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**SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING,  
AND BURNING**

**PART 3**

**(Los Angeles—Watts)**

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**NINETIETH CONGRESS**

**FIRST SESSION**

---

**NOVEMBER 28, 29, AND 30, 1967**

**(INCLUDING INDEX)**

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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CHESTER D. SMITH, *General Counsel*

ALFRED M. NITTLE, *Counsel*

(II)

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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 November 28, 1967, the subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities met at 10 a.m. in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., in continuation of hearings on subversive influences in riots, looting, and burning, with particular reference to "the Watts riot of 1965 in Los Angeles and activity conducted by certain groups prior to, during, and after the riot."

Committee counsel noted that the riot in the Watts area broke out on August 11, 1965, and lasted for 7 days. Its toll was 37 deaths, an unknown number of injured, over 4,000 arrests, 600 buildings destroyed, and an estimated property damage of \$40 million.

### TESTIMONY OF JAMES C. HARRIS

The first witness was Detective James C. Harris of the Los Angeles district attorney's office. Mr. Harris testified that an organization called Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), a group whose headquarters are located in Los Angeles, had "concentrated on agitation in the Negro community."

Detective Harris noted that the leader and founder of the group, Michael Isaac Laski, a former student at UCLA, had organized a "Marxism Discussion Group" there in 1960. Later, in 1964, Laski served as West Coast organizer of the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party U.S.A. (POC), a Communist Party splinter group.

The POC, the Los Angeles detective declared, organized a front group for the purpose of racial agitation: Freedom for the People, an organization which rejected integration as a solution to the Negro's plight in America. Michael Laski also instituted a labor-type group, the Automobile Maintenance Workers' Union, which organized employees of Los Angeles carwash businesses. Another POC front was the Watts Action Committee, an organization whose "purpose was to promote animosity towards the police and other law enforcement personnel."

Prior to and through the 1965 Watts riot, Laski agitated in the predominately Negro Watts section of Los Angeles in the name of the POC.

In September 1965, following the Watts riot and after having been expelled from the POC, Laski and a handful of his followers from that organization formed the aforementioned Communist Party, United State of America (Marxist-Leninist). The main program of this new group, according to the witness, continued to be "primarily agitation in Watts."

He continued:

They have utilized charges of police brutality, the Vietnam issue. They have advocated a Chinese political philosophy and the formation of what they call the People's Armed Defense Groups in order to oppose alleged police brutality.

Detective Harris told the subcommittee that Laski's group intermittently published a journal titled *People's Voice* and also *Red Flag*, which contained highly inflammatory articles designed to sustain an atmosphere of racial tension in the Watts area. Samples of these publications were offered for insertion in the hearing record.

The witness said that the CPUSA-ML also maintained a propaganda outlet, the Worker's International Book Store, in Los Angeles. The bookstore offered literature which advocated a Red Chinese political philosophy and, according to their own letters, all kinds of "revolutionary magazines, books, and periodicals."

The witness then cited a number of examples of agitation on the theme of "police brutality" by the CPUSA-ML. He underscored these examples with appropriate exhibits.

Detective Harris expressed the belief that the "intent of the CPUSA-ML has been to aggravate" the Negro population in Los Angeles "to the point of civil disobedience and to attempt to condition their minds to respond in a rebellious way in the event of a contact with a police officer."

In the resumption of testimony the following day, Detective Harris offered a number of highly inflammatory documents which were produced and disseminated by the CPUSA-ML in the Los Angeles area.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM A. WHEELER

Mr. Wheeler, a committee investigator for 20 years, assigned to the West Coast since 1951, testified that the Los Angeles Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes was an outgrowth of the Committee To End the War in Vietnam (CEWV). The CEWV, in turn, was "a united front effort" of "the Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Students for a Democratic Society, the Los Angeles W. E. B. DuBois Club, and the Young Socialist Alliance," youth arm of the Trotskyist Communist organization, the Socialist Workers Party.

The committee's West Coast investigator submitted for exhibit documents prepared by the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes, one of which was headed:

**STOP POLICE REPRESSION OF WATTS NEGROES!! FIRE POLICE CHIEF PARKER!! CREATE A CIVILIAN POLICE REVIEW BOARD!! ELIMINATE GHETTO CONDITIONS!!**

Mr. Wheeler stated that an organization known as the Congress of Unrepresented People replaced the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes in August 1965. He then testified as to the identity of the participants in an August 21, 1965, demonstration sponsored by the Congress of Unrepresented People as members of the Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, W. E. B. DuBois Club, Communist Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

#### TESTIMONY OF JAMES C. HARRIS—RESUMED

Detective Harris, recalled to the stand, stated that the South Side Citizens Defense Committee was identified by the Los Angeles district attorney's office "as a front of the old-line Communist Party and formed for the purpose of capitalizing on the Watts riot." The address of the South Side Citizens Defense Committee was shown to be iden-



tical to that of the Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights, the successor organization to the old Communist front organization, the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

He testified that another agitational group operating in Watts after the riot was the Watts Council for Equal Rights, a creation of the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. The Watts Council for Equal Rights was formed in November 1965.

Detective Harris stated that the group was involved in agitation at the time of the "Deadwyler affair in Los Angeles." Deadwyler was a Negro accidentally shot by a police officer in May 1966. (As revealed in later testimony, a number of Communist organizations seized upon the Deadwyler affair in mounting a vociferous racial agitation campaign against alleged "police brutality.")

Chairman Willis told the witness that he had made a great contribution to the committee. He added :

Mayor Yorty, a former Member of Congress, testified that the minds of the people, particularly the colored people in the Watts area, were conditioned for a long time to set the scene and to prepare them for the riots. Then yesterday we covered, through you, the conditions prevailing during the riots.

This morning, you and Mr. Wheeler, an employee of this committee, talked about the postriot shenanigans going on.

Now, in short, as I understand it, these nefarious activities started a long time ago. They were pursued during the riot and, after the riot, unquestionably under one form or guise or another are still going on in the Los Angeles area.

#### TESTIMONY OF CLAYTON R. ANDERSON

On November 30, 1967, a subcommittee composed of Mr. Tuck, Mr. Ichord, and Mr. Ashbrook convened in the committee hearing room to hear the testimony of Lieutenant Clayton R. Anderson concerning postriot activities in the Los Angeles area. Mr. Tuck, chairman of the subcommittee, presided.

Lieutenant Anderson stated that he was employed in the Los Angeles district attorney's bureau of investigation, assigned to the intelligence section.

He testified that the Freedom Now Committee in Los Angeles held a press conference on February 10, 1966, at which it was stated that the purpose of the committee was to stage a demonstration on February 12, 1966, for "complete freedom for American Negro citizens now and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam."

The intelligence section officer stated that key leaders of the Freedom Now Committee were leaders of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs.

Lieutenant Anderson said that the demonstration was held as scheduled and was comprised of "less than 100 actual demonstrators," of whom about "25 percent" were either DuBois clubs members, Communist Party members, or former party members.

The witness revealed that the Freedom Now Committee was apparently formed especially for the February 12, 1966, demonstration and was then abandoned.

Lieutenant Anderson told the subcommittee that an organization called the Ad Hoc Committee To End Police Malpractices sponsored a demonstration at Los Angeles City Hall on September 24, 1964. The Ad Hoc Committee, "a front group of the W. E. B. DuBois Club of Los Angeles," demanded immediate action to correct police malprac-

tice, including the resignation of the chief of police and the establishment of a civilian police review board. This demonstration took place 11 months prior to the Watts riot.

Another organization which was established after the riot in the Watts area was the Community Alert Patrol. Mr. Anderson noted that this group, while not subversive, was a nuisance. The members of the Community Alert Patrol had their cars equipped with short-wave radios and in turn responded to police calls in order to observe any "police brutality." The group never made any charges of police brutality against the Los Angeles Police Department.

Lieutenant Anderson discussed the "Deadwyler case," which was the accidental shooting of a Negro, Leonard Deadwyler, by a police officer on May 7, 1966. Even though the policeman was cleared by a coroner's jury, "a number of Communist and extreme leftwing organizations tried to capitalize on this accidental killing to foment racial discord in the Watts area."

The Committee To End Legalized Murder by Cops was "formed for agitation during the Deadwyler inquest." Key leaders of this committee included high-ranking officials of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs.

The "End Legalized Murder" committee held an unruly demonstration on May 17, 1966, in front of the 77th Division police station, which included some 350 demonstrators. Among these demonstrators were a number of well-known members of the Communist Party, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, and other Communist organizations.

Lieutenant Anderson told the subcommittee of the demonstrations which took place during the Deadwyler inquest and introduced literature and a number of inflammatory handbills which were distributed for agitational purposes during this demonstration by the CPUSA-ML, the Muslims of the Nation of Islam, and the Progressive Labor Party.

Lieutenant Anderson pointed out that John Wesley Harris, Watts area organizer for the Progressive Labor Party, was arrested for distributing insurrectional literature at the Deadwyler hearing. Shortly thereafter the Committee to Defend John Harris was organized—chiefly by members of the Progressive Labor Party. This committee was endorsed and supported by the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM A. WHEELER—RESUMED

Committee investigator Wheeler returned to the witness stand and testified about an organization called the Afro-American Cultural Association, apparently formed in December 1966, and headed by black nationalist playwright Frank Greenwood, who had formerly been associated with various Communist Party front groups.

Mr. Wheeler stated that Greenwood has been connected with the Black Anti-Draft Union in Los Angeles.

Investigator Wheeler attested to information concerning a group called Self Leadership for All Nationalities Today (SLANT), which was formed on August 19, 1965, 2 days subsequent to the Watts riot.

The motto of SLANT is "BROTHERHOOD-UNITY-RESPONSIBILITY-NATIONWIDE." The initials of this motto spell "BURN."

The founder of SLANT, Tommy Ray Jacquette, a former social worker with the Westminster Neighborhood Association, a federally funded charity organization, has stated, "change for the Negroes can never be brought about without violence."

The committee investigator stated that he had also investigated the activities of an organization called simply "US." The key leaders of US are Ron Karenga, chairman, and Allen Jamal, vice chairman. Both men are known to be militant black nationalist extremists.

The revolutionary philosophy of US as developed by Ron Karenga was thoroughly documented as Mr. Wheeler read a number of statements by its militant chairman into the record.

US was documented to be anti-Semitic in its preachments and extremely militant in its activities. "On October 19, 1967, five members of the US organization were arrested for throwing Molotov cocktails in a bakery in the Watts area," the witness said.

Mr. Wheeler said, in reference to CPUSA participation in the Watts riot: "The Communist Party has been very cautious. It has done little or nothing under its own name." He added, however, that both the Communist Party and the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, its youth arm, had set up various fronts to "foster racial division and antagonism in the Los Angeles area" while attempting to conceal the role of the party in such activity.

The fronts set up by the Communist Party, he stated, included the South Side Citizens Defense Committee, the Committee To End Legalized Murder by Cops, and the Freedom Now Committee.

The W. E. B. DuBois Clubs and/or its leaders and members supported and took part in the activities of the following racial-agitation organizations in the Los Angeles area:

- Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes
- Ad Hoc Committee To End Police Malpractices
- Congress of Unrepresented People
- South Side Citizens Defense Committee
- Freedom Now Committee
- Committee for the Defense of John Harris

Mr. Wheeler stated: "Finally, as previously indicated, on the national level the DuBois Clubs have called for the separation of the Watts area from the city of Los Angeles."

The "Socialist Workers Party issued a statement which, like that of the Communist Party, exonerated the rioters \* \* \*." This statement was published 2 days after the Watts riot ended.

Investigator Wheeler commented briefly concerning the activity of the Progressive Labor Party in circulating inflammatory literature during the Watts riot. PLP distributed posters and flyers titled: "Don't be a sucker!" (This pamphlet asked the question: "ISN'T THIS A DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT?"); "BLACK LIBERATION—NOW!"; "THE NEED FOR REVOLUTION"; "WANTED FOR MURDER—Parker the Cop in Watts" (This poster was patterned after the PLP's "Wanted for Murder—Gilligan the Cop" poster which was distributed during the Harlem riot of 1964.); and, during the Deadwyler affair, "WANTED for the MURDER of Leonard Deadwyler—BOVA—the COP."

PLP leader, John Wesley Harris, was indicted for criminal syndicalism for his agitational activities during the Deadwyler inquest. The PLP then formed the Committee to Defend John Harris, which "has been used not only to assist in Harris' defense, but also to further racial discord, and for the distribution of inflammatory literature." Mr. Wheeler noted that Harris "has since proclaimed that he is proud to be a Communist."

In his concluding remarks Mr. Tuck stated :

This hearing has not proved that the Watts riot of August 1965 was instigated by the Communists. The record indicates that most of this literature was distributed after the riot in an apparent attempt to capitalize on it and incite further violence. Some of it, however, was distributed prior to the riot. To have engaged in this activity in disturbing the community after the Watts riot is even worse than it was before the riot.

\* \* \* \* \*

Whether or not Communists and black nationalist elements can be said to have played a major role in the initial Watts riot, it is clear that their desire and intent is to foment racial violence in this country and that they are doing everything possible to accomplish that end.

# SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

## Part 3

(Los Angeles—Watts)

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 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 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; and Donald T. Appell, chief investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

\* \* \* \* \*

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. SMITH. Will the witness come forward?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. HARRIS. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Smith.

### TESTIMONY OF JAMES C. HARRIS

Mr. SMITH. Will you state your name for the record?

Mr. HARRIS. I am James C. Harris.

Mr. SMITH. What is your occupation?

Mr. HARRIS. I am a detective in the office of the district attorney, Los Angeles, California.

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<sup>1</sup>The testimony of the first witness, Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles, Calif., is printed in part 1 of these hearings. See p. 833.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, as the committee is aware, the hearings this week cover the Watts riot of 1965 in Los Angeles and activity conducted by certain groups prior to, during, and after the riot.

The riot broke out on August 11, 1965, precipitated by a police chase and arrest in the Watts area of a 21-year-old Negro, Marquette Frye, for drunk driving and speeding. The riot lasted 7 days. It resulted in a total of 37 deaths, an unknown number of injured, over 4,000 arrests, 600 buildings destroyed, and an estimated property damage of \$40 million.

Here again, as was noted in connection with the Harlem riot, it is pointed out that notwithstanding the fact that in the south Los Angeles area, which includes Watts, there are approximately 576,000 Negro residents—40,000 of whom reside in the 2½-square mile area of the Watts community—the vast majority of these residents did not participate in the violence occurring during those 7 days.

Detective Harris, the committee investigation establishes the existence in the Los Angeles, California, area of an organization called Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist). Are you familiar with the activities of this organization?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. Our office has observed this organization and has kept a constant—

The CHAIRMAN. Will you name the organization again?

Mr. SMITH. Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist).

Mr. HARRIS. We have kept a constant observation of their activities in the Los Angeles area.

Mr. SMITH. When and for what purpose was this organization founded, according to your investigation?

Mr. HARRIS. To fully understand this organization, it will be necessary to go into the background of its current leader and its founder, Michael Laski.

In subsequent testimony, exhibits will be introduced where his name is spelled L-a-s-k-y. In all the exhibits I will introduce, the name Laski is in fact Michael Isaac Laski, L-a-s-k-i.

He was born July 14, 1941, in Brooklyn, New York. Our files date back to 1959 on Laski when he was a student at the University of California at Los Angeles. During the year 1959, a Socialist Workers Party-oriented group called the Eugene V. Debs Club was seeking campus recognition. Laski was one of the prime organizers of this group.

When it became evident that the Eugene V. Debs group was not receiving campus recognition, it was organized into the "Marxism Discussion Group." Our records reflect that the first meeting of the Marxism Discussion Group was held on the 2d of October 1960.

The *Daily Bruin*, which is a UCLA student publication, dated October 6, 1960, reflects that this organization was started by Michael "Lasky," its chairman, and two other students.

While Laski claimed that the Marxism Discussion Group was established to "clear up misnomers spread by the capitalist press and bourgeoisie professors in regard to the nature of socialism," a subsequent issue of the *Daily Bruin* reports it was denied official recognition as an on-campus student organization.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the *Daily Bruin* articles be marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2."

The CHAIRMAN. They may be so marked and made part of the record.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. When did Michael Laski again come to your attention?

Mr. HARRIS. In 1964, Laski became the West Coast organizer of the Provisional Organizing Committee for the Reconstitution of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. This was also known as the POC.

Headquarters for the POC in Los Angeles was established at 9674 Juniper Street in Los Angeles. Subsequently, the Workers' International Book Store was opened with the address of 1313 East Firestone Boulevard, in the heart of the Negro district in Los Angeles.

Michael Laski and the Provisional Organizing Committee concentrated on agitation in the Negro community.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the committee investigation has established that in August 1958 a number of dissident members of the Communist Party formed the Provisional Organizing Committee for the Reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Party known as POC. This element was considered as extremists of the Soviet ideology at that time. In other words, they were radicals of a radical leftwing movement.

This group was expelled from the Communist Party August 16, 17, 1958, and on or about September 6, 1958, the POC became a separate entity.

Detective Harris, was all agitation carried out in the name of POC?

Mr. HARRIS. No, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Would you elaborate, sir, please?

Mr. HARRIS. Several front groups were organized. One called Freedom for the People was created by Laski calling for the right of self-determination for the Negro people. This organization rejected integration as a solution to the Negro's plight in America.

Another was a labor-type organization which Laski called the Automobile Maintenance Workers' Union. This was formed to organize employees of Los Angeles carwash businesses. Activities by Laski and his aides within the Automobile Maintenance Workers' Union nearly resulted in a riot at the Rosecrans Car-wash on January 17, 1965.

This and others of Laski's activities are set forth in a story which appeared in the Long Beach *Press Telegram* of February 1, 1965.

Also, in 1964, Laski organized the Watts Action Committee. Its purpose was to promote animosity towards the police and other law enforcement personnel.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the article he has referenced to here be accepted and marked "Harris Exhibit No. 3."

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be so marked and accepted.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

#### HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 3

[Long Beach *Press Telegram*, February 1, 1965]

#### RED CHINA SYMPATHIZERS DEMAND DEAL

Commie Leader of Car-Wash Strike Asks NLRB Elections

(By Charles Sutton)

The Marxist leader of Southern California's turbulent 5-week-old car-wash strike has made a bid for union recognition at nine local car-washes in petitions filed with the National Labor Relations Board.

The 23-year-old Communist coupled his move with a threat to step up his union's apparently weakened strike effort in the wake of a management refusal "to sit down and negotiate" with him.

\* \* \* \*

THE PETITIONS, FILED LATE Friday, charge the car-washes with unfair labor practices and ask the NLRB to intercede and recognize the striking union.

(A spokesman at the NLRB office in Los Angeles said that in the event the board acts on the petitions, it will order representation elections at the affected car-washes.)

Young Mike Laski's move was understood to be as much a tactical gambit as anything else, however. Should the labor board deny the petitions for lack of jurisdiction in the dispute, there's the likelihood it will also throw out unfair-labor-activity charges filed against the union, the labor leader declared.

In Laski's estimation, the NLRB probably will rule itself out of the dispute on grounds that none of the affected car-washes does a large enough business to warrant NLRB intervention under federal law.

\* \* \* \*

IT IS UNDERSTOOD THE car-washes are taking the position that the board does have jurisdiction because the union also is dealing with the Southern California Car Wash Association, and its members, in combination, would fall under NLRB rules.

Meanwhile, the young Marxist and four of his aides edged closer to a court trial on charges stemming from a near-riot at the Rosecrans Car-wash near Gardena Jan. 17, a day after Laski and his Auto Maintenance Workers' Union took on the industry in a struggle for union recognition and higher wages.

With the courts and the sheriff's office breathing down his neck, not to mention the car-wash association, Laski acknowledge [sic] that federal officials doubtless were taking a close look at the union and its activities, too.

Laski has made no attempt to cover up the fact that he and other key officials of the union are members of a Red Chinese-oriented group, the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the United States, or POC.

While the FBI would say only that it is "not free to discuss the matter," it is understood that agents of some federal organization, presumably the FBI, have been keeping tab on Laski and other POC people.

\* \* \* \*

AMONG THE GROUPS POC is active in is a largely Negro organization called Freedom for the People, which calls for the "right of the self-determination of the Negro people."

"Its program," explained Laski, "is one of liberation through struggle with the white working class." The Los Angeles-area organization rejects integration as a solution to the Negro's plight in America, and appears to veer toward a separatist answer.

Earlier this week, Laski said, he tried to make a deal with the industry in an effort to get it to drop the riot charges. As a quid pro quo, Laski would have called off picketing for six months to a year.

But sources in the Southern California Car Wash Association made it clear they were not about to take up the offer. "It's their necks now," said an employer spokesman.

Ever since the strike began on Jan. 16, the AMWU has been sporadically picketing seven car-washes in the Gardena-Los Angeles area, but the picketing has eased off in the past two weeks.

At seven other car-washes, employes walked off their jobs but did not picket.

Mr. SMITH. Detective Harris, did Laski continue in leadership of POC through the Watts riots of August 11-17, 1965?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, he did; but against orders of the national headquarters of the POC in New York.

He agitated in the name of the POC through the Watts riots in August 1965. Laski readily admitted the role he and his organization have played in a press conference which he held on October 7, 1965, at the carwashers' union office, 1313 East Firestone, Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. Did your office obtain a transcript of the press statement?



Mr. HARRIS. Yes. I have a copy of it in which, if you will note, Laski called the conference for the purpose of telling their precise role prior to and during the Watts riot.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this transcript be accepted and marked as "Harris Exhibit No. 4."

The Chairman. It is accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 4." See pp. 1153-1179.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, this exhibit containing 27 pages, consists of Laski's statement to the press and questions by the press together with his answers. While I do not intend to quote the entire document, I desire to read two or three paragraphs which summarize Laski's participation prior to and during the Watts riot, together with his rejection of cooperation with the police.

Question:

Now, what was the role of the Communists, the Marxist-Leninists, in the Watts situation?

Answer:

We have been in the Watts area for better than 2 years. We have been working in the Watts district as our primary area of concentration. And this was selected prior to our entrance into the L.A. [Los Angeles] area as our target area. We concentrated on activity and our agitation in that area. I think Councilman Gibson had a rather fair display of some of our propoganda effort. And we assisted in the formation of such organizations as Freedom for the People, and at that time we were operating through the Provisional Organizing Committee that would carry on our work.

We carried out agitation against the Police Department and against the police officials as representatives of the ruling class of this country. We went beyond that in dealing with the question of job discrimination and a number of other particular points. Our main efforts were essentially agitational in order to build up our ranks in our category in order to be in a position to take a decisive leadership to the situation called for—

The CHAIRMAN. Who is making that statement and where?

Mr. SMITH. This is Michael Laski, head of the POC.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a pretty frank statement thus far.

Mr. SMITH. [Continuing the quote:]

We recognized the potential of the Watts area at that time and the history has bore [sic] us out in our initial observation.

Now, with respect to the police, Laski stated in response to a question:

We cannot as Communists be truthful, preach or pledge our alliance to the police department because this is a complete slap in the face of all the things that we stand for and represent—

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a public statement?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why is he being so frank as to their objective?

Mr. SMITH. Because he is anxious to secure adherents and to perform the objective of his organization, which is the precipitation of agitation and trouble for the police department.

The CHAIRMAN. He is making some pretty damaging statements there.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

[Continuing the quote:]

We represent the interests of the working people and their interests as opposed to the state power of the rich of this country, of the ruling class, of the bourgeois.

And for us to say place reliance upon law and order and police that represent this ruling class would be hypocrisy on our part. \* \* \*

Was Laski expelled from POC following the Watts riots?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. Laski's act of disobedience in failing to follow the orders of the national POC—

The CHAIRMAN. Why was he disobedient? For not going far enough?

Mr. HARRIS. I don't know why.

The CHAIRMAN. He did a pretty good job, did he not?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir; he did.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I think I can answer that.

He was expelled for participating or acting against orders of the headquarters POC in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What were their orders when he did such a good job in exploiting the race issue and exploiting the situation? What more did they want? Did they expect him to do more than he did?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir. I think it exposed the Communist participation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is why I come back to the statement, he was exposing himself pretty far in the frank statement he made. I am surprised he did.

Mr. SMITH. I think they expelled him because of his frankness.

Mr. HARRIS. On September 4 and 5 of 1965, Laski and a handful of his followers from the POC formed the Communist Party, United States of America (Marxist-Leninist). Laski confirmed this in his press conference of October 7, 1965.

At that time, the Workers' International Book Store, which was located at 1313 East Firestone, became the headquarters of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) and in late May or June 1966, Laski moved his headquarters from the Firestone Boulevard address to 9122 Compton Avenue, which is the current address of his organization.

Mr. SMITH. What has been the main program of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist)?

Mr. HARRIS. Primarily agitation in Watts.

They have utilized charges of police brutality, the Vietnam issue. They have advocated a Chinese political philosophy and the formation of what they call the People's Armed Defense Groups in order to oppose alleged police brutality.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the situation in Watts rather than nationwide.

Mr. HARRIS. I am not aware of the nationwide organization.

The CHAIRMAN. I say, it was primarily engaged in, in the Watts area.

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Does the organization have a publication?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. They publish only intermittently a publication called the *People's Voice*. I have an issue here dated September 27–October 4, 1965.

They also publish a document known as the *Red Flag*. This issue I have here is dated January–February 1966.

Both documents contain the declaration of principles of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist).

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these documents be accepted and marked as "Harris Exhibits Nos. 5 and 6."

The CHAIRMAN. They may be so marked.  
 (Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 5 and 6," respectively.  
 Exhibit No. 6 retained in committee files; No. 5 follows:)

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 5

# DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) is the vanguard of the working class of the United States of America, the highest form of class organization. The aim of the Party is to carry forward the best traditions and contributions of the Communist Party in the United States.

## BRIEF HISTORICAL NOTES

### HISTORY OF MARXISM-LENINISM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The historical struggle of the American working class was carried forward by the formation of the Communist Party U.S.A. in 1919 with the influence and acceptance of the Party in the "Workers' International" with its three million members in Europe. In the first attack of U.S. imperialism, the Party waged an unequal struggle against the capitalist system. After years of struggle the Party, in 1927, was forced to deal with the presence of Trotskyists within the ranks of the Party and it waged a fierce struggle against those open entanglements of bourgeois ideology with the ranks of the Party.

The C.P.U.S.A. heroically led the working class in struggle and consistently fought for the rights of the national minorities and the right of self-determination of all oppressed peoples. In 1930 at the Seventh World Congress, certain leaders of the Party attempted to pursue an incorrect line on the national-colonial question.

This joint representation of the initial phase in the development of a revisionist tendency within the Party which came to be developed under Browder and finally in 1941 proceeded to liquidate the Communist Party in the U.S.A. to appease the bourgeoisie. In 1944, the Communist Party U.S.A. was reconstituted in name only. The period from 1945 to 1956 saw the full implementation of a revisionist theory and practice within the Party. Under this situation, it degenerated into a social-democratic Party, defining in its historical role as that of the vanguard Party of the working class. In 1956, the Party's conversion into a Party of the liberal bourgeoisie was all

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 THE VOICE OF ALL THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED

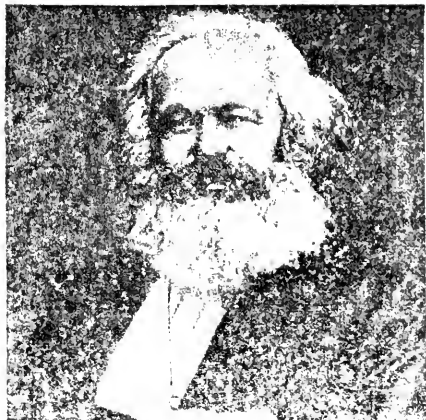
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Party in 1957. Under the control leadership of William Z. Foster, the revisionists of revisionism within the Party fought to secure a final split with the open Trotskyists. By 1958 the revisionists were under the revisionist faction felt secure enough to expel the Marxist-Leninist from the Party.

In 1958, Marxist-Leninists who had been expelled and others who the Party joined together to form the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the U.S.A. (P.O.C.) and began to wage an unending struggle against the opportunism of the C.P.U.S.A. which had by this time sunk ever deeper into the mire of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the question of whether to make revolution or not to make revolution has always been the dividing line between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists. The 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. made clear that there existed two different lines within the international Communist movement on the question of principle. At the 22d Congress, the revisionist line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," and "peaceful transition" was put forth by certain

(Continued on Page 2)



KARL MARX



FREDERICK ENGELS

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

**'INTENSIFY REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE!  
ORGANIZE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM!**

**DECLARATION OF THE C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.)**  
(Continued from Page 1)

national Party. As a result of the 22nd Congress, modern revisionism fully exposed its ugly features. The consequence will be the further exposure of the C.P.U.S.A. and its class collaborationist policies in the service of the bourgeoisie.

Since the C.P.U.S.A. could then play only a limited role in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the U.S., it became imperative upon the bourgeoisie in 1962 to league with Trotskyites and revisionists to create their own "Marxist-Leninist" organization.

Since 1962, there has occurred an intensification of the class struggle and the national struggle within the United States. This struggle is reflected in within the Marxist-Leninist camp. With the launching of a higher plane in the motion represented by the development of August, 1965, the revisionist abandonment of the leadership of the Provisional Organizing Committee (P.O.C.) and the total leadership of the class struggle within the bourgeoisie. At this time all Marxist-Leninist must now be ready to carry out their historical role assigned to the vanguard Party of the proletarian

**THE HISTORIC TASK OF  
THE C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.)**

In 1911, workers of the U.S. were split and during the first half of 1912, the C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) was formed in Los Angeles, California, to carry out the founding conference of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist). This organization was formed from the Workers Organization of the U.S. and the Marxist-Leninist Party from the Provisional Organizing Committee to reorganize the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the United States.

The Communist Party of the United States has been organized to carry forward the struggle for the emancipation of the working class of the United States, to fulfill its international political obligations to fight for national liberation, peace, and socialism.

The C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) will carry out the Marxist-Leninist world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism, and opposes the world outlook of idealism and metaphysics. Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but a guide to action. It demands that revolutionaries build a youth and communist youth movement, consistently apply the principles of Marxist-Leninism, and flexible in creative ways for the solution of Marxist-Leninist problems, consistent with the theory and the continuing development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, the Party's activities uphold the principle of organizing the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the national struggle of the working class.

**THE C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) UPHOLDS  
THE PRINCIPLES OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST  
MOVEMENT**

The C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) adheres to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1959 Statement of the Executive Committee and Workers' Party, which are summarized as follows:

Workers of all countries unite; workers of the world unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

The C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) further recognizes the fundamental class contradiction which exists in the contemporary world. Marxist-Leninists hold that they are:

1) the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries; the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and the contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

**Congratulatory  
Telegram  
Sent to People's  
Republic of China**

The Central Committee of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist), has sent a telegram to Liu Shao Chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and to Chou En-Lai, Premier of the State Council, congratulating the people of China on the 16th anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic National Day, October 1, 1965.

The telegram reads:

"The C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) warmly congratulates the People's Republic of China on its 16th anniversary.

"Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party the heroic Chinese people have proved that a revolutionary people can be defeated."

The telegram was signed as follows: The Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) by its Chairman, W. H. Sherman

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THE PEOPLE'S VOICE is the political organ of all the oppressed and exploited people in the U.S. today. It is the fighting organ of the working class—driving to speak the truth.

**NOTICES**

For further information concerning the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), write: **SECRETARIAT** | 1313 E. Firestone Blvd. | Los Angeles, Calif. 90001

The C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) calls for the unity of the international working class based on Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

The C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) holds that modern revisionism is the main enemy of the international communist and workers movement. The C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) condemns the selfish activities of the modern revisionist in their vain attempt to split the international Communist movement.

Modern revisionism is the new social form of imperialism. It is the vanguard of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement. In the United States, revisionism expresses itself in opportunism and complete abandonment to the bourgeoisie. Trotskyism and revisionism in different ways, as different questions and often with the same "ultra-leftist" but it, essence is the opposition to revolution, renunciation of socialist or a variety of revisionism.

The C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) must wage an unflinching struggle against modern revisionism and Trotskyism for without a struggle against Trotskyism and modern revisionism any struggle against imperialism is but an idle phrase. The Party must prevent and resist corruption, bureaucracy and petty bourgeoisie ways of thinking and styles which work against and defeat any rightist or "leftist" opportunity. Education is the Party.

**THE NATIONAL COLONIAL  
QUESTION: A CLASS QUESTION**

Our country is a multi-national state. The Anglo-American nation oppresses the Negro and Puerto Rican nations as direct colonies. Within the Anglo-American nation, the American Indians, the American Negroes, the Mexican-Americans, and the Puerto Ricans, are the oppressed national minorities.

In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle.

The fight for freedom by the people of the colonial and semi-colonial world is the most striking feature of our time. The impact of the revolutionary upsurge of the colonial people's national liberation movements which are sweeping Asia, Africa, and Latin America has been felt within the United States. U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy of the people of the world, the number one exploiter and oppressor in the world globe, the source of war in modern times.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist)

(Continued on Page 2)

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

**MARXIST-LENINIST LEADERSHIP IS NECESSARY FOR VICTORY OVER U.S. IMPERIALISM!**

**DECLARATION OF THE C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.)**  
(Continued from Page 2)

Comm (1) pledges to fight for immediate independence for the town of Puerto Rico, for the liberation and right of self-determination of the Negro nation in the South, for equal rights for all racial and national minorities which is an integral part of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy, peace, and socialism.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) pledges itself to fight for the creation of a united, anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-fascist, anti-passing all political and racial barriers, struggle and fight for the right of self-determination of the Negro nation and the independence for Puerto Rico.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) pledges its firm support for the national liberation forces opposing U.S. imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Communist Party of the United States of America will continue to support all workers in the great national liberation struggle, both of which lay open the unity of the anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-fascist, anti-passing all political and racial barriers, struggle and fight for the right of self-determination of the Negro nation and the independence for Puerto Rico.

The C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) must wage an active, consistent struggle for the national liberation of all the oppressed peoples of the world, and for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States of America.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) pledges its unity for and lead the struggle against racial discrimination, for equal rights and for socialism.

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VLADIMIR IL'YICH LENIN

**C.P.U.S.A. (M.L.) OPPOSES THE RISE OF FASCISM IN THE U.S.A.**

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) opposes the rise of fascism in the U.S.A. because it is a reaction to the economic crisis of the U.S.A. and is a tool of the bourgeoisie to maintain its rule. The rise of fascism in the U.S.A. is a direct result of the economic crisis of the U.S.A. and is a tool of the bourgeoisie to maintain its rule. The rise of fascism in the U.S.A. is a direct result of the economic crisis of the U.S.A. and is a tool of the bourgeoisie to maintain its rule.

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JOSEPH STALIN

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

## C.P.U.S.A.(M.-L.)— VANGUARD OF THE U.S. WORKING CLASS

DECLARATION OF THE C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.)  
(Continued from Page 3)

### REVOLUTIONARY THEORY MUST BE PUT INTO PRACTICE

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) puts into practice all that it advocates through the activity of the Party organizations and membership among the masses, and through the conscientious efforts made by the people and its leadership. For this reason it is necessary to constantly develop the tradition of following the mass line in Party work. Whether the Party is able to give correct leadership depends on whether or not the Party will, through analysis and synthesis, systematically summarize the experience and opinions of the masses, turn the resulting conclusions into the policy of the Party and as a result of the Party's propaganda and organizational work among the masses, transform it into the views and actions of the masses themselves, testing the correctness of Party policy, and supplementing and correcting it in the course of mass activity. It is the duty of the Party leadership to ensure that in the endless repetition of this process of "coming from the masses and going back to the masses," the Party members' level of understanding and that of the masses of the people are continually raised and the cause of the Party and the people is constantly advanced. The Party and its members must, therefore, maintain close and extensive ties with the workers, farmers, intellectuals and other patriots, and strive constantly to make such ties ever stronger and more widespread. Every Party member must understand that the interests of the Party and those of the people are one, and responsibility to the Party and responsibility to the people are identical. Every Party member must wholeheartedly serve the people, constantly consult them, pay heed to their opinions, concern himself with their well-being and strive to help realize their wishes.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) has been reconstituted truly on a Marxist-Leninist basis. The historic task before us is the building of the Party so that it may lead the working class in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction in the U.S.A.

### ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.)

The organizational principle of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) is democratic centralism, which means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized leadership. The Party must take effective measures to promote inner Party democracy, encourage the initiative and creative ability of all Party members and of all local and primary Party organizations, and strengthen the lively contact between the higher and lower Party organizations. Only in this way can the Party effectively extend and strengthen its ties with the masses of the people, give correct leadership and adapt itself flexibly to various concrete conditions and local characteristics. And only in this way can Party life be invigorated and the centralism and unity of the Party be consolidated and its discipline be voluntarily, not mechanically observed.

Democratic centralism demands that every Party organization should strictly abide by the principle of collective leadership coupled with individual responsibility and that every Party member and Party organization should be subject to Party supervision from above and from below.

Democracy within the Party must not be divorced from centralism. The Party is a united militant organization, welded together by a discipline which is obligatory on all its members. Without discipline it would be impossible for the Party to lead the people in making the proletarian revolution and overcoming all the powerful enemies of the people and build socialism and communism. As the highest form of class organization, the Party must strive to play a correct role as the leader and core in every a part of the country's life and must combat any tendency to departmentalism, which reduces the Party's role and weakens its unity.

Solidarity and unity are the very life of the Party, the source of its strength. It is the sacred duty of every Party member to pay constant attention to the safeguarding of the solidarity of the Party and the consolidation of its unity. Within the Party no action which violates the Party's political line or organizational principles is permissible, nor is it permissible to carry on activities aimed at splitting the Party or factional activities, to act independently of the Party, or to place the individual above the collective body of the Party.



MAO TSE TUNG

No political party or person can be free from shortcomings and mistakes in work. The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) and its members must constantly practice criticism and self-criticism to expose and eliminate their shortcomings and mistakes and to educate themselves and the people.

In view of the fact that the Party strives to play the leading role in the life of the working class, it is all the more necessary that it should make stringent demands on every Party organization and member and promote criticism and self-criticism; and in particular, it should encourage and support criticism from below, inside the Party as well as criticism of the Party by the masses of the people, and should prohibit any suppression of criticism.

In the case of Party members who have committed mistakes, the Party should, in the spirit of "curing the illness to save the patient," allow them to remain in the ranks and receive education and help them to correct their mistakes, provided such mistakes can be corrected within the Party and the erring Party member himself is prepared to correct his mistakes. As for those who persist in their mistakes and carry on activities detrimental to the Party, it is essential to wage a determined struggle against them, even to the point of expelling them from the Party.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) requires all its members to place the Party's interests above their personal interests, to be diligent and unpretentious, to study and work hard, to unite the broad masses of the people, and to overcome all difficulties in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build a modern socialist state, and on this basis to advance towards the achievement of the loftiest ideal of mankind—Communism.

### CALL FOR THE FIRST NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) declares that one year from the date of September 5, 1965, the First National Congress will be called at which time all Marxist-Leninists in the United States will be invited to unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

— CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.  
(MARXIST-LENINIST).

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Mr. SMITH. Does the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) have a propaganda outlet in the Watts area?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir, the Workers' International Book Store, which is now located at 9122 Compton Avenue, where, according to their own letters, all kinds of "revolutionary magazines, books, and periodicals can be purchased."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the document be accepted and marked "Harris Exhibit No. 7."

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. What type of material is sold in the Workers' International Book Store?

Mr. HARRIS. I have two examples here.

One of them is the *Vietnam Courier* dated October 17, 1966. And the *Peking Review*.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these documents be accepted and marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 8 and 9."

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 8 and 9," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Has the Communist Party U.S.A. (M-L) participated in any campaign to arouse hatred and resentment of police in the law enforcement generally in the Watts area?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes. Laski and the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) continually attempt to create an issue of police brutality out of every situation that arises.

In March 1966, we had a disorder in the Watts area which lasted 2 days and resulted in 2 deaths, 25 injured, and numerous arrests, including 3 members of the Communist W. E. B. DuBois Club.

All this was blamed by the CPUSA-ML as resulting from police brutality.

At the height of this March 15-16 disturbance, the CPUSA-ML issued a news bulletin and leaflet intended to inflame the residents. They attacked Governor Brown, Mayor Yorty, and Police Chief Parker as representatives of U.S. imperialism. And the bulletin stated that:

The American people will have to organize to fight for their freedom against such reactionaries by opposing force with force and by fighting for the destruction of the capitalist system which is the source of their oppression. \* \* \*

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these documents be accepted and marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 10 and 11."

The CHAIRMAN. They are accepted and will be so marked.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 10 and 11," respectively. Exhibit No. 10 retained in committee files; No. 11 follows:)

#### HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 11

#### OPPOSE POLICE BRUTALITY AND POLICE VIOLENCE!

The latest attacks by the police against the working people of Watts reveal again the brutal and violent nature of the system of capitalism and U.S. Imperialism at home. It is clear that the oppression and brutality perpetrated against the most oppressed sections of the American working class is growing in intensity. Yorty and Parker are pursuing the most reactionary policies to suppress the people.

The demands of the people are plain; they are: jobs, lower cost of food, lower rents, reduced taxes, and an end to the unjust war in Vietnam of which they are being forced to bear the burden. U.S. Imperialism and its capitalistic system cannot grant these simple needs of the people as evidenced by the failure of Johnson's "War on Poverty" and VISTA programs.

It is evident that the solutions to the problems of the working people will come only when the working people are politically organized for a hard, sustained struggle against the source of the oppression—the capitalist system. Only when the capitalist system of exploitation is replaced by socialism will the people be able to enjoy the full fruits of their labor. Only the destruction of the capitalist system of exploitation will bring about the emancipation of the working people. And only a people's political organization with strong and unified political organization and direction can bring about victory for the people.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) stands ready to assist the people in opposing police terror and police violence. The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) states again the necessity to assist the people in opposing the brutality and violence which the ruling class uses against the people.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, CONTACT: SECRETARIAT, 1313 East Firestone Blvd., Los Angeles, 90001. Phone: 587-1918

Come to Public Meetings, sponsored by the Communist Party U.S.A. (M.-L.), on alternate Fridays, 7:30 p.m., at 1313 East Firestone Blvd., Los Angeles, 90001; phone: 587-1918. Next meetings: March 25 and April 8.

Mr. SMITH. Detective Harris, will you continue, please?

Mr. HARRIS. In May 1966, one Leonard Deadwyler was accidentally killed by a policeman.

We will deal with this issue separately, but I would like to point out that the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) issued leaflets against the police. A leaflet issued on 26 May 1966 charged deliberate murder of a Negro citizen, stating the position of the CPUSA-ML as,

Our Party states that the workers can fight against police brutality only by organizing into people's defense groups. We must answer the reactionary violence of the ruling class by the revolutionary violence of the people. \* \* \*

Mr. SMITH. Are there other illustrations you desire to submit relating to police brutality charges?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

In August 1966, the Communist Party U.S.A. (M.-L.), attempted to organize a rally at the Watts police station on August 11, using what they called the Preparatory Committee for the Commemoration of the Watts Uprising. This was a front organization, and the CPUSA-ML issued leaflets in the Watts area. This leaflet called upon "All groups and individuals interested in the defense of the people of Watts against the brutality and the racism of the police" to participate in a protest demonstration.

While we do not know the reason, it is a fact that this demonstration did not take place. Yet, the seeds of hatred were planted through the distribution of the leaflet throughout the Watts area.

In May of this year again the CPUSA-ML staged a May Day demonstration with the theme being, according to their literature distributed throughout Watts:

Protest against exploiting working conditions and unemployment; protest against the US imperialist war in Vietnam; support the cultural revolution in China, Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung, and the Red Guards; [and] protest against police brutality—support the peoples armed defense groups!

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these documents be accepted as Harris Exhibits Nos. 12, 13, and 14.



The CHAIRMAN. They are accepted and so marked.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 12, 13, and 14," respectively. Exhibits Nos. 13 and 14 retained in committee files; No. 12 follows:)

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 12

YORTY IS A LIAR!

Last Saturday, Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles called for the arrest of Communists, and he singled out the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), saying "the time has come for the arrest and prosecution of persons openly trying to incite riot in our city". Mayor Yorty is shouting "red" in a big political grandstand to hide the real facts of the situation, in his popularity contest with his close associate Governor Brown. We say boycott the elections!

It is really the capitalist system, and NOT the Communists that was responsible for the recent outbreak in Watts in protest to the murder of Leonard Deadwyler; it is really the capitalist system, and not the Communists that was responsible for the Watts uprising of August 1965. U.S. imperialism's reactionary and racist policies—as pursued by their representatives Yorty, Parker, and Brown, in oppressing the workers, especially in the minority districts—could bring forth only the most violent protest from the people in response to the reactionary violence of the bourgeois state apparatus. Mayor Yorty is shouting "red" as a smokescreen to cover for the reactionary policies of U.S. monopoly capital. Yorty has no more right to arrest the Communists than Officer Bova had to murder Leonard Deadwyler!

Yorty, in attacking the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), shows that he knows the difference between our Party and the revisionist Dorothy Healey, who is on Yorty's side. It is hard to tell the difference between Yorty and Healey—they are both for "lower taxes", "war on poverty", and they both support the Johnson administration. Oh, tell us please do, Mr. Mayor, what are the differences between yourself and Mrs. Healey.

The Brown-Yorty-Parker administration has already placed its verdict on the Deadwyler case—officer Bova will be defended by the court for his murder of Leonard Deadwyler. The inquest is a show trial in which is paraded a score of police officers and witnesses, only to come forward with a pre-determined verdict in support of the police brutality of the bourgeois state apparatus.

Our Party states that the workers can fight against police brutality only by organizing into people's defense groups. We must answer the reactionary violence of the ruling class by the revolutionary violence of the people. As our General Secretary, M. I. Laski stated, "Our aim is to lead the working class in revolution, we will develop and encourage people's defense groups for the defense of the working class against the terror of the ruling class".

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (MARXIST-LENINIST)

For further information, call (213) 569-2542, or write: THE SECRETARIAT c/o WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL BOOK STORE, 9122 So. Compton Ave., L.A., Calif., 90002.

Mr. SMITH. Detective Harris, in connection with your investigation of Communist Party, U.S.A. (M-L) you have mentioned on several occasions People's Armed Defense Groups.

What are the purposes of such groups, and have any been organizationally formed?

Mr. HARRIS. In June 1966, a leaflet was distributed jointly by the People's Armed Defense Group and the Los Angeles branch of CPUSA-ML. This leaflet announced a public meeting on alternate Fridays, beginning on July 1, entitled "ARMED WORKERS CAN BE FREE."

The leaflet asked the people of Watts to "organize for defense against police brutality." The leaflet charged, and I quote:

The police, agents of the rich, are paid to keep the poor under direct oppression. They are paid to beat and murder workers. \* \* \*

In July 1966, they distributed this large leaflet urging Watts residents to support and join the People's Armed Defense Groups.

I might point out that the photograph shows the banner under which the People's Armed Defense Group is mobilized is the Communist hammer and sickle.

The CPUSA-ML publication, *People's Voice* of October 24, 1966, carries an article on the People's Armed Defense Group urging support.

In addition, our office has dozens of copies of additional leaflets carrying out the same theme.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these documents be accepted and marked as "Harris Exhibits 15, 16, and 17."

The CHAIRMAN. They are accepted and may be so marked.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 15, 16, and 17," respectively. Exhibit No. 17 retained in committee files; Nos. 15 and 16 appear on pp. 1143, 1144.)

Mr. SMITH. Detective Harris, have the People's Armed Defense Groups met opposition in the Watts community?

Mr. HARRIS. On October 25, 1966, the People's Armed Defense Groups held a press conference for the purpose of outlining their policy which was to overthrow the ruling class in America by guerrilla tactics as outlined by Mao Tse-tung. When the press arrived at the press conference, they found it being picketed by approximately 30 members of an organization calling itself the Sons of Watts.

I have a clipping from the *Los Angeles Times* of October 26, 1966, showing the picket lines and the placards being carried by the picketers. These signs read "Commie must go" and "Commie get out."

I have her another article which shows a photograph of the organizers of the press conference. They have been identified as M. Egan and Jay Thomas. Egan is, in fact, Michael Lustig; and Jay Thomas is, in fact, Allen Thomas, who is known by the nickname of "Big Popsicle."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these articles be accepted and marked as "Harris Exhibits Nos. 18 and 19."

The CHAIRMAN. They are accepted and may be so marked.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 18 and 19," respectively, appear on pp. 1145-1148.)

Mr. WATSON. You say he is named "Big Popsicle"?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WATSON. Does that imply that he is a big sucker? Is that it?

Mr. SMITH. Detective Harris, in your opinion, what impact has the Communist Party, U.S.A. (M-L) had on the community of Watts?

Mr. HARRIS. I feel that considering the fact that their primary target has been the Negro population in Los Angeles and from the content of the propaganda material, I would say that the intent of the CPUSA-ML has been to aggravate these people to the point of civil disobedience and to attempt to condition their minds to respond in a rebellious way in the event of a contact with a police officer. I feel that this group has had little support from the residents of the community and generally their efforts have been unsuccessful.

However, in spite of their small membership, they are a continual source of agitation within the community. I do realize that fanatical members of this organization could provoke a major incident, given a favorable situation.

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 15

**ARMED WORKERS CAN BE FREE**

People of Watts, organize for defense against police brutality. The police, agents of the rich, are paid to keep the poor under direct oppression. They are paid to beat and murder workers. The workers must arm to defend themselves against this reactionary violence. The People's Armed Defense Group is organizing for the protection of workers from police brutality.

It is the right of everyone to arm for defense against attack. The workers of Watts must use this right. The people can curb the brutality of the police in only one way - by defending themselves.

The rich are a small minority; they fear the anger of the poor. They must hire "legalized" murderers (police) to protect their weak, selfish interests. The poor are kept "in their place" by constant abuse and attack. "Their place", according to the capitalists is in the welfare offices or on jobs that barely pay enough to keep a person alive. The capitalist system, based on the exploitation of the many by the few, cannot resolve the problems of the poor. The rich grow and remain wealthy on your poverty. In order to keep you poor, hungry, jobless and without the basic necessities of modern life which are rightfully yours, the rich must use violence. They depend on the police to use brutality against the workers. You need not take this abuse. Police brutality can be checked if the people are armed in their own defense.

Mayor Yorty and Police Chief Parker are representatives of the rich and administrators of police brutality. They are not concerned with the democratic rights of the people. They will not protect or help you. They are paid to keep you oppressed and exploited. You cannot depend on these officials of the bourgeois state for help. The working class can only depend on themselves. Organized into self-defense groups, the people can begin to protect their rights and interests. The People's Armed Defense Group can help you organize self-defense groups.

JOIN NOW! COME TO:  
9122 So. Compton Avenue  
Los Angeles, California 90004  
Phone: 569-2542

PUBLIC MEETINGS on alternate Fridays at 8:00 p. m.  
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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. (MARXIST-LENINIST)

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 16

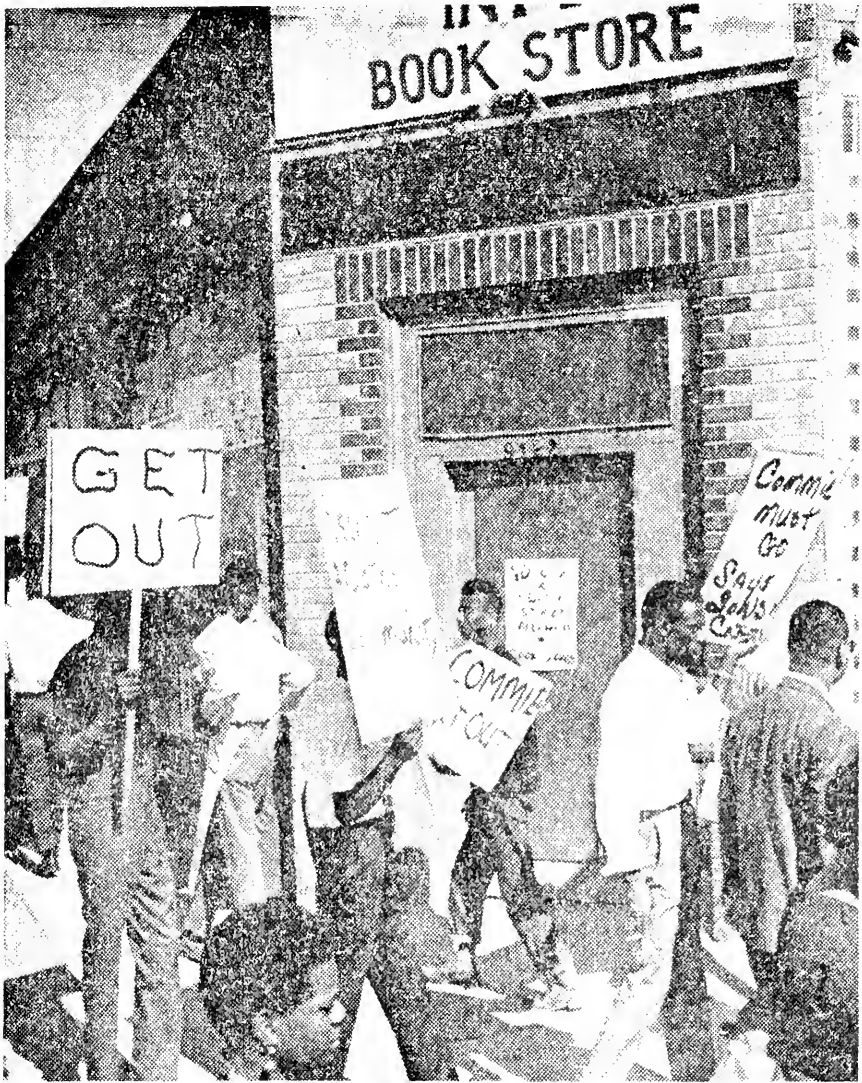
SUPPORT AND JOIN  
**PEOPLE'S ARMED  
DEFENSE GROUPS**



**Oppose the Reactionary Violence**  
OF THE RULING CLASS  
**With the Revolutionary Violence**  
OF THE PEOPLE!

For Further Information: Call 569-2542  
or Write: People's Armed Defense Groups  
in care of: Workers' International Book Store  
9122 So. Compton Ave.  
Los Angeles, California, 90002

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 18  
[Los Angeles Times, October 26, 1966]



**PROTEST ON THE OUTSIDE**—Members of the Sons of Watts carry anti-Communist signs as they picket Workers' International Bookstore.

L. A. TIMES

OCT 26 1966

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 18—Continued

**COMMUNIST STORE PICKETED****Sons of Watts Protest Red Plan for Arming of Negroes**

More than 50 Sons of Watts, many of them "veterans" of last year's rioting, picketed a Communist book store in Watts Tuesday with signs reading "Get Out" and "Split Now" to protest literature urging Negroes to arm themselves against the "ruling class."

Operators of the Workers' International Bookstore at 92nd St. and Compton Ave. responded by accusing the former gang members of being "paid police agents" and "running dogs of police."

Billy Tidwell, adviser to the Sons of Watts and chairman of last August's Watts Summer Festival, said the protest was launched because "the majority of the people in this community are very much dissatisfied with the existence of this kind of people."

**Pro-Chinese Literature**

The bookstore, an outlet for pro-Chinese Communist publications of the so-called Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), displays posters advocating "People's Armed Defense Groups."

Tidwell said the party is small, but that some of its followers have passed out "Defense Groups" literature while claiming to be Sons of Watts.

"They're clearly advocating arms and violence," said Tidwell. "This is something we're very much

against." He said the Communist organization is "a white undertaking . . . trying to take advantage of despair in our area."

Inside the bookstore—at what someone termed "Anti-Revisionist Intersection" — a Caucasian who identified himself only as M. Egan, posted a hastily printed sign reading:

"L.A. Cops Use Sons of Watts."

**Sign Torn Down**

While two uniformed policemen stood nearby, the picketers tore down the sign and marked the book store front with black spray paint.

They were persuaded by the officers to quit pounding their fists on the store.

Egan, and a Negro who identified himself as Jay Thomas, held their own press conference beneath portraits of Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung and Engels to accuse the Sons of Watts of being paid by the police to harass them.

"The ruling class is quite scared," said Egan. "At first it didn't take us seriously. Now they see the success we're having."

Egan pointed to the presence of Mrs. Tiger Slavik, a Caucasian public relations adviser, and to Willard Murray, Negro aide to Mayor Samuel W. Yorty, at the scene as evidence of "ruling class" instigation of the picketing.

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 19  
[Los Angeles Herald Examiner, October 26, 1966]



**A RETORT ON THE INSIDE**—Two who identified themselves as M. Egan, left, and Jay Thomas give

newsmen a reply to pickets. On wall are portraits of Red heroes, Marx, Engels, Mao Tse-tung and Lenin.

Times photo

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 19—Continued

**Faunts Sign****Watts Red  
Bookstore  
Defiant**

The People's Bookstore at 9122 S. Compton Ave., Communist literature outlet in Watts, remained open today after being picketed by more than 35 demonstrators who said they hoped to drive it out of business.

Members of the Sons of Watts organizations circulated petitions yesterday asserting the firm's operation was a violation of a new State anti-riot law.

**"We hope to obtain a public expression that will force officials to close it,"** said Billy Tidwell, a spokesman for the Sons of Watts.

Pickets wore sandwich-board placards with such slogans as "We don't need Com-

mie violence." **"Commies Get Out"** and **"Communsim is a threat to Watts."**

The store and adjoining reading room bear a sign which says:

**"Oppose reactionary violence with revolutionary violence. Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) U.S.A., Los Angeles Branch."**

**"To close them may be in violation of their right to freedom of speech,"** Tidwell told reporters, **"but we want them out of our community anyway."**

Tidwell said the petition will be presented to municipal authorities empowered **"to do something about it."**

M. Egan, who said he was a spokesman for Worker's International Book Store, posted a sign during the picketing, reading: **"L.A. Cops Use Sons of Watts."**

Two uniformed police officers stood nearby as the demonstrators tore down Egan's sign and sprayed black paint over the store front.

However, officers persuaded the demonstrators to stop pounding on the door of the establishment.



Mr. SMITH. In addition to the issues which you have discussed, has the Communist Party U.S.A. (M-L) been active on the question of Vietnam?

Mr. HARRIS. During the last several years, Communist organizations have attempted to tie together America's involvement in Vietnam and the problems faced by Negroes living in urban areas. Laski's CPUSA-ML has been no exception.

Through a news bulletin issued on January 10, 1966, the CPUSA-ML announced a rally at Los Angeles City College for January 14, 1966. The announced theme of the rally was: "The Need for the Immediate Withdrawal of U.S. Troops from Vietnam"; "The Need for the End of Imperialist Wars of Aggression"; "Why U.S. Imperialism Will Be Defeated"; and "the Attack by the Los Angeles Police Department Against the Communist Party U.S.A. (M-L) for Its Stand Against the U.S. Imperialist Wars of Aggression."

In addition to the leaflet announcing this rally, I have an issue of the *Los Angeles Times* of January 15, 1966, which contains not only pictures of Laski speaking at the rally, but a photo showing him and his people being routed by the students who tore up a red flag which Laski's group was carrying.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these documents be accepted and marked as "Harris Exhibits Nos. 20 and 21."

The CHAIRMAN. It is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 20 and 21," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Chairman, the House is now in session. I suggest that we recess until tomorrow morning.

Mr. SMITH. We have only two more questions.

Detective Harris, does the Communist Party U.S.A. (M-L) tie police brutality also into the issue of Vietnam?

Mr. HARRIS. Well, in December 1965, the CPUSA-ML issued a leaflet headed "COMMUNISTS ATTACKED BY L.A. POLICE AT L.A. CITY COLLEGE!"

The theme of the leaflet attempts to charge the police with unprovoked attacks against the CPUSA-ML because of its demands for an immediate and complete withdrawal of all U.S. troops in Vietnam.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be accepted and marked as "Harris Exhibit No. 22."

The CHAIRMAN. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 22" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Please continue.

Mr. HARRIS. They have also distributed a leaflet or leaflets announcing a May Day demonstration on April 30, 1967, for the announced purpose of protesting against the "U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam."

In an accompanying leaflet, the CPUSA-ML accuses President Johnson of carrying out an imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these documents be accepted and marked as "Harris Exhibits Nos. 23 and 24."

The CHAIRMAN. It is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 23 and 24," respectively, follow:)

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 23

# MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION

SUNDAY, APRIL 30<sup>th</sup>, 1967.

1:30 PM

PROTEST AGAINST

## THE U.S. IMPERIALIST WAR OF AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM



HEAR: MICHAEL LASKI  
GENERAL SECRETARY

ESTON W. SIMMONS  
CHAIRMAN - CENTRAL COMMITTEE

COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (M-L)  
and others

Sun. April 30th 1967 - Will Rogers Park

102nd - 3rd St. and Central Ave (Watts) Los Angeles  
Workers Of The World, Unite Defeat US Imperialism!

C.P. U.S.A. (M-L)

## HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 24

## OPPOSE THE WAR IN VIETNAM—FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

We are told by the ruling capitalist class (Johnson Administration) that the war in Vietnam is being fought to bring "freedom", "democracy", and "justice" to the people of South Vietnam. This is an out and out lie. We have only to look around us to see that the very persons who are talking about "freedom" in Vietnam are the rich who are: robbing the workers in the United States, jailing innocent workers on "suspicion of this or that" whose police are in proletarian (the most oppressed and exploited workers) districts such as Watts, Bellflower, and East Los Angeles for one reason—to "serve and protect the rich" and "beat and oppress the poor".

The people of Vietnam are fighting for the right to self-determination, the right to decide their own political and economic destiny. They demand that the United States aggressors (sent by the ruling capitalist bandits of the U.S.) get out of their homeland and let them settle the issue for themselves. We must support their struggle.

The U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam is against the interests of the international proletariat—all workers are class brothers and comrades, all workers have a common enemy—imperialism. All workers must unite to destroy this predatory beast—imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialism. We must demand the immediate and complete withdrawal of all U.S. troops and puppet troops from Vietnam.

How can imperialist wars of aggression be ended? There is but one solution, destroy the source of war—imperialism. There must be a proletarian socialist revolution—organized by the Communist Party, U.S.A., (M L. Why serve in the armed forces of the rich? Such as the army, navy, air force, etc. Why be a flunkey for the ruling class of the U.S. to oppress other people? Why die for your oppressors and exploiters? Why not fight them? Train in the use of arms and revolutionary politics so that your enemy—the ruling class—can be successfully defeated. We have such a program—THE PEOPLES ARMED DEFENSE GROUPS—(Members of the PEOPLES ARMED DEFENSE GROUPS are not drafted, because their views constitute a political danger to the ruling class.) THE PEOPLES ARMED DEFENSE GROUPS ARE THE ARMED FORCES OF THE POOR and are the basis for a workers army and for a National Liberation Army for the Negro Nation in the South and will counter the terror of the Klan with the revolutionary violence of the workers. Don't fight for your masters so that he can have more wage slaves.

President Johnson an imperialist, carries out the policies of his class—the capitalist—to exploit and oppress workers. They use racism as a cover for their policies of colonizing [sic] the Negro Nation in the South (the "Black Belt") and Puerto Rico and their semi-colonies—Mexico, the Phillipines [sic], South Korea, South Vietnam, etc. The rich have their flunkies who support their policy of oppression and exploitation, such as Dymally, Greene, Leon Ralph, Gus Hawkins, Adam Clayton Powell, and their lackeys who use the disguise of being "revolutionaries" and against "the Power Structure" such as the revisionist Dorothy Healy [sic] (who calls herself a communist) and persons such as Stokely Carmichael and Ron Kerenga [sic]. These flunkies and Toms apologize and cover for the police brutality and exploitation of workers. They too must be opposed, exposed, and destroyed along with their masters!

As Comrade Michael Laski, our Party's General Secretary, said, "the lackeys of the ruling class of the government's agencies are against the interest of the workers and are there only to buy the militant youth and push the reactionary racist line of U.S. imperialism. All class conscious [sic] workers must be opposed to the imperialist, their agencies and front men".

The solution to the problems of the working class is proletarian socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism.

Oppose the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam, join with your revolutionary working class comrades and brothers in all countries to defeat U.S. imperialism and modern revisionists and local Tom's.

**MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION:** Sunday, April 30, 1967, 1:30 pm at Will Rogers Park, 102-103rd Street, Central Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.

SPEAKERS: *M. I. LASKI, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, (M-L)*

*E. W. SIMMONS, Chairman, Central Committee, CP USA (M-L)*

PUBLIC MEETING: 8:00 pm, April 7, 1967, Peoples Voice Book Store, 9122 S. Compton Ave L.A., Cal, Tel: 569-2542. SPEAKER: E. W. SIMMONS, L.A. Branch Secretary. "The role of our Party in the coming revolution".

Mr. SMITH. Detective Harris, does that conclude your testimony with respect to the Communist Party U.S.A. (M-L)?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

I just want to note one other thing, that on Sunday, May 21, 1967, Laski was arrested for operating a loudspeaker on a Sunday when he staged an anti-Vietnam rally at MacArthur Park.

The CHAIRMAN. May I say that the House is in session, as was suggested by Governor Tuck.

We will be adjourning in a second until tomorrow morning.

In the meantime, I want to say that we greatly appreciate your appearance before the committee. We all understand it is a most important task, and it is a real job to pass the message that you have to give us and that your mayor has to give us on to the people. We are doing the best we can under very trying circumstances.

You have made a great contribution and you are a credit to the police department of Los Angeles.

I understand you are attached to the district attorney's office.

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Pay my compliments to all the good law enforcement officers in the district attorney's office.

Mr. HARRIS. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now we will stand in recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock when we will resume the taking of Mr. Harris' testimony.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, Tuesday, November 28, 1967, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, November 29, 1967.)

(Harris Exhibit No. 4, introduced on p. 1133, follows:)

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 4

October 7, 1965

**ACTIVITY:** Press Conference of MICHAEL LASKI, member of the COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., Marxist-Leninist. Introduction by ARNOLD HOFFMAN.

**LOCATION:** WORKERS' ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE, CAR WASHER'S UNION, 1313 E. Firestone, L.A.

**DATE & TIME:** October 7, 1965; 12:00 Noon to 1:15 P.M.

The main reason for this press conference is to clarify a number of points which have been raised by COUNCILMAN GIBSON, and other points which are sure to come up in the immediate future. I'm here, first of all, in the capacity of being a representative of the COMMUNIST PARTY of the U.S.A., Marxist-Leninist. There, undoubtedly, will be some confusion in the press, and in the public's mind as to precisely what organization this may or may not be. This organization, this party, is the representative of the working class of this country today. It is that Party which carries forward the best tradition of the American working class and its historical struggle. You have some statements here which should have been reproduced in the PEOPLE'S VOICE which I can clarify this history for your purpose.

The essential points that I want to cover is the nature of the struggle in this country, to go precisely to the main point of interest that is, and that is the uprising in WATTS and the question of our precise role, prior to it and during it and the role of COMMUNISTS or "leftists" during that particular period, since this is undoubtedly what you're most interested in.

First of all, I would like to begin by saying that the history of the struggle in this country has been quite complex to anyone who has followed the COMMUNIST MOVEMENT and its developments. Historically, the movement since 1956 has had a number of very great setbacks, the membership of the Party as such has been reduced tremendously during this period. The vitality and the life of the Party has become a question of grave concern to all COMMUNISTS in this country and internationally.

Now, the COMMUNIST PARTY has been reconstituted and reformed as a direct outgrowth of the recent events since 1962 in this country, with the intensification of the class struggle and the development of further contradictions within the COMMUNIST PARTY. It became very evident that the present historical situation have changed in the favorable developments of the stronger revolutionary party in this country and as a

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

Press Conf., Michael Laski, 10/7/65 (Page 2)

result of that a number of forces began to fold us with the intention of carrying forward the best traditions of the COMMUNIST PARTY.

Now, there has been in existence, the PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE TO RECONSTITUTE A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY. Prior to the reconstitution of the Party, I was a National Committee member of this organization. This organization was founded in 1958 of COMMUNIST PARTY members, members of the National Committee, N.Y. State apparatus of the Party and nationally, a number of other individuals. This particular organization did not receive much play at the time. But this movement carried forward the traditions of the Party from 1958 to the present time, September of this year.

Now, in the course of the period from 1958 to 1965, there have been a number of smaller groups being involved and developed. You're probably familiar with the PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT, later the PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY, which was an outgrowth of the struggle in part, within the COMMUNIST PARTY of the U.S., but essentially did not represent a different trend within the Party. The only difference between the PLP and the Party itself is the emphasis upon struggle within the PLP. The party did not of course emphasize struggle, theoretical struggle. The PLP merely represents a group of Communists that feel they must make a move - active show of themselves. COMMUNISTS in quotes, that is. Theoretically and politically, they essentially are saying that that is the old CP.

Now, the struggle progressed very rapidly in this country. You are familiar with the Harlem uprising. The Harlem riots. This, in itself was a forerunner to what occurred in the WATTS situation. The Harlem uprising, the Harlem disturbance. We were present in that situation and at that particular time due to the misleadership of a number of individuals in the PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE. Our presence was covered to the press entirely. No mention was made of it and the members of our organization at that time, the POC, were withdrawn from the WATTS situation, with, excuse me, from the HARLEM situation.

With regard to what developed here in WATTS, members of the PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, who had particular view of the struggle as remaining hidden from the struggle itself, in other words, removing themselves from the view of the press and authorities for fear of the distortion of the press and the authorities, again existed as a result of the uprising in WATTS that we be withdrawn from the situation and no public statements be made. As an outgrowth of this particular opportunistic bend or approach to the question, this caused

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

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a severe dislocation within the PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE and to realize the forces, so that within a short period of time, less than a month, the Marxist-Leninist elements within the PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, other revolutionary elements in the nation met in L.A. at a secret meeting on September 4th and 5th to reconstitute and reestablish the COMMUNIST PARTY and break with all revisionist trends representing the ideology of the Khrushchvite group and Kossygin and the Brezhnev and all other representatives of opportunism in this country. Enough with the history, now let's get down to brass tacks.

First of all, the origins of the uprising in WATTS. One of the basic reasons for this disturbance. We are to survey the press, and survey public statements. We have come up with a variety of reasons. The reasons were given that it was the highway patrol that caused the difficulty, that they precipitated the situation. Others were giving the opinion that it was not the Highway Patrol but the LAPD that precipitated the situation. And then those who want to look at the situation profoundly, hold up the supposition that it was really preventing conditions that came to a boiling point and that we must seek to uproot and uncover these conditions and eliminate them.

Well, there is a little bit of truth in each one of these statements, but the essential and basic factor has been overlooked, and only barely touched on by the press. I think the SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE is the best example of attempting to deal with the question. They essentially described the uprising as a class question, and this is the essential truth that has been missed and has not been reported accurately in the press. Uprising in the WATTS situation was not in itself and cannot be relegated as a Negro question. It is essentially and basically a class question with Negroes holding that section of the class participating in the disturbance in the WATTS area. Now to make the point quite clear, no more poverty put forward by the reactionary JOHNSON Administration can resolve the question, of the WATTS uprising or prevent similar uprisings of this sort from occurring, because to prevent them from occurring you have to go to the basic source of difficulty and that is the capitalistic system in this country. You cannot eliminate poverty in this country under the present system. That has been proven as a fact and there will be no administration that can achieve that end. The HOOVER Administration and its famous statements that "We will eliminate poverty with, what was it, two chickens in each pot and a car in every garage. And in less than two years later, a disgraced struggle to eliminate poverty, we had the greatest depression this country has seen, had ever seen up to that time.

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Historically, we are in the same general period of development, the intensification of our crisis, at this particular time. And this is the essential reason that you can have a WATTS develop. Why can you have a WATTS in the midst of American prosperity, in the midst of American boom, you can have a WATTS situation because there are basic contradictions that exist in the society and which the administration is trying to cover over but cannot effectively be covered over.

One thing that we found very interesting that happened in WATTS and the way in which the press and the government dealt with the question of WATTS. They did not quite know what to do with the situation. They were a little bit embarrassed at being caught with their pants down, if I may make such a reference. This is precisely what occurred.

The main excuses put forward were, well, the Negro leadership failed to fulfill their function of leadership and were scurrying around to find out just what went wrong with the choice of Negro leadership. That perhaps they selected the wrong men, were the immediate implications of this particular situation. Anyhow, we find that the \* resolved itself on the point of, well, let's, uh, since the situation is such an embarrassing one, what can we do with it. Well, I know exactly what was done with it and you do, too. The whole question was distorted as a race question and built into a race question. Built the entire situation into White against Black and this essentially was a complete distortion basic politics and the basic real situation that existed in the WATTS area. This was not White against Black. This was not a racial situation. It was converted and turned into a racial situation by the ruling class and by the press of this country. It was reported in that light and essential evaluation of the questions of the relationships indicate only one thing, this was a struggle for equal rights, a struggle for equality, a struggle for the eliminations of gross inequalities that existed in the WATTS district and throughout the black belt in L.A.

And those inequalities can be cited specifically as Police Brutality, namely the primary factor. Secondary and underlying causes, the question of job discrimination and unemployment, the question of inferior housing, the question of higher cost of food in this district. For the same food prices are 5 to 15% higher, in the prevailing large markets and in a number of small markets. These are the underlying factors that caused the situation.

Now, what was the role of the Communists, the Marxist-Leninists, in the WATTS situation? We have been in the WATTS area for better than 2 years. We have been working in the Watts



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district as our primary area of concentration. And this was selected prior to our entrance into the L.A. area as our target area. We concentrated on activity and our agitation in that area, I think COUNCILMAN GIBSON had a rather fair display of some of our propoganda effort. And we assisted in the formation of such organizations as FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE, and at that time we were operating through the PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE that would carry on our work.

We carried out agitation against the Police Department and against the police officials as representatives of the ruling class of this country. We went beyond that in dealing with the question of job discrimination and a number of other particular points. Our main efforts were essentially agitational in order to build up our ranks in our category in order to be in a position to take a decisive leadership to the situation called for. We recognized the potential of the WATTS area at that time and the history has bore us out in our initial observation.

Now, there were a number of incidents prior to the WATTS uprising which we participated in. First of all, I think Councilman GIBSON and HAHN, Supervisor HAHN, made reference to their voyage trip into the WATTS district when they came, I believe with SUZY WELCH to spearhead a campaign to clean up and straighten up the garbage pails in the WATTS district since this was apparently the source of the condition of WATTS. It looks like the inside of the garbage can. They came into the district and we organized at that time the coordination of the FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE and had a reception for them and as the net results of our reception committee, they found it expedient to leave the district before they were able to do it and they made statements at the WILL ROGERS PARK. Now, this is essentially true. We did agitate and prevent them from making their statements, since the majority of the people, at that time, were opposed to what they were saying, to what they were bringing forward and they had to leave the area before they had expected.

More recently, the organization of the CAR WASHERS UNION against symptomatic with the developing situation. That the CAR WASHERS UNION, from its inception, was known to be COMMUNIST led with Marxist-Leninists in the leadership of the union. It received a large play from the press but this could not prevent the development of a city-wide car wash strike in January of this year. That in itself, was an indication of what was to be developed and what was coming. Not the fact, we COMMUNISTS were present, but the fact that the people were willing to listen to us. The people were willing to follow us. This is the decisive point. The people have become fed up. The people have had enough. They have reached the point where they no longer will take the "revolutionary phrases" of President JOHNSON that characterizes him-

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self as a revolutionary. For the pseudo revolutionary phrases of the CP, for the so-called militancy of CORE, the NAACP.

All of these groups have become bankrupt in the eyes of the people. And these conditions were what allowed the development of a potential revolutionary situation in WATTS. Not the question of poverty alone. Let me make this very clear, poverty is an essential ingredient but it is not a decisive factor. Poverty has been present in the country since its development and inception. Poverty has been in the world since there has been a mankind in the recorded history. But COMMUNISM as a way of means and struggle has not been present during all those lean months. The point that is the decisive factor at this time is the presence and development of the COMMUNIST MOVEMENT in this country.

And, now let me count essentially to the exact degree of our participation in the uprising itself. You notice we call it an uprising, not a riot. This situation that occurred here in August was not a riot, in the sense of a riot as being a local disorder, confined to a particular area and a short disturbance. This was a city-wide disturbance of a prolonged nature and it entailed more than just a spontaneous reaction. What came forward in the uprising was the satisfaction that only with prevailing conditions in the WATTS area or the City of Los Angeles, or the Police Chief Parker or Mayor Yorty, but in association with the international struggle in this country. This country is, participated in, as an oppressor of the people. The realization of the struggle in WATTS was tied to the Vietnamese question. This question is reported, and reported adequately. The fact that the people viewed their situation as tied to the struggles of other peoples internationally. The peoples of the Congo, Dominican Republic and in Vietnam. And that this was an initial phase of developing consciousness on the part of the masses in this particular district.

This, we like to think reflects some degree of our agitational work in these districts, since we have not only concentrated in WATTS but in the VERNON CENTRAL district and in EAST LOS ANGELES. And the essential aspect of our agitation has been to bring to the people's attention the inter-relationship to these other struggles. This, we feel, came forward as an outgrowth of the WATTS uprising, and we can point to this as ethics of our effectiveness of our agitation, the fact that the people have responded to this particular point. Now, specifically, did he go out onto the streets and urge people to destroy property. No, we COMMUNISTS under these circumstances did not go out into the streets and urge the destruction of property. The destruction of property was the spontaneous outgrowth of the struggle.

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We, as COMMUNISTS, if we were to lead a revolutionary movement decisively we would find more efficient and better ways to go about the question. But we still refer to the WATTS uprising as a heroic struggle and we recognize it as that. But, we do pay attention to the errors that the people committed in the struggle. First of all, in the lack of politicalization of the struggle, drawing up specific demands, circulating those demands as part of the protest, and calling for specific action. These points we bring up and we raise these points which should be taken as lessons. Also the necessity for political organization not necessarily COMMUNIST, but political organization of the people. Organization of the people that can direct and turn more efficient direction to similar outbursts in the future.

We want to see these outbursts transformed from mere explosions into directed and channeled struggles. Struggles that can politicalize and expose the relationship of monopoly capitalists to the city government, to the state government, to the national government and international. I could point out, just in passing, the role of CORE, the NAACP, the Socialist Workers Party - Trotskyite, The CPUSA revisionists was a marginal role, if any. They were not even able to participate in the situation. In fact, the decisive factor was their inability to deal with the situation.

DOROTHY HEALEY and the leadership of the COMMUNIST PARTY in this country were just as much shocked as PRESIDENT JOHNSON over the outburst in the WATTS area. And along with the leading elements of the city government here, in fact, I think DOROTHY HEALEY felt a little bit sorry for Police Chief PARKER and Mayor YURTY than they did for themselves, by this unfortunate occurrence. The fact that CORE was proven to be no real factor in the community, I think, was demonstrated here too. And the NAACP and SNCC the same way.

There are three things that really grew out of this uprising. First of all, the rejection of non-violence as a means and a method of struggle. This was resoundingly rejected by the masses of the people, and their acceptance and willingness to employ violent methods to fulfill their interests. To oppose the violence of the police. Secondly, the rejection of integration, as expressed by these other organizations were also an essential point to be drawn from this situation and thirdly, the open rejection of the "quiescent" leadership and the helping hands from the Mills, the Dymallys, the Dick Gregory's and the Martin Luther Kings. This I think and the party believes is an essential factor involved. The political concentration. There are a number of areas I haven't touched on that I'm sure the question and answers will bring out.

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS:

question: What do you think is specifically behind GIBSON's charges?

Answer: GIBSON's charges are essentially true in regards to his statements about agitation prior to the uprising itself. The fact that GIBSON doesn't take cognizance himself is the extent of our participation in the uprising. We would, and I'll tell you quite frankly. We would desire very much to take the decisive role, but organizationally we were not in the position to take the decisive role. If we were in a position to take the decisive role in the uprising it wouldn't have gone the way it did, I'll tell you that right now.

Question: GIBSON said that you were involved in directing the day after the riots broke out. Right?

Answer: That is true. This is what he said.

Question: But you are in effect saying that you were....

Answer: We were not there prior to the riot.

Question: Correct, then what you're saying in effect is that GIBSON did not give you full credit....

Answer: Yes. But the essential point that I want to clarify is and you must understand what I mean by direction. We offered political and ideological direction. We did not offer specific direction in the throwing of molotov cocktails. Of course, as COMMUNISTS, we say we do not reject the use of violence to support the interest of the people. The question is, in what direction? We view the uprising in WATTS as a heroic struggle. But there are certain things to be learned by it.

Question: What specific role did you play?

Answer: Well, I would say we contributed in large part to the ideology or the presence of ideology or politicalization that was present. And, as you know, was not present to a great degree.

Question: Now what was the mechanics of the outbreak?

Answer: Well, if you had been in the WATTS district for the last year, half of you would have noticed our posters present on the street. In fact, there

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are still remnants of our posters on the street now even if the buildings are destroyed. The POC posters. In addition, we carried out intensive agitational campaigns with PEKING REVIEWS, with Communist leaflets, and publications in the JORDAN DOWNS PROJECTS, Embassy Gardens, the Imperial Courts and in the VERNON-CENTRAL district, and the EAST LOS ANGELES areas, of the projects. The city-run projects. We agitated there, we helped and assisted in the formation of organizations of FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE and we carried out demonstrations and street meetings against the police and police representatives. ~~And~~, this went on for about a year and a half. And, if you look over the news items of the last year and a half you will find some references to this.

Question: Was this agitation merely through your literature?

Answer: And through our direct contact and through the organization of groups of people.

Question: No physical action?

Answer: No.

Question: One point is not clear to me, MIKE. Several interests have told me that perhaps 1% of the affected community was involved in the rioting. Do you agree with this?

Answer: I would say that this is basically an incorrect statement. It was a wide, broad section of the Negro community involved. There is no question about this. Mere analysis of the arrested individuals would reflect this as representing a broad section of the entire community. And I'm sure that there does seem to be a number of people involved. Ranging anywhere from 5 to 25 to 30 thousand people involved at any time during the entire uprising.

I'd say, first of all, that the 1% figures were incorrect. And without a doubt, the majority of the community being either physical or sympathetic supporters. There's no question about it.

Question: Can I take it from what you said earlier that you feel that from sacking part of the city forms a good basis from which to predicate the demands that you make on the so-called power structure.

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- Answer:** I'll preface it by saying this. The potential in that situation is the potential that we want to see realized in political directions and directions of that struggle. So that we are in position to fight against the rise of fascism in this country. And in the position to oppose police brutality. And in position to oppose the reactionary order in this country. We find that to be the most healthy expression at this time. The best expression we could have.
- Question:** Did your people have anything to do with the now famous "bull horn" incident?
- Answer:** No comment on that question.
- Question:** How many people are in this organization, not in the Los Angeles area?
- Question:** In your various organizations?
- Answer:** First of all, you can understand, under pressures of security, and in order to avoid widespread prosecution that we cannot reveal precise numbers or individuals. I cannot.
- Question:** Approximate numbers.
- Answer:** Approximate numbers? Let's say MR. GIBSON was, in his estimation, not too far off one way or the other.
- Question:** You said that you favored violence for protection against the police. How the hell can I phrase this without putting you on the spot.... Are you aware of any training going on urban guerilla warfare, do-it-yourself Molotov cocktails kits and stuff like that?
- Answer:** Well, first of all, I want to get clear that we, COMMUNISTS, speaking in this capacity as an official representative of the CP, Marxist-Leninist, do not call for the indiscriminate use of Molotov cocktails or force or violence. We call for the politicalized use of force and violence, when in opposition for force and violence used against the interest of the people. I want this to be quite clear. We are opposed to acts of terrorism, we are opposed to acts of Anarchism. We do not support, and cannot as Communists, support individuals. This is not our end, nor is it our aim. We seek, first of all, to carry out this struggle peacefully. We have always sought to carry this

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struggle out peacefully. We would love to carry out this struggle in this country through democratic means. We cannot because history has proven it. It is impossible to carry out this struggle for Communism under democracy. You can only carry this struggle so far, through parliamentary means. And beyond that point, the ruling class shows itself for what it is and we must simply be prepared to defend the interests of the people. That is to say, we must begin to prepare and make our own army. Our own political army. And, if necessary, arm that army, to protect the interests of the people. Now, this may seem a little blunt to you and it may seem like perhaps I am avoiding the question, but I'm not. I'm pointing out the essential factor, that political survival of the oppressed people or oppressed peoples, or working class depending upon its ability to defend itself and not on its relying on the police. We cannot as Communists be truthful, preach or pledge our alliance to the police department because this is a complete slap in the face of all the things that we stand for and represent. We represent the interests of the working people and their interests as opposed to the state power of the rich of this country, of the ruling class, of the bourgeois. And for us to say place reliance upon law and order and police that represent this ruling class would be hypocrisy on our part. DOROTHY HALEY would say this, we don't.

Question: Then, you would regard the campaign you have been waging in WATTS the last two years as successful?

Answer: Initially, yes. It has achieved its objective. It has provided us with mass base for organizing into general mass organizations and into organizations which are capable of carrying on a variety of operations.

Question: Have you any of these units in training for this army that you say you must prepare at various times?

Answer: I'll answer it with two or three sentences and that is we have presently engaged in the formation and development of self defense units and squads. These units and these squads can, in the future, provide the basis for liberation armies.

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Question: To go along with this, MIKE, would these be a parallel to the DEACONS FOR DEFENSE?

Answer: It would be a parallel for the DEACONS FOR DEFENSE in the following way. The willingness for people to rely on defending their own interests. As far as anything else, that's where it ends. The DEACONS FOR DEFENSE have shown that they cannot put up a sustained struggle. They cannot give political direction, that they have been hugged to death by CORE. Those elements that have persisted in struggling militantly have been arrested and have been able to be bought off and capitulated are allowed to operate and are "fettered" around on tours of the nation by CORE and SMOG by the CPUSA revisionists, by the Trotskyites because they are being played up. The question of self defense in itself is meaningless detached from political reality. Detached from the revolutionary struggle.

Well, we talked of self defense, but in this situation we talk of it as a weapon, a tool, for political struggle. We say defend yourself so you can carry on the struggle.

Question: Then they're not a close liaison with your group?

Answer: We seek to establish relations with all non-Communist groups that seek honestly to struggle. We would not be opposed to attempting and building relationships with the DEACONS or with a number of other groups.

You must remember ROBERT F. WILLIAMS. If you recall, ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, he first initiated in dynamic ways the question of self defense and he was rather immediately eliminated basically because he ideologically, logically, politically was going in an unacceptable direction of the ruling class of this country. Now the Deacons are accepted and tolerated because ideology and their politics are what we would call tame. Now we seek to work with such people and to show them that they honestly want to struggle and to show them the correct way to struggle and that is to go to the source of the problem, which is monopoly capitalism, which is U.S. imperialism. Any struggle in this country which is not an anti-imperialism struggle, cannot be successful in resolving anything.

Question: Have you formed any kind of an alliance with the MUSLIMS?



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**Answer:** All right, that's a good question. The MUSLIMS, as far as we are concerned, the leadership of the MUSLIMS from MR. MUHAMMAD all the way down, especially JOHN SHABAZZ, I believe it's MR. SHABAZZ in the L.A. area, represent a section of the Negro petty bourgeois, which is concerned with accumulating and scraping together whatever it can for its own personal gratifications. Now, they are building, they are attempting to become black capitalists on the backs of militant Negro workers. Our main appeal is to win the militant Negro workers to their basic interests which are not being served by SHABAZZ or MR. MUHAMMAD. In other words we seek to separate most definitely the reactionary leadership from the militant and potentially revolutionary masses.

**Question:** Then you are in opposition to the MUSLIM ideologically?

**Answer:** Definitely. But we are not and we will not object to possible areas of joint struggle that they sincerely wish to promote against monopoly capital and imperialism. The strength of that position doesn't come from ALLAH. It comes from their anti-imperialist stance which they conveniently leave at the doorstep of the white man's house.

**Question:** Do you know whether there has been any alliances here between the Trotskyites and the Muslims as there has been in Harlem?

**Answer:** Another good question. Let me point out again, that you seem to be aware of these things which are not generally reported in the press. That the Trotskyites, Socialist Workers Party and the revisionist Communist Party headed in this area by DOROTHY HEALEY are in a close alliance and they operate within N-VAC and within CORE and they seek, and they have had relations with the MUSLIMS. And these relations have been completely hidden from the public and there has been no acknowledgment of it, obviously. They wouldn't desire to do it.

**Question:** Do you take credit for the success of the WATTS riot because of your activities in the area? Do you feel that the riot was a result of your activity? Pre-activity?

**Answer:** First of all, no matter how much we would like to say that, and no matter how much you would like to report it, those are not, and they cannot be the basic facts of the uprising. The uprising

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in WATTS, was, is and has been essentially spontaneous. It was an explosion, an explosion as a result of the oppression, pressures constantly present and developing in the capitalist system. When you have 30% of the population in this area unemployed, when you have inferior housing, high prices on food, what are you going to have? You're not going to have an explosion necessarily, if CORE, the NAACP, the revisionist CP can come into these districts and spread their ideology and their non-violence and their lies of integration. But when they're not present and have withdrawn from the area and we're present that provides the circumstance and the conditions for this type of development. Let me make this going clear. It is the question of acceptance of non-violence. If you accept non-violence, how can you do what's done here.

QUESTION: In other words, you are taking advantage of the situation. After it occurs, then you are taking credit for your activities there as being so-called successful.

ANSWER: We're not taking advantage of anything. We didn't call you, you called us in a sense. We didn't ask GIBSON to make this statement. GIBSON made this statement. Why don't you ask COUNCILMAN GIBSON why he waited to this point to open his mouth up. We would have been willing to state our position prior to this uprising, after it, and during the uprising. No efforts were made to glean the facts from us at that time. Ask MR. GIBSON why he decided all of a sudden to pose his question at this late time.

QUESTION: All right, why do you think he waited all this time? Why do you think he waited so long?

ANSWER: I think that there are basically two reasons. Either it was desirable to compile figures at this point or else he made a slip. A slip that was un-called for, as long as no one else has made these accusations and raised them, or these charges. The fact that POLICE CHIEF PARKER knows more of this situation than GIBSON does, the fact that MAYOR YORTY is more aware of the situation than GIBSON ever was, and is today and they haven't said one word that GOVERNOR BROWN is aware of it. Now these are important questions I think you should ask these people. Why did they keep the question quiet? Why did they hide the facts of participation of Communists in this area? It didn't suit their political lives.

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**QUESTION:** You were talking about 60 or 100 people in your organization and you sounded as if you were pretty accurate.

**ANSWER:** Yes, pretty accurate in terms of members that are under our discipline that respond to what we would desire to have done in an agitational way or in a direct involvement. Now, you must realize that this does not take a vast number of Communists. You had 25,000, 30,000 troops sent into SANTO DOMINGO on the pretext of something like 15 or 25 active Communists in a country of 7 million people. A handful. Now, if you can find anything in President JOHNSON's logic, you can find good base for what GIBSON put forward here.

**QUESTION:** Mike, can we have a little bit on your personal background as far as how you came to the active position you are now in and what your experiences are and so on.

**ANSWER:** Well, that is the type of question I cannot answer here at this point. I don't desire to answer it. I'm here for an interview and to discuss things.

**QUESTION:** That's what we're here for, MIKE.

**ANSWER:** I'm not here as an individual, I'm here as an official representative for the organization. I'll tell you that information after the interview.

**QUESTION:** Could you go back to what we were talking about before about the putting together of the self-defense squads. Does that put you in any difficulty with the private armies laws of California?

**ANSWER:** Well, first of all, you have to find out what the new private laws mean. You'd have to have a case and I doubt that you're going to get either one, I think that they are so confused themselves as to what they mean by it. That I don't even think you're going to get a case, let alone someone to try it. Nothing's going to prevent you from organizing based on those kind of laws.

**QUESTION:** You're not concerned about it.

**ANSWER:** Not in the slightest.

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QUESTION: One further question for clarification. You are apparently doctrinally at odds with the CP represented by GUS HALL, DOROTHY HEALEY and the rest, among others. You are apparently at odds with the BREZHNEV CP. Are you doctrinally close to the CHINESE CP?

ANSWER: All right, let me answer that by saying this. We, as our statement here indicate, and it is a rather concise statement. We view ourselves and our party as representing the best traditions of the revolutionary Communist movement, internationally and nationally within this country. We are without a question, aligned fraternally with all MARXIST-LENINIST types who are resolutely against U.S. imperialism, against Communist revisionism, against Trotskyism. We find the CP of the PEOPLES REPUBLIC of CHINA and the ALBANIAN Party of Labor and a number of other revolutionary parties including CP of INDONESIA, CP of JAPAN, CP of NEW ZEALAND as representing this revolutionary trend. We believe and feel that we too reflect this civil position.

QUESTION: Did you omit the NORTH VIETNAMESE on purpose?

ANSWER: No, because we view their struggle as the most heroic struggle and we support them along with the NORTH KOREANS.

QUESTION: MIKE, can on the light of your existing and continuing, I assume, work in the areas here, SOUTH LOS ANGELES, WATTS and so on, do you foresee more outbreaks of violence or agitation in the near future?

ANSWER: We foresee, the PARTY foresees a growth of the revolutionary struggle. That, what occurred in WATTS in August is for all practical purposes a very poor dress rehearsal for what will be taking place nationally in a very few number of years. A very short period of time. Then, what occurred here in the city is merely the beginning. Because conditions in this country are going to become worse. They're going to become worse economically, and they're going to have their political repercussions. And this period of boom can't last forever. You're as well aware of that as I am. The international situation is not becoming more favorable. It is becoming more complex by the very moment that we even sit here. And the further deterioration of the control of the U.S. monopoly capitalist position internationally is not going to help its internal situation coupled with the

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rising struggle of the Negro people. One question I would just like to deal with here. The question of what is the essential character of the struggle in WATTS. Facts, we say. But it also has a national character to it. That what we deal with here in WATTS, the most exploited and oppressed section of the working class but also with members of the Negro national minority. And they come from a nation of the South. And that nation of the South is going to be causing more problems for U.S. imperialism, towards many problems as the Vietnamese situation is at the present time. Ultimately the decisive question is the class struggle and not a national liberation struggle of the South, because that struggle of the South could never be successful without an overall class struggle and struggle for Socialism in this country. Our objectives are for civil rights in the Afro-American Nation, for rights of determination in the Negro nation, and for peace and Socialism.

QUESTION: What do you mean by nation?

ANSWER: Well, first let me indicate that a nation can exist without a state. A people can exist without given state expressions. Or how else would you account for the presence of nations in Africa and Asia that were nothing but colonies directly under the control of another state, another nation.

QUESTION: I'd account for them by the other nations that controlled them.

ANSWER: They don't create nations. Nations are present as a result of historical, cultural, and geographic consequence, as I see it.

QUESTION: I don't mean to argue with you, but I think you're completely wrong on that....

ANSWER: Well, that's your opinion.

QUESTION: You say at the time of your founding conference of your organization which was held here in Los Angeles on September 4th & 5th, at that time you founded the organization, last month? [1965]

ANSWER: We united and unified as MARXIST-LENINISTS throughout the country at that time, yes, on the basis of that time.

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

Press Conf., Michael Laski, 10/7/65 (Page 18)

QUESTION: Now, who is the president of your organization or chairman for it?

ANSWER: The chairman is W.H. SHERMAN, he lives in S.F. and if you wish to make contact with him, arrangements can be made.

QUESTION: What's the size of this party nationally?

ANSWER: Let me say that we're not in a position to participate the precise.....

QUESTION: MIKE, I didn't ask you that.....

ANSWER: Well, I'm not answering your question then.....

QUESTION: Okay, then I'll say you won't answer.

ANSWER: I am answering you, but I'm not telling you precise numbers.

QUESTION: I didn't ask for precise numbers, I'll accept an approximation, happily. ....and I won't get it.

QUESTION: .....how many people were there and where did they meet.

ANSWER: There were delegates meeting. First of all, the place and time of the meeting were secret. The number of delegates, we will reveal at this time was in excess of 25. And representatives of a number of other organizations from throughout the country.

QUESTION: How many from outside L.A.?

ANSWER: The majority of the force.

QUESTION: Would you say that you are well known in this area here?

ANSWER: Well, I would say if you went for a walk through the JORDAN DOWNS PROJECT the people would know me there.

QUESTION: Your failure to get out actively and participate physically in the riots, could that have been for your own personal safety?

ANSWER: No. We were present. I was on 103rd Street, Thursday, Friday. In the late morning just prior to the ransacking of 103rd Street which took place Friday afternoon, of which you undoubtedly are aware. I was there, and I'm still here now.

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

Press Conf., Michael Laski, 10/7/65, (Page 19)

QUESTION: What did you do?

ANSWER: What did I do? What do you want me to say? That I had a bomb in one hand and a Molotov cocktail in the other and heaved them?

QUESTION: Did you? (Laughter)

QUESTION: What did you do? What were you doing?

ANSWER: As I said, our role and our function was to attempt to lend political form and content to the struggle and direction.

QUESTION: How did you do it, at that time?

ANSWER: By pointing out the essential and basic relations by political agitation and by making contact with units which had formed spontaneously with the hope of developing other groups. And, in that regard, we were quite successful. There were a number of units that were formed and individuals that were grouped together and we're working with them today carrying on and developing agitation in the area.

QUESTION: You said you were on 103rd Street on the day of the riots. While you were there, what were you doing?

ANSWER: As I pointed out, politically agitating.

ANSWER: Well, you see, on 103rd Street of the WATTS area we've been present for over 2 years. We are known by most of the small groups, you would call them gangs of younger Negro workers and unemployed. We're known better and we're in contact with them. And these individuals have been known to us right along. And they were in essential agreement with what we had been saying all along. Now, as to whether we told them to go and do certain things. We didn't have to tell anyone to do anything. And to grant us the ability to organize and take the responsibility for what occurred in a 50 square mile area just completely misses the whole point. The point is that ideologically, we provided part of the basis for what occurred. We did not and are not responsible for what occurred. It happens the system is responsible for what occurred.

QUESTION: This is the way you expressed it earlier.

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

Press Conf., Michael Laski, 10/7/65 (Page 20)

ANSWER: I don't want to embarrass certain individuals on the SOUTHSIDE CITIZENS DEFENSE GROUP. Well, I would say that they do provide potentially the basis for revolutionary organization.....yes.

QUESTION: How did you agitate politically during the riots itself?

ANSWER: How does one agitate under any circumstance.

QUESTION: How did you?

ANSWER: Well, let me explain just briefly.

QUESTION: What specifically did you do during the riots? I'm here to ask, what did you say to these people while the riots were going on?

ANSWER: We pointed out that the necessity to take lessons from the concrete situation. The necessity to have tighter organization. An organization that was both that the authorities were aware of publically, politically, and an aspect of the organization that the authorities could not be aware of and could not eliminate or eradicate. We were pushing for the conception of the organization of the individuals. Pushing for the conception of first building a group of individual elements that can defend the interest of the people, that can put forward a political program that can represent their interests. That's what we call political agitation.

QUESTION: What did you do, stand on a street corner at 103rd Street and gather a group together and say, this is what we should do?

ANSWER: Our agitation was with the..... You see with this kind of uprising there is no direct coordination. There were small units of individuals that banded together and they had a nominal leader who provided direction and expression. There were numbers of others who just acted individually. Our main efforts were that we already knew who the potential leaders were. We were to get these elements together and begin to hammer away at the necessity for a regular systematic organizing as opposed to very loose and indefinite organizational forms. Many people praise the uprising in the community because it is so ill-defined that nobody could really put their finger on it. But, we say this is the negative side of it. There should have been centralized organization and politicalization.



## HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

Press Conf., Michael Laski, 10/7/65 (Page 21)

QUESTION: Do you believe any direction appeared during the course of the riot? There have been charges from YORTY, I Believe?

ANSWER: No, no. There was no ostensible direction all the way through the period in terms of \*

QUESTION: Like I mentioned earlier, you didn't have any people on bull horns?

ANSWER: I didn't answer that question.

QUESTION: Can we ask you now about your doctrine?

ANSWER: Let me make just one point and that is, first of all, I want to make it perfectly clear that the uprising occurred spontaneously as the result of the people's history. That our function, as Communists, was to provide political form, expression and organization. And that we strove to do prior the uprising and attempted to do during the uprising. And immediately after and at the present time we are engaged in attempting to lend political organization and expression under the conditions and circumstances that prevail. One thing that I would like to point out, and that it was in the PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE. Elements of the Committee were expelled from the Committee after the uprising and certain elements of the Committee were removed from the Committee physically because of the fact that they were in a position of capitulating during the struggle. They refused to participate and agitate during the struggle and claimed the uprising was nothing more than a group of hoodlums and took the view of it that hoodlums should be suppressed by the NATIONAL GUARD. These individuals represented the revisionist tendency which have been eliminated within our PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE.

QUESTION: Was this before or after or during the re-organization of September 4 and 5?

ANSWER: No, this was all prior to it. The events of August were a stimulus to the developments of September. In other words, this was clearly demonstrated. To wait any longer.... You see the question of the timing elements and the circumstances of the reconstitution went into it. We could have called for the reconstitution of the Party in 1959 or 60, but we didn't because we felt that there was a particular national character needed in the Party and a level of \* and ideological understanding. And that's why we

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

Press Conf., Michael Laski, 10/7/65 (Page 22)

waited until this point. It was also a question of class struggle and its intensification, because we knew the party has a class struggle.

QUESTION: How many did you purge?

ANSWER: They were very few in number.

QUESTION: Well, you're only talking about 60 or 100 before all this happened. 20? 30? or 5?

ANSWER: There were essentially 7.

QUESTION: Something we didn't discuss. What do you think the net effect of the riot or uprising is teaching? Do you think it will improve conditions of people in the area?

ANSWER: Unfortunately, the past has attempted to do that, but at the present time, it won't succeed. The conditions which exist in the WATTS area, existed before the uprising, exists today, and are not going to be eliminated over night, if at all. They can't make WATTS into a prize or a store-front display. It's just too large, too many people. You're dealing with 200,000 or 250,000 people in the immediate vicinity of WATTS and adjacent areas, so you can't make that into a show-case.

QUESTION: Is it your judgment that these conditions make the WATTS area a fertile field for your basic ideological concepts?

ANSWER: Without a doubt. Without a doubt, there will be a red belt where there is a black belt very shortly.

QUESTION: Is that your official flag?(points to solid red banner on a stand against the wall).

ANSWER: Well, that belongs to the Trade Union.

QUESTION: To the Trade Union? That is the Car Washers Union? Is there any symbol on it?

ANSWER: No, they just use a red flag which represents the blood of the workers that have been sacrificed to the struggle.

QUESTION: Are you organizing any other groups besides the Car Washers?

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

Press Conf., Michael Laski, 10/7/65 (Page 23)

ANSWER: As I pointed out, the Car Washers are the main trade union group. The FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE and then the self-defense units which are beginning to form and expression now.

QUESTION: Do they have any name, the self-defense units?

ANSWER: They prefer to keep their public side hidden until they organize the other side of this committee. Once they've organized fully and substantially on a basis for sustaining themselves after you want to expose them. And then they'll make themselves public so you can try and expose them.

QUESTION: Are these groups largely made up of minority races or a combination of both?

ANSWER: They are of the exploited and oppressed section of the working class, Mexican-American and Negro workers. One other thing, the uprising in itself was participated in by a number of whites. A point which has been conveniently bypassed. The fact that there were over 200 "Whites" arrested as participating in the uprising and riots has not been covered and brought out. The fact that a percentage of those killed, there were a number of Mexican-Americans killed by the National Guard and Police. These points were to be bypassed to emphasize the racial aspects.

QUESTION: What do you see as the position of the Whites who took part in the rioting? Were they members of the same class as the other rioters?

ANSWER: They were suffering from the same oppression as the others. What hites do you find adjacent to the Negro sections? You find the poor Whites. You find.... Let's look at the districts that are adjacent to the Negro districts. They're bordered by Mexican-Americans and then by the lower section of the Whites who turn to their class position, the ones new to our area from the South.

QUESTION: Thanks, you're describing a reporter who is sitting here, too.

ANSWER: You see, that's the advantage, they can take the White workers from the South. They can, the ruling class can bribe them and lift them up. But they can't do this as a whole with the Negro people. They can't get the turnover going within the Negro that they can get with the White ruling

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

Press Conf., Michael Laski, 10/7/65 (Page 24)

classes at this time. If they can get the same turnover, lifting up and lowering of significant sectors they feel they can eliminate the problem because they try. The basis of containment of the working class is based on bribery at this point. The aristocracy of labor. But they can't bring those conditions to bear with the Negroes because this represents a very strong source of profits.

QUESTION: I have one more question. What do you think the net effect on our political spectrum is of the efforts of the organizations of the far right today?

ANSWER: The net result is merely going to be generating a far left, a very strong, a naturally decisive far left. Because, like in anything, when you have one extreme the other extreme is going to take form and grow. You have development in the last 10 years of what you call the far right. We don't think the far right is a danger. We view the far middle as a danger.

QUESTION: Are you saying essentially that a healthy BIRCH SOCIETY means a healthier CP?

ANSWER: No, we're not saying that. We're saying that the BIRCH SOCIETY and the far right are symptomatic of developments within this society and that we don't want to see a BIRCH SOCIETY. We don't even want to see the JOHNSON Administration, or a GOLD-WATER Administration. We want to see worker's control, but that this society is going through a particular phase of its development. The degeneration which brings about the formation of a right and a left and the danger does not stem from the right, it stems from the present administration and the present politics of that administration, both Democratic and Republican. This bi-partisan monster is the real source of the problems that face the Negro people and face the peoples of the rest of the world. We are not going to be drawn into this idea of the great boggie-man of the far right. The far right is only there because there is a Democratic and Republican Party that represents monopoly capital. The fight against the reasoning, you heard all the BIRCHERS absurd phrases about ROCKEFELLER being a Communist by the BIRCH SOCIETY. And all those horrible things that EISENHOWER either as a foolish man is supposed to have done. Well, these elements in the far right are merely pointing out the policies and positions of monopoly capital. They cannot understand them, because

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued.

Press Conf., Michael Laski, 10/7/65 (Page 25)

they essentially and ideologically are from the petty bourgeois. They view the attempts of monopoly capital to make arrangements with the Soviet Union as capitulation as serving the interests of Communism. They don't view that as making accommodations for the survival of monopoly capital and as perversion of existing Socialist States, because of their own position.

QUESTION: MIKE, you seem to view the position of both the far left and far right as symptomatic of the disintegration of capitalism.

ANSWER: As the intensified contradiction of, yes, essentially that is.

QUESTION: How do you view the Soviet administration with our own two party system? You seem to be anti-KRUSHCHEV and anti-BREZHNEV. Do you oppose the CP of the Soviet Union?

ANSWER: We look for a struggle to develop within the CP of the SOVIET UNION and we in fact feel very confident that the Communists, the rank and file of the CP of the SOVIET UNION will eliminate revisionist leadership. There will be an intense struggle as a manifest result within the party.

QUESTION: How old are you, MIKE?

ANSWER: I'm 25 years old.

QUESTION: Where are you from?

ANSWER: New York City. I think that's where all the Communists come from. I have a Jewish background and that's also what most Communists are.

QUESTION: Can we have a spelling of your full name?

ANSWER: No middle initial, just M. LASKI. ("That sounds strongly revolutionary", from a reporter)

QUESTION: How long have you been out here, MIKE?

ANSWER: I've been out here 11 years.

QUESTION: Consistently?

ANSWER: I have mobility, I visit various places to find out what's going on, but my residence is in the WATTS district. I live in the WATTS district

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

Press Conf., Michael Laski, 10/7/65 (Page 26)

and I've resided there for over a year. I am registered to vote at the school right over here.

QUESTION: How about your educational background? Speaking of school?

ANSWER: (Re previous question) I'm not registered as a Communist, but as "declines to state". We'll be running people from this district for political office that should prove most interesting.

QUESTION: As Communists?

ANSWER: As Communists. We may have to register them as Independents or Democrats, not as Communists in order to get them on the ballot. But the Democratic Party would disclaim the fact that the Democrats we put forward are really Communists. We will admit that they are Communists and then see what happens.

QUESTION: How about running Republicans as Communists?

ANSWER: It makes no difference, we're just concerned with getting them on the ballot as Communists whether we have to say they're Democrats or Republicans to do it. We'll do it. I want to prove a point with regard to the elections here, that the Communists in the WATTS District can pull a significant quantity of the votes, as you saw with TAYLOR running in the district to the north of here. Will be nothing to what you see when we get a Communist candidate on the ballot in the near future, because you're going to see a tremendous reaction, a political reaction, against the Democratic and Republican Parties.

QUESTION: Are you a second generation Communist, MIKE?

ANSWER: No, I'm a first generation Communist. I'm a first Commie of the family.

QUESTION: The only thing I was curious about was your educational background.

ANSWER: I withdrew from UCLA after 2 years in the school.

QUESTION: You're an admitted drop-out then?

ANSWER: You can check my record, and if you're really interested, you will. And you will find out that I left because of political reasons and that I

## HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

Press Conf., Michael Leski, 10/7/65 (Page 27)

have been banned from returning to Thaxter Hall on the grounds of participating and leading a successful struggle at Thaxter Hall against the authorities there and the acceptance of the Constitution they attempted to cram down the throats of the students. But that's my, \* . In other words you could say I've been a consistent troublemaker.

QUESTION: How did you get into Communism? What attracted you to it?

ANSWER: What attracted you to the press? As a matter of fact, nothing attracted me to it, I sort of fell into it and found I was happy after I got there.

QUESTION: Well, I made a definite decision, I selected the course I was going to take and I didn't fall into it.

\* \* \* \* \*

W.H. SHERMAN (Page 18)

9/19/64 issue of TOCSIN lists the above subject as editor of the MALLST, director of the INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL THOUGHT, and a participant in the WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL, 8/29 to 9/7.

1/28/65 issue of TOCSIN lists the above subject as director of the INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL THOUGHT which has a new militant publication called BLACK FLAG operating out of S.F.

EXHIBIT #1 - 9/27-10/4/65 issue of the PEOPLE'S VOICE (The Voice of all the Oppressed and Exploited!), 1515 E. Firestone Blvd., L.A., Calif. 90001.

EXHIBIT #2 - 8/20/65 & 8/27/65 issues of the PEKING REVIEW, A weekly magazine of Chinese News and Views, published in China.

NOTE: ( \* ) Indicates that words or phrases were omitted because they were not understandable.





# SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

## Part 3

(Los Angeles—Watts)

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 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 10:20 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; and Donald T. Appell, chief investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. Harris, you have been sworn.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, when we adjourned yesterday, Detective Harris was completing his testimony on the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist). He has two more documents which he desires to discuss relating to the current activities of that organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Two more what, did you say?

Mr. SMITH. Two more items.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

### TESTIMONY OF JAMES C. HARRIS—Resumed

Mr. HARRIS. Just yesterday I received from my own office in Los Angeles two copies of a document, one distributed in July of this year headed "U.S. Imperialist Youth Draft." It is signed by the Los Angeles branch of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist). I quote from a portion of it:

We oppose US imperialism and its war of aggression against the people of Vietnam. We oppose the US imperialist draft by fighting to put an end to the capitalist system. \* \* \*

They wind it up by saying:

DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ITS RUNNING DOGS!  
LONG LIVE THE CAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS  
SOLIDARITY!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST FORCES, LED  
BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA!

JOIN AND SUPPORT PEOPLE'S ARMED DEFENSE GROUPS!

READ AND DISTRIBUTE *PEOPLE'S VOICE*—THE VOICE OF ALL THE  
OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED

(At this point, Mr. Willis left the hearing room.)

Mr. HARRIS. The second document was distributed in November 1967 by the CPUSA-ML, and it attempts to "build the August 11th movement to oppose imperialism." I want to quote a little bit of this document, also. It says that:

"The non-violent and pacifist approach was rejected" in the Watts uprising; that "integration was decisively rejected by the people as a social solution to their exploitation and oppression"; and that "the most decisive, important lesson to be learned from August 11, 1965, is the concrete need for revolutionary political direction which embodies the concrete needs and interests of the working class—presenting a clearcut line of struggle for the total and complete defeat of U.S. imperialism."

This again is signed by the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), 9122 South Compton Avenue, Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these exhibits be received and marked "24-A and B" in connection with Detective Harris' testimony on the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist).

Mr. TUCK (presiding). Unless there is objection, and the Chair hears none, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 24-A and 24-B," respectively. Exhibit 24-A retained in committee files; 24-B follows:)

#### HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 24-B

##### WE MUST BUILD THE AUGUST 11TH MOVEMENT TO OPPOSE IMPERIALISM!

The importance of August 11, 1965, must firmly be remembered and understood by the people. The Watts' uprising was far more than a riot. It represents for the American proletariat a new level of struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The significance of the Watts' uprising rests on the following points:

1) The non-violent and pacifist approach was rejected decisively. The people showed their determination to answer the oppressive violence and force of the police and state by waging a tit-for-tat struggle in the streets. The people showed their willingness to struggle with nothing more than their hands against the well armed state apparatus.

2) Integration was decisively rejected by the people as a social solution to their exploitation and oppression. It is not possible to integrate the poor with the rich, to integrate the exploited with the exploiters. Integration has meaning for the bourgeoisie, for the rich, and not for the working people. Integration is a ruse to assimilate the American Negro bourgeoisie with the rest of the American bourgeoisie, under the pretext of assimilation of all Negroes in the American nation. With the failure of "integration," U.S. imperialism has dropped that hoax and adopted the "Black Power" hoax to divide workers on the basis of "color" as the last line of defense for U.S. imperialism. This new line props up the reactionary nationalists as the mainstay of the capitalist system in the U.S. by calling for "Black" capitalists, as Floyd McKissick of CORE, along with Stokely Carmichael and Adam Clayton Powell who are leading spokesmen for this new imperialist ruse.

3) The rejection of the U.S. imperialist lackeys such as Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, and the strongest advocates of non-violence and integration, reveals

clearly that a decisive break was made with the bourgeois leadership of the civil rights' movement, and a decisive division had developed along class lines.

What other lessons must be learned from the Watts' uprising?

1) The attack on U.S. imperialism lacked a direct political expression. It was not politically expressed as a list of political demands on behalf of the people against U.S. imperialism.

2) There existed no organised anti-imperialist movement to provide a basis for the leadership of the people of Watts and, nationally, against U.S. imperialism.

3) Most importantly, there was an absence of a Marxist-Leninist Party to provide the basis for the political and ideological leadership of the masses. Without such direction, a mass anti-imperialist organisation could not be successful nor could an anti-imperialist united front successfully carry out the struggle.

The most decisive, important lesson to be learned from August 11, 1965, is the concrete need for revolutionary political direction which embodies the concrete needs and interests of the working class—presenting a clearcut line of struggle for the total and complete defeat of U.S. imperialism.

The heroic struggle of the people of Watts on August 11, 1965, sums up clearly for us the nature of the problem facing the American proletariat and the national liberation struggle in the U.S. today. Concretely stated, it is a need for a specific line of political struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and for a specific form of organisation which fosters that struggle, and in which the masses may join and participate.

#### WE MUST BUILD THE AUGUST 11TH MOVEMENT TO OPPOSE IMPERIALISM!

The PEOPLE'S VOICE, Volume 1, Number 1, on Monday, August 23, 1965, called for the formation of the August 11th Movement as the People's weapon against U.S. imperialism.

The formation and development of an August 11th Movement, taking as its point of inception and basing itself on the lessons of the heroic Watts' uprising, can and will serve as the basis for forming a mass national organisation of the people against U.S. imperialism, while carrying out a concrete line of class struggle and opposition to U.S. imperialism. The August 11th Movement must represent the concrete application of the revolutionary, mass political line of the Party of the proletariat, and form its organisational embodiment so that the people may have the widest possible opportunity to play an active role in overthrowing U.S. imperialism.

#### WHAT MUST BE THE BASIS OF THE POLITICAL LINE FOR SUCH A MOVEMENT

1) The movement must firmly and resolutely without reservation oppose and fight for the total and complete destruction of U.S. imperialism. This means that our brothers and comrades in Africa, Asia, and Latin America must be completely supported in their struggle against U.S. imperialism (i.e. the Vietnamese people, the Arab people, the Congolese people, and the Dominican people).

2) The movement must fight for the equal rights of all the national minorities and nationalities in America without hesitation, and resolutely oppose all forms of discrimination.

3) The movement must fight for the right of self-determination of the Negro nation in the South (the Black Belt) and Puerto Rico. This means to support the complete right of national liberation for the Negro and Puerto Rican nations which includes their right to secede, federate or amalgamate.

4) The movement must resolutely oppose all agents and lackeys of U.S. imperialism. There must be no joint action with the political and ideological agents of U.S. imperialism: the modern revisionists (CPUSA), the Trotskyites (SWP), and their conciliators (PLP), nor with the direct political expression of imperialism, the Democrats and Republicans, whether liberal or conservative. For it is impossible to oppose imperialism and defeat it by collaborating with its agents.

5) The movement must support the struggles of all working people for their emancipation from imperialism.

#### WHO SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO JOIN THE AUGUST 11TH MOVEMENT?

The membership should be open to all working people who endorse and support its program.

**WHERE SHOULD THE MOVEMENT CONCENTRATE AND ORGANISE ITS ACTIVITIES?**

The movement should concentrate its organising among the most exploited and oppressed sections of the working people, especially among the areas of the Negro, Mexican-American, and Puerto Rican national minorities. It must and should encourage the broad participation of wide sections of the people.

**WHAT KIND OF ACTIVITY WILL THE AUGUST 11TH MOVEMENT CARRY OUT?**

- 1) It must carry out the widest possible education of the people to its program.
- 2) It should seek to educate the people culturally and in practical matters of their interests.
- 3) It must help to train the people in their active defense. It must take an active hand in training its members in self-defense, and assist in the formation of People's Armed Defense Groups which will also form part of its activity.

The Communist Party, U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), seeks to foster the development of the August 11th Movement precisely to further the struggle against U.S. imperialism, and to bring about its destruction. We call upon our members, sympathisers, and friends to actively assist in the formation and development of the August 11th Movement nationally, and to carry the line of the Party to the masses.

**TOWARDS BUILDING AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT**

The Party supports and fights for the development of an anti-imperialist united front comprised of all class forces opposed to U.S. monopoly capital in order to oppose U.S. imperialism and the rise of fascism. The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) is taking decisive steps to foster such development. The Party and August 11th Movement will play a decisive role in bringing about such a development.

The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) calls for the commemoration of the deaths of our martyred working class comrades and brothers who were shot down by the U.S. imperialist national guard and police. The U.S. imperialists have, on the other hand, called for a "darkie" carnival—the Watts' Summer Festival—to humiliate [sic] the heroic people of Watts and to cover up for the police and national guard murder of the 34 workers in Watts in August 1965. Our Party views the imperialist sponsored "Watts' Summer Festival" as a direct provocation against the proletariat.

We will be conducting activities, along with the August 11th Movement, in commemoration of our martyred dead and in opposition to the imperialist carnival. As we stated in the first issue of our newspaper, the PEOPLE'S VOICE, on August 23, 1965: "We pledge to carry forward the struggle that our dead brothers and comrades have begun . . . In their memory we pledge to destroy U.S. imperialism!"

**MARTYRED NEGRO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN WORKERS MURDERED IN AUGUST 1965  
BY POLICE AND NATIONAL GUARD**

Homer Ellis, 35	Calvin Jones, 31	George Adams, 45
Leon Posey, 21	Charles Shortridge, 18	Thomas Owens
Carrol Shaw, 30	Alfred O'Neal, 23	Carlton Elliot, 17
George Fentroy, 21	Andrew Houston, Jr.	Leon Cauley, 31
Curtis Gaines, 24	Willey Hawkins, 35	Paul Harbin, 53
Joseph Maiman	Aubrey Griffin, 38	Miller Boroughs, 31
Joe Horn, 20	Frederick Hendricks, 19	Albert Flores, 40
Carlos Cavitt, 18	William King, 40	Charles Smalley
Joseph Wallace, 29	Juan Fuentes, 30	Neill Love

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!  
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!**

**DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!!**

Issued by the COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A. (MARXIST-LENINIST)  
9122 SOUTH COMPTON AVENUE  
L.A., CALIF. 90002  
213-569-2542

Mr. SMITH. Were these exhibits distributed in the Watts, Los Angeles, area?

Mr. HARRIS. Both were distributed in the Watts area; yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Detective Harris, committee investigation has revealed that an organization called the Watts Action Committee operated in the Watts area prior to the riot in the summer of 1965.

Has your office explored the activities of this organization?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

The Watts Action Committee was formed approximately August 1964. It apparently phased out when Laski left the Provisional Organizing Committee for the Reconstitution of the Communist Party in September of 1965. The Watts Action Committee was a front for the POC.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I think it is interesting to note at this point that this was just a couple of weeks after the Harlem riot of July 18, 1964, and that POC headquarters is in New York. Michael Laski was one of their West Coast leaders.

What was the general purpose or objective of this committee?

Mr. HARRIS. From our investigation, it appears that it was primarily an organization designed to stimulate animosity against the police in the south Los Angeles area which, of course, includes Watts.

Mr. SMITH. On what do you base your conclusions?

Mr. HARRIS. On their activities and their printed literature.

Mr. SMITH. What form did this antipolice activity take?

Mr. HARRIS. I have two exhibits here.

The first is a poster headed "This Man Says: YOU Committ [sic] More Crime And Violence Than Anyone Else." It has a picture of former Police Chief Parker. It says:

If You Want Respect, Justice And Honesty From The Police. If You Know Of Any Cases Of Police Brutality Call

Watts Action Committee

LO 9-0785

STOP POLICE BRUTALITY!

The second exhibit is a photograph of two posters which were posted in the Watts area. The posters read, "Civlian [sic] Police Review Board, Remove Chief Parker, Watts Action Committee." It has the telephone number of Logan 9-0785.

The second reads, "Arrest Cops for Brutality. Remove Cheif [sic] Parker, Watts Action Committee."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these exhibits be received and marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 25 and 26."

The CHAIRMAN. They will be so received and marked.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 25 and 26," respectively, appear on pages 1186 and 1187.)

Mr. SMITH. I note from the two exhibits you refer to telephone number Logan 9-0785.

Can you tell the committee the subscriber and address of this number?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. That is a published number. At the time the exhibit was received and the photographs made, the subscriber to the number was Robert M. Stewart, at 2477 East 111th Street, Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. Can you further identify Robert M. Stewart?

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 25

***This Man Says:***  
**YOU Committ More Crime And  
Violence Than Anyone Else**



*Watts*

***But What Are The Facts***

50% OF THOSE ARRESTED FOR FELONIES BY PARKER'S COPS ARE  
RELEASED WITHOUT TRIAL BUT STILL HAVE ARREST RECORDS  
RESULT: JOB DISCRIMINATION

NEGROES AND MEXICAN AMERICANS ARE DEPRIVED OF THEIR  
RIGHTS, EVEN THEIR LIVES, BY POLICE VIOLENCE AND BRUTALITY  
YET NO POLICEMAN HAS EVER BEEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL FOR THEIR  
ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST MEMBERS OF OUR COMMUNITY

**If You Want Respect, Justice And Honesty  
From The Police. If You Know Of Any Cases  
Of Police Brutality Call  
*Watts Action Committee*  
LO 9-0785**

**STOP POLICE BRUTALITY!**

## HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 26



Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. His full name is Robert Morris Stewart IV, born November 10, 1942, in Glendale, California. To my knowledge, he is not known to be in the Los Angeles area at this time.

Mr. SMITH. Has Robert Stewart had any connection with any organization which will be of interest to this committee?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. I have a copy of a letter dated October 28, 1961, addressed to "Comrade Stewart" and the letter is signed by "M. I. Lasky," who is now head of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist).

Mr. Lasky in the letter states:

Now to the reason for this communication. Your statements to me concerning the Agricultural Workers has caused me to realize with you the great value your presence in their midst has for the parties [sic] growth. \* \* \*

Then he sets out a plan of action to establish a front group called the Agricultural-Workers-Aid-Committee.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be received and marked "Harris Exhibit No. 27."

The CHAIRMAN. It is received and may be so marked.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 27" follows:)

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 27

OCTOBER 28, 1961.

COMRADE STEWART:

I hope your tasks in the northern area are proceeding with the greatest degree of efficiency. I hope you attempt to spread your influence as rapidly as possible by demonstrating your zeal for the organizational attempts of the workers. (Enthusiasm is your sword which you must direct with your intelligence to its given mark. Allow contemplated actions to direct you and do not allow yourself to be moved by the enthusiasm or forcefulness [sic] which may lead in another direction. Remain adamant [sic] in your immediate objectives. Enough [sic] with these thoughts which I state as much for you as for myself.)

Now to the reason for this communication. Your statements to me concerning the Agricultural Workers has caused me to realize with you the great value your presence in their midst has for the parties [sic] growth. The following is a plan of action:

(a) I will establish a front group called the Agricultural-Workers-Aid-Committee whose purpose is to aid the organizational drive of all farm workers by:

1. Securing financial aid for all aspects of their organizing.
2. Publicity in order to secure favorable public support.
3. to coordinate all efforts of their [sic] groups to help the organizational drive.

(b) This group will provide its own funds and will be capable of supplying the party with many sympathizers and militant possible members.

(c) The object is to spread the A.W.A.C. across the state in all populous areas with chapters at first in Los Angeles County Area.

(d) The group will spread rapidly because of the potential liberal and semi-radical support which will be given in the various areas of publicity:

1. Radio coverage—KPFK—FM.
2. Newspaper articles.
3. Local leaflets.

In order to aid me, you must obtain from the main organizer; (1) a letter of his official support for the Agricultural Workers Aid Committee immediately or such a letter from an official member of the Union Organizing Com. (2) the support of the Union for the A.W.A.C. as its official or semi-official Committee of sympathizers in the state.

Before I can carry out any publicity campaign, I must have an official letter of support from the Union obtain this through any means!! You may use any story in telling how you heard of this Committee and why you are asking for the letter and their official endorsement of the Com. as their aid apparatus. I will proceed to establish the Committee so that its control will be only in the hands of our sympathizers.

I have heard nothing from W. in Mexico City or from C. itself.

Send necessary letter within the week. I expect your immediate reply.

Comradely,

M. I. LASKY.

P.S.—Do not use my name in referring to how you found out about the Committee's existence. You may use the name of W. I. Laaski—as the representative of the forming A.W.A.C. in Los Angeles when mentioning the organization to the union representatives.

Also send any of the unions [sic] latest press release and any of its latest publications.

I have secured a job on a full time bases [sic] with a highly reactionary manager who would fire me if ever received the inkling of an idea that I was very pro-labor.

Mr. SMITH. With what organization was Laski affiliated in 1961?

Mr. HARRIS. He was with the Provisional Organizing Committee.

Mr. SMITH. Did the Watts Action Committee organize any demonstration?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. Our files reflect that the Watts Action Committee staged at least two demonstrations protesting alleged police brutality.



Mr. SMITH. When did the first demonstration take place?

Mr. HARRIS. On April 10, 1965.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any exhibits related to this demonstration?

Mr. HARRIS. I have some photographs of the participants and their placards. Some of those placards read, "PARKER MUST GO!"; "RACIST COPS & WHITE JURY [equals] LYNCHING"; "STOP SHOT GUN JUSTICE"; "STOP SQUAD CAR EXECUTION"; "END POLICE SADISM"; and "STOP Beatings & Killings by POLICE!"

The CHAIRMAN. You are reading from what now?

Mr. HARRIS. From placards carried by the picketers.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these photographs be accepted and marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 28 through 36."

The CHAIRMAN. Am I correct that these demonstrations occurred just a few months before the riots occurred?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir; they did.

The CHAIRMAN. The photographs will be gladly received.

(Photographs marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 28 through 36," respectively. Exhibits Nos. 28 and 30 follow; balance retained in committee files.)

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 28





Mr. SMITH. What was the date of the second demonstration?

Mr. HARRIS. The second demonstration occurred April 24, 1965.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any exhibits to submit regarding this demonstration?

Mr. HARRIS. I also have photographs of some of the demonstrators and their signs. Some of these signs read, "Will We Have To BUY PROTECTION"; "PROTECTION FROM PSYCHO COPS OR SELF DEFENSE"; "TO PROTECT and SERVE"—this was a motto of the Los Angeles police—under that they have "BOOK-MAKERS"; "STOP SQUAD CAR EXECUTION."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these photographs be accepted and marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 37 through 41."

(Photographs marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 37 through 41," respectively. Exhibits 38 and 40 appear on pages 1191 and 1192, respectively; balance retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Detective Harris, committee investigation establishes the existence in the Los Angeles, California, area of an organization called Freedom for the People.

Are you familiar with the activities of this organization?



Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. Freedom for the People was also a front organization created and controlled by the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of which Laski was the Los Angeles leader when the Freedom for the People was operating.

Mr. SMITH. We have heard testimony about Michael Laski.

Do you have a document which establishes his leadership in the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party?

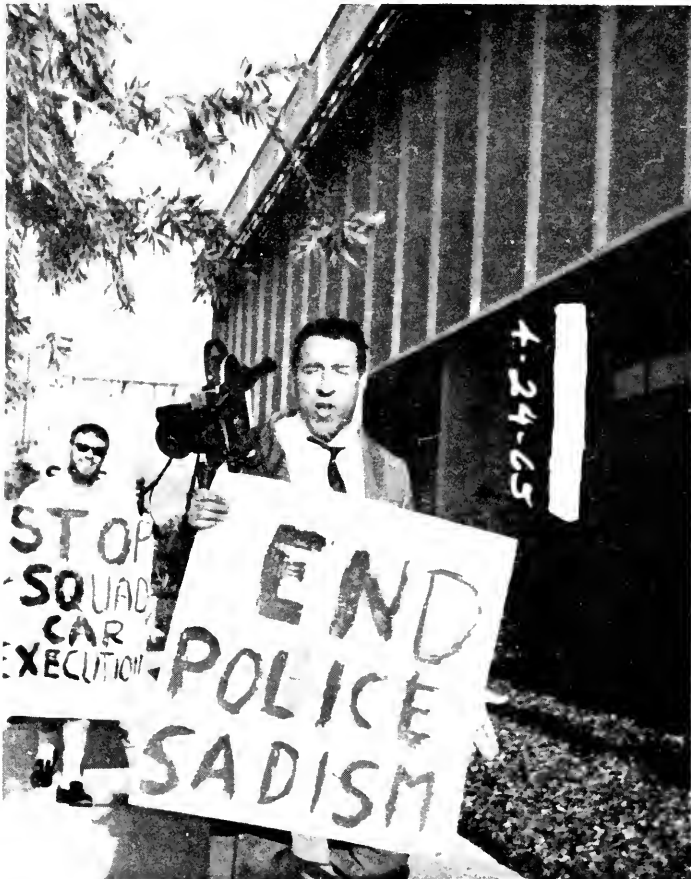
Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. I have a document announcing a public debate "CHRISTIANITY vs. COMMUNISM," and M. I. Laski is identified as the West Coast chairman of the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be accepted and marked "Harris Exhibit No. 42."

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 42" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. For what purpose was the organization created?

Mr. HARRIS. The Freedom for the People was simply a front for the POC. From research, it appears to have been organized to agitate



solely in the field of police brutality, in the field of civil rights, and of attempting to prepare the minority masses for revolution.

I have a document here headed "Freedom for the People" which was received March 12, 1965. I would like to read portions of it :

**FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE** believes :

The Johnson administration and the white ruling class that they represent want to continue the enslavement of the Negro people.

\* \* \* \* \*

We, the fighters for national liberation of the Negro Nation, agree fully with the statement made last year by our Chinese brothers through their Chairman Mao Tse-tung :

"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 . . . 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. 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."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be received and marked "Harris Exhibit No. 43."

The CHAIRMAN. That may be done.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 43" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. When did this organization come into existence?

Mr. HARRIS. The first newsletter printed by the Freedom for the People is dated January 1964. I have a copy of Volume I, Number 1.

Mr. SMITH. Would you describe a few points about it, please?

Mr. HARRIS. They say that this is the first publication of the paper and "written on behalf of the Black Working People." They announce a general meeting of the Workers' Council and of the Freedom for the People Committee at 1780 East 103d Street.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be received and marked "Harris Exhibit No. 44."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and marked accordingly.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 44" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Do you have an address for this organization?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes; 1780 East 103d Street in Watts.

Mr. SMITH. Did this particular address house any other organization?

The CHAIRMAN. I am not familiar with the significance of Watts. Is that a particular area within Los Angeles, or is that a suburb or subdivision or what?

Mr. HARRIS. It is a south-central area of Los Angeles, Mr. Willis.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been well delineated as a separate area over the years? In other words, it did not acquire the name of "Watts" just because of these riots?

Mr. HARRIS. No, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Did this particular address house any other organizations?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes. This building located at 1780 East 103d Street was rented under the guise of the Automobile Workers' Maintenance Union, which Laski also controlled. He rented the building on January 22, 1964. However, he kept this address only one month and vacated the premises on February 22, 1964.

Mr. SMITH. Where did they move to?

Mr. HARRIS. They moved to 9624 Juniper Street, Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. Is this still in the Watts area?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. SMITH. Does the address 9624 Juniper Street have any particular meaning?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. We have determined that this address at that time was occupied by Michael Laski and Arnold Hoffman. Now, Hoffman is a coleader with Michael Laski in the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist).

Mr. SMITH. What evidence do you have of Freedom for the People agitating in the Watts area?

Mr. HARRIS. I have a flyer obtained March 12, 1965, headed "FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE," with a subtitle "WHO DO THE POLICE PROTECT AND SERVE?"

I would like to read a portion of this:

**FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE** fights against the source of our oppression; the white ruling class and its colonial enslavement of our Negro Nation in the South. We call for the right of the Negro Nation to self-determination and for the equal rights of the Negro national minority. We know that the white ruling class and its fascist [sic] police will continue to oppress us until we are organized to fight back. We know that we will never be free until U.S. Imperialism is dead. We must help to destroy this enemy of all the oppressed peoples of the world.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Let me ask you: Those words could come out of the *Daily Worker*. That is purely a Communist line; is it not?

Mr. **HARRIS**. Yes, sir; I recognize it, too. [Continues reading:]

The unity of the Negro people with the oppressed peoples of the world in their fight against U.S. Imperialism is the only real solution. **FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE** is the beginning of the struggle for national liberation.

Mr. **SMITH**. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be received and marked "Harris Exhibit No. 45."

The **CHAIRMAN**. It will be received and marked accordingly.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 45" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. **SMITH**. Continue, please.

Mr. **HARRIS**. Next, on November 26, 1964, a demonstration was sponsored by Freedom for the People in front of the Watts police substation at 1519 East 103d Street. The demonstrators carried signs which read: "WE DEMAND THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE NEGRO NATION AND EQUAL RIGHTS FOR THE NATIONAL MINORITIES" and "The POLICE IS the ARM Of the WHITE RULING CLASS."

The **CHAIRMAN**. Sir, what is your idea of the meaning of the term "Negro nation"?

Mr. **HARRIS**. I think Mr. Laski was attempting to involve those people in his local area. I don't know whether he had envisioned leading the Negro nation or the total Negro minority; I don't think he did. He was attempting to involve the local Negro population.

The demonstrators were chanting. Some of their chants were: "Down with the U.S. imperialists"; "death to the FBI"; "we want freedom for the people"; "down with the killers of unarmed men"; "racist police"; "killer cops go home."

Mr. **SMITH**. Did Freedom for the People have a publication?

Mr. **HARRIS**. Yes, sir. They published a one-page legal-sized bulletin titled Freedom for the People. I have the first issue here, Volume I, Number 1, dated January 1964 [Harris Exhibit No. 44].

(At this point Mr. Willis left the hearing room.)

Mr. **HARRIS**. This is a second edition of Freedom for the People, dated May 8, 1964. This is also identified as Volume I, Number 1.

The publication dates were most irregular.

Mr. **SMITH**. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be received and marked as "Harris Exhibit No. 46."

Mr. **TUCK** (presiding). Hearing no objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 46" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. **SMITH**. Detective Harris, this issue claims that:

This paper is published by the poor working people of Watts for the people who are beginning to rise and fight against the rich men of America.

Is this factual or has your investigation established that its publishers were an extremely small band of militant Communists?

Mr. HARRIS. Well, the poor people of Watts had nothing whatsoever to do with this publication. The Communists attempted by this publication to include the poor people of Watts in their subversive programs.

Mr. SMITH. Were there any other demonstrations?

Mr. HARRIS. On December 10, 1964, they held a demonstration, or the Freedom for the People held a demonstration in front of the Watts substation at 1519 East—

Mr. SMITH. Is this a police station?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes; a police substation, at 1519 East 103d Street.

The pickets carried signs which read: "The POLICE IS the ARM Of the WHITE RULING CLASS" and "WE DEMAND THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE NEGRO NATION AND EQUAL RIGHTS FOR THE NATIONAL MINORITIES."

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, may I interrupt at that point?

I have before me the "Brutality" poster which follows the form used in the Harlem riots. This has a date on it, issued April 1965. There are photographs which have been introduced into evidence showing white people—all of them appear to be white—carrying signs such as "PARKER MUST GO!"; "STOP SHOT GUN JUSTICE"; "RACIST COPS & WHITE JURY LYNCHING"; all carried by white people; "END POLICE SADISM"; "STOP Beatings & Killings by POLICE!"; "STOP POLICE BRUTALITY." And then we have additional photographs which you have just introduced into evidence, getting closer to the time of the riot in Watts.

What was the date of the Watts riot?

Mr. HARRIS. August 11, I believe it started, sir, 1965.

Mr. ICHORD. It extended over how long a period of time?

Mr. HARRIS. I think it was 4 days.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me ask you this: Do you have any local statutes, any State statutes, governing incitation to riot?

Mr. HARRIS. There is a California law, I believe, Mr. Ichord.

Mr. ICHORD. Were there any arrests made of any of these people under the State statutes?

Mr. HARRIS. Not to my knowledge; no, sir.

(At this point, Mr. Willis returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. ICHORD. Of course, it would be a matter of judgment by prosecution officials as to whether the time might not be too remote. But the acts were near to the period of August 4, closer to the riot. There is more proximity of time and there could be some basis for prosecutions. This is one of the things, Detective Harris, that is outside your jurisdiction that I am concerned about.

The Congress has considerable pressure on it to pass legislation primarily dealing with the keeping of the peace. One, when he is looking at all the riots occurring over the United States, is moved to pass such legislation. But the thing that bothers me is that there is considerable danger, if the Congress does so, in destroying the basic concepts of our federal system of government. That is, whose responsibility is it to keep law and order? It is primarily the responsibility of

you, the police officers in Los Angeles, the prosecuting officials, and the judges.

This is too large a nation; our Nation is too large and diversified for Federal officials to perform those obligations. If we do so, then we must necessarily set up a national police system. When we set up a national police system, I fear that could very well have thrown democracy out of the window.

There are numerous stories in the newspapers; many people are talking about the necessity of such legislation. I am sure that there is room for such legislation, but I am concerned about the consequences. Certainly, there appears to be the need for more local people to be concerned about what is going on at the local level.

Go ahead. I am philosophizing. But there were no arrests or attempts to obtain convictions under local statutes, to your knowledge?

Mr. HARRIS. No, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Will you continue, please?

Mr. HARRIS. Again referring to the demonstration of December 10, 1964, the demonstrators were chanting: "Down with the cops in Watts and all the world"; "down with the hired gun slingers and LBJ"; "down with killer cops."

I have a couple of photographs of the signs carried by the pickets. They read, "The POLICE IS the ARM Of the WHITE RULING CLASS"; and I have already read that one.

On February 18, 1965, Freedom for the People sponsored another demonstration against alleged police brutality at the Watts substation, Los Angeles Police Department, and this, of course, is in the Watts area. Practically the same signs were on display again.

I have three photographs which I would like to leave with you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these exhibits be received and marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 47, 48, and 49."

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received and marked accordingly.

(Photographs marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 47, 48, and 49," respectively, appear on pp. 1197 and 1198.)

Mr. HARRIS. Our investigation indicates that Laski apparently abandoned this organization after the December 10, 1964, demonstration. There is no record of any activity by the organization subsequent to that date.

It is significant because it demonstrates that Laski, as he has claimed, was agitating in the Watts area prior to the August 1965 riot, in this case through a front group.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, this concludes the testimony concerning subversive influence in the pre-riot phase in the Watts area.

I ask that Detective Harris be temporarily excused so that I might call Investigator Wheeler to deal with activities during the riot.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Thank you very much, Detective Harris.

Mr. HARRIS. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I repeat, we are very grateful for your appearance and contribution.

Mr. HARRIS. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Wheeler.

Please raise your right hand.

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

Mr. WHEELER. I do, sir.



HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 47



HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 48





**TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM A. WHEELER**

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wheeler, you are an investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, are you not?

Mr. WHEELER. That is correct.

Mr. SMITH. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. WHEELER. Twenty years.

Mr. SMITH. You are the West Coast investigator for the committee?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir. I have been on the West Coast since 1951.

Mr. SMITH. Committee investigation establishes the existence in the Los Angeles, California, area of an organization called Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes.

Are you familiar with the activities of this organization?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, I am.

This particular committee functioned for a short period of time during the Watts riots of August 11-17, 1965. Prior to the formation of this particular organization and also subsequent, there was active in Los Angeles a committee known as the Committee To End the War in Vietnam. The Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes was the outgrowth of this Committee To End the War in Vietnam.

The groups active in both committees were the Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Students for a Democratic Society, the Los Angeles W. E. B. DuBois Club, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

This was a united front effort by these groups. They did form this organization.

Now, a representative of the Committee To End the War in Vietnam contacted Michael Hannon of the Socialist Party in Los Angeles and made arrangements for a meeting to be held at the Socialist Party Hall at 837 South Park View, Los Angeles, on the night of August 13, 1965. This was the third day of the riots. All present, as far as has been determined, were members of the Committee To End the War in Vietnam.

As a result of this meeting, the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes was formed.

It was determined or decided at this meeting that a demonstration in front of the police administration building would begin at midnight that night, August 13. The demonstration did occur and lasted from midnight until 2:30 a.m. It ended August 14 at 2:30 a.m. The theme of the demonstration was police brutality.

Later the same day, August 14, from noon to 3 p.m., the second demonstration took place, sponsored by the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes. Again the theme was police brutality.

MR. SMITH. Were the demonstrations successful?

MR. WHEELER. Actually, they were not too successful and this was apparently due to the violence that was then occurring in Watts.

This particular committee that we are discussing made a telephone campaign to obtain as many people as possible, but there is a lot of fear among these people. Most of the police were in the Watts area. They were afraid of reprisals by some right wing organizations and they had insufficient police for protection of their picket line. Due to this, they actually could not gather too much strength or too much force.

However, they were afraid to go into the Watts area. Most of these people were white; in fact, they were all Caucasians. However, they felt that they had to respond in some way to be of some assistance or some help during the riots. Therefore, they came up with this committee and they charged the police with police brutality downtown at the main administration building, and this was their offering during this period of time of this particular committee.

Now, after the demonstration of the 14th was called off around 3 p.m., another meeting was held at the Socialist Party Hall. It was decided to have another demonstration at the main administration building at 1 p.m. on August 21. Of course, this meeting took place during the riot. However, this demonstration occurred 4 days after the riot. The demonstration on the 21st was sponsored by the Congress of Unrepresented People.

MR. SMITH. Did the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes distribute any inflammatory material?

MR. WHEELER. I have one document here, Mr. Chairman, that was printed and distributed by the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes. It is headed "STOP POLICE REPRESSION OF WATTS NEGROES!! FIRE POLICE CHIEF PARKER!! CREATE A CIVILIAN POLICE REVIEW BOARD!! ELIMINATE GHETTO CONDITIONS!!"

Of course, here again, like all demonstrations, they link the social conditions along with the police brutality. This is signed "COMMITTEE TO SUPPORT GRIEVANCES OF WATTS NEGROES, 837 South Parkview, Los Angeles," and it is dated August 13, 1965.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 1."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and marked accordingly.

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

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned Michael Hannon.

Can he be further identified?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes.

I refer to Michael Boyd Hannon, who was born October 21, 1936. He was a Los Angeles police officer. He was found guilty of charges brought against him for conduct unbecoming a police officer. After a hearing, he was dismissed from the police department. This sentence was reduced by Chief of Police William Parker to 6 months' suspension.

Hannon became increasingly active in the civil rights demonstrations and anti-U.S. Government demonstrations and on one particular demonstration held at the Los Angeles Federal Building on May 8, 1965, he carried a sign protesting United States policy in the Dominican Republic. The sign read "WHAT KHRUSHCHEV DID TO HUNGARY JOHNSON IS DOING TO THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY."

I have a photograph of Michael Hannon carrying the sign if you desire it for the record.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the photograph be accepted and marked as "Wheeler Exhibit No. 2."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be accepted and marked accordingly.

(Photograph marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 2" appears on page 1201.)

Mr. SMITH. Continue, please.

Mr. WHEELER. Michael Hannon is no longer with the police department.

Mr. SMITH. Did he make any speeches anywhere else?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes. He has given speeches throughout the country. I can refer to one specific example which was reported in the *Daily Bruin*, September 29, 1965.

Now, the committee files reflect speeches in other localities and also other recorded activities that are similar to the photograph that was presented as Exhibit 2.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be accepted and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 3."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. I will read a little out of it. He was quoted: ". . . we talked about being an occupation army in a foreign country . . ." This is the description of police behavior in the Watts area as described by Michael Hannon—this type of statement charging the police department as being an occupational army and similar statements, throughout the country.

Mr. SMITH. What is Hannon's present occupation?

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 2



Mr. WHEELER. The *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* of June 4, 1966, reports Hannon's resignation from the police department. He passed the California State Bar examination and he is now a practicing attorney in Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 4."

The CHAIRMAN. It may be so received and marked accordingly. (Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned that Michael Hannon was a member of the Socialist Party. You are not referring to the Socialist Workers Party, are you?

Mr. WHEELER. No, sir; I am referring to the Socialist Party headed by Norman Thomas of the U.S. It has not been declared a subversive organization.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any exhibit to submit in connection with that?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes; I have an exhibit of the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* of May 8, 1966, which states that he is the Los Angeles chairman of the Socialist Party.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 5."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and marked accordingly.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Was there any other additional activity by the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes?

Mr. WHEELER. Not really too much.

I have a newsletter. It is dated October 1965 and is issued by the South Bay Community Relations Council. I would like to refer to page 3 of this particular document. It is an announcement; "COMMITTEE TO SUPPORT GRIEVANCES OF WATTS NEGROES" is the heading. The address is 837 South Park View, L.A., telephone number 662-4937, James Gallagher, and underneath is: "NEEDS: Volunteers to acquaint groups with action to be taken in white communities."

Now, as far as I know, this program was not carried out. We have no evidence of any effectiveness of this program at all.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 6."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and marked accordingly.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Can you give me any further information concerning James Gallagher?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

He is identified as James Joseph Gallagher, born July 3, 1934. He is likewise a member of the Socialist Party. This can be documented by a document dated February 17, 1967, where he is identified on the letterhead as an associate of the New Left School in Los Angeles. He identifies himself as a member of the executive board, Los Angeles Socialist Party.

This letterhead is interesting. Among the sponsors are the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman, in Los Angeles, who has appeared before the committee on two separate occasions and has pleaded the fifth amendment when asked about Communist Party membership and other activities. We have John Howard Lawson, who is a screenwriter. He appeared before the committee some years back.

Mr. SMITH. He is one of the famous Hollywood 10, is he not?

Mr. WHEELER. He is one of the Hollywood 10.

He availed himself of the first amendment and became a test case which went to the Supreme Court. It was one of the cases we did win, and he did serve time in prison for contempt of Congress.

Then we have Dorothy Healey, who, of course, is chairman of the Communist Party of the Southern District of California.

We have Theodore Edwards, who is the chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

We have Darrel Meyers, Los Angeles chairman, Young Socialist Alliance.

We have John Haag. He identifies himself as Los Angeles area chairman, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America.

And we have others here, too.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 7."

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and marked accordingly.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 7" appears on page 1204.)

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned the Congress of Unrepresented People which was to sponsor a demonstration focusing on police brutality on August 21.

Did this demonstration take place?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

The organization of Congress of Unrepresented People evidently replaced the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes.

To repeat, this occurred at a meeting held on August 14, 1965, after the demonstration in front of the police administration building sponsored by the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes.

The meeting was held at the Socialist Party Hall, 837 South Park View, Los Angeles.

It was decided at this meeting to disband the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes and rename the organization "Congress of Unrepresented People" and further decided to hold a demonstration on August 21, 1965, again charging police brutality. This demonstration was held shortly after the Watts riots of August 11-17, 1965.

Now, approximately at this same time and before, there were meetings being held in Washington, D.C., to form a group with the same name, "Congress of Unrepresented People," which I will discuss further along in this testimony.

The Los Angeles group was to work in conjunction with the group in Washington, D.C., on another project. However, they encompassed this project that we are talking about now in their programs.

Mr. SMITH. Did the Congress of Unrepresented People distribute literature in regard to their demonstration of August 21, 1965?

(At this point, Mr. Ichord left the hearing room.)

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

I have a document which is an exact duplicate of the text of Exhibit 1 introduced in the testimony concerning the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes. It is in a little different format, but the text is the same.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 8."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and marked accordingly.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 8" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. The organization, the Congress of Unrepresented People, began picketing the police administration building at approximately 11 a.m. on August 21 and faded away in the early afternoon. The picket line was directed by James Gallagher, whom we previously discussed in testimony concerning the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes.

Now, the following signs were displayed at this particular demonstration: "Parker Must Go"; "Poverty Must Go"; "Brutes Breed Brutality"; "Police Brutality Breeds Violence"; "End Ghetto Life"; "Help Your Brother Stop Police Brutality"; "Fire Parker"; "Parker Out"; "Six Days, 33 Dead"; "Police Brutality Breeds Police State";

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 7



NEW LEFT SCHOOL of Los Angeles - 861 S. Ash Grove Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90019 - Telephone 731-4705

February 17th, 1967

"AND THERE WAS AN END, AND THERE WAS A BEGINNING, THE FIFTH SEMESTER."

ASSOCIATES:

A miracle of creation and recreation. We exist. We are here. In the enclosed brochure you can see what we are this time. A lot the same. A little different. We have made a special effort to be "rel- to our time and place. To be "worthwhile" to our audience, to interest" all of you interested in understanding and communica- ing. We hope to have you in our classes. We hope you hope to have your friends and co-workers in our classes. This time and place needs a more advanced you.

- Harvey Wheeler  
Co-author of "Falasia"; fellow of the Study of Democratic Institutions
- Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman  
Minister, First Unitarian Church
- Richard Lichtman  
Fellow, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

"FOR WANT OF A STAMP A SCHOOL WAS LOST"

- Irving Laucks  
Industrialist, fellow, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
- John Howard Lawson  
Writer
- Rev. Paul Seywer  
Minister, Valley Unitarian Church

A school is a device for the transference of knowledge and understanding, and the chief ingredients are sources of knowledge and recipients with understanding. However, also needed are certain "helps" to that transference. Such as the rent for a place. Such as printing and adds to give notice of the time and place. Such as stamps to spread the printing to give the notice of the time and place.

- James Gallagher  
Executive Board Member, Los Angeles Socialist Party
- Dorothy Healey  
Southern California Chairman, Communist Party

Enclosed is a return envelope. would you help provide our most basic necessity, stamps. Would you enclose one dollar, stick it shut, drop it in the mail box. It will reach us. That 1¢ stamp will carry it to us, sealed and all. And we will pay the post-office 4¢ more in gratitude. (Or you can add the 4¢ stamp, but it really is not necessary.) And for a dollar you can have helped us reach the "end, the beginning, the SIXTH semester."

- Theodore Edwards  
Los Angeles Chairman, Socialist Workers Party
- Margaret Thorpe  
Los Angeles Chairman, Students for a Democratic Society

\*\*\*\*\*

HERBERT AP THEKER

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8th, 8pm

- Derrel Meyer  
Los Angeles Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance
- John Haag  
Los Angeles Area Chairman, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America

speaking on AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY - ACCIDENT OR INTENT

- Jim Garrett  
Los Angeles Field Representative, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

at 8162 W. MELROSE AVE. (The Ash Grove)

- Don Smith  
Chairman, Los Angeles CORE
- Don Wheelidin  
Chairman, Pasadena CORE

Yes, he is going to be in town, and we managed to get him for that time and place and subject. We felt that that is a very pertinent question to the anti-war understanding. In Dr. Aptheker's opinion, is the U.S. going from blunder to blunder, or does the U.S. do all those things on purpose. ~~But~~

- Hugh Manes  
Civil Liberties Attorney
- David Finkel  
Civil Liberties Attorney

Hope all the above interests you as much as it does me. See you around - -

August Maymades (still temporary director

\*at time of founding, Sel 65.

\*Organizations are listed for identification only, and do not imply support for the NEW LEFT SCHOOL by any group mentioned



“No More Harlems”; “Watts Riot for Freedom”; “Investigate the Cause, Not the Effect.”

Mr. SMITH. Who actually participated or attended this demonstration?

Mr. WHEELER. Well, practically the same as the demonstrators in the demonstration sponsored by the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes.

There were the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the W. E. B. DuBois Club, the Young Socialist Alliance.

Mr. SMITH. Can you identify, by names, individuals present who are, or were in the past, members of the organization you just testified to?

Mr. WHEELER. Steve Roberts, a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

There is John Haag, the chairman of the W. E. B. DuBois Club.

There is Raphael Konigsberg, one-time member of the Communist Party and a fifth amendment witness before this committee.

Dorothy Healey, chairman of the Southern California District of the Communist Party.

There were other individuals who participated in the picket line and demonstration who have not been publicly identified, and therefore their names probably should not be placed in the record at this time in public session.

I have several pictures here of the demonstration if you desire them for the record.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the exhibits be received and marked “Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12.”

(Photographs marked “Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12,” respectively, follow :)

WHEELER EXHIBIT NO. 9





## WHEELER EXHIBIT NO. 12



MR. SMITH. Will you describe the pictures, please?

MR. WHEELER. These are pictures of the pickets and the signs that I previously described. They speak for themselves, and I previously identified the placards and what is written on the placards.

MR. SMITH. You mentioned a handbill which we have received as Exhibit 8, which bears the name of the organization Congress of Unrepresented People, that is similar or almost identical to one which was originally issued by the Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes. I note on the document the following telephone numbers: 269-6167, 225-4856, 392-2892, 387-3902. Can you identify the subscribers of these numbers?

MR. WHEELER. Yes.

The first number, 269-6167, is a published number for the Socialist Workers Party at 1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles, California.

The second number, 225-4856—I have the identity of the subscriber of this number. However, there is little recorded subversive activity on his behalf, and therefore I do not believe that it warrants placing the name in the record unless the chairman so directs.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with your suggestion.

MR. WHEELER. 392-2892. This number is a published number for John R. Haag, whom we have discussed, who is the DuBois Club member.

387-3902. The records of this number have been destroyed by the telephone company; the identity of the subscriber is unavailable.

MR. SMITH. Can you give any further identification of John Haag other than what you have stated?

MR. WHEELER. Well, he is well documented in the committee files. He has been very active in Vietnam Day demonstrations and practi-

cally every demonstration we have had in Los Angeles for the last 2 or 3 years. His residence was in Venice, California. He is out of the DuBois Club now—several years back. As I stated from this exhibit which was first introduced, he was head of the DuBois Club; he was Los Angeles area chairman, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America. And in that position, of course, he was quite active and also quite vocal throughout the Los Angeles area.

Mr. SMITH. Has the organization under discussion participated in any other demonstrations?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir. On Tuesday, August 6, and Saturday, August 7, 1965, the Congress of Unrepresented People held a march which they titled "Hiroshima Day Torchlight Parade." This parade was actually held on the 6th. The parade was scheduled to start at 7 p.m. from South Park, 51st and Avalon Streets, to Exposition Park. The march actually did not start, however, until around 8 p.m.

Now, again, this march was through the Negro district in Los Angeles, however slightly out of what we consider the Watts area. The parade terminated at Exposition Park at approximately 9 p.m.

At 9:40 p.m., John Haag was more or less the informal master of ceremonies and was the first speaker. Now, another who also spoke at this particular function was Carl Bloice. The final speaker was Jimmy Garrett.

Mr. SMITH. Can you further identify the individuals who spoke at the meeting at Exposition Park?

Mr. WHEELER. We have previously discussed John Haag.

Carl Bloice is an identified member of the Communist Party, originally from Los Angeles. He was later a reporter for the *People's World* in San Francisco. *People's World*, of course, the committee will recognize as the Communist organ for the Communist Party on the West Coast. He is at present the Washington, D. C., reporter for *The Worker*, which is the East Coast Communist Party publication.

Mr. SMITH. How about Jimmy Garrett?

Mr. WHEELER. Jimmy Garrett was born December 31, 1942, in Dallas. He was at one time Los Angeles field representative of SNCC and associate of the New Left School.

I refer back to the previous exhibit on the New Left School which was introduced as Exhibit Number 7, which will document this.

Mr. SMITH. Does his name appear anywhere else, to your knowledge?

Mr. WHEELER. Well, he has been active in SNCC; there is no question about that.

Mr. SMITH. Who is Barry Weisberg?

Mr. WHEELER. I have a document here concerning the meeting we have under discussion sponsored by the Congress of Unrepresented People and I will read the last paragraph. This document is legal size and was circulated to promote the Congress of Unrepresented People demonstration, meeting, or whatever you want to call it, August 6-7, 1965. And on the bottom it says, "For any further information contact Jimmy Garrett or Barry Weisberg care of SNCC."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 13."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 13" follows:)

## WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 13

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA  
 CONGRESS OF UNREPRESENTED PEOPLE  
 AUGUST 6-8, 1965

THE GREATST ISSUE OF OUR TIME IS TO BUILD-- NOT DESTROY. THE CONGRESS OF UNREPRESENTED PEOPLE HAS RAISED THEIR VOICES IN PROTESTS ON THE NATIONAL SCENE IN POWER FAILURE, OUR VOICES HAVE NOT BEEN HEARD. THE MAIN CONCERNS OF OUR CONGRESS VARIED: UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY WAR, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, DISCRIMINATION BY THE HOUSE UNITED AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEES, POLITICAL UNLAWFULITY, AND UNDEMOCRATIC NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS. CONFIDENTLY BY THE 1960S WE AS CITIZENS HAVE DECLARED OUR BELIEF AND CONCERN FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS, SIT-INS MARCHES CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, AND THROUGHOUT AFFIRMING OUR NATIONAL AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITIES. BECAUSE OUR DEMANDS AT OFFICIAL DRESS HAVE NOT BEEN HEARD AND BECAUSE OF THE URGENCY CREATED BY INCREASED DISCRIMINATION OF THE POOR IN VICTIMS, WE CALL FOR A LOS ANGELES CONGRESS OF UNREPRESENTED PEOPLE TO BE HELD IN CONNECTION WITH THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF UNREPRESENTED PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON D.C., AUGUST 6-9, 1965, AND ALSO COINCIDING WITH SIMILAR CONFERENCES TO BE HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO, CHICAGO, DETROIT, NEW YORK CITY, AND PHILADELPHIA. WE WANT IT UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS CONGRESS IS JUST A BEGINNING. THE WORKSHOPS LISTED BELOW WILL BE CENTERED AROUND WAYS TO BEGIN DIALOGUE LEADING TOWARD SPECIFIC AREAS OF WORK AND EXTENDING THAT WORK ON A LONG TERM BASIS DEEP INTO THE COMMUNITIES OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. OUR AIM IS NOT TO DISPERSE THE WORK OF ANY ORGANIZATION IN ANY FIELD. THE ATTEMPT IS TO BROADEN THAT WORK BOTH IN TERMS OF PARTICIPATION AND DEPTH. OUR EXPECTATIONS ARE NOT VAST IN TERMS OF THE QUALITY OF PEOPLE PARTICIPATING. HOWEVER, BE A VERY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE QUALITY OF THE DIALOGUE. WE EXPECT PARTICIPATION FROM THE POOR, DOCTORS LABORERS, FIGHTERS, STUDENTS, MINISTERS, POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, PEACE WORKERS, CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS, AS BROAD A BASE AS IS POSSIBLE. ANY ONE WHO WISHES TO CONFRONT THIS COUNTRY AS AN UNREPRESENTED PERSON AND HAVE HIS VOICE HEARD IS INVITED TO ATTEND ANY OR ALL OF THE CONFERENCES.

## PROPOSED PROGRAM

Friday night, August 6

Hiroshima Day Torchlight Parade to begin at 7 p.m. at South Park (51st Street and 4th Blvd. in the Negro community) and to proceed to Exposition Park. Following the parade there will be an all-night "Speak for Yourself" speak-in. Every one is invited to speak.

Saturday, August 7

Morning and afternoon: Workshops on such proposed topics as--War on Poverty program, War in Vietnam, Discrimination in jobs, unemployment and automation, KWAC, H&B-the Taft-Hartley unit labor law, problems of 18 ft-age youth, Women's Rights, and police abuses.

Evening: Topical entertainment and singing

Sunday, August 8

Morning and early afternoon: Workshops on topics mentioned above to include all problems which may be addressed to the General Assembly. There will be three specific areas of work:

Community Organizing, Community Discussion, and Direct Action.

Late afternoon: General Assembly of the Congress. Presentation of resolutions and declarations of positive action to make peace live, and to build communities of people around work which they think meaningful.

The entire program is subject to change according to the wishes of the participants in the Congress of Unrepresented Peoples.

For any further information contact Jimmy Garrett or Batry Weisberg care of SNCC at 462-6873, address 6605 Hollywood Blvd.

Mr. SMITH. Go ahead.

Mr. WHEELER. To go back to the question, Barry Weisberg was a SNCC member. In October 1967, which would be last month, he was here in Washington, D.C., at the Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, Northwest.

Mr. SMITH. Do you know the present whereabouts of James Garrett?

Mr. WHEELER. As of November 29, 1966, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, James Garrett was present at a black power conference at Berkeley and he represented himself as president of the Black Student Union, San Francisco State College.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any exhibit in connection with that?

Mr. WHEELER. I have the *Los Angeles Times*.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 14."

The CHAIRMAN. It may be so received and marked accordingly.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 14" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I will now ask that Investigator Wheeler be permitted to step aside to be recalled later.

I now recall Detective Harris.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Wheeler.

As a good, old workhorse of this committee, we appreciate your testimony.

#### TESTIMONY OF JAMES C. HARRIS—Resumed

Mr. SMITH. Detective Harris, committee investigation has established the existence of the South Side Citizens Defense Committee.

Has your office made inquiries concerning the South Side Citizens Defense Committee?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir; we have information on that organization.

Mr. SMITH. When was the organization created?

Mr. HARRIS. It was formed immediately after the Watts riots in August 1965. It was identified as a front of the old-line Communist Party and formed for the purpose of capitalizing on the Watts riot.

Mr. SMITH. What was the purpose of the organization?

Mr. HARRIS. With reference to this question, I would like to show you a copy of a leaflet which I will read from. This leaflet is headed "KNOW YOUR RIGHTS!!!"

THE SOUTH SIDE DEFENSE COMMITTEE is a group of citizens formed to help you get legal assistance for your relatives jailed during the mass arrests that took place in the South East part of Los Angeles.

If you have a relative in jail and want to co-operate with others to protect his rights, fill out this form and mail or bring it to:

THE SOUTH SIDE CITIZENS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE  
326 West Third Street, Room 318  
Los Angeles, California, 90013

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received and marked "Harris Exhibit No. 50."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and marked accordingly.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 50" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Where was the South Side Citizens Defense Committee located?

Mr. HARRIS. Again referring to the document which was just submitted, it was at 326 West Third Street, Room 318, Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. Again, is that in the Watts area?

Mr. HARRIS. No, sir; it is not.

Mr. SMITH. Does this address have any particular significance?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. It was at that time and still is the current address of the Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights, which is the successor organization of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the old-hat front organization; isn't it?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, it is.

The CHAIRMAN. It is one of the oldest in the business.

Mr. HARRIS. This organization in Los Angeles is headed by Rose Chernin, who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party before your committee and has also appeared as a witness before your committee.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, Rose Chernin Kusnitz, which is her married name, is a publicly identified member of the Communist Party who was a witness before the committee in 1956 and who refused to testify, invoking the protection of the fifth amendment in regard to membership in the Communist Party.

I note from the exhibit that there are several organizations listed to telephone for information other than the South Side Citizens Defense Committee. The first is the "Hugh Gordon Book Store," 4509 South Central, Los Angeles.<sup>1</sup>

Would you describe this bookstore?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. It is recognized as a Communist Party bookstore and an outlet for Communist propaganda in the southwest portion of Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. One of the organizations listed is the ILWU—Local 26, 5625 South Figueroa, Los Angeles.

Do you have knowledge of this union?

Mr. HARRIS. Local 26 is a part of Harry Bridges' International Longshoremens' Workers Union. The ILWU was expelled from the CIO in 1950 because the policies of the ILWU—and I quote—"are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program and the purposes of the Communist Party rather than the objectives and policies set forth in the CIO constitution."

Mr. SMITH. Who is the head of the South Side Citizens Defense Committee?

Mr. HARRIS. The person identified as the executive director on documents which I have is Hursel Alexander. Mr. Alexander is identified as Hursel William Alexander, born March 17, 1914, In Nebraska.

The first document I have here bears the signature of Hursel Alexander, identifying him as executive director. The letter is headed "Letter of Authorization."

The next document is dated September 14, 1965, and is a motion by the South Side Citizens Defense Committee, authorizing the opening of a checking account. This document also identifies Hursel Alexander as the executive director.

I have another document which is a press release dated August 24, 1965. This also identifies Mr. Alexander's connection with the organization.

<sup>1</sup> Listed in telephone directory as "Hugh H. Gordon Bookshop" and "Gordon Book Shop."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these exhibits be received and marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 51, 52, and 53."

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received and marked accordingly. (Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 51, 52, and 53," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Will you continue with the document you have?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

I have here a transcript of a KLAC news "special report" broadcast of Wednesday, August 25, 1965, and Thursday, August 26, 1965. The subtitle is "Communist Post-Riot Activity." This transcript is a report of an interview between the commentator, Fred Parsons, and Hursel Alexander. Mr. Alexander was asked by Parsons if he were a member of the Communist Party. Alexander does not answer the question at all.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, for the record, between 1940 and 1955, Hursel Alexander has been identified in the files of this committee as a member of the Communist Party under oath by several witnesses.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that this exhibit be received and marked "Harris Exhibit No. 54."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and marked accordingly.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 54" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. In regard to Exhibit 54, what, in your opinion, is the significance of this document?

Mr. HARRIS. In Mr. Alexander's use of such phrases as "criminal neglect," "contempt and brutality," this, in my opinion, is an attempt to inflame minds and to generate an antipolice attitude.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any additional documents of this nature?

Mr. HARRIS. I have a news release dated September 3, 1965, which is in the same tenor as Exhibit 54.

Generally, they demand that the court release every person who has been held in jail and stop compounding the injustice with injustice. Further, that "this [action] may provoke further rebellion." Therefore "LET MY PEOPLE GO"!!!!

Now, I have another press release of March 16, 1966, and this bears the name of Mrs. Clara James as executive secretary.

Mr. SMITH. Of what organization?

Mr. HARRIS. Of the South Side Citizens Defense Committee.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. HARRIS. Generally, this covers the arrest of four persons and, according to this statement, the "police in the Watts area are bullying, arresting without cause, and brutalizing innocent Negroes."

I also have a flyer, which is undated, which has a heading of "LET MY PEOPLE GO!" This is the motto of the South Side Citizens Defense Committee.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these documents be received and marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 55, 56, and 57."

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 55, 56, and 57," respectively. Exhibits 55 and 56 retained in committee files; No. 57 follows:)



## LET MY PEOPLE GO!

More than thirty of us are dead.  
 Hundreds of us are wounded.  
 Thousands of us are in jail.

Are most of these people criminals?

No! They are rebels. They rebelled against criminal conditions - against the contempt, the neglect, the exploitation, the brutality which has been our life.



Many, perhaps the majority, of those sucked into the huge police dragnet were not even taking part in the uprising. They were onlookers.

Bail is so high that few have been released. So many are behind bars that they cannot find lawyers, or, if they do, the lawyers are so overworked that there is too little time to get the facts and plan an adequate defense.

To make matters worse, more people are being arrested every day as police enter our homes (without warrants) and charge us with looting if we cannot immediately produce proof of ownership of any new-appearing items.

## STOP HOUNDING US!

We must stand up for our rights, our dignity, our humanity.  
 We must demand that the REAL criminals be tackled - the employers who refuse us jobs, the schools that deny us education, the landlords who won't rent to us, the police who insult us, beat us, shoot us.

## ... PHONE... WRITE... CALL UPON

Mayor Yorty... City Councilmen... members of the Board of Supervisors.

DEMAND RELEASE of the prisoners and COMPENSATION to the families of those who were killed by police and guardsmen, and to the wounded.

INSIST that our "city fathers" act to change the conditions which are as unbearable as ever.

THIS IS OUR LIFE, OUR STRUGGLE. WE MUST ALL TAKE PART.

ATTEND ONE OF THESE MEETINGS OF FAMILIES AND NEIGHBORS OF VICTIMS:

\*Thursday, Aug. 26, 8 p.m. - Masonic Lodge, 1131 W. Manchester, Los Angeles.

\*Friday, Aug. 27, 8 p.m. - Westminster Neighborhood Center, 10125 Beach St., Watts area.

\*Saturday, Aug. 28, 2 p.m. - Second Baptist Church, 2412 Griffith, Los Angeles.

X Auspices: South Side Citizens' Defense Committee, 326 W. 3rd St., Room 318, L.A. 13... MA 5-2160... MA 5-2169.

Mr. SMITH. Did the South Side Citizens Defense Committee always continue to operate out of 326 West Third Street, Los Angeles?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir; they did. However, in September 1965, they opened a second office at 10203½ Compton Avenue, Los Angeles. This is in the Watts area.

I have two documents here to substantiate the second location. The first is a letterhead of the organization showing the officers, and Hursel W. Alexander is again reflected as the executive director. The sec-

ond is a flyer which I received October 25, 1965, headed "JUSTICE?" It says: "HOW? WHERE? WHEN?" and advises all those who were "unjustly arrested to plead 'NOT GUILTY' and demand 'TRIAL BY JURY.'"

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these exhibits be received and marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 58 and 59."

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received and marked accordingly.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 58 and 59," respectively. Exhibit No. 58 retained in committee files; No. 59 follows:)

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 59

# JUSTICE?

**HOW?**

**WHERE?**

**WHEN?**

## DEMAND YOUR RIGHTS!

## NOT GUILTY!!!

On Wednesday, August 11, a rebellion erupted in our ghetto called "WATTS", and spilled over into neighboring communities. This was the result of centuries of oppression and exploitation designed to keep the *black man a slave* in one form or other. It was touched off by the kind of police persecution of Negroes that we have protested against for years and years.

It will take decades to evaluate the real significance of this historic event. Meantime, we demand justice for the victims of this rebellion *NOW*. More than 4,000 Negroes have been arrested. More than 500 of these are children. More than 1,000 lie wounded in hospitals and homes.

So far, 36 people are reported dead—32 Negroes, 3 Whites, 1 Japanese. More are reported missing. The jails are still packed with the victims of this rebellion.

### WHO WILL SIT IN JUDGEMENT ON THESE MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN

Can they be judged by those who remained indifferent to their plight and their protests against injustice for so many years?

### WHO THEN HAS A RIGHT JUDGE?

Can they have proper trials for so many people caught in circumstances beyond their control?

### ARE THERE ENOUGH, LAWYERS, JUDGES, JURORS, COURTS?

Even if there were, how could they try and judge people caught up in such a rebellion?

### THIS WOULD BE SHEER MOCKERY OF JUSTICE!

We declare to the whole wide world that these people are

That they are the victims of the deep-rooted prejudices and hatred generated by biased officials, brutal police tactics and hostile news media.

### "LET MY PEOPLE GO"

We demand that these victims of the rebellion be *freed immediately*, and those already sentenced be *pardoned without delay*.

Failing that, we advise all those unjustly arrested to plead

### "NOT GUILTY"

and demand

### "TRIAL BY JURY"

and an attorney to defend them with all due process of law. We pledge our support to all these victims of the rebellion; and we demand proper compensation to the kin of all those who died in it.

### WRITE A LETTER! SEND A TELEGRAM! MAKE A PHONE CALL!

Let our Mayor, our Chief of Police, our Legislators, our Governor, our Congressmen, our Senators, and our President know how we feel about all this injustice. Get your Church, lodge, union to demand justice for the victims of this rebellion.

FOR INFORMATION AND HELP CONTACT:  
THE SOUTHSIDE CITIZENS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE,  
10203 1/2 S. Compton, Los Angeles, Calif.  
Phone: 569-6814

326 W. 3rd St. Room 318 Los Angeles, Calif. 90013  
Phone: MA 5-2169 - 5-2160

Mr. SMITH. Did members of the South Side Citizens Defense Committee participate in any other activities?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

On January 28, 1966, Joan Clara James spoke at a meeting of the free press forum on "The Big Frameup in Watts and South Central Los Angeles."

Then on February 12, 1966, there was a picket line protesting police brutality at the 77th Street police station. This station has the immediate jurisdiction over the Watts area.

This demonstration was cosponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the W. E. B. DuBois Club of Los Angeles, and the South Side Citizens Defense Committee.

The South Side Citizens Defense Committee circulated petitions to be sent to Governor Brown. The language heading the petition is interesting. It says:

We the undersigned relatives—mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters—and friends of those who rebelled in Los Angeles against criminal conditions—against the contempt, the neglect, the exploitation, the brutality which have been our life, DEMAND THE RELEASE of the prisoners and COMPENSATION to the families of those who were killed by police and guardsmen, and to the wounded. And we INSIST that you act to change conditions which are still as unbearable as ever.

MR. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received and marked as "Harris Exhibit No. 60."

THE CHAIRMAN. It may be received and marked accordingly.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 60" and retained in committee files.)

MR. SMITH. Detective Harris, committee investigation has established the existence of an organization in the Watts area known as the Watts Council for Equal Rights.

Has your office investigated this organization?

MR. HARRIS. Yes, sir; we have.

MR. SMITH. Would you describe the organization, please?

MR. HARRIS. The Watts Council for Equal Rights was another creation of the Provisional Organizing Committee for the Reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

I want to point out that this is the organization with which Michael Laski, about whom I have previously testified, was affiliated until his expulsion in September 1965 following the Watts riots.

MR. SMITH. When was it formed?

MR. HARRIS. The post office box which they used was 72301, and this was opened on November 3, 1965.

MR. SMITH. In what post office station is this box located?

MR. HARRIS. According to several documents, it is in the Watts area, Watts Post Office Station.

MR. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the committee has subpoenaed the application for this box for the Watts Council for Equal Rights. I would like to have it introduced in the record as Harris Exhibit No. 61.

MR. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 61" and retained in committee files.)

MR. SMITH. I note from the exhibits that Sandy Smith signed as the applicant. Can you tell us who he is?

MR. HARRIS. His full name is Samuel L. Smith. Sandy is his nickname.

He resided in the Watts area. Our records reflect he is a member of the POC. Smith was born on November 10, 1912, in Macon, North Carolina, and is currently residing in Chicago.

Mr. SMITH. From the application, I note the name "Nelson Peerey."<sup>1</sup> Peery was the person entitled to receive mail through the box. Can you tell us who Nelson Peery is?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. Peery is also a member of the POC. He also resided in the Watts area.

Mr. SMITH. Who is the present head of POC?

Mr. HARRIS. This organization has not been too active since Michael Laski left in September 1965. It is currently hard to determine who is the head.

Mr. SMITH. Does the POC or the Watts Council for Equal Rights maintain an office?

Mr. HARRIS. No.

As far as we are able to determine, they work out of the homes of the individual members.

Mr. SMITH. Was the Watts Council for Equal Rights active in the agitation in Watts?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir; it was.

I have several documents here. The first was distributed in the Watts area in May 1966. I will read several sentences from this document which was distributed, probably prepared as a result of the Deadwyler affair in Los Angeles.

The Police Department is preparing to provide us with more funerals to attend. The qualifications for getting murdered nowadays seem to be 1) be a Negro and 2) be apprehended by the LAPD (L-arceny A-busive P-rejudiced D-eadly).

\* \* \* \* \*

Cops have license to shoot and kill as they see fit. The 'official' Negro leadership belongs to the Government, the government belongs to the most reactionary anti Negro, anti colonial imperialists in the country. \* \* \*

There are other inflammatory remarks which if you wish I can read into the record.

This document is headed "Watts Council Bulletin" and bears the address "Watts Equal Rights Council, Box 72301, Watts Station."

Mr. SMITH. Would you read some of the items on it, please?

Mr. HARRIS. All right, sir.

Mr. SMITH. A few descriptive items.

Mr. HARRIS. It says:

Three hundred and twelve days after the beginning of the Watts uprising, we find ourselves getting ready to attend another funeral. The Police Department is preparing to provide us with more funerals to attend. \* \* \*

Living is getting to be more and more of a risk for the people of Watts. \* \* \*

One killer cop is not responsible for the murder of Deadwyler. It is not the first time that this form of terror has been seen by the Negro People. \* \* \*

Mr. SMITH. Was the "Watts Council Bulletin" a monthly publication?

Mr. HARRIS. It was published only intermittently and was—in fact, we were only able to find two copies of the bulletin. The second was received in August 1966 and attacks the U.S. Government as Fascist.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these documents be received and marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 62-A and 62-B."

<sup>1</sup> Correct spelling "Peery."

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 62-A and 62-B," respectively. Exhibit 62-A retained in committee files; 62-B appears on p. 1218.)

Mr. SMITH. What did the Provisional Organizing Committee do to agitate in the Watts area?

Mr. HARRIS. They were pretty consistent in their agitation. However, prior to the riot, Michael Laski was the central figure, and his project at that time was organizing the carwashers' union. This attempt was a failure.

I have a document here that was issued by the POC which I will read, which describes what their actual objective was.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't remember what the initials POC mean.

Mr. HARRIS. Provisional Organizing Committee for the Reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the United States of America.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just a few letters for a very fancy and odd name.

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

This document which I have described says:

We are fighting to organize the workers into revolutionary labor unions, to fight U.S. imperialism, and to work for the abolition of the wage system. The fight is advancing throughout the world! THE FIGHT IS OURS—HERE AND NOW! All of the working people—Black, Brown, and White—will win this fight!

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be received and marked "Harris Exhibit No. 63-A."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and marked.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 63-A" appears on p. 1219.)

Mr. SMITH. Is the POC still in existence?

Mr. HARRIS. The last material we picked up being distributed in Watts was on or about February 26, 1966.

This particular document I have is headed "RESIST THE FASCIST DANGER." It is quite inflammatory. I will quote one paragraph:

The August uprising in Watts saw the State forces (the police and National Guard) pass from traditional police brutality to fascist terror characterized by military law, the indiscriminate clubbing and shooting of men, women and children—the attempts to organize white goon squads to attack the Negro community etc. The state turned to these fascist tactics because the struggle of the people had become more militant, more conscious and more revolutionary.

Now, this document states it was printed by the POC, Post Office Box 72306, Watts Station in Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the document be received and marked Harris Exhibit 63-B.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be so received and marked accordingly.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 63-B" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Do you know the subscriber of this post office box?

Mr. HARRIS. I know that mail was received at this box number for *Vanguard*, which was the publication for the POC.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the post office box application<sup>1</sup> be marked "Harris Exhibit No. 64," when received from the Post Office Department.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be done.

<sup>1</sup> The application for P.O. Box No. 72306 is signed "Nelson D. Peery."

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 62-B

# WATTS COUNCIL BULLETIN

Rec'd  
8-4-66

The Negro workers of Cleveland, Ohio have taken the struggle against fascist oppression and exploitation to the streets.

The level of struggle that began in Watts has spread across the country. Omaha - Chicago - Cleveland have become areas of great struggle. As in Watts, the workers rejected the agents of their oppressors. The Uncle Toms did not dare leave the protection of the police and Guardsmen to attempt to influence the workers.

The state is quietly laying the ground work to intensify the oppression of the Negro masses. L.B. Johnson, chief of the imperialists and spokesman for the ruling class has warned the Negro people that they constitute 10% of the population and the remaining 90% could oppose them. Johnson and all his reactionary supporters are wrong. He is among the 10% who are being oppressed, surrounded and defeated by the 90% of the worlds population that includes the Negro people of America.

Johnson has stated "The alternative to self discipline is tyranny". This is a thinly veiled threat to the Negro people and the colored minorities that

if they continue the fight-back, the government will intensify their fascist repression. L.B.J. is saying to the oppressed peoples--"either give up your fight for equality, or we will crush you". Johnson is wrong. The people will not give up the fight for equality- and they cannot be crushed.

The Watts Equal Rights Council, along with the Councils in Chicago and Cleveland are determined to carry this fight on to the very end. We do not and will not accept Johnsons formula of supporting the brutal aggressive violence of the police and condemning the defensive, justified violence of the masses.

A main tactic of the ruling class, through the press, radio, etc. is to attempt to isolate the Negro masses so they might be more easily attacked. The Negro People, fighting for equality and National Liberation cannot be isolated. The uprisings of the Puerto Rican and Mexican American minorities prove this. The whole world wide struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial people prove that it is the American imperialists--headed by L.B.J. - not the Negro people who are becoming isolated.

The brave sustained struggle by the Negro workers of Cleveland is another link in the chain that leads to the unity of the oppressed and the eventual destruction of fascist American imperialism .

For further information contact: The Watts Equal Rights Council  
Box 72301 Watts Station  
Los Angeles, California

Passed out 11/4 Compton  
by F.C. agent 45 yrs old.

CPUSA (M-L)

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 63-A

**MAY DAY 1965 - 79 YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION !**

In every country, May Day is celebrated as International Labor Day to commemorate the struggle for the 8 hour day, which had reached its peak in the U.S. on May 1, in Chicago. There, 80,000 workers paraded calling for an end to the 10 and 12 hour work day then prevalent in industry.

A few days later, the Chicago police arrested the labor leaders in what was known as the "Haymarket Riot," on charges of "inciting to riot" and "murder". Four of the union leaders were convicted and hanged. They were killed for leading the working people in a fight for a better life. One of the labor leaders, August Spies, correctly stated in court, "If you think by hanging us you can stamp out the labor movement...the movement from which the downtrodden millions, the millions who toil in want and misery, expect salvation - if this is your opinion, then hang us! Here you will tread upon a spark, but here and there, behind you and in front of you, and everywhere, flames blaze up. It is a subterranean fire. You can not put it out." Today, the bosses still use the same "riot" charges. They did so against our own union leaders (A.M.W.U.-Car Washers' Union).

The International Workingmens Association called upon the working people of all lands to celebrate May Day with demonstrations to show the strength of the labor movement and to demand the end of the capitalist system. Since then, the working people have freed themselves and taken power in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and a number of countries in Europe and Asia. They have seized power and established states controlled by the people and led by the working class in a fight for socialism.

Today, the socialist countries and the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, together with the revolutionary labor movements, are leading the fight against big business, banks, trusts, monopolies (imperialism) especially against U.S. imperialism - the enemy of the people of the world.

The U.S. government has set-up May 1st to be celebrated as "law day" and as "loyalty day". We working people know that their law is there to protect the white ruling class and their loyalty is loyalty to that class. Our loyalty is to the working class! We continue to celebrate May 1st as May Day - International Labor Day!

We are fighting to organize the workers into revolutionary labor unions, to fight U.S. imperialism, and to work for the abolition of the wage system. The fight is advancing throughout the world! THE FIGHT IS OURS - HERE AND NOW! All of the working people - Black, Brown, and White - will win this fight!

**CELEBRATE MAY DAY - INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY**

**with the PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE  
TO RECONSTITUTE THE  
MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.**

**including speakers from: WORKERS' ORGANIZING COMMITTEE  
A.M.W.U. - CAR WASHERS' UNION  
FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE**

**SATURDAY MAY 1, 8 pm at 1313 E. FIRESTONE BLVD., L.A.**

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 64" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, this concludes all of the testimony to be received from Detective Harris.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Harris, you have made a great contribution to the committee.

Mayor Yorty, a former Member of Congress, testified that the minds of the people, particularly the colored people in the Watts area, were conditioned for a long time to set the scene and to prepare them for the riots. Then yesterday we covered, through you, the conditions prevailing during the riots.

This morning, you and Mr. Wheeler, an employee of this committee, talked about the postriot shenanigans going on.

Now, in short, as I understand it, these nefarious activities started a long time ago. They were pursued during the riot and, after the riot, unquestionably under one form or guise or another are still going on in the Los Angeles area.

Is that not correct?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. You are right, Mr. Willis.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Harris, this will conclude this part of your testimony. We appreciate your appearance.

The committee will recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. HARRIS. Thank you, sir.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a.m., Wednesday, November 29, 1967, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, November 30, 1967.)



# SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

## Part 3

(Los Angeles—Watts)

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THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 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 recess, at 10:20 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. William M. Tuck (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives William M. Tuck, of Virginia, chairman; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; and John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Tuck and Ichord.

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

Mr. TUCK. The committee will come to order.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I would like to continue with the post-riot activities in the Los Angeles area.

We have our witness, Lieutenant Anderson.

Mr. TUCK. Will you raise your right hand?

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

Mr. ANDERSON. I do.

Mr. TUCK. I might say that the committee is constituted to be composed of the gentleman from Missouri, gentleman from Ohio, and myself; and a quorum is present.

The letter authorizing the subcommittee for today's hearings follows:

NOVEMBER 29, 1967.

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, as Chairman, and Honorable Richard Ichord and Honorable John M. Ashbrook, as associate members, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C. on Thursday, November 30, 1967, 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 29th day of November, 1967.

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

*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

### TESTIMONY OF CLAYTON R. ANDERSON

Mr. SMITH. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. ANDERSON. Clayton R. Anderson.

Mr. SMITH. Your residence and employment?

Mr. ANDERSON. I am a resident of Los Angeles County, California. I am a lieutenant in the district attorney's bureau of investigation, assigned to the intelligence section.

Mr. SMITH. Lieutenant Anderson, are you familiar with an organization known as the Freedom Now Committee? If so, what was the composition of this committee and when was it formed?

Mr. ANDERSON. Our records show the first meeting was held January 24, 1966. Among those present at that meeting that would be of interest to this committee were John Haag, who was at that time head of the W. E. B. DuBois Club in Los Angeles; a William Taylor, whom you will recognize as being a member of the Communist Party in Los Angeles and a member of the district committee of the Communist Party, Southern California District. He was a former resident of Washington, D.C.

Dan Bessie was also present. He has also been a member of the Communist Party and active in youth work. He appeared before this committee on October 20, 1959, at which time he pleaded the fifth amendment.

Mr. SMITH. What was the prime purpose of this organization?

Mr. ANDERSON. On February 10, 1966, they held a press conference at the Ambassador Hotel. I have a copy of the results of that press conference, which was originally taped. The conference opened with a Thomas Settle conducting the conference. He described the Freedom Now Committee as follows:

The Southern Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have issued a call for a demonstration on the birthday of Abraham Lincoln under the slogan Freedom Now—Withdrawal Now. That is to say, complete freedom for American Negro citizens now and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. The newly formed Freedom Now Committee is answering this call with a demonstration and rally on February 12th. The demonstration will take place at the 77th Street "Precinct" and the rally will take place at the Greater Tabernacle Baptist Church.

Mr. SMITH. Who is Thomas Settle?

Mr. ANDERSON. Thomas Settle is identified as Thomas Archibald Settle, born July 3, 1947, in Chicago. In March of 1966 he was the vice chairman of the DuBois Club and he was attending functions of the Vietnam Day Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, and Peace Action Council.

He was also a supporter of Dorothy Healey in her political campaign of May 1966, at which time she ran for county assessor in Los Angeles County.

Mr. SMITH. Who were the officers of the Freedom Now Committee?

Mr. ANDERSON. According to a newsletter of the Freedom Now Committee, dated March 22, 1966, the cochairmen were Bob Freeman and John Haag. The executive secretary was Thomas Settle. The financial and recording secretary was Arvilla Jackson, and the corresponding secretary was Carol Columbo.

Mr. SMITH. Did anyone else participate in this press conference?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes; Franklin Alexander, former national chairman of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, and also John Haag.

Mr. SMITH. I note from your reading of Settle's press conference statement that the 77th Street police station was selected for the demonstration.

Why was that?

Mr. ANDERSON. That same question was asked by the press at this press conference.

At that time, Mr. Settle answered and I will quote:

One of the other things which we are concerned with is, of course, local issues which are the police malpractices and the city problems concerning the war on poverty, et cetera, and we hope to be able to unify the actions and thoughts of the people in this area who are greatly concerned with police brutality \* \* \*.

And then he goes on to other things.

Mr. SMITH. Did the Freedom Now Committee have an address?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes. I have a press release announcing the demonstration, dated February 7, 1966, giving Post Office Box No. 18976 and also telephone number HOLlywood 6-8466; also a throwaway flyer announcing the same demonstration, giving the same box and phone number.

I also have a news article from the *Los Angeles Times*, dated February 11, 1966, reporting a planned demonstration by the Freedom Now Committee.

This committee is also known as the Freedom Now—Withdraw Now.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these documents be received and marked "Anderson Exhibits Nos. 1, 2, and 3."

Mr. TUCK. They will be so received and so marked.

(Documents marked "Anderson Exhibits Nos. 1, 2, and 3," respectively, appear on pp. 1224-1226.)

Mr. SMITH. Was this demonstration a success?

Mr. ANDERSON. The demonstration was held. Just how successful it was is hard to gauge. The theme, according to the signs carried by the pickets, was protesting the war in Vietnam and police brutality.

There were actually less than 100 actual demonstrators. The picket signs were delivered to this demonstration in an automobile registered to John Haag.

Mr. SMITH. Did you make a survey to determine how many Communists participated in this demonstration?

Mr. ANDERSON. In coupling the W. E. B. DuBois Club, Communists, and former Communists together, a good estimate would be 25 percent. There were also members of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) and Socialist Workers Party present.

ANDERSON EXHIBIT NO. 1

FREEDOM NOW COMMITTEE  
P. O. Box 18776  
Los Angeles, California 90018

telephone Ho 6-8466 (24 hour service)

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## PRESS RELEASE

February 7, 1966

Lincoln Day - February 12,

In the anti-imperialist tradition of Abraham Lincoln, Lincoln Day this year will be marked by a series of nation-wide Freedom Now demonstrations, emphasizing support for the civil rights struggle in our country and an end to the war in Vietnam, on the basis of full recognition of the right of self determination for all people.

In Los Angeles, the demonstration will begin with a picket line in front of the 77th police precinct, on 77th St. between Main St. and Broadway. This will be followed by a walk to the Greater Tabernacle Baptist Church, 4155 McKinley Ave., for a Lincoln Day Rally for Peace and Freedom.

The rally will open at 2:00 P.M. with the following speakers: John Lewis, of SNCC, Bill Williams, Dr. Carlton Goodlett and Assemblyman Marvin Dymally. The planning of the demonstrations began last fall when the Southern Coordinating Committee held a meeting with the Vietnam Day Committee in Washington D. C.

The objective of the nation-wide demonstrations has been broadened by the refusal of the Georgia legislature to permit Julian Bond to take the seat to which he was elected by a vast majority of voters in his district, the racist murder of Samuel Young in Tuskegee, Alabama and the increasing diversion of funds from the war on poverty to support our aggression in Vietnam.

The refusal to seat Julian Bond is a definite attempt to castigate freedom of speech and to dictate the policies and tactics of the Civil Rights movement as well as an attempt to force Negroes to support, against their own interests, Americas effort to resuscitate Colonialism and its corollary of white supremacy. In its opposition to the Vietnam war, SNCC correctly stated in its resolution on Vietnam, adopted by the 23 member executive committee and was approved without dissent by more than 130 SNCC field secretaries which states in part. "We believe the U.S. government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo South Africa Rhodesia and in the U.S. itself.

ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 2

FREEDOM NOW      WITHDRAWAL NOW  
**DEMONSTRATION**

STARTS AT 11:00 AM AT THE 77th STREET  
POLICE PRECINCT (77th St. between Main St.  
and Broadway)

LINCOLN  
DAY

RALLY



FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM.

SATURDAY FEBRUARY 12, 1966 - 2:00 P.M.  
AT

GREATER TABERNACLE BAPTIST CHURCH  
4155 McKinley Ave.

PRINCIPLE SPEAKERS:

Dr. Carlton Goodlett

Bill Williams

Assemblyman Marvin Dymally

John Lewis

The demonstration and rally is in support of demonstrations being held throughout the nation, in support of the struggle for Peace and Freedom which is best expressed in the following quote taken from the resolution adopted by SNCC Jan. 6th and approved by more than 130 field secretaries:

"We recoil with horror at the inconsistency of this supposedly free society where responsibility to freedom is equated with responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that more than 16% of the draftees from this country are Negro, called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a "democracy" which does not exist for them at home".

Ausp: FREEDOM NOW COMMITTEE  
P.O. Box 18976  
Los Angeles Calif. 90018

Telephone HO 6-8466  
(24 hour service)

ANDERSON EXHIBIT NO. 3  
 [Los Angeles Times, February 11, 1966]

## Rally to Urge Rights, End of Viet 'Intrusion'

"Freedom Now" and "Withdrawal Now" will be co-slogans of a Lincoln Day rally here Saturday to support the civil rights struggle and to urge an end to American "intrusion" in Vietnam.

The two issues are close parallels, members of the Freedom Now Committee insisted Thursday during a press conference at the Ambassador.

"We fail to see," said committee member Tom Settle, "how a young Negro can be asked to end his life in a dubious war by a government which doesn't give him his rights in his own country."

Freedom Now Committee members at the press conference included representatives from the Women's Strike for Peace, the Los Angeles Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Congress of Racial Equality.

Saturday's demonstration, scheduled to begin in front of the 77th Street Police Station and move to Greater Tabernacle Baptist Church at 4155 McKinley Ave., is one of several to be held around the nation.

Listed as speakers are Assemblyman Mervyn M. Dymally (D-Los Angeles); John Lewis, national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Dr. Carlton Goodlett, physician and publisher of a Negro newspaper in San Francisco as well as a member of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. SMITH. You introduced information from a press release that a rally was to be held from the Greater Tabernacle Baptist Church.

Was that rally held at this church?

Mr. ANDERSON. No. The pastor of that church learned of the makeup of the rally and the committee and denied use of the church to them.

Mr. SMITH. Where was the rally held?

Mr. ANDERSON. Well, it was then announced the rally would be held at the Victory Baptist Church. However, this pastor likewise learned of the nature of the group and refused permission to use the church. Ultimately, the rally was held in the parking lot of the Victory Baptist Church.

Mr. SMITH. Who was the principal speaker at this rally?

Mr. ANDERSON. Dr. Carlton Goodlett.

Mr. SMITH. Can you tell us who Dr. Carlton Goodlett is?

Mr. ANDERSON. At the time of this rally, he was the candidate for Governor of the State of California and he is the publisher and editor of the San Francisco *Sun Reporter*.

Mr. SMITH. Was anyone else at the rally who would be of interest to the committee?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes. Dorothy Healey, chairman of the Southern [California] District Communist Party, was there; William Taylor,

whom we have discussed; Rose Chernin Kusnitz, also an identified Communist and active in front organizations; and also members of the W. E. B. DuBois Club, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Mr. SMITH. Were there any others?

Mr. ANDERSON. Franklin Alexander was there; Mimi Alexander, Frank Beyea, Robert Eugene Duggan, John Haag, Raphael Konigsberg, Samuel Kushner, Michael Laski, Pierre Mandel, Barbara Nestor, Steve Roberts, and Frank Spector were there.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, for the record I would like to state the following with respect to these individuals he has named:

Franklin Alexander was former chairman of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America.

Mimi Alexander attended a number of meetings of the party's Southern California District Council or Committee in 1959 or 1960 and participated as a delegate from the Moranda Smith Section of the party in the November 1959 session of the Southern California District convention. She was a witness before this committee on April 25, 1962, and invoked the fifth amendment.

Frank Beyea was chairman of the Peace Action Council of Southern California, sponsor of the Spring Mobilization To End the War in Vietnam. In 1952, he was publicly identified as a Communist Party section organizer from San Fernando Valley, California. On April 25, 1962, he appeared before this committee and pleaded the fifth amendment.

Robert Eugene Duggan was elected a member of the national committee at the Communist Party's 18th National Convention, New York, June 22-26, 1966.

John R. Haag, June 1966, was chairman of the Culver City, California, W. E. B. DuBois Club.

Raphael Konigsberg has been publicly identified as a member of the Communist Party in 1952. On June 29, 1955, he refused to testify about membership in the Communist Party, invoking the first and fifth amendments.

Samuel Kushner was a top functionary of the Communist Party for the last 30 years.

Michael Isaac Laski—Mr. Chairman, we have already dealt with Laski at great length yesterday. Let the record note that.

Pierre Mandel was born in Russia, active in the Communist Party of France before entering the United States in 1948. He attended meetings of the Southern California District Council of the Communist Party in 1958 and 1959. He was a delegate to its conventions in 1959, 1960. He appeared before this committee on April 26, 1962, where he invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions regarding his Communist Party activities.

Barbara Nestor is the mother of Dorothy Healey, a longtime Communist.

Steve Roberts is a leader of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Roberts appeared before the committee on April 27, 1962, and invoked the first and fifth amendments in response to questions relating to his activities with both Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the Socialist Workers Party.

Frank Spector, a member of the Communist Party whose indictment under the Smith Act was dismissed in December 1957. He now operates Communist Party bookstore in Los Angeles, California.

Lieutenant Anderson, was any other material distributed by the Freedom Now Committee?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, there was.

I have copies of two flyers they distributed. I would like to read a portion out of each.

One is headed "Freedom Now—Withdraw Now." At the bottom it says, "SUBSCRIBE TO THE SPARTACIST." One paragraph says:

SPARTACIST is a revolutionary socialist organization. We believe in militant struggle for basic social change. This, we believe, will ultimately mean the establishment of a socialist society under the control of all the people.

The second flyer is headed "Freedom Now—Withdraw Now!!" A portion of it reads:

Police brutality was exposed to its nakedness of gestapo like tactics by the murder of 31 Negroes by the police and 2 by the national guard. This expression was also opposing the discriminatory hiring policy of the 77th police precinct which is in a predominantly Negro community with a staff of over 200 and only five (5) Negroes employed. The people of Watts and its surrounding community feel that Negroes, who are more than 85% of the population, should be predominant in the police department, fire department and other city service jobs and functions for the area. \* \* \*

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these documents be accepted as Anderson Exhibits 4 and 5.

Mr. TUCK. It is ordered that they be accepted and so marked.

(Documents marked "Anderson Exhibits Nos. 4 and 5," respectively, appear on pp. 1229-1233.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the *Spartacist* reference by Lieutenant Anderson is a publication of the Spartacist League.

I would like to state for the record that information from the committee's files concerning the Spartacist League reveals that it began as a small group of dissident Trotskyite Communists expelled from the Socialist Workers Party in December 1963 after 3 years of activity within the SWP in favor of a less "centrist" and more purely Trotskyite revolutionary course.<sup>1</sup>

Whom would you credit with the direction and creation of this committee?

Mr. ANDERSON. The evidence would indicate the W. E. B. DuBois Club was certainly the most active organization.

Haag, Settle, and Alexander, the key leaders of the group, were or are all members of the DuBois Clubs of America.

In addition, there would be Communist Party support indicated in the presence of Taylor and Bessie and other Communists that were observed.

Mr. SMITH. That is Dan Bessie?

Mr. ANDERSON. Dan Bessie and William Taylor; yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Is this organization still in existence?

Mr. ANDERSON. No; this organization was organized apparently for this one demonstration.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any additional material on activities on behalf of the W. E. B. DuBois Club of Los Angeles relating to their participation in racial agitation?

<sup>1</sup> See also Committee Exhibit No. 3, part 1, pp. 907-909.



ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 4

# Freedom Now - Withdraw Now

Spartacist wholeheartedly endorses the slogan being raised by the Freedom Now Committee in response to the call sent out by S.N.C.C. and the Southern Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The war in Vietnam is not an isolated issue. It is not simply a moral question of war vs. peace, hawks vs. doves. Nor is it a question of an otherwise "good" government engaged in one naughty activity.

The government which wages war on the people of Vietnam in the name of Freedom and which drafts young Negroes to fight in the name of Freedom which they don't even have themselves is the same government which is responsible for the deaths of Civil Rights workers in the South by refusing to enforce its own laws.

This same government, "our" government, seeks to strangle the unions with "wage and price levels" while looking the other way as industry sneaks around them with price hikes. This again in the name of an illegal and immoral war in Vietnam.

Even by the standards of Johnson, 20% of the American population is living in poverty. Yet the miserly "war on poverty" (ineffective as it is) threatens to be washed away in the tide of war expenditures.

Each day brings new indications that the government intends to use this war, not only to maintain its oppressive and dictatorial regime in South Vietnam, but also to stem the tide of labor unrest in this country and to stifle the militant struggle being waged by the Negro people in this country for Freedom Now.

The time has come for those who are concerned with world peace to join with the Civil Rights and Labor movements in a common effort: it is in this way that we will be able to get at the basic social problems involved and work together to eliminate them. As long as the peace movement continues to orient towards students and intellectuals (valuable as they may be in raising and publicizing the issues), the peace movement will not be in a position to attack the root causes.

\*\*\*\*\*

SPARTACIST is a revolutionary socialist organization. We believe in militant struggle for basic social change. This, we believe, will ultimately mean the establishment of a socialist society under the control of all the people.

For more information about SPARTACIST write:  
SPARTACIST, P.O.Box 4054, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, Calif. 90054

## SUBSCRIBE TO THE SPARTACIST

6 Issues \$6.00

12 Issues \$1.00

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

(Please PRINT Plainly)



## ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 5

FREEDOM  
WITHDRAW NOW!!



The beacon of hope for Freedom begins with YOU, in your own home, community and country and is guided through many channels which lead to Full Economic security, Social and Political EQUALITY for all; where Brotherhood Week is 52 weeks a year, and where human dignity is afforded to all mankind.

The uprising of Watts and South Central Los Angeles, August, 1965 was one channel many people felt would be a direction against police brutality; poverty; and against the gouging practices of food stores and other businesses that inflated prices on many items even though more than forty percent of the population was on welfare. It was an expression of protest against such business that had continued these practices which kept the people of the community continually deprived. It was also an expression of the demand for for the removal of Chief of Police Parker who has demonstrated his contempt for the Negro, Mexican-American and other depressed people. Police brutality was exposed to its nakedness of gestapo like tactics by the murder of 31 Negroes by the police and 2 by the national guard. This expression was also opposing the discriminatory hiring policy of the 77th police precinct which is in a predominately Negro community with a staff of over 200 and only five (5) Negroes employed. The people of Watts and its surrounding community feel that Negroes, who are more than 85% of the population, should be predominant in the police department, fire department and other city service jobs and functions for the area. Also, merchants doing business in the area MUST employ Negroes in their establishments in just ratio.

According to the McCone report, which is sustained by the Presidents Budget program, a drastic cut on funds which would be given to the War on Poverty have been transferred to escalate the war in Vietnam; Even though 85% of the people of South Vietnam are in support of the National Liberation Front and are opposed to

## ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

The government of General Ky which is controlled by the United States, has cut back the war on poverty budget places the people of the United States at the bottom of the totem pole. It means a vast increase in the investments in the implements of war and against the War on Poverty Program, an increase that can only come about through a proportionate decrease in the expenditures in the, criminal, diversion of national resources and of men to do the dirty work for the Johnson administration which is being carried out in Vietnam, where the United States soldiers are busy killing men women and children who have risen in behalf of Freedom for themselves as did our forefathers in the Revolutionary War and as we are now fighting for our Freedom here at home.

The United States government, at the end of the Geneva Agreements Conference, declared that the United States would not use force or the threat of force to interfere with the armistice agreements, approved the principle of free elections, and promised that the United States would act to prevent further aggression in the area.

The Geneva Agreements call for:

1. Cease-fire;
2. Recognition of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia as three separate independent states;
3. Establishment of a provincial military demarcation line at the 17th parallel in Vietnam, the Vietnam forces to begin regrouping to the North and the French and associated forces to the South;
4. Re-settlement of civilians in the military zones of their choice;
5. Political and civil liberties for those who had taken part on either side in the military struggle;
6. No foreign military base to be established in any of the three countries, and no commitments to foreign military blocs;
7. No military reinforcements of men or material to be sought or obtained from abroad;
8. Free election for a united Vietnam Government to be held not



## ANDERSON EXHIBIT NO. 5—Continued

later than July 1956, on the basis of electoral arrangements to be drawn up not later than July, 1955;

9. An International Commission for supervision and control. The United States intervention in Vietnam has prevented the people of Vietnam from holding elections as was stipulated in the Geneva Agreements thus, the Vietnamese people are deprived of the right to choose their own government - thereby preventing the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese people. While in Georgia, today, Julian Bond has been deprived his right to be seated in the Georgian Legislature after winning an election by 85% of the voters in his district. Also, in Harlem Bill Epton's name was left off the ballot -- thus preventing the people of Harlem from making their own choice. The Julian Bond, and Bill Epton cases and the denial of the right of the Negro people to register to vote, in parts of the South, point up the fact that Negroes have been denied the right to determine their own destiny and the people whom they wish to represent them in the government of the U.S.

"The rockets red glare, the bombs bursting in air, gave proof through the night that our flag was still there".

The United States flag waves in the Vietnamese winds as pompously as Governor Wallace's Confederate flag waves in the storm winds over Alabama State Capitol. While many of the people of this country sit and watch it all on TV - all about the War in Vietnam, and they say either "Psch, tech, isn't it frightening?" or some say "Let's bomb the hell out of them". THEM is a man or woman or a small child or a pet dog, cat or bird.

Let the people decide their own affairs both in Vietnam and in this country. A basic flaw in the policies of the Administration in this City and the Federal Government is that too many of our leaders, both military and political, have succumbed to the anti-democratic disease which has raged in the South and in South Los Angeles for decades.

They have a tendency to underestimate the little people of this globe, the the brown the black and the yellow people. The Administrations glory in our tend technology and weapons of death

ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

is almost frightening. They think we frighten these people into submission both at home and abroad, that we can bomb and kill abroad and at home we are beaten, attacked by dogs, bombed and killed; but still we sing, and will continue to sing

WE SHALL OVERCOME

BLACK AND WHITE TOGETHER WE SHALL OVERCOME

AT HOME AND ABROAD WE SHALL OVERCOME



Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir.

There was a demonstration on September 24, 1964, at the Los Angeles City Hall on Spring Street in Los Angeles. This was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee To End Police Malpractices, with an address of 1230 Cabrillo Avenue, Venice, California.

The purpose of this demonstration was to demand immediate action to correct police malpractice, including resignation of the chief of police at the time, William H. Parker, and the establishment of a civilian [police] review board.

Mr. SMITH. What was the Ad Hoc Committee To End Police Malpractices?

Mr. ANDERSON. This was a front group of the W. E. B. DuBois Club of Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. Can you identify the occupant of the address you referenced?

Mr. ANDERSON. When the pickets left the area, the picket signs were put into a vehicle bearing license number IOS 711, which is registered to a 1959 Buick, four-door. The registered owner of that vehicle is John R. Haag, 1230 Cabrillo Avenue, Venice.

Mr. SMITH. Sole owner?

Mr. ANDERSON. He is the sole owner of the vehicle.

Mr. SMITH. Is that the John Haag we have already identified as chairman of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of Los Angeles?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned picket signs.

What was the wording on these placards?

Mr. ANDERSON. Among others: "Protect and serve whom?" "Mayor Yorty, we want a civilian police review board"; "Guardians, not guards"; and "No more Harlems."

This demonstration lasted from 1:30 p.m. until 3 p.m.

During the picketing there was chanting by the participants, "Chief Parker must go."

Mr. SMITH. Was this pre-Watts riot activity?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, this was.

I have a document here entitled *SPUR*, which was an official newsletter of the DuBois Clubs of America. This particular issue is dated August 25, 1965. I would like to quote from this newsletter:

Poverty in this nation is real; so real that the people of Watts, who live with it every day, finally declared war on it and its cohort—police brutality.

Another quote:

For six days and nights the Watts district of Los Angeles was the battle-ground for a class war. Tens of thousands of Negro people let loose the frustration and the anger of years of poverty, unemployment, and discrimination. When they battled the Los Angeles police department, they took on one of the most brutal instruments of racism.

Another quote:

Liberals by the score are moaning that the cause of civil rights has been set back 100 years, but if the cause of civil rights was set back it was because the L.A. police decided to use the methods of race suppression so popular in South Africa.

In another quote:

In fact it was the police, not the Negroes, who were guilty of barbarism and unwarranted savagery. \* \* \*

In another quote:

The removal of the racist Police Chief Parker has been a demand in the L.A. area for years. In Watts his name stands for police brutality. \* \* \*

Another quote:

Club members in L.A. and S.F. have been distributing leaflets in both Negro and white neighborhoods explaining what happened and why \* \* \*.

That refers to DuBois Club members.

Another quote:

The Battle of Watts was a frustrated attempt to bring poverty, and racism to an end. We cannot disassociate ourselves from that battle.

MR. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point, I would like to request acceptance of Anderson Exhibit 5-A that he has just quoted from.

MR. TUCK. Is it so ordered.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 5-A" and retained in committee files.)

MR. ANDERSON. Another document that I have was issued by the W. E. B. DuBois Club of Los Angeles in November 1965. This is entitled "THE FIRE THIS TIME." It was written by Ron Ridenour, Anne Leslie, and Victor Oliver.

Mr. Chairman, this document deals mainly with social problems. However, there are several items worth quoting, I believe. They are germane to this inquiry. One quote is:

Despite that admission, abuses both physical and verbal of Negroes by the L.A.P.D. are an every day occurrence. A point in case is the "incident" which started the violence. On August 11, 1965, Mrs. Rena Frye, a Negro, was (according to 20 eyewitnesses whose sworn affidavits are in the hands of Negro author-lecturer Louis Lomax) beaten with rifle butts by officers, then carted off to jail for "interfering" with the arrest of her son on a drunk driving charge. This was described by the police as "a routine arrest."

In one portion of the book, starting on page 9 and ending on page 12, the W. E. B. DuBois Club recommends 24 points that would tend to solve the problem of racial disturbances. The following recommendations included in these points might be of interest to the committee:

1. WE DEMAND THE REMOVAL of CHIEF of POLICE PARKER from office.
5. WE DEMAND that there be established in the City of Los Angeles a *Citizens' Police Review Board*, composed of *elected members* from city councilmanic districts, to investigate and act upon any and all complaints of police malpractice.
6. We demand that white policemen employed at the 77th precinct be replaced by Negro officers.

The balance of the recommendations refer to other social problems.

I would like to quote the last paragraph from the document on page 14:

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.

MR. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Anderson Exhibit 5-B."

MR. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 5-B" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ANDERSON. The next document is headed "POVERTY FRUSTRATION DEATH."

It was printed and circulated some time during what we call the second Watts riot, approximately March 18, 1966.

I would like to read this entire document for the record. It is a one-page document:

Twelve people in a two room flat; poverty; unemployment, and police harassment. What does this lead to?

During the past four days in South Los Angeles people have been dying; men, women and children have been beaten; stores have been looted and buildings burned. Violence has been the mode.

Do you not wonder why? Do you not wonder why blood flows? why young people throw bricks? Why the streets are teeming with thousands of restless and frustrated people? It has been suggested that the cause is the heat; it is not the heat that is to blame, but ourselves. We are at fault; for it is we, the citizens of Los Angeles who have allowed police brutality to exist. Who have allowed discrimination socially, economically, and politically. Who have not demanded a civilian police review board to control police injustices. Who have not demanded the removal of Police Chief Parker who condones police malpractice. Police Chief Parker has even gone so far as to suggest that our National Guardsmen can learn more in Watts than in summer camp. Is he suggesting that our National Guardsmen be allowed to PRACTICE ON OUR CITIZENS?

We are not in favor of violence; we do not condone what is happening in Watts, but we are trying to explain why the violence has erupted, and that the condition in Watts is our fault. Because of this, we demand the following four points:

1. *An end to police malpractice and brutality.*
2. *A civilian Police Review Board.*
3. *The expulsion of Police Chief Parker.*
4. *Social and economic reforms (anti-poverty funds), that will eliminate the ghetto [sic].*

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted as Anderson Exhibit 5-C.

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 5-C" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ANDERSON. I have a document which is an article, a copy of an article from the *Chicago Sun-Times*, dated June 21, 1966. It quotes Franklin Alexander, who was then the national chairman of the W. E. B. DuBois Club of America. He was proposing separating Watts from the rest of the city of Los Angeles and setting up a separate city government.

Mr. SMITH. Was this plan ever carried out?

Mr. ANDERSON. No; it never got out of the talking stage.

Another quote from Alexander in the same article:

Another feature of the Watts project will be establishment of a police observer corps \* \* \*.

Autos equipped with two-way radios and waving white flags from their antennas will follow policemen through the ghetto area, scene of last year's riot. Club workers will photograph patrols, he said.

Mr. SMITH. Was the police observer corps ever set up?

Mr. ANDERSON. No, sir; but an organization was set up called the Community Alert Patrol.

This organization was not considered Black Muslims or subversive, but more of a nuisance than anything else. They equipped cars with shortwave radios which picked up police calls, and they responded to the police calls to the scene where the call originated.



They were to observe any police brutality if an arrest was effected by the Los Angeles Police Department. They never did make any charges of brutality against the Los Angeles Police Department.

This Community Alert Patrol received an OEO grant, as I recall, close to a quarter of a million dollars. However, this grant was adamantly opposed by the Los Angeles Police Department and Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles, as well as the Governor of the State of California, and shortly thereafter OEO withdrew the grant.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, at this point, Lieutenant, what was the name of this group setting up the automobiles to answer police calls in order to check on police brutality?

Mr. ANDERSON. That was the Community Alert Patrol.

Mr. ICHORD. Community Alert Patrol?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Did it receive an OEO grant in the name of the Community Alert Patrol?

Mr. ANDERSON. It did not ultimately receive the grant. The grant was never delivered. It was canceled, but in the name of Community Alert Patrol the grant was okayed.

Mr. ICHORD. Are you familiar with the alleged purposes of the Community Alert Patrol? Was the application made for purposes other than following police cars to check on alleged police brutality?

Mr. ANDERSON. As I recall, the stated purpose was to help the police in the Watts area and to be somewhat of a vigilante corps. However, there were previous documents in which they stated their purpose was to follow the police and observe their actions.

Mr. ICHORD. Was this prior to or following the Watts riot?

Mr. ANDERSON. I believe this was after.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you.

Mr. TUCK. Did the organization actually get the grant?

Mr. ANDERSON. No, sir; it did not.

Mr. SMITH. But it was only by the protest of the Governor and Mr. Yorty; is that correct?

Mr. ANDERSON. There was a very strong protest by the mayor, Mayor Yorty, the police department, and the Governor of the State, which apparently effected the cancellation of the grant.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the document that the witness quoted from be accepted as Anderson Exhibit 5-D.

Mr. TUCK. The document will be so marked.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 5-D" and retained in committee files.)

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

Lieutenant, were there identified Communist members who were members of this Community Alert organization?

Mr. ANDERSON. No, sir; not that we were able to identify.

Mr. ICHORD. Did you obtain a list of the members of that organization?

Mr. ANDERSON. I don't have a list with me. There is a list in our files, I believe.

Mr. ICHORD. What kind of people did they consist of? Were there any who had criminal records?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir, there were. This was not a very formal organization as far as membership and screening of their members, and so forth. They installed their radios in any old car they happened to

have, and whoever happened to have a car and could afford a radio was one of the troops.

Mr. ICHORD. Go ahead, Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Lieutenant Anderson, in 1966 a Los Angeles citizen, Leonard Deadwyler, died as a result of being shot by a policeman.

Has your office maintained records on the Leonard Deadwyler case?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. What was the background of the Deadwyler case?

Mr. ANDERSON. During the late afternoon hours of May 7, 1966, black and white police units pursued a vehicle containing two men and a woman in the south central area of the city of Los Angeles. After the police succeeded in stopping the suspect vehicle, an officer was leaning in the passenger side of the vehicle with a drawn revolver, at which time the vehicle lurched forward.

As a result of the lurch, the officer was thrown off balance. His revolver discharged, and the bullet struck and killed the driver of the vehicle, who was Leonard Deadwyler.

Mr. SMITH. Was an inquest held in the case?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir. An inquest was held by the Los Angeles County coroner's office which lasted 8 days, between May 19, 1966, and May 31, 1966. This inquest was the longest inquest into a single death in Los Angeles County. There were 49 witnesses who testified.

Mr. SMITH. What was the result of the inquest?

Mr. ANDERSON. The coroner's jury found the death of Leonard Deadwyler to be accidental.

Mr. SMITH. Did the accidental killing of Deadwyler foment trouble in the Watts area?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir; a number of Communist and extreme left-wing organizations tried to capitalize on this accidental killing to foment racial discord in the Watts area.

Even before the coroner's inquest or the jury was convened, the Students for a Democratic Society organized a rally on May 13 at the Los Angeles police administration building. In a leaflet which was widely distributed to announce the rally, the Students for a Democratic Society accused the Los Angeles Police Department of: "(1)," and I am quoting:

needlessly and carelessly *murdering* Mr. Leonard Deadwyler on Tuesday, May 10, 1966.

The date they had in their flyers was incorrect.

(2) generally using tactics and methods which are *not* suited to the "crime."

(3) flagrantly disregarding the human beings whom they supposedly "protect" in the pursuit of "law and order."

(4) generating themselves the crime and lawlessness from which they claim to "protect" us.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received and marked as "Anderson Exhibit 5-E."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 5-E" follows:)

ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 5-E

*WE ACCUSE!*

The Los Angeles Police Department of:

(1) needlessly and carelessly *murdering* Mr. Leonard Deadwyler on Tuesday, May 10, 1966.

(2) generally using tactics and methods which are *not* suited to the "crime."

(3) flagrantly disregarding the human beings whom they supposedly "protect" in the pursuit of "law and order."

(4) generating themselves the crime and lawlessness from which they claim to "protect" us.

Let us first suppose that this was not a racial murder. Questions: (1) why was a police officer confronting a "speeder" with a drawn and cocked .38 pistol? (2) is immediate execution the accepted penalty for traffic violations? Let us now look at it more realistically and suppose this *was* indeed a racial murder. In an interview by Donald McDonald of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institution, Police Chief Parker stated:

"(Race relations) has been a problem, but I don't think it is as big a problem as some might believe it to be. I don't want to mention any names here, but I have been told by leaders of two of our large minorities that, after close observation of our department's work with minority groups, they have found nothing they can criticize."

Parker stated this prior to the riots in Watts. Does this indicate ignorance on Parker's part, or perhaps on the part of the entire Police force? Does Parker seriously expect thinking citizens to believe that Watts happened over night? Is it a possibility that Parker, far from being ignorant of the situation, was quite aware of the seething racial unrest existing in Los Angeles and merely miscalculated the ability of the police and National Guard to crush any manifestations of this unrest?

In any case, Chief Parker's abilities of judgment were far from commendable. Now it is apparent that this lack of judgment, far from being just less than meritorious, is far from even safety; for when a civilian not only must give up hope of police protection but must indeed seek *protection from* the police there is a serious flaw in the system.

#### THINK ABOUT IT!

Friday, May 13 there will be another demonstration at the *Police Administration Bldg.*, 150 N. Los Angeles Street for 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. Contact S.D.S. 1332 Miramar Street L.A. Phone: 466-2466  
1966.

Mr. ANDERSON. A committee was also formed which called itself the Committee To End Legalized Murder by Cops.

Mr. SMITH. What was the address of this committee?

Mr. ANDERSON. The same as for the South Side Citizens Defense group, 10203½ Compton Avenue, Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. Who were the organizers of the Committee To End Legalized Murder by Cops?

Mr. ANDERSON. This organization which was formed for agitation during the Deadwyler inquest, as far as we know it is no longer in existence. However, it may just be dormant because patterns of organizations of this type show that they reactivate from time to time to fit any need which may come up.

Our investigation discloses there was a committee of four that started this organization. The nominal head was a Willie Frank Brown, who was born April 5, 1921, in Mississippi. As far as we can learn, Brown has no definite subversive record.

Another organizing member was Franklin Delano Alexander, born May 4, 1941, in Illinois, who, of course, was a former national chairman of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, and I am sure is in your files.

Another organizing member was Charlene Mitchell, a member of the National Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A., and sister of Franklin Delano Alexander.

The fourth one was Kendra Claire Harris, who was born June 28, 1946, in Los Angeles. She is the wife of Franklin Alexander. She was arrested on March 16, 1966, at 2:30 a.m. for being drunk. At this time she was in the company of Franklin Alexander. This arrest took place at the approximate time and in the vicinity of the Watts riot number 2. At the time of her arrest, she gave her occupation as a committee organizer for the W. E. B. DuBois Club.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, for the record it should be noted that Franklin Alexander, recently national chairman of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, was recently expelled from the Communist Party for stealing funds from the W. E. B. DuBois Club.

How did the Committee To End Legalized Murder by Cops foment trouble?

Mr. ANDERSON. On or about May 15, 1966, leaflets titled "WE CHARGE MURDER!" were distributed in the Watts area and in the south central Los Angeles area, announcing a protest at Will Rogers Park, 103d and Central, on Tuesday, May 17. The Deadwyler inquest was scheduled to begin on the 19th. I have a copy of that leaflet here.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the document be accepted as Anderson Exhibit No. 6.

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 6" appears on p. 1241.)

Mr. SMITH. Did the demonstration as announced in Exhibit 6 take place?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes. The demonstration took place on May 17. The demonstration began at Will Rogers State Park with approximately 200 Negroes in attendance. This could best be described as an agitative rally.

The demonstration then proceeded to march to the 77th Division police station, carrying signs and singing and in general protesting police brutality in the Deadwyler shooting. This mob was unruly in the demonstration in front of the police station, but no major difficulty occurred.

The crowd dispersed in about an hour. There were approximately 350 people who participated in front of the station.

Mr. SMITH. Did investigation by your office reveal that known Communists took part in this rally?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes. Members of the Communist organizations did take part in this rally on May 17. Some of them that were there were Kendra Harris, whom we previously mentioned; Dorothy Healey; Barbara Nestor, the mother of Dorothy Healey; William C. Taylor, whom we previously mentioned; and Charlene Mitchell, whom we previously mentioned; Robert Duggan, who was chairman of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs in Los Angeles; and Allen Zak, who was an officer in the W. E. B. DuBois Club.

Mr. SMITH. Did anything else occur on the evening of May 17?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir.

In the evening of May 17, following the rally, an outbreak of violence and looting occurred at 85th and San Pedro Streets, in the south central Los Angeles area. A liquor store was looted, two newsmen were beaten, and bricks were thrown at police. Several arrests were made at this time.

ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 6

# WE CHARGE MURDER!

MURDER COMES ON THE EDGE OF SUMMER;  
LEONARD DEADWYLER WAS MURDERED,  
KILLED DEAD, DEAD, DEAD, FOR RUSHING HIS  
PREGNANT WIFE TO THE HOSPITAL.

YOU TOO CAN BE SHOT AND YOUR  
MURDER GO FREE UNLESS YOU PROTECT  
YOURSELF, FAMILIES AND FRIENDS BY  
PROTESTING THIS MURDER.

THE OFFICERS SAY "THE GUN WENT OFF"; BUT  
WE CANNOT GO FOR IT! ANYBODY CAN  
GET IT NEXT TIME!

MAKE SURE THAT DEADWYLER'S  
MURDERER IS NOT CUT LOOSE; THAT THIS  
KILLER COP BE ARRESTED AND PROSECUTED  
FOR HIS CRIME. THE LAW ENFORCEMENT  
OFFICER MUST BE MADE TO SERVE AND  
PROTECT US NOT TO BEAT AND KILL US.

PROTEST AT WILL ROGERS PARK  
103<sup>RD</sup> + CENTRAL  
TUES. MAY 17<sup>TH</sup> 5:30<sup>PM.</sup>

COMMITTEE TO END LEGALIZED MURDER BY COPS

TEL # 569-6814

Labor Donated

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any newspaper clippings of the demonstration and disturbance?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir, I do. I have the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* of May 18 and 19, 1966, describing the disturbance at 85th and San Pedro Streets.

I also refer to the *Los Angeles Times* of May 19, 1966. This article is captioned "New Watts Violence Provides Backdrop for Inquest Today."

You will note from the article that the Committee To End Legalized Murder by Cops is credited with the demonstration at Will Rogers Park set forth in the leaflet previously submitted.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these documents be accepted and marked "Anderson Exhibits Nos. 7, 8, and 9."

Mr. TUCK. They are accepted and will be so marked.

(Documents marked "Anderson Exhibits Nos. 7, 8, and 9," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Please continue with your account of the Deadwyler case agitation.

Mr. ANDERSON. Due to the disturbance of May 17, a close surveillance was maintained over the Watts area on the 18th. However, the district was relatively calm and there were no unusual disturbances.

On May 19, the inquest was scheduled to begin at 10 a.m. in Room 500 of the old Hall of Records in Los Angeles. Prior to the start of the hearing, there was a crowd of milling and unruly spectators, mostly Negroes, that began to fill the corridors outside the hearing room and attempted to force their way inside.

Several altercations broke out between the sheriff's deputies who were attempting to control and quell the mob and some of the members of the crowd who were screaming and pushing to squeeze about 400 people in the hearing room, which was able to accommodate only about 150 people.

When finally partial control was obtained, an announcement was made that the proceedings would be moved to Department 12, Room 215, in the new county courthouse.

The unruly, abusive, and threatening attitude of the crowd continued, however, in the new and larger courtroom. The aisles were filled with people, and the LAPD refused to allow their officers to testify until the aisles were cleared.

When this rebellious crowd refused to move upon official notification, Ernie Smith of the black nationalists was allowed by some unknown person to assume the judge's chair and from the rostrum he directed the crowd at approximately 11:40. The crowd reacted to his directions and requests, which were supplemented by John Pratt of the World Council of Churches.

While Smith was on the bench, he took advantage of that opportunity to slander law enforcement generally and the proceedings in particular. At this time the proceedings were adjourned until 1:55, due to continuing agitation both inside and outside the courtroom. There were agitators in the corridor outside the courtroom and on the mall outside the building who were provoking the crowd by threatening violence and passing out inflammatory handbills.

On May 20, the agitation continued but the crowd control and security was much more positive. During midmorning, the crowd

outside the courtroom forced itself into the hallway, and agitators began an obscene tirade against the sheriff's deputies who were present for crowd control. This agitation required a clearing of the corridors by approximately 125 Los Angeles County deputy sheriffs.

The handbill distribution continued, and members of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) were distributing a handbill entitled "REACTIONARY VIOLENCE MUST BE MET BY REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE!"

I would like to quote some of the paragraphs in this handbill:

The murder of Deadwyler was perpetrated by the police in accord with the ruling class' policy to oppress the working people. \* \* \* Governor Brown (also a representative of the bourgeois state) has demonstrated his racist and reactionary stance by calling into Watts the National Guard for the mass murder of workers.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) urges the formation of people's defense groups, and points out that the only way to oppose reactionary violence is with revolutionary violence. As was stated by M. I. Laski, spokesman for the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist). "Our aim is to lead the working class in revolution, we will develop and encourage people's defense groups for the defense of the working class against the terror of the ruling class." \* \* \*

They also say:

The brutality and the violence of the bourgeois police against the workers has again been demonstrated to the working class in Los Angeles with the police murder on Sunday May 8, of Leonard Deadwyler, 25 years old \* \* \*. Mr. Deadwyler was murdered while driving his pregnant wife to the hospital. \* \* \*

On Monday, May 24, full-time, live TV coverage was commenced covering the hearing, and at that time the crowds began to lessen. The inquest continued with TV coverage until May 31, at which time the coroner's jury announced a verdict of accidental homicide.

During this entire period handbills were being distributed by various organizations attacking LAPD. One handbill entitled "YORTY IS A LIAR!" was passed out by Michael Laski.<sup>1</sup> I would like to quote a portion of this handbill:

Our Party states that the workers can fight against police brutality only by organizing into people's defense groups. We must answer the reactionary violence of the ruling class by the revolutionary violence of the people. \* \* \* "Our aim is to lead the working class in revolution, we will develop and encourage people's defense groups for the defense of the working class against the terror of the ruling class".

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, at that point I observe that the leaflets advocate revolutionary violence.

Do you recall any of them directly advocating or urging them to take up arms?

Mr. ANDERSON. Some of them have said we must arm for defense. They always throw in the phrase "for defense," which changes the meaning somewhat, legally, in our State anyway.

Mr. ICHORD. You mean legally there would be a difference between arming for defense and taking up arms?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir.

Another pamphlet or paper that was being passed out was from the Muslims of the Nation of Islam. They passed out this paper

<sup>1</sup>This was previously introduced as Harris Exhibit No. 12. See p. 1141.

which is entitled "STOP POLICE BRUTALITY!" A quote from the front page of that paper is:

We want an immediate end to the police brutality and mob attacks against the so-called Negro throughout the United States.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these documents be accepted and marked "Anderson Exhibits 10 and 11."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Anderson Exhibits Nos. 10 and 11," respectively. Exhibit No. 10 retained in committee files; No. 11 follows:)

ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 11

# Muhammad Speaks



**Muhammad—:**

# STOP POLICE

We want an immediate end to the police brutality and mob attacks against the so-called Negro throughout the United States

We believe that the Federal government should intercede to see that black men and women tried in white courts receive justice in accordance with the laws of the land or allow us to build a new nation for ourselves, dedicated to justice, freedom and liberty.

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.

As long as we are not allowed to establish a state or territory of our own, we demand not only equal justice under the laws of the United States, but equal employment opportunities—NOW!

We do not believe that after 400 years of free or nearly free labor, sweat and blood which has helped America become rich and powerful, that so many thousands of black people should have to subsist on relief, charity or live in poor houses.

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.

# BRUTALITY!

HEAR MORE ABOUT THIS SUBJECT SUNDAY 2:00 P.M.

**MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE No. 27**  
5606 SO. BROADWAY SUNDAY 2:00p.m.



Mr. ANDERSON. The Progressive Labor Party was also active in distributing inflammatory leaflets. One of these leaflets is a poster-type leaflet with a picture of the late Chief of Police William Parker. It is entitled "WANTED FOR MURDER—Parker the Cop in Watts, Progressive Labor Party."

Another document or leaflet passed out by the Progressive Labor Party is entitled "WANTED for the MURDER of Leonard Deadwyler:—(a member of the concentration camp) 'BOVA—the—cop' (a guard in the concentration camp)."

Bova is just one cop in the police department. They must be all wiped out before there is complete freedom. South Los Angeles—Watts is one big concentration camp in which its citizens are subject to systematic extermination.

Another leaflet was passed out, also by the Progressive Labor Party, entitled "THE NEED FOR REVOLUTION."

I would like to quote a portion of this leaflet:

It is these big industrialists and their spokesmen like Yorty and Brown who must be defeated.

They can't be defeated by pleading and begging. Any nation has the right to revolution and self-determination. *REVOLUTION IS NECESSARY*. They must be totally replaced. Revolution means a complete *overthrow* of the system. *NO ACCOMMODATION!! NO COMPROMISE*. The community must be organized block by block. There must be a block leader for each 20 houses who organizes for defensive and offensive actions. \* \* \*

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these documents be accepted and marked "Anderson Exhibits Nos. 12, 13, and 14."

Mr. TUCK. They will be accepted and so marked.

(Documents marked "Anderson Exhibits Nos. 12, 13, and 14," respectively. Exhibit No. 12 retained in committee files; Nos. 13 and 14 follow:)

ANDERSON EXHIBIT NO. 13

WANTED for the  
MURDER of  
Leonard Deadwyler:—  
(a member of the concentration camp)  
"BOVA—the—cop"  
(a guard in the concentration camp)

---

Bova is just one cop in the police department. They must be all wiped out before there is complete freedom. South Los Angeles—Watts is one big concentration camp in which its citizens are subject to systematic extermination.

ANDERSON EXHIBIT NO. 13—Continued

+++WE MUST LEARN TO DEFEAT THE ENEMY BEFORE WE ARE ALL EXTERMINATED.

+++THE MEMBERS OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMP CAN BE WIPED OUT BY HUNGER ALSO. THAT'S WHY UNEMPLOYMENT IS HIGH.

South Los Angeles is a big industrial complex. There are factories that employ thousands right in the backyards-- (General Motors on Alameda and Goodyear on Central just to name two large ones)-- of our homes.

Black people make up 80% of the South L.A. area. Black people should make up 80% of the work force in the South L.A. Area.

+++WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO WORK WHERE WE LIVE.

The slogan should be raised:

+++“IF 80% OF US DON'T WORK HERE, YOU DON'T PRODUCE.”  
Production can be stopped.

Murder by cops and death by unemployment are methods of systematic extermination.

+++THIS EXTERMINATION ISN'T GOING TO BE STOPPED BY GOING TO THE COURT OF THE EXTERMINATOR AS ADVISED BY SOME “NEGRO” POLITICIANS AND PREACHERS.

+++GEORGE WASHINGTON AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARIES NEVER WENT TO KING GEORGE'S COURT FOR JUSTICE. THEY SMASHED KING GEORGE'S COURT. THE JEWS NEVER ASKED TO GO TO HITLER'S COURT.

+++THE CONCENTRATION CAMP MUST DEVELOP ITS OWN COURT AND ITS OWN METHOD OF TRIAL.....

These slogans must be raised:

“BRING PARKER, YORTY, AND BOVA TO TRIAL FOR M U R D E R --IN A COURT OF THE PEOPLE.”

“DISARM THE GUARDS IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP”.

“IF 80% OF US DON'T WORK IN THE FACTORIES, YOU DON'T PRODUCE!!!”

Progressive Labor Party  
399-6819

ANDERSON EXHIBIT NO. 14

THE NEED FOR REVOLUTION

“ . . . Shall the millions forever submit to robbery, to murder, to ignorance, and every unnamed evil which an irresponsible tyranny can devise, because the overthrow of that tyranny would be productive of horrors? We say not. The recoil, when it comes, will be in exact proportion to the wrongs inflicted; terrible as it will be, we accept and hope for it . . . ”

Frederick Douglass

—1856

There are 50,000 unemployed black workers in the South Los Angeles Area. Eighty percent of the South L.A. area is black yet black people make up only some 5% of the jobs in factories right in the neighborhood like General Motors on Alameda and Goodyear on Central. Contrary to the lies preached by the capitalists and their apologists, 90% of the jobs in these factories can be done by illiterates. How much training does it take to put a wheel on a car in an assembly line or turn a bolt. The retraining program IS A FRAUD!!!

Between 1960 and 1965 the average white family income in Los Angeles rose 14%—but the black family's income fell 8%.

Every killing that happened at the hands of the cops during the August rebellion was ruled "justifiable homicide." Was it justifiable to shoot people in their apartments or anywhere?

Why?—The cops, Yorty, Parker, Brown, and the whole lot are paid to protect the interests of the rich white imperialists. Those who own factories like GM and Goodyear. South L.A. is a big industrial complex with enough jobs for everyone in the area. The national guard was really sent in to protect the big industries, not the small corner stores, liquor stores, and pawn shops.

It is these big industrialists and their spokesmen like Yorty and Brown who must be defeated.

They can't be defeated by pleading and begging. Any nation has the right to revolution and self-determination. *REVOLUTION IS NECESSARY*. They must be totally replaced. Revolution means a complete *overthrow* of the system. *NO ACCOMMODATION!! NO COMPROMISE*. The community must be organized block by block. There must be a block leader for each 20 houses who organizes for defensive and offensive actions. Maps must be constructed of the whole neighborhood.

We must not fear revolution but we must welcome it.

"... Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me. No, you need a revolution. . ."

MALCOLM X

—1964

Welcome revolution—Organize for Revolution.

Progressive Labor Party

399-6819 or WE 3-0463

Mr. SMITH. Further, Mr. Chairman, I think for the record it should be noted that these leaflets which he has quoted from, "Wanted for Murder—Parker the Cop in Watts," are almost identical to the leaflets passed out by the Progressive Labor Party in New York during the Harlem riots when it was, "Wanted for Murder—Gilligan, the Cop."

These three later documents were distributed by the Progressive Labor Party.

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir, they were.

Mr. SMITH. Can you identify the individual who distributed them?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes. Those were distributed by a John Wesley Harris, a male Negro, who was born October 30, 1930, in Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr. Chairman, I have another document announcing a meeting to be held Saturday, December 10, 1966, headed "forum on—BLACK LIBERATION and CRIMINAL SYNDICALIST LAW." The meeting was to be held at the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles. This leaflet identifies John Harris as the Progressive Labor Party organizer in Watts.

This meeting was sponsored by the Committee to Defend John Harris.

Also on the same program with Harris, according to this leaflet, were Frank Greenwood, who on the leaflet is identified as a "noted playwright [sic], author of 'Burn, Baby Burn', & head of the Afro-American Cultural Assoc."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the information concerning the Afro-American Cultural Association will be entered into the record later.

Mr. ANDERSON. Another speaker mentioned on this same leaflet is Rose Rosenberg. She is described on the leaflet as an "attorney, fighter for liberties & veteran of the Mississippi freedom rides."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be accepted and marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 15."

Mr. TUCK. It will be accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 15" follows:)

ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 15

forum on -  
**BLACK  
LIBERATION**  
and  
**CRIMINAL SYNDICALIST LAW**

hear **JOHN HARRIS** — PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY ORGANIZER IN WATTS. RECENTLY ARRESTED FOR "CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM" FOR THE "CRIME" OF PASSING OUT LEAFLETS DENOUNCING THE POLICE KILLING OF LEONARD DEADWYLER & THE SYSTEM WHICH ALLOWS SUCH A "LEGAL" MURDER.

**FRANK GREENWOOD** — NOTED PLAYWRITE, AUTHOR OF "BORN, BABY BORN", & HEAD OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN CULTURAL ASSOC.

**ROSE ROSENBERG** — ATTORNEY, FIGHTER FOR CIVIL RIGHTS & CIVIL LIBERTIES & VETERAN OF THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM RIDES.

**SAT. DEC. 10<sup>th</sup> 8:PM**

at the **FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH  
(CHANNING HALL) 8<sup>th</sup> & VERMONT**

donation \$1.00

SPON. BY THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND JOHN HARRIS

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any other documentation concerning the distribution of literature at the Deadwyler inquest?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir. I have a number of photographs which can be presented for the record if you care to have them. These are photographs, taken at the hearing, of John Harris handing out leaflets; Arnold Hoffman, who is handing out leaflets; and Eston William Simmons, who is handing out leaflets.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these photographs be accepted and marked as "Anderson Exhibits 16-A, B, and C; 17; 18-A and B; and 19."

Mr. ICHORD. What was the time? Do you have the date?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir. That was May 26, 1966.

Mr. TUCK. 1966?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir. This was during the Deadwyler inquest. Included in these pictures is a picture of Michael Laski and Eston Simmons and Arnold Hoffman, who are associates of Michael Laski.

Mr. TUCK. These pictures will be admitted as part of the record and so marked.

(Photographs marked "Anderson Exhibits Nos. 16-A, B, and C; 17; 18-A and B; and 19," respectively. Exhibits 16-A, 17, 18-B, and 19 follow; balance retained in committee files.)

ANDERSON EXHIBIT NO. 16-A



Arrow indicates John Harris

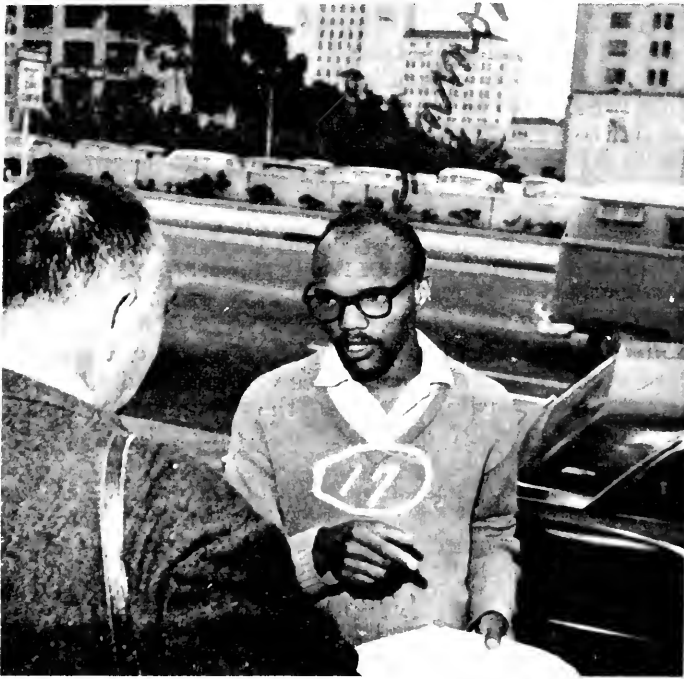
ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 17



ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 18-B



## ANDERSON EXHIBIT NO. 19



Mr. SMITH. To your knowledge, were any other known Communists at the inquest?

Mr. ANDERSON. There were other members of Communist organizations observed there, including Franklin Alexander, Kendra Harris, and Allen Zak, all of whom we previously mentioned.

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned the Committee to Defend John Harris. Will you describe this committee?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir.

John Harris was indicted under the State of California Penal Code section dealing with criminal syndicalism for distribution of radical literature at the Deadwyler hearing. He was indicted by the Los Angeles County grand jury on September 20, 1966. We subsequently arrested him. He was arraigned and pleaded not guilty. At the present time the constitutionality of the law is being appealed to a higher court and the case has not yet come to trial.

I have a copy of the grand jury proceedings if you would wish them for the record.

As a result of the indictment of Harris, the Committee to Defend John Harris was formed.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked as "Anderson Exhibit No. 20."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 20" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Who is chairman of the Committee to Defend John Harris?

Mr. ANDERSON. The chairman of the committee, according to a document that they were handing out, is Jean "Pestanna."<sup>1</sup> This document was received June 1, 1967.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, information has already been entered into the record concerning Pestana.

Mr. ANDERSON. There were other documents passed out at the same time calling for support of black militants and support of John Harris.

I would like to quote from one of them entitled "SUPPORT JOHN HARRIS!": "Harris and PLP"—meaning the Progressive Labor Party—

have actively defended the right of Black people to seek liberation by whatever means necessary. In organizing support for the Vietnamese people in their fight against U.S. imperialism, Harris and PLP have opposed one form of the extermination campaign again Black Americans.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these documents be accepted and marked "Anderson Exhibits Nos. 21, 22, and 23."

What is the address of the Committee to Defend John Harris?

Mr. ANDERSON. According to one of the documents just submitted, it lists Post Office Box 121, 308 Westwood Plaza. This is a post office box listed to Arley T. Hicks at UCLA.

(Documents marked "Anderson Exhibits Nos. 21, 22, and 23," respectively, follow:)

ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 21

**WORLD MOVEMENTS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION**

**AFRICA** ROBERT FITCH, AUTHOR OF "GHANA, END OF AN ILLUSION" & EXPERT IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

**LATIN AMERICA** TIMOTHY HARDING, PROFESSOR OF LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY AT CALIFORNIA STATE COLLEGE AT LOS ANGELES, & RECENT TRAVELLER TO THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.

**BLACK LIBERATION U.S.A.** JOHN HARRIS, PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY ORGANIZER IN SOUTH LOS ANGELES, UNDER INDICTMENT FOR "CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM" FOR HIS REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES.

**MIDDLE EAST** HOUSSEIN HOUSSEIN-MARDI, OF IRAN, FACES DEPORTATION FOR HIS RADICAL ATTITUDES.

Chairman - Jean Pestanna - noted radical lawyer

FRI-JUNE 2<sup>ND</sup>, 8PM CHANNING HALL  
 Donation \$1.50 students \$1.00 2936 W. 8<sup>TH</sup> ST.

Spon. By the John Harris Defense Committee - P.O. BOX 121  
 308 WESTWOOD PLAZA

<sup>1</sup> Correct spelling "Pestana."



ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 22

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY ORGANIZERS ON TRIAL FOR "CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM"

# SUPPORT BLACK MILITANTS

COME TO THE COURTROOM - NOV. 29

On September 20, 1966, John Harris, militant Black leader and Progressive Labor Party organizer in Watts, was arrested on the charge of criminal syndicalism. His "crime" -- passing out leaflets at the Beaudryer inquest, pointing out that the cop who shot Beaudryer was a murderer and denouncing the system that creates such a "legal" murder.

John now faces 16 years in prison.

The Criminal Syndicalism Law is an anti-labor law passed in 1919, and was last used to convict farm labor organizers in the Sacramento Valley in 1937.

In Court, Tuesday, November 29th, at 9:00 A.M., Harris' attorneys will present a motion to halt the proceedings on the basis that the law is unconstitutional.

LET THE PUBLIC KNOW THAT YOU SUPPORT JOHN HARRIS AND ALL OTHERS WHO ARE FIGHTING AGAINST THE INHUMANITY OF A SYSTEM WHICH LEGALIZES "OFFICIAL" KILLINGS OF BLACK PEOPLE, AND IMPRISONES THOSE WHO PROTEST THIS INJUSTICE.

## Show Your Support - - -

GO TO THE HALL OF JUSTICE, 211 W. Temple St., Los Angeles • Tuesday, Nov. 29th

Picket Line begins at 8:00 A.M.

ASK THE COURT -- DEPARTMENT 105 -- HEARING SET FOR 9:00 A.M.

LABOR DONATED by the Committee to Defend John Harris  
1169 Millen Avenue, Los Angeles

come to a

PARTY

for the defense of

—John Harris—

Black Revolutionary, Communist,

ACCUSED Criminal Syndicalist

Drinks

MUSIC

Fun

ON FRIDAY NIGHT.  
November 25

8:30 →

1623 S. Granville Ave  
Apt. # 3

\$1.00 Donation

(for info call 399-6819  
662-8769)

ANDERSON EXHIBIT NO. 23

**SUPPORT JOHN HARRIS !**

NOVEMBER 29 WILL MARK the beginnings of the proceedings of the first use of the State of California's "Criminal Syndicalist" law since 1937. This law, which was passed in 1919, states that it is illegal to speak or leaflet so as to advocate "change in industrial ownership" or to "effect political change" by so-called criminal means. It is an anti-labor law which was last used to convict farm labor organizers in the Sacramento Valley in 1937. The law was written to deal with revolutionary socialists and is a candid reflection of the undemocratic essence of American society, in which all power and wealth is concentrated into the hands of a tiny ruling class.

**FOR BLACK LIBERATION**

Now it is being used to intimidate those who speak out against the countless inhumanities and acts of brutality committed in the name of "freedom" at home and around the globe. This particular charge of "criminal syndicalism" is being directed against John Harris, a Progressive Labor Party organizer in Watts. He was arrested because he fought police brutality and for Black Liberation. He was arrested because he opposes the U. S. Government's genocidal war in Vietnam and has urged his Black brothers not to fight for the imperialist enemy. He was arrested because he is a communist, a revolutionary, a member of the Progressive Labor Party and proud of it. He was arrested because he has not equivocated but has said outright that the U. S. imperialist system must be destroyed and replaced by a socialist system.

The arrest of John Harris is part of a general political attack on the Afro-American people by Johnson's Government and its racist agents across the country. Similar acts of fascist like suppression have taken place in Atlanta, Philadelphia and Detroit. The blows are especially aimed at the most militant and vocal elements in the Black ghettos of America.

**AGAINST U. S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM**

The Progressive Labor Party stands clear in its opposition to the systematic extermination of Black people in the U. S. and supports their demand for self-determination, the right to decide their own future. Harris and PLP have actively defended the right of Black people to seek liberation by whatever means necessary. In organizing support for the Vietnamese people in their fight against U. S. imperialism, Harris and PLP have opposed one form of the extermination campaign against Black Americans.

The defense of John Harris is to defend Black people's right to seek liberation, every American's right to oppose U. S. aggression in Vietnam, the right of revolutionaries to organize and speak out against a system of oppression. In the fight against imperialism an injury to one is an injury to all.

The outcome of the Harris indictment and of the November 29 proceedings are a vital concern to all Americans who cherish social justice and the right to dissent.

**STOP THE PROCEEDINGS!**

In Los Angeles Superior Court November 29, Harris' attorneys Frank Pestana of the National Lawyers Guild and Al Wirin of the American Civil Liberties Union will present a motion seeking to halt the proceedings on the basis that the "Criminal syndicalist" law is unconstitutional and violates the defendant's right of free speech.

This is just the beginning of a long process of legal and political maneuvers that will be carried out by the ruling class in the Harris case. Your support, both moral and financial, is urgently needed to insure victory in this case. Please send contributions and statements of support as soon as possible to: Progressive Labor Party, P. O. Box 19724, Los Angeles 19, Calif.

**PROTEST THE HEARING NOVEMBER 29!**

Picket line begins at 8 a. m. outside the Hall of Justice, 211 W. Temple Street, Los Angeles.




1256 SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the committee through subpoena has obtained the application for Post Office Box 121. I ask that it be marked as "Anderson Exhibit No. 24."

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 24" follows:)

ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 24

FOR POST OFFICE USE ONLY	NO. KEYS	PERIOD	DATE BOX OPENED	DATE BOX CLOSED	BOX NO
	2	3-27-67	1-5-67		121
<p>APPLICANT PLEASE NOTE: Completion of this application signifies your willingness to comply with all postal rules relative to the renting and use of Post Office boxes.</p>					
<p>NAME OF APPLICANT (Print or type) <i>Committee to Defend John Harris</i></p>					
<p><i>Arley T. Hicks</i> U 36040500. <i>Defend John Harris</i></p>					
<p>HOME ADDRESS (No., street, and some)</p>					
<p><i>22 1/2 Thornton Ave., Kenic</i></p>					
<p>UNIVERSITY ADDRESS (Residence / Office / Department)</p>					
<p><i>Spanish Dept.</i></p>					
SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT				DATE OF APPLICATION	
<p>X <i>Arley T. Hicks</i></p>				<p><i>1-5-66</i></p>	
<p><i>1623 Crumwell #3</i></p>					

FORM 203 EP 9-66 1M

Mr. SMITH. Who is Arley Hicks?

Mr. ANDERSON. Arley Hicks, according to a UCLA *Daily Bruin* article of 5/2/67, at which time she was running for some student office, states that she is a representative and a member of the Progressive Labor Party. She is also known as Arley Timms.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this item be accepted and marked as "Anderson Exhibit No. 25."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 25" appears on p. 1257.)

Mr. SMITH. In addition to the defense of John Harris, does this committee have any other purpose?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes.

According to some of the documents submitted, they appeal and arouse sympathy for the black militants and the Communists. They also attempt to develop support for what they call the world movements of national liberation.

Mr. SMITH. Does your investigation indicate that the Committee to Defend John Harris is Progressive Labor Party organized and controlled?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir, it does.

Mr. SMITH. Did they also use Post Office Box 19724, Rimpau Station, Los Angeles, in behalf of the defense of John Harris?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir, they did.

ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 25  
 [Daily Bruin, May 2, 1967]

### **Arley Hicks**

UCLA and other universities in this country train us as technicians and apologists for the big business who run this inhuman society. Real education will come only with socialism. In the mean time, as your representative and as a member of the Progressive Labor Party, I will fight for the following:

1. Complete severance of the University war machine (including ROTC, military and war industry recruitment, SS System, and course structure); and immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

2. Textbooks priced below cost; textbook rental system; and a return to the 25c hamburger.

3. An end to discriminatory hiring and enrollment practices.

4. Two dollar an hour minimum wage for all campus jobs.

5. Elimination of parking fees for students and unrestricted free parking near campus.

6. Abolition of all ties with CIA front group—NSA.

7. Student opinion on course content and professors' qualifications should be solicited, made public and given due weight.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the committee subpoenaed the application for Post Office Box 19724, and I ask that it be marked "Anderson Exhibit 26."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 26" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. I also desire that the record show that those authorized to receive mail at this box were "Diane Hirsch, John Harris, Jim Dann, Phil Taylor, Progressive Labor Party 'Spark-Chispa.'"

Mr. TUCK. The record will so show.

Mr. SMITH. Was the Committee for the Defense of John Harris supported by other organizations in a united front action?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes.

The Afro-American Cultural Association, a black nationalist organization; the Freedom Now Committee, which we have discussed; Veterans For Peace; Southern Californians for New Politics; the L.A. Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights; the Non-Violent Action Committee; the Fifth of July Committee; the UCLA Vietnam Day

Committee; the L.A. Students for a Democratic Society; the Movement for a Democratic Society; and the W. E. B. DuBois Club.

All these organizations I have named indicate their support in a leaflet issued by the Committee for the Defense of John Harris and distributed in October 1966.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked as "Anderson Exhibit No. 27."

Mr. TUCK. It will be accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 27" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Did the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs go further than endorse the Committee for the Defense of John Harris?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes; after the finding by the coroner's jury of accidental death, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs began a vigil at the central police station in Los Angeles in June 1966. This was announced in a leaflet which was widely distributed and among other things charged, and I will quote from the leaflet:

The decision by district attorney, Evelle Younger, not to press charges against Officer Bova is no surprise to us. This is not the first such incident to occur in the minority community to be followed by the almost automatic "excusable homicide", and we believe it is not the last. Only a few months ago a white motorist was shot and killed in a similar incident in the minority community. Last August 36 Negroes were shot down in the streets of south Los Angeles. In not one case was there evidence submitted that the person killed was armed or constituted a threat of bodily harm to anyone. Yet in every case where a police officer killed an unarmed citizen the verdict of "justifiable homicide" was handed down.

They go on:

In each of these incidents of neglect and abuse of citizens of this city we charge Mayor Yorty with the responsibility. On the basis of the daily provocations by policemen that occur in the minority communities both before and after the Deadwyler incident we allege that Yorty is seeking to make political gains by provoking an uprising in south L.A. and thereby gain support from the white community for putting it down. He apparently believes that the solution of the turmoil in south L.A. is to invoke the greatest degree of violence, and that will give him the ticket to the State Governor's office.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 28."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 28" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Did POC likewise continue agitation in spite of the coroner's jury finding?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes.

I have a leaflet entitled "THE LESSONS OF THE DEADWYLER CASE," which still charges deliberate murder, and it states in part:

First of all, the meaning of the murder: The killing of Deadwyler was an extension of the killings in August and September. This murder is further proof of the fact that in Watts, the method of controlling the Negro people has passed over from reactionary Capitalist Democracy (class justice and class law) to open fascism, (ruled by unrestricted terror, killings and beatings). This murder is further proof that Watts is occupied by Government fascist troops and police.

There is no law above the will of the cops and the National Guard that has been quietly conveyed in. We are under a brutal fascist military occupation with all the consequences and implications.

This was passed out by POC.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 29."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Anderson Exhibit No. 29" follows:)

#### ANDERSON EXHIBIT No. 29

#### THE LESSONS OF THE DEADWYLER CASE

The legal official [sic] book on the Deadwyler case is closed. The people have yet to make their judgment. At this point, the fighting workers of Watts must draw some concrete lessons from this experience.

First of all, the meaning of the murder: The killing of Deadwyler was an extension of the killings in August and September. This murder is further proof of the fact that in Watts, the method of controlling the Negro people has passed over from reactionary Capitalist Democracy (class justice and class law) to open fascism, (rule by unrestricted terror, killings and beatings). This murder is further proof that Watts is occupied by Government fascist troops and police. There is no law above the will of the cops and the National Guard that has been quietly conveyed in. We are under a brutal fascist military occupation with all the consequences and implications.

Secondly: This murder further exposes the unity of the courts and the cops. Both the courts and cops are part of the State machinery. This machine has as its sole purpose and oppression of the masses. It functions solely for the benefit [sic] of the ruling class.

Thirdly: The whole concept of democracy is being shown in its true light. Democracy has never been any more than a smoke screen to cover the inequality of peoples and classes. Now it stands throughly [sic] exposed as the political covering for murder and mass oppression.

The Inquest had two basic purposes. 1) to confuse the whole issue, to inject a multitude of 'legal' questions to cover up the crime, to present the question of the law being above all class and national antagonisms. A purpose of the inquest was to present the state as impartial. The 'threats' of the KKK on the 'right' and the 'Black extremists' on the 'left' aided this impression. Actually it is the cops—part of the states armed forces—that do the killings and the courts—the legal arm of the state—that backs them up and sets them free. Secondly, the inquest was a savage warning to people of Watts that any cop has the right to shoot any Negro or any minority [sic] worker and the total force of the state will back him up. It must be seen that today, all the terror organizations—the KKK, the White Citizens Councils; the Minute Men etc are simply symbols. Today, their functions are carried out by cops, supported by the courts.

During this struggle it was again shown who are the friends of the people and who are the friends of the enemy. The state has used the tactic of building up his loyal opposition, and attempting to silence his real enemy. The authorities have gone out of their way to publicize the leaflets and statements of the Trotskyites, the revisionist so called Communist Party and the clique of police spies and provocateurs [sic] who call themselves Communists. Why have the authorities publicized their program and shown their leaflets on T.V.? Only because it was in the best interests of the authorities. On the one hand these traitors support the Toms with calls for peaceful demonstrations and petitions, and on the other hand they call for violence from the Negro people (in either case, nightfall finds them safely tucked away in Torrence and San Franando [sic] Valley). The Authorities want the unorganized, unarmed disunited Negro workers to attack them—in that way they believe they can kill off the fighters terrorize the community and destroy the movement.

P.O.C. has always called for mass confrontation [sic] with the enemy. That confrontation [sic] must have the form and slogans that reflect the ideological level of the masses at any time. Today POC calls on the workers of Watts to "Organize in order to fight." There is no other path. Organization must be based on the reality of the whole police, legal and political apparatus of the state as the enemy.

The ruling class and their state has declared war on Watts. It is obvious that if we are to fight back, we must have an organized disciplined political army. It is clear that individual actions, or disorganized action by small groups will only aid the enemy and provide the excuse for intensifying their fascist terror. The real fighter, the honest revolutionary today fights for the ideological conviction and organization of the masses. The real heroes today organize in order to fight to win.

The force and scope of the Negro peoples movement is arousing and activating all the national minorities. Unable to defeat the Negro workers in Watts, the state has been forced to escalate their war against the people and have turned their guns on the Mexican American minority. The courts have attempted to impose the fascist genocidal policy of 'sterilization'. The police have utilized their fascist policy of 'felony stop'. The whole state apparatus has intensified the terror against the Mexican-Americans. The Mexican American workers are fighting back. They are exposing their Uncle Toms and compradores. They have stopped the police from beating and illegally arresting their brothers. The 'official' sell out leadership will not be able to hold the Mexican American workers in check.

The objective unity of the Negro and Mexican American American minority has been a fact for over a century. The political fighting unity is a matter of immediate practical inevitability. Brothers in class, brothers in toil and exploitation, brothers in oppression and discrimination, the unity of the Mexican American, the Indian, the Puerto Rican and the Negro will lay the basis for the unity of the whole working class.

The workers of Watts are in the front trench in the struggle of the Negro people for liberation. They are in the front [t]rench in the international struggle of the oppressed people against fascist United States imperialism. The eyes of the world are upon us, our allies number in the billions—on with the struggle.

VANGUARD,  
BOX 72306 WATTS STATION  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Issued by the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist Leninist Communist Party in the United States—Write Vanguard.

Mr. SMITH. I have one question.

You mentioned further back the charge that Deadwyler was rushing his pregnant wife to the hospital at the time he was shot.

Was that charge found to be true?

Mr. ANDERSON. His wife was pregnant. She didn't deliver the baby until several weeks later. It might have been 3 months later, 2 or 3 months later, that the child was delivered.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, that concludes Lieutenant Anderson's testimony at this time.

I would like to recall Mr. Wheeler.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, before Mr. Wheeler is recalled, I have some questions I would like to ask the lieutenant.

Lieutenant, we received in evidence numerous documents printed and distributed by Communist groups and radical revolutionary groups during the time leading up to the Watts riot, also the photographs of such groups participating in protest demonstrations. And the nature, the form, the content of these publications and leaflets have shown beyond a reasonable doubt that these groups were making a very strenuous effort to foment discontent and racial disorder by charges of police brutality and other charges of alleged discrimination and deprivation. They also contained calls for action and incitations to revolutionary violence.

Do you have any evidence of the activity of these groups during the time of the riots? What happened to them during the time of the riots?

Mr. ANDERSON. The riot situation being what it was, we were unable to employ our standard intelligence operations at that time. In many



cases, we don't know just where they were. Many of them, like Michael Laski or other Caucasian people, stayed out of the area completely, out of fear.

Mr. TUCK. The riot was so successful that they could have easily withdrawn and phased out.

Mr. ANDERSON. There was nothing for them to do at that point. I would imagine it was entirely successful as far as they were concerned.

Mr. ICHORD. Approximately how many arrests were made during the Watts riot?

Mr. ANDERSON. I believe somewhere in the neighborhood of 4,000.

Mr. ICHORD. That is my memory, 4,000 or 4,500.

I suppose that among those people arrested you probably did have members of the radical Negro revolutionary groups, no doubt.

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. Nearly all the arrests made were Negroes, I suppose, because they were the ones actually doing the burning.

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes; almost all of them.

Mr. ICHORD. And leading the rioting.

Then you have no knowledge of direct participation by any of these groups containing white members?

Mr. ANDERSON. During the actual riots?

Mr. ICHORD. During the actual riots.

Mr. ANDERSON. No; there was no need.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much.

Mr. TUCK. Thank you very much, Lieutenant Anderson.

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Wheeler, will you resume the stand?

Proceed.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM A. WHEELER—Resumed

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wheeler, committee investigation establishes the existence in the Los Angeles, California, area of an organization called Afro-American Cultural Association.

Are you familiar with the activities of this organization?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes. This is a comparatively new organization.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have an address for the organization?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes.

I have a document which reflects the address to be 5907 Fourth Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

(At this point, Mr. Ichord left the hearing room.)

Mr. SMITH. Who occupies this address and who subscribes to the telephone?

Mr. WHEELER. The address is the home of Frank Greenwood. He is also the telephone subscriber.

Mr. SMITH. Will you further identify Mr. Greenwood?

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Greenwood makes his living as a playwright. He has written several plays. The two best known are "If We Must Live" and the play "Burn, Baby, Burn." Neither of these plays could be considered a financial success. They are presented mostly to leftwing circles and groups and sponsored by groups on college campuses that could be considered questionable in their political affiliations.

The play "If We Must Live" is based on the story of Robert Williams and the people of Monroe, North Carolina. As the files reflect

here in our committee, Robert Williams was indicted for kidnaping a white couple in Monroe, North Carolina, during a racial disturbance in August 1961. He fled to Cuba where he broadcast anti-American radio programs and is now in Peking, China, where he writes propaganda for Red China and prints an anti-American bulletin. He also broadcasts anti-American propaganda from Peking.

"Burn, Baby, Burn" is a play based on the Watts riot; of course, giving the rioters a favorable position. "Burn, Baby, Burn" is presented by the Afro group called the Touring Artists Group, which evidently was formed around 1958 by Frank Greenwood, who was listed as its director.

Greenwood's background shows a close affinity to Communist causes. Our indices disclose numerous references to Greenwood's activity. However, the following should probably be recited to classify Greenwood's background.

Mr. Chairman, I have a list here of nine items which are well documented. If you would desire for me to read them into the record, I will. They are from the *People's World* and other organizations. To save time, they could be entered into the record.

Mr. SMITH. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that we receive this for the record as Wheeler Exhibit 15?

Mr. TUCK. It will be received and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 15" follows:)

#### WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 15

(1) Frank Greenwood is shown as entertainer at ball honoring the 35th anniversary of the U.S.S.R., November 7, at Hungarian Cultural Center, Los Angeles, sponsored by American-Russian Institute in article in *Daily People's World*, October 28, 1952, p. 6.

(2) Frank Greenwood is listed as entertaining at Negro History Week celebration on February 21, with Touring Actors' Group, sponsored by L.A. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, in article in *People's World*, February 15, 1958, p. 11.

(3) F. Greenwood listed as directing Touring Artists Group in presenting play at May Day celebration, sponsored by Communist Party of Southern California, in article in *People's World*, May 10, 1958, p. 3.

(4) Frank Greenwood is listed as head of cultural program at the *People's World* party, Saturday night (May 23), *People's World*, May 16, 1959, p. 3.

(5) Frank Greenwood to entertain at 23d anniversary celebration of the *People's World*, *People's World* of March 4, 1961, p. 3.

(6) Frank Greenwood to be on program at *People's World* anniversary celebration March 19, 1961, at the Park Manor Ballroom, 607 S. Western Avenue. Meeting under the auspices of Southern California Committee for the *People's World*. Handbill attached to letter dated March 6, 1961.

(7) Frank Greenwood to speak in opposition to the Vietnam policy-at teaching at UCLA as part of the International Days of Protest declared by the National Coordinating Committee To End the War in Vietnam. This meeting is cosponsored by the West Coast Professors Council on Peace. *People's World*, March 19, 1966, p. 3.

(8) Frank Greenwood to be on platform as guest at antiwar meeting on "Vietnam and the Impending Invasion of China," January 15, Los Angeles. *National Guardian* of January 7, 1967, p. 11 (ad).

(9) Frank Greenwood to be platform guest on January 15, 1967, for Los Angeles Committee To End the War in Vietnam. *Militant*, January 9, 1967, p. 2.

Mr. WHEELER. However, Frank Greenwood's political leanings in recent years have favored black nationalism. He is now in fact a black nationalist. His status with the Communist Party at the present time is not clear. He came under attack from the Communist Party for his

play "Burn, Baby, Burn," which to a degree is considered to be anti-Semitic.

Mr. SMITH. When was the Afro-American Cultural Association organized, to the best of your knowledge?

Mr. WHEELER. The first document we have concerning the Afro-American Cultural Association has previously been presented in the record as Anderson Exhibit 15.

Greenwood is identified in this exhibit as head of the Afro-American Cultural Association. This document is dated December 10, 1966.

Mr. SMITH. What is the format of the Afro-American Cultural Association?

Mr. WHEELER. Of course, it claims to be a cultural association.

I have two exhibits announcing a series of lectures. The first announcement states lectures will be held—the first lecture will be held Sunday, June 18, 1967, and will continue every Sunday through July 16, 1967. The titles of these lectures are "Is It True What They Say About The Christian Bible?" Then "UNITE OR PERISH." This is a discussion of an article from the *Liberator*. It was to be held on Sunday, June 25, 1967. All these events were to be held at Greenwood's home.

Now, the *Liberator* is edited by Daniel H. Watts, who is a militant black nationalist. He has been a speaker at a rally sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee on November 17, 1960. In 1961, he was sponsor of the Monroe Defense Committee, which, of course, supported Robert Williams. At a rally on October 5, 1961, he spoke on behalf of Robert Williams. He has a number of references contained in our files.

I have a copy of the *Liberator* here published by the Liberation Committee for Africa. The address of the *Liberator* is 244 East 46th Street, New York. It gives the identity of the other members of the staff. It seems to be somewhat international in flavor.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 16."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 16" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Continue please.

Mr. WHEELER. The lecture on Sunday, July 2, was concerning "MALCOLM X: EVOLUTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY."

All these black nationalist groups adopted Malcolm X as a patron saint and are quoting him very extensively in his remarks. However, Malcolm X made a trip to Mecca in April 1964. He was there about a month and returned in May 1964, the latter part of May. Upon his return, he had changed his outlook; his militancy had changed to more cooperative, more leniency.

However, this seems to be forgotten by the black nationalist groups who failed to take this into consideration and quote his violent statements prior to his turn over to a more peaceful attitude and presentation of his movement.

Now, of course, he was assassinated on February 21, 1965, by three members of the Muslim sect who were later convicted and I believe are now in prison.

On Sunday, July 9, some African speaker, name to be announced.

It seems that this organization has more of an international flavor, also.

On Sunday, July 16, 1967, the topic was "BLACK HEROES OF THE PAST: II" and it names some of the individuals that they are to speak on.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked as "Wheeler Exhibit No. 17."

Mr. TUCK. It may be accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 17" and retained in committee files.)

Now, the second document also lists a series of lectures starting July 23, 1967. The first lecture is "An African Views the American Civil War." This gentleman was from Kenya.

On July 30, 1967, the topic of the lecture was "What's Happening in the Congo and Nigeria?"

Mr. SMITH. Who was the speaker there?

Mr. WHEELER. Brother Frank Greenwood, who, of course, was head of the organization.

On August 6, 1967, the topic was "Black Nationalism: Revolutionary and Reactionary." Now, the speaker on this date is John Harris, whom the previous witness, Lieutenant Anderson, discussed in full. He is a member of the Progressive Labor Party.

The next date, August 13, 1967, the topic is "Which Road to Black Economic Power."

The last lecture that I have recorded—

Mr. SMITH. Who spoke to that?

Mr. WHEELER. This was a debate.

The Reverend J. Patterson versus Cecil McIntyre.

On August 20, 1967, "Harriet Tubman, the Black Moses," was the talk.

Mr. SMITH. I request that this document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 17-A."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 17-A" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Do you have anything in addition to add?

Mr. WHEELER. Not really concerning this organization.

However, Mr. Greenwood is connected with another organization in the Watts area called the Black Anti-Draft Union. This organization distributed a leaflet in the Watts area prior to President Johnson's appearance at the Central Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles on June 23, 1967, appealing for demonstrators in the Watts area to participate.

I quote from the leaflet. On the top it says Lyndon Johnson would be in Los Angeles on June 23 [1967]. It says, "Tell it to LBJ—HELL NO. . . . BLACKS WON'T GO!!"

Then, further:

We must *demonstrate* against the Government's policy of drafting black people to kill & die in a war that is not in our interest. Our interest is fighting for freedom right here!!!

—————Come join the demonstration—————

And then it gives a place for them to meet and instructions, and "Sponsored By—BLACK ANTI-DRAFT UNION, P.O. Box 73573, Los Angeles 90003."

This particular post office box is rented by John Wesley Harris, 218 West 82d Place. It was rented on 12/15/66, which would also tend to give the date that the organization came into existence.

Again, this is the John Wesley Harris that Lieutenant Anderson discussed and is a member of the Progressive Labor Party.

On the other side, the telephone number, AXminister 3-3212, is a published phone listed to Frank S. Greenwood, 5907 Fourth Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have the identity of the other persons listed, of the persons listed to the other two phones?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir, I have.

Do you want me to put them in the record?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, please.

Mr. WHEELER. 750-8007 was a published phone, the subscriber being James Dann—D-a-n-n—218 East 82d Place, Apartment 2, Los Angeles, California.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, Dann was identified on a previously entered exhibit.

Mr. WHEELER. The third phone, AD, which would be Adams, 5-2747 is a nonpublished phone, the subscriber being Freddie Anderson, 715 West 45th Street, Los Angeles, California.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit 18."

Mr. TUCK. The document will be so received and marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 18" appears on p. 1266.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wheeler, as an investigator for the committee on the West Coast, did you make inquiries into an organization known as Self Leadership for All Nationalities Today?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Did your investigation disclose the date of its inception?

Mr. WHEELER. It was formed on August 19, 1965, 2 days subsequent to the Watts riot.

Mr. SMITH. What is the short title?

Mr. WHEELER. It is commonly called "SLANT."

Mr. SMITH. Who is its founder?

Mr. WHEELER. Its founder is Tommy Ray Jacquette. He was born Tommy Ray Henson—H-e-n-s-o-n—on December 13, 1943. His title is executive director.

Mr. SMITH. What is his occupation?

Mr. WHEELER. The last position I know he held was that of a social worker for the Westminister Neighborhood Association.

Mr. SMITH. What is the Westminister Neighborhood Association?

Mr. WHEELER. It is a federally funded charity organization, perhaps the largest in the Watts area. However, the funds for the Westminister Neighborhood Association have been suspended, and the Westminister Neighborhood Association is under investigation for misappropriation of funds. This all occurred within the last 2 weeks.

Whether Mr. Jacquette is presently employed or not, I do not know.

Mr. SMITH. Does SLANT maintain an office and address?

Mr. WHEELER. Originally it maintained an address at 8501 South San Pedro Street, Los Angeles, California.

Mr. SMITH. What is the general purpose of the organization?

Mr. WHEELER. The original purpose of the organization on the surface appeared to be to seek legitimate goals for the Negro. They went

ANDON JOHNSON WILL BE IN LOS ANGELES ON JUNE 23<sup>RD</sup>

Tell it to LBJ

HELL NO...

BLACKS won't GO !!

friday - June 23<sup>rd</sup> at Century City Plaza - near Beverly hills -

WE MUST DEMONSTRATE AGAINST  
THE GOVERNMENTS POLICY OF  
DRAFTING BLACK PEOPLE TO KILL  
& DIE IN A WAR THAT IS NOT IN OUR  
INTEREST. OUR INTEREST IS FIGHTING  
FOR FREEDOM RIGHT HERE!!!

— COME JOIN THE DEMONSTRATION —

Meet for RIDES & INSTRUCTIONS at  
6:30 P.M.  
FRIDAY - JUNE 22<sup>ND</sup> 171 SOUTH PARK  
51<sup>ST</sup> & AVALON

Sponsored by -  
BLACK ANTI-DRAFT UNION  
PO BOX 73573  
LOS ANGELES 90003

150-5007  
PHONE: AX-33212  
AD 52747

OVER

into some details and prepared brochures and went to a lengthy effort to put up a budget, and so on and so forth. I believe they probably anticipated being federally funded, from looking at the material.

However, the general tenor and objectives gradually changed. Let me first read from a document headed "SELF LEADERSHIP FOR ALL NATIONALITIES TODAY."

In the print is a motto, "BROTHERHOOD-UNITY-RESPONSIBILITY-NATIONWIDE."

If we take the first four alphabetical letters from each of these words from the motto, we conclude with the word "BURN."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 19."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 19" appears on p. 1268.)

Mr. WHEELER. With reference to Exhibit 19, I have another document from SLANT. This motto was evidently by design. It is a reproduction of a card on which is printed the motto "B.U.R.N."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 20."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 20" appears on p. 1269.)

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any further information concerning SLANT?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir. SLANT was represented at the First Annual Message from Malcolm X at the Garden of Prayer Church, 5326 South Central, on 2/20/66, at 5:30 p.m. This meeting was sponsored by an organization known as "US." US will be the subject of a different presentation. Jacquette was a featured speaker. SLANT was represented at the US-sponsored KUZALIWA Services for Brother Malcolm X on Sunday, May 22, 1966, at the Masonic Hall, 1133 West Manchester Avenue. The guest of honor at this event was Mrs. Malcolm X. The slogan used was "Freedom, By ANY Means Necessary!"

Tommy Ray Jacquette was arrested on May 23, 1966, with others for robbery. I bring this out because at the time of his arrest he was wearing a yellow "T" shirt with a caricature of Malcolm X on the front. This type of distinctive "T" shirt was worn by members of US.

Jacquette in a speech presented on Monday, July 11, 1966, and reported in the *Daily Bruin* of July 15, 1966—I might state that the *Daily Bruin* is the publication of the University of California at Los Angeles—I quote now from the *Daily Bruin* of the date previously referred to:

The next speaker was Jacquette from SLANT which he explained means "self-leadership for all nationalities today."

The motto of SLANT is BURN, Jacquette said. This means "brotherhood, unity, responsibility, nationwide." Jacquette explained that his group was presently involved with education and job training in the Negro ghettos, but said that he was in favor of Negroes "getting whatever they need by whatever means necessary."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked as "Wheeler Exhibit No. 21."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 21" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Continue, please.

# 1268 SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

## WHEELER EXHIBIT NO. 19

### SELF LEADERSHIP FOR ALL NATIONALITIES TODAY

MOTTO: BROTHERHOOD-UNITY-RESPONSIBILITY-NATIONWIDE

S.L.A.N.T. was formed in August of Nineteen Sixty-five (1965) in the South Los Angeles area by a number of persons who became deeply disturbed over the plight of our people throughout the nation, especially the plight of those in the Los Angeles and surrounding areas. It was decided that the sense of brotherhood and unity should be increased among our people, and that we should concern ourselves locally and nationally in all instances where our rights are involved.

Other purposes of S.L.A.N.T. are:

1. bringing the youth together with a new sense of purpose and identity, and thus decreasing school dropouts by showing them that our people need their knowledge and education as much as they themselves, and converting the negative force of "gangs" into a positive and constructive force for our people.
2. building a feeling of dignity and pride upon the realization of the contributions of Afro-Americans and our African brothers to the world.
3. cultivating and strengthening the principle and practice of "Self-Help" as a people.
4. destroying the myths and misbeliefs that made our people think that we have nothing in common with Africans.
5. to bring the citizens into full participation in the decisions and activities which determine his social and economical welfare.
6. to achieve full communications with elected and appointed officials at every level.
7. to promote full and fair employment opportunity for all citizens, including programs of apprenticeship and on-the-job training designed to qualify workers for their highest employment potential.
8. eliminate exploitation through mass communication.
9. to promote better relationships among the law enforcement officials and the community it serves.
10. to protect all, through efficient factual information.
11. to be able to define and speak for ourselves, instead of being defined and spoken for by others.

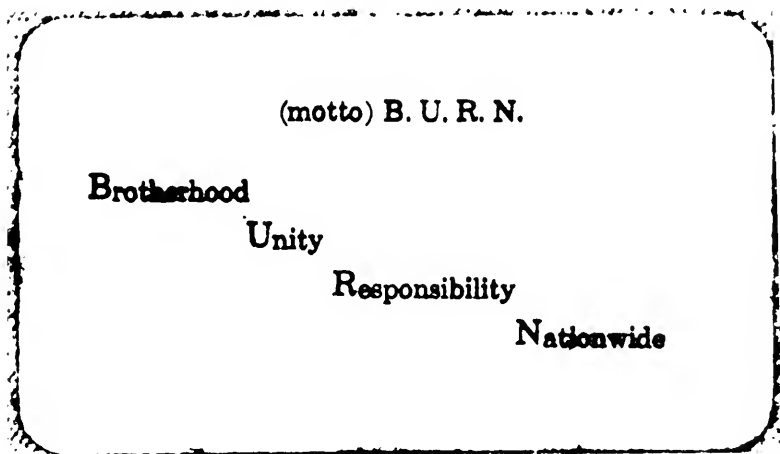
We the members of S.L.A.N.T. have formed this organization to help extend and accelerate this work.

S.L.A.N.T.,  
8501 So. San Pedro Street - - Los Angeles, California 90003 - - 750-5010  
750-5048

Tommy R. Jacquette, Executive Director



## WHEELER EXHIBIT NO. 20



Mr. WHEELER. The Laguna Beach, California, *South Coast News* of May 22, 1967, describes Jacquette as "a young black nationalist from Watts" and further reports he was scheduled to give a speech on black power on Thursday, May 25, 1967, in Laguna.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked as "Wheeler Exhibit No. 22."

Mr. TUCK. It is so accepted and will be so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 22" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. The Santa Ana *Register* of August 10, 1967, reported a speech by Jacquette in Fullerton, California. I quote from the article:

Two weeks ago Thomas R. Jacquette stood in the pulpit of a Fullerton church—damning "white racist America's government" for exploiting him and his people to the point of armed rebellion.

\* \* \* \* \*

In Fullerton, before an almost all-white Council of Churches Commission on Church and Race meeting, Jacquette cited a long tale of discrimination, deprivation and mistreatment of the Negro in America, as justification for a chilling prediction of future armed uprisings, of burnings and killings by his followers.

"Martin Luther King and the so-called Big-Four Negro leaders don't speak for us," Jacquette said. "They are part of the establishment and have as much to lose as the honkies (white people). We have nothing, and nothing to lose."

Jacquette told the churchmen he and other "Black Power" advocates (the 23-year-old Negro is listed as executive director of "Self Leadership for All Nationalities Today," which operates in Los Angeles under the slogan "Burn") are determined to be free of white "exploitation, deprivation and mistreatment"—or they'll burn America down.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Wheeler Exhibit 23."

Mr. TUCK. Is is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 23" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. The *Los Angeles Times* of September 26, 1967, reports a visit of a presidential aspirant to Los Angeles and a visit to

Watts and his conversation with Tommy Jacquette. Jacquette had this to say: "change for the Negroes can never be brought about without violence."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked as "Wheeler Exhibit 24."

Mr. TUCK. The document will be accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 24" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. That concludes the presentation on this particular organization.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wheeler, in your investigation as committee investigator on the West Coast, were you directed to investigate the activities of an organization which identified itself as "US"?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir. This is a rather long one.

Mr. SMITH. Who are the leaders of US?

Mr. WHEELER. Ron Karenga is chairman and Allen Jamal is vice chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Who is Ron Karenga?

Mr. WHEELER. Karenga was born Ronald McKinley Everett on July 14, 1941, Parsonburg, Maryland. He is a graduate of UCLA, holding a bachelor of science degree in political science, and he received his M.A. in September 1965. Our information is that he has studied for a doctorate degree in linguistics. His linguistic studies favor the African languages and he is proficient in the Swahili language.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, for the record, "Swahili" is—

a generic name for inhabitants of the coasts of East Africa and the island of Zanzibar. They are of Bantu stock with an Arab infusion, a handsome, intelligent people of no marked racial type. Their language, KiSwahili, or Swahili, is a Bantu tongue modified by Arabic. It is a *lingua franca* understood, along the coast, from Aden in the north to Durban in the south; and inland, throughout Uganda, for a short distance into the southern Sudan, over the basin of the River Congo, and throughout Nyasaland.

This is taken from *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1948 edition.

Mr. TUCK. Suppose we suspend for 5 minutes to enable me to call the Capitol.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. TUCK. Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wheeler, who is Allen Jamal?

Mr. WHEELER. The true name of the subject is Allen Eugene Donaldson, born March 28, 1931, in Boston, Massachusetts. Our records disclose he is a former member of the Muslims of Islam and was so registered as Allen 2X in August 1961.

I have a letter regarding Donaldson's or Jamal's Muslim connections, dated June 13, 1961.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 25."

Mr. TUCK. It is ordered to be received and will be so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 25" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. What is his position or occupation?

Mr. WHEELER. He is a typesetter by trade.

Mr. SMITH. What is the current address of US?

Mr. WHEELER. 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California.

Mr. SMITH. What does US stand for?

Mr. WHEELER. The alphabetical—well, the alphabetical letters of US have no further meaning.

I have a blank membership card. I have a motto here that I would like to explain before I put this in the record.

The organization, US, desires to represent the Negro masses throughout the United States, although it has just recently originated in the Los Angeles area. This motto reflects that the Negro is everywhere in the United States and "US" is the Negro himself. Now, the motto is "Anywhere we are, US is!"

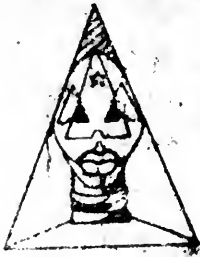
Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Wheeler Exhibit 26."

Mr. TUCK. The document will be accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 26" follows:)

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 26

BOX 132, COMPTON, CALIF.



774-4366

Ron Karenga,  
Chairman

**US**

"Anywhere we are, US is!"

Allen Jamal  
Vice-Chairman

934-6570

Mr. SMITH. What is US and what is its political philosophy?

Mr. WHEELER. US is a militant black nationalist organization. This is documented by its leader, Ron Karenga; documents printed by US and described as such in newspaper and magazine articles.

I will quote a few excerpts from a speech to a white audience by Ron Karenga, which was recorded in the Santa Ana Register, a California paper, on September 3, 1967:

Costumed like Black Muslims, eight stone-faced bodyguards escorted speaker Ron Karenga to the rostrum . . . and in short order, he smilingly insulted almost everyone as he espoused Negro separatism and outlined the "cultural approach of his black power group, designated US."

In answer to a question, he said:

"You are not a black man and can never be one. Our membership is for Negroes only. Whites and blacks must not mix in marriage or anywhere else. Each must stay in his own world but have equal social rights."

"We are here to educate the Negro first—as to his culture, his history, and his pride in race. Black is black. White is white. They cannot meet."

From the same article:

He explained also the role of the late Malcolm X as a sort of patron saint of the US faith.

\* \* \* \* \*

Karenga advised Negroes to abjure Christianity.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Don't look for religion in the sky. Look for it in yourselves."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be accepted and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 27."

Mr. TUCK. The document will be accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 27" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. From the *Daily Bruin*, dated 7/15/66, an article states:

"We're not African, and we're not American," Karenga said. "We're Afro-Americans. We've got our own history, culture and set of values. We've got soul."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, this document has previously been marked "Wheeler Exhibit 21."

Mr. WHEELER. The *Los Angeles Free Press* of September 2, 1966, in an article titled "A Talk with Ron Karenga—Watts Black Nationalist," the following is quoted:

Ron Karenga is the leader of probably the most influential of all the many black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles. The organization, called US, was formed in February of this year, but already its members play important roles in many other community organizations.

This would date the origin of the organization in February 1966.

Another quote from the article:

"We are peace loving, but we are not non-violent \* \* \*."

Again from the same article:

"I think that SNCC is the greatest. But I don't know if SNCC is a civil rights organization anymore. I think that everyone is realizing that it is useless to talk about civil rights when the white boy is the one who can give them to you in terms of his controlling the power citizenship. \* \* \*

"As far as SNCC is concerned, we will be working closer with it in the future. What we would like to do is set up cultural and educational programs wherever they need them. We hope we can be an asset to them in developing similar cultural programs to ours across the country. This again is reflecting back to our first principle, Umoja, which is functional unity."

A question was asked, "What is your position on the SNCC statement recommending that Negroes not fight in Vietnam?"

"This follows the pattern of SNCC of being dynamic and outspoken. We try to stay away from political stands since we are a cultural organization, however we are forced by the political community in which we live to express our positions on things. So what we say about the draft is this: a man would be a fool to defend a government in Vietnam which refused to defend him in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi and in the streets of Los Angeles. I don't think that the white man can expect us to be fighting in Japan and running in Georgia."—

This must be an error in the document, but he says "Japan"—

"I was under the impression that whatever the state asks me to do, it must do that same thing for me. NOW I ask for protection from the state and the state hasn't given me protection, so I don't feel that I can protect the state."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 28."

Mr. TUCK. The document will be accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 28" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. From *The Saturday Evening Post* of July 16, 1966, and from an article titled "The Ugly Mood of Watts," the US organization is discussed:

The name "US" is not an acronym. "US is the black people," Karenga says, and then quotes the US motto: ANYWHERE WE ARE, US IS. Karenga, in fact, is everywhere in Watts, lecturing, threatening, cajoling, educating. \* \* \*

From the same article in *The Saturday Evening Post*:

Each Saturday US staffers drill some 30 youngsters in black history and in the rudiments of Swahili from a "Run, Jim, Run" reader that Karenga translated from English. As part of their exercise program, the children, aged 3 to 14, are given close-order military drill by an instructor wearing a Malcolm X sweatshirt. \* \* \*

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this article be accepted and marked as "Wheeler Exhibit No. 29."

Mr. TUCK. The document will be accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 29" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. At the inception of US, it appeared that US followed the philosophy of the late Malcolm X, whom Karenga has explained as sort of a patron saint of US faith. Further documentation of US and the Malcolm X philosophy will be presented in the record in chronological order.

However, later in 1967 Ron Karenga had developed his own philosophy and his own teachings. During the early stages of US, members wore "T" shirts with the caricature of Malcolm X with the word "US" imprinted on the "T" shirt. This, I understand, will be eliminated and a new identification of members will bear a caricature of Karenga.

I have here a recent publication setting forth the philosophy of US, which is the teachings of Karenga. This document is broken down into the following parts and was printed in the year 1967. The parts it is broken into are:

- (1) Black Cultural Nationalism
- (2) Revolution
- (3) Politics
- (4) House System
- (5) Art
- (6) Religion
- (7) Liberals

Under the heading of "Black Cultural Nationalism" is additional proof of the type of organization I have previously described. I quote several paragraphs:

Blacks must develop their own heroic images. To the white boy, Garvey was a failure—to us he was perfect for his time and context. To the white boy Malcolm X was a hate teacher—to us he was the highest form of Black Manhood in his generation.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Seven-fold path of the Blackness is to Think Black, Talk Black, Act Black, Create Black, Buy Black, Vote Black, and Live Black.

There are many other quotes from this section which can be placed in the record later if the counsel so desires.

Mr. SMITH. I think that will be sufficient.

Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 30."

Mr. TUCK. The document will be accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 30" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. In your testimony, you mentioned one section in Exhibit 30 as "Revolution."

Will you comment on this section?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

It appears from analyzing this section that US is preparing for and is conditioning members of their race for violent revolution in the United States, not in the immediate future, but when the people associated with US or affiliated with US are conditioned for such a movement. The words of Ron Karenga are self-evident. I quote from the booklet:

The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one.

Sometimes brothers get so hung up in the myth of revolution that they talk about bringing America to her knees and can't even wipe out one police station.

A revolt is an attempt to overthrow the system; while the revolution is the complete overthrow of that system.

A lot of brothers play revolutionary; they read a little Fanon, a little Mao and some Marx. Although this information is necessary it is not sufficient for we must develop a new plan of revolution for Black people here in America.

You can't fight a revolution on a local level. It has to be fought through a national struggle.

\* \* \* \* \*

We must believe in our cause and be willing to die for it and we should stop reading other peoples literature and write our own and stop pretending revolution and make it.

The only thing that will make us invincible is for us to fight—to fight for our freedom and not our personal selves—to fight to get back the freedom we lost in 1565.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point, for the record the individual mentioned as Fanon, from whom they take their teaching, is as follows:

Dr. Frantz Omar Fanon was born in Martinique and educated in France. A psychiatrist, he died of cancer in 1961 at the age of 37. His major work was printed in French in 1961 and translated into English in 1965 under the title *The Wretched of the Earth*. This book established Fanon as one of the most significant theoreticians on colonial revolution. Together with essays on guerrilla warfare by Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara, *The Wretched of the Earth* supplies revolutionaries with the technical and ideological inspiration needed for current and future revolutions.

Continue, Mr. Wheeler.

Mr. WHEELER. This continues under the heading of "Revolution":

Blacks live right in the heart of America. That is why we are best able to cripple this man. And once you understand your role you won't talk revolution, but you'll make it.

\* \* \* \* \*

When the word is given we'll see how tough you are. When it's "burn", let's see how much you burn. When it's "kill", let's see how much you kill. When it's "blow up", let's see how much you blow up. And when it's "take that white girl's head too", we'll really see how tough you are.

\* \* \* \* \*

You cannot have a revolution without direction, and that direction can only come through an ideology developed for your own situation.

\* \* \* \* \*

You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction.

We must gear the money going from the church to the support of the revolution. Revolution cannot succeed without finance.

No revolt is isolated. When Blacks revolt in any section of the country it is an expression of the entire nation of Afro-America.

\* \* \* \* \*

I remember my mother used to tell me—if you're bad the devil will get you. I didn't know that until the cops came.

\* \* \* \* \*

Talking general truisms is necessary but not sufficient. To say the white man is the devil is not enough. What are you going to do about it?

\* \* \* \* \*

Violence in itself without consideration for time or circumstance is as inadequate as non-violence.

\* \* \* \* \*

Black people need a revolutionary school where they can be educated rather than trained.

\* \* \* \* \*

We need Black Power to offset white power.

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned a section on politics.

Do you have any comment to make on this particular section?

Mr. WHEELER. In this section, there is no position on any political party. However, there are several interesting quotes which are as follows:

It is an Afro-American proverb that the only time Blacks are citizens is during war time and tax time.

\* \* \* \* \*

The devil has three means of controlling Blacks :

1. Missionary
2. Mercenary
3. Military

Mr. SMITH. By the reference to the devil, does he mean the white man?

Mr. WHEELER. They are referring to the white man when they use the word "devil"; yes, sir.

"Negroes" have been trying to adapt to America since they got here. We say that now America will have to adapt to the Black man.

\* \* \* \* \*

If Black people want to build a Black nation they have to have a will to do so. No nation can exist without a will to exist.

\* \* \* \* \*

In terms of conflict and movement, all of it should be to obtain Black Power, which is the means to obtain three things: self-determination, self-respect and self-defense.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is no longer a question of being an American but of being free—and legislation will never make us free.

\* \* \* \* \*

The cultural nation provides self-determination, self-respect and self-defense. That is also the concern of Black power.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wheeler, you mentioned one of the headings in this Exhibit 30 is "House System."

Will you describe what is meant by this particular title?

Mr. WHEELER. Karenga, in his writing here, is endeavoring to strengthen the home, which he feels is the basis and the strength of any revolutionary or political movement.

Mr. SMITH. We also have a heading entitled "Art."

Do you have anything specific to say on this subject?

Mr. WHEELER. Here again he is teaching Negro culture, and all art should be created by Negroes of talent reflecting Negro culture. There are several quotes from this section which are interesting, the first being:

We need a new language to break the linguistic strait jacket of our masters, who taught us his language so he could understand us, although we could hardly understand ourselves.

I would like to state that Karenga is teaching Swahili to his members, and the members of his organization are adopting Swahili names like Ron Karenga, who adopted that particular name, and also Allen Jamal, and there are others who are doing the same thing.

Continuing under the "Art" section, it states:

All art must be revolutionary and in being revolutionary it must be collective, committing, and functional.

Mr. SMITH. You testified to another heading, "Religion."

Do you have any comment on this section?

Mr. WHEELER. Well, I can quote Karenga again from the booklet:

Christianity is a white religion. It has a white God, and any "Negro" who believes in it is a sick "Negro". How can you pray to a white man? If you believe in him, no wonder you catch so much hell.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Christian is our worst enemy. Quiet as it's kept it was a Christian who enslaved us. Quiet as it's kept it's the Christian that burns us. Quiet as it's kept it's a Christian that beats us down on the street; and quiet as it's kept, when the thing goes down it'll be a Christian that's shooting us down. You have to face the fact that if the Christian is doing all this there must be something wrong with Christianity.

Another quote:

Jesus said, "My blood will wash you white as snow". Who wants to be white but sick "Negroes", or worse yet—washed that way by the blood of a dead Jew. You know if Nadinola bleaching cream couldn't do it, no dead Jew's blood is going to do it.

I would like to point out at this time that Ron Karenga has established his own religious sect. It is called the Kuwaida religion. In reference to this, I refer to an article in the *Los Angeles Times* of May 22, 1967.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this article be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 31."

Mr. TUCK. The document will be received and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 31" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. The address of this religious sect is the same as the office of US, 8211 South Broadway. There is a photograph accompanying the article here showing Karenga where he is marrying a number of people who belong to his sect.

Mr. SMITH. Under the topic "Religion," the word "Jew" was mentioned. What is the position of US on the Jewish faith?



MR. WHEELER. Well, in the booklet we have had under discussion, Exhibit 30, the word "Jew" is mentioned on two occasions in a derogatory manner. However, US is considered an anti-Semitic organization. The following information has been developed:

Investigation of this organization included the obtaining of an interview with Allen Jamal by a law enforcement agency in March 1966. Jamal is quoted in this report—

All whites are bad, Jews are worse and the police who he referred to as the Beasts are the worst of all. This includes colored policemen. \* \* \*

Now, later in March 1966 Ron Karenga was interviewed by the same agency and the following is quoted from the intelligence report:

Karenga asked if either one of us were Jewish. When we replied in the negative he stated that was good as it would make it easier to talk to us. He expressed the anti-Semitic statements previously espoused by Jamal and claimed that the business and store burnings in the Watts and colored areas were directed against Jewish owners and that if any 'Anglos' were victims it was because the people had found it difficult to differentiate.

MR. SMITH. From your testimony, the last heading in this booklet [Exhibit 30] is "Liberals."

Do you have any comment to make on this subject?

MR. WHEELER. Of course, it has been established that this organization is black nationalist and has no desire for any cooperation from the Caucasians. Therefore, they would be against any liberal assistance or aid in the US program.

I will quote several paragraphs from Exhibit 30:

Brothers must watch out for whites who are rebelling against their own society and uses the wave of Black revolution to push their cause.

\* \* \* \* \*

America was born in violence and they tell us to be non-violent. If you condemn us for violence, let your own history condemn you.

MR. SMITH. Is there any connection with US and the Communist movement?

MR. WHEELER. It appears from the format that some of the principles and ideologies are based on Marxism. However, this is a black nationalist organization and any direct cooperation would be in the negative sense. However, as previously stated under the topic "Revolution" in Exhibit 30, Karenga says it is necessary to read Mao and Marx. But there is no Communist domination of the organization.

However, Allen Jamal appeared at a press conference sponsored by the W. E. B. DuBois Club, held March 8, 1966, at the Los Angeles Press Club. When interviewed by the press, Allen Jamal had this to say:

"US" is an organization that is primarily interested in the black people in the movement and, since the movement is named after a black intellectual, Mr. DuBois, we are naturally concerned with him and that he is not used in an improper light, and the attack on the people within the DuBois Club who happen to be black, regardless of the political implications or regardless of what they might be, we are interested that they don't get hurt. Now, Mr. Ron Karenga, who is chairman of US, has instructed me to tell you this today, and if there are any questions I will be glad to answer them, but this is what I am here for—to instruct that if you label them Communists or if you label them anything—you are not going to kill them, because we will stop that. We follow Malcolm X principles right up to the line and go even further than he did. Since he left us we have to go on even further.

Now, a question was asked by a news reporter. The question, "Even further than what?"

The answer, "Whatever the situation calls for and by any means necessary."

Mr. SMITH. How effective has the US organization been in the Watts area?

Mr. WHEELER. I would like to refer to the *Los Angeles Times* of May 18, 1967. Ron Karenga called a press conference and called for a holiday for the Negroes to observe the anniversary of the death of Malcolm X, who was killed on February 21, 1965. He called for Negro workers to stay away from work and Negro students to stay away from school. He called this holiday Kuzaliwa Day which, according to the *Times*, means "birth" in the Swahili language.

A number of leaflets were distributed in the Watts area in various schools requesting Negroes to stay away from schools and jobs.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 32."

Mr. TUCK. It is ordered that the same be received and so marked.

Mr. SMITH. And Wheeler Exhibit 33.

(Documents marked "Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 32 and 33," respectively. Exhibit No. 32 retained in committee files: No. 33 appears on p. 1279.)

Mr. SMITH. Was Karenga's holiday successful?

Mr. WHEELER. In regard to this question, I refer you to the *Hollywood Citizen-News* of May 19, 1967, and I quote:

A Los Angeles Board of Education spokesman said absences were running between 20 and 30 per cent at high schools in the south-central part of the city, approximately double the normal rate.

Manual arts, Washington, Dorsey, Jordan, Fremont and Jefferson High Schools were among those affected.

I would also like to refer you to the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* of May 19, 1967. From an article captioned "1500 Excused From High School to Honor Malcolm X," I quote:

An estimated 1500 Negro students at Compton High School were excused from classes today in honor of Malcolm X, slain Black Muslim leader.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these two documents be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 34 and 35."

Mr. TUCK. It is ordered that they be accepted and so marked.

(Documents marked "Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 34 and 35," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. The next exhibit is a leaflet headed "US invites YOU to attend its KUZALIWA Services for Brother Malcolm X." The guest of honor is Mrs. Malcolm X. Featured speakers are listed as: Ron Karenga, chairman of US; Tommy Jacquette, executive director of SLANT; Ernie Smith, chairman of Afro-American Citizens' Council; Robert Brock, president of Self-Determination Committee; Frank Greenwood, chairman of Afro-American "Culture" Association; and Abdel, Church of Resurrection.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 36."

Mr. TUCK. It will be so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 36" and retained in committee files.)

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 33



"Anywhere we are, US is"

# BROTHERS & SISTERS

FRIDAY, MAY 19

IS

## MALCOLM X'S BIRTHDAY

OR

## KUZALIWA - THE BIRTH

UNDER THE KAWAIDA RELIGION THIS IS A NATIONAL HOLIDAY FOR BLACK PEOPLE. THE ADVOCATES OF US ORGANIZATION HONOR THIS GREAT AFOAMERICAN WHO LIVED AND DIED FOR HIS PEOPLE.

WE SAY:

# STAY HOME FROM SCHOOL AND JOBS

BLACK BROTHERS, PRACTICE UMOJA - UNITY AND JOIN US IN  
CELEBRATING THIS HOLIDAY.

US Culture Center  
8211 So. Broadway  
Los Angeles, Calif.  
Ph.: 753-9591

"Blacks must write their own history,  
honor their own heroes and develop  
their own heroic images and heroic deeds."

-Maulana Ron Karenga  
Founder - Chairman

## 1280 SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

Mr. SMITH. Has the US organization participated in any demonstrations or other type of agitation activity?

Mr. WHEELER. US sponsored a Black Leadership Conference beginning on February 18, 1967, at which Stokely Carmichael spoke.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 37."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 37" follows:)

### WHEELER EXHIBIT NO. 37



"Anywhere we are, US is"

### US BLACK LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Date: Saturday, February 18, 1967

Location: Masonic Temple, 1050 E. 50th Street, Los Angeles, California

8:30 - 9:00 a.m. Registration - coffee and donuts

9:00 - 9:20 a.m. Introduction and Scope - Herb Carter,  
L.A. County Human Relations Committee

#### I. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

9:20 - 9:50 a.m. A. Major Presentation:  
"Organizational Models" - Earnest Preacely

9:50 - 10:30 a.m. B. Response:

- 1) Organizing and Training Youth as Leaders -  
Walt Bremond, Social Action Training Center
- 2) Techniques of Disruption - Earl Anthony,  
Fillmore Action Committee
- 3) Organizing the Student - Marianna Waddy,  
Black Students' Union
- 4) Welfare Rights Organization -  
Johnnie Mae Tillmon, ANC Mothers Anonymous

10:30 - 11:15 a.m. C. Workshops:  
Bremond, Anthony, Waddy and Tillmon -  
Preacely will float

#### II. POLITICAL MOVEMENT

11:15 - 11:45 a.m. A. Major Presentation:  
"The Black Politician: Possibilities of Power" -  
Willard Murray, Special Assistant to the Mayor,  
Los Angeles

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 37—Continued

- 11:45 - 12:25 p.m. B. Response:
- 1) The Black Party: An Alternative or Myth - Ken Simmons, Black Independent Political Action Party
  - 2) Alliances and Coalitions: Left and/or Right - Danny Gray, N-VAC
  - 3) Third World Relations: Possibilities and Realities - Robert Brock, Self-Determination Committee
- 12:25 - 1:30 p.m. C. Workshops and Lunch:  
 Simmons, Gray, Brock - Murray will report
- \*\* Lunch will be served in the workshops to save time!!!!!!

III. ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

- 1:30 - 2:00 p.m. A. Major Presentation:  
 "Towards a United Black Fund" - Robert Reynolds, Department of Labor
- 2:00 - 2:40 p.m. B. Response:
- 1) Co-operatives: An Economic Alternative - Lou Smith, CORE
  - 2) Job Development: The Bootstrap Model - Robert Hall, Operation Bootstrap
  - 3) Young People in Poverty Agencies: Burdens and Benefits - Tommy Jacquette-Halifu, SLANT
- 2:40 - 3:40 p.m. C. workshops and Coffee Break (10 minutes):  
 Smith, Hall, Jacquette-Halifu - Reynolds will report

IV. CULTURAL MOVEMENT

- 3:40 - 4:10 p.m. A. Major Presentation:  
 "A Theory of Black Revolution: A Cultural Approach" - Ron Karenga, Founder-Chairman of US
- 4:10 - 5:10 p.m. B. Response:
- 1) Black Literature: Protest and/or Communication - Abdul Karim, Black Dialogue
  - 2) The Black Theatre: Revolutionary Possibilities - Frank Greenwood, Afroamerican Cultural Association

1282 SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 37—Continued

- 3) The Black Actor: Catchin' Hell in Hollywood -  
Ivan Dixon, noted and accomplished black  
actor, star of Hogan's Heroes

V. CONCLUSION

- 5:10 - 5:20 p.m. A. "A Move to Action"  
B. Announcements

VI. ADJOURNMENT

VII. AFTER SET (Party, gig, etc.) ----- Until!!!!!!!

-----

US' SECOND ANNUAL DHABIHU OBSERVANCE FOR BROTHER MALCCM X

Date: Sunday, February 19, 1967  
Location: Masonic Temple, 1050 E. 50th Street, Los Angeles  
Time: 2:30 - 4:30 p.m.  
Some Speakers Invited:

Roy Ballard, Black Panther Party, San Francisco  
Tommy Jacquette-Halifu, SLANT  
Bob Simmons, Young Men for Total Democracy  
Robert Brock, Self-Determination Committee  
Ernie Smith, Afroamerican Citizens Council  
Doug Allen, Soul Students  
Abdul Karim, Black Dialogue  
Ron Karenga, US

and many more who wish to show honor and  
reverence for Brother Malcom X who gave the  
greatest sacrifice (Dhabinu)

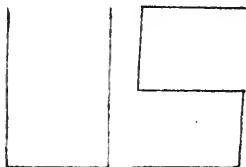
PUBLIC INVITED

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 37—Continued

FREE!!!

FREE!!!

"FREEDOM BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY" by MALCOLM X



PRESENTS

ITS 2ND ANNUAL DHABIRU (SACRIFICE) MEMORIAL

Theme: "The Message of Malcolm X" by Maulana Ron Karenga,  
Founder - Chairman of  
US Organization

Other Speakers: North and South

Abdul Karim, Black Dialogue - North

Robert Brock, Self-Determination Committee  
- South

Roy Ballard, Black Panther Party - North

John Floyd, Organization of African  
Studies - South

Bob Simons, Young Men for Total  
Democracy - South

Tommy Jacquette-Halifu, SLANT - South

Sunday, February 19, 1967, 2:30 P.M.

1050 East 50th Street, MASONIC TEMPLE

Los Angeles, California



MALCOLM X

THEME INVITED ! ! !

"If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of them."  
- Malcolm X

Mr. SMITH. It is noted from this exhibit [a flyer advertising a "Conference '67 'survival' "] that it bears the address 8563 South Broadway, Suite 210.

Do you know who occupies this address?

Mr. WHEELER. This was the headquarters of the Black Conference Committee, which evidently organized this Black Leadership Conference.

According to a press release dated August 11, 1967, US sponsored a coalition of groups to commemorate the many black people who died in the Watts 1965 revolt.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, may we accept these documents as Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 38, 39, and 40.

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 38, 39, and 40" follow :)

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 38

# CONFERENCE '67

## "survival"

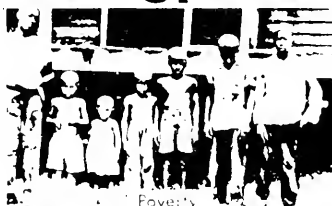


**STOKELEY  
CARMICHAEL**

**DICK  
GREGORY**



**FLOYD  
McKISSICK**



**JULIAN  
BOND**



**Rev. JAMES  
BEVEL**

### BLACK

**LeROI  
JONES**



**RON  
KARENGA**



**JOHN  
SHABAZZ**

### PEOPLE

**FRIDAY, MAY 26, 8:00 P.M.**  
**SATURDAY, MAY 27, 9:00 A.M. — 7:00 P.M.**  
**SUNDAY, MAY 28, 11:00 A.M. — 6:00 P.M.**

## JEFFERSON HI SCHOOL

1413 EAST 41st STREET

REGISTRATION (For 3 Days) — \$5.00

**FOR INFORMATION CALL: 750-3673**

**REGISTER NOW — 8563 SOUTH BROADWAY SUITE 210**



WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 39



"Anywhere we are, US is"

**US**

INVITES ALL BLACK PEOPLE TO CELEBRATE UHURU (INDEPENDENCE) DAY, AUGUST 11<sup>1967</sup>, THE FIRST DAY OF THE AUGUST REVOLT IN LOS ANGELES 1965. WE MARK THIS AS THE TURNING POINT IN BLACK HISTORY, THE REVOLT THAT LED TO OTHER REVOLTS: (SAN FRANCISCO, CINCINNATI, HARLEM, TAMPA, CAMBRIDGE, DAYTON, PORTLAND, NEWARK, DETROIT, MILWAUKEE AND NOW, WASHINGTON, D.C.

LAST YEAR, IN THE YEAR OF BLACK POWER, ONLY LOS ANGELES CELEBRATED UHURU DAY - BUT IT WAS NOT A WATTS REVOLT OR A LOS ANGELES REVOLT, BUT A BLACK REVOLT BELONGING TO ALL BLACK PEOPLE AND CALLED THE AUGUST REVOLT SIMPLY FOR DISTINCTION.

WE URGE ALL TO CELEBRATE THIS DAY AS WHITE AMERICANS CELEBRATE THE 4TH OF JULY - INDEPENDENCE DAY. FOR AS MAULANA RON KARENGA SAYS, "ONLY WHEN WE HAVE DEFINED OURSELVES INSTEAD OF BEING DEFINED BY OTHERS CAN WE CALL OURSELVES FREE!"

WE SUGGEST THAT A RALLY BE HELD ON THE WEEKEND TO ALLOW MAXIMUM PARTICIPATION, PREFERABLY SUNDAY, AT 5:30 P.M., ON AUGUST 13, FOR A UNITED MOVE. THE THEME SHOULD BE "THE MEANING OF THE REVOLT." FINALLY, WE SUGGEST THAT THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF YOUNG PEOPLE BE INVOLVED, FOR THIS IS THE YEAR OF THE YOUNG LIONS AND ALREADY IT'S THEIR WORLD.

U S

8211 SO BROADWAY

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90044

753-1461 - 753-1462

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 40

PRESS RELEASE

August 11, 1967

Ron Karenga  
755 1461

The Black Congress, a colation of South Central groups composed of US, SLANT CORE, Community Alert Patrol, Black Students Union Black Panther Party Freedom Draft Movement and others is sponsoring a Uhuru Day Rally (freedom day) August 13, 1967 to comemerate the many black people who died in the August 1965 revolt.

The rally will be held at 8211 So. Broadway at 5:30 P.M. The topic will be "The Real Meaning of the Revolt." Speakers scheduled to appear are Ron Karenga, John Floyd (Black Panther Party), Levi Kingston (Freedom Draft Party), Senator Merv. Dymally. Charles Knox - Representative for Congressman A. M. Hawkins, Herb Carter - County Director of So. Central Human Relations Commission, Bro. Crook - Community Alert Patrol, and "Rap H. Brown" - SNCC.

We feel that it is extremely important that black people understand the significance of the rally. We know that things in the black community really have not changed. Institutions like the L.A.P.D., which make token concessions, are only at best a small beginning.

The Fire Department which claims to be recruiting black people. have not yet changed their requirement and in ten years have only recruited 56 black men. The Welfare Department is investigating so called "frauds" and they themselves are the biggest frauds of all.

Mr. SMITH. Has the US organization participated in any violence?

Mr. WHEELER. On October 19, 1967, five members of the US organization were arrested for throwing Molotov cocktails in a bakery in the Watts area.

Mr. SMITH. Were there any further disturbances during the month of October 1967?

Mr. WHEELER. There have been disturbances created at the Manual Arts High School in Los Angeles, which is a predominantly Negro high school. The main factor involved was the opposition to a Caucasian principal. A minor riot occurred on October 20, 1967, with 33 being arrested. Members of US were present, although there is no conclusive evidence that they instigated the riot.

These Manual Arts difficulties were reported in the *L. A. Times* of the 21st of October and October 27, 1967.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these documents be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 41 and 42."

Mr. TUCK. It is ordered that they be received and marked.

(Documents marked "Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 41 and 42," respectively. Exhibit 42 retained in committee files; No. 41 appears on pp. 1288-1290.)

Mr. WHEELER. An article appears in the *Santa Ana Register* of November 24, 1967, and it refers to the Black Youth Conference. This conference had to do with a meeting of some 200 delegates and they were to meet to consider whether or not Negro athletes were to boycott Olympic Games. This meeting was held in Los Angeles, California. It says, "A short time earlier, a disturbance involving 50 young followers of militant Black Power leader Ron Karenga," but the reports on this have not come in from Los Angeles as yet and actually the degree of disturbance is not known. However, they were present at this Black Youth Conference.

Referring back to the article in *The Saturday Evening Post* [Wheeler Exhibit No. 29] which said they were all over Watts participating in every demonstration—which they certainly were, and they are everywhere in Watts—in every organization and in every demonstration and where there is any difficulty, they are certainly there.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this item be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 43."

Mr. TUCK. It is ordered that the same be accepted and so marked.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 43" appears on p. 1291.)

Mr. WHEELER. In the Watts area and around, there has been inflammatory literature distributed that bears names which we have been unable to check out; in other words, they are fictitious.

This flyer was distributed in the Watts area in the spring of 1966. According to the legend on the flyer it was prepared and circulated by "Negros for Freedom Now." As far as I can determine, no such organization exists in Los Angeles. I do not definitely know who distributed it. The message on this flyer, however, is so violent and so inflammatory that I believe the full text should be made a part of the hearing record and, with the chairman's permission, I would like to read it at this time. I wonder if you would like to read it, Mr. Smith. I am getting read out.

WHEELER EXHIBIT NO. 41  
 [Los Angeles Times, October 21, 1967]

# 33 Arrested on Second Day of Manual Arts Disturbance

BY JOHN KENDALL

Times Staff Writer

Widespread violence threatened to erupt again Friday at Manual Arts High School and in the predominantly Negro neighborhood around it.

But except for a few cases of bottle-throwing, several minor fires and one police sweep, there were no major incidents.

For the second straight day, a highly mobile force of scores of policemen stood tactical alert and moved vigorously against groups of young men who collected on streets in the area.

By nightfall, police had arrested 33 persons, 13 adults and 20 juveniles, on charges ranging from failure to disperse to arson. Things were quiet along the glass-strewn section of Vermont Ave. but authorities still watched for trouble.

The most serious incident came at mid-afternoon when bottles were thrown at police and the officers responded with nightsticks. There were no serious injuries reported.

Bottles were thrown at passing cars and some windows were broken in stores. Arson was suspected in late evening fires that caused minor damage to several stores on S. Vermont.

Trouble began in the early afternoon Friday outside the high school at 4131 S. Vermont when police and a group of juveniles clashed at 42nd St. and Vermont.

White-helmeted, baton-carrying police blocked off Vermont Ave. in front of the school.

Traffic was routed around the area. When crowds gathered, officers swept down the sidewalks eight abreast to clear the streets.

Outside the zone, groups of Negro youths wandered the streets past stores doing business as usual. But the air was tense and police expected trouble.

Just behind the Sports Arena on Hoover St., officers moved against an estimated group of 70 or 80 youths, several of whom had robbed two elderly Negro women, according to a security guard.

Sixteen persons were arrested by members of a large police contingent from a nearby police field headquarters.

Vermont Ave. was opened to automobile traffic at 2 p.m., 10 minutes before a class at Manual Arts was scheduled to be released.

Some of the students moved into Exposition Park near the County Museum of Natural History for a rally called by the Black Congress, a group of Negro community organizations.

Speakers representing black militant groups spoke to a crowd of about 200, criticizing the police and school board.

The meeting lasted about an hour and broke up when members of the audience heard a radioed police report that the area was to be cleared.

As the rally participants walked back toward Vermont Ave., they encountered a truck stopped by police, who were questioning a half-

## WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 41—Continued

dozen red-shirted occupants—members of the Afro-American Organization, U.S.

Pressure began to build around the truck as officers searched the U.S. members, checked for possible charges against them and wrote a citation for riding on the back of a loaded truck.

Extra police were called in, and four or five patrol cars parked across the street at 39th and Menlo Ave.

### Officers Confront Group

The officers confronted perhaps 175 Negroes sitting on the grass around Mrs. Margaret Wright, 45, of 12041 S. LaSalle St., chairman of the United Parents Council.

For six weeks, Mrs. Wright has led efforts to have Robert F. Denahy, Manual's Caucasian principal, fired from his job.

Instructions were radioed from the nearby police command post to arrest the group if they ignored a warning to break up.

Mrs. Wright complained bitterly of the police show of force.

The crowd dispersed shortly before 3 p.m. and moved back toward the high school, about four blocks away.

The bulk of students of Manual streamed out of the school shortly after 3 p.m., and police turned their attention to that area.

Two bottles were thrown at police cars which moved in front of the school shortly after classes broke up, and a crowd began to collect at Caldonia's, a hot dog stand across the street from the high school.

### Crowd Gathered at Corner

About 250 persons gathered on the corner at 42nd and Vermont at 3:30 p.m. Taunts were shouted at police

and several bottles were thrown toward a rank of officers.

Suddenly the officers charged into the crowd swinging their clubs. Several persons were struck. The crowd broke and dispersed. Officers swept south and then north again in front of the school.

The back of possible resistance had been broken, and at 4 p.m. a school district security officer inside Manual Arts reported the area had quieted.

It had been a nervous day for students within the school. Almost 1,800 were absent, along with 30 of the normal teacher complement of 180.

Inside the troubled school, Principal Denahy talked with reporters.

"This is all part of the big move for black power," he said. "And they're not going to back off."

"A handful of people are upsetting the education of 3,700 students. The children are frightened, and parents are becoming aware the education of their children is being interfered with."

"Our kids have withstood this pressure for six weeks but it can't go on too much longer. We have a dedicated staff of teachers but if they can't teach they will leave."

The Black Congress has accused Denahy of being an ineffective administrator. It has demanded that he quit. The school board has backed Denahy.

The tense situation first erupted in violence Thursday when crowds of young Negroes rampaged along a 20-block stretch of Vermont Ave. Nine persons were injured and at least 30 were arrested before the disturbance was halted.

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 41—Continued



**DISPERSING CROWD**—Police move along 42nd St. toward Vermont Ave as they clear the area across

from Manual Arts High School, left rear, of crowd that gathered at Caldonia's eating place at right.  
Times photo by Ray Graham

WHEELER EXHIBIT NO. 43  
[Santa Ana Register, November 24, 1967]

# Negroes Boycott Olympic Games

## Athletes Aim To Show World That U.S. 'Oppresses' Them

LOS ANGELES (AP) — A group of Negro athletes, including two members of San Jose State College's world-record mile relay team, voted Thursday to boycott the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City.

The vote, taken of 200 participants in a Black Youth Conference, was unanimous, a spokesman said.

A short time earlier, a disturbance involving 50 young followers of militant Black Power leader Ron Karenga and a small leftist group was quelled by police.

Several shots were fired, and a man identified as Michael Lasky was beaten by the mob before police arriving in 20 squad cars rescued him. Lasky has described himself as a local Communist party leader.

Two youths were taken into custody. No other injuries were reported.

The fight occurred outside the Second Baptist Church in which the Black Youth Conference was being held.

Prof. Harry Edwards of San Jose State, in announcing the decision to boycott the Olympics said U.S. oppression of Negroes "is as bad as that of South Africa."

"America has to be exposed for what it is," he asserted.

Edwards, an associate professor of sociology who was instrumental in arranging the conference, said Negro athletes in the United States have been exploited. Their plight, he said, would be taken to the United Nations.

Although the 200 who attended the meeting were students from universities and colleges of several western states, Edwards said he has talked by telephone and written Negro athletes throughout the United States who have assured him they will abide by the decision made Thursday.

Track and basketball stars of several universities attended the closed-door meeting, Edwards said later. He estimated

50 college athletes took part in the decision.

"This is Uncle Sam's last chance," said Edwards. "We're going to put this question before the world."

Among athletes at the meeting were Lew Alcindor, basketball star of UCLA, teammate Mike Warren, and Tommie Smith and Lee Evans, members of the world-record mile relay team from San Jose State.

Smith also holds the world record of 19.5 seconds for 200 meters and 220 yards set May 7, 1966, in San Jose.

Evans ran with Smith on the team which set a world record of two minutes, 59.6 seconds in the 1,600-meter relays July 27, 1966, at Los Angeles.

Edwards led a protest charging discrimination against Negroes in the San Jose College community which resulted in cancellation of San Jose State's football home opener with the University of Texas, El Paso.

Mr. SMITH. [Reading:]

Negro people! The time for action is now! If you are really full up with those white cops—if you are tired of being pushed around—kill the white devils. Every holiday weekend is your time—save your bottles and make fire bombs. Where you live you *find buldings* [sic] *with special marks so burn* them—do not make big gangs—6 or 7 is enough—drop your bombs and fire too [sic] main roads off bridges—turn on fire faucets—turn in fire alarms—throw fire into grass fields—get on roof and drop fire on cop cars—*put on fire all power stations*—drive by and throw fire at white crowds—put wire across roads—spill garbage—dont [sic] get tore up or you will get caught—burn burn burn—when it is dark is best—kill the white devils befor [sic] they kill you—follow your leaders—they will lead you to freedom—whites must die—

Mr. Chairman, may this be entered as Wheeler Exhibit 44?

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 44" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wheeler, in these hearings we have presented evidence of racial agitation and the distribution of inflammatory literature by various groups prior to the time of the Watts riot in August 1965, during the Watts riot, and since that time.

This has been done to demonstrate certain of the factors in the development of a riot in which there is subversive influence, as outlined by authorities who have testified before the committee. The result of this is that the activities of certain organizations have been presented at different times, rather than consecutively. As concerns certain Communist organizations, it would be desirable to bring together at this time all the activities in the area of racial agitation undertaken by them. Would you, therefore, summarize the activities of this type engaged in by the Communist Party in Los Angeles.

Mr. WHEELER. Yes. The Communist Party has been very cautious. It has done little or nothing under its own name. This is because at its 1959 convention, the last one it held before the outbreaks of the first riots, it had assumed a position of opposing violence; it had dropped its support for a separate Negro republic in the South and it had gone on record, in words at least, of formally endorsing integration and equal rights for Negroes.

On August 17, 1965, the day the Los Angeles riot ended, the Southern California District of the Communist Party issued a statement which opened with the following words:

We charge Mayor Yorty and Chief of Police Parker with immediate responsibility for the tragic death of 32 people and the imprisonment of over 2,000.

This statement alleged that for years competent observers had warned that great poverty and "ruthless police brutality in Watts and the Central district had produced an intolerable condition." It also accused Police Chief Parker of subscribing to a "Nazi-like theory of the master race."

The release absolved the rioters of all responsibility. It said:

Let the recriminations be directed to the vandals in police uniform who break into homes without warrants, who use the most abusive and violent gestapo methods against law-abiding citizens if they are colored. Let the accusing finger be pointed at Mayor Yorty and Chief Parker \* \* \* .

Continuing: "It is Chief Parker who fans the flames of further violence \* \* \* ."



Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received as Wheeler Exhibit No. 45.

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 45" appears on pp. 1294, 1295.)

Mr. WHEELER. On August 25, 1965, William C. Taylor, member of the district committee of the Southern California District of the Communist Party, gave a radio talk in which he took the same basic approach to the Watts riot as the party had taken in the press release from which I have just quoted. He justified the rioters. He blamed the riot on the mayor and chief of police of Los Angeles. He alleged that the Watts riot was touched off by an incident "of police brutality and lack of respect for Negro women." He, too, compared Police Chief Parker to a Nazi. The speech was inflammatory, clearly designed to arouse Negro resentment against the police and the city administration.

The Communist Party printed the text of Taylor's radio talk, along with its official statement of August 17 and an editorial from *The Worker* on the Watts riot, in a booklet entitled "WATTS' UP-SURGE—A COMMUNIST APPRAISAL."

These items—the August 17 release, the Taylor talk, and the booklet I have just mentioned were the only things the party did in its own name except carry a similar campaign in the *People's World*.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 46."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 46" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. By no means, however, do they indicate the full extent of Communist Party activity in racial incitement in the Los Angeles area.

The South Side Citizens Defense Committee was a Communist front directed, as previously indicated, by Hursel Alexander. Significantly, at one meeting of this group, it was announced that it had the assistance of the National Lawyers Guild, which has been cited as the "legal bulwark" of the Communist Party.

The Committee To End Legalized Murder by Cops was another front created by the Communist Party, with support of W. E. B. DuBois Club members, for the purpose of racial agitation. Dorothy Healey, Charlene Mitchell, William Taylor, and Robert Duggan were some of the known Communists taking part in this group's operations.

Robert Duggan and Franklin Alexander, members of the W. E. B. DuBois Club, were active in their support for the Committee To End Legalized Murder by Cops.

Party leader Dorothy Healey, Raphael Konigsberg, and Carl Bloice were some of the Communists active in the Congress of Unrepresented People.

The Communist Party, as previously indicated, took an active part in the agitation on the Deadwyler case.

Finally, the Freedom Now Committee, as the testimony indicates, was another front through which the Communist Party has sought to create and foster racial division and antagonism in the Los Angeles area. Some of the known Communists associated with that committee and its activities included William Taylor, Dan Bessie, Dorothy Healey, Rose Chernin Kusnitz, Frank Beyea, Robert Duggan, Raphael

## WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 45

FOR IMMEDIATE PRESS RELEASE

AUGUST 17, 1965.

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LOS ANGELES:- The Communist Party of Southern California issued the following statement:

"We charge Mayor Yorty and Chief of Police Parker with immediate responsibility for the tragic death of 32 people and the imprisonment of over 2,000.

All competent observers have warned for years that the combination of extreme poverty and ruthless police brutality in Watts and the Central district had produced an intolerable condition. Mayor Yorty and Chief Parker admit that over a year ago they conferred with Governor Brown on the use of National Guardsmen, thereby confessing that their sole answer to these conditions was more policing action.

The Federal War on Poverty funds have been held up by Mayor Yorty's playing politics with human misery. Had even without his power politics, the funds allocated would barely skim the surface of the enormous needs in a community where over 30% of the residents are jobless.

The National Guard costs \$300,000. per day. If the total amount that the Guard will cost had been allocated to alleviating misery and squalor, 32 people would be alive today. But both domestically and internationally, our society will spend more to crush people who rebel against intolerable conditions rather than deal with the root cause.

Chief Parker has a long history of demonstrating his Nazi-like theory of the master race. A few years ago he denounced the Mexican-American people as a "wild tribe". This week he compared the Negro people to "monkeys in the zoo". He boastfully described the present situation, with the National Guardsmen here, by saying "we're on top; they're on the bottom"

It is not surprising that the resulting social upheaval has included acts of looting and burning of businesses. As distinct from a civil rights demonstration with its organized political demands, this was a spontaneous uprising in which all elements of an oppressed community participated. No one applauds these acts; they are meaningless expressions against the white "power structure".

WHEELER EXHIBIT NO. 45—Continued

(Press Release Cont'd)

page 2.

But each day organized society commits more serious acts of violence and vandalism against the body and spirit of the Negro. Let the tears be shed over the hopeless lives which poverty produces in most of Watts. Let the recriminations be directed to the vandals in police uniform who break into homes without warrants, who use the most abusive and violent gestapo methods against law-abiding citizens if they are colored. Let the accusing finger be pointed at Mayor Yorty and Chief Parker who have obstructed all efforts to alleviate the worst aspects of these conditions.

With all the loose and provocative talk about anarchy or race-riots, the facts prove otherwise. At this time, 32 people are dead, 28 of whom are Negroes shot by police or National Guardsmen. It is Chief Parker who fans the flames of further violence when he approves of whites carrying guns. In view of his continued acts of violence and provocative suggestions for future vigilante action it is clear there can be no prospect for law in this area while he remains as Chief of Police.

We join with others in demanding immediate allocation of funds to provide jobs for the unemployed in the area. Put the funds to work in Watts to provide for the necessary low-cost housing, hospitals (there are none in the area now), schools, under the direction of the residents there.

Establish a Citizens Inquiry where the people of Watts and Central can testify to the conditions which provoked this explosion. Let the white citizens understand that no community is an island unto itself. As long as the social and economic conditions are ignored or tolerated, the tinder is present for future explosions.

Establish authentic civilian control over the police with a Citizens Review Board."

Konigsberg, Sam Kushner, Pierre Mandel, Barbara Nestor, and Frank Spector.

Dan Bessie and Pierre Mandel have both appeared before this committee and taken the fifth amendment when asked questions concerning Communist Party membership and related activity.

Mr. SMITH. What about the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, the activities of this group should really be considered with those of the Communist Party because the DuBois Clubs are generally recognized as the party's current youth organization.

First of all, during the Watts riot itself, the DuBois Club put out the flyer, "POVERTY FRUSTRATION DEATH."

The August 25, 1965, issue of *SPUR*, the DuBois Club's West Coast publication, contained inflammatory literature on the Watts riot and was distributed in the Watts area.

Next, the DuBois Clubs prepared the inflammatory booklet, "THE FIRE THIS TIME," released in November 1965.

When the Deadwyler case developed, the DuBois Clubs put out an agitational flyer on it.

During what is termed the second Watts riot which occurred in mid-March 1966, the W. E. B. DuBois Club circulated a flyer in the Watts area headed "POVERTY FRUSTRATION DEATH." They also created a front titled the "Ad Hoc Committee To End Police Malpractices," which demonstrated against the Los Angeles Police Department, claiming police brutality.

In addition to doing all of these things in the name of the DuBois Club or the front group in Los Angeles, they engaged in more or less covert racial agitation through various fronts, some of which it actually controlled. The DuBois Clubs and/or its leaders and members supported and took part in the activities of the following racial agitation organizations in the Los Angeles area:

- Committee to Support Grievances of Watts Negroes
- Ad Hoc Committee To End Police Malpractices
- Congress of Unrepresented People
- South Side Citizens Defense Committee
- Freedom Now Committee
- Committee for the Defense of John Harris

For the most part, these were the same organizations in which the known Communist Party members I have previously mentioned were active.

Finally, as previously indicated, on the national level the DuBois Clubs have called for the separation of the Watts area from the city of Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. Has the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyist Communist organization, been active in the area of racial agitation in Los Angeles?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes; but not to the same degree the other Communist groups have. They more or less like to organize and stay in the background.

On August 19, 1965, 2 days after the Watts riot ended, the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party issued a statement which, like that of the Communist Party, exonerated the rioters, attacked Mayor Yorty, Police Chief Parker, and the police in general, holding them

largely responsible for the riot. It described the riot as a "rebellion" and called for the release of all those arrested during the riot.

On the national level the Socialist Workers Party published a pamphlet entitled "WATTS AND HARLEM, THE RISING REVOLT IN THE BLACK GHETTOS." This pamphlet, published by the Socialist Workers Party's then official publishing house, Pioneer Publishers, was a collection of four articles originally printed in the party's official newspaper, *The Militant*.

This pamphlet was distributed in the Watts area. Again, in typical Communist fashion, it defended the rioters, absolved them of all blame, and held the police and the city administrations responsible for the violence.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 47."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 47" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wheeler, hearings held by this committee several weeks ago reflect that the Progressive Labor Party played a major role in inciting the riot which took place in Harlem, New York City, in July 1964.

The name of the Progressive Labor Party has been brought out a number of times in these hearings concerning Los Angeles.

Would you now summarize its activities in the area of fomenting racial hatred, disorder, and incitation to violence in the Los Angeles area?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, they have circulated literature. Of course, Lieutenant Anderson has already presented literature that has been distributed by John Wesley Harris and other literature by the Progressive Labor Party in Los Angeles. I have additional information here.

First, I would like to mention two small pamphlets published by the Progressive Labor Party and distributed in the Watts area and other areas of Los Angeles. The first is titled "Don't be a sucker!" I have several quotes.

This summer the bosses and their political stooges in Washington and in local areas are working overtime to promote race wars. \* \* \*

The following statement appears in this pamphlet :

Now they want us to be bigger suckers than ever. They want us to fight our Black brothers at home. Bosses have been making the biggest profits off of the backs of Black workers for over a century. The bosses love this. They want to keep it that way.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this item be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 48."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 48" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WHEELER. At another point in this pamphlet this question is asked:

IS THAT NOT A CLEAR CALL FOR THE WHITE POPULATION TO UNITE WITH THE POLICE AS VIGILANTES AND POSSES TO HUNT DOWN THE BLACK PEOPLE? ISN'T THIS, ALONG WITH THE OTHER STATEMENTS BY THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS FLUNKYS, AND THE

FOUNDATION BEING LAID DOWN BY THE NEWSPAPERS—ISN'T THIS A DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT?

They answer their own question. "Yes, it is."

I have a second pamphlet published by the Black Liberation Commission of the Progressive Labor Party and distributed in Watts. It is called "BLACK LIBERATION—NOW!" The inside cover features pictures of Bill Epton and John Harris, the Harlem and Watts organizers of the Progressive Labor Party, respectively. Bill Epton has been indicted and charged with inciting the riot in the Harlem riots. John Wesley Harris has been indicted for criminal syndicalism in the State of California, which also was gone into by Lieutenant Anderson.

The second sentence in this pamphlet states that the United States Government and State and county and city administrations in large northern industrial areas of this country, "are preparing a reign of terror against the Afro-American people this summer. They are deliberately planning to start a so-called 'race war.'"

This statement sets the general tone of this pamphlet which is clearly intended to arouse fear, hatred, and resentment by Negroes against whites, against Federal and local government, against the FBI and the American institutions generally. It harps on police brutality and states that the United States governmental system must be replaced by what it calls socialism. It also states that, "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."

Mr. SMITH. What is the title?

Mr. WHEELER. I believe I mentioned the title, "BLACK LIBERATION—NOW!"

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this item be received and marked as "Wheeler Exhibit No. 49."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 49" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Will you continue, please.

Mr. WHEELER. The Progressive Labor Party distributed three highly inflammatory posters and flyers in the Watts area, as previously mentioned. They were "THE NEED FOR REVOLUTION" and the poster, "WANTED FOR MURDER—Parker the Cop in Watts," which was really identical to the poster it distributed in Harlem at the time of the 1964 riot, with no change except the substitution of the name and picture of Parker for that of Gilligan [Anderson Exhibits Nos. 14 and 12, respectively].

The third was the flyer "WANTED for the MURDER of Leonard Deadwyler—'BOVA—the COP'" [Anderson Exhibit No. 13].

John W. Harris, the Progressive Labor Party organizer in Watts, distributed these flyers at the Deadwyler inquest and was indicted for criminal syndicalism for doing so.

The Progressive Labor Party then established the Committee to Defend John Harris. This committee has been used not only to assist in Harris' defense, but also to further racial agitation and the distribution of inflammatory literature.

The Progressive Labor Party poster, "Uncle Sam wants *YOU* nigger," which was distributed in the Harlem area, was also distributed in the Watts area.

The Progressive Labor Party has held a forum on "PLP and Black Liberation," with the discussion led by John Harris. A film from North Vietnam, "The Threatening Sky," has been shown at the forum.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these documents be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 50-A, B, and C."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 50-A, B, and C," respectively. Exhibit 50-B retained in committee files; 50-A and 50-C appear on pp. 1300 and 1301.)

Mr. WHEELER. A Progressive Labor Party flyer announcing a New Year's Eve party held at the end of last year urged "Support Black Revolutionaries," with specific reference to John Harris. It suggested that the New Year be brought in with "more agitatin' & troublemakin'."

This is dated December 1966.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 51."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 51" appears on p. 1302.)

Mr. WHEELER. On the national level again the Black Liberation Commission of the Progressive Labor Party published a brochure entitled "THE REVOLT IN WATTS AND THE COMING BATTLE." This featured a map of the "ghetto" area of Los Angeles and the factory concentration in and around that area. Like other Progressive Labor Party literature, this brochure was also designed to arouse Negro resentment and hatred of white people and of government, industry, and police. It ended with the following statement:

The black people of South L.A. possess a weapon more powerful than twenty-two thousand guns! And black people can choose their own time and places of battle!

This brochure was reproduced in the May 1966 issue of *Spark*, the West Coast Progressive Labor publication.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 52."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 52". See pp. 1305-1308.)

Mr. WHEELER. I have a little to add concerning John Wesley Harris for the record, additional material that was being typed and it has just arrived.

Mr. SMITH. Will you present it, please.

Mr. WHEELER. Thank you.

John Wesley Harris, Progressive Labor Party organizer and chairman of the Los Angeles PLP, is a 24-year-old native of Birmingham, Alabama. Harris joined the Freedom Riders when they went to Birmingham in 1960. Later, when a student at Howard University in Washington, D.C., Harris became chairman of the Howard University chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, commonly known as SNCC.

In 1964 and part of 1965 Harris served as project director for SNCC in Indianola, Mississippi. During this time he was arrested in

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 50-A



Uncle  
Sam  
wants  
YOU  
nigger

Become a member of  
the world's highest paid  
black mercenary army!

Fight for Freedom  
... (in Viet Nam)

(Die Nigger Die — you can't die  
fast enough in the ghettos.)

Support White Power  
— travel to Viet Nam,  
you might get a medal!

Receive valuable training  
in the skills of killing off  
other oppressed people!

So run to your nearest recruiting chamber!



WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 50-C

PL FORUM

BLACK LIBERATION

and the

Progressive Labor Party

- with a discussion led by John Harris  
PLP organizer in LA

A NEW film from North Vietnam -  
(The Threatening Sky - 45 min.)

Friday - May 5<sup>th</sup>  
at 7:30 p.m.

Donation \$1.00

SEVERNICE HALL  
2936 W. 8<sup>th</sup> St.  
(1 block west of Vermont)

PLP  
PO Box 19930  
Kimpau Sta.  
L.A. 90019  
399-6819

Labels Donated

A New Year's -

eve

PARTY

- Bring in the new year

- more agitatin' & troublemakin' *ML*

Drinks

Music entertainment

- Support Black Revolutionaries--

- Help us defend John Harris, framed  
under the California Criminal-Syndicalist  
law



COME!

Place: 970 S. St. Andrews  
Place.

( $\frac{1}{2}$  bl. N. of Olympic Blvd.  
2 bls. W. of Western Ave.)

Donation: 1.00

Time: 8:30

sponsored by the Progressive Labor Party *ML*

1300

667-8764



October 1964 and twice in February 1965 on charges of disobeying police and disturbing the peace.

Shortly after the August 1965 riots in the Watts area of Los Angeles, Harris moved to Watts. In December of that year Harris joined the Progressive Labor Party. He has since proclaimed that he is proud to be a Communist. He has served as a Los Angeles chairman of PLP. According to his defense committee literature, he joined the PLP because he was impressed with the work of Bill Epton, Harlem PLP organizer, who was convicted for criminal anarchy.

Since coming to Los Angeles he has been employed at times at UCLA as an examination reader and teacher's assistant, sociology department.

On September 20, 1966, Harris was arrested and charged with criminal syndicalism. He was subsequently released on bail.

In November 1966 he took part in a black power conference in the Watts area which featured Stokely Carmichael. He has also joined a steering committee for Southern Californians for New Politics. Harris has also urged Negroes not to fight in Vietnam and opposes the draft.

I have a copy of a PLP brochure which contains some biographical material on Harris and the organization.

I want to introduce this document in the record. It is headed, "SUPPORT BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES, Defend John Harris . . . arrested for 'criminal syndicalism.'" It is signed by or has typed in the name "Progressive Labor Party, P.O. Box 19930, Los Angeles 19, California."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received and marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 53."

Mr. TUCK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 53". See pp. 1309-1312.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, that concludes the testimony to be received in this session of hearings.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Wheeler, on behalf of the committee I wish to thank you and commend you in the highest terms for your work in assembling this information and presenting it to the committee.

We appreciate also the cooperation of the law enforcement authorities, the district attorney's office of Los Angeles County.

The subcommittee has listened to factual testimony about inflammatory racial agitation in the Los Angeles area for 3 days.

It is clear beyond doubt that prior to the Watts riot, during the riot, and ever since the riot Communists have been agitating in the central Southside area, and particularly the Watts area, of Los Angeles. They have been distributing inflammatory literature in the area which, without question, is designed to inflame the residents against the police, against the city administration, and against the Federal Government and which is designed to encourage resentment and rebellion and inflame passions.

We do not know precisely how many copies of the numerous pieces of inflammatory literature introduced in this hearing were actually distributed in the Watts area. We do not know just how many people received copies and the exact effect they had on these people. Normally, of course, any group distributing flyers of the type we are discussing can, and does, have thousands of copies printed at little

cost. Many have been run off on mimeograph machines, which makes the expense of producing them practically nil.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that many copies of these items were distributed in the area and that they must have had considerable impact, at least on limited segments of the population. And it is well known, of course, that it takes very few hotheads and professional agitators to start a riot.

This hearing has not proved that the Watts riot of August 1965 was instigated by the Communists. The record indicates that most of this literature was distributed after the riot in an apparent attempt to capitalize on it and incite further violence. Some of it, however, was distributed prior to the riot. To have engaged in this activity in disturbing the community after the Watts riot is even worse than it was before the riot.

I believe the evidence substantiates Mayor Yorty's testimony, the conviction and belief he has been expressing for several years, that there has been in Los Angeles and other cities a deliberate conditioning of people in an effort to create a situation in which it is easy for a riot to be triggered by a simple arrest or some other seemingly minor incident.

Whether or not Communists and black nationalist elements can be said to have played a major role in the initial Watts riot, it is clear that their desire and intent is to foment racial violence in this country and that they are doing everything possible to accomplish that end.

In conclusion, in the name of the subcommittee, I wish to thank Lieutenant Clayton Anderson and Detective James Harris of the Los Angeles district attorney's office for their testimony. They have made factual, detailed presentations which were a credit to them and the office for which they work.

As the chairman said the other day, they have really made a significant contribution to this inquiry.

I also want to thank and congratulate Mr. Wheeler, the committee's dedicated and able investigator in Los Angeles, for his presentation and the work he has done in preparation for these hearings.

The subcommittee will now adjourn, to be called again upon the order of the chairman of the committee.

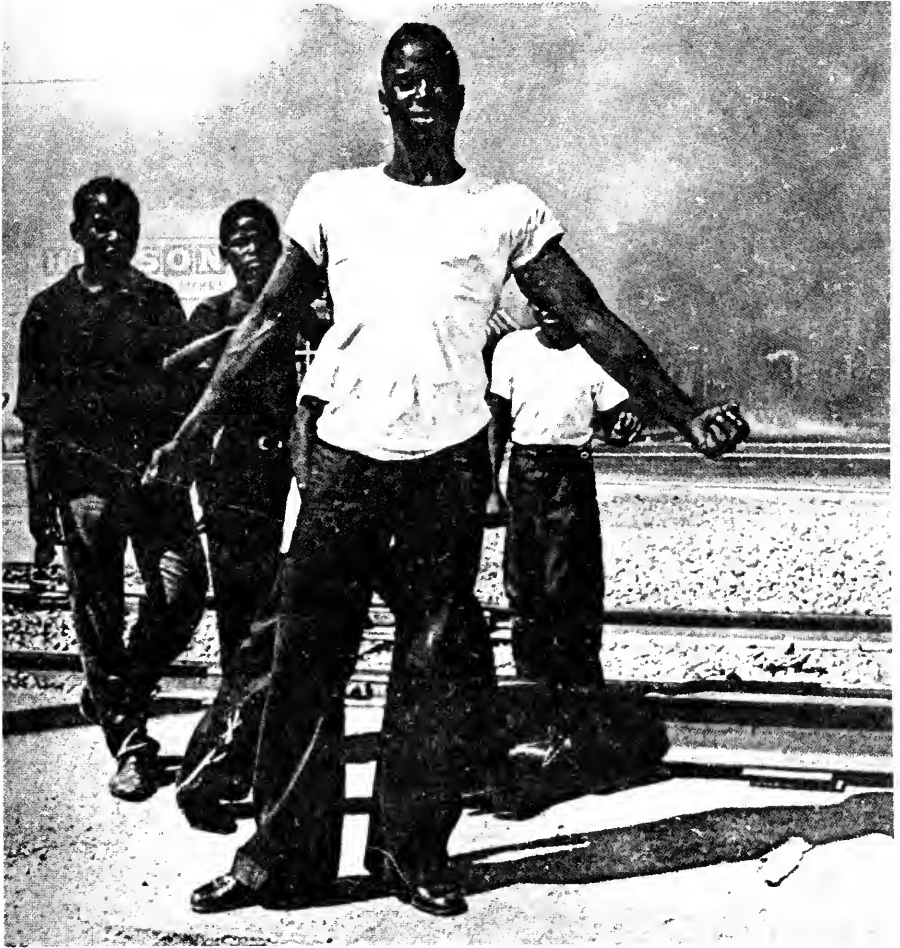
(Whereupon, at 1:30 p.m., Thursday, November 30, 1967, the subcommittee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

(Wheeler Exhibits Nos. 52 and 53 introduced on pp. 1299 and 1303, respectively, follow :)

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 52

5c

# THE REVOLT IN WATTS AND THE COMING BATTLE



Published by the Black Liberation Commission of the Progressive Labor Party  
336 Lenox Avenue, New York, New York 10027

2

## WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 52—Continued

LOS ANGELES—In the summer of 1965, when the black ghetto of South Central Los Angeles (soon to be internationally known as Watts) exploded in angry rebellion, thousands of national guardsmen were deployed to the area. Waving machine guns and automatic rifles, driving in army trucks and jeeps, they poured into the area.

Some were deployed to guard small businesses and stores. What was not mentioned in the newspapers then or in the investigations afterwards—was that the heaviest guard was sent in to protect the most vulnerable point of U.S. imperialism at home: heavy industrial plants.

It is not surprising that the American people have been told nothing but lies and half-truths about the Watts Rebellion of 1965—truth is a rare commodity in this country. If the facts were known concerning the magnitude and the origin of the misery in which the black people of Watts live, the mark of doom would be put on those who live by profiting on this misery. The truth about U.S. imperialism's greatest weakness would serve as a guide to powerful mass action, which could cost the rich white imperialists a thousand times more than the \$40 million property damage and international disgrace for its racist barbarism, which resulted in the police and army terror of August, 1965.

These are the facts.

The rebellion covered the predominantly black area (of 46 to 56 square miles) known as South Central Los Angeles (commonly called South L.A.). The entire area came to be known as Watts, because Watts was the starting point of the Rebellion and is 92 per cent black. A 3/4 square mile segment of a huge black ghetto, Watts is one of many neighborhoods, including Avalon, Central, Exposition, Green Meadows, Florence, Willowbrook, and other units of the 46-56 square mile area.

But these subdivisions are artificial, existing only on maps or in custom. There are no boundaries except on paper; black people in South L.A. for the most part live in one continuous land area, in a continuous population concentration.

Within the total area there are 576,000 black people—about 80 per cent of the population of the ghetto. Mexican Americans make up another 10 per cent, so that as much as 90 per cent of the population is "non-white."

The boundaries of the overall ghetto roughly extend from Adams Blvd. and Washington St. to the north; Rosencrans Ave. to the south; Alameda St. to the east; and Van Ness St. and Crenshaw Blvd. to the west. With this information the man in the street can pinpoint the black ghetto of South L.A. on a Los Angeles street map, which can be obtained free at a gas station. The study of the map is of great strategic importance.

## VAST UNEMPLOYMENT

There are about 50,000 unemployed black workers—and this figure does not include the young people who have never had a job and therefore are not in the official unemployment figures. Unemployment is three times higher than the overall city rate.

That's only part of the story:

- \* The average black man's wage is only a little more than half of what the white worker earns;

- \* Between 1960 and 1965 the average white family income rose 14 per cent—but the

black family's income fell 8 per cent;

- \* The vast majority of employed black people are service and domestic workers, or work at other low-paying menial occupations. Wages in the ghetto are exorbitant. Two-thirds of the mostly wood-frame houses are owned by absentee white landlords who refuse to make repairs on their over-priced buildings, so the buildings are getting steadily worse. Coupled with the reduction in income, ghetto rents rose 14 per cent in the 1960-65 period.

## 'MEDICARE'—L.A. STYLE

Medical facilities are appalling. The eight private hospitals in the ghetto have just 454 beds! Only two of the hospitals meet minimum standards of professional quality. The two public hospitals—County General and Harbor General—are both outside the area, too distant and difficult to reach. There are three times as many doctors to serve the white communities as there are for the black (106 per 250,000 for blacks; 318 per 250,000 for whites). Medical fees are sky-high.

The death rate is far greater in the black community than in the white. For example, the infant mortality rate (from birth to one year) is 150 per cent higher for black people than for whites.

Ghetto schools are no more than institutions of ignorance. Teachers, teaching methods, and facilities are inferior. Average reading ability for fifth grade black students is ranked at approximately 20; for white L.A. students it is 50. In the eighth grade, black students are ranked at 14—a decrease—while whites remain at 50. Eleventh grade high school students: black about 28, white about 70.

Two-thirds of all black students who enter high school will drop out. Is that surprising? Even if they finish, they would graduate as functional illiterates! Perhaps more important, they know that the old song and dance routine about "finish high school and you will get a better job" is a fraud. Most graduates can't find work at all, much less a "better" job. Approximately 25 per cent of all six-year old black children aren't enrolled in school—a year after they're supposed to start. They don't even get the chance to drop out!

## TRANSPORTATION: WORSE THAN N.Y.

Public transportation is worse than inadequate. The only form of public transportation in the whole area is buses that run only on the larger streets. Fares are high (25¢); many black workers spend a dollar and more just to travel to and from work. There are so few buses that it is not unusual to wait 45 minutes for one.

A car, then, is absolutely essential in the ghetto, just as it is in all of L.A. But only 14 per cent of the black families own a car, while 50 per cent of the families in Los Angeles County as a whole own one. This is not just a measure of the poverty of black families; it is a clear indication of the degree to which they are locked within the confines of the ghetto.

The prices for food, clothing, home appliances and furniture in the ghetto are much higher than prices in the City as a whole. The merchandise is inferior, and the predominantly white merchants cheat the people with crooked installment plans. Trapped within the ghetto with the black inhabitants are forced to submit to this robbery!

The \$40 million in property damage from

the August Rebellion is a drop in the bucket compared to the millions stolen by these corrupt merchants each year! The black rebels were only taking back a token, symbolic amount of what they have had stolen from them!

The people have no rights that a white cop is bound to respect. Not a week passes without a black man, woman or child being shot down or brutally beaten by the racist cops who are there to protect the privileges of those who profit from the misery.

In short, the ghetto is a cheap-labor concentration camp for black people—a black colony of poverty, exploitation and brutality—in the richest country in the world. It stands as a symbol of the racist treatment given to 22 million Afro-Americans by U.S. imperialism—the leader of the so-called "free world." The same type of "freedom" the U.S. is attempting to force on other colored peoples of the world (such as the Vietnamese and the Dominicans); with gun barrels and napalm bombs...and systematic extermination.

## OCCUPYING ARMY FOR INDUSTRIAL PROTECTION

But the meaning of the August Rebellion only begins with the above facts.

The black ghetto of South L.A. is the hub of a mammoth industrial complex. Not only is the ghetto surrounded by heavy industries, but there are industries in the heart of the ghetto where thousands upon thousands of white workers are employed.

This is the fact that the rich white imperialists and their apologists (like former CIA chief John McCone) would not reveal in their "reports" on the rebellion. Black workers have been systematically excluded from industries in the heart of the black ghetto! They are denied the right to work where they live. While factory smoke pours through their windows, poisoning their children, black workers are forced into the misery of unemployment. White workers must travel 20 and 40 miles down freeways into the heart of the black ghetto, while the factory worker living under the factory windows is unemployed. In a ghetto in which there is an 80 per cent black population, the ghetto industries hire a mere handful of black workers.

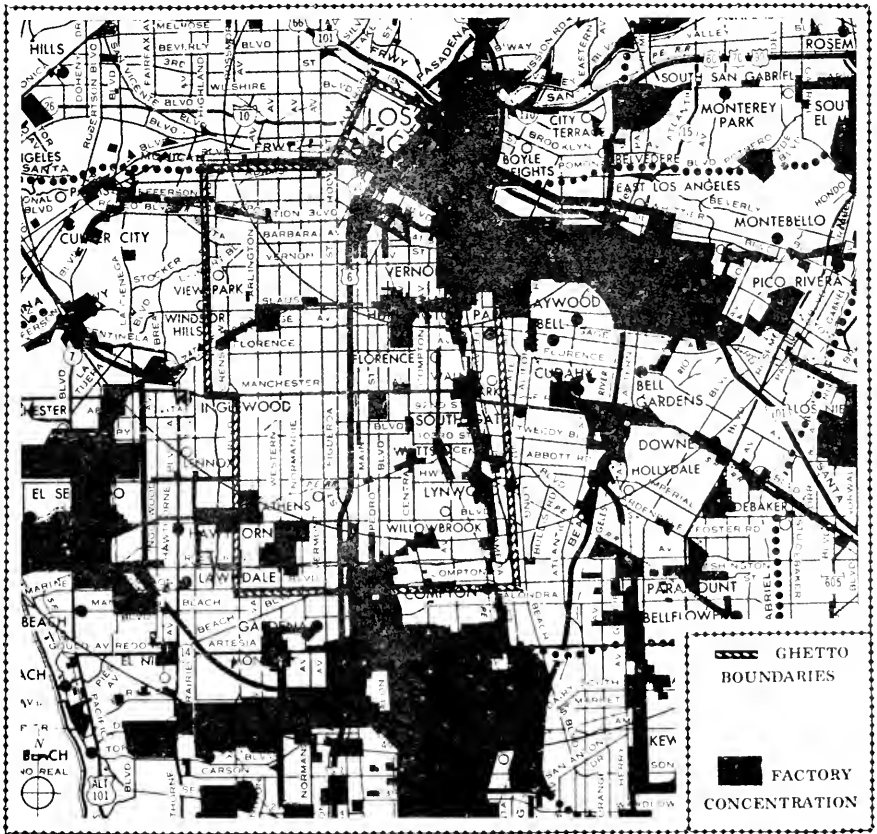
What is U.S. imperialism's plea? What is the plea of its apologists with their phony reports on the Rebellion? Can they claim that they didn't know that South L.A. was an industrial area? Can they say that they did not know that, if black workers were given ghetto-factory jobs in proportion to their percentage of the ghetto population, that there would be no unemployment among black ghetto workers?

Of course they are aware of this fact, but they have done everything possible to conceal it. An Industrial Zone Map, published by the American Industrial Real Estate Assn., can be obtained free from the L.A. Chamber of Commerce (404 Blvd St., L.A.). The map shows a massive industrial complex in the northwestern corner of the ghetto.

There is another in the southwestern corner, and on the eastern border there is still another industrial complex. It also shows the industrial concentrations throughout the entire ghetto.

It would have been devastating for the imperialists to reveal this fact concerning the systematic exclusion of black people from industries within their ghetto.

WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 52—Continued



A portion of the Industrial Zone Map, showing factory concentration and South L. A. ghetto boundaries.

'NEW JOBS' FRAUD

The big noise about "retraining" the black man so he can get a job is a sham, a fraud and a stall. Anyone with any experience in factory work knows that from 60 to 90 per cent of the jobs can be performed by an inexperienced illiterate. Training for many complex jobs take all of a week or two. Most of the jobs require a mere demonstration and one day's work experience.

At the General Motors automobile assembly plant on the western border of the ghetto, 5,000 workers are employed almost all of them white. The work is broken down to its smallest component jobs. A worker turns a screw and the next worker does something else. How much knowledge does it take for one man to hoist a transmission in place

while another worker screws in four retaining bolts? An illiterate can put a wheel on a car so that the next worker can screw on five bolts to hold the wheel in place.

Many of these jobs are now performed by white illiterates (with "superior educations" whose reading ability ends with the morning picture newspaper. This is living proof of the fraud being perpetrated against unemployed black people, who are considered "unprepared" to become workers.

The Goodyear Rubber Corp. plant, smack in the heart of the ghetto, also employs about 5,000 workers, including the handful of blacks. And this is true for a multitude of factories in the ghetto that employ hundreds or thousands of men.

Retrain for what? If black ghetto workers were given the factory jobs from which they

have been excluded, not only would black unemployment be eliminated but black workers would make twice what they are now making in the menial jobs into which they have been forced.

Why have they been excluded systematically from these jobs? The answer is clear. Industrial automation and agricultural mechanization are eliminating hundreds of thousands of jobs every year. Whereas industrialization created more jobs than it eliminated, automation eliminates more than it creates. Workers are being driven out of the factories and off the farms. The population is growing; at the same time, the job market is shrinking.

The simple truth is that the black worker is being used by the rich bosses to absorb the first and most devastating blows of the impending crisis. White workers also are

## WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 52—Continued

being affected by unemployment, but these effects have been cushioned by forcing the black man on the bottom to take the full weight. That's why the black unemployment rate is three times greater than that of whites. This allows the white workers to hold onto their fading "American dream" a little longer at the expense of the black man, who is already living the nightmare.

The imperialists would rather starve and exterminate black workers—through police brutality and use as "cannon fodder" in Vietnam—than take the chance of white workers becoming revolutionary. What would happen if the TV tube went out for white workers, if their cars were repossessed? Would Johnson's fine words about the Great Society smooth the wrinkles of hunger? Would they be satisfied with Anti-Poverty Program crumbs or job training frauds? No! And that is why black workers are being systematically excluded from factory jobs in South L.A. White workers are being forced to play the role of parasites. This is the racist solution that the rulers of America are imposing with their "Great Society".

The standard of living for white workers historically has been kept up by U.S. imperialism's robbery of its various colonial holdings in Latin America, Asia and Africa. The wars and intrigues being carried by U.S. imperialism against the colored peoples of the world are merely an attempt to continue the privileges of robbery and murder, and an army of white workers is being used for this purpose. Would white workers be willing to die in south Vietnam if their wives and children were starving at home? No!

The rulers of this country cannot reveal these reasons for excluding black workers from factory jobs, because it is clear that, if

it is now the black worker who must suffer for the "holy" name of profits, it will be the white worker before long.

### U.S. IMPERIALISM'S GREATEST FEAR

The greatest fear of the imperialist enemy is that the black people in the South L.A. ghetto will shut down the factories, stop production, and demand 80 per cent of the industrial jobs, because they are 80 per cent of the ghetto population—and demand to be employed—NOW!

This would be a direct attack on the real enemy. These factories are completely vulnerable and can be shut down with a minimum of preparation, personnel and effort. Once the weakest flank of the enemy is discovered, a million ways will be found to focus the full strength of resistance so that every blow drives straight to his heart (his profits).

When workers want to better their pay and conditions they strike! They bring the wheels of production to a screaming halt. This brings profits to a halt.

The oppressor's greatest fear is that black people in South L.A. will raise the slogan: "IF WE DON'T WORK, YOU DON'T RUN!" Instead of the \$40 million dollars in property damage incurred during the August Rebellion, billions upon billions would be lost when industry stopped because of the fight for jobs by black workers. The merchant is a minor enemy who can be taken as a mere diversion. He is a small bandit who sells what the factories produce. But if the fight for jobs meant a halt in production, it would mean stopping the beating heart of the real enemy. It would be the basis for a vast black resistance movement, capable of uniting all black workers in South L.A., and capable of creating a mass notified sea so that resistance

leaders may be secure in the bosom of the people.

### THE PRICE OF CRIMES

The enemy fears the development of a vast political sea, founded on the exposure of every crime that has been committed against black people. All these crimes discussed above, and the day-to-day murders, would then become part of the immediate political consciousness of the black people. Having identified the real enemy and his weakest point, the black people would have a definite purpose and direction of struggle. Every act would have political meaning and would further serve to unite black people in the pride of their new-found power to confront the enemy with awesome strength. There would be no begging for crumbs when you can take from the enemy more than he would be willing to give in a million years. Hopelessness and frustration would be dispelled. The revolutionary potential of the black masses would be heightened immeasurably. Instead of aiming to miss, those who defend our black men, women and children against racist extermination campaigns—would aim to hit! We would dare to win!

This, then, is what the enemy really fears. He fears the price he will have to pay for his crimes! He is at home here in America. Everything he possesses is right here. It is not as easy as murdering colored peoples 5,000 miles away. The battle will be brought right to his doorstep—right to the source of his profits.

The black people of South L.A. possess a weapon more powerful than twenty-two thousand guns! And black people can choose their own time and places of battle!

### FIND OUT NOW!

Atlanta, Watts, Harlem... Where the struggle began, where it's going. Read:

- The Plot Against Black America - 10¢
- Notes on Black Liberation - 25¢
- Pre-Civil War Black Nationalism - 25¢
- We Accuse  
(Bill Epton's Speech to the Court) - 25¢

SEND ORDER TO:

PROGRESSIVE LABOR: G. P. O. Box 808, Brooklyn 1, N. Y.





WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 53

## SUPPORT BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES

*Defend John Harris . . . .**arrested for "criminal syndicalism"*

John Harris, Progressive Labor Party organizer in Watts faces 1 to 14 years as a "criminal syndicalist". His crime — passing out leaflets at the Deadwyler inquest pointing out that the cop who shot Deadwyler was a murderer and moreover denouncing the system that creates such a "legal" murder.

At 5:30 p.m. September 20, 1966, six plainclothesmen broke into the house where John Harris lives. Although claiming to have a warrant they refused to show it. They handcuffed John Harris and then ransacked the apartment throwing things around, ripping down pictures and causing other damage. They carried off boxes of personal property of the three people who live there as "evidence". They also took PL literature that was stored there. For example, they took 250 copies of the new PL magazine, copies of Spark and Free Student. They also took books and notes for classes, all this as "evidence".



## WHAT IS "CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM?"

The criminal syndicalism law states that it is illegal to speak or leaflet so as to advocate "change in industrial ownership" or "effect political change" by so-called criminal means. A Grand Jury meeting secretly apparently decided this is what John was doing, and set the bail at \$15,000.

Criminal syndicalism is an anti-labor law passed in 1919 and was last used to convict farm labor organizers in the Sacramento Valley in 1957. The law is meant to deal with revolutionary socialists and is a cardinal principle of the anti-labor movement.

## WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 53—Continued

divided society. Like the anti-riot portions of the proposed Civil Rights law, it is intended as a weapon against those who call for fundamental change. Such was John's offense. He questioned the "justice" of the Deadwyler hearing and advocated revolutionary solutions. In so doing he was in perfect tune with the mood of the black community of South Los Angeles. Clearly, a "criminal syndicalist" is someone who represents a view dangerous to America's rulers. ("You have your freedom until you need it," says Bertrand Russell.)

**WHO IS JOHN HARRIS?**

John Harris was born and raised in Birmingham, Alabama, the son of a steelworker. From his earliest years, he was exposed to systematic racial oppression and injustice and he early determined to fight it. When in 1960 the freedom riders came to town he joined with them. Later in college he became chairman of the Howard University chapter of SNCC. In 1964 he left school to work in the South where he was project director for SNCC in Sumner County, Mississippi -- stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan. There he was arrested and beaten by the cops and his home was attacked by the Klan. From his one and a half year's experience in Mississippi he concluded that more basic changes were necessary. He left the South and came to Los Angeles shortly after the Watts rebellion. Having seen the effects of the police riot and having heard about the systematic police murder of scores of black citizens, he decided to do political work in Watts. In December, 1965, impressed with the work of Bill Epton and the program of the Progressive Labor Party, he joined PL and became a revolutionary communist.

**WHY THIS ARREST NOW?**

In fact, they are arresting John to scare and terrorize PL members and others who protest conditions in the black ghetto. Although John is not guilty of any criminal or illegal act, he certainly is guilty of protesting the wretched living conditions in Watts. He has spoken and written about the fact that real income in Watts declined 8% since 1960 while rising in the rest of L.A. He has passed out leaflets which pointed out that in Watts is one of the biggest concentrations of industry -- yet black people living there aren't given jobs in these plants, and that there is 17% unemployment there. He has constantly

## WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 53—Continued



worked to expose the outrages of Yorty's brutal cops in Watts who constantly murder and maim black people, the Deadwyler case being only one example. He has publically denounced the war in Vietnam and urged his black brothers not to fight in that war. He has told them to oppose the draft and warmly supported such people as Richmond and [unclear] who refused to be inducted on the grounds that they are a colored minority and shouldn't fight the colonial master's dirty war against the colored people of Southeast Asia. What is more, John has held classes which sought to get at the root cause of U.S. oppression both at home and abroad. He has not hesitated to name the real enemy, U.S. imperialism, and has stated unequivocally that imperialism in this country must be replaced by a socialist system. He has stated openly that he is a communist and proud of it. For this he was arrested on "criminal syndicalism".

## HARLEM - PHILADELPHIA - ATLANTA - LOS ANGELES -

In Harlem, late in 1964 Bill Epton, chairman of Harlem PL, was indicted for "criminal anarchy" -- his crime - trying to organize a peaceful demonstration to protest the murder of black people during the "police riots" that summer. A year later he was found guilty; he is now out on \$25,000 bail. This summer in Philadelphia, young SNCC workers were arrested for possessing dynamite and

## WHEELER EXHIBIT No. 53—Continued

held on huge bail. Their crime — organizing in the black community. Next it was the turn of the Atlanta cops who, after brutally suppressing a protest by black citizens of another police murder, arrested Stokely Carmichael for inciting to riot. His crime — advancing the slogan black power. Now in Los Angeles John Harris is arrested for criminal syndicalism. Tomorrow, no doubt, it will be somebody in San Francisco. And the "crime" will again be the same — organizing the black community around a militant program.

It is clear Johnson is ordering his local stooges to begin a nationwide round-up of all black militants who refuse to sell out. Because rebellions in black ghettos are harming his war effort. Though the charges are serious and the bail huge, we declare that the real guilty ones are Johnson and company for pursuing the genocidal war against Vietnam; Yorty and the police who daily are brutally murdering and maiming black people; the General Motors and Ford year plants in South L.A. who poison the air of Watts but refuse to hire its residents. We must expect that as we get more effective in our protests, repression such as this will get worse. But we won't stop us, on the contrary we will redouble our efforts!

**WHAT CAN BE DONE?**

Politically, all honest people interested in building a truly just society must break from the "two party" farce conducted by the American ruling class. Work to free themselves and others from the illusions of this system. It was this "lesser evil" Brown that this frame-up was concocted. Recognize that in the black ghettos the battle has already been joined. That the struggle against imperialism is a class war. The victory of the Vietnamese people and the struggles of all other colonial peoples is a part of the social struggle against the "free enterprising" system of exploitation and war.

Finally: Support the program and work of John Harris and the Progressive Labor Party. Money is desperately needed.

Progressive Labor Party  
P. O. Box 19930  
Los Angeles 19, California

For information on PL forums and classes, write to the above address.

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<sup>2</sup> Appears as "Kerenga."

<sup>3</sup> Appears as "Lasky" in some references.

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<sup>2</sup> Incorrectly spelled "Pestanna" in this reference.

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U.S. G. O.

**SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING,  
AND BURNING**

**PART 3-A  
(Los Angeles—Watts)**

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

SECOND SESSION

—————  
JUNE 28, 1968  
(INCLUDING INDEX)

—————  
Printed for the use of the  
Committee on Un-American Activities



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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WASHINGTON : 1968

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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CHESTER D. SMITH, *General Counsel*

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

Detective James C. Harris of the Los Angeles district attorney's office, who had testified before the committee in November 1967 during its hearings on the 1965 racial disturbances in the Watts area of Los Angeles, appeared again as a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities on June 28, 1968. His testimony concerned matters pertaining to the Black Congress and a rally it had sponsored on February 18, 1968, at the Los Angeles Sports Arena.

Mr. Harris stated that although spontaneous incidents have sparked riots and racial disturbances, it is also true that dissident groups have caused hard feelings between the races by deliberately planned actions. One such action, he said, was this Black Congress rally.

Mr. Harris testified that the Black Congress is a "coordinating organization composed of about 28 groups" which "encourage membership on the part of any black group of 10 or more members who are involved in social change." Its director is Walter Bremond. The rally which it sponsored at the Los Angeles Sports Arena on February 18, 1968, was, according to Detective Harris, an "action which clearly shows the intent of the sponsoring group to foster \* \* \* ill will between the races."

The witness testified that in early February 1968, Irving Sarnoff, an identified member of the Communist Party, who is also the chairman of the Peace Action Council in Los Angeles, "was in contact with Stokely Carmichael, and Carmichael agreed to appear in Los Angeles." Sarnoff was working in conjunction with the Black Congress, according to Detective Harris.

The purpose of the rally was to raise funds for the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund. Newton is a member of the Black Panthers in Oakland, Calif., who was then under indictment, and has since been convicted, of murdering a policeman. His defense attorney, Charles R. Garry, has been identified as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Harris presented as an exhibit a flyer which advertised the rally and named such noted militants as Stokely Carmichael, Bobby Seale, Maulana Karenga, Reies Tjjerina, and Betty Shabazz, the wife of the late Malcolm X, as speakers. Miss Shabazz, however, did not appear at the rally, according to Detective Harris. He pointed out that Walter Bremond served as master of ceremonies.

Detective Harris then quoted brief excerpts from the speeches made by several rally speakers, including:

*James Forman*, then a national director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the first speaker. He told of the existence of a "mutual defense pact" and warned of "instant and protractable retribution" if any black leaders were assassinated.

*Bobby Seale*, chairman of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, declared that "Every black man here must have a shotgun in his home to defend himself and his family against the racist Gestapo police \* \* \*."

*Reies Tijerina*, the leader of the militant Mexican-American Federal Alliance of Free City-States, declared that "The white man is an enemy of justice, an enemy of mankind \* \* \*"

*Ron Karenga*, leader of US, called on the audience "to get white people fighting each other . . . Let them shoot each other \* \* \*"

*H. Rap Brown*, a national leader of SNCC, stated that "Black people, if they are going to be free, must begin to seize power. You better get your gun, brother. \* \* \* You've got to arm yourselves. \* \* \* The only politics we can be concerned with is the politics of revolution. \* \* \* We not only talking about destroying a power structure—we're talking about ruination of a system."

*Stokely Carmichael* told the audience: "If this country burns down to the ground, we rejoice and we dance \* \* \* In order to educate our people, it means that we must take over the schools—nothing less—take them over by any means necessary. . . ."

Regarding Black Panther member Huey P. Newton and his forthcoming trial for murder, Carmichael stated, "If you oft brother Huey, we oft fifteen honkie cops." "Oft," Mr. Harris explained, means "to kill."

The white news media, Detective Harris said, did not cover the rally because they would have been required to pay \$1,000 in order to be admitted to the arena. The rally was, however, covered by the West Coast Communist Party newspaper, the *People's World*. The February 24, 1968, issue of that publication carried a page-one report of the proceedings written by Gene Dennis. The article was entered as an exhibit for the record. Dennis estimated that approximately 4,000 persons had attended the rally. Detective Harris testified that 3,000 would be a more accurate figure.

The request for the use of the Los Angeles Sports Arena for the Black Congress rally was made on February 8, 1968, by Mrs. Bobbie Hodges, local chairman of SNCC. Mr. Harris testified that she had presented a letter requesting the arena for February 18, 1968, and a check in the amount of \$1,000 signed by Ayuko Babu.

According to Mr. Harris:

Babu is Anthony C. Ashley, an officer of the Black Student Union, a member of the National Conference for New Politics, on the national executive board of this group, a guest speaker before the New Left School in Los Angeles, a central committeeman of the Black Panther Political Party, and a participant in many demonstrations in Los Angeles, particularly in anti-Dow Chemical Company agitation at Cal-State, L.A.

Ashley is a male Negro, born 16 July 1943 in Amarillo, Texas.

Committee counsel then asked Mr. Harris if he could name the individuals who had "furnished the money" for the appearance of the speakers.

The witness testified that Mr. John Pratt had given a check in the amount of \$1,000 to Walter Bremond; Helen Travis, an identified member of the Communist Party, had remitted a cashier's check in the amount of \$2,000; and Kenneth W. Rottger had made payable to the L.A. Memorial Coliseum Commission a check for \$10,000. Copies of the checks were entered as exhibits for the record. Mr. Harris also testified in reference to the Rottger check:

I also have a letter dated the 21st of February 1968, wherein the receipt of this money is signed for by Kenneth Rottger, and a copy of a letter directed to the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum Commission, where the rally was held, which instructs them to return the \$10,000 check to Kenneth Rottger.

Detective Harris provided additional information pertaining to the background and activities of Mr. Pratt, Mr. Rottger, and Mrs. Travis.

He concluded his testimony by naming 22 of the persons known to have attended the Black Congress rally. Seventeen of the 22 were known Communist Party members. Background information on these individuals extracted from the committee's files was entered as an exhibit in the hearing record.



# SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

## Part 3-A

(Los Angeles—Watts)

---

FRIDAY, JUNE 28, 1968

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. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; and Richard L. Roudebush, of Indiana.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis and Roudebush.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Chester D. Smith, general counsel; and William A. Wheeler, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of the fact that other members of the subcommittee appointed to conduct these hearings cannot be present today, the Chair wishes to announce that he has designated a new subcommittee consisting of himself, Mr. Tuck, and Mr. Roudebush to conduct these hearings.

Mr. Roudebush, will you preside?

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Our first witness this morning will be Mr. James Harris, detective, Los Angeles district attorney's office.

Mr. Harris will testify about the Black Congress held in Los Angeles, February 18, 1968. Mr. Harris, do you have any objection to taking an oath?

Mr. HARRIS. None, sir.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Would you stand, please?

Mr. Harris, do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HARRIS. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF JAMES C. HARRIS—Resumed

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Detective Harris, you testified before the committee last November, I believe it was, when we held hearings on the Watts riot and race relations in the Los Angeles area. I understand you have

supplemental information to present to the committee this morning. Is that correct?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Counsel, will you proceed with the interrogation?

Mr. SMITH. Will you give us your full name for the record?

Mr. HARRIS. James Harris. I am an investigator with the office of the district attorney, Los Angeles.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Harris, you have testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities on November 28 and 29, 1967; is that correct?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, it is.

Mr. SMITH. Since your appearance before the committee last November, are there any matters you believe should be brought to the attention of this committee?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, Mr. Smith. Although incidents of a spontaneous nature have in the past triggered riots and other racial occurrences, it is also known that specifically planned actions have been taken by certain dissident groups which have fostered ill feelings between the black and white races.

One such action which clearly shows the intent of the sponsoring group to foster this ill will between the races occurred in Los Angeles in February 1968. In early February 1968, Irving Sarnoff, who is the chairman of the Peace Action Council in Los Angeles, was in contact with Stokely Carmichael, and Carmichael agreed to appear in Los Angeles.

Sarnoff was working in conjunction with the Black Congress. This rally which they had planned was to be held at the Los Angeles Sports Arena on February 18, 1968, and its purpose was to raise money for the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to state for the record that previous testimony has been entered in the record by the Honorable Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles on November 28, 1967. His testimony shows that Irving Sarnoff and the Peace Action Council were the primary organizers of the march and demonstration that occurred when President Johnson appeared at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles on June 23, 1967.<sup>1</sup> This demonstration developed into a minor riot.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 851 of pt. 1 of these hearings.



Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, that will be noted.

Mr. HARRIS. I have here a flyer which advertises a mass rally to be held February 18, 1968. It is interesting to note that welfare recipients were able to enter for a lower price than everybody else.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 65." See page 1822.)

Mr. SMITH. Some of the speakers were Stokely Carmichael, Bobby Seale, Reies Tjjerina, and Maulana Ron Karenga. Were there additional speakers?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, there were—James Forman, H. Rap Brown, Moezuma Esparza were also to speak. Betty Shabazz, who is the wife of the late "Malcom X," did not appear. Walter Bremond was master of ceremonies. Bremond is the director of the Black Congress.

Mr. SMITH. Is Maulana Ron Karenga the same person who is the head of the organization US of Los Angeles, about which considerable testimony has already been received into the record from last November?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir, he is. "Maulana" means "teacher" in Swahili. His true name is Ronald McKinley Everett.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Harris, you mentioned the Black Congress. Will you further describe this organization?

Mr. HARRIS. It is a coordinating organization composed of about 28 groups. They encourage membership on the part of any black group of 10 or more members who are involved in social change.

They have sponsored demonstrations and circulated leaflets calling for the defense of Rap Brown. I have one here which is cosponsored by the Black Congress, SNCC, SDS, the Dow Action Committee, and the Internal Repression Committee of the Peace Action Council.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received in the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 66." See page 1823. Exhibits Nos. 65 and 66 follow.)

# MASS RALLY

FEB. 18, 1968

SPORTS ARENA SUN 3 P.M.

FREE HUEY!



Huey P. Newton Defense Fund

## STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Bobby Seale

Betty Shabazz

Reies  
Tijerina

Maulana  
Karenga

WELFARE

STUDENTS

GEN.

Tickets: \$1.50 \$2.00 \$3.00

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 66



H. RAP BROWN  
Chairman of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

ANNOUNCING!!!! IMPORTANT FREEDOM EVENT!  
DEMONSTRATION! PICKET! MAIL-IN!

WHERE: New Federal Building  
300 North Los Angeles Street  
Los Angeles, California.

WHEN: Wednesday, March 20th, 1968,  
from 10:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M.  
(come when you can, go when  
you must!)

WHAT: SUPPORT-IN-ACTION FOR  
H. RAP BROWN



SPECIAL NOTE: March 20th marks  
Mr. Brown's Birthday!

WAYS TO HELP: Write the Attorney General  
to free Rap Brown; Write Rap Brown to  
encourage him; send funds to the L.A.  
address below.

FOR CONVENIENCE: You can sign this  
leaflet and mail it right on the spot.

**LET RAP RAPI!**

H. RAP BROWN is being held in a Louisiana jail for exercising his right to freedom of speech here in Los Angeles. His purpose in coming to Los Angeles was to see his lawyer, which was not in violation of any travel restriction. He is also being falsely accused of intimidating a Negro F.B.I. agent.

A majority of the obligation for freeing Rap Brown lies with the people of the West Coast. Rap felt that speaking on the West Coast in defense of Hon. P. Newton was worth any consequences he might suffer.

Mr. Ransey Clark, Attorney General  
Justice Department  
Washington, D.C.

Sir: H. RAP BROWN is being punished  
for his beliefs, not for his actions!

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Remember! He did not break or violate any travel restrictions. He is being punished because he raps against our oppressor the United States government!

You must help him by contributing to the H. Rap Brown Defense Fund.

AMERICA, WE WILL GO DOWN

FOR H. RAP BROWN

Send money to: H. Rap Brown Defense Fund  
4223 West 25th Street  
Los Angeles, California 90019

Mr. H. Rap Brown  
Parish Prison  
New Orleans, Louisiana.

Dear Mr. Brown: We join you as an act  
of solidarity in your struggle for  
freedom for yourself and for black  
peoples of the world.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

LABOR AND PAPER DONATED.

*2/20/68  
Ted Kiley*

Leaflet circulated by: BLACK CONGRESS, SNCC, SDS, DOW ACTION COMMITTEE and  
INTERNAL REPRESSION COMMITTEE of the PEACE ACTION COUNCIL.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have a summary of what was said by the featured speakers at this rally?

Mr. HARRIS. I do, sir. The first speaker was James Forman, who was a national director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. His statements included the following:

We want to say publicly that we have a mutual defense pact and if you assassinate any of these black leaders, you must be prepared for instant and protractable retribution. We are talking about selective, directive, protractable retributions on police stations, on fire stations, on power plants, on war factories . . . all over this country.

Forman then indicated that a merger of SNCC and the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense had taken effect and that he was attempting to establish "operational unity" leading to a brotherhood of black people.

He admitted that he was the minister of foreign affairs and that Rap Brown was the minister of justice of this new operational unity group.

The next speaker was Bobby Seale who was the chairman of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in Oakland. He stated:

Every black man here must have a shotgun in his home to defend himself and his family against the racist Gestapo police who occupy our community like a foreign troop.

The next speaker was Reies Lopez Tijerina. Tijerina is a leader in a militant Mexican-American group. He stated:

The white man is an enemy of justice, an enemy of mankind, and he is also poisoning the minds of the public.

Tijerina leads the Federal Alliance of Free City-States<sup>1</sup>, an organization that has laid claim to 100 million acres of the Southwest. The group alleges that the U.S. stole this land after the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican War of 1848.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Is that the same Tijerina who was here with the Poor People's March?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir, the same individual. This group has threatened guerrilla warfare in New Mexico. He has been accused of assaulting United States officers in New Mexico.

The next speaker was Ron Karenga, also known as Ronald McKinley Everett. He is the militant leader of US, a black organization. He stated that "black power emanates from political office, community organization, coalition and alliance, and disruption." He advocated the power of disruption and stated, "Bring up controversial issues like the war in Viet Nam . . . , and like all them other things they are doing." He said, "These things have to be brought up to undermine the white man as a very corrupt and vile thing."

Karenga further stated:

Let's talk about how to get white people fighting each other . . . Let them shoot each other; let them march and picket and confront each other, and after it's all finished, we will have a better world.

He stated, "Yeah, we're against violence, right, uh huh, right, but after sundown anything might happen."

<sup>1</sup> Formerly known as Federal Alliance of Land Grants; since known variously as Federation of Free City States, Confederation of Free City States, and Political Confederation of Free City States.

Mr. SMITH. For the record, Mr. Chairman, Ronald McKinley Everett, also known as Ron Karenga, of the organization US was the subject of testimony before this committee on November 30, 1967.

Mr. HARRIS. The next speaker was Rap Brown, who was a national leader of SNCC. He stated:

Black people, if they are going to be free, must begin to seize power. You better get your gun, brother. I don't care if it ain't nothing but a BB gun with poisoned BB's. America has shown us that she don't respect anything but counter force. You've got to arm yourselves. There is no political structure in this country that's relevant to black people. The only politics we can be concerned with is the politics of revolution. This is our country. It was built on our backs by our labor. We've built the country up; we'll burn it down if they don't hurry up and come around. You got to get beyond the racist pig cop, you see, because he is a tool of the man who really controls this system. We not only talking about destroying a power structure—we're talking about ruination of a system. Black people cannot afford to become capitalists.

The next speaker was Stokely Carmichael. He stated generally:

We go to China. We go to Cuba. We go to Africa. We'll go wherever we want to go and if the honkie don't like it, he can go to hell. . . . So that day when we talk about our survival, we do not talk about this country, which is America, which is white people; we talk about our people—nothing else. That's all we care about. If this country burns down to the ground, we rejoice and we dance. . . . It's foolish to assume that the vote is going to do anything for black people. . . . In order to educate our people, it means that we must take over the schools—nothing less—take them over by any means necessary. . . . We need an ideology for us that deals with the problem of racism, which is above exploitation.

In relation to Huey P. Newton, a member of the Black Panther Political Party for Self-Defense in Oakland, Carmichael stated, "If you oft brother Huey, we oft fifteen honkie cops."

Mr. SMITH. What does "oft" mean?

Mr. HARRIS. This means "to kill."

Carmichael continued:

And if anybody in the black community says anything about it, we oft him too. . . . We must organize groups. We must organize groups which will, when they come down against us, have the maximum damage against them and the minimum risk to us. That means we organize little groups. When they oft us, that group oft a number of them. If they get caught, it's a small group. . . . Our major enemy is the honkie. . . . We have people today who are willing to oft (kill). We do not want to oft our own people. . . . But if any black man talks to any honkie about what we do in our own community, we are going to kill him. . . . We must be concerned with our people. The hell with this --- --- country. Let's be concerned with our people.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Harris, were the news media admitted to this rally?

Mr. HARRIS. Not exactly, Mr. Smith. The white news media were offered an opportunity to attend for a fee of \$1,000.

Mr. SMITH. Did anyone pay such a fee?

Mr. HARRIS. No, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Was the rally covered by any other press organization?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir, the *People's World*, the West Coast Communist newspaper, carried an article written by Gene Dennis on Saturday, February 24, 1968, on the front page.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 67" follows:)

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 67

# Stokely, Rap chart 'strategy of survival'

By GENE DENNIS

OAKLAND — A "strategy for black survival" based on a "Black United Front" was the line laid down by militant leaders of the recently merged Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense before a cheering, chanting, large-

ly black crowd of 6,000 in the Oakland Auditorium last Saturday (Feb. 17).

The program outlined by Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, James Forman, and Bobby Seale in the Oakland meeting—and again Sunday afternoon before 4,000 people in Los Angeles — calls for:

- Development of all-class racial unity in the black community, and alliance with Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians.
- International solidarity with the national liberation movements and colored peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
- Recognition of the white power structure and its racist institutions as the main enemy.
- Rejection of socialist and communist ideologies in favor of militant black nationalism grounded in "a communal way of life."
- Armed protection of black communities and maximum retaliation when the ghettos and its leaders are attacked.
- Rejection of electoral action except as an organizing tool.

## ALL-OUT DRIVE

The tenor of both meetings and the content of the program reflects a political shift arising out of the growing conviction in the ghettos that the white power structure is about to launch an all-out drive to exterminate the black community — perhaps beginning this summer.

"The survival of black people," said Carmichael at the meeting, billed as a "Birthday Benefit" for jailed Panther lead-



Jeffrey Blankfort photo

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL IN OAKLAND**  
 "Black nationalism is our ideology . . ."



Los Angeles ★★ Final

Price Ten Cents 

VOL. 31, NO. 8

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1968

er Huey P. Newton, "is our aim — nothing else. We built this country and we're here because we were needed. But when we're no longer needed our people are going to 'disappear' just like the red man who was wiped out by the white man. Look how they are sending our brothers off to die in Vietnam.

"For 413 years our people have resisted. They have resisted so this generation could carry out what must be done."

Brown, who came to California despite a court order confining him to New York City, charged the nation's police with preparing for genocidal attacks on the ghetto.

"Last summer in Watts," he said, "they took 1,000 kids and sent them to a military camp in the country. Next time they may not come back. What are you gonna do then?"

#### NEW TACTICS

"We will meet the repression," said Forman, "with a new strategy, new tactics. We will build a brotherhood of black people to withstand the repression. We need a mass political

party. Us field niggers are getting together.

"We, as a people, are not frightened by the attempts to assassinate our leaders. There will be retribution. We will destroy war factories, blow up police stations, destroy power plants, and take retribution against governors, mayors, and the white pig cops that occupy our community — and if Huey Newton is not set free, the sky's the limit!"

And the crowd roared its approval.

"We are not outnumbered," said Bobby Seale, Panther chairman, "we are outorganized. Now we are going to get down to the nits and the grits. The Black Panther party for Self-Defense is a revolutionary party. Racism must be stopped!"

Seale outlined the Panther's 10-point program for full employment, draft resistance, self-defense, decent housing, meaningful and relevant education, and trial by peers.

"We hate the oppression we live in," he said. "We're tired

*(Continued on back page)*

# Black militants spell out 'survival' strategy

(Continued from page 1)

of the cops beating us over the head . . . Now is the time to put a shotgun in your home."

In both meetings, the black speakers minimized or rejected alliances with whites and addressed themselves to the black section of the audience.

"I will not deny," said Carmichael, "that whites are oppressed. The difference is: they are exploited, we are colonized . . . communism and socialism is not an ideology suited to black people, period. It speaks to the class structure, we're not. We're facing racism. No matter how much money you make you're still a nigger . . .

"We must organize our own people — organize our sweat, our blood, our life for national liberation — and black nationalism is our ideology. We are a beautiful race, our people can do anything!"

Both Carmichael and Brown put down electoral action. Carmichael called the vote "a honky's trick" whose only value was as "an organizing tool to bring our people together."

"The only politics relevant to us," said Brown, "is the politics of revolution . . . the only difference between Lynch'em Johnson and George Wallace is one's wife got cancer.

"There's no such thing as a second class citizen. Either you're free or you're slave . . .

"Chairman Mao says the power is in the barrel of a gun. (Alliance with whites) is a luxury we cannot afford. The man will kill you because you're black.

"There must be a revolution of the dispossessed — the Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and black people. We are the vanguard of that revolution because we are the most dispossessed"



Jeffrey Blankfort photo

## H. RAP BROWN IN OAKLAND

*"We are the vanguard of the revolution . . ."*

### UNITED FRONT

Carmichael called for formation of a Black United Front — "Every Negro is a potential black man . . . we must have an undying love for our people . . . there will be no in-fighting in the black community" — which will "hook up with our 900 million black brothers across the world — in Africa, Asia, and Latin America."

In building black unity and fighting for black liberation, he said, "we must get ready for the marines . . . there will be maximum damage to them and minimum damage to us."

At the Los Angeles meeting in the Sports Arena, Carmichael lashed out against the U.S. State Department's use of passport control to prevent black people from talking with their brothers elsewhere, and insisted no one is going "to stop us from going to China, Cuba, Africa, or any place in South America"

As in Oakland, he scored U.S. aggression in Vietnam and called for the victory of the Vietnamese people.

Sharing the L.A. platform with Carmichael, Brown, Forman, and Seale, were: Reies Tijerina, leader of the Alianza land grant movement; Moctesuma Esparza, United Mexican American Students; Maulana Karenga, US — a black nationalist group; and Walter Bremond, Black Congress.

Karenga repeated the call for black unity on the grounds all blacks are part of the "class of the dispossessed," and urged the Natl. Asñn. for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, and others to build black unity congresses across the nation.

### THE THE DISPOSSESSED

Tijerina won the support of the overwhelmingly black audience as he spoke of "a deep communication between your faces and my heart."



HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 67—Continued

He called the U.S. pretense of fighting for democracy in Vietnam "a rotten lie," and called on "all good whites" to join the blacks, Indians and Mexicans to reshape American society.

In Oakland, Peace and Freedom party leader Bob Avakian told the crowd, "Black people have forced us to face the reality of what America is all about. Black people are the vanguard and our inspiration. Watch us with a suspicious eye and see if we don't deliver."

Charles Garry, Newton's attorney, predicted the Panther would be found "not guilty" if tried by "an impartial jury of his peers."

Ron Dellums, black member of the Berkeley city council, told the Oakland meeting, "Not only are Huey's rights and his life at stake — but so are those of every black man, woman and child. Every black politician must now stand up and say where he is."

#### RESOLUTION DUE

Dellums said he was introducing a resolution before the city

council Tuesday (Feb. 20) demanding Newton "be freed immediately."

Eldridge Cleaver, Panther minister of information and chairman of the Oakland meeting, announced Newton definitely would be a candidate for Congress in the Seventh Congressional District in the June primary — Whether he runs as a Panther write-in or as a Peace and Freedom candidate remains to be decided, but he will be a candidate.

And it was Cleaver who also made official the SNCC-BPSD merger. Rap Brown, national SNCC chairman, is now the Panther's minister of justice; James Forman, SNCC director of international affairs, is now Panther minister of foreign affairs. And Carmichael, by voice vote of only black participants at the meeting, was proclaimed Prime Minister of Afro-America.

"The merger has taken place," said Forman, "but it will take several months before it is final. The reason for it is unity to withstand the repression."

MR. SMITH. Would this seem to confirm that the *People's World* reporters were admitted to the rally?

MR. HARRIS. It would appear as such. Yes, sir.

MR. SMITH. How many persons attended the rally?

MR. HARRIS. The *People's World* article reported some 4,000 persons, but I feel this is an exaggerated count. My estimate would be closer to 3,000.

MR. SMITH. Would not the fee for the rental of the arena be considerable?

MR. HARRIS. Yes, there would have been required a considerable deposit.

MR. SMITH. Do you know how the deposits were made?

MR. HARRIS. Yes, I do.

MR. SMITH. Please continue, then.

MR. HARRIS. On February 8, 1968, Bobbie Hodges, a young female Negro giving an address of 4227 West 25th Street in Los Angeles and identifying herself as the local chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee at 7228 South Broadway, which, as a matter of interest, is also the headquarters of the Black Congress, presented a letter requesting the use of the Sports Arena on Sunday, February 18, for what she called a "community rally."

She also presented a check in the amount of \$1,500, signed by Ayuko Babu. Babu is Anthony C. Ashley, an officer of the Black Student Union, a member of the National Conference for New Politics, on the national executive board of this group, a guest speaker before the New Left School in Los Angeles, a central committeeman of the Black Panther Political Party, and a participant in many demonstrations in Los Angeles, particularly in anti-Dow Chemical Company agitation at Cal-State, L.A.

Ashley is a male Negro, born 16 July 1943 in Amarillo, Texas. I have here a copy of the letter prepared by Bobbie Hodges, a copy of the check presented by Mrs. Hodges for Ayuko Babu, and some documentation on Babu.

MR. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request these documents be received for the record.

MR. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 68-A, B, and C," respectively. Exhibit 68-C retained in committee files; 68-A and B follow:)

Rec'd approx 1:00 pm

Feb. 8, 1967

4227 W. 25th

734-1039 → home

7228 S. Broadway - office  
753-1265

Mr. Mahr

We are requesting the use of the Sports Arena for Sun., Feb. 18 (3-6 PM) for a community rally. The speakers will be Stokely Carmichael, Louis Tigerener, Rev. Kilgore and Betty Shabazz. The fund will go to a legal defense fund. Tickets will be sold for

- \$ 1.50 - students
- \$ 2.00 - welfare
- \$ 3.00 - general.

Revised sentence?

Inclosed is a check in the amount of \$1,500.00. Because of time limitations, your immediate attention would be appreciated.

Lobbie Hodges

L.A. S.N.C.C.

Non-violent  
Coordinating Officer

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 68-B

DATE	AMOUNT

BY ENDORSEMENT THIS CHECK WHEN PAID IS ACCEPTED IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT

2 SIGNATURES REQUIRED

PAY TO THE ORDER OF L. A. Coliseum Comm. \$ 1,500.00

Feb 8 1948 18-840 1822

fifteen hundred and no DOLLARS

Bank of Finance  
2651 SOUTH WESTERN AVENUE at 27th  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Rayko Baber

⑆1222⑆0840⑆ 01⑆068⑆272⑆ ⑆0000⑆50000⑆

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Harris, who are the individuals who furnished the money for the appearance of these speakers?

Mr. HARRIS. One of the individuals was identified as John Pratt. He gave a check to Walter Bremond, the chairman of the Black Congress, in the amount of \$1,000 drawn on the Security First National Bank, Fifth and Bixel Branch, Los Angeles. I have a copy of that check.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request the document be received into the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.  
(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 69" follows:)

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 69

JOHN M. PRATT

Feb 14 1948 18-258 625

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Walter Bremond \$ 1,000

One thousand and xx/100 DOLLARS

FIFTH & BIXEL BRANCH  
SECURITY FIRST NATIONAL BANK  
121 WEST 5TH STREET  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Walter Bremond

⑆1225⑆0358⑆0008⑆ 016 147⑆

Mr. HARRIS. I also have a copy of a cashier's check in the amount of \$2,000, drawn on the Lincoln Savings and Loan Association at 6211 Hollywood Boulevard, Hollywood, California. The remitter in this instance was Helen Travis of 6324 Primrose Avenue, L.A.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.  
(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 70" follows:)

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 70

**LINCOLN SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION**  
6211 HOLLYWOOD BLVD.  
HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA 90028

G5-006892 16-77  
1220

DATE February 16, 1958 \$ 2,000.00

**PAY** TO THE ORDER OF  
\* Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum

Remitter: Helen Travis  
6324 Primrose Ave.  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90028

UNION BANK

LOS ANGELES DOWNTOWN REGIONAL HEAD OFFICE UNION BANK LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

LINCOLN SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION  
Dorcas S. D. Moll, PRESIDENT  
Mary A. [Signature], CASHIER

FEB 19 1958

⑆0000200000⑆

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, for the record, information from the committee files indicate that Helen Travis has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in testimony by Milton Santwire on August 4, 1955. Mrs. Travis formerly wrote for the Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, under the name of Maxine Levi.

On August 30, 1950, the committee interrogated her regarding evidence that she had transferred \$3,700 to a money drop in Mexico City in an effort to finance the release of a Stalinist agent who had been imprisoned for the murder of Leon Trotsky. Mrs. Travis invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions regarding these activities, in which she had been engaged under the name of Helen Levi Simon.

Mr. HARRIS. I also have a copy of a \$10,000 cashier's check made payable to the [L.A.] Memorial Coliseum Commission by Kenneth W. Rottger. This check was given to coliseum officials by Walter Bremond. I would like to introduce that one.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 71" follows:)

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 71

WILSHIRE & CRENSHAW BRANCH  
SECURITY FIRST NATIONAL BANK  
4181 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

No. 672062

DATE Feb. 16, 1968

18-366  
1223

PAY TO THE ORDER OF - - L. A. Memorial Coliseum Commission - - -

\$ 10,000.00

TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS AND 00/100

DOLLARS

CASHIERS CHECK

*Walter Bremond*

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

⑆1223⑉0366⑆172⑉ 560 201⑈

⑈0001000000⑈

Mr. HARRIS. With reference to that latest exhibit there, I also have a letter dated the 21st of February 1968, wherein the receipt of this money is signed for by Kenneth Rottger, and a copy of a letter directed to the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum Commission, where the rally was held, which instructs them to return the \$10,000 check to Kenneth Rottger.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request these documents be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 72 and 73," respectively, follow:)

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 72

February 21, 1968

Receipt is hereby acknowledged for return of Ten Thousand Dollar (\$10,000.00) deposit made in accordance with Paragraph #26 of License and Operating Agreement #310, by and between Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum Commission and Walter Bremond.

Said monies returned by check payable to Walter Bremond and Kenneth W. Rottger.

Signed *Kenneth W. Rottger*

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 73

February 16, 1968

Los Angeles, Ca.

Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum Commission  
Los Angeles, Ca.

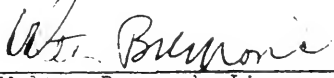
Contract for rent of L.A.  
Sports Arena, Sunday,  
2-18-68, by Walter  
Bremond, Licensee.

Dear Sirs:

This letter is to instruct you to return the bond of Ten Thousand Dollars (\$10,000.00) herewith paid to you, upon completion of the conditions for which the bond was posted, to:

Kenneth W. Rottger  
4031 Wilshire Blvd.  
Los Angeles, Ca. 90005.

Signed:

  
Walter Bremond, Licensee

Accepted: L.A. Memorial Coliseum Commission

By: \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. HARRIS. Kenneth Rottger has also been identified as a member of the board of directors of the Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research. I have here a copy of a document from the Department of State of California, Division of Corporation Records, dated November 25, 1966, which was filed by that organization, and it shows the purpose of the group is "to accumulate and make available material on the subject of Marxism and related and associated subjects to all scholars and students interested in the subject."

These incorporation papers reflect that the directors of this corporation are Robert W. Kenny at 1557 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles; J. Stuart Innerst of 5840 Camino de la Costa, La Jolla, California; John Caughey of 1897 Mango Way in Los Angeles; Emil Freed of 9031½ South Orange Grove Avenue in Los Angeles; and Kenneth W. Rottger.

Robert W. Kenny is currently a superior court judge in Los Angeles who has a long record of Communist-front group activities. I would like to introduce this.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request the document be received in the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 74" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to enter for the record information from the committee's files about Emil Freed. He has been active in the Communist Party since 1934. In 1938 and 1940 he was a candidate for Congress from California's 15th Congressional District on the Communist Party ticket. In 1943 he was a member of the machinists' branch, Communist Party, and in 1944 a member of the California State Commission on State Leadership. In 1945 he was a member of the California State Committee of the Communist Party. He is, by occupation, a professional Communist.

Mr. SMITH. Will you further identify John Pratt?

Mr. HARRIS. John Pratt is an attorney, not licensed to practice law in California, but who maintains offices at 1411 West Olympic Boulevard, Suite 501, in Los Angeles. He is the executive director of the Commission on Race and Religion, Southern California Council of Churches.

He has been identified as a deputy registrar and sponsor of the Peace and Freedom Party in California and was a sponsor of the Peace Action Council rally of June 23, 1967.<sup>1</sup>

He has been advertised as a guest speaker at the First Open Air Symposium on Political Action which was sponsored by the New Left School in Los Angeles, which is a Marxist-oriented school [Exhibit No. 75].

He also testified in a "hearing" which was sponsored by the Southern California Committee on Vietnam Hearings. I have an excerpt from the Los Angeles *People's World* of Saturday, December 2, 1967, identifying him as a speaker at this latter hearing [Exhibit No. 76].

I also have a list of sponsors of the Peace and Freedom Party and a list of their deputy registrars [Exhibit No. 77].

I have a copy of a Peace Action Council publication which advertises the Friday, June 23, 1967, antiwar demonstration at the Century Plaza Hotel in Century City, wherein he is mentioned [Exhibit No. 78].

Also, John Pratt, as a representative of the Southern California Council of Churches, assisted in the dispatching of the contingent of Los Angeles persons to participate in the Poor People's March in Washington, D.C. I have here an excerpt from the *Los Angeles Times* of 5-9-68. It indicates that those travelers from Los Angeles will be quartered in private homes or hotel rooms arranged by the Southern California Council of Churches and that John Pratt, representing this group, said the churches have set up a nationwide Telex system for use of the travelers so that each bus can be tracked at all times by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headquarters in Los Angeles [Exhibit No. 79].

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request these documents be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Harris Exhibits Nos. 75 through 79," respectively. Exhibits 75, 76, and 79 retained in committee files. Exhibits 77 and 78 appear on pages 1839-1843.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Harris, do you have knowledge of the background of Kenneth Rottger?

<sup>1</sup> Johnson demonstration, Century Plaza Hotel.



Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir. I know that Kenneth Rottger was born on October 30, 1906, in New York. He is a sponsor of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, now known as the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, and operates a bail bond office for the latter committee in Los Angeles.

He was the writer of a letter, along with his wife, Betty Rottger, opposing United States policy in South Vietnam on August 9, 1964, which letter was printed in the *Congressional Record* of August 13, 1964, at the request of Senator Morse.

Mr. SMITH. Is Helen Travis further known to you?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir, her name is Helen Maxine Levi Simon Travis. She is married to Robert Carroll Travis and was born September 3, 1916, in New York City. She is the current publisher and distributor of a newspaper called *Counterdraft*, which is an antidraft publication in Los Angeles. I have a copy of it here.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request the document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSIL. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 80" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. HARRIS. She has been publicly identified as a member of the Communist Party and has been identified with many Communist Party fronts.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Harris, to your knowledge, were there many known leaders of the Communist Party, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, or similar groups in attendance at the rally that you described a few moments ago?

Mr. HARRIS. There were, sir. But I have one more document I would like to show you in regard to Helen Travis. She is an instructor at the New Left School in Los Angeles, which I have mentioned heretofore. She is shown as the former chairman of the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and it indicates that she is a professional instructor in the "techniques of planning, designing and producing effective leaflets for community organizing, organizational bulletins, newsletters and tabloids."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSIL. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 81." See pages 1844-1847.)

Mr. HARRIS. Now in regard to your earlier question, there were identified at the rally on February 18 the following persons: Dan Bessie, Ben Dobbs, Sarah Dorner, Rose Chernin Kusnitz, Bob Duggan, Emil Freed, Arnold Manuel Hoffman, Michael Laski, Frank and Jean Pestana, Robert Arthur Nieman, Irving Sarnoff, Frank Spector, Allen Zak, John Wesley Harris, Donald Wheeldin, William C. Taylor, Charles H. Mosley, Reverend Stephen Fritchman, Kenneth and Elizabeth Rottger, Frank Wilkinson, Tassia Freed.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, 17 of the people named by the witness have been identified or are professed officials or members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., or other Communist Party organizations. Another has invoked the fifth amendment before this committee.

Permission is requested to place background data from the committee's files into the record on these individuals.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, such request is granted.

(Document marked "Harris Exhibit No. 82." See pages 1848-1850.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, that ends my interrogation of the witness.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Harris, I want to say on behalf of our committee that we are indeed grateful for your coming to testify and I feel, as one member of this committee, the testimony that you have given here today will be a great help in the safeguarding of your country.

We are very grateful to you, sir.

Mr. HARRIS. Thank you, Mr. Roudebush.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. If you have nothing else to say, Mr. Harris, we will dismiss you.

Thank you, sir.

\* \* \* \* \*

Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., Friday, June 28, 1968, the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Harris Exhibits Nos. 77, 78, 81, and 82 introduced on pages 1836-1838 follow:)

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<sup>1</sup>The subcommittee then continued with the testimony of Edward S. Montgomery on the subject of the San Francisco riot.

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 77

## HOW TO REGISTER INTO THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY

1 If you either are already registered to vote in California or are eligible to register and vote, go to any deputy registrar of voters. There are hundreds of such deputy registrars in the county many have tables set up in stores, parks, public buildings, but if you can't find one then go to your city hall or else call PEACE AND FREEDOM headquarters (399-2018). By law, any deputy registrar who is registering *some* people must register *all* eligible people who come to him at that time.

2 If you are already registered to vote, tell the deputy registrar that you wish to *re-register* in order to change political affiliation. If you are not registered now, tell the deputy registrar that you wish to register to vote.

3 Registration takes only a few minutes. The deputy registrar asks you for information on your name, address, and so on, and writes down your answers.

**MOST IMPORTANT:** When the deputy registrar asks you to state your political affiliation, answer **"PEACE AND FREEDOM."** Do not give any other name. For example, even if you are now registered as a Democrat, do not answer "Democrat." Do not answer Independent. Be sure to answer **"PEACE AND FREEDOM."**

4 When registration is done, the deputy registrar gives you a voter's stub with your name, address, occupation, and political affiliation. Be sure your political affiliation is given as **PEACE AND FREEDOM. IF IT IS NOT YOU ARE NOT REGISTERED IN THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY.**

### (PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS)

(Profession or Organization for Identification Only)

Hursel W. Alexander	Prof. A. E. Hurd, UCLA	Edward Moritz, Jr., Teacher
Pat Arnold, Valley Peace Center	Robert Ignega, Writer	Robert Carter McDaniel, Attorney
Roger Barkley, June 23rd Movement	Bruce Ingram	Dr. Robert Niamann, UCLA
Sylvia Barkley, Political Prisoner (FSM)	Jay Jamieson, Poet	Sherman Pearl, Coordinator, Angry Arts
William Beasley, PAC Executive Member	Prof. Lawrence C. Jorgensen	Frank Pestana, Attorney
Mark Billing	Joe Karpak	Alice Powell
Barbara Britton, Draft Counselor	Arnold K. Kaye, Editor, <i>New West</i>	Richard M. Powell, Writer
Charles Britton, Photographer	Ronald Kenner, Journalist	John H. Pratt
Prof. Robert Brodsky, UCLA	Jean Kidwell, Attorney	Michael Reclam
Paul Brooks	Lin Kissane, Probation Officers Union (President)	Guy Saperstein
Evelyn Brodsky	Gordon L. L. Allemand	Prof. C. Wade Savage, UCLA
Hilbert Babar, Attorney	David Lawrence, F. O. R.	Mario Savio, Political Prisoner (FSM)
Prof. Andrew Charwitz, UCLA	Winona Schlihs, Teacher	Robert Schwarzc, Language Processing Researcher
Woodrow Coleman, N. V. A. C.	John P. Seward	Ralph Shroyer, Teacher
Geneva C. Copeland	Stephanie Furniss	William G. Smith, Attorney
Gerald Copeland	William H. Smith, Jr., Engineer	Bob Stewart, Watts Action Committee
Harry B. Domaganos, M. D., USC	Don Long	Jon Tavast, Social Worker
John DeWane	Richard R. Clark, Student	Charleen Thygeson, Social Worker
Thomas M. Donphy	Margaret Feigin, Welfare Administrator	Jack Weinberg, Political Prisoner (FSM)
Paul Emmer, War Resisters League	Lynn Porter, Vietnam Summer Project	Prof. Josaph Weinstein, UCLA
Mary E. Fabanks	Felix Anthony	Silvia Wolf
Judith Ford	Erene Anthony	Frank Wolfe, Editor, <i>Provo</i>
Donald Freed, Teacher	Ruth Shapin, Orange County Peace Center	Curtis Zahn, Writer, Artist
Tony Gallesque	Carl Swallow, Teacher	Richard Zariow
John G. Gould, June 23rd Movement	Dr. Frank Lindenfeld	Bob Ellsworth
E. Daniel Gray, N. V. A. C.	Steve Lippman, Student	Roselyn Katz, Angry Arts
Marvin Grayson, Artist	John D. Mallett, Mathematician	Dr. Charles P. Sohner, El Camino College
Edgar Greenstein	Hugh Manes, Attorney	Howard Feldman, SCNP Steering Com- mittee
John Gary, Coordinator, New Politics	Jane Marcus	Paul Landwehr
Jack Hampton	Dr. Michael Marcus	Richard Sullivan
Michael Hannon, Attorney	Deena Metzger, Poet	
Fred Hoffman		

1840 SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 77—Continued

LOS ANGELES COUNTY PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY  
REGISTRATION DRIVE

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE  
Address and Home List

CHAIRMAN OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

Michael L. Schon

Home address - 1140 S. Pasadena Ave., Pasadena, 91105, phone SY 9-8859

Office address - California Institute of Technology, Pasadena

phone HU 1-7171 ext. 1082

VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

H. REED Metzger, M.D.

Office address - 4120 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles 90019 phone RE 1-0707

if no answer call RE 1-2101

DIRECTOR OF FINANCE

Tom Morrison

Home address - 20710 Pacific Coast Highway., Malibu phone 456-2964

DIRECTOR OF PUBLICITY

Sherman Pearl

Home address - 423 Baystreet, Venice phone 396-8800

FIELD DIRECTOR FOR EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT

John Haag

Home address - 912 Pacific Avenue, Venice, 90291 phone 392-2892

WEEK COMMUNITY ORGANIZER

Woodrow Colburn

Home address - 4163 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 90011 phone AD 2-9618  
or 588-6006

OFFICE MANAGER

Daphne Mahone

Home address - 826 Angelus Place, Venice 90291 - phone 3925811

DIRECTOR OF REGISTRATIONS

Ed Pearl

Home address - 2707 6th St. phone EX 2-1886

or Ash Grove - 8162 Melrose Ave. phone QL 3-2070

LEGAL ADVISOR AND DIRECTOR OF LEGAL SERVICES

Michael Hannon

Home address - 2026 Redesdale St., Los Angeles 90039 ph

Office address - 1725 W. Beverly Blvd, L.A. 90024 phop

## SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING 1841

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 77--Continued

FILE 12/15/67

90404	Denis Gillman	1847 1/2 12th St.	EX5-8050
90405	Mary Johnson	2519 1/2 4th St. S.M.	396-6315
90405	Karun Nelson	611 1/2 Ocean Park, SM	399-3784
90405	Jennifer Thomas	525 A Pico S.M.	399-1021
90405	Larry Baptist	609 Ashland S.M.	396-2362
90405	Larry Dee Pearson	622 Ashland S.M.	EX9-5566
90405	John Williams	2708 3rd St. S.M.	399-5072
90405	Barbara Zaleska	124 C Pacific	396-9194
90405	Rosemary Reich	2405 34th St. S.M.	392-4778
90405	Ruth Steward	2011 - D Ocean Park S.M.	396-6524
90405	Ethyl Chamberlin	2702 6th St. S.M.	EX6-3025
90405	Colleen Kirby	2536 5th St. #2	399-8787
90405	Robert Schwarz	2501 Pico Blvd. S.M.	451-0973
90405	Ed Pearl	3707 6th St. SM	EX2-1886
90501	Mike Herrera	2424 Gramercy Ave., Torrance	328-6479
90606	Fern Palmer	7716 Westmen Ave., Whittier	OX9-5935
90731	Laraine Arian	1919 S. Cabrillo, San Pedro	832-3411
91001	Carol Sarkisran	319 W. Ventura	791-1495
91001	Franna Hurley	297 Loma Alta, Altadena	797-4322
91024	Martha Vidican	664 Holly Trail Path, Sierra Madre	355-7589
91024	Duane Madde	<sup>900</sup> Sturdevant, Sierra Madre	355-6317
91024	John Allen	255 N. Hermosa, Sierra Madre	EL5-6820
91024	Don Barnett	375 E. Grandview Ave., Sierra Madre	355-7597
91024	Tulita Allen	255 N. Hermosa, Sierra Madre	EL5-6820
91040	Holly Obar	8220 Grenoble, Sunland	353-5773
91042	John <u>Pratt</u>	6243 Blanchard Canyon Rd Dyinga	
91103	Don Hoffman	1777 Oxford, Pasadena	797-8186
91103	Raoul Savoie	657 Prospect, Pasadena	792-4315

# STOP World War III NOW...

## while there is time.

"We march to dramatize the world-wide hope that the United States remove its troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese can determine their own future in their own way." A.J. Muste

Friday, June 23, Pres. Johnson is coming to L.A. to witness a massive anti-war demonstration at the Century Plaza Hotel, Century City.

- 12 noon: Student Mobilization Committee "Peace-In"  
Cheviot Hills Park
- 6 p.m.: Assembly for March  
Cheviot Hills Park
- 7 p.m.: March and Rally  
Century Plaza Hotel

Cheviot Hills Park is located on Motor Ave., 1/2 block south of Pico Blvd. Century Plaza Hotel is located on the Avenue Of The Stars, one block east of Motor Ave., between Pico Blvd. and Santa Monica Blvd.  
The march route will be from the park to the hotel.

nationally prominent speakers  
and entertainers.

We demand an immediate end to the war in Vietnam  
an end to the senseless slaughter of thousands of GI's  
an end to the mass murder of Vietnamese

We request that you wear white, the Asian color of mourning,  
and black armbands to mourn American deaths.

As the war cruelly destroys in Vietnam, so it denies hope to millions in the United States. The need for decent homes, quality education, jobs and fair employment are brushed aside. Our cities smother in smoke and grime, strangle in traffic. Our slums continue to rot. Streams and rivers are polluted, and the very air we breathe is fouled. Our vast wealth could in a short time eliminate these ills. It goes instead to murder and destroy. War contracts and the draft corrupt our campuses and laboratories. And, as the war continues the ultimate danger of nuclear holocaust hangs over all.

---

*If you receive more than one copy, pass it on.*

**Tell LBJ:**

**Stop World War III  
NOW!**

**End the war  
in Vietnam**

**Demonstrate**

**June 23**

**Century City**



**Sponsors (Partial List), Supporting Organizations:**

- Dina Adler
- Shirley P. Albert
- M. D. Allen
- Charles Amiel
- V. Alton
- Shirley G. Ashwood
- Gabrielle M. M.D.
- Yvonne Astor
- E. J. Baker
- Heleen M. Beardsley
- William Beasley
- Linda Beck
- E. Kenneth Bennett
- M. Paul Berg
- Everett Bevilacqua, C.P.A.
- S. Beckwith
- Jim Berland
- Murray Berlin
- Linda Berkland
- Blaine Ne. Ruffington
- Frank Berwa
- Edward Biderman
- Rexus Blumen
- Pauline M. Braunhard
- Thomas J. Brubard Jr.
- George Brulow
- Paul Bruce Brand
- John T. Brinkworth
- Walter Bronk, M.D.
- Sylvia H. Brinker
- Janet Brown
- Arnold Browne
- Frank Ruh
- Harriet Bulha
- Mrs. Anne Butts
- Mrs. E. W. Butts
- Frank B. Butts
- Frances M. Calabrese
- Maxine Calabrese
- W. J. Calabrese
- Sylvia Calabrese
- Ralph C. Carrick
- Margot Elaine Caplan
- Pyot Margot Charonik
- Janet Charonik
- Clampolter Ch. Jensen
- Annette Ching
- Montague Chivers, M.D.
- Bruce Clark
- Jeff Clark
- Mrs. Ann Cox
- Norma Coxwell
- Walter C. Cozzach
- J. W. Cummings
- Spahn Davidson
- Beatrice Davis
- Mrs. Lillian E. Day
- Alta DeLano
- David Dinnin
- Eugene A. Dixon
- Mrs. Alice Edgerum
- Hugh Eichel
- Stephen K. Egan
- A. J. Everett
- Milton Esher
- Arthur Fendley
- Joseph Fisher
- Alan E. Flanagan
- Annelle Flinn M.D.
- Leslie A. Flint
- Patricia Flint
- Paul A. M. Flitth
- Mauch Frenn
- Dorothy Fry
- Genevieve F. Fox
- Barbara Franks
- Justin A. Frank M.D.
- Dr. and Mrs. Robert V. Freeman
- Jay W. Friedman D.D.S.
- Tamara Furush
- Mrs. Rudolph Gattner
- Halmon A. Geer
- Robert S. Geer
- Robert S. Gilbert D.D.S.
- Mrs. Judith Glass
- J. Robert Clark
- H. Goddard
- Caroline Goldman
- Malvin M. Goldstein
- Harriet Gordon
- Robert Gordon, M.D.
- Carol Gottlieb
- Julian Green
- Robert J. Greenfield
- Robert J. Greengard
- Margaret Gustafson
- Charles A. Harner
- Gene Hall
- Marlin Hall
- Hugh J. Hamilton
- Willard Hager
- Fifth Anne Harris
- Linda Harris
- Don L. Head
- Sidney Helfman
- Boston Heery
- LeRoy Heussenstamm
- Max Heussenstamm
- Leah B. Hirsch
- John Hirsch
- Mrs. A. M. S. Hochheiser
- W. J. Hogg
- Anne Marie Horne
- Mrs. Zu Hoor
- Robert C. James
- Elizabeth Janicek
- Elizabeth Joback
- Alvin P. Joyce
- Clarence C. Joyce
- Bernard Judge
- Maurice L. Adams M.D.
- Tully B. Kagan
- Donald Kaitch
- Rose Kaufman
- Nancy Keeler
- Mrs. Abraham B. Keller
- Phyllis M. Krenbeger
- George A. Kropf
- Stanley A. Kropf
- Rosy Komovsky
- Raphael Kopfer
- Walter Kofke
- Mrs. Zelda Kofsky
- Lawrence S. Koffi
- Margot Koffi
- Anne Lankster
- Mrs. M. S. David Landy
- David Lawrence
- Robert M. Ledger
- Ben Lewis
- Imagid Lepel
- Arthur Leon
- Mrs. Edward Levine
- Arthur & Raymond Lillard
- Max Light
- Carol M. Litten
- Max McCarrill
- Helen McDonald
- Russell M. McKnight
- Mrs. Clara Melan

Peace Action Council, 555 N. Western Ave.  
Los Angeles, Calif. 90004 — HO 2-8188

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City & State \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

- I can offer housing
- I need housing
- I can help build the demonstration, call me.
- Enclosed is my contribution.

The Peace Action Council of Southern California announces its Vietnam Summer plans and organizing drive to begin full force immediately following June 23. We ask all affiliated organizations and individual supporters to start planning now to support and work with us this summer to create the greatest pressure on the administration to date for an end to the war in Vietnam.

- Albert Maltz
- Jon Mandel
- Seymour Mandel
- Vanham A. Markau
- Mollie Martin
- John B. Mason
- Mrs. Gladys Matlow
- Dr. David Measur
- Frances Meason
- Taylor Meason
- Wei Menka
- Simon & Joan Mendelson
- Deena Metzger
- H. Reed Metzger, M.D.
- Dorothy B. Miummich
- William Morris
- Donald Morton
- Mrs. M. E. D. Morton
- Hyman Moskowitz
- Mrs. Edith M. Moulder
- Charles A. Muehling
- Charles Neizer
- Edward Nemer
- Carlton Nemer
- John M. Newby Jr.
- Theo Newman
- Dorothy Newman
- Frederick M. Nicholas
- April Nicolson, M.D.
- Irene Nigard
- Dale Lewis Oderman
- Sharon L. Oderman
- Bennet Ojan
- Harold Orr
- Preston D. Orem
- Paul W. Orr
- Violet Orr
- Genevieve H. Oslund
- Mrs. Clare W. Palmer
- Joseph Papp
- Jack A. Papp
- John W. Parke
- Mrs. Alice Powell
- Richard M. Powell
- John H. Pratt
- Sandra Pratt
- Charles M. Pratt
- Drew F. Putnam
- Ann Radu
- John Radu
- Caroline Reed
- Richard Register
- Saul Reider
- Junya Riene
- Henry Riley
- Wilson T. Roemer, M.D.
- David L. Rosen
- Joan Ross
- Nancy Rosser
- Max Roth
- Bette Rotter
- Kenneth W. Rotter
- Sylvia Rubinman
- Alan Ruppelberg
- Ann Rush
- John M. Rush
- John Sager
- Michael Saltz
- Ease Saltz
- Marion Sampler
- Emma Saxon
- Faul Schachter
- Pauline G. Schindler
- Mrs. Beatrice M. Schoen
- Dr. Max H. Schoen
- Harold One
- Albert M. Schopf
- Dr. Max H. Schopf, M.D.
- Roan B. Schudenberg
- Robert J. Schwartz, Ph.D.
- William Scott
- Mr. & Mrs. Franklin E. Schriener
- Evelyn F. Segal, Ph.D.
- Jo Seidita
- Nicholas V. Seidite
- Nezari Seidite
- Eve Sandson
- Leonard L. Shanken
- Mr. & Mrs. Lynn Shoemaker
- Martha Silverstein
- Ray L. Simpson
- Don Smith
- James H. Smith
- Professor Bernard J. Somers
- Leonora Somers
- Mr. & Mrs. Sidney Spiegel
- Edith K. Springer
- H. A. Stanger
- Levin Stern
- Gene Stone
- Clayton L. Stouffer
- Mrs. Nina Stuber
- Erma D. Thompson
- Marion Trager
- Dorothy J. Tomblin
- William Tost
- Jane E. Trivers
- Paul H. Trivers
- Evelyn Wilson
- Mrs. Rose Volmer
- Melon Vost
- Fred Walsh
- Anna Walters
- Donald C. Wheeler
- A. M. White
- Brian D. White
- Ruth E. Wieman
- Frank Wilkinson
- Jo Wilkinson
- David C. Wilson
- S. Wells
- David E. Wolrich
- Stanko Felch
- Edith S. Zerbis

# 1844 SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

## HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 81

### FACULTY - FALL 1967

MIKE AGNELLO

Musicologist and conductor; director of the Neo-Renaissance Singers.

CHARLES BRITTON

Photographer and designer for civil rights and peace movement action in Los Angeles area for past five years.

BEN DOBBS

Organizational Secretary, CPUSA, Southern California District

PIERRE MANDEL

Veteran Labor and community organizer. School coordinator.

ED MORITZ

One of the initiators of Southern Californians for New Politics; instructor in humanities - socio-political science; active member SDS.

JERRY PALMER

Radio Amateur, Ph D candidate in medical-physics at UCLA; active in the Vietnam Day Committee and SDS at UCLA.

ARLEENE RICHARDS

Student of Martha Graham; attended Julliard School of Music.

WILLIAM G. SMITH

Attorney and Secretary of California Chapter of National Lawyer's Guild. Member of the California State Bar and the Bar of U S Supreme Court.

LEVIS J. STOWEMAN

Director of the Marxist-Leninist Emancipation Circle.

HELEN S. TRAVIS

Journalist; former chairman of Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee

MIKE YUEFF

Graduate teaching assistant, UCLA, and teacher of Russian & Chinese.

DON WHEELDIN

Past chairman of Pasadena CORE.

### STATEMENT OF PURPOSES

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL is a non-sectarian, socialist-oriented institution founded to enrich the dialogue among thinking Americans. Welcoming all who seek new answers to today's questions, its intention is to go beyond existing educational programs by focusing on problems inherent in present society and on solutions alternative to those of the power structure.

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL takes the position that free inquiry exists only when the examination of such alternatives is possible. The School consequently rejects narrow approaches, and affirms the validity of all serious socialist thought. Its faculty represents diverse - and often conflicting - ideological positions; its student body will include both socialists and those wishing to examine socialist thought.

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL is intended to fill a gap in existing education, serving those whose criticism of economic privation, of racial injustice and of the quality of life in a mass society has led them to a desire to understand the nature of present society and the possibilities of social change.

For further information write to: NEW LEFT SCHOOL c/o Pierre Mandel P O Box 29069, L A 90029 or call 661-1448. Advance Enrollment accepted by mail with accompanying check. TUITION: Employed \$ 14. Student \$ 6.00 Unemployed \$ 2.50, and all additional classes \$ 2.00. Financial help and scholarship contributions are urgently needed as well as volunteers in all areas of planning and research.



HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 81—Continued

PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT AND OBLIGATION TO PARTICIPATE IN SHAPING THE DECISIONS AND THE CONDITIONS OF ECONOMIC POLITICAL AND CULTURAL EXISTENCE WHICH AFFECTS THEIR LIVES AND DESTINIES.

THIS THEME IS NOT NEW, BUT IT HAS ACQUIRED A NEW URGENCY AND CONCRETENESS IN THE RADICAL ACTION MOVEMENTS OF THE SIXTIES. IT HAS BECOME THE UNIFYING POINT OF MORAL REFERENCE IN THE OPPOSITION TO THE CORPORATE STATE, IN THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT, IN THE CRITIQUE OF AUTOCRACY AND PATERNALISM IN THE UNIVERSITY, IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLES OF BLACK PEOPLE, MEXICAN AMERICAN PEOPLE, THE POOR PEOPLE, LABOR, THE PEOPLE ON RELIEF, THE UNEMPLOYED.

**THE  
MURDER  
OF  
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**  
Los Angeles

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 81—Continued

ORGANIZING SKILLS .

DRAFT COUNSELING AND RESISTANCE

Historic background of the development of drafted armies. History of early draft resistance. The development of conscientious objection. The meaning of pacifism. Past and present movements for the abolition of the draft. New methods in the fight against the draft.

Analysis of current draft laws. Deferments or exemptions - students or occupational - dependency and hardship - C. O. exemptions - medical and psychiatric - and non-cooperation exemption methods.

William G. Smith - Instructor

LEAFLET AND PAMPHLET WRITING - MEDIA RELATIONS

The techniques of planning, designing and producing effective leaflets for community organizing, organizational bulletins, newsletters and tabloids. The skill of writing news releases for newspapers, newscasts and other forms of communication.

Helen S. Travis - Instructor

GRAPHIC DESIGN - PHOTOGRAPHY - FILMS & EXHIBIT WORKSHOP

Designing for effective leaflet and pamphlet printing - Poster design - Newspaper and magazine photography - Printing types and layout - Newsreels and short film making - Planning and producing traveling panel exhibits (history of the civil rights movement, political action, etc.)

Charles Britton - Instructor

ELECTRONICS WORKSHOP

Basic electronics, radio communications and electronic countermeasures with application to the needs of the movements.

Jerry Palmer - Instructor

KARATE

Art of self-defense

Mike Yueff - Instructor

RESEARCH WORKSHOP

Methods and skills of scientific research to serve the needs of community organization, campaigns, and organizing drives. Radical research for new conceptual and visionary perspectives. The formation and building of a research library. Collection of oral documentation.

Pierre Mandel - Instructor

HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 81—Continued

CONCEPTUAL

MARKSISM

Introductory course giving a survey of the Marxist understanding of Philosophy, History, Political economy of social change and understanding present society. Provides necessary vocabulary and foundation for further study.

Ben Dobbs - Instructor

ORIGIN, IMPACT AND NATURE OF RACISM IN THE U.S.

Racial basis of slavery. Institutionalized racism. Racism - a tool of imperialism. Racism and sex, labor, religion, inter-racial relationships. The dehumanizing factor of racism in American society. Anglo-Saxon superiority. The role of white radicals vs. racism; Parallel and/or United action in white communities of America. Build humanizing and civilizing committees.

TBA

COMMUNAL LIVING

Past, present, and future human action and interaction in communal living. Experimental, provocative tests of human attitudes.

Mike Agnello - Instructor

HISTORY OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENTS

History of the Anarchists Movements from their philosophical, psychological, and literary sources to contemporary organizations such as SDS, Provo, and Catholic Workers Movement. Depth study of great thinkers such as Godwin, Thoreau, Bakunin, Malatesta, and Goodman. Close attention to the SAI-CNT in Spain, the IWW in the U.S., and Russian, Italian, and French movements.

Ed Moritz - Instructor

PEOPLE'S WARFARE

Early Slave Revolts - Early Guerilla Warfare. Why, When and How of armed struggle. Theories of Revolution. The Russian experience. The rich experience of the Chinese Revolution. The Thought of Mao. European Guerilla Warfare and Resistance. The Cuban experience and Che Guevara. Urban Guerilla Warfare in U.S. Revolution on the African continent. Comparisons of theories of Guerilla Warfare.

Lewis Stoneham - Instructor

## HARRIS EXHIBIT No. 82

## DANIEL BESSIE

Daniel Bessie served as chairman of various Labor Youth League clubs in the Santa Monica, Calif., area in the mid-1950's. He has also attended meetings of the Youth Commission of the party's Southern California District.

Bessie was a delegate from the Santa Monica area to the Los Angeles County Communist Party convention in January 1957. He also attended the November 1959 session of the Southern California District convention, which elected him a delegate to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party.

## BEN DOBBS

Ben Dobbs joined the Communist Party in November 1933 at the age of 21. In 1938 he was State administrative secretary for the Young Communist League. In 1948, 1949, and 1950 he was labor secretary of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County. Dobbs has also served as administrative secretary for the Communist Party's Southern California District and as a member of the executive board of the Southern California District Council. He is the current executive secretary of the Communist Party of Southern California and is running for Congress on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket.

## SARAH DORNER

Sarah Dornier was identified as a member of the Communist Party by a witness who has appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities in executive session. This was stated in the committee's report on Communist and Trotskyist Activity within the Greater Los Angeles Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 1962, p. 1528.

## ROSE CHERNIN KUSNITZ

Rose Chernin Kusnitz has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by at least four witnesses in testimony before this committee. She was a Smith Act defendant and was convicted on August 5, 1952, of conspiring to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the United States Government. She was fined \$10,000 and sentenced to 5 years in prison. The case was appealed, however, and the Supreme Court reversed the conviction. Mrs. Kusnitz was set free.

Mrs. Kusnitz has served as the executive director of the Communist-front organization, the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, now known as the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, since its inception in 1950. She was a delegate to the second convention of the Southern California District of the Communist Party held in two sessions in November 1959 and January 1960. She was elected to the party's top district committee at the January session. The district convention also designated Mrs. Kusnitz as one of its official representatives to the party's 17th National Convention in New York in December 1959.

## ROBERT EUGENE DUGGAN

Robert Duggan was one of the new youth members elected to the National Committee of the CPUSA at its 18th National Convention in June 1966.

He was president of the W. E. B. DuBois Club at the University of California in 1966.

## EMIL FREED

Emil Freed has been active in the Communist Party since 1934. In 1938 and 1940 he was a candidate for Congress from California's 15th Congressional District on the Communist Party ticket. In 1943 he was a member of the machinists' branch, Communist Party; in 1944, a member of the California State Commission on State Leadership; in 1945, a member of the California State Committee of the Communist Party. He is by occupation a professional Communist.

## ARNOLD MANUEL HOFFMAN

Arnold Hoffman is a member of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist). He openly proclaims that he is a Communist. He did so at his trial for inciting to riot and trespassing on March 2, 1965.

Hoffman had been expelled from the Communist splinter group, the Provisional Organizing Committee, along with Mike Laski. The POC publication, *Vanguard*, denounced them as "Agent-Provocateurs."

In 1967 Hoffman furnished \$110 bail for Michael Laski who had been arrested for using sound equipment without a permit. Newspaper reports identified Hoffman as press secretary of the Communist Party U.S.A. (M-L).

**MICHAEL LASKI**

Michael Laski became the West Coast organizer for the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party U.S.A. in 1964.

The Provisional Organizing Committee, or POC as it was more commonly known, was organized in 1958 by a group of hard-core Communists who had been expelled from the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Subsequent to the riot in Watts in August 1965, Laski was expelled from the POC, according to testimony of James C. Harris.

In September 1965 Laski and a handful of followers formed the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) and he became its general secretary.

**FRANK PESTANA**

Frank Pestana was identified as a member of the Communist Party by four witnesses in testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities. David Aaron, A. Marburg Yerkes, William G. Israel, and Milton S. Tyre testified that they had known Mr. Pestana as a member of the lawyers' group of the Communist Party in Los Angeles.

**JEAN (MRS. FRANK) PESTANA**

David Aaron and A. Marburg Yerkes identified Jean Pestana as a member of the lawyers' group of the Communist Party in Los Angeles during testimony before this committee in January 1952.

**IRVING SARNOFF**

Irving Sarnoff has served as a member of the district council of the Communist Party of Southern California. He has been extremely active in Communist youth organizations. In 1956 he was labor director of the Los Angeles County Labor Youth League, a member of the executive committee of the Labor Youth League, and in 1957 was a delegate to the California State Labor Youth League convention. Sarnoff was also a delegate to three Communist Party conventions in 1957, the Los Angeles County convention, the California State convention, and the Southern California District convention.

**FRANK E. SPECTOR**

Frank Spector came to the United States from Russia in 1913. He has been a resident of California since 1921.

Spector has been identified as a Communist by several witnesses in testimony before this committee. He was convicted of violations of the Smith Act, but was freed by a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on June 17, 1957. Frank Spector has been under order of deportation for years; however, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has been unable to secure travel documents for his entry into the Soviet Union. Therefore, Spector is allowed to remain in the United States as a Communist alien.

**JOHN WESLEY HARRIS**

John Harris is an open member of the pro-Peking Communist Party, the Progressive Labor Party. He has been a PLL' organizer in the Watts area and was arrested on September 21, 1966, on the charge of criminal syndicalism for the distribution of revolutionary literature.

**DONALD C. WHEELDIN**

Donald Wheeldin was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Robert Carrillo Ronstadt on April 25, 1962, in executive session of this committee. The testimony was subsequently released.

Wheeldin was a high functionary in the California Communist Party; a member of the party's State coordinating committee; member of the executive board, Southern California District Council; and member of the Southern California District Minorities Commission.

On March 26, 1958, Wheeldin resigned from the Communist Party and the staff of the West Coast Communist newspaper, the *Daily People's World*, a position he had held since July 16, 1950.

## 1850 SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

In reporting Mr. Wheeldin's resignation from the party, as well as the resignation of other Communists who left at that time, the committee stated:

"Committee investigation indicates that these resignations do not involve renunciations of communism, but a renunciation of the national committee's high-handed procedures. Many 'dissenters' now constitute an unorganized element in our society which continues to advance communism in the United States."

[NOTE: Ronstadt was an undercover operative in the Communist Party from 1947-1954.]

### WILLIAM C. TAYLOR

William C. Taylor was chairman of the Communist Party's Maryland State organization in the early 1940's and chairman or organizational secretary of the District of Columbia party apparatus in the period 1946-49.

In 1949 Taylor moved to Los Angeles and was immediately assigned the chairmanship of the Minorities Commission for the Los Angeles County Communist Party.

Taylor was chairman of the Southern California District's Negro Commission and was a member of its executive board when the second district convention convened in late 1959. He continued to serve on the board until its technical "dissolution" in 1961. Taylor attended both sessions of the second convention of the Southern California District of the Communist Party and was designated a member of the area's delegation to the 17th National Convention of the party in New York in December 1959.

The *People's World* in March 1964, in publicizing his candidacy for Los Angeles County supervisor, boasted that Taylor had been a "Communist for the past 35 years."

### FRANK WILKINSON

Frank Wilkinson was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Anita Bell Schneider in public hearings of this committee on December 7, 1956. He was also identified by Robert Carrillo Ronstadt in executive session on April 25, 1962. The testimony was later made public.

Wilkinson was subpoenaed to testify before the committee on two occasions. He was totally uncooperative. The second time he was asked to testify, Wilkinson not only refused to answer all but a few of the questions asked, but declined to invoke the fifth amendment for doing so.

He was cited for contempt and convicted of that charge by a Federal district court in Atlanta and sentenced to a year in prison. He was released on bail when he appealed the conviction. On February 27, 1961, the Supreme Court upheld the contempt conviction of Frank Wilkinson, and on May 1, 1961, he began serving his prison sentence.

### TASSIA (MRS. EMIL) FREED

Tassia Freed was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Anne Kinney, William Ward Kimple, and Anita Bell Schneider in testimony before this committee.

Mrs. Freed joined the Communist Party in 1936 and has devoted her time to the Communist program subsequent to that date. Since joining the Communist Party she has held various positions on the club and county level. In 1944 she was press director, Hollywood Club, Northwest Section; in 1943 she was a member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party, Los Angeles County.

Mrs. Freed was a delegate to two Communist Party conventions in 1957, the Los Angeles County convention on January 5-6, and the Southern California District convention on April 13-14.

### STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

On September 12, 1951, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman appeared before a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities in Los Angeles, Calif., at which time he was questioned regarding Communist associations and organizations. In answer to all questions pertaining to Communist activity, Mr. Fritchman declined to answer, using the fifth amendment as a basis. On December 7, 1956, Mr. Fritchman again appeared before the committee and invoked the first and fifth amendments.

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<sup>1</sup> Various known as Federation of Free City States, Confederation of Free City States, and Political Confederation of Free City States.

<sup>2</sup> Appears as "Urban League" in this reference.



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