * * *."

"They resolve, further, to proclaim 10 August a day of solidarity with the Negro people of the United States, in memory of the rebellious events begun by the U.S. Negro population in the streets of Watts on 18 August 1965, which marked a change in the strategy of the struggle of the U.S. Negro, abandoning peaceful forms of protest in favor of violent, armed demonstrations against imperialist oppression and discrimination."

NORTH VIETNAM

VIETNAM COURIER, OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER OF COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT OF NORTH VIETNAM, ARTICLE ENTITLED "SECOND FRONT AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM," ISSUE OF AUGUST 29, 1966:

"The first front against U.S. imperialism is Vietnam.

"The second front lies in the United States.

"There live in the U.S. 20 million Afro-Americans. They are oppressed, exploited and treated with contempt like slaves. * * *

* * * * *

"The Vietnamese people's fight against the U.S. aggressors, for national salvation, has brought a great influence to bear upon the Afro-Americans who have realized that they have the same enemy as the Vietnamese people—U.S. imperialism—and that to achieve freedom and equality they must oppose revolutionary violence to counter-revolutionary violence, just as the Vietnamese are doing. No wonder they sympathize with the Vietnamese people and from non-violence they have begun using violence for self-defense. * * *

* * * * *

"Another important thing is that the Afro-Americans combine their struggle against racial discrimination with that against the U.S. war in Vietnam.

* * * * *

"These two combined movements of the Afro-Americans and white Americans are a tremendous force which is the second front against U.S. imperialism. * * *

"Attacked on both fronts, the U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated and victory will surely belong to the American and Vietnamese peoples."

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2

FBI STATEMENTS ON COMMUNIST RACIAL AGITATION

J. EDGAR HOOVER—HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY, MARCH 6, 1961:

"Communist propaganda has always been quick to seize on problems of minority groups. Instances involving the Negro race have been prime targets in this barrage.

"The sit-in demonstrations in the South were a made-to-order issue which the Party fully exploited to further its own ends. The Communists first showed an interest in the demonstrations in late February 1960 when *James E. Jackson* and *Joseph North*, national Communist Party functionaries, traveled to Richmond, Va., and wrote articles for *The Worker*, an east coast Communist weekly newspaper, concerning demonstrations then in progress in Richmond.

"Also during early March 1960, *Daniel Rubin*, national youth director of the Communist Party, U.S.A., visited college campuses in Richmond to obtain statements from students in connection with the demonstrations.

"The Communist Party strategy was not to openly advocate picketing, inasmuch as this would tend to expose its members, but rather to get behind the movement by urging college students to take the initiative.

"The importance which the Communist Party, U.S.A., has placed on these demonstrations was sharply brought into focus when *Benjamin Davis*, the Party's national secretary, told the Party in March 1960 that these demonstrations were considered the next best thing to 'proletarian revolution.'"

J. EDGAR HOOVER—HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY, JANUARY 24, 1962:

"Since its inception the Communist Party, U.S.A., has been alert to capitalize on every possible issue or event which could be used to exploit the American

Negro in furtherance of party aims. In its efforts to influence the American Negro, the party attempts to infiltrate the legitimate Negro organizations for the purpose of stirring up racial prejudice and hatred. In this way, the party strikes a blow at our democratic form of government by attempting to influence public opinion throughout the world against the United States."

FBI ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1963:

"Throughout the 1963 fiscal year the Communist Party, USA, circulated tons of propaganda on the race issue. This pictured the Party as the great champion of Negroes and other minority groups. Actually, the Party is not in the least bit concerned with helping the Negro or any other minority—it merely hopes to ensnare those persons who are naive enough to accept the communists for their claims instead of their deeds."

J. EDGAR HOOVER—HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY, JANUARY 29, 1964:

"Turning to the subject of Communist interest in Negro activities, the approximate 20 million Negroes in the United States today constitute the largest and most important racial target of the Communist Party, U.S.A. The infiltration, exploitation, and control of the Negro population has long been a party goal and is one of its principal goals today.

"In this drive, Negroes have, over the years, been subjected to intensive and extensive Communist agitation and propaganda. The Communist Party has always depicted itself to Negroes as the champion of social protest and the leader in the struggle for racial equality. But the truth of the matter is that the Communist Party is not motivated by any honest desire to better the status or condition of the Negro in this country, but strives only to exploit what are often legitimate Negro complaints and grievances for the advancement of Communist objectives. Controversial or potentially controversial racial issues are deliberately and avidly seized upon by Communists for the fullest possible exploitation. Racial incidents are magnified and dramatized by Communists in an effort to generate racial tensions. As a result, such campaigns are actually utilized as a steppingstone to extend Communist influence among the Negroes.

"Communists, through their worldwide Communist propaganda apparatus, transmit propaganda regarding selected instances of racial inequity and injustice to every part of the world. They do not confine themselves to facts but resort to distortion, exaggeration, and the big lie.

"Communists thus capitalize on the adverse propaganda effect that reports of discrimination and oppression in the United States can produce in the eyes of the rest of the world, particularly among the African and Asian peoples; that is, the idea that this country is against equal rights for all races.

"The Communist Party is attempting to use the Negro movement, as it does everything else, to promote its own interest rather than the welfare of those to whom it directs its agitation and propaganda. It may collect funds ostensibly in behalf of Negro activities, hold discussions on civil rights at all levels, and increase its coverage of Negro affairs in its publications, but behind all of this effort is its clear-cut primary interest in promoting communism.

"The party is continually searching for new avenues in order to expand its influence among the Negroes. In particular, it has sought ways and means to exploit the militant forces of the Negro civil rights movement.

"The number of Communist Party recruits which may be attracted from the large Negro racial group in this Nation is not the important thing. The old Communist principle still holds: 'Communism must be built with non-Communist hands.'

"We do know that Communist influence does exist in the Negro movement and it is this influence which is vitally important. It can be the means through which large masses are caused to lose perspective on the issues involved and, without realizing it, succumb to the party's propaganda lures.

* * * * *

"The Communists look upon students as potential sympathizers, supporters, and contributors to the party's cause. Nor are they unmindful of the rich opportunity for infiltration presented by unwary racial and nationality groups.

"This is especially true of the intense civil rights movement within the United States—for America's 20 million Negroes and the countless other citizens who share their objectives in the current struggle are a priority target for Commu-

nist propaganda and exploitation. Every organization engaged in this struggle must constantly remain alert to this vital fact, for, once under Communist domination, all freedoms and rights are lost."

FBI ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1964:

"The Party waged a constant effort in the fiscal year 1964 to exploit the civil rights issue. During the August 28, 1963, March on Washington, communists and Party sympathizers sought to involve themselves in every aspect of this demonstration. Although attempting to conceal their communist connections, approximately 200 Party members actually participated in the March.

"Other recent racial demonstrations have attracted communists, usually in a hidden role, and the legitimate leaders of these activities have been hard pressed to keep them out and minimize their influence.

"The FBI does not investigate the legitimate activities of civil rights groups, but from an intelligence standpoint it is concerned with determining the extent of possible communist infiltration of these organizations."

J. EDGAR HOOVER—HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY, MARCH 4, 1965:

"The ever-increasing evidences of racial unrest in the country during the past year have witnessed a parallel in the increased emphasis being placed by the Communist Party, U.S.A. on the Negro question and the racial movement generally. There are clear-cut evidences that the party has not only been 'talking,' but also has been directing and urging the increased participation by its adherents in the racial movement. As in any similar party effort at infiltration, where there is participation there is influence in varying degrees.

"These party efforts, though embellished with high-sounding expressions by party leaders, claiming a sincere interest in the Negro and his problems, are, in reality, just another of the great deceptions practiced by the party through the years. Theirs is only a single aim; namely, the gaining of Communist objectives looking toward the ultimate goal of the spread of communism throughout the United States. The racial unrest, then, offers the party a ready-made springboard from which it is able to project its strategy and tactics.

"The past year found the party devoting maximum attention to its efforts to influence civil rights developments. Always alert to exploit discontent and promote disorder, the party continued to regard the civil rights issue as one facet of the class struggle within the capitalist system. With this Marxist-Leninist analysis as a guide, the party has as an objective the use of the civil rights issue to create a Negro-labor coalition which it would dominate to advance the cause of communism in the United States. As in the words of the party's general secretary, *Gus Hall*, 'Jim Crow can be dealt with only by dealing with capitalism.'

"The party's involvement in the racial situation is intended to also serve in the all-important task of recruitment. In early June 1964, the party's national headquarters proposed that headquarters be opened in major cities for the purpose of holding forums. The objective, as explained by a party functionary, is to organize special study groups to teach 'socialism' and thus make it possible for the party to recruit members from among civil rights fighters."

FBI ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1965:

"The communists have been much encouraged by the current wave of social unrest in the United States. They view this situation as the development of a climate favorable to their operations and are constantly probing to exploit areas of discord. It is a rare civil rights activity, whether it be a voter's registration drive, a demonstration, march or picket, that does not attract communists to some degree.

* * * * *

"In general, legitimate civil rights organizations have been successful in excluding communists, although a few have received covert counseling from them and have even accepted them as members. The Communist Party is not satisfied with this situation and is continually striving to infiltrate the civil rights movement at every level."

J. EDGAR HOOVER—HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY, FEBRUARY 10, 1966:

"The party's national office in early 1965 informed all of its districts that the party planned to spend, during 1965, \$10,000 for wages, travel, and literature

distribution in the South. This was said to represent a modest increase over 1964. Party activities in the South are financed through what is termed a 'Southern solidarity assessment,' which is an involuntary assessment of 1 month's dues payable each December.

* * * * *

"The increasing frequency of meetings of party functionaries at the highest levels to mold its designs on the Negro question is illustrative of the escalation of Communist efforts to influence the civil rights movement. Whereas the party's national Negro commission was almost dormant 2 to 3 years ago, 1965 witnessed several key meetings by this highest body in the party devoted to racial matters.

"At its meeting on March 20-21, 1965, labeled a 'milestone' by party National Vice Chairman Henry Winston, the general consensus was that the party increase its efforts to lure support from all segments of society. Party general secretary Gus Hall emphasized that the party must pursue its efforts to merge the struggles of the Negroes and the working class in order to reach its goal of gaining influence among the masses.

"Just a month later, on April 23, 1965, the Negro commission again met and passed a number of proposals which were immediately adopted by the party's national committee. These dealt with the party's far-reaching and penetrative plans for exploiting the racial situation, as follows:

1. Each party district is to establish committees to work with the leadership and to organize the party's activities in the South.

2. Permanent assignments should be made in areas of concentration for the recruiting of party members with each party district working on plans to recruit young Negroes.

3. The party's role in relation to the labor movement should be one of stimulating the idea of organizing the unorganized workers in the South.

4. The party leadership should prepare an informational catalog on the South for the use of other groups.

5. The struggle for civil rights must be kept in motion.

6. The party must raise substantial amounts of money from September to December 1965, to be controlled by the Negro commission for work in the South.

"Another key item stressed during the April 23, 1965, meeting was to have party contacts with the principal civil rights organizations working in the South, including the *Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee* and the *Southern Christian Leadership Conference*, as well as with other groups which supply medical and legal aid in the South.

"To effect a channel of communication between the party and civil rights workers, it was stressed that the party become better organized by meeting with individuals going to the South for temporary work in the civil rights field and having them report back to the party about their experiences.

"At another meeting of the Negro commission held on June 23, 1965, a leading party functionary equated the struggle of Negroes for first-class citizenship as consistent with Marxist-Leninist doctrines. Another party leader suggested that the Communist Party, U.S.A. focus its attention on every educational system in the United States where discrimination is practiced and urged that Negro youth be drawn into the 'socialist struggle' (Communist struggle).

"These activities show the clear-cut designs of the party to exploit to its fullest the racial situation, including using it as a steppingstone for membership recruitment.

"That Communists are not giving more lipservice to the dictates of their masters is clearly evidenced in an examination of the many racial activities such as demonstrations, pickets, boycotts, and the like, which have taken place in the recent past. There is hardly an activity in this area that does not have a Communist element present. The degree of Communist participation and influence will, of course, vary from activity to activity but almost always there will be found the Communist at work. We also find party leaders arrogantly proclaiming the involvement of their 'slaves' to Communist dicta. In May 1965, Party leader *Gus Hall* proclaimed that the Communist movement is making progress in the civil rights field. In June 1965, when it became public knowledge that Communists were active in lengthy demonstrations in Chicago, Ill., relating to a school segregation protest, two party leaders, *Claude Lightfoot* and *James West*, issued public statements verifying the presence of Communists in these demonstrations.

"The riots in Los Angeles, Calif., which took place during the period August 11-14, 1965, provided the Communist Party, U.S.A. and other subversives with the means to further blacken the reputation of the United States and to attempt to fan the flame of discontent among the American people.

"That the Communists had an ulterior motive in this action was clearly demonstrated in the remarks of one party functionary who placed the entire blame for the uprising on the white people and proposed to his party underlings that they take advantage of such riots wherever they occur since riots will eventually lead the United States to socialism.

"At a still higher level, the national headquarters of the party, on August 15, 1965, instructed the southern California party district to prepare articles concerning the riots for early publication in *The Worker*, an east coast Communist newspaper. Special efforts were to be made to play up the 'police brutality' angle. Major portions of subsequent issues of *The Worker* and *People's World*, a west coast Communist newspaper, were devoted to the uprising in Los Angeles and its aftermath. Each article faithfully followed the line set by party headquarters.

"Despite the expressed good intentions of those legitimately concerned with the civil rights movement, their efforts to keep Communists out have been less than totally effective. This is amply illustrated by the Communist involvement in racial activities which are often sponsored by groups with well-meaning intentions. Then, too, we find the extreme militants, such as the *Student-Nonviolent Coordinating Committee*, whose leadership has proclaimed that they will accept Communists within their ranks.

* * * * *

"A widespread underestimation of the menace which the party presents to the internal security of the United States is just the impression the party desires to present. The ability of the party to seize upon items of discontent and to fan the sparks of civil disobedience into actual strife presents a clear and present danger."

FBI ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1966:

"Exploitation of racial unrest in the United States continues to be a major program of the Communists. During the year, the Party issued numerous directives through its National Negro Commission instructing members to participate in the civil rights movement and to be alert to the provocation of militant action among Negroes."

STATEMENT BY J. EDGAR HOOVER TO SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE CONCERNING THE 18TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., JUNE 22-26, 1966:

"The resolution on the Negro question was presented to the convention by *Claude Lightfoot*, Chicago party leader. He suggested that the party must elevate its role as the initiator of civil rights struggles and come forward in its own name as 'the best fighter' for Negro rights in this country. Following Lightfoot's report, which was adopted, other speakers commented on the need for training Negro women for leadership in the Communist Party and the necessity for the party to take more direct action in the Negro struggle and to devote more attention to 'police brutality' in Negro communities.

"The Communist Party is acutely embarrassed by its failure to adequately recruit among Negroes. To their everlasting credit, the vast majority of Negroes have recognized the falsity of communism and turned it down. They know that communism does not mean a better life for them, economically, politically, or socially.

"Nevertheless, the party has long been attempting to exploit the civil rights movement. The 18th national convention signifies that the party will step forward even more boldly, hoping to infiltrate and influence civil rights organizations. The party wants to link work among Negroes more directly with the class struggle—to turn the civil rights area into a hatchery for communism.

"Part of the convention's appeal to the Negro can be seen in the party's selection of oldtime party leader, *Henry Winston*, a Negro, as national chairman. *The Worker* quoted Winston as noting the significant precedent of electing a Negro national chairman of a party 'that is becoming a major political force in this country.'"

J. EDGAR HOOVER—HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE TESTIMONY, FEBRUARY 16, 1967:

"With the continuing increase of racial unrest and activities relating to the civil rights movement in this country during the past year, there has been a pronounced increase of activities by the Communist Party—U.S.A. concerning the Negro question and the racial movement generally.

"The emphasis given to the Negro question at the Communist Party's 18th national convention held in June 1966, at New York City, illustrates the party's increased involvement in the racial movement. *Claude Lightfoot*, the party's vice-chairman, presented the resolution on the Negro question to the convention calling for the broadest linking of the civil rights struggle with the struggle for peace. He emphasized that the Communist Party must be known as the 'best fighter' for Negro rights in the United States.

"Although the Communist Party has always been active in the field of civil rights, it has done very little in its own name. Based on the action taken at the convention, the keynote now is that the Party will boldly step forward and lead its own movement for civil rights as well as for infiltrating into all civil rights struggles and joining with more militant elements.

"For the most part, legitimate civil rights organizations have rejected the Communists' efforts to penetrate them. However, there have been some segments of these groups that covertly seek Communist advice and direction and in some instances accept Communists within their organizations.

* * * * *

"The riots and disturbances of recent years have given Communists a golden opportunity to emphasize the Marxist concept of the 'class struggle' by identifying the Negro and other minority group problems with it. Communists seek to advance the cause of communism by injecting themselves into racial situations and in exploiting them (1) to intensify the frictions between Negroes and whites to 'prove' that the discrimination against minorities is an inherent defect of the capitalist system, (2) to foster domestic disunity by dividing Negroes and whites into antagonistic, warring factions, (3) to undermine and destroy established authority, (4) to incite Negro hostility toward law and order, (5) to encourage and foment further racial strife and riotous activity, and (6) to portray the Communist movement as the 'champion' of social protest and the only force capable of ameliorating the conditions of the Negroes and the oppressed.

"The cumulative effect of almost 50 years of Communist Party activity in the United States cannot be minimized, for it has contributed to disrupting race relations in this country and has exerted an insidious influence on the life and times of our Nation. As a prime example, for years it has been Communist policy to charge 'police brutality' in a calculated campaign to discredit law enforcement and to accentuate racial issues. The riots and disorders of the past 3 years clearly highlight the success of this Communist smear campaign in popularizing the cry of 'police brutality' to the point where it has been accepted by many individuals having no affiliation with or sympathy for the Communist movement.

"The net result of agitation and propaganda by Communist and other subversive and extremist elements has been to create a climate of conflict between the races in this country and to poison the atmosphere."

FBI ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1967:

"Merging the struggle for civil rights with the Vietnam war protest movement occupied much of the Communist Party's efforts during the fiscal year. Speaking before the National Committee, CPUSA, in December, 1966, National Chairman *Henry Winston* suggested that white backlash was a weapon of the monopolists and the ultraright to conceal their drive against the rights of Negroes. West Coast Party leader *Roscoe Proctor*, writing in the March, 1967, issue of *Political Affairs*, embraced civil rights extremists by calling for Marxist-Leninists to provide more 'flesh and bone' to the inflammatory slogans of Black Power groups. He called for Party programs and guidelines around which the black masses could be mobilized in day-to-day struggles to improve their conditions of life."

[Italics supplied in all of above FBI statements.]

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 3

(Organizational Background Material)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

23 West 26th Street, New York, N.Y.

ORIGIN:

September 1919 at convention in Chicago.

PURPOSE:

As the arm of the Soviet Union inside the United States, it is committed to the overthrow of our democratic institutions.

ORGANIZATION:

12,000 members.

KEY LEADERS:

Gus Hall—general secretary*Henry Winston*—national chairman

80-member national committee

The current chairman of the Negro Commission is *Claude Lightfoot*, formerly of Chicago, now New York.

PUBLICATIONS:

(Circulation)

<i>The Worker</i> —semiweekly East Coast Communist newspaper.....	14,718
<i>People's World</i> —weekly West Coast Communist newspaper.....	9,628
<i>Political Affairs</i> —monthly theoretical journal.....	4,550
<i>Freedomways</i> —quarterly Marxist Negro review.....	7,000
<i>Labor Today</i> —bimonthly trade union magazine.....	2,380
<i>Jewish Currents</i> —monthly Jewish magazine.....	4,300
<i>American Dialog</i> —bimonthly Communist cultural magazine.	

STATEMENTS:

On October 22, 1967, the Communist Party's official newspaper, *The Worker*, reported that during the past week "an extraordinary meeting of over 80 leading Communists" called by the party's Negro Affairs Commission had endorsed a statement supporting Negro violence. The meeting, in effect, approved a new Communist Party line regarding Negroes and rioting which included the following statement:

"We as Marxists have always affirmed that oppressed people have the right to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime when the channels for democratic change are closed to them. This right is affirmed in the Declaration of Independence. Therefore there can be no question of the right of black people in the U.S. to use violence to achieve change."

It appears that the main reason for the adoption of this statement was the fact that the official softer line the party had been following on the Negro question during recent years had placed it in a disadvantageous position, in competition with other Communist parties, from the viewpoint of influencing and recruiting members from black nationalist and ultramilitant civil rights organizations and from the violence- and riot-prone minority Negro element.

The party's former declared position of supporting full integration and rejecting violence had, in effect, placed it in the position of rejecting, rebuking, and contradicting those organizations and elements which had the greatest potential for furthering the Communist aim of disrupting and weakening the United States. If the Communist Party were to capitalize on the riots, it had no choice but to reverse its official position on the question of "civil rights."

From its earliest years until 1959 the Communist Party had propounded the "Black Belt" theory regarding American Negroes. It was Stalin's position that Negroes were a people apart from whites in this country and that a separate republic should be set up for them in the South.

This position proved a serious hindrance to the party's recruiting and propaganda activities among Negroes, who rightly considered themselves as American as any white man and had no desire to secede from the United States.

Repeated appeals to Moscow by U.S. party leaders for a change in the line went unheeded. Stalin refused to let the party change its position on this subject.

When Khrushchev took power some years after Stalin's death, however, and instituted his de-Stalinization program, a change was effected.

Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders undoubtedly perceived that a Communist Party claim that it believed in complete integration and full equality for Negroes in the United States would provide it with a much better recruiting potential than its former segregationist line had. Moreover, Khrushchev, unlike Stalin, could approve a reversal in the U.S. Communist Party line without admitting a past error on his part. Finally, in rejecting the "Black Belt" position, Khrushchev would be finding a Stalinist policy in error and would thus be furthering his aim of discrediting Stalin with U.S. Communists.

Therefore, in 1959, at its 17th National Convention, the Communist Party adopted a new line on the Negro question. It abandoned its advocacy of a separate Negro republic. It proclaimed that it stood for full integration and civil rights for Negroes.

Pursuing its new line, the Communist Party became increasingly active in the civil rights movement (see Committee Exhibit No. 2, statements of J. Edgar Hoover on this subject). Despite the outbreak of riots in 1964 and 1965, the party held to its integration and nonviolence position. At its 18th National Convention in June 1966, it adopted a resolution on "The Negro Question" which proclaimed that the Communist Party disassociated itself from those "in and outside of the Negro liberation movement, who maintain that only through violence can progress be made in the achievement of equal rights, or who call for acts of terrorism."

Despite this proclaimed repudiation of violence, the party gave backhanded support to the riots once they had started. It justified the rioters' use of violence by claiming that they were merely reacting to "police brutality" and that they had the right to take up arms in "self-defense." The party completely absolved the rioters of blame for their violence and placed full responsibility for the rioting, looting, and burning on the local, State, and the Federal Governments. During recent years, Communist Party statements have more and more strongly—though indirectly—supported the radical revolutionary tactics of the black militants. Wary of openly advocating violence by Communists because of the Smith Act prosecutions of the last decade, the party has used various devices for communicating its support of rioting. One of these is "historic parallel"—the device of quoting an historical figure on the necessity of violence and equating the events of his time with conditions today. The recently published book by Herbert Aptheker, the party's leading theoretician, utilizes this device. In reviewing this book, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, the Communist magazine, *Freedomways*, praised Aptheker for having "brilliantly placed the necessary dynamite charges and, wisely, let those who made the history light the fuses."

The 1967 riots apparently convinced the Communist Party that, in order to capitalize on them fully, it would have to reject the official repudiation of violence it had reiterated as recently as its 1966 convention. Its October 1967 statement was careful not to say that the Communist Party *advocated* violence but only expressed its Marxist belief that "oppressed people have the right to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime * * *"

The following statements by the Communist Party and its leaders exemplify the recent development of the party line on racial matters and demonstrate how in the past few years the Communist Party has more and more openly supported militancy and violence.

GUS HALL, *THE WORKER*, MAY 1, 1960, P. 12:

"To all Members and Friends of the Communist Party. Comrades: !

* * * * *

"This situation demands from all of us greater initiative, activity and leadership. We must be first * * * in the sitdowns, on the picketlines, in the peace marches and meetings and in election struggle."

JAMES E. JACKSON, *WORLD MARXIST REVIEW*, SEPTEMBER 1963, PP. 35, 36:

"the freedom struggle of the Negro people is a specialized part of the general struggle of the working class against deprivation and class exploitation and oppression.

* * * * *

"the freedom struggle of the Negro people reinforces the struggle against the exploiting class of the white capitalists * * *."

* * * * *
 "the presence of so large a proportion of Negroes, so especially motivated to militancy, in the American working-class can be likened to the addition of manganese to iron ore; when the two elements are united and fused * * * the metal * * * acquires a new quality, * * * the quality of pure steel.

* * * * *
 "veterans of the Civil Rights Revolution, will be fighting partisans of social progress all down the line. * * *"

"From its earliest days the Communist Party of the U.S. has given major attention to the struggle for the economic, political and social equality of the Negro people. * * *"

"At its Sixteenth Convention in 1957, the Communist Party clearly pointed out that the main line of march of the Negro people's movement was that of opposition to all forms of separatist "solutions" to the question of their oppression and toward full and complete integration in the life of the nation. * * *"

"Events have fully confirmed the major theoretical and programmatic resolution on the Negro question which our Party adopted at its Seventeenth Convention in December, 1959. In this resolution we stated:

"* * * The bonds of Negro oppression can and must be shattered.
 * * * Victory on this sector would open the way to rapid developments along the whole front for radical social advancement of the entire nation.'

"our Party exposes the diversionists, adventurists, provocateurs, and opponents of Negro-white unity who seek to poach upon and disrupt the Negro people's freedom movement.

* * * * *
 "The struggles (of the Negro people) in the South to rid our land of the shackles on freedom are giving an injection of new strength to all our democratic institutions. * * *"

GUS HALL, *THE WORKER*, JANUARY 5, 1964, P. 9:

"The civil right revolution has become the central arena in the struggle for a democratic America."

The "watchword is: 'Be satisfied with what you have gained—slow down.' It is designed to destroy the militancy of the movement * * *."

GUS HALL, *ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH*, JANUARY 12, 1964, P. 4:

"Communist party leaders in the United States 'consult with and advise' top Negro leaders in their civil rights campaigns. * * *"

"'We are not the active leaders, but members of the Communist party are very active in all the Negro organizations' engaged in the civil rights struggle * * *."

JAMES E. JACKSON, *THE WORKER*, APRIL 21, 1964, P. 2:

"The Negro freedom struggle has come now to the point where there can be no vision of peace in the land until its * * * demands are fully attained. * * * The struggle will rise to embrace ever higher revolutionary actions * * *."

THE WORKER, MAY 10, 1964, P. 8:

"The civil rights revolution has put the torch to the combustible material gathering for decades in our cities' slums and segregated schools.

"The flames of rebellion have lit up the running sores of our cities. * * *"

THE WORKER, JULY 21, 1964, P. 1:

"There is no doubt that enraged and frustrated youngsters resorted to throwing bottles and bricks in resistance to the police assaults. There may have been even some smashing of store windows and some looting in a misguided attempt to avenge the racial brutality of the police."

JAMES E. JACKSON, *THE WORKER*, JULY 21, 1964, PP. 1, 7:

"VIOLENCE ROCKED Harlem over last weekend. And as usual, it was the residents of Harlem who were on the receiving end of the murderous assault

upon the community, and as usual it was the erstwhile 'defenders of law and order,' the police, who shed the Negro people's blood and took the lives of those who died in the encounter.

"The week-end of violence in Harlem was the latest in an unrelieved campaign of 30 years of violence *against Harlem*. * * *"

GUS HALL, *THE WORKER*, AUGUST 4, 1964, P. 8:

"[It [with the Communist Party] constantly strives for greater unity of Negro and whites [sic] Americans as the prime prerequisite to victory in this—fight * * *]"

THE WORKER, AUGUST 9, 1964, P. 3:

In the wake of the Harlem riots of 1964:

"The Communist Party affirmed its confidence that 'a united people, Negro and white, can peacefully and democratically compel elimination of the evils of the ghettos' * * *."

JOHN PITTMAN, *NEW TIMES*, OCTOBER 7, 1964, PP. 11, 12:

"The Negro population, constituting about 10 per cent of the U.S. total, has now risen resolutely to fight for its rights * * * Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party spokesman, addressing a rally in New York, warned that the struggle in Mississippi was 'a critical battle to save U.S. democracy. * * *'"

"* * * The shadow of Mississippi hangs ominously over the United States. * * * The entire apparatus of coercion—police, courts, jails and even armed forces—is being used against demonstrators.

"Entire generations of the police and judges and jurors in this country have been reared and indoctrinated with racist mythology concerning the 'innate inferiority' and 'criminality' of Negroes. This is the real ideological background of the recent clashes in New York, Philadelphia and other cities. * * * in every so-called 'riot' * * * the combatants are not the Negro community versus the white community, but the ghetto versus the police; * * * every one is triggered by police action.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"A great people's coalition against racism, war and fascism is called for to clear the Freedom Road, the American Communist Party has said. Such a coalition is not only possible but a national necessity * * *."

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 18TH NATIONAL CONVENTION, CPUSA, JUNE 1966, PP. 38, 41:

"with the passage of time, experience will show that the full power of the Negro people can be guaranteed only in a socialist society. * * *"

* * * * * * * * * * *

"We do not identify ourselves with the nationalism which breeds separatism * * * this could only end in the defeat of the hopes and aspirations of the Negro people."

JAMES E. JACKSON, *POLITICAL AFFAIRS*, SEPTEMBER 1966, P. 9:

"The flaming struggle for Negro freedom which rages these days in the streets of the great cities * * * is a part of the revolutionary processes which are rending the old social system beyond repair. This ongoing struggle * * * will open the way to bringing into being a new order—socialism."

HENRY WINSTON, "NEGRO-WHITE UNITY: KEY TO—FULL EQUALITY, NEGRO REPRESENTATION, ECONOMIC ADVANCE OF LABOR, BLACK AND WHITE," A PAMPHLET, FEBRUARY 1967, PP. 14, 23:

"The two concepts—labor solidarity and the alliance of labor and the Negro people—constitute the cornerstone of the struggle * * * This is how our Party places the question. It is this approach which gives substance to the struggle * * *."

"In our view * * * the concept of 'black power' means that * * * the Negro people must win their full equality. * * *"

"This does not mean that black will go it alone and white will go it alone. * * *"

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPUSA, HENRY WINSTON AND GUS HALL, *THE WORKER*, JUNE 18, 1967, PP. 6, 7:

An Open Letter to President Johnson:

"What may well be the longest, hottest and bloodiest summer has already begun.

"WE CHARGE * * * conspiracy is afoot in our land to provoke and slaughter militant Negroes * * * .

* * * * *
 "THE FORCES OF GOVERNMENT ARE MAKING 1967 THE YEAR OF THE CLUB.

"WE CHARGE the stage was set for this mailed fist policy by * * * your major stress on the need for beefing up our police forces everywhere primarily to suppress our exploding Negro ghettos.

* * * * *
 "The evidence revealing the conspiracy to unleash the forces of racism and reaction * * * against the Negro people is as overwhelming as it is menacing."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ILLINOIS, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, CHAIRMAN, AND JACK KLING, SECRETARY, ISSUED THE FOLLOWING DEMANDS ON JULY 25, 1967:

"Immediate withdrawal of all armed racist police and troops from all Negro communities, and the establishment of local self-police forces in the communities.

"Immediate freedom for all those arrested in the racist terror, including Rap Brown, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

"Immediate arrest and trial of any police officer accused of racist activity or the use of racist language; purging of all members of the John Birch Society and all other racist organizations from the ranks of the police and the Army.

"Immediate launching of a \$10 billion crash program, to be controlled and administered by residents of the ghetto, for the rehabilitation of the slums and the employment of every man or woman who desires a job.

"Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from the soil of Vietnam, an end to the draft and the release of all drafted Americans for the building of our country as a place decent for everybody to live."

PAUL ROBESON, "THE POWER OF NEGRO ACTION" *POLITICAL AFFAIRS*, AUGUST 1967, PP. 43, 46:

"To live in freedom one must be prepared to die to achieve it * * * . He who is not prepared to face the trials of battle will never lead to a triumph. * * * .

* * * * *
 "Mass action—in political life and elsewhere—is Negro power in motion; and it is the way to win. . . ."

GUS HALL, *THE WORKER*, OCTOBER 22, 1967, P. 3:

"Can we win the struggle by saying it (racism) is wrong, a sin, or against the principles of brotherhood? Such arguments are helpful but not enough to be effective developments.

"The role of mutual and parallel self-interest is the most effective way. Through it we can become vanguards—if we apply leverage.

"Militant struggle by a united Negro people is not a contradiction to finding areas of parallel struggle."

JAMES JACKSON, *U.S. NEGROES IN BATTLE: FROM LITTLE ROCK TO WATTS (A DIARY OF EVENTS—1957—1965)*, PROGRESS PUBLISHERS, MOSCOW, 1967, PP. 5, 6, 104, 107, 148:

"It is recognized by freedom-loving peoples the world over, that the freedom movement of the American Negro people is objectively part of the national-democratic revolution against colonialism and neo-colonialism which the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are waging against imperialism with the support and solidarity of all progressives and working people, and the socialist nations.

"A sector of the world front against colonialism and imperialism, the Negro freedom movement has a special, unique importance because it is that part of the anti-colonial front that lies within the very inner chambers of the citadel of world imperialism—the United States of America. * * * Negroes are largely a proletarian people and constitute an important percentage of the total working class of the country. Therefore the Negro democratic struggle is not merely allied to but increasingly tends to merge with, combine with, the general class struggle. * * *"

"The reality of their experience is conditioning Negro youth 'in New York City and in Jackson, Miss., to view police and law enforcement officers not as protectors, but as adversaries who are zealous in seeking to maintain the racial status quo as are the most ardent segregationists'.

"It is evident that three things must be done at once in respect to the violence that was visited upon Harlem by Murphy's Gestapo:

1. End the police occupation of Harlem at once. * * *
2. Police Commissioner Murphy must be promptly replaced * * *.
3. The citizens board of review * * * must be established with adequate authority."

"The Communists are and always will be partisans at the side of the oppressed people in battle for justice, equality and the implementation of their Constitutional liberties. The Communists do not advocate, and never have advocated, the resort to acts of individual terror, vengeance or violence. * * *"

"the young generation, especially, of the Negro people have gained a wide experience with the CLASS nature of the capitalist STATE and how its police and court system defends its privilege and power. * * * They seek a progressive alternative to capitalism. Now, as at no other time in its history, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has the opportunity and duty to disclose the socialist alternative to the young generation, to bring to the Negro militants the science of Marxism-Leninism to help illumine the way to lasting victory for the masses in the struggle for freedom, equality and justice."

W. E. B. DuBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

1853½ McAllister, San Francisco, Calif. (first natl. office—1964—1966)

180 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill. (second natl. office—1966—1967)

34 West 17th Street, New York, N.Y. (third natl. office—Sept. 1967)

ORIGIN:

Founding convention was held June 19—21, 1964, in San Francisco, Calif.

PURPOSE:

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has stated that the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America were "spawned" by the Communist Party; that they were formed by mandate of Gus Hall, the party's general secretary, after top party leaders decided in October 1963 that the party should take additional measures to attract young Americans. Hall "ordered the formation of a Marxist-oriented youth organization to attract non-Communists as the first step toward their eventual recruitment into the party."¹

On March 2, 1966, then Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to issue an order requiring the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) to register as a Communist front organization as required by the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. In support of his petition, the Attorney General stated:

"From its inception, DCA [DuBois Clubs of America] has been and is substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party and has been and is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party. * * *"

In support of this statement, the Attorney General cited a number of facts in his petition, including the following, about the DuBois Clubs, their origin, and activities:

Communist Party members and officers were assigned by the Communist Party to attend the founding convention of the DuBois Clubs;

These people directed the activities of the DCA founding convention;

A substantial number of persons who have been active in the management, direction, and supervision of the DuBois Clubs have also been active in the management, direction, and supervision—and also as representatives of—the Communist Party;

The Communist Party has given the DCA financial and other support;

The Communist Party has furnished speakers and lecturers for DCA meetings and other functions;

¹ Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover, House Appropriations Subcommittee, Mar. 4, 1965.

The Communist Party has conducted classes in Marxism for DCA members and has supplied DCA with literature for the education of its members in Marxism-Leninism.

Gus Hall, general secretary of the CPUSA, acknowledged the relationship between the party and DCA in an interview in Moscow in August 1966. He stated—

“we have the closest relations with the ‘DuBois Clubs’ since they take the Marxist positions. This organization has become a real fighting vanguard of the youth movement.”

ORGANIZATION:

25-30 chapters; approximately 300 members.

KEY LEADERS:

Phil Davis, DCA's first chairman (1964-1965), is known to have attended a Communist Party recruiting school in October 1962.

Franklin Alexander was elected DCA chairman in 1966. His membership in the Communist Party was revealed in February 1967 by J. Edgar Hoover.

Jarvis Tyner, the newly elected national chairman of DCA, was appointed to the National Committee of the CPUSA at the party's 18th National Convention in June 1966.

Other key leaders of DCA who were appointed to the National Committee of the Communist Party at the 18th National Convention include: *Bettina Aptheker*, *Carl Bloice*, *Robert Duggan*, *Michael Eisencher*, *Peggy Goldman*, *Matthew Hallinan*, *Donald Hammerquist*, and *Robert Heisler*.

Other DCA leaders such as *Jim Kennedy*, its Southwest coordinator, made a public announcement of his Communist Party membership in a letter which was printed in the November 18, 1965, issue of *Lobo*, a publication at the University of New Mexico.

Carl Bloice, DCA publications director, as a delegate from DCA participated in the “World Forum of Solidarity of Youth and Students in the Fight for National Independence and Liberation and for Peace,” held in Moscow September 16-24, 1964. The forum was sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the Council of Soviet Youth Organizations.

DCA International Secretary *Mike Myerson* and DCA'er *Harold Supriano* attended the World Peace Congress in Helsinki in July 1965. At the congress, *Myerson*, *Supriano*, *Chris Koch*, a radio announcer for WBAI, and *Richard Ward*, a freelance writer living in Paris, sought out members of the North Vietnam Peace Committee and requested permission to visit North Vietnam. An invitation from the North Vietnamese was extended, and the four spent the last week of August and the first week of September in North Vietnam. *Myerson* was made an honorary nephew of Ho Chi Minh and since his return to the United States has sported a Viet Cong cap and carried a Viet Cong flag at demonstrations protesting the war in Vietnam.

PUBLICATIONS:

Publication of periodicals for national distribution by DCA has been erratic for at least the past year.

Spur—newsletter of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America

Insurgent—bimonthly national magazine of DCA

Dimensions—national theoretical journal of DCA

Various local DCA groups have intermittently published newsletters of their own.

The Organizer—monthly newsletter of the Midwest Region of DCA

Struggle—weekly information bulletin of the DuBois Community Action Movement in Chicago

The Encounter—Chicago DCA

Avanti—Detroit DCA

The Activist—New York DCA

ACTIVITIES:

- (1) has collaborated with the Free Speech Movement at the University of California and urged club members throughout the Nation to support FSM through demonstrations and protest letters;
- (2) has organized marches and rallies protesting alleged “police brutality”;
- (3) has organized demonstrations to protest the war in Vietnam;

- (4) has supported antiwar demonstrations sponsored by other Communist and "New Left" groups;
- (5) sponsored a national youth conference at Washington, D. C., August 27-28, 1966, for "jobs, peace and freedom";
- (6) leaders visited Soviet Union and North Vietnam;
- (7) published propaganda praising socialism (communism); supporting North Vietnam and foreign policy of the Soviet Union; inciting hatred for all uniformed authority and instilling a suspicion of the motives of the United States Government in both foreign and domestic policies.

STATEMENTS:

OPENLY "SOCIALIST" (COMMUNIST)

SPUR, AUGUST 25, 1965, P. 3:

"Our goal then, to fight now to eliminate the most blatant forms of brutality and poverty as part of a long struggle for an America free of exploitation—a Socialist America."

DIMENSIONS, SPRING 1966, PP. IV, 4, 20:

"Radical social change, socialism, is believed to be the necessary culmination of the struggles of working people to overcome the myriad problems which are daily produced by a system organized to their disadvantage. * * *"

"When racism has been decisively defeated in America, the logical next step will be the establishment of a party of the workers, black and white, North and South, which can bring a Socialist America."

"The American movement awaits its Brecht, its Sequeros. The time is ripening * * *."

THE WORKER, JUNE 25, 1967, P. 3:

"We are a socialist organization * * *," one [DCA] member said.

"Another member said, 'We have not been socialist enough . . . Our Marxist education has declined.'"

ON VIOLENCE

DCA FLYER "POVERTY, FRUSTRATION, DEATH":

"We are not in favor of violence; we do not condone what is happening in Watts, but * * * the condition in Watts is our fault. * * *"

ON THE POLICE

SPUR, AUGUST 25, 1965, P. 1:

"the Watts district * * * was the battle ground for a class war. * * * When they battled the Los Angeles police department, they took on one of the most brutal instruments of racism."

SPUR, OCTOBER 1966, P. 5:

"Several DuBois clubs have taken the lead in the fight against police brutality in their communities (Watts, Philadelphia, Chicago). * * * We strongly support the right of people to protect and defend themselves from police brutality. * * *"

THE WORKER, JUNE 25, 1967, P. 3:

"There is a campaign under way * * * to use police brutality against those who oppose the war in Vietnam. * * *"

"DuBois clubs have themselves been the victims repeatedly of police brutality * * *."

ON CIVIL RIGHTS

THE WORKER, SEPTEMBER 10, 1967, P. 9:

"the 'membership of the DuBois Club is committed to building an interracial movement against war, racism and poverty * * * we must prove it is possible to find common ground between Negro youth and white youth.'"

ON RIOTS

JARVIS TYNER, *THE WORKER*, SEPTEMBER 12, 1967, P. 5:

President "Johnson's answer to the rebellions in America's cities was genocide * * *."

PEOPLE'S WORLD, SEPTEMBER 23, 1967, P. 9:

DCA's third annual convention resolution on black liberation declares the DuBois Club will:

* * * * *

"Move in support of the Negro community at times of intensified attack, such as Newark and Detroit, to mobilize protest against the genocidal practices of the police."

"THE FIRE THIS TIME," A PUBLICATION OF THE LOS ANGELES DCA, WAS DEVOTED TO THE WATTS RIOTS. THE FOLLOWING QUOTATIONS ARE FROM THAT PAMPHLET:

"* * * *Does one need to be Negro to be thrilled about the South Los Angeles uprising?*" DR. HERBERT APTHEKER, People's World Testimonial Banquet, Statler-Hilton Hotel in Los Angeles, October 12, 1965"

"Some phrases have been around for a long time, like 'police brutality.' The way to get rid of these words is to get rid of brutal police. 'Poverty', 'Oppression', 'White Power Structure', are all cliches, but are facts of life for millions of Americans today."

"we maintain that what occurred in Los Angeles last August was not a 'riot', but a spontaneous insurgence of thousands of angry, oppressed people. * * *"

"Thus it is left to us, the conscious people, the victims, and the potential victims, to combine our bodies and minds in order to stop this hideous machine from crushing us all. * * *"

"If we, the people, are to enforce democracy we must take heed of the words of that great freedom fighter, Frederick Douglass, *'The whole history of human progress shows that all concessions have been won in earnest struggle. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will.'*

"The Negro revolt will eventually do more to bring true democracy to these United States than any other single factor in the life of the nation. When the masses of whites realize this and further recognize that the Negro revolt is expressing the needs and demands of *all* working people, then we can combine and accomplish these demands."

FREEDOMWAYS

799 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

ORIGIN:

Freedomways Associates, Inc., publisher, incorporated February 28, 1961
First Issue appeared spring 1961

PURPOSE:

Quarterly review of the "Negro freedom movement" by which the Communist Party hopes "to indoctrinate more Negroes with Marxist dogma." (J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Annual Report for 1961, p. 26)

ORGANIZATION:

Freedomways Associates, Inc., was incorporated by:

Henry O. Mayfield

Dorothy Burnham, wife of Hyman Lumer, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA and associate editor of the party's theoretical journal *Political Affairs*

Cyril Philip, a known Communist

ORIGINAL EDITORIAL BOARD:

Shirley Graham DuBois—identified as Communist Party member by Louis Budenz

W. Alphacus Hunton—identified as Communist Party member by Louis Budenz

Esther Jackson—wife of the Communist Party leader James E. Jackson

A few other known Communist Party members and leaders who have served on *Freedomways* editorial board are *George B. Murphy, Jr.*, *J. H. O'Dell*, and *Augusta Strong*, wife of *The Worker* columnist and known Communist, *Joseph North*.

Articles have been contributed to *Freedomways* by such well-known Communists as *William Patterson*, *Ben Davis*, *W.E.B. DuBois*, *James E. Jackson*, *Herbert Aptheker*, *Carl Bloice*, *Claudia Jones*, *John Pittman*, *Anne Braden*, and *Paul Robeson*.

CIRCULATION:

Total copies printed : 7,000

STATEMENTS WHICH EXEMPLIFY FREEDOMWAYS' BASIC POSITION ON SOCIAL MATTERS:

A review of Herbert Aptheker's book, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, praised the veteran Communist theoretician as having "brilliantly placed the necessary dynamite charges and, wisely, let those who made the history light the fuses."

It states that Henry Highland Garnett's *Call to Rebellion* is "a masterpiece of revolutionary exhortation." "The bitter-sweet deeds of Nat Turner * * * and other men of revolution" are seen as examples of Negro builders of history who had "the will to resist * * * and the willingness to engage in creative and often violent social struggle * * *." [Emphasis added.] (*Freedomways*, Winter 1963, pp. 109, 110)

"The struggle for freedom in our country today is a struggle against a native totalitarianism * * *. That is why our Freedom Movement cannot afford to fail in meeting the challenges which confront us today." (J. H. O'Dell, "A Special Variety of Colonialism," *Freedomways*, Winter 1967, p. 15)

The riot which erupted in Newark, N.J., on July 12, 1967, was seen by *Freedomways* as "the scene of yet another massacre of the poorest of black Americans * * * a deadly pogrom, an urban lynching designed to terrorize and cover the slum-dwellers * * *."

* * * * *

"Newark and Plainfield, New Jersey, point to the need for united action * * * to put an end to the police terror that reigns over the Negro communities from one end of the country to the other. * * * there must be launched a movement to stop police brutality and to put an end to the use of National Guardsmen * * *. Among other things, such an anti-police brutality program should call for: placing the Negro community out of bounds to white police and uniformed National Guardsmen * * *."

Detroit was seen as "a class confrontation" in what *Freedomways* called "the spreading battles for freedom." "The flames of Detroit should serve to light up a great truth: It's that time, America. Grant Negroes freedom and equality or invite catastrophe!" (*Freedomways*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Summer 1967, editorial: 197-198)

In the same 1967 issue (p. 279) *Freedomways* called the following statement a "PROPHECY":

"Watts means that the time for stalling and demagogic promises and good-will platitudes has run out. It has come down to this: either wipe out the conditions that produce the slums or the slums will wipe out the cities." (*NEGROES IN BATTLE: FROM LITTLE ROCK TO WATTS*. By James E. Jackson—Publishers New Press, 23 West 26th Street, New York City.)

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

132 Nassau Street, Room 622, New York, N.Y.

ORIGIN:

January 1962. (originally established as the Progressive Labor Movement, which changed its name to Progressive Labor Party in April 1965)

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) grew out of a faction within the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA). The PLP was established by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer, who were expelled from positions of leadership in the orthodox Communist Party because of disagreement with CPUSA's strategy and tactics. The CPUSA has described Rosen and Scheer as organizers of active opposition to CPUSA strategies within the party ever since the party's 17th National Convention held in December 1959. Condemnation by the CPUSA National Committee and loss of party offices in August 1961 failed to deter Rosen from "secret factional activities" which included conducting meetings and recruiting members to the faction from various parts of the country, according to the CPUSA. The CPUSA claimed that the Rosen group had admitted at a party hearing to holding a faction meeting on December 2-3, 1961. The expulsion of Rosen and three other party members was announced in *The Worker* of January 7, 1962; the ousting of Scheer and five others in the Buffalo area had been reported in *The Worker* of December 31, 1961.

PURPOSE:

The PLP is an avowedly revolutionary Communist organization which aggressively and militantly strives to destroy the democratic form of government in the United States and replace it with a socialist one based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The PLP supports the ultrarevolutionary Chinese and Albanian Communists in their dispute with the less militant Russian Communists. This organization has publicly encouraged the use of force and violence as a means of attaining its Communist totalitarian goals. PLP literature is replete with statements supporting the violent revolutionary overthrow of the U.S. Government.

ORGANIZATION:

200-300 members. (PLP claimed a membership of 1,500 in 1965.)

Directed by a 20-member national committee.

Composed of various national commissions, including one called Black Liberation.

Offices and mailing addresses: (national headquarters listed above)

P.O. Box 158, Cambridge, Mass.

P.O. Box 7814, Chicago, Ill.

45 Moscow Road, Flat 9, London, W. 2, England.

P.O. Box 19724, Los Angeles, Calif.

3382 18th Street, San Francisco, Calif.

2929 16th Street, San Francisco, Calif.

G.P.O. Box 808, Brooklyn, N.Y.

336 Lenox Avenue, New York, N.Y.

1 Union Square West, Room 617, New York, N.Y.

225 West 100th Street, New York, N.Y.

P.O. Box 208, Church Street Station, New York, N.Y.

345 Alexander Street, Apt. #19, Rochester, N.Y.

P.O. Box 223, Greenbelt, Md.

Front groups: (All of the following are *now defunct*.)

Harlem Defense Council

Mothers' Defense Committee

Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life (CERGE)

Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC)

May 2nd Movement (M2M)

Publisher of PLP literature:

Tri-Line Offset Co. Inc. (owned by identified members of the PLP)

KEY LEADERS:

Milton Rosen—president (former CPUSA New York State committeeman and CPUSA New York State labor secretary)

Mortimer Scheer—vice president (former CPUSA New York State committee-man and chairman of the Communist Party of Erie County)
William Epton—vice president (former CPUSA member)

PUBLICATIONS:

Progressive Labor (national bimonthly magazine)
Challenge (East Coast monthly newspaper)
Spark (West Coast monthly newspaper)
World Revolution (national quarterly digest of revolutionary periodicals)
Marxist Leninist Quarterly (published during 1963 and 1964—no longer published—merged with *Progressive Labor* in 1965)

ACTIVITIES:

The PLP or its front groups have—

- (1) strongly condemned the capitalist economic system of the United States and have continually agitated against it by exploiting such issues as inadequate housing, unemployment, unequal employment opportunities, poverty, discrimination, corruption, and alleged indifference of employers and trade union leaders toward the workers;
- (2) waged an intensive and deceitful propaganda campaign against United States military involvement in South Vietnam;
- (3) promoted the solicitation of money and medical aid for the Communist Viet Cong;
- (4) prepared, published, and distributed propaganda aimed at persuading young men to avoid service in the Armed Forces;
- (5) attempted to exploit Negro unrest through—
 - (a) organized agitation in urban ghettos, and
 - (b) preparation, publication, and distribution of inflammatory literature calling for violence;
- (6) arranged, published, and distributed literature creating hate and distrust of law enforcement officers and has disseminated propaganda falsely charging police brutality; and
- (7) arranged for the travel of American youths to a Communist country where they would be assisted in the development of Marxist-Leninist ideology and revolutionary organization.

STATEMENTS:

OPENLY COMMUNIST

PLP "CONSTITUTION," *PROGRESSIVE LABOR*, MAY-JUNE 1965, P. 5:

"To win, we will have to work closely together, disciplined by the urgency of the goal before us; we will have to study and learn to utilize our communist principles and the science of Marxism-Leninism to evaluate honestly our own strengths and weaknesses and those of the enemy at each new stage of the campaign.

* * * * *

"As communists we cannot tolerate in ourselves or in our comrades any form of racism, or male supremacy. * * *"

PLP STATEMENT, AUGUST 16, 1966, *PROGRESSIVE LABOR*, OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1966, P. 2:

"We are communists. We are proud of it. * * *"

EDITORIAL, *PROGRESSIVE LABOR*, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1964, P. 19:

"We still ascribe to the view that the major goal for communists in the United States is to build a revolutionary party necessary for winning socialism. * * *"

MILTON ROSEN SPEECH BEFORE NEW LEFT CLUB AT UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA DECEMBER 3, 1962, AS PUBLISHED IN THE *DAILY TAR HEEL*, DECEMBER 5, 1962, *PROGRESSIVE LABOR*, JANUARY 1963, P. 12:

"We American Communists are few in number and the stakes are high, * * * but if we are to take advantage of the state of discontent and the injustices in the U.S., we must press the socialistic movement at all costs. We must maintain the outlook of smashing the ruling party."

WILLIAM EPTON SPEECH BEFORE RECEIVING SENTENCE IN A NEW YORK COURT FOR A CONVICTION OF CRIMINAL ANARCHY ON JANUARY 27, 1966, "WE ACCUSE" (PLP PAMPHLET PUBLISHED FEBRUARY 1966), P. 14:

"We as communists, will fight against fascism as we have always done—no matter how it disguises itself. * * *

REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

"BLACK LIBERATION" (RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY PLP FOUNDING CONVENTION, APRIL 15-18, 1965), PROGRESSIVE LABOR, MAY-JUNE 1965, P. 27:

"A principle task of the PLP is to strive to train black and white Marxist-Leninist revolutionary leadership to play a vanguard role. * * *

* * * * *

"While we will not be strait-jacketed by mechanical formulations, we will be guided by the tested revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. * * *

"PLP NATIONAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT," MAY DAY 1967, PROGRESSIVE LABOR, JULY-AUGUST 1967, P. 1:

"For our people to go onto the offensive and fulfill the aspirations of millions of U.S. workers, Black and white, students and intellectuals and other sections of the people whose interests run counter to U.S. imperialism's aims, the involvement of U.S. workers is essential; to secure a revolutionary base and to successfully wage revolutionary struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism means that U.S. workers must participate actively and lead in the struggle.

* * * * *

"In the spirit of this May Day we pledge our continuing faith in the U.S. workingclass and to the triumph of revolutionary socialism in the USA. Our party is founded on the class outlook of Marxism-Leninism which is proving its invincibility all over the world. The banner of revolution is triumphing over counter-revolution. Marxism-Leninism will defeat U.S. imperialism * * *

"BLACK LIBERATION—NOW!" (BOOKLET PUBLISHED BY BLACK LIBERATION COMMISSION PLP), 1967, PP. 23, 24:

"We all know that this system of U.S. imperialism cannot solve the problems facing the Black people of this country, or the working class in general. * * *

"We must replace this system with one that will truly represent us as a national group and as members of the working class. * * * A system that is run by us. * * * And finally, a system where racism will be smashed and destroyed. THIS SYSTEM WE CALL SOCIALISM!

"ORGANIZE!

"The U.S. ruling class is not going to give this to us. The only way we are going to get it is to take it. * * *

"ROAD TO REVOLUTION—THE OUTLOOK OF THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT" (PLM PAMPHLET PUBLISHED NOVEMBER 1964—"A BASIC POLICY DECLARATION OF THE PLM, ISSUED AROUND MARCH, 1963."), PP. 119, 120:

"We envision no easy transition to socialism. * * * Naturally, communists would welcome a peaceful transition to socialism, and do all in their power to compel the ruling class to surrender peacefully. However, to date, nothing indicates that the U.S. imperialists would even remotely contemplate this eventually under any set of circumstances. * * *

FRED JEROME, EDITORIAL, "WHAT THEY CAN NEVER RESTRAIN," CHALLENGE, AUGUST 1, 1964, P. 4:

"I will go furthur [sic]. I will say 'that whenever any form of government becomes destructive . . . it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute 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.' * * *

"In case anyone thinks I am hiding behind quotes to avoid prosecution, I will 'hide' no more:

"I urge and will continue to urge and attempt to induce and persuade public demonstrations in the streets of Harlem * * *

"I advocate precisely that the people disturb the peace * * *

* * * * *

"There is no lawful government in this country today. Only a revolution will establish one. If that is civil rebellion, let us make the most of it."

EDITORIAL, "ARMED SELF-DEFENSE," *CHALLENGE*, APRIL 6, 1965, P. 4:

"It is a foregone conclusion that no oppressor can be overcome with a non-violent appeal to his non-existent [sic] morality.

* * * * *

"Non-violence is fine when the enemy is unarmed and non-violent also. When the enemy is a master at violence and filled with generations of hate, you dare not turn the other cheek because you can be certain he will blow that one away, too."

PEKING ORIENTED

EDITORIAL, *PROGRESSIVE LABOR*, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1964, P. 19:

"Regarding the position of the Soviet Union in its ideological attack on the Peoples' Republic of China, the Progressive Labor Movement has continually stated that we believe that China, some communist parties, and others have fought for a correct Marxist-Leninist position. We believe that the Chinese and others have prevented the Soviet leaders from engulfing the international communist and revolutionary movement with revisionism. We are strongly opposed to the attempt of the Soviet Union to split the international movement * * *"

EDITORIAL, *MARXIST LENINIST QUARTERLY*, VOL. 1, NO. 2 (UNDATED—DISTRIBUTED AUGUST 1963), PP. 20, 21:

"U.S. imperialism realizes that in several decades a socialist China will be the world's greatest power. * * * the Chinese people and their party have been steeled in four decades of war, civil war, revolution, and national reconstruction."

"U.S. WORKERS REQUIRE REVOLUTIONARY THEORY: STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT," *MARXIST LENINIST QUARTERLY*, VOL. II, NO. 1 (UNDATED—DISTRIBUTED MARCH 1964), P. 44:

"It is true that the Chinese are conducting a vigorous struggle for Marxism-Leninism in the international movement, but only after and because the Soviet leaders opened the assault on Marxism-Leninism. * * * The Chinese have made great efforts to prevent the splitting of the international movement. At the beginning, their position was not put forward as a drive against the Khrushchev leadership of the international movement, but as an effort to persuade those who had departed from Marxist-Leninist ideas. * * *"

"THE PLOT AGAINST BLACK AMERICA" (PAMPHLET PUBLISHED BY HARLEM BRANCH, PLP), SEPTEMBER 1966, P. 3:

"China operates by revolutionary example and not by dictation to other peoples who are fighting for their liberation. It is China's exemplary and principled opposition to U.S. imperialism which serves as an inspiration to national liberation struggles all over the world. * * *

* * * * *

"China has proved to the oppressed people of the world that a correct revolutionary ideology and a well disciplined political organization, uniting the whole people against the common enemy, are indispensable to a successful revolution. * * *"

STATEMENTS ON RIOTS—GENERAL

"THE PLOT AGAINST BLACK AMERICA," P. 6:

"The events of the past two years put the lie to imperialism's plot to kill white myth. From July 18, 1964 to July 23, 1966, there have been no less than 20 uprisings in ghettos across America. * * * Absolutely no attacks have been made on white communities adjacent to the ghettos which have risen in rebellion. * * * The uprisings have been defensive in character and have taken place only within the boundaries of the ghettos. Black people have defended their families and homes against racist attacks mounted inside the ghettos by imperialism's cops and soldiers. * * *"

"BLACK LIBERATION—NOW!" (BOOKLET), P. 1:

"The threats are rising. Recent events and news stories clearly show that the United States Government and its State, county and city administrations in the

large northern industrial areas are preparing a reign of terror against the Afro-American people this summer. They are deliberately planning to start a so-called 'race war.' In fact, they have not waited for the summer—they have already started their attacks in Jackson (Miss.), Houston, Cleveland and other cities."

"STUDENTS AND THE GHETTO REBELLIONS" (PLP LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED DURING SUMMER OF 1967), P. 1:

"Each of these rebellions was launched in response to the deteriorating conditions of life within ghetto communities—and was sparked by vicious and repeated police attacks. These attacks constitute a campaign of terror directed against Black people in order to stem their increasing militancy."

EDITORIAL, *CHALLENGE*, AUGUST 1967, P. 2:

"Even as rebellions continue to erupt in the oppressed ghettos across the country, those forces who directed the use of troops to kill scores of innocent people have announced that 'investigations' will begin to find the 'causes' and 'culprits' involved.

* * * * *
 "THE PEOPLE OF THE GHETTO WILL NOT BE FOOLED by this baloney. They know who charges them exorbitant rents, overcharges them for food and clothing, and steals their low wages with fantastic interest rates. It's definitely NOT militant people's leaders or communists."

STATEMENTS ON JULY 1964 NEW YORK RIOT

EDITORIAL, *CHALLENGE*, JULY 25, 1964, PP. 1, 5:

"The big-money boys downtown are running scared. They have seen the writing on the bloodstained walls of Harlem.

"War is nothing new to the people of Harlem: * * * But this time the people are organizing to fight back—that is new.

* * * * *
 "We advocate and work for a people's revolution to establish socialism * * *."

* * * * *
 "This is not the hour to 'stay home' from the freedom fight."

"HARLEM UNITE: LET US DEFEND OURSELVES!" (HARLEM PLM LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED DURING JULY 1964 RIOT), PP. 1, 4:

"They are tightening the screws on Harlem.

"The police, the press, the politicians and all the other agents of the white power structure have launched a campaign of terror and slander against the 500,000 black people in this community * * *."

* * * * *
 "BUT WE HAVE THE POWER TO STOP THEM. HALF A MILLION BLACK PEOPLE IN HARLEM CAN LET THEM KNOW WE WILL NOT BE TERRORIZED, WE WILL CONTINUE FIGHTING FOR OUR FREEDOM—AND WE WILL DEFEND OURSELVES.

* * * * *
 "AND IF THIS GOVERNMENT WILL NOT PROTECT US, OR CANNOT PROTECT US, THEN WE MUST GET A GOVERNMENT THAT CAN."

LISA ARMAND, EDITORIAL, 'BEHIND THE RIOTS,' *CHALLENGE*, AUGUST 1, 1964, P. 5:

"Do the Afro-American people—from Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Rochester, Mississippi, Birmingham, Atlanta, Florida, California and points north, east, south and west fight for freedom?

"They do and they will and they will be joined by others and nothing will stop them until they have it.

* * * * *
 "The struggles of the people are a 'lash-back' against exploitation and oppression. * * *"

BILL EPTON, FRED JEROME, AND MILTON ROSEN, "ARMED POLICE TERROR," *PROGRESSIVE LABOR*, JULY-AUGUST 1964, P. 3:

"The recent police riots in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and Rochester have thrown the fear of God into the money magnets [sic] that rule the country.

The power structure has now seen black people rebel against the brutality of the police. The precepts of non violence have been thrown out and violence has swept the black ghettos of two major New York cities. Black people in New York have been forced into the streets to defend themselves against the police and slum conditions.

* * * * *

"The people of Harlem began to talk of 'revolution' and 'guerilla warfare.'"

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

873 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

ORIGIN:

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), largest and oldest U.S. Trotskyist organization, originated at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, U.S.S.R., during the summer of 1928.

While attending the congress, U.S. Communist leader James P. Cannon became converted to the ideas of Leon Trotsky, who had broken with Stalin and who was now expounding his own doctrine of worldwide "permanent" revolution, as opposed to Stalin's line of primary emphasis on building and defending the Soviet Union as the basis for the world Communist movement.

Upon his return to the United States, Cannon became active in promoting the Trotskyist position within the Communist Party. This led to the expulsion of Cannon and a small group of his followers from the Communist Party on October 27, 1928.

On November 15, 1928, the expellees brought out the first issue of their newspaper, *The Militant*, which has since served as the official organ of the SWP.

On May 17-19, 1929, Cannon and his followers organized the Communist League of America (Opposition). This group, the first Trotskyist Communist organization in the United States, was the first in a progression that led to the formation of the SWP on January 1, 1938.

PURPOSE:

The SWP is an avowedly Trotskyist Communist group that stands for "a new radicalization of the working class" leading to "a revolution that will end the alien rule of the Government of Money and establish a new government of the people—a Workers and Farmers Government." The SWP espouses the "international solidarity of the working class" and supports the principles of the Fourth International, founded under Trotsky's guidance in 1938 with SWP participation, although the SWP dissolved its formal ties with the International when the Voorhis Act was passed in October 1940. The SWP opposes the "bureaucratic" leadership of the Soviet Union, but defends the U.S.S.R. as a Communist state. In the Sino-Soviet controversy, the SWP has expressed critical preference for the more militantly revolutionary stance of the Communist Chinese leadership.

ORGANIZATION:

Approximately 600 members.

Directed by a national chairman, a national committee of indeterminate membership, and a political committee.

Addresses:

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003 (national office)

1702 E. 4th Street, Los Angeles, Calif. 90033

3737 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich. 48201

295 Huntington Avenue, Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139

302 S. Canal Street, Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606

9801 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44106

P.O. Box 2849, Denver, Colo. 80201

704 Hennepin Avenue, Hall 240, Minneapolis, Minn. 55403

Box 361, Newark, N.J. 07101

2003 Milvia, Berkeley, Calif. 94704

P.O. Box 8412, Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

1733 Waller, San Francisco, Calif. 94117

5257 University Way, Seattle, Wash. 98105

Contact in St. Louis, Mo.: Dick Clarke, EVergreen 9-2895

Youth section :

Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)

Educational groups :

Militant Labor Forums
Friday Night Socialist Forums
West Coast Vacation School

Political support groups :

Socialist Workers Campaign Committee
Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle
Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle

Foreign issues propaganda groups :

Alexander Defense Committee
Fair Play for Cuba Committee (Greater Los Angeles)
Anti-Vietnam war propaganda publication: *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*

Defense groups :

Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students
Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick
Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson

Publishing house :

Merit Publishers (formerly Pioneer Publishers)

KEY LEADERS:

James P. Cannon—founder and national chairman
Fred Halstead—member, national committee
Robert Himmel—member, national committee
Nat Weinstein—member, national committee
Farrell Dobbs—national secretary
Edward Shaw—organizational secretary
Joseph Hansen—editor, *The Militant*
Tom Kerry—editor, *International Socialist Review*
Frank Lovell—Michigan chairman
Theodore Edwards—California chairman
Peter Camejo—California organizer
Jack Barnes—New York organizer
Joel Britton—Chicago organizer
Paul Boutelle—1968 SWP vice presidential candidate

PUBLICATIONS:

The Militant (national weekly newspaper)
International Socialist Review (theoretical quarterly)

The October 9, 1967, issue of *The Militant* includes a statement of ownership which reveals a total circulation of 5302, including a total of 5071 paid circulation and 231 distributed free, these figures applying to the single issue that was nearest the date of filing.

The January-February 1967 issue of *International Socialist Review* includes a statement of ownership which reveals a total paid circulation of 2749 and a total free distribution of 1430, with a total distribution of 4179 copies of the issue nearest the date of filing.

ACTIVITIES:

The Socialist Workers Party in recent years has—

- (1) engaged in political action and propaganda, running its own candidates for major public offices and urging the development of a truly class-based political movement to counter the influence of the regular political parties in the United States;
- (2) collaborated with such groups as the Constitutional Liberties Information Center and the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in attacking government security programs;
- (3) participated in the drive to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and Senate Internal Security Subcommittee;
- (4) demonstrated and propagandized in support of Communist Cuba;

- (5) propagandized for the release from prison of convicted atom spy Morton Sobell;
- (6) agitated against the Vietnam war, both by itself and in collaboration with such groups as the National Mobilization Committee, Student Mobilization Committee, and Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee;
- (7) supported organizations—such as the Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick and the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee—which promote agitation against the Vietnam war within the Armed Forces;
- (8) publicized the doctrines and pronouncements of the late Malcolm X and his Organization of Afro-American Unity;
- (9) attempted to stimulate anti-Vietnam sentiment among Negroes through involvement with such organizations as Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, founded by SWP member Paul Boutelle;
- (10) supported the activities of the Freedom Now Party in New York and Detroit as a means to the creation of a class-based all-black political movement; and
- (11) disseminated inflammatory propaganda against so-called “racist cops” and “police brutality.”

STATEMENTS:

POSITION ON NEGROES

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, SUMMER 1959, P. 82:

“The Negroes, more than any others in this country, have reason and right to be revolutionary.

“An honest workers’ party of the new generation will recognize this revolutionary potential of the Negro struggle, and call for a fighting alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement in a common revolutionary struggle against the present social system.”

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, SUMMER 1962, P. 74:

“the Negro movement * * * is connected with the uprisings of the disinherited colored peoples in the colonial and semicolonial countries. The Negro demand for democratic rights is the most forcible and advanced expression to date within our own borders of this world-wide revolutionary process. This is understood, at least in part, by its most active participants who have been uplifted and strengthened by the Asian, African and Cuban revolutions.”

“FREEDOM NOW: NEW STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO EMANCIPATION”
(SWP PAMPHLET PUBLISHED OCTOBER 1963), PP. 9, 10:

“Negro socialists must bring forward, as an inspiration and guide for American Negroes, the example of Cuba where the overthrow of capitalism through the socialist revolution has uprooted discrimination and established genuine equality and fraternity of black and white citizens ninety miles from the Southern coastal states.”

RACIAL VIOLENCE

THE MILITANT, MAY 18, 1964, P. 3:

“Robert Vernon discussed the differences between the North and the South in terms of what tactics were appropriate. He pointed out that whereas the tactic of non-violence was appropriate in the opening stages of the struggle in the South, and had been effective in organizing mass movements there, it never was appropriate in the North.”

“THE REAL DIFFERENCES IN 1964: SOCIALIST WORKERS VS. DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS” (SWP LEAFLET):

“We uphold the right to organized self-defense against racist attack and police brutality.”

GEORGE BREITMAN, “HOW A MINORITY CAN CHANGE SOCIETY” (PAMPHLET), 2ND EDITION, OCTOBER 1966, PP. 13, 16:

“A minority, properly oriented and led, can go much farther than it has thus far gone to make the present system unworkable and intolerable. * * * [Some] give it the name of ‘mass civil disobedience.’ Whatever you call it, it has barely been utilized in America up to now. * * *

* * * * *

"They [the slaves before the Civil War] continued, just as before, or more so, to run away by the thousands and tens of thousands, to commit sabotage and arson, and to engage in various forms of civil disobedience, self-defense and insurrection. * * * Imagine what will happen when the Negro militants absorb this lesson from history and then consciously work out a strategy to fully utilize this process that is set in motion by the elemental desire of the masses to be free!"

HARLEM RIOTS, 1964

THE MILITANT, JULY 27, 1964, P. 4:

"The attempt by New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner's cops to repress the people of Harlem by brute force and open violence is not a sudden reflex. These police military tactics are well thought out and known in advance in top governmental circles. * * *

* * * * *

"Leaders' who are interested solely in concessions within the capitalist system * * * were worse than useless in the defense of Harlem against the police repression of the recent days. And they are worse than useless for organizing the revolutionary political struggle which is required to win justice, decent housing, jobs, and human dignity for the black working-class."

THE MILITANT, JULY 27, 1964, P. 1:

"Armed with nothing more than courage, bottles, bricks, bare fists, and occasional Molotov cocktails, Harlem's residents, provoked by years of savage brutality by New York's corrupt and racist cops, managed to fight the tactical riot force of the police to a stalemate in three days of demonstrations and open hostilities."

THE MILITANT, AUGUST 24, 1964, P. 1:

"The indictment of William Epton, Harlem spokesman for the Progressive Labor Movement, on trumped-up charges of 'criminal anarchy,' was denounced by Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, as 'part of a concerted drive by the New York City cops to establish a police state in Harlem.'"

THE MILITANT, AUGUST 10, 1964, PP. 1, 2:

"The Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Rochester encounters were not at all peaceful. They were provoked by police violence and answered in kind. These justifiably vehement uprisings contained the shoots of civil and racial war.

"* * * The cops [in Harlem] were attacked and fought in roving battles of urban guerrilla warfare.

* * * * *

"These protests had a revolutionary edge and implication * * *. They were revolutionary defiances aimed at the overthrow of the whole rotten system that condemns them to such misery and brutality. It was anti-capitalist in effect, if not in consciousness.

"* * * these July incidents have been rough, uncontrolled and uncontrollable, black nationalist in spirit, wholly proletarian in composition and revolutionary in tendency.

* * * * *

"the New York uprisings give warning that the patience of the black masses penned in the ghettos is nearing exhaustion. They'd better look up from their Martinis and take notice of the Molotov cocktails that were tossed into the midst of the police battalions and at their patrol-wagons. * * *"

WORKERS WORLD PARTY

46 West 21st Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

ORIGIN:

The Workers World Party (WWP) originated on February 12, 1959, when five former members of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee—Sam Marcy (Ballan), Dorothy Flint, Jack Wilson, Ronald Jones, and Vincent Copeland—issued a "Final Statement" and left the SWP because of "irreconcilable" ideologi-

cal and strategic differences. The minority held that the SWP had become insufficiently revolutionary in outlook and program, that true "revolutionary Trotskyism" had been abandoned in favor of "parliamentary reformism" and "people's front coalition."

In March 1959, the first issue of *Workers World* appeared under the editorship of Vincent Copeland. The manager of this official Workers World Party newspaper was identified as Dorothy Ballan, wife of Sam Ballan (Marcy) and former alternate member of the SWP National Committee.

The formal organization of the group as a party appears to have taken place in April 1959 at a conference in Buffalo, N.Y., at which the new party's officers and national committee members were chosen.

PURPOSE:

The WWP proclaims itself a Trotskyist Communist organization working for the "revolutionary overthrow of American capitalism." Regarding itself as the true heir to the Trotskyist-Leninist doctrine, the WWP scorns both the CPUSA and the SWP as deviationist. Internationally, the WWP advocates "unconditional defense" of the Soviet Union as a Communist state. The party's sympathies, however, lie with the Communist Chinese, whom the WWP regards as the leaders of the international Communist revolutionary drive.

ORGANIZATION:

Membership unknown.

Directed by a national chairman, national committee of indeterminate membership, and political committee.

Locations of known branches:

New York City, N.Y. (national office; address above)
Buffalo, N.Y.
Los Angeles, Calif.
Seattle, Wash.
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Youth section:

Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF)

KEY LEADERS:

Sam Marcy (real name *Sam Ballan*)—national chairman
Vincent Copeland—editor, *Workers World*; member, national committee
Dorothy Ballan—manager, *Workers World*; member, national committee
James Boulton—leader, Milwaukee branch
Fred Goldstein—New York organizer

PUBLICATION:

Workers World (national newspaper; twice monthly)

ACTIVITIES:

The Workers World Party, by itself and through its youth section, Youth Against War and Fascism, has—

- (1) carried articles in *Workers World* implying that President Johnson was implicated in a rightist conspiracy to assassinate President Kennedy;
- (2) supported the travel of a group of young people to Communist Cuba in 1963;
- (3) supported Communist and ultranationalist organizations working to undermine the United States in Puerto Rico;
- (4) accused the United States of aggression and genocide in Vietnam and advocated a Communist victory and the complete withdrawal of United States forces;
- (5) supported and encouraged resistance to the draft and agitation against the Vietnam war within the Armed Forces;
- (6) endorsed the concept of black power as a class weapon against white capitalist oppression;
- (7) advocated armed "self-defense" organizations among Negroes as part of its inflammatory propaganda against "racist cops";
- (8) specifically endorsed the violent doctrines of Robert F. Williams and given circulation to his pronouncements;

- (9) collaborated in Communist-serving united front activities with such organizations as:

Revolutionary Action Movement
 Monroe Defense Committee
 Movement for Puerto Rican Independence
 International War Crimes Tribunal
 Student Mobilization Committee
 Spring Mobilization Committee
 National Mobilization Committee
 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
 Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee
 End the Draft Committee
 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
 Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
 Fort Hood Three Defense Committee
 W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America
 Communist Party of the United States;

- (10) participated in the violent and disruptive demonstrations during the August 1966 hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, boasting of the number of arrested YAWF members.

STATEMENTS:

COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

"FINAL STATEMENT," FEBRUARY 12, 1959:

"We reject the bourgeois democratic illusion of the constitutional road to power. And we want to prepare for the revolutionary overthrow of American capitalism. * * *"

WORKERS WORLD, MARCH 1959, P. 1:

"Marxism has always taught that social convulsions, catastrophes, war and revolutions are the inevitable qualitative changes after the cumulative, quantitative growth of years if not decades of 'peaceful' development and sharpening of irrepressible class antagonisms.

"Our task is to prepare the masses for these eventualities, not to sing them to sleep with pacifist lullabys. * * * We say: without a proletarian revolution, imperialist war is inevitable. That is the Leninist teaching on this subject and that teaching is still valid."

WORKERS WORLD, JANUARY 9, 1964, P. 2:

"The conclusion is inescapable.

"Full equality cannot be achieved in this country without a socialist revolution. And * * * it is the bounden duty of every friend of freedom to devote his life to the preparation and successful outcome of that event."

WORKERS WORLD, APRIL 2, 1964, P. 2:

"The 'triple revolution'—more than anything else—needs a fourth revolution, a revolution of the workers and the dispossessed and the oppressed—a proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie."

WARTIME ALLEGIANCE TO COMMUNISM

WORKERS WORLD, MARCH 1959, P. 2:

"In any war of the imperialist countries against the Soviet Union, China or Eastern Europe—or any colonial countries—we stand firmly and unequivocally on their side, which is the side of the working class."

PEKING ORIENTED

WORKERS WORLD, DECEMBER 7, 1962, P. 1:

"the Chinese Communist Party * * * is leading the revolutionary elements in the world [Communist] movement."

WORKERS WORLD, JANUARY 20, 1967, P. 1:

"The Chinese Communist Party has been the strongest, truest, and most devoted of all the parties in the struggle for Marxism and socialism. * * *"

RACIAL VIOLENCE

WORKERS WORLD, JULY 26, 1963, P. 1:

"'Cambridge is different,' says many an observer. The smell of gunpowder pervades the entire atmosphere of this eastern shore community, where 4,000 Black people have made a stand for freedom in a manner which has earned the admiration of freedom-loving people the world over."

WORKERS WORLD, SEPTEMBER 27, 1963, P. 2:

"Neither the vicious police nor the racist State Guard will lift a finger to protect the Afro-American people. * * * Only the autonomous, independent armed bodies of the oppressed *themselves* can be depended upon to keep the peace and at the same time to enforce the rights that all citizens are supposed to possess.

"* * * Self-defense, like self-preservation, is a law of nature. And under the present conditions, that law must inevitably assert itself as a *class* law.

"The right of self-defense will soon be exercised with the greatest energy and on the broadest scale. * * *"

WORKERS WORLD, JULY 2, 1964, P. 1:

"*Only* organized, armed self-defense by the masses themselves will stop the lynchers and the would-be lynchers. Only such action will end the terror for good.

"The time to make this clear is *NOW*."

WORKERS WORLD, JULY 30, 1964, P. 2:

"Our slogan has always been to 'disarm the oppressor; arm the oppressed.' The oppressed Black People are going to implement this slogan against the police and police agents of the oppressor."

WORKERS WORLD, SEPTEMBER 17, 1964, P. 2:

"The issues of racism are not decided at the ballot box; they are decided by who has the club, who has the gun, who has the rope, who has the armed power in his own person or that of his friends."

WORKERS WORLD, JULY '15, 1965, P. 1:

"The racial conflict is part of the global *class* conflict. * * *"

HARLEM RIOTS, 1964

WORKERS WORLD, JULY 30, 1964, P. 2:

"The people of Harlem have not yet taken up arms. But they have the full right to do so * * *."

"It is certain that if not in New York, then * * * somewhere else, a section of the Black People will take to arms and their action will spread to other sections."

WORKERS WORLD, JULY 30, 1964, P. 1:

"The Black People themselves were heard from instead of the 'leaders.' They suffered long, endured much and were provoked by the thousand-and-first murder of the innocent to stand up and fight the oppressor with bare hands, bottles, and bricks."

WORKERS WORLD, SEPTEMBER 17, 1964, P. 3:

"But this time it was different. Daily police brutality, other cop shootings, had, along with other grievances, driven the Black People to a point where they could take no more. Gilligan's killing of James Powell was a spark in a huge train of dynamite which started to explode, car by car.

"The Black People of New York and the whole U.S. began to fight back."

WORKERS WORLD, NOVEMBER 12, 1964, P. 1:

"This time it was the 'Police Board' who pinned a medal on the uniformed murderer and gave the green light to every sadistic cop in Harlem.

'*Police Board Absolves Gilligan;*

No Violation of Rules Found,'

—says the latest headline.

"To those familiar with the case, the ugly events of that July day recalled again with a terrible clearness the crude brutality with which the good-guy cops act when dealing with the poor.

"In spite of the tremendous uprising in the black community which the killing sparked, the authorities * * * officially okay the murder of the black schoolboy by the racist cop."

YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

58 West 25th Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

ORIGIN:

Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) was founded early in 1962 as the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee. The August 10, 1962, issue of *Workers World* refers to "Youth Against War and Fascism (formerly the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee)."

PURPOSE:

YAWF operates as the youth arm and principal agitational force of the Workers World Party, a Trotskyist Communist splinter group whose leaders have declared for the "revolutionary overthrow of American capitalism."

ORGANIZATION:

Membership unknown.

Directed by a national chairman, national coordinator, and student coordinator.

Locations of known branches:

New York City, N.Y. (national office; address above)

City College of New York

Brooklyn College

Cleveland, Ohio (Committee Against War and Fascism, Box 91131, Cleveland, Ohio 44101)

Youngstown, Ohio (Committee Against War and Fascism, Box 75, Youngstown, Ohio 44501)

Buffalo, N.Y. (address unknown)

Milwaukee, Wisc. (address unknown)

Front groups:

Ad Hoc Committee on the Middle East

Pvt. Stapp Defense Committee

Committee for GI Rights

KEY LEADERS:

Key Martin—national chairman

Maryann Weissman—national coordinator

Alex Chernowitz—student coordinator; president, CCNY chapter

Joel Myers—leader, Buffalo chapter

Deirdre Griswold—editor, *The Partisan*

PUBLICATIONS:

The Partisan (national magazine; six issues per year)

YAWF Newsletter (national; issued irregularly)

ACTIVITIES:

Youth Against War and Fascism has—

- (1) demonstrated in support of the Communist Chinese and in favor of their admission to membership in the United Nations;
- (2) supported the travel of a group of young people to Cuba under Communist auspices in 1963;
- (3) accused the United States of aggression and genocide in Vietnam;
- (4) openly advocated a Communist victory in Vietnam;
- (5) encouraged both defiance of the draft and open agitation against the Vietnam war within the Armed Forces;
- (6) attempted to stimulate anti-Vietnam sentiment among Negroes through participation in such groups as Blacks Against Negative Dying (BAND), founded and led by YAWF activist Ed Oquendo;

- (7) participated in or otherwise supported the activities of such organizations as:
- W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America
 - Movement for Puerto Rican Independence
 - Progressive Labor Party
 - Student Committee for Travel to Cuba
 - Spartacist League
 - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
 - Student Mobilization Committee
 - National Mobilization Committee
 - Revolutionary Action Movement
- (8) disseminated inflammatory propaganda against so-called "racist cops" in the middle of riot situations;
- (9) demonstrated in support of those engaged in recent urban rioting; and
- (10) urged the necessity for armed "self-defense" groups among Negroes as the only hope for successful resistance to American oppression and racism.

STATEMENTS:

HARLEM RIOTS, 1964

REPRINT OF YAWF LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED IN NEW YORK STREETS AND AT GARMENT CENTER SOLIDARITY RALLY, *WORKERS WORLD*, JULY 30, 1964, P. 4:

"This is not a riot. This is a genuine rebellion of the people against the monstrous conditions of existence. Everybody knew it was coming—long before last Saturday night and long before Thomas Gilligan killed James Powell.

"It is a social convulsion against unbearable oppression. It is not peaceful and prayerful, it is true.* * *"

"Who occupies Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant, armed to the teeth?—The police.

* * * * *

"Who, then, is directly responsible for the violence?—The police.

* * * * *

"Write, phone, wire, demonstrate—tell Mayor Wagner to GET THE RACIST COPS OUT OF HARLEM."

"WHO KILLED JAMES POWELL?" (UNDATED YAWF LEAFLET):

"James Powell was killed by:

A RACIST COP * * *

"James Powell was killed by:

A FASCIST-TYPE POLICE FORCE that recruits and trains people for brutality. Any decent human being would quit before two weeks on the force—a gang of storm troopers.

* * * * *

"James Powell was the latest casualty in the war of the bosses against the workers and unemployed, young and old, Black and white. The only way to fight against this war on the masses is independent mass organization to *fight back!*"

SPARTACIST LEAGUE

Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001

ORIGIN:

The Spartacist League originated in 1960 as a small group of dissident members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who, styling themselves the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, stood in substantial disagreement with the party's leadership on such basic policy questions as the proper approach to the Cuban revolution. After 3 years of trying to promote a more revolutionary line than that of the leadership, the group was expelled from the SWP in December 1963 for alleged "disloyal attitudes."

Under the leadership of James Robertson, the group, now referring to itself as the Spartacist Group or Spartacist Committee, brought out the first issue of its official publication, *Spartacist*, dated February-March 1964, and proclaiming itself a bimonthly published by "supporters of the Revolutionary Tendency expelled from the Socialist Workers Party."

Though dedicated initially to gaining readmission to the SWP, the Spartacists later shifted their emphasis to the development of an independent Trotskyist Communist organization and adopted the new name of Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International. With the June-July 1966 issue, *Spartacist* had become simply a "Bimonthly Organ of Revolutionary Marxism," all reference to the SWP having been dropped.

Over the Labor Day weekend of September 2-4, 1966, a conference was held in Chicago, Ill. At this conference, attended by a claimed 50 delegates and observers from various parts of the country, the Spartacist League was organized as a fully independent Trotskyist group and its chief officers chosen.

PURPOSE:

The Spartacist League is a revolutionary organization which proclaims itself a "national section of the international Trotskyist movement" working for the "victory of the socialist revolution in the United States." In the Chinese-Soviet dispute, the Spartacists reject the Soviet approach to revolution in line with basic Trotskyist doctrine. But they also reject the Maoist approach because of its alleged substitution of "peasant-based guerilla warfare" for the correct line of the "vanguard role of the working class."

ORGANIZATION:

60-80 members.

Directed by a central committee of indeterminate membership; by at least two commissions (Negro and editorial); and by a political bureau.

Regional addresses:

Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001 (national office)
 Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, Calif. 94701
 Box 6044, Main P.O., Chicago, Ill. 60680
 Box 8121, Gentilly Station, New Orleans, La. 70122

Other known addresses:

Box 8165, Univ. Station, Austin, Tex. 78712
 Box 3142, Univ. Station, Columbus, Ohio 43210
 Box 1021A, Detroit, Mich. 48232
 Box 3061, Eureka, Calif. 95501
 Box 18434, Eastwood Station, Houston, Tex. 77023
 Box 442, Ithaca, N.Y. 14851
 Box 4054, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, Calif. 90054
 Box 1827, Wm. Penn Annex, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105

Affiliated group:

Freedom Socialist Party of Washington [State]

KEY LEADERS:

James Robertson—national chairman; editor, *Spartacist*
Geoffrey White—West Coast editor, *Spartacist*
Joseph Vetter (also known as *Joseph Verret*)—Southern editor, *Spartacist*
Helen Janacek—managing editor, *Spartacist*
Paul Gaillard—member, central committee
Albert Nelson—New York organizer
Harry Turner—identified only as a "Spartacist leader"

PUBLICATIONS:

Spartacist (national bimonthly)
Spartaco (national Spanish-language bimonthly)
Spartacist-West (occasionally issued publication of the Bay Area Spartacist League, Berkeley, Calif.)
Marxist Bulletin series (basic documents of Spartacists' official positions on such issues as expulsion from SWP, Cuban revolution, Negro questions, etc.)

ACTIVITIES:

The Spartacist League has—

- (1) disseminated propaganda and participated in demonstrations designed to obstruct the Vietnam war effort;
- (2) openly advocated a Communist victory in Vietnam;
- (3) disseminated inflammatory propaganda against so-called "racist cops" and "police brutality" during riot situations;

- (4) advocated the creation of a mass Negro-oriented organization, not as a concession to black power, which the Spartacists regard as divisive, but as a part of the broader proletarian front;
- (5) disseminated propaganda designed specifically to convey the idea that the Vietnam war is a racist war of oppression against colored people by the U.S. imperialists; and
- (6) urged the development of the organizational concepts of the rent strike and tenants councils into a block-by-block armed Negro "self-defense" network.

STATEMENTS:

COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

SPARTACIST, FEBRUARY-MARCH 1964, PP. 2, 12:

"We frankly state in advance that the purpose of our action is to further a revolutionary regroupment of forces within this country such that a Leninist vanguard party of the working class will emerge. * * *

"The theory of the Permanent Revolution, which is basic to our movement, declares that in the modern world the bourgeois-democratic revolution cannot be completed *except* through the victory and extension of the proletarian revolution * * *."

SPARTACIST, ELECTION SUPPLEMENT, OCTOBER 1964, P. 3:

"* * * Marxists emphasize the *self-defense* of the Negroes in the South, and look to *them*, ultimately in league with the white workers under a Bolshevik program, to accomplish a real shattering of the racist system, North and South."

"THESES ON BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.—TASKS OF THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE" (SPARTACIST PRE-CONFERENCE DISCUSSION BULLETIN, JULY 1966, P. 1):

"The Spartacist League is based on the principles embodied in the decisions of the first four Congresses of the Communist International, the resolutions and documents agreed to by the 1938 Founding Conference of the Fourth International and the International resolution on perspectives adopted by the International Committee of the Fourth International Conference of April 1966. We recognize that these materials are the indispensable [sic] documentary codification of the Communist movement internationally and are fundamental to the revolutionary tasks of the SL."

SPARTACIST, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1966, PP. 11, 13:

"The Spartacist League of the U.S. is a revolutionary organization which, as part of the international revolutionary movement, is committed to the task of building the party which will lead the working class to the victory of the socialist revolution in the United States.

* * * * *
 "The Spartacist League * * * [is] a national section of the international Trotskyist movement * * *."

POSITION ON NEGROES

R. S. FRASER, "FOR THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF THE NEGRO QUESTION," MARXIST BULLETIN NO. 5, P. 26:

"The dual nature of the Negro struggle arises from the fact that a whole people regardless of class distinction are the victims of discrimination. This problem of a whole people can be solved only through the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the working class. * * *"

"DRAFT TASKS & PERSPECTIVES OF THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE" (SPARTACIST PRE-CONFERENCE DISCUSSION BULLETIN, JULY 1966), P. 18:

"The only realistic program for black Americans is Communism."

RACIAL VIOLENCE

SPARTACIST, JULY-AUGUST 1964, P. 5:

"The rent strike must be extended * * * because it, with its concomitant [sic] tenants councils, offers the best method so far devised to organize the community * * *. With the present level of mass consciousness, only the lack of experienced

organizers prevents virtually the whole of Harlem and the other New York ghettos from being organized into tenants councils right now. Moreover, block councils firmly based on building councils would offer a natural basis for *the organization of self-defense*. * * *

SPARTACIST, MAY-JUNE 1965, P. 5:

"The illusion of 'non-violence' spread by King and others is a criminal *disarming* of black people, and is consistent with the role of these 'leaders' as agents of the power structure. The movement must scrap these illusions once and for all and begin to organize the Negro people to defend themselves from violence. * * *

SPARTACIST, MAY-JUNE 1967, P. S4:

"It is the duty of a revolutionary organization to intervene where possible to give these outbursts [riots] political direction."

HARLEM RIOTS, 1964

SPARTACIST, JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1965, PP. 1, 5:

"On this basis SPARTACIST stated early in July '... the bourgeois state now prepares to fight openly in the streets through its police arm against the resurgence of the struggle.' This prediction was strikingly confirmed on July 18 and the days that followed as wave after wave of armed, specially trained elite police—the Tactical Patrol Force—swept through Harlem indiscriminately beating and terrorizing all who crossed their paths, when the mood of the ghetto made it clear that the killing of 15-year-old James Powell by an off-duty police officer would not go unprotested.

* * * * *
 "James Robertson, SPARTACIST editor, described the role of the cops in creating the riots and, in reference to attempts being made to blame the riots on Communists, said that 'unfortunately there aren't many Reds in Harlem now—but *there will be!*'"

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

2811 W. Diamond Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

ORIGIN:

Winter 1963

PURPOSE:

From the Ram Manifesto of 1964: "RAM was officially organized * * * by Afro-Americans who favored Robert F. Williams and the concept of organized violence. * * * ONE PURPOSE—To free black people from the universal slave-master * * *. ONE AIM—To develop black people through struggle to the highest attainment possible. ONE DESTINY—To follow in the spirit of black revolutionaries * * * and to create a new world free of colonialism, racism, imperialism, exploitation, and national oppression."

In hearings before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, on February 16, 1967, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, described the Revolutionary Action Movement as "a Negro organization * * * dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and its replacement by a socialist system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism."

ORGANIZATION:

Less than 50

Precise membership figures cannot be stated owing to the clandestine nature of the organization. However, it should be noted that RAM does not seek mass membership. Instead, it operates on the principle of a tight-knit, highly selective inner circle of leaders who accomplish their aims through infiltration and subversion of other Afro-American groups, through fronts, and through use of Negro teenage gangs schooled in urban guerrilla warfare.

RAM has units in Philadelphia (home base), Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, and New York City.

There are three levels of membership in the RAM organization: (1) field organizers, (2) active members, and (3) associate members.

Fronts:

- Afro-American Youth Council
- Afro-American Student Movement
- Jamaica (N.Y.) Rifle and Pistol Club
- Black Guard¹

RAM is affiliated with the United Black Brotherhood in Cleveland.

KEY LEADERS:

- Robert F. Williams*—chairman-in-exile (also self-proclaimed "Premier of the African-American-Government-in-Exile")
- Maxwell Curtis Stanford, Jr.*—field chairman

PUBLICATION:

BLACK AMERICA

"Black America is the theoretical journal of RAM—Revolutionary Action Movement, Black Liberation Front of the U.S.A..

"It's [sic] purpose is to bring clarity and give direction in revolutionary struggle. To help build revolutionary nationalist leadership.

"To present a revolutionary program of national liberation and self-determination for the African captives enslaved in the racist United States of America.

"To forge a revolutionary unity among peoples of African decent and to give a new international spirit to Pan-Africanism.

"To unite Black America with the Bandung world (Asia, Africa and Latin America).

"To fight for the liberation of oppressed peoples everywhere.

"Our message of [sic] the Black peoples of the world: UNITE or PERISH—WE WILL WIN." (*BLACK AMERICA*, Summer-Fall 1965, p. 2)

ACTIVITIES:

Revolutionary Action Movement members have—

- (1) been charged with the planned cyanide poisoning of up to 1,500 policemen and top city officials in Philadelphia;
- (2) been indicted for conspiracy to murder moderate Negro leaders in the United States, conspiracy to advocate anarchy and "overthrow of organized government by the assassination of executive officers of the government";
- (3) stored arms and ammunition in anticipation of the violent U.S. revolution which is to be accomplished according to a well-organized plan of urban guerrilla warfare;
- (4) sent "greeting" to the NLF of South Vietnam and have called for a united front against "racist U.S. imperialism."

STATEMENTS:

RAM MANIFESTO QUOTED IN *MONTHLY REVIEW*, MAY 1964, P. 6, 7:

"we are at war with white America. * * *

"RAM's philosophy is one of the world black revolution or world revolution of oppressed peoples rising up against their former slavemasters. * * *

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, *THE CRUSADER*, MARCH 1965, P. 5:

"As a representative if [sic] the Revolutionary Action Movement, I am here [Hanoi, North Vietnam] to give support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. * * *

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, HAVANA RADIO FREE DIXIE BROADCAST, DECEMBER 18, 1965:

"The U.S. Government is a racist government. * * * The only protection our oppressed people can expect in racist America is that which we render ourselves. The only justice we can expect is on-the-spot justice: an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

¹One of the more recent fronts of the Revolutionary Action Movement is the Black Guard which is self-described in its "Black Guard Organizers Manual" as "a black youth group dedicated to black power, black unity and self-defense * * * [and] is the forerunner of a black liberation army."

"My brothers and sisters, the coming summer is going to be violent and bloody. * * * Let our people organize, arm, unite, and prepare for a war of survival and liberation! * * * Put the torch to the racist strongholds of the cities and remember the forests. * * *"

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, *THE CRUSADER*, JULY 1967, PP. 2, 3:

"The racist power structure [in America] hoped to head off the long hot summer of Afro-American rebellion * * * The battle of Newark should be a lesson to the oppressor that his tactic of vicious repression is not an answer to the black man's thrust for human dignity. * * * Our response * * * is a clarion call to * * * Black America to UNITE OR PERISH! MOBILIZE FOR PEOPLE'S WAR BECAUSE AMERICA IS THE BLACK MAN'S BATTLEGROUND!"

"BLACK GUARD ORGANIZERS MANUAL," DATED OCTOBER 23, 1967:

"THE BLACK GUARD IS A BLACK YOUTH GROUP DEDICATED TO BLACK POWER, BLACK UNITY AND SELF-DEFENSE. THE BLACK GUARD RESOLVES ANY CONTRADICTION WHICH MAY ARISE IN CARRYING OUT VANGUARD DIRECTION, AND TO MOBILIZE AND LEAD THE MASSES. * * * THE BLACK GUARD IS THE FORERUNNER OF A BLACK LIBERATION ARMY."

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

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

(also known as SNCC and SNICK)

360 Nelson Street, SW., Atlanta, Ga. 30303

ORIGIN:

April 1960 in Raleigh, N.C.

Originally known as the Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, SNCC, in the fall of 1960, met in Atlanta, Ga., elected its first slate of officers, and dropped the "temporary" from its name. Primary initiators in the founding of SNCC were Mrs. Ella J. Baker of Atlanta and Mrs. Anne Braden of Louisville, Ky.

PURPOSE:

SNCC's original claimed purpose was to bring about the integration of southern "lunch counters and movie theaters." However, in the recent years, SNCC has deviated grossly from this primary purpose and has been in the forefront of a number of the more recent violent racial disturbances in the country.

ORGANIZATION:

SNCC's national organization is headed by a chairman and a triumvirate composed of an executive secretary, communications director, and program director. While the chairman is the chief spokesman for the organization, the executive secretary handles all organizational matters and directs the internal operation. The position of chairman and his triumvirate are elective and are chosen annually to preside over an 80-man central committee (all of whom have voting privilege) and a 10-man "observer group" (without voting privilege.) The national organization employs a number of staff personnel and field organizers.

NOTE: Friends of SNCC—an adjunct organization whose present director is Elizabeth Sutherland. "Friends" was formed as a campus-oriented fundraising organization.

KEY LEADERS:

Hubert Geriod (H. Rap) Brown—chairman (1967—to date)

Stanley Wise—executive secretary

Ethel Minor—communications director

Ralph Featherstone—program director

Stokely Carmichael—chairman (1966-67)

John Lewis—chairman (1963-66)

Charles McLaurin—chairman (1962-63)

Charles McDew—chairman (1961-62)

Marion Barry, Jr.—chairman (1960-61)

PUBLICATIONS:

The Student Voice (published by The Student Voice, Inc.)

ACTIVITIES:

SNCC has—

- (1) aligned itself with the Havana-based Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO), a Castro-led network of guerrilla fighters whose primary aim is to export revolution in Latin America and among the Negro population in America;
- (2) openly assailed Zionism and accused the Israelis of committing atrocities against the Arabs;
- (3) openly exhorted Negroes to refuse to be drafted into armed services of the U.S.;
- (4) through its immediate past chairman, Stokely Carmichael, aligned itself organizationally with the so-called Black Liberation Movement of the U.S. and has called for the "overthrow" of the present government and the start of "the real Revolution" in the U.S.;
- (5) through its present chairman, H. Rap Brown, been indicted for inciting a riot in Cambridge, Maryland.

STATEMENTS:

H. RAP BROWN, SNCC CHAIRMAN, "WHO ARE THE REAL OUTLAWS?" (SNCC PAMPHLET JULY 1967), PP. 3, 5:

"That government which makes laws that you and I are supposed to obey, without letting us be a part of that government . . . is an illegal government. The men who pass those laws are outlaws; the police who enforce those laws are outlaws and murderers.

"It should be understandable that we, as black people, should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which were not made with our consent and which seek to keep us down and keep us in our place. * * *

* * * * *

"We stand on the eve of a black revolution. These rebellions are but a dress rehearsal [sic] for real revolution. * * *"

"ATLANTA'S BLACK PAPER," COMPILED BY ATLANTA PROJECT OF SNCC, AUGUST 25, 1966:

"Saturday, August 20, 1966

* * * * *

"At the street corner rally held right after the press conference, two squad cars with two black cops in each along with the paddy wagons pulled into the area. At the rally, Bill Ware [SNCC], told the people that the black cops represent the white power structure in the neighborhood and that the white power structure had sent them * * *. He told the people of Vine City [Atlanta] about how Black cops had beat him in the City Jail and how they are white men with black skins; how they are as much our enemy as any white Klu-Klux Klansmen [sic]."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, *GRANMA*, AUGUST 13, 1967:

"To my fellow comrade Che,

"The African-Americans inside the United States have a great deal of admiration for you. We eagerly await your writings in order to read them, digest them and plan our tactics based on them.

"We want you to know, wherever you are, that you are an inspiration not only to the Blacks inside the U.S. but to the Liberation Struggle around the world. Please keep on fighting because by your fighting you are inspiring us. Do not despair, my comrade.

"We will win

Stokely Carmichael"

"We are moving toward urban guerrilla warfare within the United States * * *."

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.
 P.O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tenn. 31212
 Tel. (615) 291-3537

ORIGIN:

April 3-5, 1964

Founded by former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) "white community" organizers as a counterpart to SNCC. It was designed to work especially among white southern college students.

PURPOSE:

The proclaimed purpose of the Southern Student Organizing Committee is to maintain a liaison between widely scattered activists in the "peace" and "civil rights" movements throughout the South through key representatives located on various southern college campuses.

ORGANIZATION:

In the fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South.

It now has an estimated 175 members with representatives on about 34 campuses throughout the South.

SSOC is loosely coordinated though its central office in Nashville and branch office in Atlanta, Ga.

KEY LEADERS:

Tom Gardner—chairman

Alan Levin—vice chairman

There are about 15 staff personnel employed by the Nashville headquarters of SSOC.

PUBLICATION:

THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT (circulation, claimed 4,000) ; published monthly October through May by SSOC of Nashville; \$1 for southern students, \$3 for northern students and adults.

ACTIVITIES:

On its own and in cooperation with other organizations has—

- (1) staged or taken part in various civil rights picket lines and demonstrations;
- (2) supported the activities and demonstrations of various U.S. anti-Vietnam war organizations;
- (3) SSOC chairman Tom Gardner, together with 41 other Americans, met with representatives of the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong at a conference in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, September 5-12, 1967;
- (4) supported the activities and demonstrations of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee;
- (5) supported the activities and demonstrations of, and is a fraternal organization to, the Students for a Democratic Society.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky.

ORIGIN:

September 6, 1938

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), initially functioned as the "educational wing" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW). The SCHW was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947 as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States." Public exposure as a Communist-front group caused the SCHW to suspend its operations in 1949; however, the SCEF continued as an independent organization and absorbed the remaining functions of the SCHW.

Operating as the successor of the SCHW, the SCEF maintained the same office, telephone number, and principal officers of the SCHW. The SCEF also continued publishing SCHW's official organ, *The Southern Patriot*.

PURPOSE:

The SCEF purports to be an "interracial group" dedicated to ending "racial discrimination, poverty, and other injustices in the South." Its main effort at the present time is to "reach white Southerners and bring them into struggles for social justice, helping them to unite with black Southerners in meaningful joint action."

ORGANIZATION:

Directed by a 60-member board of directors (SCEF is not a membership organization with the exception of those individuals who are members of the board.)

The SCEF has 22 staff members, a 60-member advisory committee and a 6-member medical advisory committee.

Reported annual budget: \$100,000

Offices: (national headquarters listed above)

150 Tenth Avenue North, Nashville, Tenn.

799 Broadway, Suite 412, New York, N.Y. (Eastern office)

SCEF Projects:

- (1) Southern Mountain Project & Mountain Education Program
- (2) Operation Open Debate
- (3) Grass-Roots Organizing Work (GROW) Project
- (4) Southern Peace Education Project
- (5) Anti-HUAC Project (SCEF operates as the southern regional office of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, a Communist-front organization.)

Affiliate: Friends of SCEF

KEY LEADERS:

Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth—president

Carl Braden—executive director (member of SCEF staff since 1957)—identified member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Anne Braden—associate executive director and editor of *The Southern Patriot* (member of SCEF staff since 1957)—identified member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

James A. Dombrowski—special consultant (recently retired as SCEF executive director; served as administrator for SCHW)—identified member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; denied identification under oath.

Rev. William Howard Melish—assistant director—identified member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

PUBLICATION:

The Southern Patriot (monthly tabloid newspaper published since 1942—circulation [October 1966]: 9, 936)

ACTIVITIES:

The SCEF has—

- (1) prepared and published propaganda aimed at undermining the capitalist system of the United States and has continually agitated against it by exploiting such issues as poverty, racial discrimination, and unemployment;
- (2) attempted to develop Negro and white unrest through organized agitation in small southern towns and rural areas;
- (3) waged a deceitful campaign against congressional investigation of Communist activities in the United States;
- (4) engaged in a program of agitation against United States military involvement in Vietnam; and
- (5) maintained influence over certain militant Negro civil rights and "black power" organizations and has rendered financial support to at least one of them.

STATEMENT:

THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT (EDITORIAL), AUGUST 1967, PP. 1, 2:

"Past movements for peaceful social change have failed partly because people in power have not wanted change and have used every device and every form of terror to crush such movements. * * *

"But movements have also failed * * * because they have not been radical enough—radical in the sense of going to the root of what is wrong in our society and dealing with people's vital needs. They have failed too because sometimes people in these movements have lost their nerve at crucial moments. * * *

LIBERATOR

Published by: Afro-American Research Institute, Inc.
224 East 46th Street, New York City, N.Y. 10017

ORIGIN:

January 1960

Daniel H. Watts began publishing the *LIBERATOR* in 1960 in the name of a largely paper organization which he called the Liberation Committee for Africa. In 1963, Watts and Richard Gibson, one of the initiators of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, incorporated the Afro-American Research Institute as the successor of Watts' "Liberation Committee." The institute has since served as the publisher of *LIBERATOR* magazine.

PURPOSE:

LIBERATOR magazine is self-described as the "intellectual voice for black nationalism and socialism" and the "voice of the Afro-American protest movement in the United States and the liberation movement of Africa."

ORGANIZATION:

Other than the staff of the *LIBERATOR*, no organization exists in the sense of the word.

KEY LEADERS:

Daniel H. Watts—editor in chief
Len Holt—Washington, D.C.
Bill Mahoney—editor, Southern
Richard Price—editor, West Coast
Richard Gibson—editor, Africa, Asia, and Europe
Clayton Riley—arts editor

STAFF:

Evelyn B. Kalibala—secretary
Tom Feelings and James Malone—illustrators
James Connor—photographer

PUBLICATION:

Monthly. Subscription: \$3 per year.

LIBERATOR magazine has featured articles supporting "black arts" which show domination of blacks over whites and has endorsed the so-called Negro Liberation Movement in America. It supports an anti-U.S. capitalist movement among Negroes to alter the present form of government and supports Negro extremist groups such as the Black Muslims, RAM, SNCC, and the all-Negro Freedom Now Party.

LIBERATOR magazine opposes civil rights groups such as the NAACP and the Urban League and openly supports African-Marxist leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, and Patrice Lumumba.

LIBERATOR magazine, in addition to publishing and distributing its monthly publication, operates the Liberator Book Service which offers historical, separatist, and other Negro-oriented books and pamphlets written by a wide range of authors including Communists and black nationalists.

STATEMENTS FROM LIBERATOR MAGAZINE:

"Mrs. [Gloria H.] Richardson has shown the direction which must be followed, if the Movement is to be saved from destruction by its so-called friends. * * * She, and others like her, however, who are providing courageous and effective leadership will continue to be under growing pressure from the na-

tional established civil rights groups * * *." (Editorial, "Mrs. Richardson's Revolt," vol. III, No. 11, November 1963, p. 1)

"What is needed at this juncture is a truly national Liberation Front with a program aimed squarely at basic changes in our economic and social structure—e.g. a planned economy based on public ownership subject to the needs and will of the masses who will hold power—which will make for rapid social advance, freedom and equality.

* * * * *
 "the prospects of victory for our Second Revolution are more than promising; and through it, perhaps, America can at last rejoin the human family." (James A. Kennedy, "Toward a National Liberation Front," vol. III, No. 11, November 1963, pp. 19, 20)

"* * * Afro-America lacks adequate leaders. 'The acknowledged so-called "Negro leadership" serves as the white man's neutralizer of Black America's struggle. Therefore it will be removed by dedicated younger Black militants who are more responsive to the fundamental needs of the Black Masses.' * * *" (Donald Freeman, "The Cleveland Story," vol. III, No. 6, June 1963, p. 18)

"The white racist policeman in the Black ghetto does not represent law and order for Afro-Americans, he is merely the extension of the repressive economic, political and social system that is imposed on the ghetto by the white power structure. * * *" (Daniel H. Watts, editorial, "Genocide or Murder?" vol. V, No. 8, August 1965, p. 3)

"The white power structure which had supported these negro anglo-saxons was calling in the chits. The house niggers responded by saying 'we can't control the natives, they are not one of us. You (whites) must put down the rebellion. *We will back you up, as far behind you, as we can get.*' * * *" (Daniel H. Watts, editorial, "Watts, L. A.,—The Nation's Shame," vol. V, No. 9, September 1965, p. 3)

"The cry is Black Power. Very curiously, of all the slogans that the so-called civil rights revolution has generated, to date, only the cry of Black power has instill [sic] fear in the hearts of big and little charlie. Why? Why suddenly, the most 'freedom' loving of whites, have been driven from the civil rights circles by the cry of Black power? Is it because after 350 years of struggle *we* have finally got to where the action is? Power? Black Power?

"Black power! Power to punish, Power to destroy, and above all Power to survive the most brutal system of oppression ever devised by man. * * *

"Brothers and Sisters, charlie's finger is on the panic button, let our Black Power help him push it, to hell. T.C.B." (Daniel H. Watts, editorial, "'Audacious' Black Power," vol. VI, No. 7, July 1966, p. 3)

ACT

ORIGIN:

March 1964 at a conference in Chester, Pa.

PURPOSE:

To support local "action groups" in civil rights activity "when their anti-discrimination projects are attacked and 'undercut by the standard civil rights organizations such as the NAACP * * * and the Urban League.'"

ORGANIZATION:

ACT leader Julius Hobson has stated that the group is "not a civil rights organization in the classical sense but a revolutionary one in the American tradition."

Chapters were formed in Chicago, Ill.; New York City; Chester, Pa.; and Washington, D.C.

KEY LEADERS:

Lawrence Landry—chairman
 Stanley Branche
 Gloria Richardson
 Julius Hobson
 John Wilson
 Jesse Gray
 Nahaz Rogers

ACTIVITIES:

ACT has—

- (1) planned nationwide school boycott in 1964 to protest de facto school segregation throughout the country;
- (2) planned a nationwide boycott of California wines and fruits to protest a voter referendum on housing law. ACT took the position that the right to open occupancy should not be decided by popular vote;
- (3) sponsored a 7-day rights offensive, May 24–30, 1965;
- (4) participated in the attempted "stall-in" at the 1964 New York World's Fair;
- (5) organized civil rights school boycotts, buying boycotts, etc.

STATEMENTS:

JULIUS HOBSON, THE EVENING STAR (WASHINGTON, D.C.), AS QUOTED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, MAY 22, 1967, P. H5866:

"You can't make Socialist promises within the Capitalist system. It won't work. I'm a Marxist Socialist, not a Communist, but I don't have any illusions that I can change the system, although I think I can improve it."

THE EVENING STAR (WASHINGTON, D.C.), JULY 21, 1967, P. B-1:

Hobson saw the Newark riot of 1967 as "the beginning of the new "Civil War" in the United States."

JULIUS HOBSON, THE WASHINGTON POST, NOVEMBER 6, 1966, P. A-27:

"We know what colonialism is right here at home," he said. "We don't have to go to Vietnam to impose the kind of freedom I've enjoyed here. * * *"

NAHAZ ROGERS, THE MILITANT, APRIL 27, 1964, P. 1:

"The old line of making the Negro revolution acceptable by the guidelines of deportment and graciousness that are acceptable to the white community is gone. ACT will not function in a manner that is acceptable to white people. It will do things that are acceptable [sic] to Negroes."

ORGANIZATION FOR BLACK POWER

ORIGIN:

May 1965 at a conference in Washington, D.C.

PURPOSE:

To serve as a political action arm for ACT leaders. "Its aim is to gain political control of major U.S. cities through mobilization and control of the Negro residents." According to its literature, it "is part of the revolutionary struggle of people all over the world to liberate themselves from the determination of the United States to impose its way of life on the whole world and to build a new world free from exploitation."

ORGANIZATION:

"Individuals connected with its founding represent various facets of the militant Negro extremist community. The chairman of the organization is Jesse Gray. He is a former Harlem organizer for the Communist Party, USA."

"Membership in the Organization for Black Power shall be of organizations and individuals who accept the perspective of Black Power and the discipline of the organization in the struggle for this power." (J. Edgar Hoover, Testimony before Appropriations Subcommittee, February 10, 1966, pp. 256, 257.)

KEY LEADERS:

Jesse Gray—chairman

Lawrence Landry—Chicago chairman

Julius Hobson—member of steering committee

ACTIVITIES:

At a meeting in Chicago in July 1965 a program was adopted which included the following points:

- (1) Dissemination of information on "fraudulent nature" of the poverty program;

- (2) Institute a drive in every ghetto to stop all cooperation by the poor with poverty programs;
- (3) Campaign to drive the "social work lobby" and their "Negro lackeys" from the ghettos;
- (4) Refuse to continue discussions about poverty, civil rights, etc., with Government social workers;
- (5) Create immediate programs to deal with Negro "Uncle Toms";
- (6) "Train the poor for a nationwide campaign designed to obstruct the status quo and to force the hand of those seeking to exploit * * * black people";
- (7) "Resolve that militant organizations will cooperate and work with any and all persons to achieve these goals and objectives."

FREEDOM NOW PARTY

81 E. 125th Street, Suite 207, New York, N.Y. 10035

Tel. MO 2-0681

ORIGIN:

August 28, 1963 (Call for a Freedom Now Party distributed in Washington, D.C.)

PURPOSE:

Formed by former Communist Party member Conrad Lynn and Red China travel-ban violator William Worthy for the purpose of running an all-Negro slate of electors in the 1964 elections.

ORGANIZATION:

Believed very small.

KEY LEADERS:

Conrad Lynn—national chairman

Mrs. Pernella V. Wattlely—corresponding secretary

Rev. Albert Cleage—Michigan State chairman

Peter Pierre—chairman, Brooklyn Freedom Now Party

PUBLICATIONS:

None

ACTIVITIES:

The Freedom Now Party—

- (1) ran a small slate of candidates for State and local offices in 1964 in Michigan and New York, including Paul Boutelle, vice-presidential candidate of the Trotskyist Communists, as candidate for State Senator from Harlem;
- (2) ran a total of 39 Negro candidates in 1964 for offices ranging from U.S. Senator to Wayne County drain commissioner. Single candidates were offered in New York, Connecticut, and California. Greatest strength was in Michigan. However, all Freedom Now Party candidates were soundly defeated.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)

National Office, 135th Street and Seventh Avenue (Harlem), New York City, N.Y.

ORIGIN:

Spring 1942

Originally formed as the Committee of Racial Equality by James Farmer and Jim Robinson after they were reluctantly served in a white restaurant in Chicago. Farmer and Robinson, then working for the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), drew support from FOR members and picketed the restaurant until full integration was achieved.

PURPOSE:

Originally considered one of the more "moderate" civil rights organizations, CORE, since the early 1960's, has gradually increased in militancy and has

become increasingly separatist, black supremacist, and ideologically aligned with the so-called new left.

ORGANIZATION:

CORE claims 80,000 members in 200 chapters.

The organizational structure of CORE consists of a large advisory board and a slate of five officers under which an administrative staff, field staff, field secretaries, and task force workers function. In addition a national action committee oversees the regional operations of the chapters and individual members.

KEY LEADERS:

Wilfred Ussery—national chairman

Floyd B. McKissick—national director (1966—to date)

Lincoln O. Lynch—assoc. national director (1966—to date)

James L. Farmer—national director (1960-1966)¹

ACTIVITIES:

In addition to organizing and sponsoring numerous civil rights rallies, demonstrations, and picket lines, CORE, its national leaders and its chapters, have—

- (1) exhorted Negroes to be ready to “kill for freedom;” (Lincoln O. Lynch)
- (2) taken a “Get out of Vietnam” war protest stand nationally and has participated at the chapter level in nearly every major anti-Vietnam war demonstration;
- (3) attempted to unlawfully block traffic leading to the World’s Fair in New York City in 1964;
- (4) attempted to make a “citizen’s arrest” of N.Y. Mayor Robert Wagner immediately before the Harlem riot of 1964.

STATEMENTS:

FLOYD MCKISSICK, *THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE*, OCTOBER 1, 1967, P. 101:

“As long as the white man has all the power and money, nothing will happen because we have nothing. The only way to achieve meaningful change is to *take power.*” [Emphasis added.]

ROBERT CARSON (CHAIRMAN, BROOKLYN CORE), *THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE*, OCTOBER 1, 1967, P. 104:

“We will work on our land by day and plan at night for that day when the Negroes and the black people will call us from our forced exile to lead the vanguard, to structure the change which must come about, if we members of the black race are to survive in this country.”

WILLARD D. DIXON, JR., EDITOR, *THE BLACK DISPATCH*, A CORE PUBLICATION FOR THE BALTIMORE TARGET CITY PROJECT, AS QUOTED IN *THE BALTIMORE SUN*, NOVEMBER 30, 1967, P. C-6:

“The police will be barred completely from the ghetto or else suffer the ultimate penalty.”

“The vigilantes will become the legitimate law enforcement agency in the black community’ * * *.”

NATION OF ISLAM

(also known as Muslim Mosque, Inc., and Black Muslims)

National headquarters of the Nation of Islam is located at the Central Mosque in Chicago, Ill. (5335 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Ill.), and is the home of Elijah Muhammad (Poole), the “Messenger of Allah.”

ORIGIN:

1931 in Detroit, Michigan

An ex-convict, W. D. Fard (also known as Ford) actually organized the sect with the help of Elijah Poole, a Georgia farm worker. Fard had been released from San Quentin Federal Prison after serving out the term of a narcotics conviction. Fard left Detroit after his followers offered a human sacrifice in 1933. His whereabouts have been unknown since that time. Poole then began teaching that he was the messenger of Allah and that Fard was Allah who had come and gone. Poole served a prison term as a WWII draft evader.

¹ Farmer is currently chairman of CORE's advisory board.

PURPOSE:

Elijah Muhammad Poole claims to have discovered the lost Nation of Islam at the time Allah (Fard) instructed him to rescue the American Negro from his "enslavement" by Christianity and Western culture. The Black Muslims believe that the white man is the devil incarnate and integration with the white man is refused on this basis.

In testimony before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations on February 16, 1967, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover stated that the Nation of Islam (NOI) was an "all-Negro, violently antigovernment and antiwhite organization." Mr. Hoover characterized the NOI as "a very real threat to the internal security of the Nation."

ORGANIZATION:

About 70 mosques in as many cities with "an active membership of about 5,500."

KEY LEADERS:

Elijah Muhammad Poole—messenger of Allah

Raymond X Sharrieff (real name *Raymond Hatchett*)—national commander of the Fruit of Islam and son-in-law of Elijah Muhammad

PUBLICATION:

Muhammad Speaks (published twice monthly)

Published by Muhammad's Mosque # 2

634 E. 79th Street, Chicago, Ill. 60619

Alternate address: 5335 S. Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

ACTIVITIES:

The Nation of Islam (NOI), through its leadership and newspaper, consistently urged Negroes to refuse to be drafted into the armed services of the U.S. on grounds NOI members do not consider themselves U.S. citizens in the sense of the word.

STATEMENTS:

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, "BEWARE OF FALSE PROMISES, SEPARATION OR DEATH!"
MUHAMMAD SPEAKS, JULY 5, 1963, P. 9:

"You send armies of heavily-armed policemen to slay the unarmed so-called Negroes [sic]. Does this act of murder of unarmed people show that you are brave or cowards? You, like your fathers, hate and despise your slaves, and you beat and murder them daily. And after such inhuman treatment you want them to love you so that you may carry out your evil doings on them without resistance."

EDITORIAL, "CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK," *MUHAMMAD SPEAKS*, AUGUST 2, 1963, P. 9:

"Perhaps some sort of Nobel Prize for 'Hypocrisy' should go to those lily-white souls who have the effrontery to conduct 'Captive Nation's Week,' a memorial dedicated to concern for the eventual 'freeing' of other white souls said to be 'enslaved' behind the Iron Curtain in the midst of the current race crisis."

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, "THE MUSLIM PROGRAM," *MUHAMMAD SPEAKS*, JUNE 4, 1965, PP. 23, 24:

"We want the government of the United States to exempt our people from ALL taxation as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the laws of the land."

"We believe that we who declared ourselves to be righteous Muslims, should not participate in wars which takes the lives of humans. We do not believe this nation should force us to take part in such wars, for we have nothing to gain from it unless America agrees to give us the necessary territory wherein we may have something to fight for."

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, *MUHAMMAD SPEAKS*, JULY 9, 1965, P. 1:

"I have warned you that the Catholic religion, which means the whole of Christianity, is one of the worst enemies of the so-called Negro in the world.

"These people and their religion are so terrible and evil that the Bible (Revelations of John) gave them the name, while prophesying of them, as the 'beast.' The head of the church (Pope) is referred to as the 'dragon' who aided the 'beast,' the ruler, (President of the United States) and gave him the knowledge of how to destroy the people. Rev. 13:4."

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, *MUHAMMAD SPEAKS*, JULY 30, 1965, P. 1:

"Don't be deceived because you saw President Johnson, at his inaugural ball, dancing with a black woman, a descendant of his great grandparents' slaves. Why didn't we see her husband dancing with the President's white wife?"

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, *MESSAGE TO THE BLACKMAN*, P. 313:

"Arthur R. Gottschalk, state senator, 8th district, Park Forest (Ill.), wrote our National Secretary, John Ali, asking him and my followers to disavow and repudiate publicly the truth Allah has revealed to me of the Caucasian race, the truth of them being real devils and our (the Black Nation's) open enemies."

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¹ Spelled "Friedrich" in this reference.

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