

[COMMITTEE PRINT]

**GUERRILLA WARFARE ADVOCATES
IN THE UNITED STATES**

R E P O R T

BY THE

**COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETIETH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION**



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UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TESTIMONY

1950

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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.

* * * * *

FOREWORD

A few years ago, the overwhelming majority of Americans—including those best informed about security matters—would have scoffed at the idea of guerrilla warfare operations in the United States directed against our Government. Today this idea does not seem as fantastic and ridiculous as it did a relatively short time ago.

During the 1964 Harlem riot, Jesse Gray, the former Harlem organizer for the Communist Party, called for guerrilla warfare against the United States.

This committee has received testimony indicating that agents of North Vietnam have trained some Americans in guerrilla warfare in Cuba.

The Progressive Labor Party, the major Peking-oriented Communist organization in the United States—again, according to testimony received by this committee—has distributed literature not only calling for guerrilla warfare against this country, but even spelling out how it should be conducted.

Stokely Carmichael, speaking apparently for the ultramilitant black nationalist element in this country, recently stated, "Our movement is progressing toward an urban guerrilla war within the United States itself."

There can be no question about the fact that there are mixed Communist and black nationalist elements in this country which are planning and organizing guerrilla-type operations against the United States.

This committee report is designed to alert the Congress and the American people to the plans and the strategy of some of these elements—to alert them to the fact that what seemed absurd a few years ago may not be so farfetched today.

The greater part of this report was prepared by Phillip Abbott Luce, an activist in the Progressive Labor Party and editor of its official magazine prior to his break with the organization in January 1965. Mr. Luce received a bachelor of arts degree from Mississippi State University and a master's degree in political science from Ohio State University. He has authored two books and numerous articles for well-known magazines. This report is based on both Mr. Luce's study and research on the subject of guerrilla warfare and on his actual experiences in the Progressive Labor Party, whose leaders boldly spoke of inciting guerrilla warfare in the United States and played a key role in fomenting the Harlem riot of 1964.

An outline of this study was first submitted to me early in 1966. Disturbed by some of the facts contained in it, I initiated the steps necessary to finance Mr. Luce's preparation of this study for the committee. The original draft was submitted to the committee in the spring of 1967. It has since been enlarged by the inclusion of additional factual material developed by the committee staff.

Some authorities may question Mr. Luce's assessment of the precise degree of success urban guerrilla warfare elements might achieve

in this country. One specialist, for example, has taken a much more pessimistic view of our Government's ability to cope with urban guerrillas.

Events which no one can foresee today will, of course, vitally affect the plans and possible success of elements plotting guerrilla warfare. No one can today predict with certainty whether such warfare will actually be attempted and just how successful it might be. Mr. Luce's accurate prediction, months before the events, of the violent and massive riots of the summer of 1967 indicate, however, that his views on this subject are worthy of consideration.

It is my personal view that if the United States did not face an international Communist threat with the ever-present possibility of its being militarily engaged in other parts of the world, guerrilla warfare advocates would pose little danger to our country. Should our military forces, in substantial numbers, be committed to actual combat in a number of other areas of the world, however, suppression of guerrilla warfare operations which were launched simultaneously in a number of major cities could pose a most serious problem.

There is no such thing as total security.

Threats and dangers to freedom are ever changing in their nature and scope. In the 30 years of its existence, this committee has seen and fought various threats to the United States. Our existence as a free and independent nation has been challenged by Nazis, Fascists, and Communists. Today a new threat is arising—a threat created by a mixture of Communists and ultraracist conspirators. A few years may see this threat completely dissipated—or much greater than it is today. Whatever develops, it is my belief that the committee, in releasing this report, is carrying out its duty of informing the elected representatives of the people—and the people themselves—of matters that warrant their attention if our national security is to be preserved.

EDWIN E. WILLIS, *Chairman.*

MAY 6, 1968.

GUERRILLA WARFARE ADVOCATES IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

COMMUNIST CONCEPTS OF GUERRILLA WARFARE

Communists throughout the world have utilized the methods and operations of "guerrilla warfare" to harass, and in some cases destroy, those democratic governments they oppose. Guerrilla warfare as employed by the Communists bases its format on the use of small, armed bands of irregulars to create anarchy and terror throughout the general population. In fact terror is one of the principal *raison d'être* of guerrilla warfare as employed by the Communists.

Colonel Roger Trinquier explains this concept in his book, *Modern Warfare*, as follows:

The goal of *modern warfare* is control of the populace, and terrorism is a particularly appropriate weapon, since it aims directly at the inhabitant. In the street, at work, at home, the citizen lives continually under the threat of violent death. In the presence of this permanent danger surrounding him, he has the depressing feeling of being an isolated and defenseless target. The fact that public authority and the police are no longer capable of ensuring his security adds to his distress. He loses confidence in the state whose inherent mission it is to guarantee his safety. He is more and more drawn to the side of the terrorists, who alone are able to protect him.¹

The Communist use of guerrilla warfare is not, however, nihilistic in its goals. The means and ends strategy of Communist guerrilla warfare advocates the use of terror as a means to frighten and "awaken" the populace of a specific region to the political goals of the Communists. The Communists are also seeking to utilize terror and the obvious side effects of civilian murder to achieve the goal of political victory.²

Mao Tse-tung has written that "Without a political goal, guerrilla warfare must fail, as it must if its political objectives do not coincide with the aspirations of the people and their sympathy, cooperation, and assistance cannot be gained. The essence of guerrilla warfare is thus revolutionary in character."³

¹ Roger Trinquier, *Modern Warfare* (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1964), pp. 16, 17.

² According to the latest estimated figures available from the Department of State, Viet Cong terrorists, from 1965 to 1967, killed 7268 South Vietnamese civilians and kidnaped 17,875. Prominent among those killed and kidnaped were doctors, teachers, clergymen, policemen, and elected or natural leaders. During the last 9 years, according to a statement made by General Westmoreland on Apr. 28, 1967, the Viet Cong have assassinated or kidnaped 53,000 South Vietnamese civilians.

The most recent cases of terrorist atrocity were reported during the urban warfare launched by the Viet Cong during the so-called truce period of the lunar 1968 new year. According to news accounts, Lt. Col. Phan Van Khoa, the mayor of Hue and a province chief, said that the Communist guerrillas executed 300 civilians on Feb. 9 and piled them into a mass grave on the south side of the ancient capital.

Communist terror in Vietnam was described in most vivid terms in a letter to columnist and editor David Lawrence, written by C. E. Notson of the Christian and Missionary Alliance who was in the Far East, made public on Feb. 14, 1968. Notson wrote, in part:

"In a brutal and vicious attack the Viet Cong have massacred the entire [American] staff of the Christian and Missionary Alliance leprosyarium in Ban Me Thuot. In a cold-blooded, premeditated mass murder they have deprived their countrymen afflicted with that dread disease—leprosy—of having loving care and skillful treatment by dedicated missionaries.

"Here is a vivid illustration of the heartless cruelty that is characteristic of all communism." * * *

³ "Mao's Primer on Guerrilla War," in *The Guerrilla—and How To Fight Him*; selections from the *Marine Corps Gazette*. Edited by T. N. Greene (New York: Praeger, 1962), p. 5.

Mao Tse-tung has also made it quite clear that the only way guerrilla warfare can succeed is through the tacit support, or ambivalence, of a large segment of the general population. The importance of this theoretical assumption was evidenced by the achievements of Communist guerrilla warfare operations in Cuba and Algeria and by their defeat in the Philippines and Greece.

Guerrilla warfare differs distinctly from "conventional warfare" in that it demands a military operation that is fluid and in which the guerrillas, operating in "bands" rather than in armies, never directly confront the government forces in massive or decisive battles.

Purely sniping operations are not sufficient, however, and, as General Vo Nguyen Giap, top military commander of North Vietnam, has written:

From the strategic point of view, guerrilla warfare, causing many difficulties and losses to the enemy, wears him out. To annihilate big enemy manpower and liberate land, guerrilla warfare has to move gradually to *mobile warfare*. * * *

According to the Communist notion of guerrilla warfare, it is essential to base most operations in the countryside and attempt to make it impossible for the government to separate potential and actual guerrillas from the rest of the population.

Che Guevara in his book, *Guerrilla Warfare*, wrote that the Cuban experience demonstrated for Communists three important principles about revolutionary guerrilla warfare:

We consider that the Cuban Revolution contributed three fundamental lessons to the conduct of revolutionary movements in America. They are:

- (1) Popular forces can win a war against the army.
- (2) It is not necessary to wait until all conditions for making revolution exist; the insurrection can create them.
- (3) In underdeveloped America the countryside is the basic area for armed fighting.⁴

The Communists have been successful when they have applied these three concepts of Guevara's, but have failed almost uniformly in those areas where they have not implemented any one of them.

In Algeria, for example, the Communists proved that it was possible to defeat a mobile, well-armed and well-trained French army through the use of "popular forces." The National Liberation Front in Algeria also created "revolutionary conditions" in the country at a time when many people argued that they were presumptuous. The Algerian guerrilla operation effectively combined a program of countryside battles with major, citywide terror campaigns to effectively sap the French forces and demoralize the general population.

Other factors, too, are usually necessary for the victory of guerrilla forces:

A campaign must be conducted on an international basis to make it politically unfeasible for the opponent of the guerrillas to continue resisting.

The guerrillas must have a privileged sanctuary to which they can retreat. This privileged sanctuary may either be an area within the country that the enemy cannot penetrate or, more likely, an area in an adjacent country which has given aid and comfort to the guerrillas. The Algerian rebels made effective use of neighboring nation sanctuaries such as: Morocco, where the rebel chief of military

⁴ General Vo Nguyen Giap, *People's War, People's Army* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961), p. 106.

⁵ Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1961), p. 15.

region 5 for the National Liberation Army was headquartered with his forces; Tunisia, where the rebel government in exile—the National Liberation Front or FLN—was located and through whose port of Tunis flowed the arms and ammunition contributed by Soviet bloc governments; and Egypt, where Nasser trained Algerian guerrillas.

In the case of the Castro revolution, a mountainous area that was difficult for the Batista troops to police was utilized. However, in almost all other successful guerrilla operations, it was necessary for the guerrillas to have an adjacent country into which to retreat when their conditions became difficult.

An important factor aiding the Vietminh Communists in Vietnam, for example, was their ability to open a common border with Red China in 1950. An official North Vietnamese publication, *The Frontier Campaign*, by Nguyen Huy Tuong, states:

The offensive for the liberation of the region bordering on China (Cao Bang and Lang Son provinces) in September 1950 was a landmark in the evolution of the Indochinese conflict and ushered in a series of victorious campaigns for the Viet Nam People's Army to be crowned at Dien Bien Phu. * * * our Viet Bac free zone, now in direct contact with China and the other brother countries, gained 4,000 sq. km.⁶ (Publisher's note).

The North Vietnamese general, Vo Nguyen Giap, stated it as follows in his book, *People's War, People's Army*:

1949 saw the brilliant triumph of the Chinese Revolution and the birth of the People's Republic of China. This great historic event which altered events in Asia and the world, exerted a considerable influence on the war of liberation of the Vietnamese people. Viet Nam was no longer in the grip of enemy encirclement, and was henceforth geographically linked to the socialist bloc.⁷

WHERE COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS FAILED—AND WHY

The official Communist explanation for the defeat of the Communist guerrillas in Greece in 1949 illustrates the importance of Mao's and Che Guevara's principles (the Communists, of course, call themselves "democrats" and their enemies "monarcho-fascists"):

"The issue of this year's testing of forces with the enemy resulted in the circumstance that, when the difficulties of our struggle increased, principally because of Tito's treachery⁸ (the exploitation of Tito's treachery by the Americans, their increased insistence on maintaining their bridgehead in Greece, their greater support of monarcho-fascism, etc.), the party was unable to solve the basic problem of the Democratic Army's reserves, or the supply of its units in Central and Southern Greece, unable to master the situation which monarcho-fascism had created in the towns, unable to ensure the Democratic Army new forces and combine a powerful mass movement in the towns with the Democratic Army's active campaign in the mountains."⁹

The Communist guerrilla forces in Greece lost largely because they had refused to work in strict guerrilla bands and had created a civil war without the backing of the population. Nor did they, following Tito's "treachery," have a privileged sanctuary into which to retreat.

Maps published by the Government of Burma in 1949 reveal that at no point during the Communist guerrilla warfare against the Government of Burma, during 1948, were the Communists able to obtain control in an area close enough to an existing Communist base.

⁶ Nguyen Huy Tuong, *The Frontier Campaign* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1962), p. 7.

⁷ Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁸ Following his expulsion from the Cominform in 1948, Tito stopped supplying the Communist guerrillas in Greece and also denied them the privileged sanctuary they had formerly been granted in Yugoslavia; this was Tito's real treachery in the eyes of the Communist world.

⁹ From Resolution of Vith Plenum of Central Committee of Communist Party of Greece, October 1949, as quoted in Svetozar Vukmanovic's, *How and Why the People's Liberation Struggle of Greece Met with Defeat* (London, 1950), pp. 87, 88.

It was this factor that enabled the Burmese Government to suppress Communist guerrilla warfare there. (See the publication, *Burma and the Insurrections*, published by the Government of the Union of Burma, September 1949.)

The same general set of conditions which led to the defeat of the Communist guerrilla movement in Greece led to the defeat of the Hukbalahaps (Huks) in the Philippines. The Huks had no adjoining Communist nation which could grant them privileged sanctuary when they were pressed by the government forces. In addition, they failed to win the support of a significant segment of the civilian population through the correct application of political warfare principles.

COMMUNIST CONTROL MUST BE SECRET

Another important Communist principle of guerrilla warfare is that Communist organization and control of the guerrilla operation must be concealed. Normally, this is absolutely essential to their winning the support and aid of the general populace—which they must have if they are to succeed. In addition, this factor is also vital in waging the international propaganda campaign that plays so important a part in hindering and weakening the existing government and thus strengthening the guerrilla forces and their opportunities for victory.

YUGOSLAVIA

The Communist partisans in Yugoslavia during World War II were advised by their Soviet masters that they should not admit to being Communists. In a pamphlet written by a Yugoslav Communist leader, Mosha Piyade, and published in London in 1950, he stated that the Soviet Union sent a telegram to the Yugoslav Communists in March 1942, advising them to delete a portion of a public statement that they were planning to issue. The statement to be deleted referred to the guerrilla units "which were organized by the Communist Party."¹⁰

However, an official Yugoslav Communist history of the partisan movement has since revealed the Communist origin of the guerrilla movement led by Tito:

On June 22, 1941, Germany attacked the USSR. The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had a meeting in Belgrade on that day in a house on Topčider Hill. There it drew up the proclamation calling the people to arms. A few days later, the proclamation was secretly circulated in Belgrade, Serbia and other parts of the country.¹¹

Yugoslavia had actually been invaded by Germany on April 6, 1941, while the Stalin-Hitler pact was still in force. However, Yugoslav Communists did not take up arms against the Nazi invader of their homeland until 2 months later, when Hitler's Nazis also invaded the Soviet Union. (Unlike the Communists who would only fight in the interest of their adopted fatherland, the U.S.S.R., genuine Yugoslav patriots such as Colonel Draza Mihailovic launched their guerrilla resistance against the German forces as soon as they invaded Yugoslavia.)

¹⁰ Mosha Piyade, "About the Legend That the Yugoslav Uprising Owed Its Existence to Soviet Assistance" (London, 1950), p. 10.

¹¹ Nikola Kspetanovic, "Tito and the Partisans," Belgrade, p. 19.

SOUTH AFRICA

A guerrilla organization was set up by the Communist Party of South Africa in December of 1961. It was called Spear of the Nation (Umkonto We Sizwe). According to *The African Communist* (the official organ of the South African Communist Party), Spear of the Nation organized "a series of planned attacks with explosives against government buildings."¹²

This Communist publication claimed that through Umkonto We Sizwe, "the people" of South Africa (rather than the Communists) "have created the nucleus of an army of national liberation, an organisation which will enable patriots of the freedom struggle to obtain arms and train themselves in their use and the art of military science."¹³

A description of what this meant was contained in a book entitled *Rivonia*, by H. H. W. DeVilliers, a former Judge of the Supreme Court of South Africa who wrote about the trial of the leaders of Spear of the Nation. He described an incident in 1964 as follows:

At 4:27 on that afternoon, the 550-foot main concourse of the impressive, new Johannesburg railway station was brimming with those who went and others who were coming. At that moment mysterious anonymous telephone calls warned several city newspapers that a bomb was about to explode at the station.

A strange young man in a dark-blue top-coat, carrying a leather suitcase, placed it on a bench next to a group of people, indicating that he would be back for it in a few minutes. A seventy-seven-year-old grandmother, Mrs. Ethel Rhys, and her granddaughter Glynnis, moved away to make room for the suitcase. And then there was a blinding flash. The blast of a high-explosive bomb ripped the air. The suitcase was, in fact, a time bomb. Sheets of splintered glass, steel and bits of broken concrete were hurled into the crowd. Within a radius of fifty feet men, women and children were struggling in flames and smoke. The time was 4:38 p.m.

Twenty-three of the victims were taken to hospital with burns and injuries in various degrees.¹⁴

The *London Sunday Express* had stated, wrote DeVilliers, that:

"It is said that two innocent people, a girl of twelve and an old woman of 77, were fighting for their lives in hospital. They were incapable of harming anyone, yet they have been the worst victims of the horrifying attack."¹⁵

(The elderly lady, Mrs. Rhys, died in the hospital!)

The South African police cracked down on Spear of the Nation which one witness, in the trial of the bombers, had described as the military wing of the African National Congress.¹⁶ One of its leaders, Nelson Mandela, a convicted Communist, openly admitted his role as a founder of the guerrilla group at the trial. He remains a Communist hero despite his public testimony.

According to *The African Communist* of July/September 1964, Mandela testified:

"I admit immediately * * * that I was one of the persons who helped to form *Umkonto We Sizwe* [Spear of the Nation], and that I played a prominent role in its affairs until I was arrested in August 1962."

He testified further:

"I do not deny that I planned sabotage * * *. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation * * *."¹⁷

¹² *The African Communist*, No. 9, April-May 1962, p. 46.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁴ H. H. W. DeVilliers, *Rivonia* (Johannesburg, South Africa, 1964), pp. 115, 116.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁷ *The African Communist*, No. 18, July-September, pp. 9, 10.

After the conviction of the leaders of Spear of the Nation, one of the top Communists in the Union of South Africa—Abram Fischer—was captured by the police. He was tried on a charge of sabotage in May 1966 and, like Mandela, was made a “hero” by Communists around the world. He openly testified at his trial concerning his own activities and the activities of Spear of the Nation. He alleged, however, that while the Communist Party gave permission for its members to join Spear of the Nation, it was not a Communist Party organization and that he himself was not a member of Spear of the Nation. He testified as follows:

Two further ideas were of importance in this scheme: One was that the leaders of Umkhonto gave the assurance that it would not depart from its self-imposed limitations without prior reference to the political movement. In the circumstances the A.N.C. [African National Congress] and the Communist Party took no steps to prevent their members from joining Umkhonto.

The second was that the organisation was not only to be secret but was to be self-controlled by men selected by Mandela, was to finance its own affairs and was to be kept entirely separate and distinct from the Congresses and the Communist Party. This was of equal importance. The Congresses and the Communist Party still had important political functions to fulfill as several exhibits clearly indicate—the functions of political education and organisation, of making use of every political opportunity which presented itself to advance the cause of freedom and democracy.

The Congresses and the Communist Party did not wish to have their membership held liable for every act of sabotage nor, and this was of crucial political importance, did they want their members to gain the idea that once sabotage commenced, political work should cease. This separation of organisations was always maintained. I had no hand in the founding of Umkhonto and I was never a member. I became aware of its existence, and I did not disapprove.¹⁸

Another chapter on subversive terror in South Africa, this one originating outside the country, came to a close recently when, on February 9, 1968, the Supreme Court in Pretoria passed sentence on 30 defendants who had been charged and convicted of terrorist activity and conspiracy in South-West Africa. In delivering the sentence against these persons, who did not deny that they were members of the revolutionary, paramilitary organization, SWAPO (South-West Africa People's Organization), the judge said that they were not “freedom fighters” as they had claimed but assassins, loafers, and common criminals who had become misguided dupes of Communist indoctrination.¹⁹

In a document released by the government's Department of Information on the subject of terrorism in South Africa, it was stated that:

It is no crime in South Africa to oppose the Government's policies. Individuals do so frequently * * *. A section of the press does so daily, while the Official Opposition in Parliament is a constitutional instrument designed for this very purpose. But murder is murder, terrorism is terrorism and crime is crime * * * no matter what the motive may be * * *.²⁰

The defendants had also been charged with obtaining information or training which could be used in the furtherance of the objects of communism or cause political, industrial, social, or economic change in South-West Africa through riots or disorder.

The defendants, who had been trained in terror tactics in the U.S.S.R., Communist China, Algeria, Ghana, Tanzania, and the

¹⁸ Abram Fischer, “What I did was right . . .,” Statement from the Dock, Supreme Court, Pretoria (London, Mar. 28, 1966), p. 28.

¹⁹ *New York Times*, Feb. 10, 1968, p. 4.

²⁰ “The Terrorist Menace in Southern Africa,” Background Series No. 12, Department of Information, Republic of South Africa, Pretoria, December 1967, p. 1.

U.A.R., were accused of having taken part in skirmishes against the police and with having conspired to murder white settlers and tribal leaders and with having planned to blow up power stations and bridges. The defendants were amply supplied with automatic weapons and ammunition which had been made in the U.S.S.R., Communist China, and Czechoslovakia.

VIETNAM

The purpose of concealing the Communists' creation of a guerrilla movement and the use of a Communist-front apparatus to run that movement has been described by General Vo Nguyen Giap, commander in chief of North Vietnam's army:

The National United Front was to be a vast assembly of all the forces capable of being united, neutralising all those which could be neutralised, dividing all those it was possible to divide in order to direct the spearhead at the chief enemy of the revolution, invading imperialism. * * *²¹

This is an essential aim, of course, in all Communist-front activity—to neutralize those who can be neutralized and to divide the enemy in order to strike at him more effectively.

Verification of the application of this principle to the war in Vietnam was also contained in an article by North Vietnamese Communist leader, Le Duc Tho, in the official Communist publication *Nhan Dan*, published in Hanoi February 3, 1966, and in the February issue of the North Vietnamese Communist Party's theoretical organ, *Hoc Tap*. Le Duc Tho stated:

It is necessary for us to step up the political and diplomatic struggle more actively, cleverly and in a more timely manner; win over all forces that can be won over and unite all forces that can be united in order to drive U.S. imperialism to a high degree of isolation; and win an ever greater support from the world people, including the U.S. people, for the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of our people. * * *²²

U.S. COMMUNIST GUERRILLA WARFARE TRAINING

SPAIN

American Communists received guerrilla warfare instructions in Spain during the civil war of 1936-39. Three thousand Americans, of whom, testified Earl Browder, about 60 percent were members of the Communist Party, served in the Communist-organized International Brigade on the side of the Republican government in Spain.²³ During the war a number of these received guerrilla warfare instructions from Soviet advisers. An article concerning this training was published in the October 1941 issue of *Soviet Russia Today* by two young men who had received such training while in Spain.

William Aalto and Irving Goff, authors of this article, entitled "Guerrilla Warfare: Lessons in Spain," pointed out that some of their Soviet advisers had had previous experiences in guerrilla warfare as advisers to the Chinese guerrillas and also as partisans during the Polish-Soviet war. The Soviet instructors, they wrote, supplied the Americans with mines, automatic Dektiarov rifles with "superior

²¹ Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

²² Hanoi radio, Feb. 6, 1966.

²³ Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, 1939 Hearings, vol. 7, p. 4449.

sights," Maxim machine guns, quantities of the Russian explosive, "toll," ammunition, portable radio sets, and "trick apparatus" used in guerrilla warfare.

The American guerrillas were taught, among other things: the use of electric cells that set off a mechanism when a shadow fell across it; chemical devices that employed the use of sound and radio waves; how to conceal mines along the roadsides by utilizing tree branches, loaves of bread, manure, etc., as cover; how to rig a house along the path of the enemy lines in order to turn it into a death trap by merely opening a door or by stepping upon a plank. These Americans were also taught how small, three-man teams can mine railroads, attack automobiles and motorcycles, and cut telephone lines and communications.²⁴

The Subversive Activities Control Board, in its official findings concerning the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, pointed to this Soviet guerrilla training of American volunteers in Spain as one example of Communist control of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

The official newspaper of the International Brigade in Spain, *The Volunteer For Liberty*, on June 1, 1937, printed a picture of Carlos Contreras, a U.S. Communist Party member, and identified him as the former political commissar of the Spanish Communist's 5th Regiment and the man in charge of propaganda among enemy ranks. Former members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade have reported that Contreras was one of the guerrilla warfare activists in Spain. Upon his return to the United States, Contreras was implicated in a number of murders committed by the Soviet secret police in this country, including the murder of Juliet S. Poyntz and Carlos Tresca. He left this country and now heads the Communist Party of Trieste under the name Vitorio Vidali.

The official Communist international publication, *International Press Correspondence*, of May 17, 1938, reported on the guerrilla movement being organized in Spain as follows:

The *Communist Party of Spain* contributed very greatly to the development and organization of this movement. It organized schools for guerilleros (the first was that of the Fifth Regiment), provided good cadres and fought against the open hostility of the ex-Minister for War, Largo Caballero, who did not understand this movement and resolutely opposed it. * * *²⁵

THE PHILIPPINES

A member of the American Communist Party worked actively with the Huks, the Communist guerrilla organization in the Philippines, during the period when they were waging guerrilla warfare against the government in their efforts to develop a revolution that would lead to the imposition of a Communist government in that country.

The Communist Party of the Philippines was established with the help of James F. Allen, a high official of the U.S. Communist Party, who went to the Philippines in the late 1930's in order to help set up the party and affiliate it with the Communist International (Comintern).

After World War II, another member of the U.S. Communist Party, William J. Pomeroy, went to the Philippines, became a member of the

²⁴ *Soviet Russia Today*, October 1941, pp. 22, 23.

²⁵ *International Press Correspondence* (London, May 17, 1938), p. 553.

Philippine Communist Party, joined the Huks, and served with them until their eventual defeat.

Two documents relating to Pomeroy were published by the Government of the Philippines' Special Committee on Un-Filipino Activities in its 1951 *Report on the Illegality of the Communist Party of the Philippines*. The report stated that the person identified in these documents as "Lanao" was in fact William J. Pomeroy, who had been a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., since 1938. The first document, dated September 28, 1950, was addressed:

To the SEC (Secretariat)

Dear Comrades:

I submit the following . . .

* * * * *

5. On the question of my status in the Party. Although at present I feel that I am accepted as a member of the Filipino Party, with a dues paying status, I have been wondering recently how the Party regards me, in view of the fact that there was no official transference in my case. I have a Philippine orientation, now and in the future, and I would like to be considered fully a member of the Philippine Party, without qualification. Is that my status now, or is it necessary for me to present a formal application for membership? I know that sometimes fine points arise in a case like this and I wouldn't want anything to interfere in my contributing to the utmost of my ability to our movement.

Comradely,

LANAO ²⁶

The second document, dated October 15, 1950, was addressed to the Comrades of NED (National Educational Department of the Communist Party) and read as follows:

Transmitting to you . . .

* * * * *

In answer to Com. Lanao's inquiry about his status and his desire to be considered as a member of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), SEC decided that pending his official transfer, CPP considers him as a member of the USCP (United States Communist Party), and as such member giving an assignment in the CPP. SEC will take steps to facilitate official transfer, but if Com. Lanao has his own facilities for doing so, he can either do so directly, or advise the SEC how it can be done with dispatch.

Comradely,

GASTON ²⁷

The Philippine committee identified "Gaston," the signer of the above letter, as Jose Lava, who was sentenced May 11, 1951, to life imprisonment for rebellion involving murders and arson.

According to the biographical sketch in Pomeroy's book, *Guerrilla Warfare*, published in 1964 by International Publishers, the official Communist Party, U.S.A., publishing house:

William J. Pomeroy was born in a small town in upstate New York in 1916. During World War II he served in the Philippines with the U.S. Army as a historian attached to the Fifth Air Force. He then first came in contact with the Huks, a Filipino guerrilla force which fought the Japanese throughout the occupation, on the major island of Luzon. After the war he returned to the Philippines as a free-lance writer for the Manila press, and studied at the University of the Philippines, where he met and later married Celia Mariano. Together they joined the New Huk movement in 1952, in the field as teachers and writers. [It is obvious from the document obtained by the Government of the Philippines in 1950 that Pomeroy did not join the Huks in 1952 but much earlier. [Captured by government forces in 1952, they were both sentenced to life imprisonment for "rebellion complexed with murder, robbery, arson, and

²⁶ Congress of the Philippines, House of Representatives, I. *Report on the Illegality of the Communist Party of the Philippines*, II. *The Functions of the Special Committee on Un-Filipino Activities* (Special Committee on Un-Filipino Activities, Manila, 1951), pp. 97, 98.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

kidnapping." After serving ten years, when the Supreme Court had found there was no such crime on the statute books, they were pardoned and William Pomeroy was deported. Finally reunited with his wife in London, Pomeroy is at work on a full-length study of U.S.-Philippines relations. He is the author of *The Forest*, a book about his life with the Huks, published in New York in 1963, and of a volume of poetry *Beyond Barriers*, published in Manila the same year. He is also a newspaper correspondent and continues to contribute short stories, articles and essays to magazines in the Philippines, the United States and elsewhere.¹⁰

Pomeroy is now a writer for the Communist weekly, the *National Guardian*. The U.S. Communist Party is still promoting the sale of his book, *Guerrilla and Counter-Guerrilla Warfare—Liberation and Suppression in the Present Period*, which is a theoretical defense of guerrilla warfare in all parts of the world.

Luis Taruc was the top leader of the Huks. In 1953 the U.S. Communist Party's publishing house, International Publishers, also published Taruc's book, *Born of the People*, which described his life as a Communist guerrilla. (It is interesting to note that following the defeat of the Communist Huks by the government forces in 1952-53, Taruc defected to the government side.)

¹⁰ William J. Pomeroy, *Guerrilla and Counter-Guerrilla Warfare—Liberation and Suppression in the Present Period* (New York: International Publishers, 1964), introductory note.

CHAPTER II

THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

The overt ramifications of the international Communist schism are reflected in the Communist movement in the United States. The Communist Party of the United States reflects the viewpoint of the Soviet Government, while the Progressive Labor Party and some black nationalist, semi-Marxist groups advocate a policy closely resembling that of Communist China. Most of the smaller Communist factions lean towards the violent revolutionary urgings of the Chinese Communists, with the exception of the Trotskyist groups who still support some version of Trotsky's notion of "permanent revolution." One of the newer Communist groups, which identifies itself with the Chinese model of revolutionary warfare, is the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

The Revolutionary Action Movement was founded in Philadelphia, Pa., in the winter of 1963 under the direction of Max Stanford, a Negro militant. Stanford has retained his leadership position as field chairman in RAM and since 1966 has also been head of the New York Black Panther Party, a creation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and RAM.

Although RAM is under the control of Stanford, it takes its lead from Robert Williams, who now lives in Peking. RAM literature lists Williams as "chairman in exile" of the organization.¹ Williams has also publicly admitted his role in RAM, and statements published by the RAM group are undeniably copied from the pronouncements of Robert Williams.

Robert Williams was born on February 26, 1925, in Monroe, N.C. He served in the United States Marines but was discharged because he was a habitual shirker. Returning from the service in April 1955, he soon took over the leadership of the Monroe branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1955, Williams wrote a letter to the President of the United States expressing a desire to renounce his citizenship. That this gesture was not an isolated expression of his contempt for his country was made evident the following year when he made a request to the Soviet Union asking that it make arrangements for him to move to the U.S.S.R.

Williams began to arm the members of the local NAACP chapter and in 1959 told a wire service reporter that "Negroes * * * must henceforth meet violence with violence, lynching with lynching."²

Williams had this to say in 1959 about his turn towards violence:

We live in perilous times in America, and especially in the South. Segregation is an expensive commodity, but liberty and democracy too, have their price. So often the purchase check of democracy must be signed in blood. Someone must be willing to pay the price, despite the scoffs from the Uncle Toms. I am told that

¹ *The Crusader*, March 1965, p. 2.

² William Worthly, "The Red Chinese American Negro," *Esquire*, October 1964, p. 122.

patience is commendable and that we must never tire of waiting, yet it is instilled at an early age that men who violently and swiftly rise to oppose tyranny are virtuous examples to emulate. I have been taught by my government to fight, and if I find it necessary I shall do just that. * * *

His flirtation with violence earned him a 6-month suspension from the NAACP, an action upheld at the organization's national convention. In 1960, after being reinstated as Monroe NAACP chairman, Williams journeyed to Cuba on a Fair Play for Cuba Committee-sponsored trip. He returned a confirmed "Fidelista."

Soon thereafter, Williams became a hero of the extreme leftwing. Various Communist and Trotskyist groups regularly scheduled meetings to whip up support for Williams and his cause.

Robert Williams ultimately became involved in a violent racial demonstration in Monroe on August 27, 1961. He and his followers have been charged with having kidnaped a white couple who were later released unharmed. Williams has claimed that the two people were only held in his house as "hostages."

When the police attempted to free the "hostages," Williams and his family fled their home and journeyed to New York, where they hid for a short period and then moved on to Canada and ultimately to Cuba. The Federal Bureau of Investigation joined the search for Williams, who was sought on a kidnaping charge, and issued a "Wanted" poster warning people that:

WILLIAMS ALLEGEDLY HAS POSSESSED A LARGE QUANTITY OF FIREARMS, INCLUDING A .45 CALIBER PISTOL WHICH HE CARRIES IN HIS CAR. HE HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN DIAGNOSED AS SCHIZOPHRENIC AND HAS ADVOCATED AND THREATENED VIOLENCE. WILLIAMS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.¹

REVOLUTIONARY FERVOR AND THE WILL TO KILL

Once Williams got to Cuba he was received as a hero and given "political asylum" while he remained there. Williams, while living in Cuba, broadcasted over Radio Havana a program called Radio Free Dixie, three times a week. He also published a monthly newsletter entitled *The Crusader* which was sent to the United States through a Fair Play for Cuba Committee outlet in Canada. (*The Crusader* was first published by Williams in 1959 as a weekly in Monroe. It is now mailed to the United States directly from Peking, where Williams resides.) A typical copy of *The Crusader* makes it clear that Williams openly advocates violence in the United States:

Our people have reached a new revolutionary fervor. Our method of struggle is fast developing in the nature that oppressive beasts understand and respect. Not only does freedom require the will to die, but it also requires the will to kill. It requires an inclination to meet violence with violence. * * *

* * * * *

Let us meet violence with violence and to hell with those deceptive sirens who wall to woo us from our correct course in intensified efforts to run us aground in the blinding fog of ignoble nonviolence.²

But while Robert Williams was openly advocating violence here he was losing all contact with this country and its people. Williams apparently began to lose his political stability once he became separated

¹ *Liberation*, September 1959, p. 7.

² FBI Wanted Flyer No. 290, Sept. 6, 1961.

³ *The Crusader*, July-August 1964, pp. 2, 3.

from the shores of the United States—if he had not done so before that time, as indicated in the FBI “Wanted” poster. The following letter from Robert Williams to his American lawyer, Conrad Lynn, reveals that he believed himself to be in immediate danger from even his friends:

Avenida 3ra #4003
Ent. 40 y 40A
Miramar, Marianao
La Habana, Cuba
May 18, 1964

Mr. Conrad J. Lynn, Atty.
401 Broadway—Suite 911
New York 13, New York
Dear Conrad:

The U.S.CP's influence here is very much on the increase. It is riding high with the new Moscow line. As you have, no doubt, heard by now the U. S. C. P has openly come out against my position on the Negro struggle. In fact, the party has sent special representatives here to sabotage my work on behalf of U.S. Negro liberation. They are pestering the Cubans to remove me from the radio, ban THE CRUSADE and to take a number of other steps in what they call “cutting Williams down to size.” There have also been some moves, on the part of the U.S.C.Pers here to have me surrendered to the F. B. I.

The whole thing is due to the fact that I absolutely refuse to take direction from Gus Hall's idiots. These people (USCPers) are as anti Negro as Ross Barnett or Wallace when we refuse to play the part of brainwashed red Uncle Toms.

There are a lot of things that I can't go into now, but I have been very thoroughly educated in the past few months. I hope to depart from here, if possible, soon. I am writing you to stand by in case I am turned over to the F.B.I. Also, if possible, contact Truman Nelson, Louis Lomax and others about bond and a defense committee. Also let me know if it is advisable for Mabel to make a trip there now.

Get on Marzani about royalties being paid to my sister: Mrs. Lorraine Garlington, 18918 Dequindre, Detroit, Michigan.

Sincerely,

Rob

P.S. It seems that the Negro is losing quite a bit of phony friends as a result of our revolutionary militancy.

cc Truman Nelson, Anne Olson, Julian Mayfield.

Williams left Cuba in the spring of 1966 and went to Communist China.

MAO TSE-TUNG'S RESOLUTE SUPPORT

Prior to his move to Peking, Williams had visited Communist China in the summer of 1963 and again the following year and developed a relationship with some of the country's leading Communists. On August 8, 1963, during Williams' first visit to Red China, Mao Tse-tung released a statement which opened with these words:

An American Negro leader, now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, the former President of the Monroe, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to take this opportunity to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

Chairman Mao ended his message with the following paragraph:

I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination, practised by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. * * * We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million

population of the world. 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.⁶

This statement by Mao Tse-tung, broadcast by Radio Peking and widely publicized, thrust Robert Williams into the international spotlight. Williams, however, has not restricted himself to writing and radioing about the necessity of creating racial violence in the United States. A number of young Negroes closeted themselves with Williams while he was in Cuba and have since returned to the United States advocating revolution.

The two so-called "student trips" to Cuba, in the summers of 1963 and 1964, were used by Williams as a means of recruitment for RAM. Among those on the 1964 trip was Luke Tripp, a young Negro from Detroit, Mich., who was a member of RAM and a former member of UHURU (which means "freedom" in Swahili), a group which merged with RAM. Tripp once gave an interview to a Trotskyist youth newspaper, published by the Young Socialist Alliance, and outlined the philosophy of UHURU. Tripp said that "our orientation is Mau-Mau Maoist. We are strong supporters of the Chinese. If you're in doubt on any position we have, look it up in *Peking Review*"⁷ (an English newsweekly published in Peking).

RAM'S BLACK LIBERATION FRONT

Robert Collier was another young Negro on this 1964 jaunt to Cuba. While there he joined with other Negroes on the trip in founding the Black Liberation Front as a "front" for RAM in this country. Collier was the mastermind behind the bizarre plot to blow up the Statue of Liberty and the Washington Monument until the plotters were tripped up by an undercover police agent who had infiltrated their group. (That agent, Detective Raymond Wood of the New York City Police Department, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on November 1, 1967, that Collier had told him that he had received guerrilla warfare training from the Communist North Vietnamese during his visit to Communist Cuba. Collier also stated that he was planning to organize groups of Black Militia of the Black Liberation Front and these bands of trained militants might be able to bomb the White House and the Congress.)

In 1964 Williams openly admitted his role in the formation and continuation of the Revolutionary Action Movement. RAM, whose official name is the "Revolutionary Action Movement, Black Liberation Front of the U.S.A.," clearly outlined its revolutionary purposes in the following declaration in its official publication:

Its [RAM's] purpose is to bring clarity and give direction in revolutionary struggle. To help build revolutionary nationalist leadership.

To present a revolutionary program of national liberation and self-determination for the African captives enslaved in the racist United States of America.

To forge a revolutionary unity among peoples of African descent and to give a new international spirit to Pan-Africanism.

To unite Black America with the Bandung world (Asia, Africa and Latin America).

⁶ "Mao Tse-tung" pamphlet (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1964), pp. 1-6; also see *The Crusader*, October Special Edition, 1964, pp. 1-4.

⁷ *Young Socialist*, September 1963, p. 2.

To fight for the liberation of oppressed peoples everywhere.

Our message to the Black peoples of the world: UNITE or PERISH—WE WILL WIN.⁸

RAM leader Max Stanford stated in *Correspondence*, a Detroit monthly, that RAM was formed by "Afro-Americans who favored Robert F. Williams and the concept of organized violence."⁹ In the same article Stanford described the RAM philosophy as simply "revolutionary nationalism, black nationalism, or just plain blackism."¹⁰

The major centers of RAM activity are located in the large city Negro ghettos. RAM organizations are known to be operating in Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, New York, Boston, Detroit, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

RAM has operated under a number of different names including UHURU, Afro-American Youth Association, Afro-Student Association, and the Black Panther Party.

While RAM is relatively small in numbers it does have a growing membership among young Negro extremists who, through a sense of frustration, advocate civil war. Robert Williams has sent an appeal to revolutionaries throughout the world to support RAM in its struggle.

In this appeal Williams asked:

As exiled leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, I beseech the decent and civilized peoples of the world to support the Afro-American in his desperate struggle for survival. We ask for support from all the civilized world in our just struggle for human rights in America, and when possible, we ask that moral support be supplemented by more tangible aid. The present situation is so desperate that armed self-defense [sic] is becoming mandatory, if our savagely besieged [sic] people are to survive, we also need financial [sic] and arms aid. We call upon all decent minded peoples to aid us through those who will soon be personally soliciting [sic] aid abroad.¹¹

RAM has officially aligned itself with the Communist Viet Cong. On July 4, 1964, RAM sent the following message to the Viet Cong:

we * * * congratulate the Vietnamese Front of National Liberation for their inspiring victories against U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam and thereby declare *Our Independence* from the policies of the U.S. government abroad and at home.

* * * * *
we of RAM do not seek assimilation or integration into this "Free World." We do not want to share in the oppression of our brothers anywhere on earth; we will not join in the White American counter-revolution that is attempting—at home and abroad—to crush the mounting revolutionary struggles.¹²

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS—OR V.C. SECOND FRONTIERS?

RAM members have refused to serve in the U.S. Armed Forces. One of these members is Charles "Mao" Johnson of Detroit, who went to Cuba in 1964 and now lives in New York where he teaches a course on Chinese communism at the so-called Free School of New York.

⁸ *Black America*, Summer-Fall 1965, p. 2.

⁹ *Monthly Review*, May 1964, p. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹¹ *Black America*, Summer-Fall 1965, p. 9.

¹² *Black America*, Fall 1964, p. 21.

Johnson wrote to his draft board:

I do not believe that Uncle Sam really wants this angry black man in his army. * * * I *will not* fight in the service of such a brutal, beastly white imperialist and racist aggressor nation.

* * * * *

But if I am snatched in over my objections, I pledge for my people to *agitate* among black soldiers to unite them around the following revolutionary principles:

1. SELF-DEFENSE & VENGEANCE
2. ALL-BLACK INDEPENDENT ACTION
3. TO FIGHT FOR "INTEGRATION": INTEGRATED POOLS OF BLOC¹³.

Johnson's letter also stated:

The policy will be, as noted by Mao Tse-tung, brilliant [sic] leader of the Chinese people, "to give tit-for-tat * * *." And * * * "to wipe you out RESOLUTELY, THOROUGHLY, WHOLLY, COMPLETELY, AND UTTERLY." * * *

* * * * *

THERE AIN'T NO WAY IN HELL that I'm going out like a fool and fight my non-white brothers in Asia, Africa and Latin America for "White Devils." * * * I *support* everything you oppose and oppose everything you support.¹⁴

J. Edgar Hoover, in testimony before a House Appropriations Subcommittee on February 16, 1967, stated that Max Stanford of RAM and Stokely Carmichael have worked closely together. Carmichael, who resigned as head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in May 1967, has become an open advocate of (Negro) guerrilla warfare in the United States. The new leader of SNCC shares Carmichael's views. H. Rap Brown gave an interview to the *National Guardian* on June 1, 1967, which was published on June 10, 1967. During the interview Brown stated:

At this time, due to the world crisis, to our position on Vietnam, we felt it necessary to make it clear that we are for the liberation of all people, for the freedom of all people, regardless of nation, regardless of race, and that we are for the destruction of the oppressor—and the main oppressor at this time is Lyndon Johnson and the United States.¹⁴

In one issue of the official publication of RAM, *Black America*, Stanford wrote that: "All AfroAmericans must begin to think like guerilla fighters, since we are all 'blood brothers' in the struggle."¹⁵ The statements of Stanford and Williams are remarkably akin on the topic of guerrilla warfare.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

¹⁴ *National Guardian*, June 10, 1967, p. 1.

¹⁵ *Black America*, Fall 1964, p. 1.

CHAPTER III

RAM'S NEW CONCEPT OF GUERRILLA WARFARE

The RAM concept of guerrilla warfare differs from traditional guerrilla warfare principles in a major respect. Mao Tse-tung, Che Guevara, and other Communist writers on guerrilla warfare, old and new, have conceived of guerrilla warfare primarily as a rural-based operation.

Robert Williams, however, the RAM mentor on violence, revolution, and guerrilla warfare, writing in his publication, *The Crusader*, early in 1964, advanced a completely new concept of guerrilla warfare. He applied traditional guerrilla warfare tactics to urban areas, particularly those which are densely populated. With special application to the United States, he advanced principles which he thought would enable revolutionaries to successfully wage guerrilla warfare against a highly industrialized nation with powerful military forces and the most modern weapons of mass destruction—and to do so in such a manner as to neutralize those weapons. Williams wrote as follows:

The new concept of revolution defies military science and tactics. The new concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities with the paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas. The old method of guerrilla warfare, as carried out from the hills and countryside, would be ineffective in a powerful country like the USA. Any such force would be wiped out in an hour. The new concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern and fierce weapons. The new concept creates conditions that involve the total community, whether they want to be involved or not. It sustains a state of confusion and destruction of property. It dislocates the organs of harmony and order and reduces central power to the level of a helpless, sprawling, octopus. During the hours of day sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping. Night brings all out warfare, organized fighting and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces. * * *

Williams predicted what would happen when the above-outlined principles were applied in the highly industrialized urban areas of the United States:

When massive violence comes, the USA will become a bedlam of confusion and chaos. The factory workers will be afraid to venture out on the streets to report to their jobs. The telephone workers and radio workers will be afraid to report. All transportation will grind to a complete standstill. Stores will be destroyed and looted. Property will be damaged and expensive buildings will be reduced to ashes. Essential pipe lines will be severed and blown up and all manner of sabotage will occur. Violence and terror will spread like a firestorm. A clash will occur inside the armed forces. At U.S. military bases around the world local revolutionaries will side with Afro G.I.'s. Because of the vast area covered by the holocaust, U.S. forces will be spread too thin for effective action. U.S. workers, who are caught on their jobs, will try to return home to protect their families. Trucks and trains will not move the necessary supplies to the big urban centers. The economy will fall into a state of chaos.¹

Several months before the Harlem riot of July 1964, the first of the major riots in this country, Williams spelled out in an issue of *The Crusader* which was mailed into this country from Peking the weapons

¹ *The Crusader*, February 1964, pp. 4, 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

and tactics that were to be used in the United States in carrying out his new concept of guerrilla warfare:

The weapons of defense employed by Afroamerican freedom fighters must consist of a poor man's arsenal. Gasoline fire bombs (Molotov cocktails), lye or acid bombs (made by injecting lye or acid in the metal end of light bulbs) can be used extensively. During the night hours such weapons, thrown from roof tops, will make the streets impossible [sic] for racist cops to patrol. Hand grenades, bazookas, lights [sic] mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns and ammunition can be bought clandestinely from servicemen, anxious to make a fast dollar. Freedom fighters in military camps can be contacted to give instructions on usage.

Extensive sabotage is possible. * * * Sugar is also highly effective in gasoline lines. Long nails driven through boards and tacks with large heads are effective to slow the movement of traffic on congested roads at night. This can cause havoc on turn-pikes. Derailing of trains causes panic. Explosive booby traps on police telephone boxes can be employed. High powered sniper rifles are readily available. Armor piercing bullets will penetrate oil storage tanks from a distance. Phosphorus matches (kitchen matches) placed in air conditioning systems will cause delayed explosions which will destroy expensive buildings. Flame throwers can be manufactured at home. Combat experienced ex-service men can easily solve that problem.³

One of Williams' latest contributions to the arsenal for urban guerrilla warriors is the jumbo-size Molotov cocktail which he calls the Black Power Bomb. This weapon, he writes, most effectively employed in narrow streets bordered by three- to four-storied buildings, can be heaved from rooftops upon armored troop carriers and tanks below with an expected "napalm-like effect." He recommends that the container should be an empty syrup bottle of 1-gallon capacity with a finger-ring grip.⁴

Another new technique in Williams' recipe for bloodshed is his "secret weapon" for close-in fighting with the police who "would never realize what hit them." This "simple, silent but deadly" instrument, which is "most potent at night" and was "highly successful when used by the Congolese revolutionaries," is the poisonous dart.⁵

"STRIKE BY NIGHT AND SPARE NONE"

Maxwell Stanford, a key official and field chairman of RAM, has also predicted in its official publication what will happen in this country when Williams' principles are applied:

Black men and women in the Armed Forces will defect and come over to join the black liberation forces. Whites who claim they want to help the revolution will be sent into the white communities to divide them * * * The revolution will "strike by night and spare none." Mass riots will occur in the day with the AfroAmericans blocking traffic, burning buildings, etc. Thousands of AfroAmericans will be in the street fighting; for they will know that this is it. The cry will be "It's On!" This will be the AfroAmerican's battle for human survival. Thousands of our people will get shot down, but thousands more will be there to fight on. The black revolution will use sabotage in the cities—knocking out the electrical power first, then transportation, and guerilla warfare in the countryside in the South. With the cities powerless, the oppressor will be helpless.⁶

Life magazine of June 10, 1966, reported upon the effect of the teachings of Robert Williams when it stated that throughout the country:

³ *The Crusader*, May-June 1964, p. 6.

⁴ *The Crusader*, September-October 1967, p. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶ *Black America*, Fall 1964, pp. 2, 22.

There are groups with weapons caches—sniper rifles, sidearms, shotguns, automatics, even bazookas—dispersed in tenement coalbins, in vacant attics, in the basements of funky bars * * *.⁷

Groups of 80 to 100 men have been seen in Harlem going through "combat drill with rifles, automatics and dummy demolition charges," *Life* reported in the same issue.⁸

RAM AND THE CLEVELAND RIOT

According to the grand jury findings on the Cleveland riot of July 18–23, 1966, RAM was using as its headquarters and training grounds a recreation center in the heart of the Hough district where the riot took place. This center, called the JFK House—the Jomo "Freedom" Kenyatta House—after the President of Kenya and the former leader of the Mau Mau—was described by Senator Frank J. Lausche (D-Ohio) as a "training ground" for snipers.

The Cleveland grand jury noted that one of the principals in the city's riot was Lewis G. Robinson, the former founder and "ultimate head" of the JFK House and also a member of the "Freedom Fighters of Ohio, the Medgar Evers Rifle Club * * * The Deacons for Defense, and the Revolutionary Action Movement."⁹

The finding of the grand jury included the statement that although Robinson pretended to be working with young people to better their education he was actually "inciting these youths to focus their hatreds" and "indoctrinating them with his own vigorous philosophy of violence."¹⁰

The grand jury went on to state:

There was evidence placed before the Jury that Rifle Clubs were formed, that ammunition was purchased, and that a range was established and used, that speeches were made at JFK House advocating the need for Rifle Clubs, and that instructions were given in the use of Molotov cocktails, and how and when to throw them to obtain maximum effect.

Further, irrefutable evidence was shown to the effect that Robinson pledged reciprocal support to and with the Communist Party of Ohio.¹¹

RAM was initially identified as being active in Cleveland in 1965 when public school authorities fired a junior high school teacher who was a RAM member and a writer for *Black America*.

The riot in Cleveland clearly demonstrated the violent nature of the RAM organization. Riots, however, are not the only goal of RAM. According to the writings of RAM leaders, they are aiming at an armed revolt that will pattern itself on the techniques of guerrilla warfare but will actually be a race war. In *The Crusader*, Robert Williams put it this way:

Throughout racist America, terrorist groups are arming and training to subdue freedom conscious Afro-Americans. Law enforcement agencies are squarely in the camp of the anti-Negro elements. Massive violence is in the offing. Afro-Americans must organize and prepare to defend themselves and their communities collectively. Arms and ammunition must be secured now in great quantities.¹²

In an earlier issue Williams had written that:

The American mind has been conditioned to think of great calamities, wars and revolutionary upheavals as taking place on distant soil. Because of the vast

⁷ Russell Sackett, "Plotting A War On 'Whitey,'" *Life*, June 10, 1966, p. 100A.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Special Grand Jury Report Relating to Hough Riots, p. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹² *The Crusader*, March 1965, p. 8.

upper and middle classes in the USA, that have grown accustomed to comfortable living, the nation is not psychologically prepared for massive violence and a sudden disruption of the essential agencies of the affluent society. The soft society is highly susceptible to panic.

* * * * *

The forces of the state must be kept under pressure in many places, simultaneously. The white supremacy masses must be forced to retreat to their homes in order to give security to their individual families.

* * * * *

Like it or not, we cannot escape the trend of history. The hour is fast approaching when our people must make a decision to meekly submit to fascist forces of terror and extermination or surge forth to the battle to liberate ourselves, save America and liquidate its domestic enemies. * * *¹⁸

And it is important, in Williams' opinion, that foreign connections be established:

Our friends are growing throughout the world, while those of our oppressors are diminishing. It is important that we immediately create stronger ties with our brothers of Latin America, Asia and Africa. It is important that our people stop cooperating with our oppressor and exert more effort to expose his beastly ways to the peoples of the world. Yes, we can win because our struggle is just and our friends are many. The hand writing is already on the wall. Victory is now within our reach. LET US PREPARE TO SEIZE IT!¹⁴

RIOT—OR WAR OF "LIBERATION"?

Black America has carried an unsigned article entitled "The African American War of National Liberation" which openly called for an armed revolt in the United States. It stated in part that:

Blood flows in "real" revolution. Millions of Americans blood will flow both white and black in the coming revolution. This description is built on realism not utopianism. It is built on the concept of two different ways of life clashing, essentially two different nations—white America vs. Black America. Our concept of revolution is not designed to frighten off punks, spineless and gutless people. It is important for us to know what "real" revolution means. * * *

* * * * *

The African-American revolutionary awaits the day when Black humanism will prevail over white decadent materialism; for on that day the oppressed will see the sunrise again, the redeemers will walk the earth * * *! Up you mighty revolutionaries, you can accomplish what you will!¹⁵

It is interesting to note that even with all of the writings and plans of RAM there is no serious discussion of what would take place in this country once the RAM members "gained power." Is it to be assumed that Williams would be made king; would the government be modeled on the "socialism" of Nkrumah, the deposed Marxist ruler of Ghana, or would it instead join the Chinese in their "great leap" to communism?

The "taking" of power implies that the people involved have some serious concept of what "power" involves and also what constitutes a government. To date, the people surrounding RAM have not given any indication of such an understanding. They apparently want to destroy everything and create their own Armageddon. A total state of anarchy could follow a racial civil war in this country. One can only surmise that the followers of RAM are so involved in their own brand of political insanity that they seriously believe that

¹⁸ *The Crusader*, May-June 1964, pp. 5-7.

¹⁴ *The Crusader*, February 1964, p. 5.

¹⁵ *Black America*, Summer-Fall 1963, pp. 18, 19.

once "power" is in their hands a governmental structure will automatically appear.

The assassination of whites and even Negroes who do not support its program is part of RAM's philosophy. In *Black America* an unsigned article reveals:

As the struggle becomes more intense, a Mau-Mau of a political form will probably have political ambitions which the house niggers, (uncle toms) and the public racists will be unable to fulfill. It will probably assassinate racist leaders and house niggers who don't follow its line. The cry in the black community will be "Liberation or Death!" * * * 16

Robert Williams, who had been active while in the United States in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee as Lee Harvey Oswald had been, sent a telegram to President John F. Kennedy from Peking on September 27, 1963. The text of Williams' telegram to President Kennedy was released by the New China News Agency and reads as follows:

From the liberated CPR, staunch supporter of the Negro struggle for freedom, as a former official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People again I add my voice to the many peoples of the world who are protesting the savage persecution, murder, and unjust imprisonment of Afro-Americans. The barbaric conduct of U.S. racists enjoying the aid and comfort of your government exposes your pious-sounding speeches as the vilest sort of hypocrisy. Is Birmingham indicative of the democracy the United States would like to export to Latin America, Asia, and Africa? Let me remind you that these heathen racist crimes against black humanity shall be avenged. 17

On August 29, 1966, a rally of the Black Panther Party was held in New York. Among the speakers were Max Stanford, Stokely Carmichael, and William Epton of the Progressive Labor Party. According to an Associated Press dispatch of August 30 concerning this rally:

Stanford took the podium. Flanked by members of the Black Panther group, he said "black men" must unite in overthrowing their white "oppressors", but must do it "like panthers—smiling, cunning, scientifically . . . striking by night and sparing no one."

Stanford said the U.S. could be brought down with "a rag and some gasoline and a bottle,"—the ingredients of a fire bomb. 18

On June 21, 1967, the New York City Police Department arrested two active members of the Revolutionary Action Movement on the charge of conspiring to murder Roy Wilkins, the executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, among others. Fourteen other RAM members were also charged with violations of the New York State criminal anarchy law. A seventeenth person, Maxwell Stanford, the leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, was arrested in Philadelphia as part of this plot. The police seized a considerable amount of inflammatory literature, 30 weapons, more than a thousand rounds of ammunition, plastic gas cans filled with gas, and almost 275 packets of heroin. It is unknown whether those arrested were narcotic users or whether the heroin was for use in recruiting criminal elements to carry out their plans.

On September 27, 1967, the Philadelphia law authorities charged certain members of RAM with solicitation to murder and to commit arson, conspiracy, carrying bombs and explosives, felonious possession of explosives, attempted murder, and conspiracy to commit riotous destruction of property. 19

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁷ New China News Agency, Peking, Sept. 27, 1963.

¹⁸ Austin Scott, Associated Press Dispatch, Aug. 30, 1966.

¹⁹ Washington Evening Star, Sept. 28, 1967, p. A-16.

They had allegedly planned to create a riot on July 29, 1967, for the purpose of luring the police and city officials, including the mayor, to the scene of the turmoil with the intent to poison them. According to the city's district attorney, RAM's plan had been to place deadly potassium cyanide in the coffee and sandwiches which would have been served to the riot police from portable canteens stationed in the vicinity of the staged riot in North Philadelphia. According to one newspaper account, a city toxicologist estimated that RAM had possessed enough poison to kill over 4,000 persons.

RAM's chairman-in-exile, Robert Williams, announced in the December 1967 issue of his newsletter, *The Crusader*, that he wanted to return to the United States and that he had written to court officials in Monroe, N.C., asking for specific information about the charges against him and the amount of bail that would be required to free him following his arraignment.

Williams noted in *The Crusader* that if he returned to this country, he would have to go to Monroe to answer the "trumped-up" kidnaping charge. He expressed the hope that if this developed "10,000 persons will be able to converge on Monroe and that there will be an encampment there * * *"²⁰

Enlarging on the subject of this demonstration, Williams wrote:

The Monroe Court-in, seminar on kangaroo justice, conference and encampment should be planned to coincide with the coming U.S. farce called elections. The Monroe campaign must also be the beginning of a drive to effect the release of all political prisoners incarcerated inside America.²¹

Williams appealed for additional suggestions and more detailed plans for the Monroe Court-in—and also for the names of persons who would be qualified to help in the areas of organization, publicity, international liaison, fundraising, logistics, security, etc. He asked that all suggestions be sent to him in Peking or to his lawyer, Conrad Lynn, in New York City.

In giving the reasons why he wanted to return to the United States, Williams wrote in part:

The ultimate aim of a Revolutionary Black Nationalist must be to forge the closest possible unity based on common heritage, common suffering and a common faith of common resistance in a common endeavor to overturn a common tyranny. * * *²²

Williams' attorney, Conrad Lynn, revealed early in 1968 that he and Williams had been in touch with the State Department in an effort to pave the way for Williams' return. On January 10, 1968, Lynn announced that a committee had been formed to effect Williams' return to the United States and to support him as the black power candidate for President. He said that the group was prepared to raise bail in any amount so that Williams would be free to campaign for the Presidency and that he had written to Williams in part as follows:

"The black revolutionary movement in this country has no nationally and internationally recognized leader. Yet this is the year above all for the black militants to make their move.

"I have been requested by an ad hoc political committee to arrange for you to return to the U.S. immediately so that you may become a candidate for President. * * *"²³

²⁰ *The Crusader*, December 1967, p. 8.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²² *Workers World*, Jan. 18, 1968, p. 3.

²³ *New York Post*, Jan. 10, 1968, p. 30.

On the weekend of March 30, 1968, a convention of black nationalists was held in Detroit under the sponsorship of the Malcolm X Society. Fifty delegates to the convention signed a declaration of independence calling for the establishment of a separate Negro nation in the territory encompassed by the States of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina.

Robert Williams was elected president of the group. H. Rap Brown, chairman of SNCC, was elected as the organization's "minister of defense." The widow of Malcolm X, Mrs. Betty Shabbazz, was elected a vice president.

CHAPTER IV

THE HARLEM RIOT—THE FIRST CLEAR INDICATION

July of 1964 saw New York City rocked by Negro riots that began in Harlem and then spread to the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. The Harlem riot gave the first clear indication that the Communists were deeply involved in these disturbances and that they were actually training and directing rioters. When Harlem erupted in the summer of 1964, there was evidence of preparation and ample weapons for the rioters. Police were not only bombarded with rocks and trash, but were also fired upon by snipers and had Molotov cocktails thrown at them.

A riot is a complex organism. Although there is often a single spark that ignites a riotous situation, it is never an isolated specific that creates the major force behind the riot. Riots—be they racial, social, or political—are not created over one lone incident. Conditions for a riot have to build over a period of time. Anger grows until one incident sends the people into the streets.

The New York riots of 1964 are a case in point.¹ The spark that apparently ignited the wrath of Harlem was the shooting of a 15-year-old Negro by a white policeman. In the ensuing controversy over the shooting many civil rights leaders denounced the shooting as "murder," and relations between the police and the Harlem Negroes deteriorated rapidly. Still, this isolated act, for which the policeman was later exonerated, was only the *apparent* reason for the later rioting.

The riots left 1 dead, 118 reported injured, some 465 arrested, and over 400 business establishments damaged and looted at a cost of millions of dollars in the New York City area. It should be stressed that the riots were not totally unexpected in Harlem. The police had known for some time that the objective conditions for some kind of outburst were evident in this "ghetto." As stated earlier, relations between the police and the Harlem residents had reached a low ebb during the early summer of 1964 when civil rights groups tried to outdistance each other in their charges of "police brutality." Unemployment was high, and the summer heat helped drive the people from their apartments to the sidewalks and front steps. Added to this agitation were the obvious poverty and slum conditions within Harlem. Long past nightfall thousands of Harlem Negroes sought an escape from the heat by wandering the streets. There was also the constant talk of a "long hot summer," which seemed to both predict and entice the people into some violent action.

On Thursday, July 16, police lieutenant Thomas R. Gilligan shot a 15-year-old Negro boy, James Powell. Gilligan claimed that he shot only after the boy had attacked him with a knife and ignored a warning to stop. According to Communists and civil rights groups, the boy

¹ On Oct. 31 and Nov. 1, 1967, this committee held hearings on the extent of subversive influence in the Harlem riot. The hearing record will be published in the near future.

had no knife and the shooting was unjustified. Later hearings on the subject cleared the officer of any criminal actions.

The following Saturday night, CORE held a protest rally in the heart of Harlem. Speakers excoriated the police. A preacher said it was time to act by marching to the police station two blocks away to demand Lieutenant Gilligan's suspension. The crowd moved off to shouts of "Let's do it now."

When the mob arrived at the stationhouse they were met by a solid wall of police. Bottles and bricks suddenly began to pour down on the police from the rooftops, and the crowd appeared ready to charge the station. The police responded by putting on steel helmets and shooting over the heads of the rioters. When a police captain told the demonstrators to go home a voice screamed, "We are home, baby."

From this point on, for a solid week, Harlem was an armed camp. Night after night the police were confronted with mobs of angry Negroes bent on destruction and looting. The riots culminated in the arrest of Bill Epton, an admitted Communist, on Saturday, July 25, when he attempted to conduct a march through Harlem inciting the people to further violence.

The Harlem riot, called a "rebellion" by the Communists, was the first major riot in which Negroes began an almost systematic destruction of their own "ghetto." The Harlem riot also gave a clear indication, to anyone willing to learn, that the Communists were actively engaged in attempting to create riot conditions in most large city black "ghettos."

COMMUNISTS—A SIGNIFICANT ROLE

Almost immediately after the riots flared, the police and city officials produced facts that showed that the Communists had played a role in the creation and continuation of the riots. Most of the rational civil rights groups admitted that Communists were involved in the riots, but they disagreed over their significance. Now, some 4 years later, it is possible to assemble the evidence and see, as the FBI said after its own investigation, that the Communists played a significant role in the riots, although it would be a mistake to credit them as the sole agent of the disturbances.

To blame the Communists alone for the riots would be to becloud a complex issue by ascribing more power to the Communists than they possess in Harlem. It would be equally fallacious to belittle their role. A complete picture would depict the Communists as the major agitators in the ghetto prior to the riots. The Communists certainly did everything in their power to incite the people into a state of frenzy against the police. Once the riots began, it is equally clear that the Communists did everything in their power to perpetuate them and to intensify them where possible.

Paul Screvane, the acting mayor of New York, stated on the 4th day of the violence that "known Communists" had been involved in inflammatory rallies and meetings and that investigations were underway to determine if Communist money had financed some of the demonstrations.³ The deputy police commissioner, Walter Arm, said the police had been "investigating very closely indications of left-wing

³ *New York Daily News*, July 22, 1964, p. 12.

incitement * * *." President Johnson called in the FBI to assist the city authorities in an investigation.

For months prior to the riots the Communists in Harlem had been conducting a steady campaign against the police and repeating the phrase that it was going to be a "long hot summer." The stage was set by protests, meetings, rallies, picketing, and harassment of white merchants. All of the various Communist organizations were involved in this action, but the Communist Party and Progressive Labor led the pack.

CPUSA leaders participated in violence-inciting rallies in Harlem during the riots. William L. Patterson, then chairman of the New York State District Committee of the Communist Party, and Robert Thompson, the former New York State chairman of the party, attended a rally where identified Communist Jesse Gray called openly for "guerrilla warfare" to stop so-called "police brutality." Gray, identified as a Communist Party member by another witness, invoked the fifth amendment 20 times when asked about Communist associations by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in February 1960.

THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

The Progressive Labor Party conducted a more militant campaign to discredit the police and inflame the people. The Progressive Labor Party might accurately be termed the American arm of the Chinese Communist international. It differs from the American Communist Party over the "means" to be used to establish the same end—communism. Just as there is an international conflict over "theory" between the Soviet Union and Communist China, so there is a national conflict between the advocates of the two positions throughout the world.

The Chinese have successfully created rump Communist parties in a number of countries and have actually taken control of the existing Communist Party in Belgium, New Zealand, and Japan. In the United States the Chinese concept of violent revolutionary overthrow of capitalism was taken up in 1961 following a mass expulsion from the American CPUSA of people charged with "left-deviationism."

Those expelled immediately formed the Progressive Labor Movement and began to institute a revolutionary program that is certainly more openly violent than the current policies of the CPUSA. This in no way diminishes the danger of the CPUSA; it simply means that there is another major Communist party in the United States. They are both seeking the same "ends," but they differ currently on the "means" to be used to gain them.

Progressive Labor, in its short history, has built a record of violence. Its members have been involved in an attempt to carry on, in Monroe, N.C., the concepts of Robert Williams after he fled to Cuba. They have attempted to arm miners in Hazard, Ky., during a strike. Progressive Labor organized the two student trips to Cuba in the summers of 1963 and 1964. Progressive Labor was responsible for two riots in New York's Times Square called to protest the war in Vietnam. It has also been involved in the "ghetto" riot in San Francisco, stored firearms in New York, and developed an "underground" pro-

³ *New York Times*, July 22, 1964, p. 1.

⁴ *New York Times*, July 20, 1964, p. 16.

gram. The role of Progressive Labor in the Harlem riot is instructive because it shows exactly how the Communists operate in a riot situation.

HARLEM DEFENSE COUNCILS

For weeks prior to the riot the Progressive Labor newspaper, *Challenge*, carried phony articles about police brutality. Progressive Labor reported that one Negro had been beaten until his eye actually hung from the socket. This was later proven untrue, but such stories certainly added to the anger and frustration of the "ghetto." The Progressive Labor chieftain in Harlem, Bill Epton, who had been expelled from the CPUSA in 1961, had already begun to set up a special "front" group for the riots. This "Harlem Defense Council" was designed to create the framework through which organized guerilla warfare could be carried out against the police. The Harlem Defense Councils not only teach karate, but have also attempted to enlist the support of various "ghetto" criminals and teenage gangs. Epton and other Progressive Labor leaders told this writer that the Harlem Defense Councils were set up to get the people into the streets whenever a confrontation with the police took place. Epton has also organized classes on guerrilla warfare and has conducted target practice on Long Island prior to the riot.

The role of Progressive Labor in promoting the riots was so evident to anyone involved on the leftwing that even the American Communist Party was forced to conclude, in a *Worker* article on November 15, 1964, that the PLP played a "provocative role in the recent Harlem riots."⁵

"SMASH THIS STATE COMPLETELY"

Harlem PLP leader Bill Epton, in his role as revolutionary, told an open-air, PLP-organized rally in Harlem about 2 hours before the riot began.

we will not be fully free until we smash this state completely and totally. Destroy and set up a new state of our own choosing and our own liking.

And in that process of smashing this state, we're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges, and we'll have to go up against their army. We'll organize our own militia and our own army. * * *

That Saturday night and during the next bloody week, Progressive Labor was in the middle of most of the violence. Epton and the former folksinger, Bill McAdoo, who headed the Harlem Defense Council, held almost hourly meetings with the rioters. Discussions took place in the Progressive Labor office in Harlem concerning the making of Molotov cocktails and their utilization against the police. Unfortunately for Epton, some of the students attending these classes included policemen working undercover.

Thousands of the infamous "Wanted for Murder—Gilligan the Cop" posters were printed in the Progressive Labor printshop. These posters were distributed throughout Harlem during the riot and helped to inflame the rioters even more. During the week of the riot, headlines in the PL newspaper, *Challenge*, screamed "POLICE TERROR."⁷

⁵ *The Worker*, Nov. 15, 1964, p. 11.

⁶ Transcription of tape of speech by Bill Epton made on July 18, 1964, at 4 p.m. on Lenox Ave. and 116th St., New York City, p. 4.

⁷ *Challenge*, July 26, 1964, p. 1.

Challenge editorialized that:

The rebellion sparked by his murder [Powell's] will not end soon—in fact, indications are that it is spreading throughout the City. The vision of half a million—or a million—angry black men and women, supported by allies in the Puerto Rican and other working class communities, standing up to their oppressors, is haunting the ruling class. People have already begun to speak of “guerrilla warfare” and “revolutionaries.”⁸

The editorial went on to admit some PLP role in the riot:

There are reds in Harlem, yes—black reds. Bill Epton and the PLM have never made a secret of their revolutionary position, neither has CHALLENGE. We advocate and work for a people's revolution to establish socialism, with all power in the hands of the working people. This is the only permanent solution to Jim Crow, unemployment and killer-cops. * * *

Challenge ended the editorial by telling its readers:

Let no one plead for “peace” while our children are being murdered in the streets. This is not the hour to “stay home” from the freedom fight.¹⁰

During the Harlem riot the Harlem Defense Council and Progressive Labor printed and distributed leaflets that read in part:

ORGANIZE YOUR BLOCKS: The events of the last two days have shown that if we are not organized we are just a mob and are not in a position to properly deal with the enemy. * * * The Harlem Defense Council calls on all black people of Harlem to set up Block Committees with the purpose of defending each and every block in Harlem from the cops.¹¹

PLP'S CAPACITY FOR VIOLENCE

On July 26, 1964, the city and the courts enjoined a number of Progressive Labor leaders and members, including this author, from speaking, working, organizing, etc., in Harlem for an unspecified period. During a hearing on a petition to quash the injunction, which was refused, the following testimony was received on July 27 before Judge Gerald Culkin of the State Supreme Court in New York City.

Patrolman Alonzo Stanley testified that at the outdoor rally, Bill Epton pointed out the policeman to the crowd and said that he, Stanley, “would have to choose sides and * * * I would not be spared, [and] my blood would flow [and] all other black officers’.”¹²

Police officer Clarence Crabb testified that Bill Epton told a group on July 19: “If there was any opposition, it should not be dealt with on the avenue but the police should be sucked into the sidestreets where they should be bombard[ed] with missiles.”¹³

Another policeman, Clifton King, testified that Epton told the crowd that “people were wasting their time throwing empty bottles but if they filled them with some kind of liquid it could create more disturbance.”¹⁴

Following the riots, a grand jury was impaneled to consider possible criminal indictments. Bill Epton was indicted for his role and later convicted. None of the Progressive Labor people called before the grand jury answered the questions posed to them by the district attorney. Subsequently, a number of these people were convicted of civil contempt, and some served jail sentences while others are still

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹¹ Harlem Defense Council flyer distributed July 20, 1964.

¹² New York Times, July 28, 1964, p. 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

appealing their cases. One Progressive Labor member, Vivian Anderson, refused to tell the grand jury whether she had heard Epton discuss the purchase of firearms. Bill McAdoo refused to answer when asked whether he had given a demonstration at the Harlem PL headquarters on how to make Molotov cocktails.

"OVERTHROW THE SYSTEM"

Progressive Labor held a national coordinating committee meeting in October 1964 to discuss the riots and to lay plans for future "ghetto" agitation. At this coordinating committee meeting, Milt Rosen, the leader of Progressive Labor, made the point that "we have to be very clear what we mean by revolutionary and I want to underline Morty's [Mortimer Scheer, the West Coast leader of PL] point of view, because when I talk about revolutionary what I mean is that you want to overthrow the system and have the dictatorship of the proletariat." He shored up this point by adding: "I'm fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat. When I talk about revolution that [is] what I mean."¹⁶

During the discussion on the Harlem riot, Bill McAdoo complained, "We didn't get the support we needed and could have gotten even from the East Side Club [of Progressive Labor]."¹⁶ Milton Rosen then said, "We didn't lay the groundwork and when it happened we were weak."¹⁷

THE PLANNED DIVERSIONARY RIOT

Alice Jerome, the leader of the Lower East Side Club, defended that club's relative inaction during the riots by stating:

There was a time when we could have gone along with, and participated in and helped to stimulate a much more wide-spread uprising on the lower east side, as part of our expression of support and solidarity to what was going on in Harlem, and we didn't do it, and we very consciously didn't do it. We tried to evaluate our position in the community, as to who would go with us and who wouldn't, and we felt that the main support for the anti-police uprising that was imminent [sic] on 3rd street where we were having our street meetings were not the Puerto Rican people of that community * * * We felt that we could not carry an action through with any kind of success or value, other than a blood bath.

* * * * *

If the opportunity comes again—the big question is—how to consolidate whatever gains are made. * * *¹⁸

This remarkable discussion among the Progressive Labor Communists is instructive because it proves that they are scheming to "overthrow the system and have the dictatorship of the proletariat" and that a diversionary riot was seriously contemplated.

The Lower East Side Club was the obvious choice of Progressive Labor to instigate a parallel riot because it had been working for months in an attempt to rouse the Puerto Ricans in that area to fight the police. Street meetings, many of which the author attended, were held in which the police were accused of an enormity of crimes and the people urged to arm and fight back against the police.

¹⁶ Pre-Convention Discussion Bulletin #2 containing minutes of October 1964 meeting of National Coordinating Committee, PLP, p. 23.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38.

This concept of diversionary riot is an important part of the Communist plan to create anarchy out of a riot. In a city the size of New York, once the police are drawn into Harlem to fight the mobs it would create momentary havoc if another riot took place in another part of the city. The police lines would initially be drawn thin and the rioters could wreak destruction almost unabated for a time. Riots springing up throughout a city could also cause panic among the general public who would fear to venture onto the streets.

CHINESE COMMUNISTS SUPPORT PL VIOLENCE

On August 8, 1966, more than 10,000 people gathered in Peking to hear Chinese Communists and Robert Williams support American Negroes' use of "revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence."¹⁹ During the rally the following message from Bill Epton to Robert Williams was read to the crowd:

"The black people in the U.S.A. are in the midst of their struggle to achieve their self-determination and liberation. We, at the same time, offer our resolute support to the heroic Vietnamese people who are waging a militant armed struggle against U.S. imperialism to win their self-determination. We salute the Chinese people for giving leadership to the world revolutionary movement against U.S. imperialism * * *. We join hands with you on this occasion with the knowledge that the world revolutionary movement will be victorious over U.S. imperialism and its revisionist collaborators."²⁰

Basing its political strategy on the Chinese model of guerrilla warfare and violent revolution, the Progressive Labor Party represents a definite threat to the Negro people and the civil rights movement. The Harlem riot proved that Progressive Labor is intent upon fomenting violence and guerrilla warfare whenever possible. The "ghetto" areas have been chosen as the prime target because, to quote Mort Scheer, the West Coast leader of PL, "black Marxist-Leninists will lead this revolution."²¹

¹⁹ *The Crusader*, October 1966, pp. 3, 4.

²⁰ *Peking Review*, Aug. 12, 1966, pp. 19, 20.

²¹ PLP Pre-Convention Discussion Bulletin #2, p. 10.

CHAPTER V

CLEVELAND—"TRAINED AND DISCIPLINED PROFESSIONALS"

In Cleveland, Ohio, the Communist and black militant doctrine of promoting and supporting violence was clearly evidenced. The special grand jury report on the riots was very clear regarding the role of both. Because of their clarity and lack of emotional rhetoric, the sections of the grand jury report dealing specifically with their roles in the riots are reproduced here:

This Jury finds that the outbreak of lawlessness and disorder was both organized, precipitated, and exploited by a relatively small group of trained and disciplined professionals at this business.

They were aided and abetted, wittingly or otherwise, by misguided people of all ages and colors, many of whom are avowed believers in violence and extremism, and some of whom also are either members of or officers in the Communist party.

The majority of people in the Hough Area had no part in either the lawlessness or disorders.

* * * * *

This Jury, in consideration of the basic and wide public interest, and exercising the latitude granted it under the laws which empower the creation of such a body as ours, nonetheless makes reference to individuals and organizations that in varying degrees were contributors to the Hough Area lawlessness and disorder.

It further notes the presence of many of these same individuals and organizations in another instance of lawlessness and disorder, that on Superior Avenue, which bore many of the striking similarities to the Hough Area disorders.

It notes the further significant fact that the Superior Avenue episode preceded the Hough Avenue disorders by less than a month.

Some of the same people were observed in both places on several nights of the disorders.

This jury further believes, that, even though what already happened is both regrettable and tragic in every conceivable human aspect, there is a grave potentiality for repetition of these disorders, or others like them, occurring elsewhere in this community.

* * * * *

Finally, before making specific reference to adult leaders in this [sic] crisis areas, and the events leading up to them, the Jury respectfully calls attention to the effective uses made of impressionable and emotionally immature and susceptible young minds by those who for one reason or another have set out to accomplish their designs and objectives in Europe, Asia, South America and elsewhere.

It is no casual happenstance or coincidence that those throwing fire bombs, or bricks, or bottles, or pillaging or generally engaged in disorder and lawlessness were in the main young people obviously assigned, trained and disciplined in the roles they were to play in the pattern of these dual outbreaks separated by less than one month.

Nor, by the same token, is it happenstance, or even just singular coincidence:

- 1.—That the overall pattern for firebombing and destruction to both the Superior and Hough Areas was so highly selective;
- 2.—That the targets were plainly agreed upon;
- 3.—That certain places were identified to be hit, and that certain other places were similarly spared.

On both of these occasions, the Superior and Hough disorders, the presence of teenagers previously referred to was observed by the police, by plainclothes officers and undercover agents who had been assigned for long periods to observe these you ths.

With this background firmly established by the Jury's inquiry, and with the notable help of County Prosecutor John T. Corrigan and his staff, particularly Asst. County Prosecutor John T. Patton, this Jury herewith makes reference to some of the principal and recurring personalities in the chain of events which preceded both the Superior and Hough situations:

THE JFK HOUSE

The JFK House, meaning Jamo Freedom Kenyata [sic] House, is located at 8801 Superior Avenue. The leaders are:

Lewis G. Robinson, and Beth Robinson, his wife, living at 1242 E. 89th Street; Harlell Jones, 9718 Hough Avenue, Albert De-Were-Bey, 11611 Castelwood Avenue, and Phillip Morris, 7806 Radell Avenue.

Lewis Robinson has been affiliated with the Freedom Fighters of Ohio, the Medgar Evers Rifle Club (which he helped to found), The JFK House, of which he is the ultimate head, The Deacons for Defense, and the Revolutionary Action Movement.

All of these Clubs, to which Lewis Robinson belongs are black nationalist clubs.

Testimony before this Jury discredited Lewis Robinson as a leader concerned with generally altruistic interests in youth but rather points to him as inciting these youths to focus their hatreds and as indoctrinating them with his own vigorous philosophy of violence.

He exerted a profound influence over the JFK youth and he still does.

Harlell Jones is affiliated with JFK House, the Medgar Evers Rifle Club, the Revolutionary Action Movement; he is vice-president of the Deacons for Defense in spite of his public disavowals, and has frequently either presided over or sponsored meetings for black nationalists, and espouses the ultimate revolutionary purpose for adjusting differences or obtaining desired ends.

Along with Lewis G. Robinson, Harlell Jones caused 2,000 pieces of literature to be printed and circulated, citing alleged instances of "police brutality", and on the eve of the Hough riots, circulated the greatest number of these to youths of non-voting age under the plausible guide [sic] of urging the defeat of a levy at the polls.

Special movies of an undisclosed and voluntary interview shown to the Jury presented Harlell Jones as an outright exponent of violence, a black power apostle with a bitter hatred for all whites, a co-founder of the Rifle Club * * *.

Albert D. Ware-Bey, belonged to the same Clubs as Harlell Jones. He declined to testify before the Jury. Police agencies presented evidence that Ware, Robinson and Jones all purchased quantities of rifles, and all belonged to the Rifle Clubs here and in other cities.

Ware-Bey expressed no allegiance to this country, professed himself not to be bound by its laws, and in the opinion of the Jury, by both testimony and his own conduct, was not one who could have other than destructive influence upon youths either at the JFK House or elsewhere.

There was evidence placed before the Jury that Rifle Clubs were formed, that ammunition was purchased, and that a range was established and used, and that speeches were made at JFK House advocating the need for Rifle Clubs, and that instructions were given in the use of Molotov cocktails, and how and when to throw them to obtain maximum effect.

Further, irrefutable evidence was shown to the effect that Robinson pledged reciprocal support to and with the Communist Party of Ohio.

In addition, Robinson attended many meetings at which imported Communist speakers talked and was arrested at one of these.

It was established before the Jury that the leaders of the WEB DuBois Club and the Communist Youth Party, with interchangeable officers and virtually identical concepts, arrived in Cleveland only a few days before the Hough Area disorders.

They took up residence at 1844 East 81st Street, only a short distance from the Central point of origin of the Hough Area troubles.

These men, who came from Chicago, New York and Brooklyn, were Mike Baer, otherwise known as Mike Davidow, Daniel Mack, Ronald Lucas, and Steve Shreefter.

They were seen constantly together. They made swift contact with the JFK House leadership, and with Phil Bart, of Middlehurst Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, and his wife, Connie, who, the evidence showed, are the leaders of the Communist party throughout the Ohio Valley District including Cleveland.

With specific regard to the WEB DuBois Club, the evidence further showed that Mike Bayer, Daniel Mack, Ron Lucas and Steve Shreefer, previously living and residing a large part of their time outside of Cleveland, are currently making plans to move their efforts from the Hough Area over to the West Side. That they are not employed, are now so far as the Jury knows without any visible means of support but nevertheless are able to carry on their advocacy and to maintain themselves with clothing, food and shelter from some undetermined source. Finally, evidence was presented that UJAMA is an organization dedicated to black power and has begun its effort to establish itself in the Cleveland area. Their philosophy is that black people should be governed by themselves in every respect and that anything pertaining to the rights of negroes must be cleared through the central organization of UJAMA which has flourished in New York, and has spread into other places, and is embraced locally by Lewis Robinson and his Lieutenants at JFK House. In attendance at one specific meeting at which plans for UJAMA in Cleveland were discussed were Robinson, Jones and Ware-Bey. Also in attendance at this meeting was Cornelius Freeman from Cleveland and Oserjiman Adefumi, and also known as Serge King, and Gizengaga Latunji, representing New York UJAMA.

It is this Jury's opinion that the investigative authorities have progressed sufficiently to justify the expectation they will ultimately, if either urged or permitted to follow beyond what they have thus far gathered be able to put together all of the pieces to this pattern of lawlessness and disorder.

Because of this Jury's strong judgment in this regard it earnestly urges its successors to pursue the Superior and Hough disorders with the utmost vigor and determination.

Nothing less than this should be permitted in the public interest.

In this section of its report to Judge Thomas J. Parrino the Jury wishes to reiterate the fact that the overall majority of the people living in the Hough area, distressed, frustrated, beset with problems unimaginable to those who do not endure them, had nothing whatever to do with these disorders and destructions, and the Jury, on the contrary, expresses its wholesome admiration for their good citizenship and restraint in these tense and emotional times.

In the course of its investigation, the Grand Jury has learned that police and firemen were targets for snipers and individuals throwing rocks and bricks.

Further, fire equipment was damaged, particularly hoses, which were cut or attempted to be cut so as to render them useless in the protection of persons and property.

These acts were a direct affront to lawful authority and of necessity would lead to justifiable armed self-protection, unfortunately resulting in occasional injury and death to the innocent.

These senseless acts cannot be tolerated and the perpetrators should be subjected to severe penalties.

The police and firemen on the other hand should be commended for their efforts to maintain law and order in the face of great personal danger.¹

W. E. B. DUBOIS CLUBS

The grand jury also received evidence that leaders of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs "arrived in Cleveland only a few days before the Hough Area disorders" and that "they took up residence * * * only a short distance from the Central point of origin" of the Hough riot.²

The DuBois Clubs of America are the youth arm of the Communist Party of the United States. The Attorney General has called them to appear before the Subversive Activities Control Board where he has charged them with being a "Communist-front organization." The petition of the Attorney General stated in part:

From its inception, DCA has been and is substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party and has been and is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party. * * *

¹ Special Grand Jury Report Relating to Hough Riots, pp. 1-9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ Petition, *Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Attorney General of the United States, v. W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America*, sec. III, p. 2, filed with the Subversive Activities Control Board.

The DuBois Clubs are now actively organizing in the Watts district of Los Angeles in the hope that yet another "ghetto" riot can be produced. The leader of the DuBois Clubs in that area, and its recently elected national chairman, is Franklin Alexander. Alexander is a member of the CPUSA and has advocated that Watts hold a referendum to see whether it can withdraw from the city of Los Angeles and incorporate itself as a separate entity. The absurdity of this concept is pointed up with the realization that this would mean a cutoff of unemployment and welfare funds now paid into Watts from Los Angeles.

CHAPTER VI

THE WATTS RIOT—A CIVIL REVOLT?

The Watts riot of August 1965 was one of the most destructive and ominous of any of the "ghetto" riots to date.¹ This riot resulted in 37 deaths, over 1,000 injuries, over 4,000 arrests, 600 buildings destroyed, and a property loss of at least \$40 million. Today, the same conditions exist that fomented the original Watts riot with the possible exception that *more* agitators are now at work trying to organize the people.

The spark that apparently set off the 1965 riot in Watts was the arrest of a young Negro for drunk driving. This seemingly routine arrest triggered a family fight with the police and the massing of hundreds of Negroes into the streets. The immediate cry of "police brutality" resounded through the crowd and the riot that broke out later in the evening has usually been traced to this incident.

This destructive riot, which coined the phrase, "Burn, baby, burn," was undoubtedly caused in part by a resentment of the people of the "ghetto" toward the police and white people in particular. A young Negro participant told the authors of *Burn, Baby, Burn!*, Jerry Cohen and William S. Murphy:

"You hear people say it wasn't a race riot. Let them. The average person out there in the streets knew what it was and he considered it a war. A civil revolt. That's what it was—a civil revolt. At first it was against the white police. Then—not just the police, but all whites. I saw only two Negro cops all the time I was in the streets. And I was in the streets all the time. I hardly ever slept those days and nights. They should have known better. Why did they send in so many white police? * * *

"The second night, I got more involved. More and more of my friends got beaten. I got hit in the head with a billyclub. I was there when a car got burned up after the white driver got out and ran. They didn't kill him. But they beat him up real bad. I ran after him to hit him, too. But I couldn't catch up. * * *"

The cause and effect logic in this statement is strange. Here the young man complains of the police and their "brutality," yet admits being a part of the mob and trying to beat up an innocent motorist. But he considers it an affront that white police are trying to control his (and the mob's) anger.

In an article in the November 1966 issue of the *Liberator*, a Negro lawyer from Sacramento, Calif., S. Carter McMorris, offers this explanation of the riots—

the majority of Americans refuses to acknowledge that the motivating cause of the uprising was the failure of law enforcement to offer protection while at the same time it persistently visited brutality and abuse upon the Black man. In this perspective, the actions of the rioters, hopeless yet fearless, outnumbered and overwhelmed by police and military power, risking and experiencing death in their protest against injustice, partake of some of the heroism of the Colonists who were rebels and insurrectionists fighting against no greater deprivations in their time.²

¹ On Nov. 28, 29, and 30, 1967, this committee held hearings, soon to be printed, on the Watts riot.

² Jerry Cohen and William S. Murphy, *Burn, Baby, Burn!* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1966), p. 102.

³ *Liberator*, November 1966, p. 6.

This is the "line" of the black nationalists, extremists, and Communists. The people of Watts were "rebell[ing]" in an "uprising" and their courage against the police and military was to be praised according to this theory, because they were fighting for justice against superior odds. Here is more of the explanation of Mr. McMorris:

The emotions which stirred a total community to this act of violent frustration were the result of a generation or so of police abuse of the dignity, the rights, and the feelings of the Black man. * * *

Watts was the extreme reaction to extreme provocation; physical violence met with physical violence.⁴

This remarkable explanatory essay ends with the usual "police brutality" claim:

I submit that, however well-intentioned may be the parties involved, however extensive may be the civil rights advances, however fully the schools may be integrated, employment discrimination removed, voting rights granted, if we neglect the eroding cancer of police brutality, a social problem in its own right, the body politic of this society will continue to fester with this malignancy which must be discovered, diagnosed, and eradicated if we are to survive.⁵

Leaving aside, for the moment, the charge that "police brutality" was the underlying cause of the Watts riot, there is a curious admission here in the pages of the *Liberator*. Mr. McMorris is not hedging, but implicitly admitting that the Negro people in this country have made great advances in their drive for equality and civil rights. This is a vital point usually neglected by the nationalists, extremists, and Communists. The Negro in the United States has made gigantic strides in this country since the abolition of slavery. And while there are still inequities and discrimination, the advancement of the Negro stands out as a vivid example of the vitality of freedom in this country.

But in Watts, the question did not relate to the advances made by the Negro citizens of this country but to the frustration over existing conditions. This frustration was spurred on by various extremist groups. Prior to the riots a number of leaflets were seen advocating resistance against alleged police brutality.

POLICE BRUTALITY—A SMOKESCREEN FOR LAWLESSNESS

On August 17, 1965, the mayor of Los Angeles, Samuel W. Yorty, charged:

"For some time there has existed a world-wide subversive campaign to stigmatize all police as brutal. The cry of police brutality has been shouted in cities all over the world by Communists, dupes and demagogues irrespective of the facts," * * *

"Criminal elements have seized upon the false charges to try to excuse their lawlessness.

"These criminal elements seek to put the blame on the police for their own wanton attacks on the persons and property of their neighbors. These criminal elements hate the police who restrain them and protect us from them to the best of their ability.

"Anyone who deliberately attempts to undermine faith in our Los Angeles Police Department is attacking the very structure of our free society and jeopardizing our safety. * * *"⁶

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶ *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, Aug. 17, 1965, pp. A-1, A-2.

According to the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, a—

high police official reportedly informed the mayor that a meeting of a Communist-line group composed of top Reds met in Los Angeles Sunday and marked the riots as an "excellent source of trouble for fomenting dissension and hatred of the police department."⁷

During the riot, leaflets flooded the Watts area bearing a picture of the chief of police of Los Angeles, William H. Parker, with the following legend: "This Man Says: YOU Committ [sic] More Crime And Violence Than Anyone Else."⁸ The leaflets were distributed by the Watts Action Committee. Other leaflets calling for specific action against the police were also seen on the streets.

Since the 1965 riot various Communist organizations have moved into the Watts area with a vengeance. An editorial in the Progressive Labor West Coast newspaper, *Spark*, claimed that the PLP—

also circulated thousands of leaflets demanding the arrest and punishment of the cop who murdered Leonard Deadwyler, and of Police Chief Parker, whose cops killed at least 34 times in Watts last summer. * * *

Spark warned Mayor Yorty that he "and his class will get justice, however—people's justice."¹⁰ All of this violent rhetoric is similar to that espoused by the Progressive Labor group during the Harlem riot when they issued a similar poster and made equally outrageous charges against the city officials of New York.

Bill McAdoo, an official of the Progressive Labor Party, explains the Watts riot as follows:

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 profiteering 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, 1965.¹¹

At a Progressive Labor Party meeting held in Watts on March 27, 1966, McAdoo related "greetings from the people of Harlem, who realize that their fight is the same as the fight of the people of Watts, all oppressed people in the United States, the people of Vietnam and the exploited nations of the world. U.S. imperialism is our common enemy."¹²

The Watts riot produced a statement from the national committee of the Progressive Labor Party. This statement claimed that—

the uprising clearly revealed the internal weaknesses of the paper tiger. The U.S. ruling class was forced to use the entire National Guard strength of California to occupy 120 miles of its own territory. The California uprising marked a real advance over last year in the ability of the people to resist, and forced the Johnson administration to further expose itself before the American people and the world despite "civil rights" bills and "leaders."¹³

Progressive Labor then went on to make the following outrageous demands:

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. A-2.

⁸ Cohen and Murphy, *op. cit.* See fifth photopage following p. 112:

⁹ *Spark*, July 1966, p. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Spark*, May 1966, p. 6.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹³ *Progressive Labor*, October 1965, p. 2.

1. Arrest the nazi Police Chief Parker, Governor Brown, and Mayor Yorty and bring them to trial for murder.
2. Disarm the criminal police and punish the guilty ones.
3. Withdraw th[e] occupation troops immediately.
4. Release the 3,000 hostages [referring to those arrested].
5. Turn the welfare agencies into job agencies and provide jobs for all.¹⁴

The black nationalists are also actively working in the Watts area. *Life* magazine explained that the nationalists "force moderate leaders to take harder lines in dealing with whites. Last month a key meeting of Negro groups was called by the Police Commission. When the leaders found no nationalists had been invited, they refused to discuss the business at hand. The extremists, they knew, could not put over a program of their own. But they could wreck any program they didn't like."¹⁵

THE CHICAGO RIOT—MORE OF THE SAME

The story is the same throughout the country. Every "ghetto" has its nationalists, extremists, and Communists. All of these groups are actively working to create riot conditions. The riot in Chicago, during the summer of 1965, produced leaflets written by John Glenn, a leader of the Trotskyist group, Spartacist, and a traveler to Cuba in the summer of 1963. Glenn was also an "unfriendly" witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the spring of 1964. These leaflets contended that: "*The people are in the right, the cops in the wrong.*" They went on to urge: "**GET THE COPS OUT! * * * ORGANIZE NEIGHBORHOOD PATROLS BY NEIGHBORHOOD PEOPLE!**"¹⁶

Two members of Spartacist were arrested during the riot and were found guilty of aiding and making a riot.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Life* magazine, July 15, 1966, p. 68.

¹⁶ *Spartacist*, November-December 1965, pp. 14, 16.

CHAPTER VII

OTHER PRO-GUERRILLA WARFARE ADVOCATES

THE REVOLUTIONARY CONTINGENT

Another guerrilla warfare-oriented group is the Revolutionary Contingent, an openly Communist organization with headquarters in New York City, which calls for "guerrilla action" in the United States and for volunteers to serve with Communist guerrillas in other nations.

The Contingent made its first public appearance in the Communist organized and directed New York City "Vietnam Week" march and demonstration of April 15, 1967.¹ A flyer distributed by the Ad Hoc Committee for a Revolutionary Contingent shortly before the demonstration urged its readers to march with the Revolutionary Contingent and "**SUPPORT THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION.**"

The flyer pointed out that while the Revolutionary Contingent was taking part in the parade and demonstration, it was opposed to the slogan "Stop the War Now!" which generally represented the approach or line of most organizations sponsoring and participating in the April 15 demonstration.

"We are not neutral in this struggle but rather are **FOR THE VICTORY** of that revolution," the flyer announced. It also stated: "The Revolutionary Contingent is Marching in Support of National Liberation Movements Throughout the World."

So that there would be no doubt about the nature and aims of the Revolutionary Contingent, the flyer outlined "**THE LIBERAL ARGUMENT**" on the war in Vietnam and also "**THE RADICAL ARGUMENT**," which was its position. This was stated as follows:

The United States is the aggressor—the Vietnamese are fighting for liberation from foreign domination.

There can be no peace without liberation.

The war in Vietnam is both deliberate and necessary because American capitalism can't survive without crushing social revolutions everywhere.

The war in Vietnam is the agreed-upon policy of those who possess power in America.

The only role the United Nations should play is to levy sanctions against the aggressor nation: the United States.

Communists who lead revolutions against oppression and exploitation should be supported.²

The official organ of the group is the *Bulletin of the Revolutionary Contingent*, which is published on an irregular basis. The first issue was dated May 15, 1967. It opened with a quotation from a message sent by Ernesto "Che" Guevara to the Tricontinental Conference (meeting at which the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization was formed) held in Havana, Cuba, in January 1966. In this

¹ For general information on the Communist organization of "Vietnam Week" demonstrations see HCUA report, *Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week*, Mar. 31, 1967, House Doc. 186, 90th Cong., 1st sess.

² Revolutionary Contingent flyer, April 1967.

message Guevara called for the development of a "true proletarian internationalism, with international proletarian armies." He said that for an American, Asian, African, or European it should be "equally glorious and desirable" to die under the flag of the (Communist) guerrillas fighting in Vietnam, Venezuela, Guatemala, Laos, and other areas where they have undertaken armed rebellion. The last two paragraphs of his message quoted in the Revolutionary Contingent's first *Bulletin* read as follows:

"Each drop of blood spilled in a country under whose flag one has not been born is an experience for those who survive to apply later in the liberation struggle of their own countries. And each nation liberated is a step toward victory in the battle for the liberation of one's own country.

"The time has come to settle our discrepancies and place everything we have at the service of the struggle."¹ [Emphasis added.]

The *Bulletin*, in recounting the Revolutionary Contingent's role in the April 15 New York City demonstration, emphasized the fact that the group had refused to conform to the prescribed line of march and that, in defiance of the city administration and police, instead of turning east on 47th Street enroute to the demonstration at the U.N. Plaza, had joined "the militant contingent from Harlem" and swarmed down Seventh Avenue to Times Square, halting the traffic there. Carrying "flags of national liberation movements" they overturned armed services' recruiting signs, surrounded and attempted to break into the recruiting booth in Times Square and, when unable to do this, turned east on 42d Street, the main crosstown thoroughfare, on their way to the U.N. Plaza. At Second Avenue they clashed with "counter-demonstration fascists."

The *Bulletin* also pointed out that the Revolutionary Contingent had attempted to burn General Westmoreland in effigy when he spoke in New York City on April 24, 1967. The *Bulletin* rejected the idea that flag burning is "bad publicity." Such actions, it said, are necessary to reach "the Nation as a whole." A person who burns a flag is unpatriotic "in the idiotic sense" but he has "put himself on the line," which is the important thing to do.

"GUERRILLA ACTION MEANS FAST, DESTRUCTIVE ACTIONS"

The *Bulletin* also stated:

The Revolutionary Contingent is calling for two things from the dissenters all over the U.S.A. One is the use of creative energy in designing and carrying-out dramatic, radical, peace demonstrations, which will be "escalated." Here is a further point: the two actions already carried out by the contingent are, true, radical—but they are only radical peace actions—there exists the necessity for further action, which must be designated guerrilla action. The CNVA [Committee for Nonviolent Action] types have made it a part of their "ethic" to be "responsible" for their actions, to the point of notifying the police as to the exact time, place, and nature of their civil disobedience—their success is measured in how long a time they spend in jail, or even more perversely, how they are berated and mistreated by the "authorities" and those instituted as "justice." We reject this, outright. *Guerrilla action means fast, destructive actions, from which the perpetrators escape. The organization which carries out the action must take credit in some way, especially after the fact, if it has evaded, but the participants need not—must not—be apprehended. Only then will we succeed in becoming a force to be reckoned with.*

We must face the possibility of more than a week in jail, a fine; but we should also take into account the efficacy of jailbreaks and persons living in exile. They will become living symbols of the struggle of the people of the U.S.A., the people in the "bowels of the beast," against the world-wide enemy of mankind.

¹ *Bulletin of the Revolutionary Contingent*, vol. I, No. 1, May 15, 1967, p. 3.

This leads to the second call: for persons to join the struggle against U.S. imperialism in other countries. The Revolutionary Contingent has been in contact with representatives of the national liberation movements active on the American continent, and they have consented to the call for citizens of the U.S.A. to join them (see Che Guevara's "Message to the Tricontinental"); of course, only those with skills of use to guerrillas—medical and/or technical—and who are willing to fight are wanted.⁴ [Emphasis added.]

The *Bulletin* admitted that perhaps there were not hundreds of trained personnel willing to leave the U.S. to fight with foreign Communist guerrillas. It pointed out, however, that even those without highly developed skills could be useful. "Elementary knowledge of medical techniques, elementary radio skills may be improved 'in action.' This is a call to all those who truly wish to make their lives, their actions, useful."

VIOLENCE LEADS TO SELF-RESPECT!

Service with foreign Communist guerrillas, the *Bulletin* added, would be dangerous and "by no means romantic," but "dissenters only gain self-respect, and some measure of effectiveness, by their capacity for violence.* * * We can no longer talk—we must fight!"

The main feature of the second issue of the *Bulletin* was the text of an interview by an American student in France with two men who had recently returned to that country from Algiers, where they had attended a screening of a film they had made on the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, a Communist-led organization which is today waging guerrilla warfare against Portugal. In an introductory note the editors of the *Bulletin* stressed their allegation that it was the U.S. which caused "the necessity" of the revolution in Guinea.

This issue again spelled out the two main objectives of the Revolutionary Contingent:

The purpose of the Revolutionary Contingent is to enable those American radicals, who have found the struggle in the United States itself useless at this time, to go abroad to fight in liberation movements in other countries. They are fighting the same battle, but in a way more effective under present conditions. As there is a great deal of trouble involved—exporting U.S. national[s] to foreign battlegrounds, insuring that they are not agents, etc.—only those with relevant skills, or willing to learn them, will be considered.

Secondly, the Revolutionary Contingent plans to continue its policy of carrying-out dramatic, radical, peace-actions. There are people all over the world who take note of actions expressing solidarity with revolution in the home of imperialism. While we are here, we should not let them down.⁵

Commenting on the draft resistance movement in the U.S., the *Bulletin* mentioned the fact that some young men have gone into Canada to evade the draft. It pointed out that this is not "a revolutionary activity." It then stated:

We feel that young men about to be drafted should consider the alternative of fighting, but fighting for the Revolution. Organizing around the idea of "500 people refusing to go," etc. has proved a bust—everyone seems to consider the draft a personal decision. Some should make the decision to be revolutionaries.⁶

While the Revolutionary Contingent is openly Communist, it is not affiliated with any of the major Communist organizations in the U.S.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵ *Bulletin of the Revolutionary Contingent*, vol. I, No. 2, June 1967, p. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

Frank Gillette, a sponsor of the Revolutionary Contingent and one of its spokesmen, stated in an interview with the Communist *National Guardian* that the Revolutionary Contingent is "completely alienated from the 'ceremonial left.'" He described the ceremonial left as the "holy trinity" of the Communist Party, U.S.A., the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist Communists), and the Progressive Labor Party.

R.C.—A HOME FOR SUPERMILITANT COMMUNISTS

Allen Krebs, another sponsor and spokesman for the Revolutionary Contingent, made the following statement about the relationship of the Revolutionary Contingent to the "peace movement," the term generally used by Communists to describe their anti-Vietnam war agitation campaign: "The current structure of the Peace Movement is obviously inadequate to accommodate the militancy of a good deal of its members." The Contingent believes that it can provide a home and an outlet for the supermilitant Communist and radical who are today unsatisfied by the activities of the previously mentioned Communist groups.

Treason! the official publication of the "Free School" in New York City, featured an article "On the Revolutionary Contingent" in its Summer 1967 issue. The article was written by Frank Gillette. In it, Gillette complained that in the U.S. today—

the Left continues to substitute talk for effective revolutionary action. There exists no end to conference upon conference, meeting after meeting, position papers, rejoinders, pamphlets, workshops and the like. Activists are virtually inundated with an endless stream of tendentious directives and implausible [sic] instruction which are regarded by their source as having exclusive rights to Revolution's signal. As an alternative to the verbal diarrhea and its accompanying passivity, the Revolutionary Contingent (R.C.) is submitting a program which intends to send revolutionaries with useful skills to fight with guerrilla movements in Latin America, Africa, and possibly Asia.⁷

Gillette went on to state that the conditions for revolution in the U.S. at present and in the foreseeable future are "minimal and limited." For this reason the "fundamental assumption" of the Revolutionary Contingent is that "there is but a single effective route open to those who oppose American aggression in Vietnam; it is to symbolically and literally join those who are actually resisting aggression now or will be resisting it in the nearest future." In addition Gillette wrote that within the United States the Revolutionary Contingent will attempt to introduce "militant techniques" for dissent—

the R.C. undertakes to emulate, to the degree feasible, the tactics of a guerrilla movement. * * * To put it yet another way; revolution—in the usual meaning of the word—is not about to fracture and destroy the present social structure from within; yet there exists ample opportunity for revolutionary activity in the form of assistance to fellow-revolutionaries fighting, and preparing to fight, in the rest of the world.⁸

REVOLUTIONARY CONTINGENT LEADERSHIP

The Revolutionary Contingent is representative of and centered around the Free School mentality—the ultraradical Communist so filled with revolutionary zeal and hatred of the United States that he finds all other existing Communist organizations too "conservative."

⁷ *Treason!* Summer 1967, p. 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

The Contingent is led, sponsored, or supported by the following:

Frank Gillette—artist, art teacher, and critic who taught a course on “McLuhanism” at the Free School of New York last summer. He is one of the two members of the group who attempted to burn an effigy of General Westmoreland outside the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City on April 24, 1967, when the general held a press conference there.

John Gerassi—former professor of journalism at the New York University and a former Latin American editor of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines. He is the author of *The Great Fear in Latin America*, *The Boys of Boise*, and *What is Castro's Appeal?*

Gerassi has taught a course “Latin America—The Next Vietnam?” at the Free School of New York; was a sponsor of the Spring Mobilization Committee which staged the massive April 15, 1967, demonstrations against the war in Vietnam; is an adviser to the Radical Education Project of the Students for a Democratic Society; served as director of the U.S. branch of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal which accused the U.S. of genocide in Vietnam; and is a sponsor of draft resistance. He has written for the Communist weekly, the *National Guardian*, and has also spoken under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum which is run by the Socialist Workers Party (the Trotskyist Communist organization). Gerassi is a contributing editor on Latin American affairs for *Ramparts* magazine.

Paul Sweezy—editor of the *Monthly Review*, who has been active in numerous Communist fronts since the 1930's. A professed “Marxist,” Sweezy is coauthor of *Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution*. In recent years he has addressed various Militant Labor Forums; has supported the *National Guardian*, the Radical Education Project of Students for a Democratic Society, and was a sponsor of the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell. He has been active in opposition to the war in Vietnam and was a sponsor of the Spring Mobilization Committee. Like Gerassi, he has lectured at the Free School of New York.

Conrad Lynn—lawyer who taught a course on “The Ghetto: Law and Social Change” at the Free School of New York. He has been a frequent speaker at functions of the Progressive Labor Party, particularly its Harlem chapter, and has also supported fronts of the Peking-oriented Communist organization—the May 2nd Committee and the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

Lynn, national chairman of the Freedom Now Party, is indiscriminate in his support of Communist organizations. In addition to supporting the Progressive Labor Party, he has addressed Militant Labor Forums conducted by the Socialist Workers Party; has supported or participated in activities sponsored by the *National Guardian*; and has done the same for CPUSA-controlled organizations such as the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, *Jewish Currents*, and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, of which he is a national council member.

In 1963 Lynn received an invitation from Castro's government for an all-expense-paid visit to Cuba. As a witness before this committee on May 6, 1963, he admitted at the time that he had been a member of the Young Communist League from 1928 to 1931 and a member of the Communist Party from 1934 until his expulsion in 1937.

Maxwell Geismar—literary historian and critic and associate editor of *Ramparts* magazine who has an impressive front record. He was a

sponsor or member of the following cited groups: National Committee To Secure Justice for Morton Sobell; the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee; the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (national council member). In addition to collaborating with other Communist groups such as the Socialist Workers Party, Geismar has, as an initial sponsor, supported Herbert Aptheker's bid for Congress (Aptheker is the leading party theorist for the CPUSA). He has also been affiliated with or supported other organizations such as the Communist publication, *American Dialog*, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and a racial agitation front called CERGE, a group operated by the Progressive Labor Party.

Tana de Gamez—author of *Like a River of Lions*, a novel about the Spanish civil war, and *The Yoke and the Star*, a novel about Castro's Cuban revolution. She, too, was a sponsor of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal and has written glowingly of Dolores Ibarruri, the famous "La Pasionaria" of the Communist movement in Spain. She is a member of the faculty of the so-called Free School in New York City.

M. S. Arnoni—editor of the magazine *Minority of One*, a viciously anti-U.S., pro-Communist publication which consistently features articles by well-known Communists and notorious fellow travelers.

Arnoni has collaborated with such known and cited Communist fronts as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. A faculty member at the Free School of New York, Arnoni has also supported official functions of well-known Communist press and publishing organizations, namely, *The Worker* and International Publishers.

Walter D. Teague—another instructor at the Free School who also has served, since its formation, as chairman of the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, an organization which openly supports and calls for victory for the Viet Cong. Teague, like others associated with the Revolutionary Contingent, was a sponsor of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal which tried and convicted the U.S. of "crimes against humanity." He supported candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1966 election and has been very active in anti-Vietnam agitation.

Allen Krebs—the director of the Free School of New York. Krebs was dismissed from the faculty of Adelphi University after he made a trip to Cuba in 1964 in defiance of State Department regulations. Krebs has been associated with a variety of Communist and Communist-front organizations. He, too, was a sponsor of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal and has lectured at the Free School on such subjects as: "Marxism and American Decadence," "The Captive University and the Cold War State," "The Bankrupt Intellectual Establishment," "Rebellions That Failed," "Sociology for a Revolutionary World," and "Revolution."

SDS'S "DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY" OF GUERRILLAS

Key leaders of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) have given open support to guerrilla warfare in the United States. SDS, generally recognized as the leading "new left" student organization, is

openly radical and leftist. It claims to have about 6,000 dues-paying members organized in some 200 chapters across the country. It also claims it has many thousands of additional supporters who take part in its activities although they are not formal members of the organization.

Reporting on the SDS 1967 convention, held in Ann Arbor, Mich., in July, the *New York Times* stated: "The delegates also talked freely about 'guerrilla warfare,' 'counterinsurgency techniques' and 'guerrilla mentality.'" ⁹

The *Times* reported that just what the SDS members meant when they used these words was "often questionable." Despite this, some SDS officials have shown little uncertainty about what they mean when making comments on the subject of guerrilla warfare.

Gregory Calvert, national secretary of SDS, has been quoted as saying:

"We are working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment," * * *

"We are actively organizing sedition," * * *

* * * * *

"Che's [Che Guevara's] message is applicable to urban America as far as the psychology of guerrilla action goes. . . . Che sure lives in our hearts." ¹⁰

Thomas Hayden, former SDS president, echoed the RAM philosophy when he said in an interview he granted the Communist weekly newspaper, the *National Guardian*:

"Urban guerrillas are the only realistic alternative at this time to electoral politics or mass armed resistance." * * * ¹¹

Dee Jacobsen, assistant national secretary of SDS, who manages the organization's headquarters in Chicago, has said:

"We are getting ready for the revolution," * * *

* * * * *

"Some of our members undoubtedly will help" [in ghetto riots in the summer of 1967]. ¹²

An unnamed white student member of SDS told a *New York Times* reporter:

"Some of the black nationalists are stacking Molotov cocktails and studying how they can hold a few city blocks in an uprising, how to keep off the fire brigade and the police so that the National Guard must be called out * * * And they're right. We ought to help them where we can, but we oughtn't be hung up with leading or liberating the Negroes." ¹³

⁹ *New York Times*, July 3, 1967, p. 15.

¹⁰ *New York Times*, May 7, 1967, pp. 1 and 74.

¹¹ *National Guardian*, July 1, 1967, p. 4.

¹² *New York Times*, May 7, 1967, p. 74.

¹³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE CURRENT COMMUNIST PARTY POSITION

The Communist Party, U.S.A., has made it clear that it is not opposed to guerrilla warfare against the United States Government in principle but that, for strategic reasons, it is opposed to the launching of such warfare *at this time*. The Communist Party held a national conference in New York City on October 14-15, 1967, at the call of its Negro Affairs Commission.

The principal purpose of this conference was to discuss the riots that had taken place in this country and formulate a party position on rioting and related matters. Shortly after the conference, the party issued a statement supporting and defending the riots. The statement read in part:

"We as Marxists have always affirmed that oppressed people have the right to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime when the channels for democratic change are closed to them. * * * Therefore there can be no question of the right of black people in the U.S. to use violence to achieve change. * * *"¹

The subject of guerrilla warfare was brought up at the conference. One of the key addresses was made by Claude Lightfoot, secretary of the national committee in charge of the party's department of Negro affairs. His address was entitled "Black Power and Liberation—A Communist View."

Lightfoot, in his speech, mentioned that SNCC leaders Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown had appealed "for guerrilla warfare within the ghettos and cities in the United States." He said that they had been inspired by guerrilla operations in Vietnam where they saw "a poor, backward, undeveloped nation holding at bay the most powerful military force in human experience," and also by the Cuban revolution "which started with a small band of guerrillas."²

From the facts, Lightfoot stated, Carmichael, Brown, and others like them who are now calling for guerrilla warfare "deduce that a black minority, led by militant, armed groups in the United States, can do no less than the former colonial peoples have done."³

Lightfoot then proceeded to state why he and the Communist Party were opposed to the launching of guerrilla warfare under conditions existing in the United States today:

However, they overlook one important factor, namely, the support given the guerrillas by the overwhelming majority of the people. The guerrilla movement in Cuba was successful because it was supported in the countryside and in the cities by the majority of the Cuban people. What was true in Cuba is a thousand times more true in Vietnam.⁴

¹ *The Worker*, Oct. 22, 1967, p. 3.

² Claude Lightfoot, "Black Power and Liberation—A Communist View" (pamphlet) (New Outlook Publishers, December 1967), p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

It is true that Castro's 26th of July Movement enjoyed the support not only of peasants in Cuba, but also of middle-class and wealthy people, business and religious leaders. It should be pointed out, however, that these elements supported Castro only because they did not know he was a Communist and were led to believe that he was leading a democratic revolution against a dictatorship.

Lightfoot's claim of mass support for the Viet Cong in South Vietnam is disproved not only by the recent national elections there, but also by the Viet Cong's complete failure to spark popular uprisings against the government in villages and cities by their Tet (lunar new year) offensive.

Can it be successfully argued that an armed struggle in present conditions in the U.S. would enjoy the active or passive support by anything like a majority of the American people? Clearly not. Under such circumstances, the resort to arms of an offensive nature could only lead to suicide. Our people have fought too hard and too long to reach this point to throw everything away in a suicidal action. The goal of the struggle must be victory, not defeat.⁵

Lightfoot made it clear that the Communist Party's opposition to launching a guerrilla war in the United States at the present time was not based on rejection of the use of violence:

The Communist Party of the United States has had considerable experience in dealing with the question of force and violence. * * *

Throughout the Smith Act trials we Communists never renounced force and violence *per se*. We said that at certain historical moments the necessity for armed struggle may be present. * * * To this approach American Communists still hold.⁶

Lightfoot then went on to defend the recent riots, the "wave of violent actions in the black ghettos by black people" as a form of "defensive" violence. He then said:

However, it is one thing to defend oneself from attack by all necessary means, and it is another to choose this way as the main method of battle. * * * *It is a matter of time, place and circumstances.* [Emphasis supplied.]

Before anyone begins talking about the necessity for armed guerrilla warfare in the cities of the United States, an assessment should be made as to whether all other forms have become obsolete and incapable of meeting the problems. If this is found to be the case, *then* revolutionary forces should prepare for armed struggles. But if not, proposals for armed action can have fatal consequences. History records many examples of successful uprisings, but it also records that premature and uncalled-for actions along this line have led minority groups to slaughter and caused movements to be set back for many years. Such an important question therefore, should not be dealt with off the top of one's head.⁷

About 2 weeks after the Communist Party conference, which was attended by about 80 leading Communists from all parts of the country, Henry Winston, the party's national chairman, issued a statement spelling out the party's official position on the question of the use of violence in the drive for "black liberation."

Winston's statement, like Lightfoot's, classified the recent riots as "defensive" violence. He then made it clear that the party was not opposed to rioting by referring to "the need for greater reliance on determined self-defense, including armed defense."

Lest anyone misunderstand him on this point, he went on to state:

There is an urgent need for organized militant and united struggle in every black community in the U.S. Its arsenal of tactical weapons should include any and all forms of struggle * * *. It should include * * * armed defense when necessary. * * *

Winston spelled out the Communist Party's position on the question of violence in words very similar to those used by Lightfoot:

The Communist Party of the United States, as Communists everywhere, has always affirmed the right of oppressed people to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime whenever the channels for democratic change are closed to them. * * *

Therefore, there can be no question of the right of the Negro people in the United States to use violence to free themselves from oppression and to win full freedom.⁹

Winston did not use the term "guerrilla warfare" anywhere in his statement. He did, however, make repeated references to the term

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 27.

⁸ *The Worker*, Nov. 12, 1967, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*

“armed struggle” and always in such a way as to make it clear that what he had in mind was “guerrilla warfare.”

He stated that the world “liberation” struggle in Africa, Asia, and Latin America during recent years, combined with certain developments in the United States, “have given rise to a new emphasis on the need for armed struggle on the part of some, particularly in the black ghettos.”

Continuing, Winston spelled out the Communist Party’s position on “armed struggle,” again using words very similar to Lightfoot’s:

Whether the right to violence should be exercised should be determined by time, place and circumstances and a sober estimate of the concrete situation and the conditions which prevail at the moment. * * *

As we see it today, the overwhelming majority of the American people, including black people, are not yet convinced that the system must be changed; much less that it is necessary to do so by armed force.

Armed uprisings for these objectives cannot successfully be undertaken by the black communities alone, no matter how courageously they struggle. They require powerful allies, above all in the ranks of the working class, white and black.

We therefore reject today the organizing of armed uprisings in the black communities. * * *

We believe that conspiratorial, terroristic actions which * * * do not receive the support of the masses of the people, are adventurous, provocative and politically irresponsible * * *. They should, therefore, be rejected.¹⁰

Winston hinted, however, that the time might not be far off when the Communist Party may reverse its position and support guerrilla warfare against the United States:

It is necessary to warn that there are extremely dangerous pressures to close the channels of democratic process and in many areas they have already virtually been closed. Should this continue it would leave the black people no alternative to violent struggle.¹¹

It is clear from the statements of both Winston and Lightfoot that they (and other Communist Party leaders) have studied the principles of guerrilla warfare enunciated by Mao, Che Guevara, and other Communist authorities on the subject. Carefully weighing all factors in the light of these principles, they have concluded that now is not the time for the launching of guerrilla warfare in the United States.

It is important to recall on this point that the Communist Party has had within its ranks a reservoir of specialists trained in guerrilla warfare since the 1920’s, when American Communists were first sent to Moscow for training at the Lenin Institute.

The curriculum at the Lenin Institute covered a broad range of subjects—Communist theory, political economics, principles of propaganda, and trade union work, to name just a few. At the same time, guerrilla warfare techniques were not neglected.

The Subversive Activities Control Board, in its report and order of April 20, 1953, requiring the Communist Party to register with the Attorney General as a Communist-action group (Docket No. 51-101), made the following statement about the type of instructions given to American Communists at the Lenin Institute:

For the actual carrying out of the revolution, Red Army officers taught military details in both legal and guerrilla warfare, how to erect barricades, snipe, throw grenades, use gas masks, sabotage, take over the system of transportation, seize food supplies and persuade army units to fight with the insurgents and guerrillas.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

They were taught how to capture and hold hostages, capture arsenals, arm Communist supporters, utilize and destroy food and water supplies, and, in general, how to carry on a total revolution for the seizure of power. * * *¹²

Earl Browder, then the general secretary of the Communist Party, testified before this committee in 1939 that, as of that time, 120 to 150 U.S. Communist Party members had attended the Lenin School.

In 1933 the Communist Party, U.S.A., had organized a paramilitary organization called the League of Red Front Fighters. In June 1934 the Red Front, which had its headquarters in New York City, established a training facility at Phillipsport, N.Y., to conduct "extensive political and physical education" for its members who wore military-style uniforms and carried flags displaying the emblem of the hammer and sickle.¹³ In addition to military drill sessions, jiu jitsu, and other forms of "self-defense" training, the Red Fronters received instruction in the fundamentals of communism.

The organizational life span of the Red Front was of limited duration, however, because of its overly aggressive nature. J. Peters, Moscow's underground director of the U.S. Communist Party, wrote an article on so-called self-defense groups in the *Party Organizer* shortly after the Red Front opened its Phillipsport camp, indicating why the group was dissolved:

We have to guard against the tendency of building some secret defense organizations which are nothing but hot-beds of provocation. The experiences in the Red Front, Red Shirt, etc., were a lesson in this respect. The self-defense organizations must be the united front of the workers in the respective shop, organization or territory, openly propagating the necessity of organized resistance * * *.¹⁴

Scores of Communist training schools similar to the Lenin School in Moscow are now in operation behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. It is not known how many present U.S. Communist Party members have been trained in guerrilla warfare tactics in these schools. One reason for this is that, in recent years, certain court decisions have nullified effective U.S. controls over the international movement of American Communist agents. For the most part, they have been able to obtain passports at will for travel to any area of the world, for such purposes and for such length of time as they desire.

It is worth recalling that the key leaders of the Progressive Labor Party, which is now calling for guerrilla warfare in the United States, are "graduates" of the Communist Party. Not only their ideological indoctrination, but their training in techniques of violence was received when they were members of the Communist Party.

Applying tested Communist principles of guerrilla warfare to the situation in the United States today, the Communist Party has adopted the position that now is not the time for such operations. It is clear, however, that, if at any time in the near future it should reverse its assessment of the ripeness of the circumstances and the time for guerrilla warfare, it could, by joining forces with those who now advocate it, substantially increase the existing national security problem.

¹² "Reports of the Subversive Activities Control Board" (Washington, D.C., 1966), vol. I, pp. 269, 260.

¹³ *Red Front*, May 1934, pp. 4, 5.

¹⁴ *Party Organizer*, July 1934, p. 28.

CHAPTER IX

PRERIOT MEASURES THE BEST DEFENSE

It is not enough simply to study the hopes and plans of various Communist and black nationalist elements to create a guerrilla war in the United States. While it may be improbable that they will succeed in their desire to unite the black ghettos in a guerrilla war against the rest of the country, it is necessary to begin an operational plan at once against such an eventuality. It is also important that the people of this country begin to mobilize their facilities to prevent a recurrence of ghetto rioting that has swept the major cities in the past few summers. The guerrilla warfare advocates see further massive rioting as laying the groundwork for guerrilla warfare. It is everyone's responsibility, therefore, to see that these riots do not continue. The riots must be stopped before they lead to revolutionary guerrilla warfare. Certainly the best defense against a guerrilla war here is to see that one never materializes. The Cleveland grand jury suggested on the subject of rioting:

In addressing itself to the second of Judge Parrino's directives, namely, the conditions of life prevailing in the Hough Area, this Jury finds:

Poverty and frustration, crowded by organized agitators, served as the uneasy backdrop for the Cleveland riots.

Unfortunately, it is the overwhelming mass of innocent and law-abiding citizens who pay the greatest penalty in any cross-fire of violence.

The following inequities and practices contributed as a feeding ground for disorder:

- a. The density of population in the Hough Area.
- b. Inadequate and sub-standard housing.
- c. Charging of exorbitant rents by absentee landlords.
- d. Non-enforcement of the housing code.
- e. Woefully inadequate recreational facilities for children whose uncertain home life calls for this kind of wholesome community outlet, and for the constructive guidance and counsel to offset their regrettable environment.
- f. Sub-standard educational facilities as a consequence of long neglect, which, in substantial fairness, have been greatly improved in recent years but which still call for further effort on the part of officials and community leaders.
- g. Excessive food prices in most instances accompanied all too frequently with foodstuffs found to be inferior in freshness or quality.
- h. The denial of equal economic opportunities.
- i. Diminished incentives by repressed and neglected people.
- j. The present system of paying women for having children, frequently out of wedlock, or under a relationship loosely described as "common-law"—which enables the father to walk out of his "marital arrangement" to escape his proper responsibilities.

* * * * *

k. Regardless of how the very large addition of negroes formerly widely dispersed throughout the deep and mid-South have migrated to the large northern cities, like Cleveland, the fact is that these men, women and children are here.

* * * * *

These factors make them prone to the almost immutable by-products of such prevailing conditions; crime, delinquency, loose living, tragic deterioration of moral behavior, and the brittle, bitter, hyper-sensitivity which emerges therefrom; and in the aggregate [sic] these effects represent potential danger not only to themselves but to the community as a whole.

There are no longer moats complacently situated in which any citizen can live under modern conditions safely removed from the turmoil and anxiety and bitterness of others, irrespective of skin color, or religious identification or political inclinations or economic and social environment.

Whatever happens in the large cities of America, as in the community of Greater Cleveland, eventually affects all citizens in one way or another.

Now, all these complex social evils are used as subtle and inflammatory [sic] provocations by resident and non-resident organizers who exploit riots such as both the Superior and Hough Area riots in Cleveland.¹

THE FBI'S ANALYSIS OF MOBS AND RIOTS

The threat of riots is more immediate at this juncture than the possibility of guerrilla warfare. It is important that the average American understand the contributing factors leading to civil disorder and also some of the indicators in the development of a riot situation. The FBI has contributed the best analysis of these factors. The following is taken from its study, "Prevention and Control of Mobs and Riots":²

I. CONTRIBUTING FACTORS LEADING TO CIVIL DISORDER

A primary responsibility of local and state police is to maintain law and order. However, the police can best perform this vital role when they have the whole-hearted support of all segments of the community—civil organizations, church leaders, public officials, business leaders, news media and other responsible members of the community. Prevention and control of civil disorders are a community responsibility—not an exclusive function of the police. Actually, police agencies function most effectively and efficiently where there is mutual understanding of both community problems and police responsibilities. Such understanding provides the necessary basis for effective action to successfully maintain law and order. Where community problems which could lead to civil disorder are encountered, the police should provide appropriate officials with intelligence reports so that remedial steps can be taken.

BASIC RIGHTS AND NEEDS

The Founding Fathers of our country recognized that man, by his very nature, has rights. They considered these so sacred that they expressed them in the Declaration of Independence as a basis for action by the following statement:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

In order to exercise these rights, it is apparent that man has certain natural needs which must be satisfied. Man must have food, clothing, and shelter to sustain his life; he must have the right to freely choose legitimate goals and lawful means in the exercise of liberty; and he must not be denied unjustly because of such considerations as his race, color, creed, or national origin, the opportunity to legitimately fulfill all his natural, physical and mental capabilities in the pursuit of happiness. This does not mean that the individual's rights or desires will always prevail—there must be at all times a balancing of his rights with the rights of other individuals and of society as a whole.

* * * * *

A CAUSE FOR ACTION

Any unjust denial, actual or imagined, of man's basic rights, needs or aspirations can give rise to a feeling of frustration and desperation which can (1) be exploited by elements of a community which are prone toward violence and/or (2) serve as a foundation upon which additional grievance can build, all of which could lead to possible violent protest action.

Every civil disorder or riot is brought about by previously existing factors. The build-up may or may not be apparent and may or may not have had a legitimate

¹ Special Grand Jury Report Relating to Hough Riots, pp. 11-13.

² "Prevention and Control of Mobs and Riots," Federal Bureau of Investigation, Feb. 23, 1966, pp. 16-31.

beginning. Whatever the background, it should be apparent that the atmosphere which contributes to a riotous situation develops over a period of time and many factors are often involved. In the final analysis, the most effective method of preventing riot and mob situations is to eliminate conditions which could lead to friction and misunderstanding and ultimately to violence and lawlessness.

II. CROWDS AND THEIR BEHAVIOR

Law enforcement agencies, from time to time, face dangerously explosive situations. The recent Federal and state laws in the field of civil rights have in some areas produced resentment, resistance, and sometimes retaliation. The resulting dissatisfactions and disagreements are sometimes so fraught with bitterness that tensions build up to the boiling point. The changes in social structure and cultural values are perceived by many misguided persons as threats to their well-being and to their way of life. Occasionally they react violently.

* * * * *

We are interested in the actions of groups of people and a study of the nature of crowds will be helpful. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that the crowd is composed of individuals. It is the person who is the basic unit. It is the behavior of the individual that, in the final analysis, is important. If charges must be preferred growing out of mob violence, it is individual persons who are charged, not groups. Yet we must understand the nature of groups because there are times when controls are most effectively applied against a mass rather than against individuals.

A. Nature of Crowds

There are many ways of classifying crowds. For example, they could be grouped according to size, but size is not usually the most significant factor. They could be grouped according to sex, race, religion, political beliefs, or in many other ways, but these would not be useful classifications for our purpose. The factors of greatest interest to law enforcement are the behavior and motivation of the people. In other words, we are most concerned with what they are doing and why. For our purpose, then, the following types of crowds may be distinguished.

1. *Casual crowd.* The casual crowd is merely a group of people who happen to be present at a given place but who are not unified or organized. The people in a casual crowd are bent on their individual ways. They do not have a common interest or purpose and they are not following any particular leader. * * *
2. *Cohesive crowd.* This is a group of people who are assembled for some specific purpose. An audience attending a play or a concert, or the fans at a sporting event, constitute a cohesive crowd. They are held together by a common interest. Their attention is directed toward some common focus. In most cases the interest that brought them together is momentary and they are usually not under well-defined leadership. * * *
3. *Expressive crowd.* This is a group in which the people are held together by some common purpose. They usually hold more or less similar attitudes for or against something. They are ordinarily under the direction of well-defined leadership. It is characteristic of this type of crowd to display a more or less unified mood. Their likes and dislikes, their loyalties, their desires and intentions are normally quite easily seen. Examples of the expressive crowd are found at a political rally, a picket line, and a religious revival.

- * * * * *
4. *Aggressive crowd.* In this type of crowd the people, under positive leadership and strong emotions, engage in some kind of aggressive action. Ordinarily these people have come together because of strong feelings about some issue and show definite unity of purpose. Their actions may be impulsive and highly emotional and, unfortunately, may become destructive. This type of crowd is the most difficult for police to handle.

The aggressive crowd is, at the same time, expressive and cohesive. Thus, we can see that the above classification provides a progression in which the police problems increase as each step is reached.

B. Basic Behavior Patterns in Mobs

Students of mob behavior identify several basic patterns into which the actions of the mob members fall. These classifications are not necessarily intended to be mutually exclusive or all inclusive. There may be combinations of these behavior patterns or others observed in many mob situations. The general behavior patterns include those listed below:

1. *Aggressive.* Aggressive tendencies show up in the actions of members of a lynch mob or in the violent clashes between strikers and strike breakers. Similar aggressive behavior may be seen in juvenile "rumbles." The objective of the violence differs, of course, with the situation. * * *
2. *Escape.* The behavior tendency involving escape is seen in panic situations. Escape behavior is predominant in the members of a crowd of people in panic at a fire or other disaster. Individuals driven by overwhelming fear react emotionally and irrationally to avoid the source of the danger. This behavior is often maladaptive because the people act blindly and do not take time to figure out the best way to avoid the danger. The escape behavior of a panic often ruthlessly disregards the welfare of others in the crowd, each individual taking a "me first" attitude. Panic behavior occurs in a situation where the people have no prepared response with which to meet the emergency. * * *
3. *Acquisitive.* In some mobs, the main purpose of the emotional and irrational behavior seems to be the acquiring of some desired object. Law enforcement officials have observed that what starts out in some cases as a riot soon changes into a wild and uncontrolled looting spree. Other examples of acquisitive behavior would be a run on a bank and hunger riots.
4. *Expressive.* The behavior of people in certain highly emotionally charged situations is not any of the foregoing, but, rather, simply expressive. The behavior of persons attending conventions is sometimes the expressive type. It is seen also on occasions of great revelry. This kind of behavior apparently provides a release for pent-up emotions and an escape from the dull routine of the workaday world. Religious revivals, carnivals, county fairs, jazz festivals, parades, wild parties and orgies all may contain elements of expressive behavior. * * *

C. The People Involved

It is obviously important to anyone concerned with crowd behavior to consider the kinds of people involved and how they may behave. The following types of persons may be found at the mob scene:

1. *Impulsive and lawless persons* whose mob behavior is not unlike the behavior they exhibit in their ordinary daily lives. The people are short-tempered and hotheaded, the kind that are always spoiling for a fight. They need only a fancied insult or a slight provocation to excite them to violence. They start the riot or incite others to violence. Many of them are ignorant, bigoted, and of low social status.
2. *Suggestible persons* who are easily influenced to follow the lead of the more violent. They get into the action early.
3. *Cautious individuals* who would like to get into the fracas but who wait for the cloak of anonymity to give them courage by hiding their identity.
4. *Yielders*—those who hang back on the side lines and do not join the action until the large number of persons participating gives the impression of universality. In other words, "Everyone is taking part, so why shouldn't I?"
Another kind of yielder is the person who opposes violence, but only passively or halfheartedly. When the fighting starts, he yields even though opposed.
5. *Supportive persons*—those who do not actively join the mob but who enjoy the show and even shout encouragement.
6. *Resisters*—those whose values and standards of judgment are not swayed by the emotional frenzy of the mob, who maintain level heads, and who disagree with the actions of the majority. A mob is intolerant and meets resistance with violence.
7. *Psychopathic individuals*—there are some individuals with a pathological personality structure who might be part of a mob. There are people who are angry at the world, because of frustrations or mental illness. who could use the riotous situation as a means of getting even with society.

* * * * *

III. THE RIOT PATTERN

A. The Pattern of Preparation

Whenever a civil disturbance or riot occurs, there are always certain factors or developments which have prepared the way.

1. Verbal aggression may have existed for a long time and with increasing intensity.

2. Economic frustration and dissatisfaction with status, coupled with a gradually changing social organization, have resulted in increasing irritation.
3. Like-minded people band together in various kinds of groups. * * *
4. Some kind of provocation triggers the violence. * * *
5. Isolated cases of violent aggression occur. * * *
6. Full-scale rioting begins when one or two of these isolated clashes take hold and instigate mob action. * * *

We must bear in mind that frustration breeds aggression on the part of any group. A frustrated minority may resort to aggression just as a frustrated majority group may.

* * * * *

IV. SYMPTOMS TO WHICH POLICE MUST BE ALERT

The law enforcement officer who understands the basis of human behavior leading to destructive riots will be in the fortunate position of knowing what to expect. He can recognize the signs of the impending explosion and apply effective measures to counteract it. A careful examination of these situations leads to the conclusion that there are certain recognizable progressive steps or symptoms, each of which is forecast in the acts which precede it.

Before getting to the symptoms, however, we should note that they will be displayed more plainly in the behavior of certain kinds of people. If an officer wants to learn about the criminal activities of someone, say a jewel thief, he does not seek the information from schoolteachers or the clergy. Similarly, one does not look for the symptoms of a riot by observing the behavior of persons attending the weekly meeting of service clubs. The pulse of social circulation, like the heartbeat, must be taken at the pressure points. In this case, it is the temper of the most rabid of our people we must observe and give constant analytical attention. What they think and what they do with their time will probably be more important as a barometer than the feelings and actions of more stable individuals. Also, we must be constantly alert to the activities and exhortations of the demagogues, or self-important "loudmouths," and the like.

Law enforcement officers, in order to remain abreast of the situation, in order to be adequately prepared, and in order to be in a position to apply effective countermeasures at the right times and places, should have definite programs for noting and analyzing developments in the following areas:

A. Increased Bitterness as Shown in:

1. *Sentiments and opinions of the populace.* Sentiments are our true feelings toward an issue. Opinions are verbal expressions of sentiments. This distinction is useful to law enforcement officers. If we remember that an opinion expressed by a person is merely what he says about his feelings, we can be more realistic in appraising them. An expressed opinion might be an accurate reflection of a person's true feelings or it might be shaded somewhat by the person's ideas of what he thinks he really should say. In other words, people are often unwilling to reveal their true feelings or sentiments. * * *

Nevertheless, when people, particularly the more rabid ones, begin to express themselves with less restraint, more vociferously, and with increasing bitterness, law enforcement officers should take note, for this is one of the danger signs. Telltale signs can often be found in the language used. Deprecating catchwords and phrases become more frequent and more derogatory. A noticeable testiness develops in the use of such terms which previously may have been employed in a somewhat jocular tone.

2. *Rumors.* As we noted previously, the circulation of rumors is one of the most reliable indicators of the temper of the times.
3. *Publications.* The press, tracts, pamphlets, etc., will frequently give indication of the mounting tension. The headlines become more strident. The language used becomes more and more exaggerated. * * *
4. *Public demonstrations.* Meetings, rallies, marches, and even scribbles on sidewalks, billboards, and the like should be watched carefully by law enforcement authorities. Such affairs not only indicate the saliency of the

³ In the spring of 1967, for example, apparently in the interest of stirring up riot conditions for the summer of 1967, the Harlem branch of the Progressive Labor Party issued a leaflet entitled "DEMOCRATIC CIRCUS COMES TO HARLEM." The leaflet claimed that Malcolm X was assassinated "by bullets paid for by the C.I.A." and that: "Every day in the United States, both north and south, Black people are being murdered by the agents of the U.S. government—albeit in blue uniforms of the police, hiding under white sheets or by 'justice' lynchings in the courts of this country. Every day our Black youth are being dragged from our homes to go into the U.S. army to kill and be killed in foreign wars (against other colored peoples) especially in Vietnam." * * *

attitudes of the participants, but also the intensity and direction of those attitudes. * * *

* * * * *

B. *Organization Activities*

The law enforcement executive must know what organizations are active and what their programs are. Any programs or proposed action must receive careful study in terms of their effect on the community and in terms of possible retaliation by opposing groups.

Organizations may be found to be operating under a code of high principles which are interpreted and twisted by some elements to serve their own personal interests. They actually breed prejudice and intolerance, and in time of stress we will find these inciters to violence somewhere among the rioters.

C. *Racial Frictions*

Be especially alert to an increase in minor incidents of conflict, particularly by youths. Watch for any unusual influx of outsiders with a subsequent build-up of bristling and jostling.

D. *Police Relations*

Be alert to an increasing mistrust of the police. This mistrust may be noted as a reluctance on the part of certain people to cooperate in furnishing information or discussing the situation. It will also show up in the press as increasingly biased or even demonstrably false accounts of police unfairness and brutality. Watch for more and wilder rumors of police unfairness and brutality and take effective action to scotch these rumors.

Another sign of significance is more frequent and bolder resistance to police. Mistrust and resistance may show up as an increase in nasty remarks to officers, as a sullenness or perhaps even refusal to obey police orders, or as outright physical resistance and attack.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

A MAJOR DIFFERENCE IN U.S. GUERRILLA WARFARE

If guerrilla warfare were ever initiated in the United States under the conditions of irregular warfare as practiced in Greece, Vietnam, the Philippines, Algeria, Cuba, etc., there would be one notable and highly significant difference.

According to Trinquier: "In *modern warfare*, the enemy is far more difficult to identify."¹

Terrorism and the ability to be indistinguishable from the general populace are vital to the success of a guerrilla campaign. Yet this advantage—to be "indistinguishable"—would not exist according to the designs of Williams, RAM, and others.

If a guerrilla war were initiated from the ghettos of our major cities calling for "black liberation," it would necessarily entail, as stated time and again by the revolutionaries quoted in this study, a racial civil war in which black revolutionaries would attempt guerrilla war against the white population and the existing Government.

This fact would necessarily make this a unique guerrilla operation, different in a major respect from those which have been carried out abroad. The base of operations would be in the cities. It would attempt to pit one race against another and would thereby lose a vital characteristic as a guerrilla operation by superimposing the element of race into the war.

Successful guerrilla operations in other countries have always depended upon the guerrilla's ability to melt into the general population and to win over a sizable segment of that population to his political position. Foreign guerrilla operations have also depended upon the ability to retreat from the cities and to mobilize the countryside and to eventually isolate and surround the cities. This is not the plan of the guerrilla warfare advocates in this country. The concept of black guerrilla fighters working outside of the ghetto is only conceivable in the South where there is a large rural Negro population into which they could blend. And even there the issue of race would limit the potential of the revolutionaries.

OBSTACLES FACED BY GHETTO GUERRILLAS

No matter what the destruction and terrorism initially inflicted by black guerrilla fighters, there is little doubt that such an uprising could be effectively and quickly controlled.

In the first place, the concept of violence and guerrilla warfare is alien to both the American mentality and to the vast majority of Negroes in the ghettos. A guerrilla operation could depend on some

¹ Trinquier, *Modern Warfare*, p. 26.

Communists, on ultramilitant black nationalists, and a portion on the lawless elements in the ghetto for support, but it could not hope to sway the majority of Negroes.

In the second place, the ghetto could be isolated and the guerrillas effectively bottled up, thereby cutting them off from supplies and support.

In the third place, the very nature of a conflict between black and white effectively precludes the black revolutionary from using the concept of "integration into the community," as a propaganda issue and as a protection from detection.

Fourth, the guerrilla could not depend on outside countries as training bases or lines of support once the conflict began.

Fifth, the idea of a guerrilla war based on racial lines would never be supported by any sizable number of Negroes, thereby isolating the revolutionary from even his only possible serious base of support. Certainly, once effective counterinsurgency plans were placed into operation and search and seizure operations were instituted, few Negroes could afford to harbor the guerrillas.

In reality, a guerrilla operation based on the concepts of RAM, Williams, and the other Communists could only lead to disaster for both the guerrillas and many innocent, law-abiding Negroes. There is no doubt that a concerted secretive operation on the part of a small group of black militants and Communists could possibly create vast chaos for a short period and could result in the death of a significant number of innocent people, but it could never be successful in overthrowing the Government.

Terror could be utilized effectively for a short period, but this terrorism would necessarily be met with firm suppression of the guerrilla fighters. Open terrorism carried out directly against the white community would create immediate chaos because whites are not prepared for such an act of concerted violence.

To date, most of the riots have not spread outside of the ghetto. There has been no serious attempt to move into white residential areas or business districts. In the planning of Williams, the guerrilla operations would be designed to create mass terrorism and defeatism among the white people of the country. The insurrection would be carried directly to them. The chaos would not last long, however, and an immediate crackdown by the various law enforcement and security agencies would stop any large-scale, prolonged terrorism. If some kind of suicidal guerrilla warfare were instituted by the black Communists there would be little doubt about the Government's reaction.

Guerrilla warfare, as envisioned by its proponents at this stage, would have to have its base in the ghetto. This being the case, the ghetto would have to be sealed off from the rest of the city. Police, State troopers, and the National Guard could adequately handle this chore and, if they needed help, the Regular Army would be brought into service.

Once the ghetto is sealed off, and depending upon the violence being perpetrated by the guerrillas, the following actions could be taken by the authorities:

(1) A curfew would be imposed in the enclosed isolated area. No one would be allowed out of or into the area after sundown.

(2) During the night the authorities would not only patrol the boundary lines, but would also attempt to control the streets and, if necessary, send out foot patrols through the entire area. If the guerrillas attempted to either break out of the area or to engage the authorities in open combat they would be readily suppressed.

(3) During a guerrilla uprising most civil liberties would have to be suspended, search and seizure operations would be instituted during the daylight hours, and anyone found armed or without proper identification would immediately be arrested. Most of the people of the ghetto would not be involved in the guerrilla operation and, under conditions of police and military control, some would help in ferreting out the guerrillas. Their help would be invaluable.

(4) If the guerrillas were able to hold out for a period of time then the population of the ghetto would be classified through an office for the "control and organization of the inhabitants." This office would distribute "census cards" which would bear a photograph of the individual, the letter of the district in which he lives, his house and street number, and a letter designating his home city. This classification would aid the authorities in knowing the exact location of any suspect and who is in control of any given district. Under such a system, movement would be proscribed and the ability of the guerrilla to move freely from place to place seriously curtailed.

(5) The population within the ghetto would be exhorted to work with the authorities and to report both on guerrillas and any suspicious activity they might note. The police agencies would be in a position to make immediate arrests, without warrants, under suspension of guarantees usually provided by the Constitution.

(6) Acts of overt violence by the guerrillas would mean that they had declared a "state of war" within the country and, therefore, would forfeit their rights as in wartime. The McCarran Act provides for various detention centers to be operated throughout the country and these might well be utilized for the temporary imprisonment of warring guerrillas.

(7) The very nature of the guerrilla operation as presently envisioned by certain Communists and black nationalists would be impossible to sustain. According to the most knowledgeable guerrilla war experts in this country the revolutionaries could be isolated and destroyed in a short period of time.

Che Guevara makes the important point in *Guerrilla Warfare* that:

Where a government has come into power through some form of popular vote, fraudulent or not, and maintains at least an appearance of constitutional legality, the guerrilla outbreak cannot be promoted, since the possibilities of peaceful struggle have not yet been exhausted.³

Guevara's point is vital to any discussion of the possibility of a successful guerrilla warfare plan in the United States. If Guevara is correct in his assumption on this aspect of guerrilla warfare—and there is no direct evidence to contradict him—then any attempt at armed guerrilla insurrection in a democratic country such as the United States is doomed from its inception.

PLAYING WITH FIRE

Following the riots in the Hough area of Cleveland, Ohio, the special grand jury noted:

³ Guevara, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

We profoundly believe that a rigid adherence by everyone to the established law and order of this country should instantly replace the guerilla warfare practiced in the streets and neighborhoods.³

But this belief is the antithesis of the thesis of those civil rights advocates and a few of their political cronies who advocate breaking the law when they believe it to be unfair or unjust. Certain civil rights "leaders" have openly called for civil disobedience and a flaunting of those laws they consider "unconstitutional." The police and law enforcement agencies are constantly berated by the irresponsible cry of "police brutality" which echoes throughout the land. Civil rights "leaders" who, by word and deed, promote a disrespect for both the law and the police have helped to hasten the conditions leading to various ghetto riots.

The Cleveland grand jury noted in this regard:

Whatever we in this country set out to achieve should be accomplished within the framework of the laws fashioned for the benefit and protection of every citizen and not by any means we think can be employed or the time we fix for ourselves.

* * * * *

What this country and this community need, in the opinion of this Jury of laymen, themselves citizens and parents and in businesses and professions, is not so much a blood bath but a good cleansing [sic] spiritual bath.⁴

Another group that bears a partial responsibility for laying the groundwork for Communist agitation and the ghetto riots are the irresponsible politicians. Unfortunately, a few politicians seem more interested in gaining votes than in actually promoting tangible civil rights. The ghetto riots have been partially caused by the opportunistic politician who has told ghetto audiences: "This will be another long hot summer unless we get you the full amount of federally endorsed freedom immediately." And black people, who have been constantly promised a treasure, have time and again ended up with a few coins. They are bound to run out of patience when promises are not fulfilled and will then take matters into their own hands.

When the groundwork has been laid by social conditions, economic deprivations, civil disobedience, subversion, and political skulduggery, a riot is born. The Communists move in once violence is in the air—and the public is shocked by another social explosion in Watts or Cleveland or Chicago or Harlem, etc.

RIOTS AS PRELUDE TO REVOLUTIONARY GUERRILLA WARFARE

Logically, it would seem improbable that even the Communists—under the circumstances previously described—would rationally consider implementing a guerrilla operation in this country. Numerically small, devoid of much popular support, they would appear to have no political base for such operations. Logic and rationality are not, however, necessarily ingredients in the plans of some Communists for the United States. They are obviously capable of making mistakes, and it would be just as grievous a tactical error to overestimate their intellectual capabilities as to underestimate their fanatical revolutionary zeal.

There is considerable evidence that not only some Communist factions in the United States but also certain Communist-oriented black nationalist groups are seriously considering the possibility of

³ Special Grand Jury Report Relating to Hough Riots, Preface, p. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 2.

instituting armed insurrection in this country. These groups invariably base their presumption of a guerrilla war here on the concept of a "people's war of national liberation" as advanced by the Chinese Communists. They argue that a base for a guerrilla operation presently exists in the Negro ghettos of the country and that it is possible, and feasible, to utilize the ghettos for planned and coordinated uprisings.

They regard ghetto riots as a prelude to general guerrilla warfare operations. They see the possibility of using Negroes as the shock troops for a revolution. Believing that the Negro ghettos offer a base for such operations, these tacticians think that there will be but a short jump from riots to a general rebellion carried out along guerrilla warfare lines. Their guerrilla concepts are founded on raw racism, black men versus white men.

All Communist groups in this country have been engaged in racial agitation for years. Some do not deny, or attempt to hide, the role they have played in inflaming passions to the point where riots have broken out. Others disclaim responsibility but, at the same time, give open—if indirect—support to rioting by openly defending the rioters and placing full blame for their actions on all levels of Government.

Some Communists believe the time is not yet ripe for a guerrilla war. They support only riots at this point. Others are convinced the time has arrived and are doing everything they can to pit black against white and white against black in a racially motivated insurrection against the United States.

Both of these factions in the Communist movement are now joined in their agitation—either for riots or for rebellion—by certain ultra-militant black nationalist organizations. Together, the two groups pose a serious threat to law and order and the security of the United States.

The advocates of guerrilla warfare are counting on the assumption that most Americans will discount the possibility of guerrilla operations in their country. Certainly the notion of a guerrilla war in the United States is improbable, even absurd, to most Americans. Communists are fully aware of this and are counting heavily on the fact that most Americans will be mentally and emotionally, as well as physically, unprepared. The shock effect of the initial guerrilla onslaught would work in favor of the guerrillas.

The future bodes ill for anyone who thinks our ghetto riots are over. If anything, the pressures and the potential for riots have increased. In the past months, Communists and black nationalists have been working overtime in the various ghettos to further inflame the people into taking violent action. Whether their efforts will lead only to additional riots—or something worse—only the future will tell.

No matter how improbable a successful guerrilla war may seem, however, it is vitally necessary for the American people to be alerted to the fact that some elements within the population are today actually recruiting and training revolutionaries for the war they hope to wage against the United States.

APPENDIX

TWO KINDS OF GUERRILLA WARFARE

By Geoffrey Fairbairn¹

"It seems to me at this time we need education in the obvious more than investigation of the obscure." Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.

An important part of the confusion existing in some most honorable minds as to what the struggle in South Vietnam is all about is caused by an imperfect understanding of the cardinal differences between the Communist form of *revolutionary* guerrilla warfare and what one might call *traditional* guerrilla warfare. Traditional guerrilla warfare, very naturally, holds a great appeal for generous spirits in the West, particularly amongst young people who are apt to attribute to Communist revolutionary warfare the same kind of liberating purpose.

Traditional guerrilla warfare may be described briefly in this fashion: it is a form of warfare carried out by irregular forces, which just about always dispose of inferior weapons and logistical support in general, but which enjoy a superior mobility as a result of knowing the geographical terrain better than the enemy; and which possess the ability to seize and retain the initiative through a superior control of the human terrain. This control may be the result of sheer nation-wide support for the guerrillas against a colonial or other occupying power of foreign origin; it may be the result of the ability of the guerrillas to inflict reprisals upon the population; and it can be because the guerrillas promise more to the population. Normally all three factors operate, the second operating because guerrilla warfare of *any* kind can be waged only where the communications system provides the guerrillas with the possibility of moving more quickly than their enemy can apprehend. A *major* guerrilla operation cannot, for example, be successfully mounted in a fully industrialized State, except in conditions of acute civic breakdown the maquis operated well in Paris only as auxiliaries to the Allied Armies; the far more deeply nationally supported Polish Home Army was doomed in Warsaw simply because Moscow deliberately, for political reasons, was not prepared to support its auxiliaries in the event.

In this sense, of course, guerrilla warfare, of either kind, does indeed involve a kind of *substitution* of local skills and customs for the technological might of industrialized societies—this was the case in the special geographical conditions of Yugoslavia (and indeed in the special but now forgotten conditions of the Ukraine). But today, it seems as though guerrilla warfare, in this sense, is offering a kind of *Asian* alternative to Western technology; and here the confusion caused by the inability to distinguish between the two kinds of guerrilla warfare is compounded by the Western guilty conscience about the colonial past. The Vietcong, to put it crudely, are very easily misconceived as a group of "peasants" battling the capitalist "technologists" of Washington. Many of them do indeed probably *see themselves* as playing this role; as matching the B-52 with an underground tunnel system, as matching the grenade-launcher with the home-made mine, as matching the helicopter with the enlarged panji stick, the tracked vehicle with the ambush or with the removal of whole hunks of road, napalm with selective terrorism, and so on.

Now it really is awfully important to be honest about this. The Vietcong do display very great heroism and very great ingenuity. It is simply ridiculous to argue otherwise. The difference between the two forms of guerrilla warfare does not lie here at all. The difference is chiefly a *political* difference. Traditional guerrilla warfare was waged by a people or a region against foreign domination.

¹ Geoffrey Fairbairn, lecturer on Asian history at the Australian National University, Canberra, has made extensive studies of guerrilla warfare in various areas, including Burma, Thailand, Malaya, and South Vietnam. He is the author of a book on revolutionary guerrilla warfare soon to be published by Faber & Faber, London, a contributor to learned journals such as *Pacific Affairs*, and has written for various other publications, including the *London Economist* and the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*. This article by Mr. Fairbairn was circulated in the United States by the Council Against Communist Aggression, for which Mr. Fairbairn serves as Australian correspondent.

The precise shape of the political future of the nation or region was not *part* of the struggle (just as it is not part of the traditional guerrilla struggle, for example, in the Kachin and Shan States of Burma today, where the motivation as the guerrilla leaders see it is basically racial.) The Great Divide between the two forms of guerrilla warfare probably first made itself manifest in the regional, religiously 'motivated' rising in la Vendee during the French Revolution; a rising directed against a *new* kind of government, which talked about Liberty, Fraternity and Equality, but which also introduced conscription of all nationals of France in the name of something which was not properly understood in la Vendee secular nationalism. Even so, la Vendee fought for modest aims—freedom of religion. And this essential modesty of aim or, if you like it, political vagueness of aim has marked every traditional guerrilla war from Gideon's struggle to the Arab fight for independence from *both* the Turkish Empire and the West in 1915-18.

The Communist approach is altogether different. It necessarily uses the traditional techniques of guerrilla warfare, since the geographical terrain not only permits but enhances the successful use of such techniques. However, the Communists do not wage fighting guerrilla warfare just for the hell of it. They take immense pains, and on occasion indulge (as they did in Vietnam before 1946) in great political gambles, to avoid being forced into adopting this kind of warfare. Ho Chi Minh even accepted the idea of incorporation into a French Union (euphemism for modernized Empire or Commonwealth) so long as he could hope that the Communist Party of France might come to power. He will resume tomorrow what Communists call the 'legal' (or sometimes, 'parliamentary') form of struggle if it seems the form of struggle is more likely to lead to the achievement of a Communist dictatorship.

The fact is, that Communists belong to not a party in the democratic meaning of the term, but to an 'organizational weapon', a quasi-military organization. They believe, in so far as they are real Communists, that violence, not harmony lies at the heart of things until Communism has conquered everywhere and, in conquering, has altered the very nature of men. Then, and only then, will a new era of peace and good will be ushered in. In the meantime, they regard themselves as above and beyond the laws according to which the people live; as such, they self-outlaw themselves, and make it quite explicit that they do so. Given this view of what the world is all about, they necessarily see all those who do not accept their prescriptions for the good life as either implacable enemies against whom any manner of dissimulation is permissible or as people who can and must be manipulated.

Now, because Communist Parties, as quasi-military organizations, *must* be small in numbers in very large Communist Parties, such as Indonesia's until recently, the 'reformist element became too strong to allow the quasi-military discipline to be properly exercised in times of crisis they *must* therefore operate under disguised objectives. They must offer a cause which is not their own cause, but the cause that is acceptable to the masses; once in power, that cause can immediately be disavowed and in "Asia" the great Cause, land redistribution, is indeed disavowed the moment the Communist led and controlled 'Resistance Movement' comes to power. Collectivization of land is imposed upon the peasantry by the 'People's Army'.

And this is the heart of the matter; this is the immense difference between traditional guerrilla warfare and Communist *revolutionary* warfare. In the first instance, there is a people of a region seeking to free themselves of foreign (sometimes ideologically foreign) domination, a people concerned *wholly* with this task and so willing to leave the internal political questions until afterwards. In the second case, there is an 'organizational weapon,' the Communist Party, *using* a generalized and (from its point of view) utterly bogus cause in order to ensure its seizure of power. The pride with which General Giap announces that one of the first two *platoons* formed in his 'People's Army' was a propaganda platoon in itself, also discloses the Communist purposes to all who try to understand this problem honestly. In traditional guerrilla warfare, such platoons are not *necessary*; the people *do* understand why they are fighting; they do not need political commissars; they are indeed engaged in a 'spontaneous and indigenous rising'. (It really is pretty obvious that if a rising is spontaneous, then it does not need political operators to inform it what it is doing. It just *knows*. The reason why this fact can not be acknowledged by the older members of the 'progressive left', has nothing to do with Vietnam or guerrilla warfare; it is simply that such people have staked their lives on a special understanding of historical processes, the disavowal of which would involve them in a *personally* intolerable situation; the

situation of having spent their lives futilely in support of wicked and irrelevant ideas. They are to be pitied, but not listened to.)

For the Communists, armed guerrilla warfare is but *part* of the struggle to get control over the population; by engaging ever greater sections of the population in guerrilla warfare, they come to *control* greater sections of the population: "The People is the Army, the Army is the People", as Giap puts it, guerrilla warfare for the Communists is simply a process ----- the best available at the time, and a peculiarly efficacious one ----- of politico - militarily "brigading" the people, a process which *after* victory, as Bernard Fall pointed out long ago, involves the "brigading" of the people economically through collectivisation of agriculture, a measure which is no longer undertaken by communists (if it ever was) in order to increase agricultural productivity but in order to consolidate Communist control over the masses, which in Asia happen to be mostly peasants.

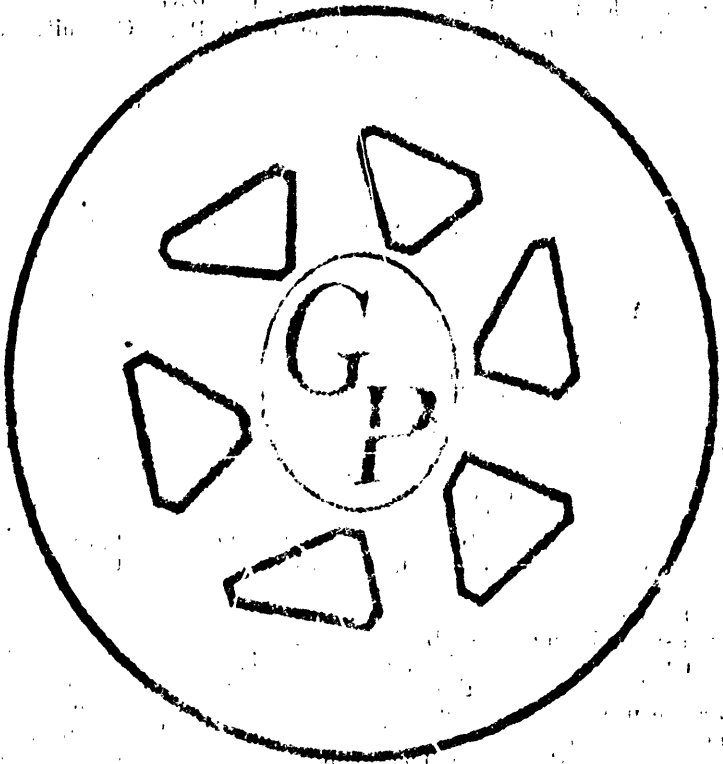
This kind of warfare really can only be understood through a study of its exponents; and its exponents are not only the leaders of fighting guerrilla warfare in "Asia" but those who stand in the tradition of Leninist *political* guerrilla warfare. When, for example, North Vietnam's General Giap writes about every village being a fortress he is only echoing the statement of the Communist International in Europe in the late twenties to the effect that every factory is a ~~fortress~~ ----- if it can be penetrated and manipulated by the Communist Party. Again, General Giap is known as a great guerrilla leader, a fighting man, but it is *he* who says that "The (Communist) Party's leadership is an absolute one. The Party is the founder, organizer and educator of the army the system of the Party Committee and political commissar must be firmly maintained."

If one compares this, say, with the Irish Insurrection then the cardinal difference between traditional guerrilla warfare and the revolutionary kind becomes vividly obvious: there were indeed reprisals and ambushes and so on in Ireland; and there was indeed an 'ideology', Catholicism, but the 'ideology' and the nation were one, were actually in being (so to speak). All that was being aimed at was the liberation of Ireland from alien rule; and so there was no question of the Catholic hierarchy having an "absolute leadership being the founder, organizer and educator of the army." It was not that *kind* of struggle; it was simply a nation engaged in insurgency. And so *afterwards* the State that emerged was neither vindictive against non-Catholic minorities, nor was it committed to one-party rule: the insurgents were freedom fighters possessing quite different views, often enough, on what kind of political programme was right for Eire: the insurgents and their supporters represented, often enough, very muddled ideas as to what should be done with Irish society after it had been liberated from foreign rule. The struggle was not about this kind of thing; and the insurgents really did represent (without need, or indeed without possibility of '*political* commissars') one particular aspiration of the vast majority of Irishmen: political independence for Eire. The rest was to be argued about in parliamentary fashion afterwards.

The position of the Communist Party of Indo-China has always necessarily been altogether different: it has always been a very small minority group, committed to a political solution that derived in no fashion whatsoever from the aspirations of the Vietnamese people. The last conceivable aspiration of the Vietnamese peasants would be the collectivisation of agriculture. And so, under bogus slogans such as nationalism and land redistribution, the Party "mobilized" the masses *through* revolutionary guerrilla warfare; created a significant politico-military society, 'the People's Army' through escalating the struggle; and so created the instrument for the ultimate smashing of all opposition - - - - including that of the unarmed peasant farmers - - - - in order that the Party can assume absolute dictatorship over the people. The revolution is achieved by and through warfare; and the revolution when completed is simply the triumph of a totalitarian minority of its privileged armed bureaucracy over the mass of the people.

Revolutionary guerrilla warfare has nothing in common with traditional guerrilla warfare, except military techniques and tactics appropriate to underdeveloped countries. The end sought and the political processes involved are altogether different; in this kind of necessarily protracted warfare, the intention of the Communists is directed quite as much towards making the struggle a process for subsuming all varieties of opinion within its own politico-military war machine as it is directed against the enemy's political and military institutions. Put briefly, in South Vietnam, the 'People's Army' is the revolution. As Giap said long ago (of the North) "Free Vietnam is first of all an Army".

And this is the point which must be got over to people in the West who see in the Vietcong a traditional guerrilla freedom struggle. The point surely is that traditional guerrilla warfare is basically *defensive*; revolutionary Communist warfare is of its nature, offensive, aggressive, and consequently a deep threat to international peace.



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