

THE PANTHERS

Communist Guerrillas In The Streets

David Emerson Gumaer spent two years within the youth apparatus of the Communist Party as an undercover operative for Chicago Police Intelligence. In December of 1967 he accepted the invitation of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to testify in executive session regarding his knowledge of the activities and personnel of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and the Students for a Democratic Society. Mr. Gumaer is currently a Contributing Editor to The Review Of The News (an outstanding new national newsweekly) and has lectured widely.

■ IN the wake of the nationwide police raids on private military arsenals belonging to the Black Panther Party, and the resulting shrieks from Establishment civil libertarians and Communists working to defend the Panthers, Americans are asking: "Just what is the Panther organization? And what *are* its objectives?"

To try to answer those questions as thoroughly as possible, AMERICAN OPINION has conducted a national survey of the activities of Panther and affiliated groups, interviewing leading members of the Black Panther Party, scores of police officers, intelligence personnel, and undercover agents still operating within the Communist apparatus. The thousands of pages of testimony, documents, and data we have collected verify the reading of this situation regularly published in these pages over the last decade. There can no longer be any doubt whatsoever that America is the target of Communist revolutionaries already armed and training for guerrilla warfare and paramilitary terrorism.

Fronting this project have been the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Revolutionary Action Movement, the Republic of New Africa, and the Black Panther Party. Operating in America in the manner of the Vietcong, these savages are recruiting troops and training them in the fashion of such Communist forces as the "Huks" in the Philippines, the F.A.L.N. in Bolivia, the F.L.Q. in Quebec, the F.L.N. in Algeria, and the Pathet Lao in Laos. Potentially talented commanders are already receiving training in guerrilla warfare from Castro in Cuba, Kim Il Sung in North Korea, and the Al Fatah in the Middle East.

To finance their "war of national liberation" and achieve what they call "self-determination," Panthers have been armed with machine-guns and sent out as "rip off squads," to commit armed robbery and extort "taxes" and valuables from both white and Negro merchants. It is an operation reminiscent of the Bolsheviks' Tiflis bank robber, one Joseph Stalin. And, such Panther activities are being expanded at a rapid clip.

The Black Panther Party (B.P.P.) has received massive support from hundreds of revolutionary groups, including the Communist Party, U.S.A. And, the Panthers have formed an open alliance with such notorious Red Fronts as the Peace and Freedom Party (P.F.P.), which in 1968 ran a number of Black Panther leaders as candidates for Congress. Top Panther Eldridge Cleaver was even the P.F.P. candidate for President of the United States. His campaign was run by Robert Avakian, a self-confessed radical Communist who acted as liaison between

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the P.F.P. and the Panthers. A leader of the terrorist Bay Area Revolutionary Union (Red Guard), Comrade Avakian counselled his fellow revolutionaries:

... we should help raise funds and supply weapons for groups like the Black Panther Party... we white radicals must not only run guns to the black revolutionaries — we must also move within the white community to build a force....

For a brief period in 1968 the Panthers even merged with the Communists' (Havana-oriented) Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, actively participating behind the scenes in formation of the deadly Republic of New Africa, successor to the now defunct (Peking-oriented) Revolutionary Action Movement. High-ranking Panthers continue to maintain heavy liaison with Communist Cuba, Red China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Red Algeria, and (more recently) the Soviet Union.

So effective is the Communist underground that Panthers sought by the police are now regularly spirited out of the country without a trace. Others simply hijack commercial airliners for quick flights to Communist Cuba. Due to their flagrant disregard for the law, many of the leaders of the Black Panthers have escaped to Cuba, Algeria, or Red China; are currently in prison; out on bail awaiting trial; or dead. A recent edition of the Allen-Goldsmith Report notes:

... indisputable official police records disclose that last year more than 350 Black Panthers were arrested for committing upwards of 150 serious crimes — including murder, armed robbery, rape, auto and various other thefts, bank hold-ups, ... narcotics violations, rioting, illegal possession of guns, rifles and other weapons, and defiance of the Selective Service Act.

Among the top echelon of the Communist Black Panther Party currently out of action are the following:

● **Huey P. Newton** — B.P.P. Minister of Defense — is a former neighborhood organizer in Oakland for the Office of Economic Opportunity. He is now serving an incredibly lenient two-to-fifteen-year sentence in a California prison for the cold-blooded murder of Oakland police officer John Frey and the wounding of officer Herbert Heanes.

A P.F.P. candidate for Congress in 1968, Panther co-founder Newton taught his followers: "Every time you go execute a white racist gestapo cop — you are defending yourself... It won't be just a couple of cops (next time)... When the time comes it will be part of a whole national coordinated effort."

● **Bobby G. Seale** — B.P.P. Chairman — is a former family guidance councilor at the North Oakland Poverty Center, funded by the federal O.E.O. He is co-founder of the Panthers and is presently serving a four-year prison sentence for contempt of court, a result of his incredible outbursts during the recent "Conspiracy" trial at Chicago of eight hardened Reds. Seale was one of the defendants, standing trial under a federal indictment which charged him with inciting to riot during the 1968 Democrat National Convention. Bobby is also awaiting extradition to New Haven, Connecticut, where he has been charged as an accomplice in the brutal torture-murder of Alex Rackley (a fellow Panther suspected of being an informer). Rackley's burned and mutilated body was found floating in the Coginchaug River in May of 1969.

A former organizer for the N.A.A.C.P., Comrade Seale has a long record of armed assault of policemen. On August 13, 1968, during a broadcast over Radio Havana, he gleefully boasted that his fellow Panthers had recently shot and killed two policemen in Seattle, and two in New York, "with shotgun fire at close range." He bragged that they had wounded

nine other policemen from ambush.

● **Leroy Eldridge Cleaver** — B.P.P. Minister of Information — is at present a fugitive from justice. He is being sought on a federal warrant for unlawful flight to avoid confinement. Eldridge escaped the country, *while on parole*, after having attempted to murder a police officer during an ambush staged by Panthers on April 6, 1968. His criminal record extends back to 1950. Cleaver has spent almost half his life in prison after convictions for narcotics violations, carrying concealed weapons, and several charges of attempted murder. He boasts in his book *Soul On Ice* that his specialty is forcible rape.

After his sudden disappearance in November 1968, Eldridge turned up in Red Cuba as a guest of Fidel Castro and then moved to Prague, Czecho-Slovakia, and on to Algeria. He recently spent several weeks in Pyongyang attending the Reds' International Conference of Anti-Imperialist Journalists, becoming chummy with Communist dictator Kim Il Sung (whose lengthy diatribes are now prominently featured in the B.P.P. newspaper, *The Black Panther*). Cleaver even had himself photographed with his arms around a cadre of Vietcong, and commented to a host of Communist journalists in Pyongyang that he considers himself "a member of the world Communist movement which has made many sacrifices for the Soviet Union." He claimed that when he returns to America he will cut off the head of anti-Communist Senator John L. McClellan.

● **David Hilliard** — B.P.P. Chief of Staff — is now free on \$30,000 bail awaiting trial for threatening the life of President Richard Nixon. The threat was made in November during an obscene "speech" before thousands of Reds at a Vietnik Moratorium Day rally in San Francisco. Hilliard's arrest record dates back to 1962 and includes charges of assault with intent to commit murder, conspiracy, carrying a loaded weapon, and the attempted ambush-murder of two Oakland

policemen (a charge dropped mysteriously by the district attorney).

During the latter encounter, David and a group of his Panthers attacked police with intent to kill, but were themselves wounded and captured. During this shootout the B.P.P. Treasurer, Bobby Hutton, was killed.

● **Emory Douglas** — B.P.P. Minister of Culture — is the "revolutionary artist" for *The Black Panther*. He and his wife are in exile with Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver. Douglas too has a record of extensive criminal activity dating back more than a decade. It was he who authored a little piece called "Revolutionary Art/Black Liberation" for *The Black Panther* of May 18, 1968. There he declared:

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

When he uses the Panther term "pigs," the semi-literate Comrade Douglas is referring to police officers. The Panthers claim to have killed 167 "pigs" in 1969.

Even so cursory a look at Black Panther leadership indicates that this is a Communist show. The details ice the cake in deep crimson. For example, the Panthers are required upon induction to read twelve basic books. These include such standards as Mao Tse-tung's *On Contradictions*, Mao's *Four Essays On Philos-*

ophy, and his *Selected Military Writings*. Other required reading includes Stalin's *The Foundations Of Leninism* and Marx's *The Communist Manifesto*.

Whereas such Communist materials have for three years been pouring into the various Panther headquarters from Communist countries abroad (delivered postage free by the U.S. Post Office), Panthers in Los Angeles purchase the bulk of their copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-Tung* — a small volume Black Panthers have been required to carry on their person at all times — at the Workers International Bookstore. That outlet, we are informed, is owned and operated by Michael Lasky, leader of a Red splinter group which participated actively in the Watts riots of 1965. It seems Comrade Lasky is in the import business. A Military Intelligence Report issued last summer to all commands, says:

Michael Lasky of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), and of the United Front Organization, is reported to be expecting a gun shipment from Mexico in August 1969. It has been indicated that Lasky has a new way of getting them across the border. . . . Lasky has said he can get weapons from the Black Panthers in Oakland, California [who] would probably steal them from armories in the San Francisco and Oakland Bay areas.

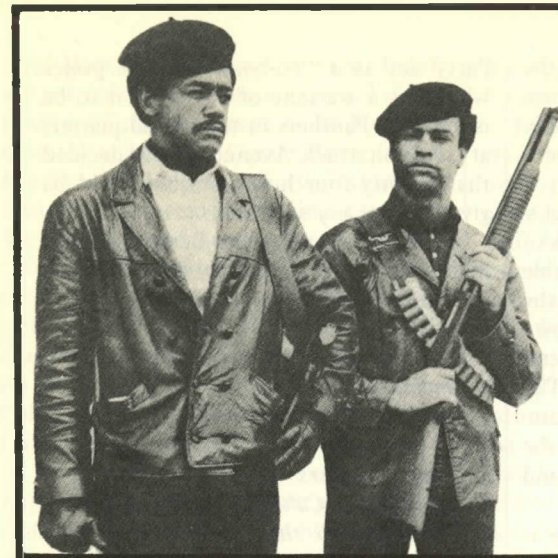
That United Front (U.F.), now run personally by Lasky, was created some years ago by a protégé of his as an arm of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist). Before Mike assumed personal leadership in 1968 it was directed by one Raymond "Masai" Hewitt, who has since become Deputy Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party. Comrade Hewitt conferred at a Communist conference in Quebec last February with Tran cong Tuong, a Vietcong representative to the Paris Peace Talks. He plays for keeps.

When asked by newsmen some weeks earlier what the Panthers would do were they to win their revolution, "Masai" bragged: "If we were successful tomorrow, we would march up to the White House and take everyone in there and 'terminate them with extreme prejudice!'" That unusual phrase was revealed in the Green Berets case as a C.I.A. euphemism meaning "to kill and dispose of." With most of the other top cats incapacitated, "Masai" is next in line for leadership of the Black Panther Party. It is a post destined to make of him a hero of the "Liberal" Press.

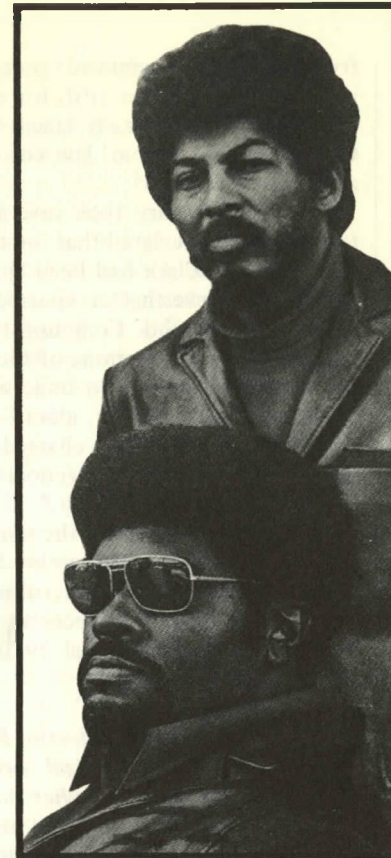
The media campaign to make heroes of the Panthers began with the treatment of the Panther shootout in Chicago on December 5, 1969. After a series of obviously well-coordinated police raids on Panther arsenals throughout the country, including the one in Chicago, the entire Communist propaganda apparatus was shifted into high gear. The *Daily World*, *People's World*, and all other Communist organs began pushing the line that kindly Panthers were being wantonly slaughtered by berserk cops. The major "Liberal" magazines and newspapers, supported by the major television networks, have followed the Communist lead.

The Chicago affair began when fourteen officers assigned to the State's Attorney were sent to serve a search warrant on a group of nine Panthers holed-up in a secret arsenal and headquarters on Chicago's West Side. During their pre-dawn raid, they were met by shotgun fire which wounded three police officers. After a bloody ten-minute gun battle, seven armed Panthers surrendered. Two had been killed. Three weeks prior to this incident two Chicago police officers had been ambushed and slain, and seven others wounded, in a shootout with Panthers in an abandoned building on the South Side. So the fourteen officers sent into that West Side "arsenal" were taking no chances.

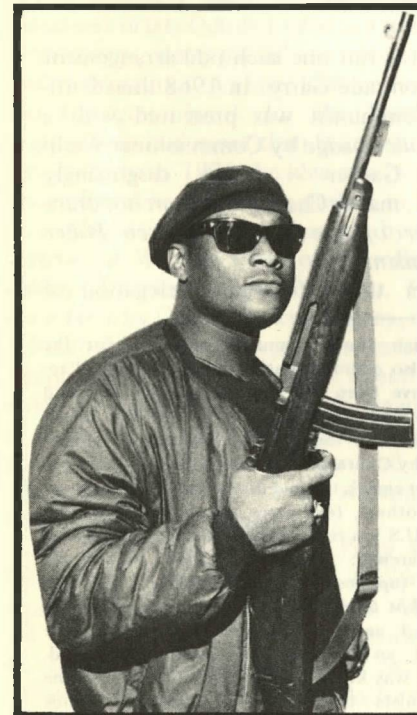
Dead Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark had been relative small



Communist co-founders of Panther Party, Bobby Seale (Chairman) and killer Huey Newton (Minister of Defense).



Panther underground Field Marshal Don Cox glowers over shoulder of Elbert Howard, Deputy Minister of Information.



Panther leader Mark Comfort has been an employee of the O.E.O.-funded Oakland Direct Action Committee and the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Intelligence reports reveal he is "known to have knowledge of and access to explosives."

Communist founder of Revolutionary Action Movement, "Rob" Williams, says "R.A.M.s and the Black Panthers share a common objective": guerrilla warfare. Returning to America last fall, Williams was guest speaker in December at a B.P.P. conference in Detroit.

WANTED BY THE FBI

INTERSTATE FLIGHT - KIDNAPING
ROBERT FRANKLIN WILLIAMS

Photograph taken May, 1961

Aliases: Bob Williams, Robert F. Williams

DESCRIPTION

Age: 36, born February 26, 1925, Monroe, North Carolina

Height: 5'7" Weight: 175 lbs. Complexion: dark brown

fry, but the Communists pumped the incident of December fifth for all it was worth. The object was to smear not only Chicago police, but *all* law enforcement agencies.

A Coroner's Jury took several weeks' testimony and declared that the deaths of Hampton and Clark had been "justifiable homicide." Nevertheless, spurred by the usual radicals and Communists, *seven* independent investigations of the December shootout were soon underway. The Panthers' chief attorney, identified Communist Charles R. Garry, charged that the police had committed "genocide," and that became the rallying cry.*

Out on the West Coast the same day as the Chicago battle of December fifth, the twenty-three-member leadership of an organization which has received \$96,000 in federal funds for fiscal 1970, passed the following resolution:

The Board of Directors of Berkeley Neighborhood Legal Services supports the Black Panther Party in their effort for liberation of the black and all oppressed people of this country. We are frightened and angered by the concentrated attack on the Black Panther Party for the "crime" of fighting for equality, dignity, and self determination . . . [we call] for an end to the systematic repression of black liberation groups . . .

Several weeks later, on December nineteenth, the radical *Berkeley Tribe* revealed that city officials and police in Berkeley had agreed not to "pull any pre-dawn raids of any kind against Panther headquarters," and will "refuse to take part in *any* such raids with any other law agency." City Manager Bill Hanley commented: "The Federal government has no business hassling Panthers in Berkeley." Berkeley Police Chief Bruce Baker agreed to let the Reds' Citizens Committee To Defend The Black Panther

Party act as a "go-between" for police whenever a warrant of any type is to be issued the Panthers in their headquarters at 3106 Shattuck Avenue. It was decided that twenty-four hours notice would be given before any such visit.

Several days after the Berkeley agreement, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported *this* disturbing bit of news:

A program to avoid any "unnecessary" troubles between police and the Black Panthers was agreed to yesterday at a conference of Negro leaders and Police Chief Thomas J. Cahill. In brief, Chief Cahill agreed that police will contact Charles Garry, attorney for the Panthers, when a warrant is issued for any member of the militant organization.

That is but one such odd arrangement with Comrade Garry. In 1968 this identified Communist was presented with a *gold police badge* by Commissioner Washington Garner — which, disgustingly enough, makes Charles Garry *an honorary member of the San Francisco Police Department.*

After the fifteen-man delegation of

*Although the Communist attorney for the B.P.P. also claimed that some twenty-eight Panthers have been "victims of unprovoked and cold-blooded police murder," the record shows otherwise. Of the twenty Panther "victims" named by Charles Garry (he couldn't remember the other eight), ten *had* died trying to kill police. Of the others, four were murdered by United Slaves (U.S.), a rival gang of criminals headed by Ron Karenga; two were killed by private citizens (apparently in self-defense); one was found shot to death in a Los Angeles alley (the victim of another Panther's vengeance); one died of an overdose of barbiturates; and, another was killed by his own wife, whom the Communists have now branded a "police agent."

Comrade Garry, we should mention, was identified in 1957 as a member of the Communist Party during a Congressional investigation for the S.A.C.B. and again by H.C.U.A. in 1959 in its Report called *Communist Legal Subversion.*

local Marxists had met with Chief Cahill, we are told, the Reverend Cecil Williams (pastor of the subversive Glide Memorial Church) and Father Gerald Boyle (of the Panther-oriented Sacred Heart Catholic Church) conferred with Charles Garry. Speaking for the group, Garry declared: "We heartily approve of the new arrangement with police here and in Berkeley." Chief Cahill smiled and said: "It was a fruitful meeting." Ah, yes. But, fruitful for whom? Not, fortunately enough, for Cahill. He has since been removed as Chief of Police for San Francisco.

Black Panther activity is obviously an important phase of Communist operations in the United States. So important, indeed, that further discussion of its role in Communist plans requires that we pause here to recount some of its history.

The Panthers claim to have begun operations in late October 1966 as a sort of "community alert patrol" to check on "police brutality." A closer look indicates that the groundwork for the Panther program was laid more than four decades ago. As early as 1928 the idea of a Negro Soviet Republic was being pushed in the United States through publication by the Communist Workers Party of the inflammatory *American Negro Problems*. This was a book by General Joseph Pogany, one of Stalin's most trusted agents in America. Joseph Stalin had sent Pogany, operating under the name John Pepper, to organize an underground army whose mission was to subvert the American Negro and use him as cannon-fodder in a race war aimed at destroying our country.

By 1935, the Communist Party was distributing *The Negroes In A Soviet America*, by Communists James S. Allen and James W. Ford. It further elaborated the scheme of creating a black Soviet enclave in the American South. As former Communist Party Chairman Benjamin Gitlow noted: "In the racial Civil War the Communists envisage, Negroes will be in the front ranks, the shock troops of the Communist Revolution." The project

proceeded apace through the Forties and Fifties.

By August of 1961, one of the more rabid of the growing number of Communist agitators, a black N.A.A.C.P. organizer named Robert Franklin Williams, fled his home in North Carolina for sanctuary in Red Cuba. A founder of the Communist Fair Play For Cuba Committee, Williams had been indicted on two charges of kidnapping and was being sought by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This kindly "Civil Rights" leader (who earlier had threatened the life of the President of the United States) was described by the F.B.I. in a wanted poster as a "schizophrenic" who "has advocated and threatened violence." Williams, the F.B.I. warned, "should be considered armed and extremely dangerous."

Robert Williams soon began broadcasting Communist propaganda beamed over Radio Havana to Negroes in the South. Sponsored by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, his broadcasts called for race war in the United States. Comrade Williams also published *The Crusader*, an incendiary tract distributed to American Negroes and calling for wholesale sabotage, assassination, and guerrilla warfare.

By late 1963, following a series of meetings in Cuba between "Brother Rob" Williams and key black revolutionaries, an all-Negro terrorist cadre was formed at Philadelphia by Maxwell Stanford Jr. and Benjamin Playthell. This highly secret group was called R.A.M. — the Revolutionary Action Movement (Black Liberation Front of the U.S.A.). Its avowed goal was the violent overthrow of the United States Government. Leaders of R.A.M. openly aligned themselves with the Communist Vietcong and began stealing and stockpiling heavy military equipment.

A Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities noted:

RAM does not seek mass membership. Instead it operates on the

principle of a tight-knit, highly selective inner circle of leaders who accomplish their aims through infiltration and subversion of other Afro-American groups, through fronts, and through use of Negro teenage gangs schooled in urban guerrilla warfare.

As intelligence agencies continued their surveillance of R.A.M. they became aware of its central terror cadre, the "Black Guard." Among the twenty-six "duties" prescribed for its carefully selected members are the following:

The Black Guard is a dedicated man; unmerciful towards the enemy... he expects no mercy from them. Between him and them exist - undeclared or concealed - war to the death. Every Black Guard must accustom himself to torture....

The enemy's system can be split into several categories. The first category is those who must be condemned to death without delay. Brothers should compile a list of those to be condemned according to their crimes; executions should be carried out in order.

Significantly, the R.A.M. "duties" were copied almost verbatim from the infamous *Revolutionary Catechism*, written almost a century ago by a Marxist revolutionary named Sergey Necheyev, who had been imprisoned for murder. In Payne's *The Life And Death Of Lenin*, we find that Lenin actually used this "Catechism" in directing the bloody Bolshevik revolution.

While Max Stanford became Field Secretary of this guerrilla band, R.A.M.'s Chairman-in-exile, Robert Franklin Williams, spent his time in Cuba conferring with Red Chinese and Soviet experts on guerrilla warfare. Williams and his Communist friends then began training the leaders of their underground army in the concepts

of urban guerrilla warfare. They were given the full complement of lessons in strategic sabotage and terrorism.

By now Comrade Williams had become a symbol to radical blacks, and the Communist Party began pushing his important manifesto, *Negroes With Guns* (with a foreword by Dr. Martin Luther King). This book stressed the "need" for Negroes to carry loaded weapons for "self-defense." So obvious a subterfuge may have fooled a few of the less intelligent "Liberals," but the revolutionists knew *exactly* what was meant when R.A.M.'s Max Stanford declared:

The revolution will "strike by night and spare none." Mass riots will occur in the day with the AfroAmericans blocking traffic, burning buildings.... Thousands of AfroAmericans will be in the streets fighting; for they will know that this is it.... The black revolution will use sabotage in the cities - knocking out the electrical power first, then transportation, and guerrilla warfare in the countryside in the South. With the cities powerless, the oppressor will be helpless.

In late May 1964, a copy of *The Crusader* given wide circulation in the United States advocated that the "Afro-American freedom fighters" acquire and use such weapons as gasoline fire bombs, hand grenades, machine-guns, homemade flame throwers, and lye (or acid bombs) to foment revolution in the "ghettos." The radicalized blacks were instructed:

Derailing of trains causes panic. Explosive booby traps on police telephone boxes can be employed. High powered rifles are readily available. Armor piercing bullets will penetrate oil storage tanks from a distance.... flame throwers can be manufactured at home....

Such R.A.M. directives were taken seriously. That July, Harlem exploded in massive rioting. It was the first in a long series of such "spontaneous" riots.

The following month, eighty-four young Comrades - many of them college students - paid an unauthorized visit to Communist Cuba, during which eleven of the more radical Negroes among them met with Robert Williams to form the Black Liberation Front, another of the many arms of R.A.M. One of these young Communists, a R.A.M. leader from Detroit named Luke Tripp, later gave an interview to reporters for the Trotskyite Communists' Young Socialist Alliance in which he declared: "... our orientation is Mau-Mau Maoist. We are strong supporters of the [Red] Chinese. If you're in doubt on any position we have, look it up in *Peking Review*." Comrade Tripp is presently Deputy Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party in Detroit.

Six months after the founding meeting with Williams in Cuba, members of the Black Liberation Front of R.A.M. were arrested for plotting to dynamite the Statue of Liberty and the Washington Monument. The "mastermind behind the bizarre plot" (reported the House Committee on Un-American Activities) was Robert Collier, a R.A.M. leader known to have "received guerrilla warfare training from the Communist North Vietnamese during his visit to Communist Cuba." Comrade Collier is presently one of the key leaders of the Black Panther Party in New York City.*

*Currently standing trial in New York, Collier was one of twenty-one Panthers arrested on April 2, 1969, for conspiracy to assassinate policemen (using explosives and high-powered rifles), to dynamite various department stores in Manhattan during the pre-Easter shopping rush, and to sabotage commuter trains (derailing them with explosives). Though a former employee of an O.E.O.-funded project in New York (in a position approved by Mayor John Lindsay), Collier has an extensive arrest record. He helped coordinate the "Poor Peoples Campaign" in Washington, D.C., in 1968.

It was soon decided to form yet another front - this one to push separatism and the Negro Soviet Republic. The site selected was Hayneville, Alabama. Named the Lowndes County Freedom Party (L.C.F.P.), a charging black panther was chosen as its official symbol. Soon the L.C.F.P. was known as the Black Panther Party.

Organized by S.N.C.C. officials Stokely Carmichael and John Hulett in early March 1965, the Black Panther Party of Lowndes County was designed as the prototype for seizure of political power in Southern counties which are predominately Negro. Preaching separatism and "Black Power," Stokely and his L.C.F.P. were soon the toast of the "Liberal" media. What was never mentioned is the fact that the articulate Mr. Carmichael is a well trained Marxist-Leninist. "When you talk of Black Power," he explained:

... you talk of bringing this country to its knees. When you talk of Black Power, you talk of building a movement that will destroy everything Western Civilization has created.

The object of Carmichael's L.C.F.P. was publicly outlined in a tract entitled "The Black Panther Party," by Elizabeth Barnes, National Secretary of the Trotskyite Communists' Young Socialist Alliance. From that and other sources we find that Stokely's gang intended to take political power in Lowndes County and use taxation to expropriate the land. As Gary Allen notes in *Communist Revolution In The Streets*, the Black Panthers were "planning to set up a soviet, a local government which owns the means of production in its district."

During the next year R.A.M. leader Max Stanford was busy setting up yet another front in New York as a recruiting and fund-raising arm of the parent organization. It too was called the Black

Panther Party. On August 29, 1966, the Black Panthers sponsored a rally in Harlem at which the key spokesmen were Comrades Max Stanford, Stokely Carmichael, and William Epton. While Carmichael had since become Chairman of S.N.C.C., Epton was an admitted Communist and leader of the Maoist Progressive Labor Party, a splinter organization formed by Comrades who had five years earlier broken with the Communist Party, U.S.A., to push Maoism among dark-skinned Americans.

At this rally, flanked by uniformed Black Panthers, Max Stanford declared: "Black men must unite in overthrowing their white oppressors, must do it like Panthers, smiling, cunning, scientifically . . . stalking by night and sparing no one." He went on to assure his potential recruits that within a few years the United States can be brought down with "a rag and some gasoline and a bottle" — ingredients for a Molotov cocktail.

The following month, on September twelfth, the Black Panther Party staged an unsuccessful school boycott in Harlem which resulted in the arrest of three of its members. Apparently the New York area was not yet ready for such activities, so the R.A.M. crowd turned its attention to the West Coast where R.A.M. activists Bobby Seale and Huey Newton had been ordered to form a Panther organization in Oakland. In early October the two young militants created the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (B.P.P.). They were inspired, they said, by the one in Lowndes County.

Electing themselves to office, Huey Newton became Minister of Defense, Bobby Seale became Chairman, and Leroy Eldridge Cleaver became Minister of Information. They quickly recruited quite a little army, including the late Bobby Hutton, who was named B.P.P. Treasurer.

That October twenty-ninth, the Communist Students for a Democratic Society held an all-day "Black Power Conference" at the University of California at

Berkeley. The major speaker at the affair was Stokely Carmichael, who had been meeting all that week with Newton, Seale, and other Panther leaders to plan further B.P.P. strategy.

The first actual confrontation between the Oakland B.P.P. and the police came four months later on February 21, 1967, when an "honor guard" of Panthers escorted the widow of Malcolm X (Mrs. Betty Shabazz) around San Francisco during a brief visit. Flaunting loaded rifles and revolvers, they were soon stopped by concerned police. As the officers approached, Huey Newton leveled his shotgun and dared them to draw their weapons. The police withdrew and the Panthers stalked away. It was but the first in an unended series of confrontations.

The following May second, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense gained national coverage when thirty Panthers — armed with loaded rifles, shotguns, and pistols — converged on the State Assembly at Sacramento during a legislative session, gained entry to the assembly chamber, and scuffled with the Sergeant at Arms as state officials dove for cover.

As the Black Panther Party began to make inroads in Oakland, and as their membership of hardened criminals grew, police intelligence units began constant surveillance of their activities. They noted that the July 3, 1967, edition of *The Black Panther* carried a directive from Huey Newton ordering B.P.P. members to obtain and use a deadly assortment of handguns and rifles, with a required thousand rounds of ammunition each. All Panthers were directed to attend three political orientation classes per week, practice criticism and self-criticism (like the Red Guard in China), and sell at least seventy-five Panther newspapers a week. One book pushed by Newton from the beginning was *The Wretched Of The Earth*, a guerrilla handbook by Franz Fanon, Red Chronicler of the bloody Communist revolution in Algeria.

Then, in the quiet pre-dawn hours of



Fugitive Communist Eldridge Cleaver (Black Panther Minister of Information) displays "Passport" to Soviet newsmen at Moscow in October 1969. With him en route to Algeria was his wife, Kathleen, daughter of Ernest E. Neal, U.S. Deputy Director of the Foreign Services Mission to the Philippines.

In January 1969, the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* quoted Communist Stokely Carmichael: "We believe that it is necessary to attack police stations to kill police officers." The Panther Prime Minister admitted that he and his fellow revolutionaries are preparing for full-scale "guerrilla warfare."

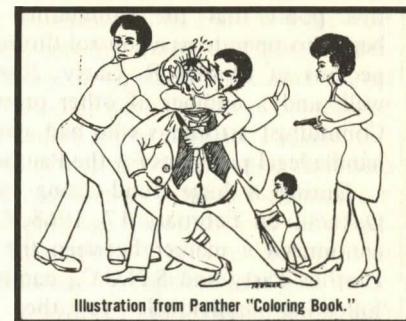
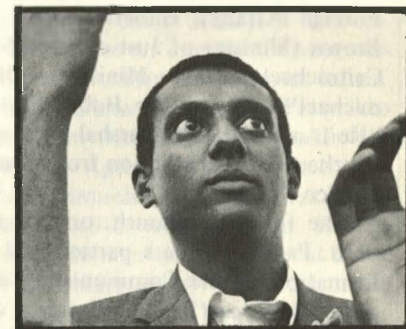


Illustration from Panther "Coloring Book."



These weapons (and those shown above) were found in a Black Panther arsenal on Chicago's West Side after a pre-dawn raid by police on December 5, 1969. Illinois Panther leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton were killed as they and seven Comrades fired on officers attempting to serve a search warrant. A former N.A.A.C.P. official, Hampton had earlier been arrested for kidnapping and torturing young Negroes with an acetylene torch. N.A.A.C.P. President Roy Wilkins claims Fred "was a fine young man."



October 28, 1967, it happened. The Panthers drew first blood. While Huey Newton was being questioned about a minor traffic violation, he shot and killed one police officer and severely wounded another. The Communists immediately cranked up the propaganda, creating a *cause célèbre* which continues to this day under the slogan: "Free Huey."

Intelligence sources believe it was at this point that the Communist *Party* began to operate as a control through the persons of Charles R. Garry, Jean Kidwell, and a number of other prominent Communist attorneys who had agreed to handle legal problems for the Panthers.

During a huge fund-raising rally in Oakland on February 17, 1968, Cleaver announced a merger between the Black Panther Party and S.N.C.C., naming the following individuals to the B.P.P. cabinet: James Forman (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Hubert Geroid "Rap" Brown (Minister of Justice), and Stokely Carmichael (Prime Minister). Of Carmichael's new position, Bobby Seale said: "He is a grand field marshal for the Black Panthers with jurisdiction from Canada to Mexico."

The following month, on March thirtieth, Panther leaders participated in the formation of the Communists' Republic of New Africa (R.N.A.) during a conference at Detroit's Shrine of the Black Madonna (whose pastor is the "Reverend" Albert Cleage Jr. of the National Council of Churches). One of those black Comrades, named as the R.N.A.'s Secretary of Defense, was Hubert Geroid "Rap" Brown — a former employee of the Office of Economic Opportunity. "Rap" is now under sentence in Louisiana for transporting a loaded rifle while under indictment for inciting to riot. The man chosen R.N.A. President-in-exile was — surprise! — Robert Franklin Williams.

In the ensuing months Police Intelligence units throughout the country were placed on alert. And, for very good reason. From the period beginning

February 25, 1968, and ending March 19, 1969, there were in California some *eighty* separate incidents involving explosions, discovery of explosives, bomb threats, and various sabotage. One intelligence report issued on March 28, 1968, stated: "The Black Panthers are well armed and openly advocate the destruction of power stations, bridges, police facilities . . . as well as the killing of police and 'white racist dogs.'"

A brief sampling of some of the more interesting incidents which occurred in California over that period include:

● May 6, 1968 — The Hercules Powder Company near Lincoln was looted of fourteen cases of dynamite (245 sticks) and three cases of cordeau-detonant primacord (six thousand feet). A short time later a 22-inch water main in Carmel was damaged by explosives, while two other explosions occurred in the same area and ten sticks of dynamite (which failed to explode) were discovered in a lumber yard across the street from the Carmel Police Department.

● August 29, 1968 — When Los Angeles police searched a vehicle containing four Black Panthers they found " . . . a three-page instruction sheet titled 'Defense Chemistry.' Instructions included self-igniting molotov cocktails; Pyridine, Butyric Acid, or Valeric Acid for emptying rooms; Perchloric Acid for crankcases of cars or anti-riot vehicles (put in cold engines to cause fire when heated up)."

● September 8, 1968 — 410 sticks of dynamite, 25 blasting caps, a timing device, and other materials were found hidden in brush about two-thirds of a mile from the north end of San Leandro Reservoir in Alameda County.

● October 3, 1968 — A powerful bomb exploded against the perimeter wall of Naples Substation in Long Beach, a facility of the Southern California Edison Company. Three weeks later, a dynamite bomb with a timing device was discovered under a Marin County Sheriff's Substa-

tion office and was quickly disarmed.

● October 28, 1968 — Early that morning as a Berkeley police officer drove his squad car away from the police station he heard an odd scraping noise, thought it was his muffler dragging, and stopped. Checking under his hood he found a pipe bomb attached to the motor. It had been wired incorrectly and failed to detonate.

● November 12, 1968 — During a Panther meeting in San Diego, a leader displayed and demonstrated a shoulder-held machine-gun and stated that by the next weekend the Panthers would have thirty more of these weapons. The following night in Los Angeles, fifty such weapons were distributed at another B.P.P. meeting, along with bottles of a flammable liquid. Members were assigned missions to be carried out that week, including an attack on local police stations.

● November 16, 1968 — During a secret meeting of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, Military Intelligence reports: "All BPP members were [told] to arm themselves with heavy caliber weapons and obtain at least one thousand rounds of ammunition for each weapon It was emphasized at the meeting that *the Black Power Revolution would probably occur by 1972, when all conditions were favorable.*"

● March 6, 1969 — A twelve-inch Standard Oil pipeline was shattered by a dynamite bomb in Martinez at a point where the pipe passes under Alhambra Avenue, a busy thoroughfare.

● March 19, 1969 — Saboteurs derailed two locomotives and thirty cars of an Oakland-bound Southern Pacific freight train in Solano County, resulting in a fire and at least \$500,000 in damages. Derailment was achieved by prying up the rails and rewiring the safety device so the train engineer would not be warned.

Of course, the violence didn't stop. It has continued with increasing regularity. In the interim the Panthers have been arming themselves and training for revolution. In April 1969, Panthers ordered *two*

hundred semi-automatic M-68 rifles from a Contra Costa gun dealer. From April eleventh to April fourteenth, Panthers are reported to have burglarized a Camp Pendleton Armory taking the following weapons: six M-60 machine-guns; 31 M-1 rifles; and, 115 magazines for the M-14 rifle.

And so it has gone, month after month. And, it is a Communist show. The Black Panthers sponsored an important four-day meeting during July 1969 at Merritt College in Oakland, California. Called the National Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Facism, this massive gathering of some three thousand top revolutionaries marked the formation of an operation now known as the American Liberation Front, a network of revolutionary groups whose goal is *to take control of this country through guerrilla warfare by 1972.*

From its opening session it was obvious to undercover intelligence observers present, with whom this reporter talked, that the old-line Communist Party was directing activities. Keynote speaker was Dr. Herbert Aptheker, chief theoretician for the Communist Party, who was joined by such well-known Reds as Roscoe Proctor, a member of the National Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party (whose daughter is an acting treasurer in the B.P.P. headquarters at Berkeley); Archie Brown, Chairman of the Northern California District of the Communist Party; and, Doris Brin Walker, Communist attorney for the B.P.P. and a member of the Communist Front National Lawyers Guild.

Two months prior to this conference, the Nineteenth Convention of the Communist Party had been convened in New York City. There the Party's National Committee had directed its members to begin to exercise complete operating control of the Panther apparatus. The Panthers soon moved from their former preoccupation with Mao Tse-tung and Peking to a more pro-Soviet stance.

An indication of how the Black Panther Party was subjected to the discipline of the Communist Party was revealed last summer by the authoritative *Intelligence Digest*. According to its sources, when the B.P.P. was faced with near disintegration after the jailing of its leaders:

... it was rescued by the Communist Party through such open front organizations as the Newton-Cleaver Defense Committee, the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver, the Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, the Friends of the Panthers - also known as the White Panthers, several regional John Brown Societies, and a few other groups.

Secretly, funds have passed from Cuba into Mexico and then into the United States, where they have reached the BPP through Communist channels.

Surely the most important revelation along these lines appeared in the November 1969 edition of *Political Affairs*, the major theoretical journal of the Communist Party, U.S.A. In an eight-page article entitled "The Black Panther Party," by top Communist William L. Patterson, we find the following:

It is necessary that Communists, especially, should recognize the urgency of supporting this effort. ... The Panthers now have organized contingents in approximately 33 states. At the present they are in the center of police attacks. J. Edgar Hoover, the fascist-minded head of the FBI, calls the Panthers the most dangerous organization in the New Left. That is some evidence of their importance.

The membership of the Communist Party should stand in the forefront in defense of the Black Panthers.

Alarmed by the amazing growth of the Black Panther Party - which is now known to have some *four thousand* hardcore members and many thousands of fellow travelers - Senator John L. McClellan, Chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, has commented that young militants who join the Panthers (or support them) are "joining a revolutionary movement to overthrow this Government by force and violence." During lengthy Hearings last June, Senator McClellan's Subcommittee heard testimony from dozens of intelligence officials, policemen, former Panthers, and other expert witnesses regarding the mounting attacks on law enforcement officers, and various other aspects of subversion in America. As a result of those invaluable Hearings, the McClellan Subcommittee has released a twenty-three volume Report entitled *Riots, Civil And Criminal Disorders*, much of it detailing the subversive activities of the Communist Black Panther Party.

Perhaps the most startling testimony given before the Subcommittee was that of Larry Powell and his wife Jean, both active members of the Black Panther Party for several years prior to their expulsion. Even before their appearance in Washington the Panthers had marked them for death - so they felt they had little to lose by revealing all.

The testimony of the Powells traces an incredible nightmare of plots and counter-plots within the Panther organization, the assassination of members who fell from favor, the planned murder of police officers and other "fascist pigs," and the existence of an elite underground section of the Black Panther Party known as the "Black Guard." This underground cadre is the one created in 1963 by Robert Williams of R.A.M.

Larry Powell testified that it had been his "duty" to carry out "disciplinary actions against members within the party or counterrevolutionaries or people who are a hindrance to furthering the revolu-

tion." He and the other Black Guards, he said, were required to perform such acts of violence as "firebombing, dynamiting, killings or anything considered necessary" as determined by the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party. Larry and his wife testified that the Central Committee was completely dominated by David Hilliard, who had wrested personal leadership of the Black Panthers through a series of ruthless maneuvers.

But, of course, Hilliard isn't the final arbiter. His actions and those of the Panthers, said the Powells, are determined by a secret "Advisory Committee" which:

... consists of many people who are in positions where they are well-known locally or nationally or internationally, and they become members because they are sympathetic to the cause. Some well-known contributors are actors, actresses, doctors, and political names.

One of the actors earlier named by Mrs. Powell was Marlon Brando.

On the subject of weapons, both Powell and police intelligence officials testified that each Panther is required to own and be proficient in the use of such weapons as Army .45-caliber pistols, .357 magnum pistols (which can "crack an engine block on a car when loaded with armor piercing" shells), 12-gauge magnum shotguns with either eighteen-inch or sawed-off barrels, .300 and .375 magnum rifles ("will stop anything that walks the earth"), M-16s and AR-15s (which can be bought across the counter and turned into fully automatic weapons), and even hand grenades.

Among the major gun suppliers mentioned during testimony was one Landon Robert Williams, the B.P.P.'s reported "high executioner," whose brother (Louis) is a Panther "weapons instructor." Landon is currently in Denver awaiting extradition (along with Panther

Rory Hithe) for that torture-slaying of a fellow Panther in New Haven, Connecticut. At San Francisco State College where Comrade Landon Williams was employed as a "tutor-coordinator" in a program funded by the federal Office of Economic Opportunity, radical students have captured control of some \$200,000 in student funds, with which they are reported to have been buying weapons for the Black Panthers.

Another leader named as a major gun buyer for the Black Panther Party is Donald Lee Cox, also known as "D.C.," chief of the B.P.P.'s underground field marshals. A "key organizer" of the Black Guard, Comrade Cox was arrested in June of 1968 during the Red-instigated riots in Richmond, California, just north of Berkeley. He was transporting a *car-load* of weapons. The following month, on July twenty-sixth, Cox and another Panther accompanied Communist Stokely Carmichael to Mobile, Alabama, where they conducted a school for young Negroes in the art of making fire bombs. Shortly after their visit, 126 fire bombings were reported in the area, with damages running into the millions.

Among the disturbing aspects which came to the attention of those investigating Panther activities was that the B.P.P. had been distributing to Negro children hundreds of "coloring books" which portray policemen and white officials as pigs being attacked, shot to death, knifed, and mutilated by black children and adults. Copies of these books were shown at the McClellan Hearing by Inspector Ben Lashkoff of the San Francisco Police Department. "The only good pig is a dead pig," declared one of the captions, under a drawing of a black militant stabbing a policeman in the back. All twenty-one of the "cartoons," equally vicious, were drawn by Panther artist Mark Anthony Teemer.

Inspector Lashkoff had earlier testified that the Panthers were distributing these books with hot breakfasts at elementary

schools in the Bay Area, and at Sacred Heart Catholic Church in San Francisco. The Panthers performed "close order drill" before the children, taught them to give the Communist clenched-fist salute and to shout "off the pig" ("kill the police"), and even led their tiny recruits in repetition of phrases out of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*.

Yet another aspect of the Panther operation came to light some months after the Senate Hearings. On October 6, 1969, San Francisco Police Intelligence circulated a highly confidential memo regarding a "method of operation [which] has been used in other cities in California." The memorandum noted:

A former member of a Maoist-oriented revolutionary organization . . . recently stated that he received training in the theory of an assault unit which would be utilized in making attacks on police vehicles. He stated that an assault unit was made up of the following members: Assaulter - armed with shotgun with 00 buckshot; Automatic man - armed with M-16; Sniper - armed with .306 rifle with scope; variable number of Sitters - armed with automatic weapons; Layoff men - armed with automatic weapons . . .

There followed a step by step description of exactly how the Communists intend to ambush occupants of police cars responding to phony calls for aid. According to reports issued by Military Intelligence, this maneuver has already been tested by the Communists in a number of American cities.

Indeed, so serious has the Panther attack on our police become that the 1969 year-end report of the F.B.I. revealed that last year at least seven policemen died in the line of duty, while 120 others were wounded, in combat with black revolutionaries. "Many of these

groups, whose leaders preach violence and hatred of the white race," said the Report, "have been involved in shootouts with local police. Many attacks on police by black extremists are unprovoked and nothing more than planned ambushes."

By now, it should be quite obvious to even the "Liberals" why F.B.I. Director Hoover recently warned that, of all extremist groups, "The Black Panther Party, without question, represents the greatest threat to the internal security of the country."

Yet, the bloody toll of dead and injured policemen continues to mount. Intelligence sources are agreed that the "black liberation movement" is just beginning to gain momentum as the Black Panther Party is promoted by both the Communist Party and the "Liberal" news media. The unbelievably pro-Panther article in the February 16, 1970, issue of *Life* magazine is a case in point.

But even with the continuing praise given the Panthers in the media, the legal aid afforded them by the A.C.L.U. and National Lawyers Guild, the financial aid heaped upon them by the federal O.E.O., and the pressure applied in their behalf by such "Liberals" as Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Leonard Bernstein (who recently raised \$10,000 for Field Marshal Cox), and former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, perhaps their greatest windfall to date came during a U.P.I. interview on January 27, 1970. It was then that U.S. Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst stated emphatically:

I don't regard the Black Panthers as a menace to the internal security of the United States. They are the extreme outward manifestation of a social problem.

Yes, that's right. Mr. Kleindienst serves at the pleasure of President Richard Nixon, whose Administration he represents. Lord save us from big government and small men. ■ ■