

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
PART 1
Investigation of Kansas City Chapter;
National Organization Data

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

MARCH 4, 5, 6, AND 10, 1970
(INCLUDING INDEX)

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CONTENTS

March 4, 1970: Testimony of—	Page
Phillip C. Lawson.....	2618
Afternoon session:	
Phillip C. Lawson (resumed).....	2645
March 5, 1970: Testimony of—	
Walter Parker.....	2679
William V. Ponessa.....	2725
March 6, 1970: Testimony of—	
Paul E. Levitt.....	2735
Everett P. O'Neal.....	2747
Herman A. Johnson.....	2756
March 10, 1970: Testimony of—	
Richard A. Shaw.....	2769
Appendix: Committee exhibits.....	2798
Index	1

The House Committee on Internal Security 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 91ST CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 8, 1969, as amended by House Resolution 89, February 18, 1969

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the 90th 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 91st Congress * * *

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RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

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

* * * * *

(k) Committee on Internal Security, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

11. Committee on Internal Security.

(a) Communist and other subversive activities affecting the internal security of the United States.

(b) The Committee on Internal Security, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make investigations from time to time of (1) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, whether of foreign or domestic origin, their members, agents, and affiliates, which seek to establish, or assist in the establishment of, a totalitarian dictatorship within the United States, or to overthrow or alter, or assist in the overthrow or alteration of, the form of government of the United States or of any State thereof, by force, violence, treachery, espionage, sabotage, insurrection, or any unlawful means, (2) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, their members, agents, and affiliates, which incite or employ acts of force, violence, terrorism, or any unlawful means, to obstruct or oppose the lawful authority of the Government of the United States in the execution of any law or policy affecting the internal security of the United States, and (3) all other questions, including the administration and execution of any law of the United States, or any portion of law, relating to the foregoing that would aid the Congress or any committee of the House in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Internal Security 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 Internal Security, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, 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.

* * * * *

28. 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.

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Part 1

Investigation of Kansas City Chapter; National Organization Data

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4, 1970

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richard H. Ichord, chairman, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Richard H. Ichord of Missouri, Claude Pepper of Florida, Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, Louis Stokes of Ohio, and William J. Scherle of Iowa.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel, and Richard A. Shaw, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Members of the staff, I hate to proceed without the other members of the committee being present. However, it is 10 o'clock, and the Chair called the meeting for this time.

What I have to say is not to the members of the committee, so I can get this out of the way while they are on their way.

Our purpose in meeting today is to hear testimony concerning the Black Panther Party with particular reference to the chapter in Kansas City, Missouri. The hearings on the Kansas City Chapter having begun yesterday in executive session, this is the second day of hearings.

However, a committee staff investigation has been going on for several months. As a matter of fact, the staff investigation started last October.

The Black Panther Party came into prominence in 1969. Its effects and supposed successes in communities throughout the Nation, the amount of police work that has been consumed because of it, and the attention it has been afforded by the press seems to me to be inordinately disproportionate to the size of the Black Panthers.

Recent incidents have resulted in investigations of limited scope by a coroner's jury, grand juries, and an unofficial committee of the Congress of six Congressmen and a commission composed of private citizens of the United States.

A great number of my colleagues in the House have expressed concern about the intentions and the capabilities of the Black Panther Party. Citizens throughout the country, and my own constituency included, have been alarmed by press accounts of prevalency of open incitement to kill, destroy, and revolt.

Now, whether or not these press accounts are true is a different question from the fact that they have appeared in the press. These are things that cause problems.

Let me explain to the witnesses some of the functions of this committee. I am like Will Rogers. I believe nothing that I hear, about half of what I see, and a smaller percentage of what I read in the newspapers or hear over the television tube. The fact that these statements have been made or have been heard on television or have been made in the newspapers does not necessarily mean they are true. I know that members of the press have repeatedly asked me the question, What will this committee reveal that has not already appeared in the press? I repeatedly hear this question.

By asking that question, are you gentlemen saying that all of the facts reported in the press are true?

Interestingly enough, in this investigation, again, the press is caught in the middle. Black Panthers and supporters of the Black Panthers are saying that you are inaccurate. The opposition to the Black Panthers are saying that you are inaccurate.

Now, I am not going to get involved in the current Agnew-press conflict, but I want to point out to you that the methods we are employing to arrive at the truth are much superior to the methods at the disposal of the press. I am not contending that the methods we use are perfect. We don't have cross-examination, for example, which is used in courtroom procedures. But there is one difference between the facts that will be developed here and what you as a reporter, for example, might develop, and that is that the testimony here is presented under oath. There is also more than the oath involved. There are also the possible penalties of perjury, so you are much more apt to get the truth from testimony before this committee, when penalties may be assessed for false testimony.

Personally, I will not hesitate, if it is a clear case of perjury at any time by any witness appearing before this committee, to see that the law relating to perjury is enforced.

For the benefit of the witnesses, I think that I should go into the history and the purposes of this committee.

The committee was established last year by an overwhelming vote of almost 4 to 1. It has jurisdiction over subversion, and subversion is defined in the mandate of the committee as those acts which would undermine, overthrow, or alter our form of government by force, violence, and unlawful means.

Observe my definition. We are not interested in political opinion, political actions at all, we are interested in unlawful acts.

The committee has the three traditional functions of a legislative committee—one, to legislate within this very narrow field. It has oversight jurisdiction to see if the laws in this field are adequate, to see if the executive is adequately enforcing the law, and it also has investigatory powers.

The House Internal Security Committee is one of the three committees of the House of Representatives that has permanent investigatory power. We are now exercising that function. We want to find out all we can about the objectives, the numbers, the financing, the tactics, of the Black Panther Party.

Recent court decisions in regard to the first amendment have held that militant revolutionaries can enunciate their plans, their goals, their purposes, with impunity. I would point out that it is often difficult to separate the rhetoric that is often used from the true intentions of these alleged revolutionaries.

I make this observation: I think that the wise and prudent men who labored in the creation of our Constitution succinctly stated their ultimate purpose in the preamble, which we would do well to consider occasionally.

The essential reasons for the Constitution were said to be to "establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity."

These factors held positions of great importance then, and I submit that they are no less crucial to our lives today. Perhaps we should also consider the story about Benjamin Franklin when he emerged from Independence Hall and was asked the question: "What kind of government do we have?"

He replied, "You have a Republic, if you can keep it."

I think when we see what is going on over the country, widespread lawlessness, disorder, disrespect for the laws, we can well begin to wonder and to ponder over that question, Are we going to be able to keep the Republic?

Gentlemen of the press, one of the reasons why I am speaking at length today is because I have just watched the "Today Show" this morning before I left home, in which I saw one of the most irresponsible examples of television reporting that I have ever seen. I am speaking about an interview conducted this morning with Louis Wolfson.

I know nothing about the case of Louis Wolfson. Again, the only thing I know is what I have read in the paper, have heard over the radio and television. I would say, in summarizing those reports, most of the reporting would indicate that his conviction was justified, but I don't know that. That is just what I read and hear in the news media. But I do begin to wonder how long we will be able to maintain our judicial system when we permit a convicted violator of the law to go on the tube and relate his problems to some of the ills and deficiencies in this society.

I bow to no one in my devotion to freedom of the press, but I do not think that we will be successful in maintaining a fair and orderly system of justice, if that type of reporting continues.

One of the highest obligations which the state owes to its people is that of self-preservation of an orderly government, without which none of us could possibly enjoy the blessings of liberty. This is not to advocate stagnancy, but rather improvement and reform through the democratic processes.

I would be the last to maintain that we have a perfect society. As a matter of fact, we have an imperfect society, as all societies

are imperfect. We have many ills and deficiencies, but I do not think that we can cure those ills and deficiencies when we do have a state of disorder.

One thing which prompted me to vote for this investigation was the 10-point program of the Black Panther organization, where they relate conditions today to conditions existing in 1776.

Those who would seek violent revolution as the only feasible alternative and identify themselves with our Nation's patriots, who took a stand against King George the Third, in my opinion, have not studied history and they have no regard for the accuracy and the truth, because no system existed during colonial days for a change in the government through balloting. There was no electoral machinery to serve as the instrument of reform. Procedures for redress of grievances against the Crown were illusory. There is no basis, in my opinion, for honest and realistic comparison with the democratic systems in effect today which permit political change and redress.

This brings me to what I have said time and time again: We have our choice—either democratic order or some form of totalitarian order, and democratic order is often difficult to maintain.

One of the facts which has concerned me about the Black Panthers is that Mao Tse-tung apparently has served as the inspiration for the Black Panther Party, chosen by Huey Newton, and I quote:

We are advocates of the abolition of war; we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war; and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to pick up the gun.

That is the oath of the Black Panthers.

Eldridge Cleaver spoke in terms clearly understandable and clearly without equivocation when he said:

In order to transform the American social order, we have to destroy the present structure of power in the U.S., we have to overthrow the government * * * and we say that we will do this by any means necessary.

Perhaps that is merely rhetoric, but I think if that is rhetoric it should be explained. It appears to me to be very specific.

So, in view of these statements and in view of the dearth of specific and comprehensive data and in order to ascertain if there are deficiencies in the law which are in need of remedy in order to permit society to contend with such organizations, this committee has authorized an investigation and hearings.

Oftentimes we are up against a problem where it is very difficult for the Federal Government in any way to form effective legislation to attack these problems, because many times we are dealing with law and order in the local units of government. We all have different ideas about this.

Personally, I am very concerned about ever placing upon the Federal Government the responsibility of keeping law and order in Kansas City, Missouri. We could do that and that might come about if the situation gets bad enough. But it is not the responsibility of the Federal Government to keep law and order in Kansas City, Podunk, or any other local unit of government.

If the Federal Government does it, then we must have a national police force. Very few people in the Congress, very few people in this Nation, want a national police force.

At this point in the record, Mr. Counsel, I want to insert the committee's resolution which was adopted on October 8, 1969.

(The resolution follows:)

WHEREAS, on February 20, 1969, considering that a serious threat is posed to the internal security of this Nation and to the free functioning of its democratic institutions by the activities of certain organizations which would effect changes in our government or its administration by other than constitutional processes, the Chairman accordingly proposed a study and investigation in depth of revolutionary violence within the United States for the purpose of resolving a number of legislative problems, including an appraisal of the administration and enforcement of existing law, an examination of the respective roles of the Federal and State governments in the exercise of the police power, the need for remedial legislation, and to assist in the disposition of bills referred to the Committee, on subjects committed to it by the mandate of the House;

WHEREAS, a resolution on that date was adopted by the Committee directing the Chairman to cause staff studies to be made with respect to such organizations and subjects, and to report on the same, from time to time, together with his recommendations, with a view toward determining whether full-scale investigations and public hearings shall be authorized and conducted with respect to any such organization and subject;

WHEREAS, certain staff studies have been reported and the Chairman has recommended that the Committee on Internal Security undertake initially an investigation of the origin, character, objectives, activities, and other facts relating to the Black Panther Party;

WHEREAS, the Committee has considered such recommendation;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Committee on Internal Security conduct an investigation in depth in Washington or at such other place or places as the Chairman may determine on the following subjects of inquiry:

The origin, history, organization, character, objectives, and activities of the Black Panther Party, with particular reference to (1) the extent to which it may be involved in acts of violence or other unlawful activities to accomplish any of its purposes or objectives; (2) the extent to which, and the manner in which, it may incite or employ acts of force, violence, terrorism, or any unlawful means to obstruct or oppose the Government of the United States in the execution of any law or policy affecting the internal security of the United States; (3) the extent to which, and the manner and means by which, it or any of its chapters or affiliated groups may be controlled, directed, or assisted by organizations or individuals who seek to overthrow or assist in the overthrow or alteration of the form of Government of the United States or of any State thereof by unlawful means, or by any such means to obstruct or oppose the Government of the United States in the execution of any law or policy affecting the internal security of the United States; (4) the manner in which it is financed and supported; (5) the extent to which it may act in concert with, aid or assist, or be supported by, foreign Communist powers, their agents or nationals; and (6) all other facts in relation to the foregoing.

Would it be advisable at this point in the record to put in the staff study that has been compiled?

Mr. SANDERS. It is referred to as Exhibit 5.

The CHAIRMAN. There are no members of the committee here. Perhaps we should give them a chance to object, if they wish, to the staff study going into the record.

Do you have extra copies of that?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it your intention to make that public?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you could very well distribute that to the members of the press.

Since the resolution was adopted on October 8, 1969, in addition to other organizations under scrutiny, the staff of the committee has

been probing the Black Panther Party. A searching investigation into all aspects of the organization will continue until we are satisfied that enough is known to make an intelligent evaluation. Perhaps some of the evidence we hear today and tomorrow will help us to make that intelligent evaluation.

Hearings will be held on successive days this week until we have heard from all witnesses who have been subpoenaed.

Mr. Counsel, I have been appointed as chairman of a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee looking into an outbreak of meningitis at Fort Leonard Wood. I will have to leave here at 1 o'clock on Thursday. Do you think you will be able to finish before Thursday noon?

Mr. SANDERS. I think probably we will; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If not, we can continue until Friday. I have already talked to Judge Preyer, who can continue with the hearings.

I have withheld the names of the witnesses who have been subpoenaed before the committee in advance of this hearing in order to avoid any possibility of harassment.

I would make the announcement at this time that a series of further hearings will be held at later dates on other aspects of the Black Panther Party as information is developed and as that information is worked into shape for additional hearings.

Whom do you have, Mr. Counsel, as the first witness?

Mr. SANDERS. Reverend Phillip Lawson.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he present in the room?

Mr. SANDERS. His attorney, Mr. Stephen Pollak, is with him, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, please be seated. We welcome you to the committee.

Reverend, would you first rise and please be sworn.

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

Mr. LAWSON. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much and please be seated. Would the attorney please identify himself for the record.

Mr. POLLAK. My name is Stephen J. Pollak, attorney with the firm of Shea & Gardner, Washington, D.C.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF PHILLIP C. LAWSON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, STEPHEN J. POLLAK

Mr. SANDERS. Would you state your full name, address, and your profession.

Mr. LAWSON. Phillip C. Lawson, Kansas City, Missouri; 4600 Euclid is my home address, 1500 East 18th Street is my business address, and I am executive director of the Methodist Inner City Parish in Kansas City, Missouri, and pastor of St. James United Methodist Church in Kansas City, Missouri.

Mr. SANDERS. Thank you.

Reverend Lawson, as the chairman has stated, we have been conducting investigation of the Black Panther Party in Kansas City,

Missouri, and we have developed some evidence indicating relationship in some degree between the Black Panther Party and the Methodist Inner City Parish, including perhaps some financial assistance.

I want to state to you that our purpose here is not to investigate the parish nor to investigate the church, nor to investigate Methodism. We are simply investigating the Black Panther Party, and one aspect of that inquiry is its source of funds.

Before I move into this matter of funding, perhaps in order to give a better perspective to persons who are unfamiliar with the Methodist structure, could you please explain the creation of, and status of, the Methodist Inner City Parish.

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

Mr. LAWSON. The Methodist Inner City Parish was created in 1965, incorporated in the State of Missouri as a nonprofit corporation. It came about because of three small congregations that were in poor situations in terms of their size of congregation and their ability to support themselves financially and in terms of their mission in the city.

So, the Methodist Inner City Parish came into being as a creation of the Methodist Church in terms of its ministry in Kansas City. It is run by a board of directors that is made up of lay people from the various congregations and representatives from the various Methodist conference agencies. Its source of funding basically is from the United Methodist Church in terms of its annual conferences and in terms of its local congregations.

Mr. SANDERS. Did the incorporation of the Methodist Inner City Parish result directly from action taken by the Missouri West Annual Conference, an official body of the Methodist Church?

Mr. LAWSON. Essentially I believe that is correct. The Missouri West Conference and its agencies, particularly the bishop of the Missouri West Conference, I believe, had to consent--in terms of the incorporation of the parish.

Mr. SANDERS. In what manner were the incorporators appointed then? It would have been the West Annual Conference that appointed them, I presume?

Mr. LAWSON. The incorporators, I believe, originally were all ministers of the United Methodist Church and therefore were under appointment by the bishop of the conference; yes.

Mr. SANDERS. When I refer to the parish, I am sure you understand I am referring to the Methodist Inner City Parish. Is the parish a tax-exempt religious institution in the State of Missouri and does it enjoy tax-exempt status with the Federal Government?

Mr. LAWSON. It is a nonprofit corporation in the State of Missouri. I do not believe it is Federal tax exempt.

Mr. SANDERS. How many members are there on the board of directors?

Mr. LAWSON. There are 24 members on the board of directors.

Mr. SANDERS. How are they selected?

Mr. LAWSON. The lay persons who are members of the board of directors are from the three congregations and the 12th Street community. They are elected by their constituencies. The congregations elect their representatives. The Methodist Church boards and agencies

within the conference appoint certain representatives from that agency to our board of directors, including my bishop as a member of the board of directors.

Mr. SANDERS. You were appointed executive director by the board of the parish?

Mr. LAWSON. I was hired in June of 1968 to be the executive director and appointed by the bishop to be pastor of St. James United Methodist Church.

Mr. SANDERS. Is the parish's source of funds solely from Methodism?

Mr. LAWSON. There are three basic sources of funds for the parish. One-third I think of the money comes from the individual congregations who give to the board of directors' treasury. The other sources, in terms of individual contributions, are from individuals or from congregations throughout the United Methodist Church in Missouri, as well as throughout the Nation. The other source of funding comes from the Missouri West Annual Conference agencies.

Mr. SANDERS. Some of its funds would come from the Methodist National Board of Social Concerns or Board of Missions?

Mr. LAWSON. We have received funds from the National Board of Missions, yes.

Mr. SANDERS. What three local churches in Kansas City are encompassed within this parish?

Mr. LAWSON. The St. James United Methodist Church, the Independence Avenue United Methodist Church, and Troost Avenue Methodist Church and we have representatives from the 12th Street community.

A few years before I came to the parish, a full-time minister was appointed for the 12th Street community, which is not a congregation in the traditional sense, but represents a large number of people in the ghetto who are recipients of our ministry.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you feel you have any sort of geographical limitation to your work within Kansas City? Do you have certain boundaries within the city that you remain within in the work of the parish?

Mr. LAWSON. There are no geographical boundaries in terms of our ministry. Our ministry is to the people of the city.

Mr. SANDERS. Could you state what in general terms the primary purpose would be of the parish?

Mr. LAWSON. Basically the purpose of the parish, as I understand it, is to be the church in the city, to minister to the needs of the people in terms of the total humanity, the physical needs, spiritual needs as well. Our purpose is to enable them to enjoy the fullness of life in all of those aspects.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, at this point may I inquire. Reverend Lawson, we kicked this matter around in executive session yesterday. One of the members of the committee, Mr. Stokes, happens to be a member of the Methodist Church. And, Mr. Stokes, I want you to know that I highly value your views and opinions. However, I think you would be the first to admit that you are not an authority in this field. Mr. Stokes told us that there was no hierarchy of authority running from, as I understand it, the black Methodist church to the white Methodist church; is that correct? Is the black Methodist church an autonomous group as far as the hierarchy in the Methodist Church is concerned?

Mr. LAWSON. I will answer the question the way I understand it. The United Methodist Churches are black, such as my congregation which is part of the United Methodist Church, which includes a number of black Methodists, and they all come under the episcopal system and the conference system and the jurisdictional system.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not a Methodist myself, but as I understand, the Methodist Church traditionally is organized where it goes up to the top into centralized authority. My question is, Are the black Methodist churches separate from the white Methodist churches as far as the line of authority is concerned? Does it go up to the top?

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

Mr. LAWSON. The authority and power is the annual conference, and black Methodists are part of annual conferences that involve white Methodist churches, too. So, we are all under the same authority in that respect in terms of the annual conference.

Mr. STOKES. If the chairman would yield, perhaps the witness could explain to him with reference to Methodism. You have the AME, the CME, and the AMEs of Zionism of which I happen to be a member. Perhaps you could clear up the point.

Mr. LAWSON. The AME and AME-Zion and CME churches are exclusively black Methodist churches within the Methodist tradition, but are not related to the United Methodist Church.

Historically there was a division, a separation there because of some internal reasons. There are within the United Methodist Church black congregations of our United Methodists.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not particularly relevant to the hearing, but it was a matter of curiosity.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Chairman, I would like to acknowledge the fact that in the audience here today are some very distinguished persons from Ohio: Mr. Arthur H. Euler, department commander of The American Legion of Ohio; Mr. Charles R. Green, second vice-commander; Dr. M. J. Chakeres, alternate national committeeman; and Mr. Joseph Ray, Veterans' Administration representative. And as the Representative from Ohio, I take pride in welcoming these persons to our hearing this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. I would join in that welcome for the gentlemen of Ohio. I think most of us are going to be eating a free meal tonight on The American Legion.

Continue, Reverend Lawson.

Mr. LAWSON. I would just like to point out that there are no racial restrictions in terms of membership in the church and my congregation is basically now close to 50-50 white and black. My board of directors has both white and black members.

Mr. SANDERS. Within the past few years, particularly since the formation of the United Methodist Church, the Methodist Church has been considerably integrated; has it not?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, it has been.

Mr. SANDERS. Does the parish own property in Kansas City located on or at 2221 and 2223 Lydia Street?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, it does.

Mr. SANDERS. When did the parish come into ownership of that property, Reverend Lawson?

Mr. LAWSON. In December 1968 I received word through one of my staff people that some persons wanted to donate some property to the parish as a tax deduction at the end of 1968. We said that we were willing to accept it, so the parish accepted the property at the conclusion of 1968.

Mr. SANDERS. What use did the parish subsequently make of that property?

Mr. LAWSON. The property was used in terms of emergency assistance. We used the particular house that you gave reference to in terms of people who came through Kansas City and who were in need of a place to stay or help. We would then take them to that house, and they could stay there rent free until they got on their feet and were ready to move on again. We had in mind the houses would be used for centers for programming for that particular community in which they were located.

Mr. SANDERS. It is a residential duplex-type structure?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, it is.

Mr. SANDERS. Was this particular piece of property leased by the parish in January of 1969?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, it was leased to individuals.

Mr. SANDERS. Who were they?

Mr. LAWSON. William Whitfield and Pete O'Neal.

Mr. SANDERS. Pete O'Neal also being known as Felix O'Neal?

Mr. LAWSON. I have never heard him called Felix O'Neal, but I assume that is his legal name.

Mr. SANDERS. I have here a document, which I have marked Exhibit No. 6, which purports to be a lease on January 15, 1969, between the Methodist Inner City Parish and Felix O'Neal and William Whitfield for the use of the property we have just described for a period of 1 year.

This is a copy of the document which you furnished to us, Reverend Lawson. Does that appear to you to be a true copy of the lease that was executed in January for the Lydia Street property?

The CHAIRMAN. Give Reverend Lawson time to examine the document.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, it does.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I offer this exhibit for the record at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any objection?

Hearing none, the document will be received for the record.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 6. See appendix, pages 2822-2823.)

Mr. SANDERS. What consideration did the parish receive for that lease or for the use of that property? Did the parish receive a sum of money in return for that lease?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, the property was leased for \$1 for the year.

Mr. SANDERS. During the ensuing 12 months, did the parish receive any sums of money from O'Neal and Whitfield for the use of that property?

Mr. LAWSON. After the original one?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes.

Mr. LAWSON. No, we did not.

Mr. SANDERS. Has that lease been renewed, Reverend Lawson?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, it was renewed in January of 1970.

Mr. SANDERS. With the same individuals?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. The same financial arrangement?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDER. I hand you what I have marked as Exhibit No. 7. Do you recognize that document?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. What is it?

Mr. LAWSON. It is a memorandum to Felix O'Neal and William [Bill] Whitfield regarding the lease on the house at 2221 and 2223 Lydia Street from myself, extending the original lease.

Mr. SANDERS. For a period of 1 year.

Mr. LAWSON. For a period of 1 year.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I offer Committee Exhibit No. 7 for the record:

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a memorandum of the lease?

Mr. SANDERS. It is a memorandum of the extension of the lease.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any objection to this exhibit? Hearing none, it is so received for the record.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 7. See appendix, page 2824.)

Mr. SANDERS. To your knowledge, does the Lydia Street property enjoy tax-exempt status under the real property taxation laws of the State of Missouri? Has the parish made any payments in the form of real estate taxes to the State of Missouri on that property?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know the answer to that question, Mr. Sanders.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not relevant to the hearings. That is another issue in and of itself. We are not concerned with that. Proceed.

Mr. SANDERS. Following January 15 when the lease was made to O'Neal and Whitfield, were you aware of the use that they made of the property?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. What did they do with it?

Mr. LAWSON. It was a meeting place for young men who at that time were just meeting together and talking about what they wanted to do in terms of the community.

Mr. SANDERS. Did it subsequently become what was known as the headquarters for the Black Panther chapter in Kansas City?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, it did.

Mr. SANDERS. How soon after the lease was executed?

Mr. LAWSON. I saw when they got back into Kansas City the newspaper account announced they were members of the Black Panther Party, Kansas City Chapter. It was February when I saw the newspaper account.

Mr. SANDERS. Whom do you know to be the leader of the Black Panther organization in Kansas City?

Mr. LAWSON. From all accounts, Pete O'Neal is supposedly the head of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. SANDERS. The same individual who executed that lease?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes. At the time he executed it, there was nothing in terms of Black Panthers that we could know about.

Mr. SANDERS. At the time of the renewal of the lease he was known to you as the leader of the Black Panther chapter in Kansas City, Missouri.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. At the time of the renewal of the lease, you knew, did you not, that the property had been used during the preceding year as the headquarters for the Panther organization?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. To your knowledge is Whitfield now a member of the Black Panther Party or at any time during 1969 was he?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know for sure, Mr. Sanders, because I don't know the official membership list. I assume so from what I read in the papers and the pictures and the accounts.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you never talked with Whitfield about his participation in the organization at the Lydia Street property?

Mr. LAWSON. We talked to him in terms of participation and what things he may be doing, not in terms of membership in the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Whitfield is no longer a member of the Black Panther Party, is he?

Mr. LAWSON. I really have no evidence of whether he is or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SANDERS. At the time the lease was executed you had no knowledge that these young men had an intention to form a Black Panther chapter in Kansas City?

Mr. LAWSON. I had no knowledge that they were forming a Black Panther Party in Kansas City.

Mr. SANDERS. If you had had such knowledge, would this have influenced your decision concerning their use of the Lydia Street property?

Mr. LAWSON. I am sure the board would have given very serious consideration to leasing the house if they had had some prior notice.

Mr. SANDERS. When the renewal came up in January of this year, did the board take an official stand? Was it the board's action that renewed the lease or was it your decision to do that?

Mr. LAWSON. On my recommendation it was board action. We had the evidence of relationship with them over 1969 to go on so there was no reason for the lease not to be renewed if I can give you what I think were the feelings of the board.

Mr. SANDERS. There was official board action with regard to the renewal.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have any knowledge of the actual time in 1969 that that Lydia Street property was occupied by the chapter? Was it for the entire year that it was actually occupied?

Mr. LAWSON. Again, I don't know for sure if it was occupied the entire year. For a portion of it, I know it was. I know that they did have another building someplace in Kansas City that they used. Whether they were using both of them, I don't know that.

Mr. SANDERS. Does the parish also own property at 3903 Olive Street?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, it does.

Mr. SANDERS. When did it come into ownership of that property?

Mr. LAWSON. At the conclusion of December 1968.

Mr. SANDERS. Approximately the same time as the Lydia property.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. From the same owner, may I ask?

Mr. LAWSON. That I don't know.

Mr. SANDERS. To your knowledge, what use was made of the Olive Street property during 1969?

Mr. LAWSON. For a period of time it was not being used by anybody because of the money needed to rehabilitate the house. At one time then later in the year, a proposal to purchase the house for a residence was made to my staff members, as head of the property committee, from Mr. O'Neal and his wife. They wanted to buy it and fix it up themselves.

My staff person was to carry out the lease or sale contract with them. I think prior to the finalization of that contract they were living there, he and his family.

As I understand it, the sales contract was never finalized.

Mr. SANDERS. Sometime in 1969 Pete O'Neal moved into this Olive Street residence?

Mr. LAWSON. Prior to the fulfillment of the contract to purchase the house, yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Is he still using it as a residence?

Mr. LAWSON. No. When it was brought to my attention through my aide that they were not able or did not want to purchase the property, we have this year leased it to some high school students to use as an information center for high school activities.

Mr. SANDERS. For approximately what period of time did Mr. O'Neal use the premises?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know for sure.

Mr. SANDERS. Was it a matter of weeks or months?

Mr. LAWSON. I would say several months, but just exactly how many, I don't know.

Mr. SANDERS. To your knowledge was that Olive Street property ever used as an alternate headquarters for the chapter other than the Lydia property?

Mr. LAWSON. I have no knowledge that it was used as an alternate headquarters, no.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge, Reverend Lawson, that for a certain period of time in 1969 the chapter ceased using the Lydia Street property as its headquarters and then resumed using it for such?

Mr. LAWSON. As I mentioned earlier, I think they did move. Their headquarters was on Prospect Street, which I found out about then afterwards. I think also it was this year that I discovered that they had moved back to Lydia Street as a headquarters. I found out about that a month or so ago.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you on occasion visit the Lydia Street property?

Mr. LAWSON. I have in the last year, I would say, four times.

Mr. SANDERS. How recently have you been there?

Mr. LAWSON. The last time I believe was last month, after I heard they had moved back into it as their headquarters.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you witnessed any remodeling of that property?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; the last visit I noticed they had made some extensions on the property.

Mr. SANDERS. Did they seek the permission of the parish to do this in advance, or would this have been considered appropriate within the terms of the lease?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. LAWSON. I had no prior knowledge that they were going to build the extensions or do the remodeling. I am not sure about the legality of the lease.

Mr. SANDERS. Could you describe in general terms what they did to the front visible portion of the property?

Mr. LAWSON. When I saw it, they had extended the front of the property and enclosed it in.

Mr. SANDERS. Let me show you what I have marked Exhibit No. 8. Would you please examine the photographs in there.

What do they purport to depict beginning with the first one, Reverend Lawson? What do they depict?

Mr. LAWSON. The first photograph?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LAWSON. You have a lot of young people on the porch of a house.

Mr. SANDERS. What building is that? Do you recognize it?

Mr. LAWSON. It says down here 2221 Lydia. I am not sure.

Mr. SANDERS. It does not look familiar to you?

Mr. LAWSON. Not necessarily because all of those houses—it is a ghetto housing, and it is dilapidated housing and they all look the same.

Mr. SANDERS. How about the next photograph?

Mr. LAWSON. This is some young people out in the street and, again, a house in the background. I am not sure if that is the same house or not.

Mr. SANDERS. How about the next page?

Mr. LAWSON. The outside of a storefront, Black Panther Party, Kansas City Chapter, and numerous pictures and an automobile out front.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you recognize that location?

Mr. LAWSON. That is the headquarters they had on Prospect Avenue.

Mr. SANDERS. For a time when they were not using the Lydia Street property.

Mr. LAWSON. I am not sure if they were using both of them at that time or not.

Mr. SANDERS. The next picture.

Mr. LAWSON. Another picture of that Prospect scene, this time at the corner, and you have a picture of a VW bus at the front, and I guess that is about it.

Mr. SANDERS. The next one is what structure, the fifth picture?

Mr. LAWSON. This is the Lydia property as I saw it when I was there a month ago.

Mr. SANDERS. As it has been remodeled?

Mr. LAWSON. With extensions out and boarded up pretty well.

Mr. SANDERS. The sixth and seventh pictures—do they portray the rear of the structure?

Mr. LAWSON. Is this the rear of the structure?

Mr. SANDERS. I was asking you.

Mr. LAWSON. No, that looks the same as this one here, which I think is the front.

Mr. SANDERS. Of the Lydia Street property.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. And the seventh picture.

Mr. LAWSON. I believe that is the front, as well, of the Lydia Street property.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I offer Committee Exhibit No. 8 for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any objection to the admission of Exhibit 8? Hearing no objection, it will be accepted for the record.

(Photographs marked Committee Exhibit No. 8. See appendix, pages 2825-2830.)

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge of the payment of utilities on the Lydia Street property?

Excuse me, before we leave the rental of these two properties, could you estimate the fair market rental value of the Lydia Street property for a month?

Mr. LAWSON. I would have no way of doing that. When we received the property, the board never considered renting those properties for profit, but saw them in terms of a mission for the ministry and saw them in that way.

Mr. SANDERS. You did not have the property evaluated in that way?

Mr. LAWSON. Not in terms of rental. We thought at one time of turning them over to a nonprofit corporation in Kansas City that would restore the houses and then return them to low-income people.

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

Mr. SANDERS. Would you be able to furnish an estimate of the fair market value of the Olive Street property?

Mr. LAWSON. I haven't the slightest idea. That house did not even have inside toilet facilities. The plumbing was all out of that house so I don't have the slightest idea.

Mr. SANDERS. With regard to the Lydia Street property, do you have knowledge of the payment of utilities? Did the parish pay for any of the utilities on that property?

Mr. LAWSON. In the months of March and April of 1969, my treasurer told me we paid \$138.22 in utilities, but I don't know for what period of time those utilities were paid for. But that is the extent of the utilities that the parish had any responsibility for.

Mr. SANDERS. Subsequent to that time, to your knowledge, the parish has not made payment for utilities for the Lydia Street or Olive Street properties?

Mr. LAWSON. To my knowledge, no.

Mr. SANDERS. Has the parish made any direct cash payments to the Black Panther chapter for any of their operations for any purpose whatsoever?

Mr. LAWSON. In the early part of 1969, we wanted to support their breakfast program, the feeding of children. Therefore, once again one of my aides made contacts with the churches in the area and

sought to determine whether they wanted to contribute to the Black Panther program. Then I think we received \$130 from that appeal, which we turned over then for the breakfast program for food.

Mr. SANDERS. You did not then use any of your budget funds for support of the breakfast program?

Mr. LAWSON. No, we did not.

Mr. SANDERS. Reverend Lawson, are you aware of the payment—

Mr. POLLAK. Counsel, could we have one moment?

Mr. SANDERS. Certainly.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you aware of the payment of any money to the Black Panther chapter or to individuals within it for use to free them from jail? In other words, money used to pay bail fees.

Mr. LAWSON. Again in terms of not using any operating budget, but we did have money available for black young adults, or adults period, during that period—white and black adults, some in the Panther program and some not, I assume, who were given use of this bail bond money.

Mr. SANDERS. Did the parish have funds from the Methodist Fund for Reconciliation for what was called the young adult defense? \$2,500?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, we received in the early summer of 1969—we received \$2,500—not we—for the young adult defense fund bail money which would be available for young adults to use if they needed bail.

Mr. SANDERS. Was this money something separate and apart from the parish money for operation?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, it was not part of the operating budget.

Mr. SANDERS. Something you called a special fund or program?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Who administered this special fund?

Mr. LAWSON. The trustee was Mr. Charles McEowen [district superintendent], my immediate superior, and it could be administered through signatures of myself or Reverend John Preciph and the Reverend Charles McEowen.

Mr. SANDERS. Any one of the three was considered to have the authority to issue a check on this fund?

Mr. LAWSON. I believe that is correct.

Mr. SANDERS. Is it true the total amount available was \$2,500?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Has this amount of money been nearly expended?

Mr. LAWSON. From the early part of the summer 1969 until this day, I believe all except for \$125 or \$126 has been used for bail money.

Mr. SANDERS. Can you explain the ordinary circumstances by which money would be used from this fund? How did it ordinarily come about?

Mr. LAWSON. It came about through the strangest ways; young people would get picked up and taken downtown for disturbing the peace or any kind of charge. And somehow they got hold of my name and the other minister, John Preciph, and we would get calls at 2 o'clock in the morning and we would have to go down and try to make some arrangements.

This was particularly true after the Black Panther Party announced there was a Black Panther Party in Kansas City. There was very heavy surveillance on young people who were visiting or just going around, including adults and church groups that went to visit. So, there was a rash of people being picked up for a bunch of minor charges, I think, and the money was available for the young adults in the area.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you have any rules of thumb or guidelines that you three trustees would follow to determine whether it was an appropriate situation to issue a check for the payment of bail fees? What consideration did you give?

Mr. LAWSON. The young adults merely had to be in need of bail money at that time and they would call one of us, and we would go down and talk with them and find out what the situation was.

Mr. SANDERS. If an individual were arrested by the police in Kansas City, then it was only necessary that he be, number one, young; number two, unable to get out because he couldn't afford the bail fee; and, number three, that he knew that you had some money available for this purpose.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. LAWSON. We did not make known in terms of publicizing that we had a young adult defense fund. People who knew us personally through relationships—

Mr. SANDERS. Just by word of mouth it became known.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; in terms of people who knew us.

Mr. SANDERS. Would it be fair to say the Black Panther chapter was fully aware of the existence of this money?

Mr. LAWSON. I am not sure they were aware that we had the young adult defense fund. I think their coming to us basically was because they knew we would be willing to help whenever possible and we have historically been helpful people in that respect.

Mr. SANDERS. Although they may not have known of this fund by any formal name, they did know if they would ask you for the payment of a bail fee that you would ordinarily be able to assist them?

Mr. LAWSON. If at all possible they knew we would try to help if they were in need as we did for all kinds of people, including the Welfare Mothers.

Mr. SANDERS. People who were not Panthers also had access to this money.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; and it was used by white young adults as well.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you have any concept of what proportion of the money was used by Black Panthers?

Mr. LAWSON. To the best of my recollection, we were talking about \$800, \$900 to be used by persons related to the Black Panther Party.

Mr. SANDERS. Persons who most likely within your concept of understanding were in some way affiliated with the Black Panther Party.

Mr. LAWSON. About \$800, \$900, I believe.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SANDERS. And you say there is a little over \$100 left in this fund, and when it is completely exhausted do you have a prospect for renewal of it?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; I would think so in terms of what I see to be the situation in Kansas City, in terms of young people being picked up and taken to jail and needing some way of having people come to their assistance to help them get out, white and black, and there is a need for someone to have some funds available or be willing to help them in terms of bail bonds.

Certainly I am not talking in terms of major offenses against the law, but most of the arrests and bail bonds in the city have to do with minor offenses. It is in that category that I am concerned.

Mr. SANDERS. Were any Black Panther members, to your knowledge, directly on the payroll of the parish during the year 1969?

Mr. LAWSON. In October of 1968 we hired a young man who was going to the University of Missouri for 28 hours a week as a coordinator of youth activities. It was in February that I saw the picture in the paper that he was a member of the Black Panther Party. His employment continued with the parish in terms of not Black Panther activities, but in terms of youth activities with high schools and the Afro-American Institute at the university until May of 1969—from October to May he was employed.

I think in the year of 1969, May, we were working with a narcotic treatment program utilizing drug addicts and employment for dealing with the treatment of drug abuse, and we hired another young man for just a month and I think he received in the neighborhood of \$150 for that period of time that he was hired. Again, that did not come out of the operating funds at all.

Mr. SANDERS. What was his name?

Mr. LAWSON. William Whitfield was the second man.

Mr. SANDERS. For a period of 1 month Whitfield drew—

Mr. LAWSON. About \$150 for working with the narcotics program and the youth work around the 12th Street community, with the gangs in that area.

Mr. SANDERS. Whitfield's employment would have been during 1969.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; that was 1969.

Mr. SANDERS. You said approximately in February of 1969 it came to your knowledge that Keith Hinch was a member of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; a picture was in the paper.

Mr. SANDERS. For several months thereafter, up to May, he was continued on the parish payroll?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; in terms of activities that he was hired to perform and his performance of those activities, he was maintained until May of 1969; yes.

Mr. SANDERS. What was his salary?

Mr. LAWSON. \$35 a week for 20 hours a week.

Mr. SANDERS. Reverend Lawson, do you have recollection of a check issued to you, dated October 29, 1969, in the amount of \$600 by the Young Adult Projects, Incorporated?

Mr. LAWSON. May I see the check?

(Check handed to witness.)

Mr. SANDERS. Could you explain the circumstances of that check?

Mr. LAWSON. I am trying to recall. I was chairman of that youth task force, a Black Task Force for young adult activities. That check

was, I believe, for subsistence for volunteers under the Young Adult Projects. We have not only some black young people, but approximately 17 white young adults who were working in various activities, none of whom, I think, are making more than \$10 a month. I think that check is a part of that total program for hiring young people to do work at a subsistence salary.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you recall the disposition you made of that check?

Mr. LAWSON. I believe that check was turned over to Mr. Whitfield, I believe, in terms of 3 months or something when he was hired as a subsistence employee when we used him for our activities and then, when he was not able to work under our projects because we did not have the money, he worked under the Young Adult Projects.

Mr. SANDERS. This check was deposited in the account of the Black Panther Party. Do you mean you endorsed this over to Whitfield?

Mr. LAWSON. He could have used it that way.

Mr. SANDERS. Why was this made to Whitfield?

Mr. LAWSON. To the best of my knowledge, that was for the past 3 months, or a period in the summer in which he was hired on the Black Task Force as a subsistence worker in the category of \$200 a month.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you recall a transaction with the Black Panther Party involving, I believe, a 1963 Volkswagen?

Mr. LAWSON. When I came to the parish we had a 1963 Volkswagen bus that I used for a short period of time. It was breaking down. In the fall of 1968 it was being utilized for transporting young people from the various churches to various activities and picking up clothing and returning it back to the headquarters so the clothing could be given to the people who put in orders for clothing.

In 1969, late 1968, Mr. Hinch, in his role in the parish as coordinator of the youth activities, mainly operated that bus. Then in 1969, because of the expenses of keeping the bus up, the board of directors instructed me therefore to sell the bus at a fair appraisal value, and that was given to me as \$65 through my aide, and therefore we sold the bus for \$65.

Mr. SANDERS. To whom?

Mr. LAWSON. It was sold then to the Black Panther Party for the appraised price of \$65.

Mr. SANDERS. You mentioned a few moments ago a Reverend Preciphs. Would you please describe his relationship with you or positions.

Mr. LAWSON. He is a minister on the staff of the parish. He is pastor at the present time of the Troost Avenue United Methodist Church. In 1968 when I came there he was the pastor to the 12th Street community. His job title—he is director of welfare and family services and he also was very much operating as director of young adult activities because we did not have anyone on the staff to fill that role at that time.

Mr. SANDERS. How many full-time employees on the staff of the parish?

Mr. LAWSON. At the present time I would say we have full-time employees in the neighborhood of 14. When I first came there we had about 17 or 18 full-time employees.

Mr. SANDERS. In addition to that you periodically employed interns or part-time workers.

Mr. LAWSON. We had part-time people from St. Paul School of Theology [Methodist]. In the summertime we tried to use in the summer activity people of the community, so we employed them during the summertime to run the programs in terms of summer activities.

Mr. SANDERS. Before we leave finances, let me ask you one other thing.

With regard to parish funds, do you consider that you have disbursement authority? Who has authority to disburse parish money?

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of parish funds, the treasurer.

Mr. SANDERS. The treasurer would issue the checks, but who has authority to decide what checks are to be written? Do you have that authority?

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of the categories of the budget, the board has the authority in terms of the salaries and such.

Mr. SANDERS. The board, of course, fixes the budget, but within that you have authority to expend funds?

Mr. LAWSON. I can ask Mrs. Johnson, our treasurer, to write a check, say, for travel and she probably would do it in terms of my saying so; yes.

Mr. SANDERS. How do you, Reverend Lawson, describe your relationship with the Black Panther group? What is your position toward the Black Panther Party in Kansas City?

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of the Black Panther Party in Kansas City, I see my relationship as one of a pastor and minister of the gospel and, in obedience to that gospel, I cannot and will not exclude any member of that community from my ministry regardless of whether he talks certain ways or if he is caught up in some ideological bag. I don't think that excluding people because of their ideology is compatible with the gospel and therefore, in terms of my ministry, I will not exclude people because of political beliefs, or what have you, racial context, or anything.

In terms of my relationship with the Panthers, and they are young people of the black community in Kansas City and we have to care for our young; we have to be in some kind of relationship with our young people. So, our ministry is to minister to the people of our community. And if by chance that includes people who are called Black Panthers, then that seems to me to be the risk one has to take in obedience to that gospel.

Mr. SANDERS. In addition to your ministry to them as individuals, is there some relationship between the parish and the chapter as organizations? In other words, is the parish, for example, consulting with the chapter as an organization or encouraging the chapter to pursue certain programs—for example, the breakfast program?

Mr. LAWSON. We are supportive in the program such as the breakfast program whenever we can be supportive. And by we I mean the board has firmly endorsed the breakfast program in terms of feeding the children and we will support them whenever we can. When we cannot support them in terms of programing, we certainly have the kind of relationship that we can say no, we cannot support you.

Mr. SANDERS. Your only formal or semiformal relationship with the chapter is in terms of specific programs that would come about?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. We have spoken of the breakfast program. Is there any other program where you have had contact about it with the chapter?

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of programs of that chapter, the only program that I specifically know about and we have supported, and I have asked my congregation to support, was the breakfast program.

Mr. SANDERS. Only the breakfast program?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; in terms of parish programing, we support young people in terms of our programs.

Mr. SANDERS. When did the breakfast program get underway?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know the specific dates. I would say in the spring of 1969, offhand.

Mr. SANDERS. Was there anyone who was the motivating force behind the breakfast program?

Mr. LAWSON. Not that I know of in terms of the individuals. The breakfast program that my wife and I went down a couple of mornings to feed children was run not by Black Panthers, but by community and various church women.

Mr. SANDERS. You don't think the breakfast program was conceived by the Black Panther chapter in Kansas City.

Mr. LAWSON. I would say it was initiated, as I understand it, perhaps by the Black Panther members and party in Kansas City. They did involve Welfare Mothers and other people of the community to operate the program, at least the program that I am familiar with at the one center.

Mr. SANDERS. And the parish did make specific contributions to the chapter as an organization for the conduct of that program?

Mr. LAWSON. We solicited from several churches to support the breakfast program, and several churches then gave us contributions earmarked for the breakfast program. Once we received those funds we turned them over to the party for that purpose. We turned over \$130 which we received from several churches and we turned that over for the breakfast program.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know what period of time the breakfast program was in existence?

Mr. LAWSON. I believe it is in existence to the present day.

Mr. SANDERS. The sum of money you mentioned as having been contributed by the parish, of course, would be completely inadequate to operate it for that period of time.

Do you have knowledge of any other sources of goods or money that the chapter utilized to conduct that breakfast program?

Mr. LAWSON. I believe for that breakfast program they received contributions from numbers of individuals and individual groups of people throughout the Kansas City area for the breakfast program. I think there has been support for it. There was support for the breakfast program from a group of Methodists in Kansas City or in the Missouri West Conference, the black Methodists, and the church renewal supported the breakfast program.

Mr. SANDERS. Does the program to you seem to be a worthwhile endeavor?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, the feeding of hungry children; yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Has it appeared to you to be successful and is it well attended still at the present time?

Mr. LAWSON. I have not visited the program this school year.

Mr. SANDERS. How long has it been since you have viewed the operation?

Mr. LAWSON. The last school year was the last time I was there.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you mean the spring of 1969?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. You have not been there since April of 1969?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I have not been there since.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you go there several times with your wife?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. On any of those occasions did you witness anything in the way of indoctrination of the children or the conduct of instruction? Was anything being given to the children besides food?

Mr. LAWSON. Vitamin pills. It would be relatively impossible to have indoctrinations because the youngsters would come in and eat and then leave. Because of the limited space you had to keep them moving at the center where I was so there was no indoctrination that I witnessed.

Mr. SANDERS. This committee has received testimony that the "little red book" [QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG] was used at a breakfast program in Kansas City and that Marxist and Leninist indoctrination was attempted. Did that ever come to your attention?

Mr. LAWSON. At the times I was there, that was not the case.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you ever hear anyone say these things were being done in the program?

Mr. LAWSON. No; and I think I would have heard that because of the number of church people and other people who are involved in the breakfast program from all of the various centers. I think I would have heard something to that effect and I have not read anything to that effect in the newspapers.

Mr. SANDERS. You said, Reverend Lawson, this program is the only formal one that the parish was supporting for the chapter as an organization, and yet it appears from earlier testimony that the parish is continuing its financial support, in a sense, of the chapter. Is this to enable it to move along with the breakfast program? In other words, I am referring to the use of the real property without payment, assistance for individual Panthers who are arrested and need to get out of jail.

What is the concept of the continued support of the chapter as an organization?

Mr. LAWSON. Our relationship in terms of our ministry within the city, we are used by all of the people of the community, including Black Panthers if they want to use what we have.

Is that what you mean by support? If that is what you mean, I would agree there is support there. Another one of the houses, as I mentioned earlier, is used by black high school students as a center now. We have assisted and allowed the Welfare Mothers Association to use our headquarters and our machinery if they want to in order to help and deal with welfare issues. We have helped associations

come in and use our equipment and staff time to help deal with tenant issues. We have had white gangs that wanted to use our facilities, and they have used them. We have allowed various people to use our facilities and our resources. And I am assuming, according to the dictates of the board, that is in keeping with what they see as the mission within the city.

Mr. SANDERS. Perhaps you would care to mention a recent resolution or vote of the board with regard to the Black Panther Party or in regard to your work with the Black Panthers? Maybe that would be more accurate.

Mr. LAWSON. I think you are referring to something that was in the paper. I don't have the copy of that endorsement with me.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you attend that board meeting?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, the board endorsed the parish, myself personally, and the parish's ministry with the Black Panthers, and that endorsement was as we saw it in terms of the gospel.

Mr. SANDERS. I am certain as a clergyman, Reverend Lawson, you would not condone the use of violence in any regard.

You are certainly aware from your daily activities in Kansas City, are you not, that a number of Black Panthers there do speak of the use of violence and armed revolution? Are you aware of their remarks in this regard?

Mr. LAWSON. I am aware of their talking about violence. The Panthers do it, and I think it would be odd, as I mentioned to you before, for any young person to grow up in America and not talk about violence. Certainly talking about violence is a way of life in the ghettos as well as, I think, in the whole of our society.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have conversations from time to time with Pete O'Neal?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; we have had running battles with regard to violence and nonviolence.

Mr. SANDERS. Does Pete believe in peaceful change of the United States Government?

Mr. LAWSON. You would have to ask Pete if he believes in that.

Mr. SANDERS. I mean according to what he has told you.

Mr. LAWSON. My feelings are that he would come down on the side of qualitative change in the life of people in our country and however the change could come about.

Mr. SANDERS. Has Pete ever told you, if necessary, violence should be used to accomplish revolution in the United States?

Mr. LAWSON. I have heard him discuss numerous times violent revolution, whatever that means.

Mr. SANDERS. From your conversations with him is he in favor of armed revolution?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know whether he feels that way or not. Here, you see, one's belief is not what one says, but what one does, and he has not done violent revolutionary things. Therefore I question the concept-belief.

Mr. SANDERS. Certainly we have not reached the point in science today where we can look inside a man's mind and know what he truly thinks. We can only judge him by what he says and does, and the spoken word is certainly an important adjunct of ascertaining a man's

beliefs. I am simply asking you what Pete O'Neal has said to you in his conversations about armed revolution or the necessity of it in the United States:

Mr. LAWSON. There is a lot of talk about armed violence and revolution in the United States, and Pete is a part of that talk. There is no hesitation on my part in accepting that.

Mr. SANDERS. Pete does subscribe to that?

Mr. LAWSON. There is talk about it.

Mr. SANDERS. You, of course, certainly endeavor to dissuade him from these beliefs; do you not?

Mr. LAWSON. I talk from the perspective of nonviolence and, as I said before, my belief in the gospel. I think that violence and the gospel are incompatible and, therefore, I have to talk in terms of the gospel and, therefore, I am against violence.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you also aware that Pete O'Neal declares himself to be a Marxist-Leninist? Does he say this to you?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, he has talked about Marxism and Leninism. Whether or not he is, is a question I don't know. At my church service we have had a dialogue sermon between Pete and myself in terms of the understanding of man and society, we had—we had a 50-50 congregation there, black and white. Whether that represents where he is in a rigid way, I don't know.

Mr. SANDERS. He has been quoted in news accounts as saying we, in referring to the Black Panther chapter, are Marxist-Leninist; we follow the doctrines laid down by Mao Tse-tung. Does that seem to you to be an accurate statement of his position?

Mr. LAWSON. I think he has said that; yes. I believe that I have read that he has said that; yes. I personally don't take much stock in what a person says.

Mr. SANDERS. He was further said to have stated that in response to what he meant by revolution he said taking the power out of the hands of the few and giving it to the many.

"By armed revolution there is a holocaust coming, people are going to die and they are going to litter the streets"; have you heard him speak in that context?

Mr. LAWSON. I have heard words to that effect, but I don't know when specifically. I have heard that by a number of young people, not only Black Panthers. I really don't put much stock in it. I am more concerned about what people do.

Mr. SANDERS. You don't feel Pete O'Neal would be capable of violence?

Mr. LAWSON. As I said earlier, any young person who grows up in America is capable of violence.

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

Mr. SANDERS. Were you in attendance, Reverend Lawson, at a rally in Kansas City on January 25 of this year at Wayne Miner auditorium? It was labeled as a Black Panther rally.

Mr. LAWSON. Are you referring to a Sunday evening?

Mr. SANDERS. I don't know what day of the week it was. There were a couple of hundred persons in attendance. Persons on the program included Pete O'Neal; Tom Robinson, who is known as a member of the chapter there; their attorney, Austin Shute; and Melvin Bowie; and you are also listed as being on the program.

What was the purpose of that rally?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know specifically the purpose of the rally, Mr. SANDERS. In fact the weekend before the rally, I heard at a church service that morning in fact that I was listed as one of the speakers at the rally and I had three other speaking engagements. I went to the rally and I think spoke for 3 minutes following the first engagement and then left to go to my third speaking engagement that evening, so I don't know the purpose.

Mr. SANDERS. You don't know what the rally was for?

Mr. LAWSON. No. My associate pastor announced that morning I was a speaker at the rally that evening.

Mr. SANDERS. A news account quotes O'Neal as saying "help us overthrow the government of this country."

Do you recall hearing him say that?

Mr. LAWSON. I am not sure. I am assuming the reporter is accurate so he must have said it.

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

Mr. SANDERS. It is also stated the purpose of the rally was to acquire additional funds for the breakfast program. Does that refresh your recollection any?

Mr. LAWSON. I never read the account so I am assuming that that was the purpose, but I never heard it stated in the short period of time I was at the rally.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you perchance have any knowledge that 2 days later the Black Panthers were able to make a \$250-payment on their automobile which had been repossessed because of delinquent payments? Two days after this fundraising rally they were able to reclaim possession of their automobile. Do you have knowledge of that?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I don't.

Mr. SANDERS. Reverend Lawson, a news account in *The Kansas City Star* last week stated that in one rally in which you participated, you joined the crowd on at least one occasion to raise your right fist and shout, "Off the Pigs," known as part of a Panther chant. Is that true?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, that is true.

Mr. SANDERS. What is your understanding of the term "off the pig"?

Mr. LAWSON. My understanding of the term?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LAWSON. It is symbolic of the desire of young people in the black community and young adults in other communities to remove from the community those kinds of law enforcement officers who are brutalizing the people, so "off" is within that context. Shouting "off the pig," as I understand it, is to get off, to get away, to leave. I think there were several songs that were sung on that occasion that talked about taking the police out of our community, you see.

Mr. SANDERS. You have worked in the black community a number of years. We have had a number of witnesses before this committee in previous hearings who have testified that "off the pig" means "kill the cops" or in perhaps one larger context, "kill any officer of the Establishment."

Is this not your understanding of the meaning of that term?

Mr. LAWSON. It is not my understanding of the meaning of that term. "Off the pigs" is a symbolic kind of a chant, like "right on" has a symbolic kind of a meaning in our society, or saying, "so be it."

It is not necessarily saying that everyone who says "off the pigs" is going to go out and start killing somebody and certainly everyone who says "off the pigs" does not participate in programs for law enforcement for their own community.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you knowledgeable about another function of the chapter which was known as the health clinic?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I am sorry, I have very limited knowledge about the health service at all.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know they had such a function?

Mr. LAWSON. I heard they had it.

Mr. SANDERS. You never visited the premises where it was said to be located?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I did not.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you feel that you should periodically look into the operations to see how your investment is going along, and I don't mean that in a crass, material way when I use the word "investment." I mean your investment in people. I am not speaking of money, but I am speaking of time and effort.

Mr. LAWSON. I am dependent in some real ways on my 14 hard-working staff people in terms of feeding me the kind of information I need to know and giving me insights, therefore, that will cause me to go out and question something.

I have not had that kind of feedback on the Black Panthers, and certainly my board has not received it in terms of altering our relationship. You see, I would say in a week's time I probably spend less than 20 minutes to a half hour talking about anything relative to the Black Panthers and I go from 9 a.m. in the morning until 2 a.m. the next day every day.

Mr. SANDERS. Are there a number of people on your staff then who do work with the Black Panther chapter since you are not able to spend time on it? Do any of the others spend time with the chapter?

Mr. LAWSON. I am assuming that some of them do spend time in activities that may or may not be related to Black Panther programs or activities. In the narcotic treatment program we have some individual persons who supposedly are Black Panthers and are part of the team working out that program.

The CHAIRMAN. May I inquire at this time, Counsel, how much longer do you anticipate your interrogation will take?

Mr. SANDERS. I think my questioning might last about 45 more minutes or perhaps 30 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The bells have sounded at 12 minutes of 12, and at the rate we are proceeding it will be absolutely impossible for us to hear all of the witnesses at this morning's hearing.

Yesterday three of us became so engrossed in the testimony given that we missed the vote on the HEW appropriations bill. I do not intend to subject the members to that inconvenience again today because there is work on the floor of the House.

I know the members have been very patient in sitting here. I am sure they have questions to ask. It will be necessary to adjourn the hearings at 12 o'clock or sometime thereafter.

I hate to inconvenience Reverend Lawson by requesting that he reappear tomorrow. I would have preferred to finish this matter today.

At this time I will not avail myself of the prerogatives of the Chair to first put questions.

I will interrupt and give the two members who have been sitting here very patiently the opportunity to ask their questions.

Rather than using my time first, I am going to yield first to my right, and we will proceed under the 5-minute rule. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio for 5 minutes. At the expiration of that time I will recognize the gentleman from Iowa.

I want to thank you, too, Reverend Lawson, for the manner in which you have been replying to questions.

Mr. Stokes?

Mr. STOKES. Would you give us some idea what your educational background is?

Mr. LAWSON. I received my bachelor degree from Butler University in Indianapolis, Indiana. I have a master's in divinity from a theological school in Delaware, Ohio.

Mr. STOKES. With reference to your ministerial training, have you had training in some specific area?

Mr. LAWSON. I was working with the Welfare Department in Indianapolis, Indiana, for a period of time after receiving my B.A. degree. That is training in terms of working with people and in terms of their needs.

Mr. STOKES. Academically, did you take specific training on inner-group relationships and things of that nature?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; in the theological school we had classes and courses in those kinds of relationships.

Mr. STOKES. With reference to organizations to which you belonged, would you give us some ideas of the kinds of organizations to which you belong, perhaps the capacity you hold in those organizations?

Mr. LAWSON. I have been appointed to the mayor's department of human relations [Mayor's Commission on Human Relations] in Kansas City, Missouri. I am a board member of the Niles Home for Children; vice chairman of the Young Adult Projects, Incorporated; a member of the National Volunteer Service Program. I am a training consultant for the Western Missouri Mental Hospital, Model Cities program. I have done training for sensitivity for a national program for the TWA Corporation in Kansas City and a number of other kinds of things, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. STOKES. Do you have a résumé you could submit to our committee for incorporation in the record?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; we can submit one later in the day.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no objection, it will be inserted when it is received.

(The résumé follows:)

PHILLIP C. LAWSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, METHODIST INNER CITY PARISH AND PASTOR, ST. JAMES UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Born in Sewickley, Pennsylvania, October 26, 1932, the eleventh of twelve children. Married, with two children. Residence: Kansas City, Missouri.

Spent early childhood in Massillon, Ohio. Graduated from Washington High School with a superior scholastic ranking in 1950. During this time he was an active member of First Methodist Church in Massillon where he was president of the Methodist Youth Fellowship of the Lexington Conference and a member of the National Methodist Youth Fellowship.

The son of a Methodist minister, Mr. Lawson was licensed as a local clergyman at the age of 18. He has endeavored to serve as an instrument of renewal of the church and other institutions which function as humanizing agents in urban society.

Served in the U.S. Army 1953-1956. Following honorable discharge, Mr. Lawson continued his education, receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree from Butler University. After graduation he worked in the Department of Welfare in Indianapolis, Indiana.

In 1964, Mr. Lawson entered the Methodist Theological School in Ohio in Delaware, Ohio. While a student in theology school from 1964 to 1967, he served as Minister of Intergroup Relations for the Toledo Ohio District churches. After receiving a Master of Divinity degree in June 1968, he joined the staff of the Methodist Inner City Parish in Kansas City, Missouri, to serve as Executive Director and Pastor of St. James United Methodist Church.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES IN KANSAS CITY

Commissioner on the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, Kansas City, Missouri.

Member of the Board of Directors of the Council on Religion and Race.

Chairman of the Black Citizens Steering Committee for Western Missouri Mental Health Center.

Member of the Board of Directors on Niles Home for Children.

Member of the Board of Directors and a founder of the Afro-American Institute.

Founder and first chairman of the National Black Task Force, Volunteer Service, Quadrennial Emphasis Program, The United Methodist Church.

Chairman, Black Leadership Conference, Kansas City, Missouri.

Member of the Executive Committee of the Midwest Training Network.

Vice Chairman and one of the founders of Young Adult Projects, Inc., which serves to assist interested persons and organizations in the metropolitan Kansas City area in identifying and describing the needs of the new generation in the city and in designing and putting into operation responses to those needs.

Member of the Advisory Council of the University of Missouri—Kansas City Work Incentive Enrollee Project.

Chairman of Black Methodists for Church Renewal in the Missouri West Conference.

Member of the Board of Directors Community Development Corporation (Black Economic Union).

Sponsor-Director of the Community Patrol after the racial disturbance in July 1968.

Adult Advisor of the National Black Youth—Young Adult Task Force, Quadrennial Emphasis Program, the United Methodist Church.

Consultant on Urban Ministries with the National Board of Missions, the United Methodist Church.

Training Consultant for the National Volunteer Service Program, the United Methodist Church.

Training Consultant for the Model Cities program for Western Missouri Mental Hospital.

Consultant for Trans World Airlines during their 1969 National Minority Awareness Seminars.

National Consultant for Urban Young Adult Action, Inc., for national Black young adult activities.

Member of the Congress of Racial Equality and life long member of the Fellowship for Reconciliation.

Supported the formation of the Mothers for Adequate Welfare, Inc.

Lectured extensively at St. Paul School of Theology, University of Missouri at Kansas City, University of Kansas, Central Methodist College, Kansas Wesleyan University, Sterling College, Sterling, Kansas. Spoken on a wide range of subjects such as, Black Theology and Black Religion, nonviolence versus violence, the new generation and drug abuse.

Mr. STOKES. Would you give us what other innerparish groups you work with?

Mr. LAWSON. We work with the black student liberation party. We are working with a group of white young adults in an operation they

call Static Umbrella, in terms of drug information center for white adults. We have been related to white young adults in a runaway operation, a house for runaway young people.

Some of my staff people have been working with a gang that calls themselves the Ninth Street Gang, a group of young white people who are again very violent types of people. We have been with the national welfare rights organization, the Afro-American Culture Center in Kansas City, Missouri, and the various church agencies in the Methodist Church in Kansas City, Missouri.

Mr. STOKES. With reference to some of these young black and white extremists or militant groups, assuming your agency was not working with them, what other alternatives would they have?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't think they would have very many alternatives. I don't think they would have any access to those channels of the community in Kansas City that might have some authority in terms of helping to change the condition of their lives. I think one reason why we have not had in Kansas City, Missouri, violent confrontation in terms of the killing of young people or police has been because of our relationship to the community.

Mr. STOKES. I noticed when you mentioned some other groups, one specifically to which you belong, such as the mayor's human relations council, does not a group of that sort have to try to maintain some form of relationship with a group such as the Black Panthers and other groups in order to try to keep down confrontations and to maintain some kind of air of communication between, say, the administration and a group of this nature?

Mr. LAWSON. That is an essential part of the purpose for the department of human relations, to keep the communications channels open and to work out disagreements or conflicts before they explode in the city. And we have been very successful in that, I think, not only with black militant groups, but also white militant groups and in terms of the school system. We have been very successful in that area.

Mr. STOKES. You were asked by counsel for the committee about conversations you have had with Black Panthers regarding violence. In three specific areas, I would like for you to comment on your own specific view and how you have advised the Black Panthers regarding guns, violence, and drugs. Tell me your position regarding those three things.

Mr. LAWSON. My position regarding guns is simply if one has one, one is going to use one. I don't allow guns in my own residence, in my house, and certainly not in the parish headquarters. I think guns are counterproductive. I am not sure if that is really a new way of living in terms of the quality of life to take up the gun. That refers also, Mr. Congressman, to the use of violence. I think it is counterproductive to even talk about violence as a means of social change.

I am sure that drugs are not useful to the benefit of the community. The CHAIRMAN. I regret to advise the gentleman from Ohio that 7 minutes have expired. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Iowa. There will be sufficient time at a later time to question Reverend Lawson.

Mr. SCHERLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Are you a member of the Black Panthers, Reverend Lawson?

Mr. LAWSON. No.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would you explain to the committee what the Black Vigilantes are?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know what the Black Vigilantes are. There was a group of young men in the fall of 1968 who called themselves Black Vigilantes. The two men we leased a house to in January of 1969 called themselves Black Vigilantes. I don't know what they are, other than young men.

Mr. SCHERLE. Did you know Pete O'Neal at that time?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; he was one of the young men who called themselves Black Vigilantes.

Mr. SCHERLE. Then there must be a little conflict in your testimony because you mention the fact that you had no idea that the Black Panthers as a group was renting the parish facilities. However, Pete O'Neal made a trip to Oakland, California, in January of 1969 to confer with the national leaders of the Black Panthers Party and received permission to start a chapter in Kansas City. Were you aware of that?

Mr. LAWSON. I heard that in terms of the newspaper account that you are familiar with. I think I was out of town during that period of time, Mr. Congressman, and I don't see the conflict in my testimony. The house was leased to two individuals, and, as you referred, a group of them called themselves Black Vigilantes. If after we leased the house they called themselves Black Panthers, that does not produce a conflict in my testimony.

Mr. SCHERLE. What is the difference between the Black Vigilantes as you knew them and the Black Panthers?

Mr. LAWSON. I really do not have the slightest idea because I am not an expert on either one of them.

Mr. SCHERLE. You had no knowledge when you rented the facilities to the Vigilantes or the Panthers that this was a group that you were renting the property for \$1 a year?

Mr. LAWSON. Do you mean the Black Vigilantes?

Mr. SCHERLE. Or did it make any difference?

Mr. LAWSON. It was in terms of a group of young people who were trying to deal with the problems of the community, as we saw it, particularly as it pertained to young adults, and the house was rented to them as a center for those activities, whatever they were, in terms of what they were going to initiate in terms of those things.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you have any knowledge that the Black Panthers as a party have been very detrimental to the black community in Kansas City, that they have alienated many of the people and the youth in that general area?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't have any knowledge to verify what you have said, Congressman Scherle. The only thing I could go on to show any kind of a relationship to the community would be the fact that the first rally in Kansas City was attended by the 700-some people and they were members of the broader community, mainly church-going types of people like yourself and myself and other kinds of young people, so I can't really measure the support.

Mr. SCHERLE. Let me ask you this question then: Is the Black Panther Party accepted by the black community in the area in which you reside, where your church is located?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, I believe so. The barometer for that would be the response of the large number of black people to the public statement that we did not want any kind of urban confrontation in December of 1969. That was a statement that was signed by black ministers, housewives, young people, politicians, so it did indicate some kind of support.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you have any knowledge of any extortion or strong-arm tactics used by the Black Panthers in soliciting contributions or funds for the Black Panthers?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I do not, Congressman.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you have any knowledge that the breakfast program and some of the contributions donated for the breakfast program were used to feed the Black Panthers and some of the money and food were channeled into that organization?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I do not know that.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired. Reverend Lawson, I have one or two quick questions to put to you before I adjourn the meeting. You mentioned some of the work you had done in the Kansas City area in relation to the narcotics problem. By reason of your experience, do you believe that you have a serious problem with narcotics addiction in the Kansas City area?

Rev. LAWSON. Yes; I think there is a serious problem with narcotic addiction in Kansas City, Missouri, as I think it is one of the major problems throughout our country.

The CHAIRMAN. I ask whether you are familiar with the use of narcotics on the part of any members of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. LAWSON. I am not familiar with their use of narcotics.

The CHAIRMAN. It was reported in the newspapers, Reverend Lawson, that at one time you debated the merits of Christianity vis-a-vis Marxism-Leninism. I assume you took the side of Christianity?

Mr. LAWSON. It is not that exclusive, but we attempted to talk in terms of our own persuasion; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. At the church service?

Mr. LAWSON. The totality of our church service that one morning.

The CHAIRMAN. As I stated at the outset of the hearing, Reverend Lawson, we are charged with the responsibility of gathering facts and evidence and making an evaluation of the Black Panther Party as far as we can within our means to do so. It was also reported in the paper that Reverend Preciphs had stated that he was 100 percent in favor of the Black Panther Party and that it was the best thing that ever happened to Kansas City, that is, the formation of the Black Panther Party. You have had contacts with the Black Panther organization. Is that your evaluation also?

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of 100 percent support, I am not sure that would be my personal evaluation and I am sure it would not be the evaluation of my board of directors in terms of the best thing to happen to Kansas City. Also, I am not very sure of that. I think it is obvious there are going to be young adult organization groups that come out in the context of the ghetto. I think we are blessed in some ways that these particular sensitive and, I think, compassionate persons came up and were a part of whatever black organization it was. I am not sure they are the best thing that ever happened to Kansas City.

The CHAIRMAN. I would take it you would not agree that the formation of the Black Panther organization was the best thing that ever happened to Kansas City.

Mr. LAWSON. Not necessarily.

The CHAIRMAN. We have also received evidence to the effect that the Black Panther chapter in Kansas City is a fading organization. As a matter of fact, we have heard that there are only six active members of the Kansas City Chapter at the present time. Do you have, within your knowledge, anything to present in that respect? Do you know what the active membership is of the Black Panther Party in Kansas City?

Mr. LAWSON. I have no knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee also received evidence to the effect that one of the reasons for the decline in the active membership of the Black Panther Party was efforts on the part of certain leaders of the Kansas City Black Panther organization to subject the membership to Marxism-Leninism indoctrination. Do you have any information in that regard or do you know of any efforts on the part of the leadership of the Black Panther Party to indoctrinate its membership?

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of my own position, talking about the use of the language of Marxism-Leninism language—I do not think that would be attractive.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has received evidence to the effect that several former members left the organization because of that indoctrination.

Mr. LAWSON. I don't have any knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, it is now 13 minutes after 12 o'clock.

We will have to continue tomorrow at 10 a.m., and I would ask that you advise the membership that we will have to start promptly at 10 in the morning. As I stated previously, I must leave Washington at noon tomorrow. I have talked to Judge Preyer, who will take over the Chair. Perhaps the parliamentary situation may be such that you can work tomorrow afternoon. If not, you will have to continue Friday in order to conclude this aspect of the investigation.

I think, perhaps, counsel would like permission to have inserted in the record the staff study of the Black Panther organization. That study has been presented to the members who may not have had an opportunity to study it yet.

Of course, the study will be accepted for what it is. I think it is relevant for our investigation to contain the press reports concerning Black Panther activities. Obviously, press reports will not be accepted as evidence of the facts therein stated. If there will be no objection, the study will be admitted.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 5. See appendix, pages 2798-2821.)

Mr. SANDERS. Is there any possibility that the committee could convene this afternoon for a short time to finish with Reverend Lawson rather than asking him to stay over until tomorrow?

The CHAIRMAN. There could very well be a possibility. However, the Chair has made previous commitments. Possibly we could continue with Judge Preyer presiding, and I am sure the attorney for Reverend Lawson or maybe Reverend Lawson has other commitments, so I

think we should make an effort to suit their convenience. Why don't you contact Judge Preyer and see if it would be possible for him to preside this afternoon. Reverend Lawson can get in contact with you and you can notify the membership.

With that understanding, the meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:17 p.m., Wednesday, March 4, 1970, the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4, 1970

(The committee reconvened at 2 p.m., Hon. Richardson Preyer presiding.)

Mr. PREYER. If counsel is ready and Reverend Lawson and Mr. Pollak, we will proceed.

TESTIMONY OF PHILLIP C. LAWSON—Resumed

Mr. SANDERS. Continuing your testimony from this morning, Reverend Lawson, I want to further develop one question that was asked of you. The question you had answered was with respect to what other organizations would be working with these inner city people if the parish was not—it was along that line.

I wanted to ask you whether or not there are not a considerable number of programs in effect in the inner city and if the Panthers were not being supported by the parish, to whatever degree they may be, would not these other groups and programs move right along and be doing equivalent work?

Mr. LAWSON. I am not sure. I have some reservations. Most of the programs you are referring to perhaps come under the caption of the War on Poverty, Model Cities, Job Training, and those kinds of programs. Those are mainly for people who are in some way or another wanting to become part of, say, the system in terms of getting a job or furthering their education. Those programs normally do not speak to the numbers of young black and white adults who are not merely interested in maybe getting a job, making more money, or dropouts, pushouts, gang members.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you feel the Black Panthers in Kansas City are fulfilling some need that no other organization is or could fulfill?

Mr. LAWSON. That is difficult for me to say. There are a number of black youth organizations in Kansas City, and the Black Panther Party is one of them. There is Black Youth of America; Soul, Inc.

Mr. SANDERS. There are other organizations operating in the inner city trying to do good for the community and yet perhaps do not espouse a need for violence as the Panthers seem to be doing. What I am saying is could not the work continue and be accomplished without an organization such as the Black Panthers?

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

Mr. LAWSON. It could perhaps, but it does not deal with the fact there is a group from Kansas City which call themselves the Black Panthers. How do you deal with that reality? You have to relate to the realities that exist in the ghetto.

Mr. SANDERS. The chapter in Kansas City has engaged in several demonstrations throughout the year, if you will recall. I believe they

were perhaps prominent participants in several. For example, there was the boycott at the Safeway, a picketing in support of the grape boycott. Do you recall that?

Mr. LAWSON. Not specifically.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you recall a demonstration relating to trash pickup?

Mr. LAWSON. If my recollection is correct, it was not a Black Panther program. It was a number of young black people and adults who were upset about lack of trash pickup in the inner city.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you ever have occasion to counsel Pete O'Neal or any of the other members of the chapter with regard to participation in demonstrations?

Mr. LAWSON. Not necessarily counsel with them about strategies or that kind of counseling about demonstrations, no. We talked about how do you get large numbers of people to support a program or a particular issue and that kind of counseling, yes.

For example, if they were going to remain in the house in terms of the lease that we leased to them, if my board was to continue to approve that, I counseled they would have to have a working relationship with the people of that community, and it seemed to me they would have to talk to the people in the community who were living there, was there a kind of trust relationship going on.

Mr. SANDERS. Were you aware of the efforts of the chapter to solicit contributions from merchants?

Mr. LAWSON. In detail, I am not. I know through black people telling me and counseling, I know they did talk to merchants about that, but specifically I don't know the details on that.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you ever learn of complaints by merchants that particular members of the chapter, in the words of the complainants, attempted to extort money from them?

Mr. LAWSON. I believe I recollect a newspaper account of a specific charge that was brought against some of them in terms of extortion, but what was the disposition of that case, I don't know.

Mr. SANDERS. After learning of that complaint did you ever confer with O'Neal or the other members about such techniques or tactics? Did you ever try to counsel them about the impropriety of such tactics?

Mr. LAWSON. Not necessarily related to that particular incident, no. I went to where I get my hair cut in Kansas City and heard one time someone reportedly who had been a Black Panther came in and abused the people in the barber shop. The first opportunity I had when Mr. O'Neal came by, I took him in my car and talked to the barber about that situation. I thought he would not want any person related to the Black Panther Party to be abusing other members of the community. That may be considered counseling, I am not sure.

Mr. SANDERS. In other words, you heard this barber explaining the circumstances, did you?

Mr. LAWSON. I heard him talking about a person coming in and saying he was a Black Panther, and the barber mentioned that the person was very abusive to the other people who were in the barber shop at the time and the barber himself in terms of names and talking and loud shouting.

Mr. SANDERS. Was this Panther asking for money?

Mr. LAWSON. No, it was not related to money, but it had to do with where the people in the barber shop were in terms of their own involvement in what was considered to be a black liberation movement or revolution.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you ever advise or counsel O'Neal about the undesirability of extortion tactics?

Mr. LAWSON. Not specifically, no.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have any knowledge of any firearms kept by the Panthers in the properties they have used in Kansas City, such as the Lydia and Olive Street premises?

Mr. LAWSON. I have no knowledge of firearms being kept in those premises; no.

Mr. SANDERS. In February of 1969 two men—one of whom was Whitfield, whom we mentioned this morning, and a man named Weaver—were arrested for the possession of firearms. Were you aware of their arrests at the Lydia Street property for the possession of firearms?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, I saw the account in the paper when I got back in town; yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Did this concern you that there were firearms being kept in church property?

Mr. LAWSON. If I remember correctly, Mr. Sanders, they were arrested leaving the property, not arrested on the property or on the premises with firearms. They were leaving or going, if I recall correctly. That is one occasion I recall for their being arrested. I am not sure, but I think it involved something about empty firearms. It was not on the premises, but leaving or going to the premises.

Mr. SANDERS. Of course, if they were arrested coming out of the premises with firearms, it would logically follow that firearms had immediately theretofore been on the property?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; somehow someone had taken them there or they had taken the firearms from the premises, but it does not necessarily mean they were storing firearms on the premises.

Another thing that is very important, it seems to me, is in December 40 different members of the black community—ministers, doctors, and politicians and young people—worked out an agreement with the Black Panther members in Kansas City, at least the heads of the Black Panthers, that if the police had suspicion there were any guns stored at any of the premises, not only Panthers but any other black youth organizations, that the Black Panthers agreed to allow the police to search those premises in the daytime if they were accompanied by a minister or members of the black community. They were seeking to avoid a violent confrontation and also trying to show, I think, that they were not storing guns on the premises.

Mr. SANDERS. After learning of this arrest of Whitfield and Weaver for this firearm violation, did you or anyone else connected with the parish discuss the matter with the chapter?

Mr. LAWSON. We did not discuss that matter with the chapter. It was thoroughly discussed in our board of directors meeting in relationship with the Panthers.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would counsel yield at that point?

Reverend Lawson, when you leased out this property to the Black Panthers, did you ever pay a visit to see how the facilities were kept up? Did you ever go inside of them?

Mr. LAWSON. I have been in the property three or four times in the last year.

Mr. SCHERLE. Three or four times in 1969?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; that would be my guess.

Mr. SCHERLE. Where did you go when you were inside that house? Did you just go in and sit down?

Mr. LAWSON. Very brief visits, just going in, looking around, walk through, and leave.

Mr. SCHERLE. You would walk through and leave, but yet you never saw a gun?

Mr. LAWSON. I never visited the whole premises and I never saw a gun at anytime I was in the house.

Mr. SCHERLE. We have an understanding that guns were kept in each room—plural. Reverend Lawson, if you made the trip through that unit, you would have had to have seen these guns because they were kept visible at all times.

Mr. LAWSON. Mr. Congressman, if your premise is a true premise, then not only would I have seen it, but numerous bishops of the church who went through the premises and also talked with Black Panthers and other white people who visited would have seen the guns.

Mr. SCHERLE. How long were they there?

Mr. LAWSON. Some as much as an hour, I assume, in talking with the Panthers.

Mr. SCHERLE. Reverend Lawson, in an hour it would take no time at all to hide the weapons and bring them back, and the only people who would see them would be the people who were there for either sleeping quarters or residents of that unit.

Now, let me ask you another question. What would happen if a group of policemen came up to that house or facility unannounced? Would they be allowed to enter?

Mr. LAWSON. There would be no way for me to say what would happen, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. SCHERLE. As closely associated as you were with the Black Panthers, do you know any of their laws or guidelines that would be established concerning that type of an episode?

Mr. LAWSON. I know of none of their specific rules relating to that kind of situation. I spend very little time there with them in relation to the Black Panther Party in Kansas City.

Mr. SCHERLE. That is all, Mr. Chairman, at this point.

Mr. SANDERS. I have one clarifying question. Reverend Lawson.

When you were speaking a moment ago about a policy devised in December about police search of premises, you meant December of 1969, did you not?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, December of 1969.

Mr. SANDERS. In July of 1969, and specifically the 23d day of the month, there occurred an incident at the Olive Street property concerning which this committee has received testimony to the effect that a very, very serious and tense confrontation occurred between the Black Panther chapter and the Kansas City Police Department; to

the effect that a number of Panthers, perhaps 10 to 15, appeared on the outside of the property, on the roof and on the porch, a number of them bearing arms and perhaps an equivalent number of policemen in the immediate vicinity. It was quite a public event. There were a number, as I say, of policemen around there and police cars and, perhaps, virtually the entire chapter must have been involved. I am speaking of the Olive Street property, which you mentioned was church property.

Did you not thereafter hear any report concerning that incident?

Mr. LAWSON. The incident you are talking about I first heard of yesterday evening when you mentioned it.

Mr. SANDERS. I mean prior to that time.

Mr. LAWSON. It was not quoted in the newspapers of Kansas City, Missouri. There was no account of that incident.

Mr. SANDERS. Your involvement in that inner city community, or any member of your staff, brought no information concerning this incident to your attention?

Mr. LAWSON. No, there was no word that I received from any person regarding the confrontation you are talking about. I am certain I would have. I have some reservations about its existence.

Mr. SANDERS. It is very, very difficult to understand why you would not have heard of it.

Mr. SCHERLE. How close is your church to the facility that counsel has reference to?

Mr. LAWSON. Are you speaking of the property at 39th and Olive, and my church is on 2601 Spruce and the office building is at 12th and Woodland. I don't know how many blocks that is distant from there. It seems to me very difficult to understand such a serious confrontation occurring and not only myself, but members of the staff who were in that area most of the time, not knowing about it.

Mr. SCHERLE. This is also what amazes us, because this did take place, and for you not to know it seems a little difficult for us to comprehend.

Mr. LAWSON. Congressman, it was not in the newspapers, for one thing. If it was such a public confrontation, why wasn't it quoted in the newspapers?

Mr. SCHERLE. Let's say it was a confrontation to the point where it was a Mexican standoff. Maybe it did not make the press.

Mr. LAWSON. I would be very surprised if the Panthers in Kansas City were able to produce a Mexican standoff with the police that they would not brag and talk about it all over town.

Mr. SCHERLE. Before this testimony is over from the rest of the witnesses, I am sure we will have additional information to provide to you concerning a lot more detailed information.

Mr. SANDERS. Does the Panther chapter have any machinery or equipment for the reproduction of printed matter, to your knowledge?

Mr. LAWSON. I am not sure they have at the present time. Some used machinery was made available to them from one of the churches back in the summer of last year. Whether it is still functioning, I really don't know.

Mr. SANDERS. Would they have access to any such machinery, free access?

Mr. LAWSON. If they wanted the use of a mimeographing or duplicating machine, there are a number of places in Kansas City, Missouri, where they would have access to those machines to have that material run off.

Mr. SANDERS. Does the parish have such equipment?

Mr. LAWSON. One of the organizations has that equipment available.

Mr. SANDERS. Have they used that equipment?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; they have asked us to run off materials and my staff people have done that.

Mr. SANDERS. Does the parish furnish whatever paper or stationery supplies are required for any of these projects?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; we use the same principle involved with them as with the Welfare Mothers and other youth organizations. If they want something run off and they cannot afford it, we usually take that into consideration in the use of our materials in the parish.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you have any idea of the expense involved in their use of your equipment and paper in that regard?

Mr. LAWSON. I do not have any information in terms of actual cost. My impression is that it is not very much.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you, Reverend Lawson, ever attended in the evening at the Panther premises any classes which they refer to as PE classes, political education classes?

Mr. LAWSON. I have never attended any classes.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know they have such classes?

Mr. LAWSON. Not in terms of my knowledge, no, and I can't recall anyone saying they do have.

Mr. SANDERS. In your many conversations with Pete O'Neal and the others, they have never told you of instruction they have in the evening concerning Marxism, Leninism, and Maoist philosophy or the use of the "little red book"?

Mr. LAWSON. They have never specifically mentioned having classes on those subjects.

Mr. SANDERS. Pete O'Neal is supposed to have said that he did not desire any of the members of the chapter to have any polite, so to speak, relationship with any policeman. He initiated and attempted to enforce an edict that there would be no development of rapport between individuals in the chapter and individuals in the police department. Do you have knowledge of this?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I do not.

Mr. SANDERS. Is it your impression, Reverend Lawson, that the Black Panthers stand for or believe in racial equality?

Mr. LAWSON. My understanding is that they talk in terms of equality, period, and not in terms of racial, white-black, but simply equality and they use the language that you are familiar with in terms of class differences rather than racial differences.

Mr. SANDERS. You don't regard them as a black counterpart, let's say, of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I do not. My understanding is very clearly it is not a separatist kind of group in terms of race. They are willing to talk with any person, white, black, or otherwise.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have access to and do you read the Black Panther Party newspaper?

Mr. LAWSON. It is easy to have access to them. I guess I have read maybe two or three over the last year or so.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you aware they come out weekly?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. You do not regularly read this newspaper?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I don't.

Mr. SANDERS. Has any aspect of the Methodist Church placed conditions on the use of money which has been afforded the parish, or rather than the imposition of conditions, is there any understanding about the use of this money?

Mr. LAWSON. I am not sure if I understand your question.

Mr. SANDERS. I am referring to the use of parish money for the assistance and support of the Black Panther Party. Would it be your understanding that this is not objectionable to either your directors in your parish or to any other adjunct of Methodism which contributes funds to the parish?

Mr. LAWSON. Let me try to read this back to you. Are you saying do they object or put requirements on the use of funds that come to the parish?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes. Do you have guidelines for the use of this money?

Mr. LAWSON. The board of directors determines that.

Mr. SANDERS. They are the sole arbiters of how the money is to be spent?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, in terms of parish money.

Mr. SANDERS. You and I spoke this morning about a resolution of your board, and you did not have the exact language available to you. I found this article in the news account. If you find that accurate, we could put that in the record.

Mr. LAWSON. This is my first occasion to see it.

Mr. SANDERS. You heard of it, but never saw it in writing?

Mr. LAWSON. No.

Mr. SANDERS. I thought you said you were present when the board took this action.

Mr. LAWSON. No, I don't think that is the board action of the Methodist parish.

Mr. SANDERS. It is an expression of the view of the board. It is a petition which they are proposing to send to this committee, which we have not so far as I know received yet.

Mr. LAWSON. I have never seen it until just now.

Mr. SANDERS. We will disregard it for now. We will put it in later if we get it.

In fairness and with an objective toward striking a balanced view of this thing, I would like to ask you about views of the bishop of Missouri, the Methodist bishop. You had stated that your board supports you in this work. Would it be correct that Bishop Frank has taken a divergent view?

If I may refer to a particular account here and a particular part of it, he is said to have expressed this position, and I quote:

On the other hand, personally, I cannot accept the kind of involvement the parish manifests in connection with the so-called Black Panthers.

Does that sound like a reasonable expression of Bishop Frank's position?

Mr. LAWSON. I recall reading his opinion in the paper; yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you had occasion to talk to Bishop Frank about the Black Panther activities?

Mr. LAWSON. We have had numerous occasions to talk over the past year with Bishop Frank and other members of the conference and myself from the parish board and the staff people.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you care to look at this article?

Mr. LAWSON. It seems to me, Mr. Sanders, one comment I would make is in terms of his recognition that no one can speak for the United Methodist Church.

Mr. SANDERS. The annual conference is the sole governing body?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, it is the sole governing body of the conference, and the General Conference is the governing body of the United Methodist Church. To the best of my understanding, the General Conference has not issued a statement in terms of the Black Panthers.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record what I have just marked Committee Exhibit No. 9, to which the witness has just been referring.

Mr. PREYER. If there is no objection, this will be admitted in evidence.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 9. See appendix, pages 2831-2832.)

Mr. SANDERS. I also ask you, Reverend Lawson, if you are aware of a committee which was appointed in Kansas City including as one of its members Reverend Elbert Cole, a committee appointed to inquire into the relationship of the Black Panther Party with the Methodist Inner City Parish. Are you cognizant of this committee?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, I am.

Mr. SANDERS. And Reverend Cole was a member of it?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

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

Mr. SANDERS. Have you had access to a report or conclusion of that committee?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, I have.

Mr. SANDERS. I hand you what I have marked as Exhibit No. 10 and I ask you if you recognize that.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, I recognize it, Mr. Sanders. This report if I may—that committee was appointed by the South District ministers. There are 50-odd ministers in that district, and this report was received by the district ministers, but not approved by the district ministers.

Mr. SANDERS. So they really had no official standing? Is that what you are saying?

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of the report. The report was merely received by them, but not even endorsed or supported.

I think those two telegrams would be of interest to you, Mr. Sanders, in terms of expressions of persons within the Methodist Church.

Mr. SANDERS. You are welcome to read these into the record if you like.

Mr. LAWSON. This is a telegram received this morning:

Express earnest concern and support for you before the committee. Please note our confidence in you and mission you represent.

This is signed by the staff members of the National Division, United Methodist Church Board of Missions.

The second telegram reads:

Send you support, encouragement, prayers as you testify tomorrow. Please be assured we are standing behind you. Will support you. We must stand together for justice and God's will in such times as these.

Signed by Peggy Billings, assistant general secretary, Women's Division, Board of Missions.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I offer Committee Exhibit No. 10, which is a committee report to which we have just made reference.

Mr. PREYER. If there is no objection this will be admitted for the record.¹

¹ Committee Exhibit No. 10 reads as follows:

"THE METHODIST INNER-CITY PARISH AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

"PURPOSE OF THE COMMITTEE

"Our committee was appointed to examine reports brought to the ministers of the Kansas City South District by their people of what they believed to be an improper relation between the Methodist Inner-City Parish and the Kansas City Chapter of the Black Panther Party.

"GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

"We investigated these reports, and found some of them exaggerated. We also found a reasonable explanation for some events which had been questioned. However, as we sifted the evidence and discarded rumors and reports which were not supported by facts, we found strong evidence of the existence of a relationship between the Methodist Inner-City Parish and the Black Panther Party that needed to be evaluated.

"The Board of Directors of the Inner-City Parish does not agree that the relationship is improper. They contend the only relationship is that of ministry by the Inner-City Parish to all people of the inner city. Two points of support acknowledged have been the breakfast program for school children and a new medical service program.

"Our committee agrees that the Methodist Inner-City Parish should minister to all people, and we affirm not only their right but their obligation under the Gospel of Jesus to do so.

"We believe ministry to people means assisting people in fulfilling their physical needs as well as their spiritual needs. We believe a Christian ministry calls us to listen, to accept persons as individuals, and to speak the Christian gospel as we believe it.

"Our concern is that the relationship between the Methodist Inner-City Parish and the Black Panther Party has gone beyond their definition of ministry and service. There is evidence of participation in the internal affairs of the Black Panthers, as well as the use of money, property and personnel to encourage, support and defend the Black Panther Party.

"SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

"1. We stand with the General Conference which allows the use of nonviolence in effecting social change in a democracy, and therefore we reject violence and threats of violence in effecting social change.

"2. We recommend that the Methodist Inner-City Parish clarify its relationship to the Black Panther Party by publicly disclaiming the party's philosophy of polarization and violence.

"3. We ask the Methodist Inner-City Parish to change the relationship from that of support and defense of the Black Panther Party to listening and defining their Christian stance.

"4. As the present climate and social condition of the metropolitan area is in rapid change, we urge the ministers of the Kansas City South District to recommend that the Bishop appoint a committee to study and re-structure the Methodist urban ministry of Kansas City by the Annual Conference of 1970.

"ANALYSIS AND PROPOSAL

"1. As ministers responsible for leading the churches in the Kansas City South District, we have been defensive and have lost the initiative.

"2. We recognize a breakdown of trust between the laity and the clergy which hinders the effective mission of the church.

"3. We have lost the historical Wesleyan concern for a ministry to persons while at the same time working for effective change on structures and social issues.

"4. We recommend that the District Superintendent appoint a committee to design an aggressive program for the local church of the 1970's for implementation in the Kansas City South District.

PHILIP E. NEEDLES, *Chairman.*
ELBERT C. COLE
WILLIAM E. CRAWFORD
D. RUSSELL LYTLE
ALFRED O. SMITH"

OCTOBER 6, 1969.

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

Mr. SANDERS. With regard to Reverend Cole, who was mentioned as being a member of that committee, his church is the Central Methodist Church in Kansas City?

Mr. LAWSON. Central United Methodist Church.

Mr. SANDERS. In that same vein, I would like to again make reference to a speech which Reverend Cole made November 5 of last year in which he said that he and some others had come to the unhappy conclusion that—

some of our family probably had a heavy hand in the actual creation and organization of the Black Panther Chapter of Kansas City for the purpose of introducing a bit of "creative disruption" for purposes of polarizing the community to effect social change. * * *

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

Mr. SANDERS. Reverend Lawson, are you aware of a rally that was held this last weekend in Kansas City concerning this committee's investigation and perhaps relating to your appearance here?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes; I became aware of it Sunday morning at church when it was announced.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you ever seen any flyers which were distributed as an announcement of that rally?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I don't recall seeing a flyer.

Mr. SANDERS. I hand you what I have marked as Committee Exhibit No. 11 and ask you if you observed any of those before, during, or after that rally.

Mr. LAWSON. No, I have never seen that.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I will withhold this for a later witness since this witness cannot identify it.

I have no further questions.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Scherle.

Mr. SCHERLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Reverend Lawson, I have just made notes here so I will be skipping all over the waterfront.

In regard to this report of the Methodist Inner City Parish and the Black Panther Party, they state in this paragraph—and I believe this was covered by counsel:

Our concern is that the relationship between the Methodist Inner-City Parish and the Black Panther Party has gone beyond their definition of ministry and service. * * *

Do you agree with that?

Mr. LAWSON. Do I agree it is on that report, or the sentiments?

Mr. SCHERLE. No, the sentiments.

Mr. LAWSON. No; those are the sentiments of the five men who made the report, and I do not agree with those sentiments.

Mr. SCHERLE. Can you tell me why you don't agree with them?

Mr. LAWSON. Because those five men, ministers who made that report, did not at any time, before or during their investigation, talk with me or members of the Black Panther Party or members of my staff or my board of directors until after they had reached many of those conclusions.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know these personally?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, I do.

Mr. SCHERLE. Are they well-educated men?

Mr. LAWSON. I would not want to make a value judgment.

Mr. SCHERLE. Let's compare them with you. Have they had the same degree of education you have had?

Mr. LAWSON. You are asking for a value judgment on my part.

In terms of my relationships with the members of the Black Panther Party and the black community, I have a different education in terms of the report than they do.

Mr. SCHERLE. I think you missed my point. I am asking are these men as relatively well educated as you are in the ministry?

You say you know these men?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, sir. I am assuming they have credentials in terms of the church; yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. In that case perhaps your concern should be valued. Do you agree with that? Five different members of the church—their concern is something that does not deserve consideration on your part.

Mr. LAWSON. Congressman, I give them very great concern. I have spent—I would say within the last 5 or 6 months, I have been with those gentlemen 10, 11, and 12 hours with our bishop and other ministers of our staff talking about their concern.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you think their concern is overconcern?

Mr. LAWSON. Their concern is overconcern?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes.

Mr. LAWSON. I would not want to say if their concern is overconcern. I don't know their particular situation that gives rise to all of their concerns.

Mr. SCHERLE. Regardless of whether it is concern or overconcern, you are not going to abide by the recommendations?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. LAWSON. Those are not recommendations. Those are not recommendations in that report that was received by the body that authorized their creation, and not endorsed by that body. So that issue is still open or the question is still open within our annual conference and among the ministers.

Mr. SCHERLE. May I ask this question then? Will you abide by the decision, if they feel you are excessively involved as far as they are concerned, and the recommendations?

Mr. LAWSON. Will I abide by their recommendation?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes.

Mr. LAWSON. No; I would still have to abide in terms of obedience to the gospel on the one hand and the United Methodist Annual Conference, which is the governing body, and not those five ministers.

Mr. SCHERLE. Then what good is that?

Mr. LAWSON. That is a question many people have raised in the Kansas City area, Congressman.

Mr. SCHERLE. It is very interesting that ministers of the same faith would find reasonable fault with some of the recommendations.

I think that is very interesting. Reverend, are there other Methodist inner city parishes around the Midwest other than the one in Kansas City?

Mr. LAWSON. I would assume so, but I don't know specifically.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would there be one in Omaha?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know specifically whether there is a United Methodist Church in Omaha.

Mr. SCHERLE. Is this a particular name or parish?

Mr. LAWSON. It is an incorporated name for the parish in Kansas City, Missouri.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you have affiliations with Omaha then?

Mr. LAWSON. No, we do not.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you have any with Des Moines?

Mr. LAWSON. No, we have no affiliation there.

Mr. SCHERLE. This morning I think you made a statement about a Black Task Force? I think counsel brought that up this morning.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. You mentioned it once or twice yourself.

Mr. LAWSON. Something in terms of a project.

Mr. SCHERLE. What does the Black Task Force do?

Mr. LAWSON. The Black Task Force?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes.

Mr. LAWSON. It is a group of people in Kansas City, Missouri, in terms of trying to have access to what black young people want to do and groups of black young people may do in Kansas City and be of assistance to them.

Mr. SCHERLE. Could you give me an example?

Mr. LAWSON. For example, there is a group of high school students in town who call themselves the Black Liberation Party. They have made themselves available to go around to various churches and other places on speaking engagements.

Mr. SCHERLE. High school students going around your community for speaking engagements?

Mr. LAWSON. Around the metropolitan community of Kansas City.

Mr. SCHERLE. What do they talk about?

Mr. LAWSON. The high school situation in terms of their own lives, in terms of the student world and the school world.

Mr. SCHERLE. What is the high school situation in Kansas City?

Mr. LAWSON. I am not an expert on the high school situation. There is some difficulty in the schools, as you well know in all schools.

Mr. SCHERLE. Are you well acquainted with this group?

Mr. LAWSON. I am well acquainted with members of that group.

Mr. SCHERLE. But you don't know if a problem exists in the Kansas City high schools that they could expound upon or not? What do they talk about when they go around the district?

Mr. LAWSON. I am assuming they talk about young people's problems in school and out of school and in society.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you have a particular problem in Kansas City in the school?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't think it is unique to Kansas City; no, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. If it is not unique what is it?

Mr. LAWSON. On the one hand, there is a clash between the young adult culture as such and the adults, the teachers and the administration—there is that kind of a cultural clash. I think it is part of the overall problem, yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. What do they want?

Mr. LAWSON. I really don't know what they want.

Mr. SCHERLE. I would think as a clergyman now interested in the young, you would be in a position to know exactly what they want and you would be very well informed as to their topic of discussion if they go out on speaking engagements. You should be in a position, as was mentioned earlier, because you do counsel the young.

Mr. LAWSON. As I see myself, Congressman, I do not speak for other people. I allow the young people to talk for themselves in terms of what they want.

Mr. SCHERLE. Didn't you admit earlier today you counsel with them? When you counsel with them, you give them advice?

Mr. LAWSON. Not necessarily advice, but help them talk out things as they see them.

Mr. SCHERLE. What are their problems?

Mr. LAWSON. They have problems in terms of their parents, they have problems in terms of their teachers, and they have problems in terms of the administration and the equality of education.

Mr. SCHERLE. But there is no real specific thing, they just go around and talk?

Mr. LAWSON. I think those are specific.

Mr. SCHERLE. Let's try to nail them down to one or two items.

Mr. LAWSON. Once or twice that I can recall, which is what I am trying to do, one is in terms of the students' ability to make decisions that are effective for what happens within that school, in terms of the kind of clothes that they wear, in terms of the kinds of dress, their hair.

In one of the schools I heard them talk about, the boys and girls could not eat together at lunch. It was a high school. That was one of their concerns.

Mr. SCHERLE. Does their Black Task Force have any affiliation with Atlanta, Georgia?

Mr. LAWSON. No.

Mr. SCHERLE. Is there any Black Task Force operating out of the Black Panthers that might be affiliated with Atlanta, Georgia?

Mr. LAWSON. Is there a Black Task Force or the Black Panthers operating out of Atlanta?

Mr. SCHERLE. A task force that might be affiliated with Atlanta, Georgia?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I don't understand that question.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you receive Federal money?

Mr. LAWSON. I beg your pardon.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you receive any Federal money?

Mr. LAWSON. You mean does the parish receive any Federal money?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes.

Mr. LAWSON. The only Federal money we receive, as I can recall, was in the late summer of 1968 when we received some money for using office facilities relative to the community patrol that I was supervisor of to help quiet the situation in the community.

Mr. SCHERLE. What situation were you attempting to quiet?

Mr. LAWSON. If I can recall correctly, in July of 1968 there was some confrontation with the police and the young people outside of an office building. I heard about it and I came to the office that morning, and the office was filled with young people.

Mr. SCHERLE. Reverend Lawson, this is the very confrontation we were talking about earlier with counsel on July 21.

Mr. LAWSON. I beg to differ with you, Congressman. I am talking about July 1968 and I am talking about prior to the Black Panther Party and the community patrol that we had.

It was created to help lessen the situation.

Mr. SCHERLE. What do you mean by lessen the situation?

Mr. LAWSON. They were angry with what happened the night before in terms of the police and themselves. I told them why don't we go downtown and talk to the city council of Kansas City and talk to the police commissioners and see if they would accept our presence on the street the following evening as a mediation team between the community and the police, so if we see any difficulties perhaps we can help.

We got the approval of the city council, the approval of the police department to do that, then the War on Poverty people came down and said they could make available caps and sweat shirts for the men. And then we went out in the streets for the next couple of months in the community.

Mr. SCHERLE. Did they carry any guns?

Mr. LAWSON. No, they did not carry any guns.

Mr. SCHERLE. Were there any arms in any of the units that traveled—shotguns?

Mr. LAWSON. No; there was no shotgun type of thing. They were just out on the street talking and walking.

If they saw a member of the community about to have some difficulty with the police, they tried to keep the things in order and make—and shared information so there would not be any confrontation.

Mr. SCHERLE. What is the Human Resources in Kansas City?

Mr. LAWSON. That is the local arm of the War on Poverty in Kansas City, Missouri.

Mr. SCHERLE. Have you received any help or assistance or funds from them?

Mr. LAWSON. In relationship to this community patrol in the late summer of 1968, they gave approximately \$200 to the parish for the use of the facilities in terms of my time and also as administrator of the community patrol. As far as I know that is all of the Federal money we received.

Mr. SCHERLE. This is a CAP agency in Kansas City, Human Resources, Inc.

Mr. LAWSON. It is the Human Resources Corporation.

Mr. SCHERLE. Is that a Community Action Program? Is that what the Human Resources, Inc., funded by the Federal Government is?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, it is funded by the Federal Government.

Mr. SCHERLE. And they paid you \$200 to do what?

Mr. LAWSON. For the lease of the basement of my office facilities and my time as supervisor of the community patrol.

Mr. SCHERLE. In other words, well they were paying you to keep peace?

Mr. LAWSON. They were paying me to supervise the 50 young men off the street who were acting as a community patrol; yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. In essence they were paying you to keep peace, as such. Have you received any money from any Federal agency for your breakfast program?

Mr. LAWSON. It is not my breakfast program. The parish has not received any funds for a breakfast program.

Mr. SCHERLE. All of this money was through solicitations and donations?

Mr. LAWSON. What money?

Mr. SCHERLE. All of the money for the breakfast program was through donations and solicitations.

Mr. LAWSON. I am not able to speak about the moneys for the breakfast program except those that came through the parish.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If I am correct, the breakfast program was a program of the Black Panther city chapter—

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. —it was not a program of the Methodist Inner City Parish.

Mr. SCHERLE. Was it held in your church?

Mr. LAWSON. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. You never had a breakfast program in your church?

Mr. LAWSON. No, not in my church.

Mr. SCHERLE. In your facility?

Mr. LAWSON. There are three churches related to the parish, and we have never had a program in any of those churches.

Mr. SCHERLE. Where were the breakfast programs held?

Mr. LAWSON. The one I am most familiar with was held at the Wayne Miner auditorium, which is a public housing project. I heard that they also had programs at the St. Stephen Baptist Church and the Paseo Baptist Church.

Mr. SCHERLE. When you rented this facility to the Black Panthers, were these permanent guests that resided there?

Mr. LAWSON. We rented the facility to the representatives of the four or five men in the late 1968 period who called themselves the Black Vigilantes for a meeting place and for programing.

I am not sure whether they were going to live there permanently. I assumed they were living someplace else, but I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. Did you rent two units for or two pieces of property to the Black Panthers?

Mr. LAWSON. It is a duplex at the Lydia Street property. That was a duplex that was leased.

Mr. SCHERLE. Did you lease any other property to the Black Panthers other than that?

Mr. LAWSON. No, there is no other lease involved.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you own any private property in Kansas City?

Mr. LAWSON. I personally?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes.

Mr. LAWSON. I own my own house. I am in the process of buying it. I guess taxwise I don't own it.

Mr. SCHERLE. Are you a member of the Black Panthers?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I am not.

Mr. SCHERLE. Now I am not talking about a card-carrying Black Panther because they don't issue cards. Are you a member of the Black Panthers?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I am not a member of the Black Panthers.

Mr. SCHERLE. Well how many members are on your board?

Mr. LAWSON. I believe there are 24.

Mr. SCHERLE. What is the general makeup of the board?

Mr. LAWSON. In what categories?

Mr. SCHERLE. Well you tell me. What are their occupations? Are they all black? Who are they?

Mr. LAWSON. The chairman is white, the vice chairman is black. The chairman is a farmer, and the vice chairman is a Post Office employee.

Mr. SCHERLE. For the record would you supply the names and occupations of the members of your board?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, sir, I could do that.¹

Mr. SCHERLE. What is the membership of your parish? How big is it?

Mr. LAWSON. The various congregations?

Mr. SCHERLE. No, yours.

Mr. LAWSON. The Methodist Inner City Parish?

The Methodist Inner City Parish is a board of directors.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you preach every Sunday morning?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. How many parishioners do you have?

Mr. LAWSON. That is a difficult question to answer. We don't go just by membership alone. We normally think in terms of a membership of 100 to 150 people, people who participate in the activities of the congregation.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would it be closer to 100 regular members on every Sunday?

Mr. LAWSON. I would say there is close to a hundred there on Sunday mornings.

Mr. SCHERLE. Sometimes it is less than 100?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. What do the 14 employees do? Didn't you mention you had 14 employees?

Mr. LAWSON. That is only my congregation you are talking about. There are two other congregations which are part of the parish, the Independence Avenue congregation and the Troost congregation. The Independence congregation is situated in the near northeast, which is all white and the port of entry for the Kansas City area, so those employees on my staff are using that church building as a base for ministering to the needs of the people in that community.

Mr. SCHERLE. In other words, there are 14 members of the Methodist Inner City Parish who fall now under your jurisdictional responsibility regardless of what their responsibilities are?

Mr. LAWSON. There are 14 members of the parish staff of which I am the executive director; yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. How many employees are there under the other churches there? Do they have individual employees, too?

Mr. LAWSON. No.

¹ List submitted by Reverend Lawson included as Committee Exhibit No. 23 on p. 2885.

Mr. SCHERLE. The 14 you have under your jurisdiction are the total amount of employees for the three churches then?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Where are these 14 located? Are they in one building?

Mr. LAWSON. No, they are not located in one building.

Mr. SCHERLE. Where are they located? Are they housed under one roof?

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of office facilities, they work out of three churches, buildings, and the parish has an office where the administrative staff would work, but the ministers normally work out of the churches and in the community. They don't have a stationary place to work.

Mr. SCHERLE. But these 14 employees are distributed equally among the three churches, but they are all under your jurisdiction, direction, or guidance?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. In other words, you supervise them?

Mr. LAWSON. I am the director of the parish.

Mr. SCHERLE. You tell them where to go and what to do?

Mr. LAWSON. I may try to.

Mr. SCHERLE. Did you have any parties for the Black Panthers?

Mr. LAWSON. No, not that I recall.

Mr. SCHERLE. No functions for them at all?

Mr. LAWSON. No.

Mr. SCHERLE. No little get-together of any kind.

Mr. LAWSON. No little get-together for the Black Panther Party. We have no get-togethers with the Black Panther Party.

Mr. SCHERLE. No parties or anything?

Mr. LAWSON. No, not as parish functions.

Mr. SCHERLE. And have you had some outside?

Mr. LAWSON. I have not. I don't know if individuals have.

Mr. SCHERLE. I believe the statement was made earlier this morning that this one unit that you rented out to two men, was it Whitfield and O'Neal?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. O'Neal is still a member of the Black Panthers.

Mr. LAWSON. I assume he is; yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. How many people reside in that house on an overnight basis? I mean on the average?

Mr. LAWSON. I have no information that would enable me to answer that kind of a question, Congressman.

Mr. SCHERLE. Reverend Lawson, if I were renting the property, I would be interested in its upkeep. I would be interested in who is there. I would be interested in what the condition of the building was. Who knows, maybe they could tear it all apart.

Mr. LAWSON. At one time in the summer of 1969, a member of my staff gave me information that there were some complaints about the upkeep and trash outside of that property.

I gave instructions to the then staff person to make sure that those people who were in that house cleaned up the outside. We have been concerned about the upkeep of the property.

Mr. SCHERLE. Is this the duplex we are talking about?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, that is the house we are speaking of.

Mr. SCHERLE. To your knowledge, no one stayed there overnight?

Mr. LAWSON. I have never been there overnight to see, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Did you also mention that your church paid for the utilities for February and March?

Mr. LAWSON. I think it was March and April that the parish treasurer did report having paid utilities. For what period of time prior to that I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. They paid the utilities for March and April, for 2 months.

Mr. LAWSON. The parish treasurer paid utilities for March and April of 1969.

Mr. SCHERLE. The cost was \$138?

Mr. LAWSON. That is the report I received from the treasurer.

Mr. SCHERLE. Isn't that rather high?

Mr. LAWSON. You are assuming it is for March and April. I don't know how far back before we acquired the property those utilities are for. They could be for November, December, January, February, March. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. I said February and March, and you said it was March and April.

Mr. LAWSON. I thought I said clearly for March and April we paid their utility bills, I think I mentioned I did not know how far back the utility bills.

Mr. SANDERS. He does not know what period they covered. He knows the payments were made in those 2 months.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. You mentioned earlier that you had \$2,500 sent to you as a defense fund for bail. Was something being contemplated or were you being prepared?

Mr. LAWSON. It was part of 1969. The newspaper accounts in Kansas City—it is very well known there was a lot of tension between the law enforcement agencies and the black young adults. The defense fund was for that situation.

Mr. SCHERLE. Is this also part of the Black Task Force?

Mr. LAWSON. No.

Mr. SCHERLE. The Black Task Force was not part of the defense fund?

Mr. LAWSON. No.

Mr. SCHERLE. What was the name of the committee that received the money?

Mr. LAWSON. The \$2,400—the trustee was my immediate superior, the Reverend Charles McEowen, who is my district superintendent.

Mr. SCHERLE. Does it not seem rather strange that, hopefully, no one is arrested unless a crime is committed or at least circumstances—evidence prevails. Yet you would have a check of \$2,500 given to you, in effect, in case of an arrest?

Did the police arrest you because you walked down the street because feelings ran high?

Mr. LAWSON. That is quite often the case in the ghetto, Mr. Congressman. The young people are picked up for just standing on the corner.

Mr. SCHERLE. I am not very naive and I try to be pretty much of a realist. In fact I was not born too far from a ghetto. We had them back in the twenties and thirties. This is not something new.

What I am trying to figure out is how much did you spend for bail then and for what purpose?

Mr. LAWSON. I think I recall saying there is about \$125 or \$126 remaining.

Mr. SCHERLE. In other words, you have spent almost \$2,350 for bail thus far?

Mr. LAWSON. Up until the present day; yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. What was the arrest and the need for bail?

Mr. LAWSON. Disturbing the peace and disturbing—disobeying an officer.

Mr. SCHERLE. What would be the bail ordinarily for that type of charge?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. Who paid this money out?

Mr. LAWSON. Mr. Preciphs normally was the followup and came to me with that report.

Mr. SCHERLE. I am sure you kept tabs on every penny of it. I know I would. I am sure you know where the money went and how it was spent.

Mr. LAWSON. You are asking in terms of the specific charges. I don't know that information, Congressman.

Mr. SCHERLE. If you have \$125 left, would you provide for the record where and how the \$2,375, give or take a little money, was spent, for what purpose, and the names of the people for which bail was provided? Would you provide that for the record, or can you provide it for the record?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know if I can or not.

Mr. SCHERLE. Certainly you have checks or receipts?

Mr. LAWSON. I would have to go back and search the records. Not only that, I am assuming I would also have to go back and contact some bonding companies to find out what persons they were for. I don't know the names of the people.

Mr. SCHERLE. Reverend Lawson, I don't think it would be as much of a job as you contemplate. I am sure if this money was entrusted to you, you kept careful scrutinization of all of the expenditures and were well aware of how and where the money was spent.

Could you provide that for the record?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't have that information, Congressman. I will have to go back and try to figure it out.

Mr. SCHERLE. I know it would be difficult and awkward and futile for me to have you have it here, but if you don't have it again maybe the Reverend Preciphs—

Mr. LAWSON. I am indicating we don't have that exact record that you are asking. I am—I would have to go back and dig out what I can dig out.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you think it will be complete?

Mr. LAWSON. I really don't know; there is no way for me to tell. Honestly we did not keep that accurate an account.

Mr. SCHERLE. Reverend, it is difficult for me to appreciate the fact that money entrusted to a member of the clergy is not scrutinized and the best set of books possible kept so that it can be explained.

I am an accountant and I would doubt seriously whether a clergyman or a church would do this. If this money was set aside for this specific purpose, then by all means, I am sure that you can find the records.

Mr. LAWSON. I will be glad to report what I can find out. As my wife will tell you, I am the world's worst bookkeeper, but I will do the best I can for you.

Mr. SCHERLE. I will not accept that. Whether or not you are the worst bookkeeper, if you paid by checks, I am sure you have the checks. If you paid money into the police or precinct houses, you would get a receipt and you would have the names of the people, and we would appreciate an accounting of that amount of money.

Mr. LAWSON. I will find you as much of the information as I can that you requested, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. How old are you, Reverend Lawson?

Mr. LAWSON. Thirty-seven.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would you send us your church budget for 1969?

Mr. LAWSON. The St. James Methodist Church?

Mr. SCHERLE. The church over which you have jurisdiction.

Mr. LAWSON. That is the church I have jurisdiction over.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would you send me their budget for 1969?

Mr. LAWSON. Again, if we have one I will send it to you.

Mr. SCHERLE. If you need a bookkeeper give me a call. I will be glad to put things in shape for you.

Mr. POLLAK. Are then we to take that as a request that it be sent to the committee?

Mr. PREYER. Yes, that is our understanding, if it suits the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SCHERLE. The budget for 1969.

Mr. LAWSON. Are you asking for the parish budget for 1969 or the church? My church is the St. James Methodist Church, and we don't have a budget for 1969.

Mr. SCHERLE. Why?

Mr. LAWSON. We ran in the hole in terms of our church. I don't know how many thousands of dollars. There was no need to have a budget when we could not meet our bills.

Mr. SCHERLE. Don't you keep a record of what you spend?

Mr. LAWSON. The treasurer would have a record of that in my church. Now are you asking for the St. James congregation budget or the parish budget?

Mr. SCHERLE. Send them both.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, I will do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you actually make a budget?

Mr. LAWSON. For the congregation?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LAWSON. We did not go through it last year. I will have to go back to my treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you would not have a budget as such. Possibly you would have receipts?

Mr. SCHERLE. Rather than your budget, just send me your expenditures and your amount of income for 1969 for both—income and expenditures for 1969.

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, I will do that.

Mr. SCHERLE. We have information that the Black Panther Party does not play the great power of influence in the community as you envisioned or told us here this morning. If I may read one paragraph:

It was generally agreed by many people that the Black Panther Party has had a very bad effect on the Negro community in Kansas City particularly with regard to their alienation of youth in convincing them they are living in a repressive fascist society in which the ballot is no longer effective.

We have also heard various derogatory expressions which are directed at the Black Panthers, and I wonder if maybe you want to review some of the statements that I have read to you here.

Mr. LAWSON. I would simply say that I know there is a variety of opinions in the black community as there is a variety of opinions everywhere. Not everyone will say the same thing about anybody when you talk about a party so I see no reason to testify to the validity of a particular opinion over against someone else's opinion. All the members of this body do not have the same opinion.

Mr. SCHERLE. I was not asking for any unanimous consent of any kind, but we have had a great opportunity to visit personally with people and also receive testimony.

We don't find a consensus that the Black Panthers do have a very constructive position as far as the Black Panthers in the Negro community in Kansas City are concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. If I might interrupt at this point, might I inquire of the gentleman of Iowa how long he thinks it will take for him to conclude his questions?

Mr. SCHERLE. How much time do you want to give me?

The CHAIRMAN. Let me inquire of counsel, did the gentleman from Ohio return this afternoon?

Mr. SANDERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I have a few questions I want to ask. The gentleman from North Carolina was called to an executive committee meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and I think they are considering railroad legislation at this time.

Mr. SCHERLE. Ten minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't want to be in the position of cutting anyone off. Proceed.

I want every member to have all of the time he wants to ask questions as long as Reverend Lawson can hold out for the replies.

Mr. SCHERLE. Reverend Lawson, to pursue my line of questioning and I think counsel made the statement two or three times this morning concerning the beliefs of Pete O'Neal and his leaning toward Marxism and Leninism and the doctrine he professes. Now if this is his belief and he has injected this philosophy into the Black Panthers as a whole, how could this be beneficial to the youth of the Negro community which would be entirely contrary to your philosophy?

Mr. LAWSON. From my understanding of their relationship with the black young people in Kansas City, they are not injected with any particular ideology or belief. One of the things that is probably

the most difficult thing to get young people to do, is to get doctrinaire about any belief.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do they lean more to you as the clergy or do they lean more toward Pete O'Neal?

Mr. LAWSON. That is impossible for me to say. It depends on what I do or what Pete does or says rather than what he or I say. It depends on the program. People come rallying around a program or belief.

Mr. SCHERLE. Does Pete O'Neal have a program?

Mr. LAWSON. The only one I am familiar with is the breakfast program.

Mr. SCHERLE. The breakfast program?

Mr. LAWSON. That is the only one I am familiar with.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know a person by the name of Tom Robinson?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, I know Tom.

Mr. SCHERLE. What is his position with the Black Panthers?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know his position in the Black Panthers.

Mr. SCHERLE. What is Pete O'Neal's position?

Mr. LAWSON. As far as I know, from probably the same information you have, he is considered to be the chairman or the head of the Black Panther Party. I don't have any inside information on that.

Mr. SCHERLE. How much of an opportunity do you have to visit with Pete O'Neal?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't know for sure. I would say we probably talked 20 or 30 times or so last year.

Mr. SCHERLE. That is quite a bit. That is a relatively close friendship.

Mr. LAWSON. He is a member of my board of directors by the way.

Mr. SCHERLE. He is?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, he is.

Mr. SCHERLE. That is very interesting.

Is Robinson a member of your board?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I am sorry, he is not.

Mr. SCHERLE. Is Whitfield?

Mr. LAWSON. No, he is not.

One of the purposes of the board and one of the things I had in terms of a goal and as a ministry was to have the people who are the recipients of your services brought to be involved in the processes of decisionmaking and policymaking. We have Welfare Mothers who are members of my board of directors and Mr. O'Neal is a member of my board of directors.

Mr. SCHERLE. How many Black Panthers do you have on your board?

Mr. LAWSON. Mr. O'Neal is the only Black Panther member on my board.

Mr. SCHERLE. Does your board of directors have varying degrees of titles?

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of their personal qualifications.

Mr. SCHERLE. Responsibilities.

Mr. LAWSON. Officers of the board; yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. Who are your officers?

Mr. LAWSON. Mr. Ansel Howard is the chairman of the board. Mr. Archie Counts is the vice chairman of the board. Mrs. Mildred Johnson is the treasurer, and Mrs. Marvia Thompson is the secretary of the board.

Mr. SCHERLE. Does Pete O'Neal have any official capacity as far as the board is concerned, other than being a member?

Mr. LAWSON. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Does he attend the meetings faithfully?

Mr. LAWSON. No; he has not been faithful in attendance at board meetings.

Mr. SCHERLE. How often do you meet?

Mr. LAWSON. The board meets once a month.

Mr. SCHERLE. Is Pete there usually 9 or 10 times a year?

Mr. LAWSON. No; I would say less than five. I would say five would be high.

Mr. SCHERLE. He is there about half of the year when you meet—five or six times?

Mr. LAWSON. I would say no more than five.

Mr. SCHERLE. Have any merchants complained to you about being strong-armed or being intimidated as far as money or supplies?

Mr. LAWSON. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. We have information that Tom Robinson is more or less the enforcer of the Black Panthers.

Mr. LAWSON. Of course, there is no way for me to know that or verify that information you have.

Mr. SCHERLE. I thought maybe some of the merchants might complain to you that, when solicitations and contributions are sought, maybe some are nudged a little bit to cough up?

Mr. LAWSON. No; I have received no such complaints, Congressman.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do all of the merchants who donate do so voluntarily?

Mr. LAWSON. Again, I can't speak for all of the merchants.

The CHAIRMAN. May I intervene at this point? Did counsel cover questions concerning specific allegations about Mr. Robinson to extort moneys or properties to support the Black Panther program?

Mr. SANDERS. I asked Reverend Lawson about his knowledge of extortion attempts. I don't think I specifically mentioned Tom Robinson, but we did ask about the extortion.

Mr. SCHERLE. When you attended that rally that counsel mentioned earlier, you were on the platform and you were listed as such by Reverend Preciphs in the church, indicating you would be at this particular rally?

Mr. LAWSON. No, it was my associate pastor.

Mr. SCHERLE. Can you recall what he said that morning that indicated you to be a party to that rally that night?

Mr. LAWSON. Not specifically, except that I was scheduled to speak at the rally that evening.

Mr. SCHERLE. Did he check with you?

Mr. LAWSON. Not before the announcement came out; no.

Mr. SCHERLE. What authorization did he have, then, to commit you to a speaking engagement?

Mr. LAWSON. That is often the case in terms of my time. I get committed because of people who trust somebody and they do make

commitments upon me and I have not yet developed the tact of saying no to them when they later tell me they have committed me to do something. It does not refer to this one particular instance, but it happens on a number of occasions.

Mr. SCHERLE. Is it normal procedure for an associate to clear with his supervisors as to whether or not he is free that evening to give a speech?

Mr. LAWSON. It is normal procedure, but there is freedom in that procedure. Someone will think I want to be involved in, say, a conference or meeting, and they may commit me to be there and tell me about that.

Mr. SCHERLE. Reverend, you run a pretty loose ship, don't you?

Mr. LAWSON. No; I don't think we have a loose ship at all. I think we have a very effective ministry to minister to the groups in the Kansas City, Missouri, area.

Mr. SCHERLE. What did you talk about that night? What was the topic of your speech?

Mr. LAWSON. Offhand I don't recall. It was off the cuff. I was running from that meeting to another meeting, having come from a first meeting. Normally, most of the times when I have had a chance to speak, I talk in terms of nonviolence, for example, and the way in which we deal with our brothers and sisters in the community.

Mr. SCHERLE. A rally is usually for a specific purpose and a specific reason and those invited to attend and particularly those invited to address the group are usually in conjunction with a theme?

Mr. LAWSON. No, not necessarily. You can go to a rally and a group of people in the black community come together for a variety of reasons, and the people are asked to speak at a rally and they speak for a variety of reasons. They agree to speak. They may not always be in agreement with everything at that rally.

Mr. SCHERLE. I am not usually a conformist myself, but I would hesitate to go to any type of rally and not be a party to the invitation to the subject that is being discussed. If this was a Black Panther rally and if the discussions were that they coincided with the philosophy of the Black Panthers, I would say you were probably out of place if you did anything different.

Mr. LAWSON. I am not sure if I understand your question, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. What I am saying is, sir, if a rally is based on a particular theme and you didn't join in with the theme or were not swept up with the hysteria of the moment, you would be a little bit of an outsider, would you not be, as far as the rally was concerned?

Mr. LAWSON. I have never allowed myself to be swept up in anything except as a minister of the gospel. I am not sure if I really heard what you are asking of me.

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe you gentlemen are not on the same wavelength.

Mr. SCHERLE. The rally was held for a particular purpose and you were invited to attend, and presuppose I was invited, I would usually go along with the theme of the rally and I would feel certain that perhaps you would also, because if that rally is based on any particular thing and you were not with it, then I can't imagine your being very well accepted that night.

Mr. LAWSON. Oftentimes I have spoken at rallies against something that has been said at that rally. I do not necessarily agree with everything being said. I am not sure of the theme of that particular rally.

Mr. SCHERLE. In raising your fist, I would say you were conforming entirely with the theme when you did that.

Mr. LAWSON. You are speaking of a different occasion, when I did raise my fist with a crowd of young people. I do not see that necessarily as conforming.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you recall an incident in Kansas City where Pete O'Neal spit on a policeman?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I am not familiar with that.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you want me to repeat the question?

Mr. LAWSON. Yes, please.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you recall an incident in Kansas City on July 21 when Pete O'Neal spit on a policeman?

Mr. LAWSON. No; I am not familiar with that incident.

Mr. SCHERLE. You were not familiar with any possible confrontation that took place that night in the general vicinity of your whereabouts—rather large, and you knew nothing about it?

Mr. LAWSON. In the general vicinity of my whereabouts?

Mr. SCHERLE. I am talking about the vicinity in the area of the premises you rented to the Panthers. No report came to you?

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of Mr. O'Neal spitting on the policeman, no word came to me.

Mr. SCHERLE. No, that is what brought it about. Were you aware of that?

Mr. LAWSON. Of a confrontation?

Mr. SCHERLE. Of a confrontation that was brought about by that?

Mr. LAWSON. There were various incidents in 1969. I don't know why they were all brought about. I knew there was a major confrontation and I am aware of the one you are referring to, but I don't know why. I most likely am—but I am not sure how it came about or even the dates, because you are not giving me very much to recall.

Mr. SCHERLE. I was going to say if you were aware of it, you might recall whether you played a part in casting some oil on the waters.

(Counsel confers with witness.)

Mr. LAWSON. Are you referring to the Olive Street confrontation back in July, which Mr. Sanders mentioned?

Mr. SANDERS. I think that is what Mr. Scherle is referring to.

Mr. LAWSON. I never even heard of that confrontation, as I mentioned to Mr. Sanders before.

Mr. SCHERLE. Who are these politicians who gathered numerous times?

Mr. LAWSON. Mr. Bruce Watkins has spoken.

Mr. SCHERLE. What is his title?

Mr. LAWSON. I think he is clerk of the court there with the Democratic Party in Kansas City.

Mr. SCHERLE. Who were some of the other politicians?

Mr. LAWSON. I am not sure I should name the politicians because they are known people.

Mr. SCHERLE. You referred to them three or four times, and I was wondering who they were.

Mr. LAWSON. I was on a panel once there with Mr. Watkins, the gentlemen and women who signed a statement in December against urban violence, including Mr. Watkins, and it included the head of the Department of Human Relations in Kansas City. It included a State representative of Missouri, who signed that statement. So there were a number of people who signed that statement I refer to.

Mr. SCHERLE. I have no other questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Scherle.

I have a few questions, Reverend Lawson.

Did I understand your reply to the question directed by counsel as to whether you had knowledge of any attempts on the part of members of the Black Panther Party in Kansas City to extort money or properties from merchants—did I understand that your answer was that you had no specific knowledge as to any such incident?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. LAWSON. I think I did talk about not having specific knowledge except having heard about a complaint, but not knowing of the disposition of that complaint.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard of complaints, but you have no personal knowledge about any such incidents and you made no investigation yourself?

Mr. LAWSON. I did not; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not present at any time when any of the alleged extortions occurred?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Reverend Lawson, are you familiar with the 10-point platform of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. LAWSON. I have read it a number of times. I don't know it from memory.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that a copy of the program was present at the Kansas City headquarters and that the members of the Black Panther organization there in Kansas City did discuss the same. Are you in favor of all of that platform?

Mr. LAWSON. The 10-point thing—

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar enough—

Mr. LAWSON. I don't recall them that well. If I could see one, I could probably respond more accurately to the statement, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I have the platform before me here. Some of it, I would say, I would agree with; however, there is much I would disagree with. The platform reads as follows:

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

I don't want to get into beliefs, Reverend Lawson, but in order that I might understand your thinking and the reason why you have allied yourself apparently with some of the programs of the Black Panther Party in Kansas City, do you believe that all black men should be exempt from military service?

I wouldn't require you to answer that if you don't want to because it certainly goes to your belief and I would not direct you to answer the question. But I thought we might be able to understand your relationship with the Black Panther Party a little a bit better. If you don't care to reply, I won't direct you to.

[Continues reading:]

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

I am sure you would not accept that objective, would you? I am sure you believe, as I do, that there may well be black men or white men in jail. Sometimes our system makes a mistake—there are some who should not be there, but I am sure you would not say all black men should be free from jail, would you?

That is No. 8 I am looking at.

Mr. LAWSON. Would I believe that all people—

The CHAIRMAN. They said they want freedom for all black men held in Federal, State, county, and city jails. I interpret that to mean the purpose of the Black Panther Party is to free all black men from the

jails regardless of whether they are guilty or not, regardless of whether they should make retribution for some of the crimes that they may have committed.

Mr. LAWSON. I am not sure I necessarily agree that all persons in jail should be released either. I did have some reservations about imprisoning people.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean you would prefer that we did not have to operate prisons?

Mr. LAWSON. I would prefer that we would not punish people in that way and would move more toward the rehabilitation of people in a real meaningful way.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think that it is necessary, then, to operate a prison system?

Mr. LAWSON. My preference would be in terms of helping to rehabilitate and helping create a situation in which people would not have to be put in prison.

The CHAIRMAN. My preference would be that, too, but do you believe it is necessary for society to have jails to protect society?

Mr. LAWSON. I assume society has to have some means of protecting society against people.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know of any civilized society that does not have jails. [Continues reading:]

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.

I don't think we can disagree with that. [Continues reading:]

And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

That seems to indicate that the objective of the Black Panther Party may be to set up a segregated society. Are you in favor of a segregated society? Do you agree with this objective?

Mr. LAWSON. I don't believe in the segregated society. I think it is an impossibility, and it is not my belief.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the Black Panther Party, as I understand it, has recommended that the local chapters conduct four specific programs. One is a free breakfast program for children and apparently the Kansas City Black Panther organization has been conducting such a program. I think a breakfast program in and of itself is a worthwhile purpose. They also advocate free health clinics.

Mr. Counsel, has there been any discussion of the free health clinic? Has the Black Panther Party there in Kansas City operated the free health clinic, Reverend Lawson, to your knowledge?

Mr. LAWSON. I have no knowledge of the health clinic at all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any knowledge of a liberation school being operated by the Black Panther Party?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. The fourth program is petitioning and campaigning for community control of police. Do you have any information about the Black Panther Party heading up a petition and a campaign for community control of the local police system?

Mr. LAWSON. No, I don't know anything about that petition program, either.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to get at is this: I would have nothing but commendation for your helping out any operation such as a community breakfast program. I think that is a laudable purpose. But we have received evidence to the effect that the breakfast program is just a front to cover up other objectives. I was wondering what is your feeling about associating yourself with a specific program which might be laudable in and of itself, but if you inquire into the motivations, the motivations of the people operating the program might be something completely different.

Let me try to make myself clearer. If I am to believe what some of the press accounts indicate, and I make no determination as to whether the press accounts are true or not. As a matter of fact, many of them are conflicting; certainly they are conflicting between the underground press account of Black Panther activity and the so-called Establishment press which these gentlemen out here represent.

Do you have any hesitation in associating with a group for the operation of a program like the free breakfast program even though this may be a front for attaining other objectives? This is a real hard question one often has to decide for himself.

Mr. LAWSON. Mr. Chairman, on the occasion when I was present at the breakfast program, I don't recall seeing other activities going on in terms of indoctrination. The children were not there long enough for any kind of a teaching program.

I normally operate, in terms of my ministry, not on the level of a person's intentions or motivations, but in terms of what that person does actually, so I know that many people do many things for many different reasons, and their motivations are something we can't tell about. Sometimes we have to deal with the actual, concrete reality of what people do rather than their motivation.

The CHAIRMAN. I can't disagree with that.

Mr. LAWSON. I have no evidence that they actually did anything other than feed children who were hungry.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee is charged with the responsibilities of finding out the facts about the Black Panther Party. I mentioned at the outset what we wanted to find out. We wanted to find its objectives, its numbers, its financing, and the tactics that it uses. Of course, this is a very difficult challenge because I am quite sure that of the many Black Panther chapters that they have throughout the United States, I would not be a bit surprised to find the objectives of the organizations differing from chapter to chapter. This is true of the political parties today.

The Democratic Party of Missouri might be completely different from the Democratic Party in New York, and the same thing would hold true with the Republican Party.

I also feel if you got down into the individual chapters and looked into the motivations of the individual people, you would find they

would be differently motivated. Usually, the best means of finding out the objective of a given organization is to look at the objectives and try to determine the objectives of its leadership. This is difficult because the leadership will change from time to time and it will certainly vary from chapter to chapter.

We have just started on this investigation, but if I am to believe at least some of the press reports about the Black Panthers based upon investigation by the reporter writing the article—and I have no way of knowing what particular methods he used in gathering his facts—but if we are to believe some of those press reports, I think we would be justified in concluding that the Black Panther Party is more interested in realizing the objectives of the international communist movement rather than to solve some of the ills and deficiencies that we have in our society.

But you made no study of the Black Panther Party at least on a national scale.

Mr. LAWSON. No, I haven't.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, have you concluded your questions? Do you have any other questions to ask of Reverend Lawson?

Mr. SANDERS. I have no additional questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scherle?

Mr. SCHERLE. I have no additional questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I haven't been advised whether the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Stokes, wanted to ask questions.

Mr. SANDERS. We notified him of the meeting and we had no information that he would or would not.

The CHAIRMAN. In regard to the information which you requested, Mr. Scherle, in regard to the financing of Reverend Lawson's church, I was not in the Chair at that time. Of course, the financing of the church may have some relevancy to the investigation, and Mr. Lawson did not object to supplying you with that information. Certainly, I did not want to be in the position of investigating religion as such. No objections were raised.

Do you think you know what information Mr. Scherle wants? Go ahead and talk to your counsel and see if you can supply that information without too much difficulty.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCHERLE. If the Chair feels that that question is not within the established guidelines of the rules of procedure, I can certainly be ruled out of order.

The CHAIRMAN. It could be relevant and it could not be relevant. I was not present for all of the testimony that was given.

Mr. SCHERLE. My idea was to see whether there was any outside flow of funds coming into either the church or the parish that were not expressed in the hearing. If counsel or Reverend Lawson feels this is an infringement, then by all that is right, then I will just withdraw my request.

Mr. POLLAK. Mr. Chairman, Congressman Scherle, as counsel I was waiting until the conclusion, as your rules indicate that counsel may make a statement at the conclusion.

This witness expressed to me his desire——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you wish to make your statement at this time?

Mr. POLLAK. I have no statement except as it is responsive to the question you have now raised, Mr. Chairman.

The witness has sought to be cooperative in the questions that have been put to him by counsel and members of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say he has been very cooperative.

Mr. POLLAK. I would want to preserve to the extent that it should become significant any objection we might have to an inquiry into the regular expenditures of the church. I am sure the church itself may have its own concerns about those questions by the legislature. What I would really ask is the indulgence of the chairman for us to review the rather involved record of those questions and requests and, in turn, review with Reverend Lawson what burdens will be imposed in endeavoring to supply information which may be relevant.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me suggest we leave that to you, Reverend Lawson, to you and the staff.

Mr. SCHERLE. Let me say I want the \$2,500 detailed, as detailed as you can possibly give me. On that, I am not going to back up at all. If you have other money that comes into the parish or to the church that is not used in church expenditures, that I also want. This would not be asking too much for that, would it?

Mr. POLLAK. I am not in a position to know. We met at the chief counsel's request yesterday—that is, Reverend Lawson did—to respond to his questions about any funds he knew about from the parish that came to the support of any Black Panther program, and those questions were again reviewed here.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you have any objection to furnishing for the record all funds, including the \$2,500, which has no bearing on the church or the facilities or anything else, including the \$200 that was paid to Reverend Lawson by the poverty program [Human Resources Corporation] to keep the peace. These things have no relevance to the church whatsoever, do they?

The CHAIRMAN. If I may intervene there, Mr. Scherle, I think, perhaps, we can work out this matter. Mr. Lawson and his attorney have been very cooperative. As I indicated before, I do not want to get over into the field of religion as such. Can we leave it for the staff to work out between you and Reverend Lawson and Mr. Pollak?

Mr. SCHERLE. I will give the staff my power of attorney as far as that is concerned. I am not interested in anything that is not relevant to the church or this committee. I am only interested in this \$2,500.

Mr. POLLAK. The statement I made, Congressman Scherle, did not seek to change the response of Reverend Lawson with respect to the \$2,500 fund which was available for bails.

Mr. SCHERLE. Plus the \$200.

Mr. POLLAK. We will set forth a statement as to the \$200 insofar as Reverend Lawson has testified about that. (Reference here is to testimony on page 2658.)

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

Mr. SCHERLE. Anything dealing with the church, you can willingly exclude because it has no bearing on the investigation of this committee, but anything that is relevant to the information we have sought, this we would like to have.

Mr. POLLAK. I have to respond, I think, as an attorney in some context of what you have asked and I think that remains the \$2,500-fund and the \$200 money that was made available by the Human Resources people.

Mr. SCHERLE. If you want to work with the staff on this, I am certainly agreeable to that.¹

The CHAIRMAN. I think that can be worked out without too much burden.

Mr. SANDERS. I presume then you would be satisfied, Mr. Scherle, to limit this request to expenditures to the Black Panthers or for any of the Black Panthers' programs.

Mr. SCHERLE. Or any affiliation thereto and after this hearing is over, within the next 2 days, I may be interested in other finances.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that can be worked out. And if there is any difficulty or any controversy that arises, the committee can take that up at the proper time.

Mr. Preyer has returned, and I believe he has a few questions he would like to ask.

Mr. POLLAK. May I make one further statement? I need to preserve—I think it would only be reasonable—the right of the client to have detailed requests from the committee should there be additional information that is desired on paper. I am standing on that and undertaking here to respond to these two requests on the \$2,500-fund and the \$200-fund.

The CHAIRMAN. I can well understand that, Mr. Counsel, and I can assure you the staff will be so instructed to follow that request.

Mr. Preyer?

Mr. PREYER. I will be very brief, Mr. Chairman, since it is late.

I understood Reverend Lawson to say at the outset of his testimony this afternoon that the Model Cities program, the OEO [Office of Economic Opportunity] type of thing did not speak to those of the young who are alienated and who are against the system. That may be a little unfair the way I have summed it up, but I gather your position was that the Black Panthers feel the need of being a non-Establishment vehicle of change in protest. Is that about right?

Mr. LAWSON. Just simply in some ways to understand the occasion for the Black Panthers to come into being. I think they came out of a vacuum in terms of large numbers of young people who are alienated and outside of the normal avenues of a society. They came into being out of that context. That is really what I am trying to understand.

Mr. PREYER. My question is: Do you think it is possible to attack the system, that is to say, we are against the system, or we think a Maoist system or something else ought to be the government in this system, but still play within the rules of the game?

The thing that worries us about the Black Panthers, I think, is not that they are attacking the system. That is the perfect right of anybody, but that they are attacking outside the rules of the game. I don't see how you can allow that sort of thing. When I talk about the rules of the game, I am talking about what we think in terms of free speech, the rules of the game saying you do not come in and slug the dean on the head if you are going to discuss a school matter. The rules say you have orderly procedures when you have a meeting. You don't shout down everyone. Do you think it is impossible to attack the system and still operate within the rules of the democratic process?

¹ Details of \$200 paid to Rev. Lawson by Human Resources Corp. and details of expenditure of \$2,500 available for Young Adult Defense from the Fund for Reconciliation have been requested of Rev. Lawson. Since data not fully compiled at time hearing went to press, it will be included in later publication.

Mr. LAWSON. That is a mighty big question, Mr. Congressman. I don't know for sure. I think that one has to be able to produce some change within the quality of life in our society. I just don't know where one does that and how one does that in our society within the rules of the game. I would hope and pray that is the way in which we can produce a quality of life. I am not sure in my own thinking.

Mr. PREYER. I would hope, for your sake, that we can do it within the rules of the game because the rules protect the liberal, the dissenter, and the heretic more than anyone else. It is for their benefit. What disturbs me a little bit about the Panthers here is, for example, they got into an argument with the SDS, and the SDS and the Panthers have split because—and here is the SDS reasoning—at this conference there was a lack of opportunity for discussion or debate from the floor and the way in which dissent was muffled or eliminated.

So, I think a way a minister probably gets interested in the Panthers is that you view them as a group somehow interested in emancipating the human spirit and opening new avenues, and so forth, but I wonder if they are not a retrogressive group, not a forward-looking group. When you start muffling any disagreement with your point of view, then it looks to me like you are doing serious damage to the human spirit and that you are backing the wrong cause.

Have you seen any interest in the Panthers in solving any racial or economic problems, or are they just interested in raising hell? I think that is basically what bothers us. Is there any problem-solving going on?

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of feeding some hungry children that solved some problems. Members of the party are participating in the narcotic treatment program that the parish is trying to get started. I think that represents an attempt to solve one of the major problems of the ghetto—drug addiction.

I think it is because of the kinds of relationships that people have with members of the party in Kansas City that that is the only way you can get them into solving problems. I don't think you can get into that by excluding them from your ministry or your relationships.

Mr. PREYER. I don't think anyone would disagree that that is a good approach if you are bona fide furnishing breakfasts, and so forth, nor do I think anyone would disagree with your statement that a ministry must relate to the realities of the ghetto, and if this is one of their realities you deal with. But I think we are concerned with whether or not this is so much a reality and whether or not it may be blown up into a reality rather than just representing it as an existing reality.

From your talk about the Panthers, and I will end on this, what do you think they visualize the world ought to be if they had their "druthers"? What do they want the world to be like 5 years from now?

Mr. LAWSON. That is a very difficult question to try to say what they want the world to be. I really don't know for sure what they want the world to be. I would say, in terms of change, everyone having an opportunity to participate in a full American life and also, in terms of the spiritual desires, a man has to be more than just a consumer of things. He has to also participate in decisions and act in terms of what affects his life and decides the course of his life. If I may be presumptuous, I will say I would think they would want those kinds of things.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you talking about man in general, all of the Black Panthers, or a specific Black Panther?

Mr. PREYER. I was seeking to see whether they thought the Panthers had any real goal that they were moving toward and I would say that goal sounds to me like your goal and I could not quarrel with that. But I am alarmed about this sort of thing, muffling dissent wherever they go, and Cleaver saying they are going to talk about the political power growing out of a gun. The kind of world they envision is not the kind of world you were talking about, the spirit and so forth, but it is a world where if you don't agree with everything I agree with, then, too bad for you; we are going to do it our way and we are not listening to anybody else.

Mr. LAWSON. In terms of my own relationship, I don't find that world to exist in terms of the Black Panther and myself in Kansas City and the members of the black community in Kansas City. I don't find there is that kind of rigidity. There is some flexibility and openness.

Mr. PREYER. Maybe their practice is better than their rhetoric. There are different ways to play checkers, but kicking over the checkerboard is not one of them that we can live with in this country. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. One more question, Mr. Lawson, in regard to the breakfast program; the counsel may have covered this in detail. Do you have knowledge of when the breakfast program went into operation?

Mr. LAWSON. Specifically, I don't know in terms of the exact date. I would say sometime—I would say around the spring or early summer of last year. I would say April, May, sometime in that area.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand you assisted the Black Panther Party in setting up the program?

Mr. LAWSON. I went down and helped with some Welfare Mothers and others in the community in feeding the children at that time. My wife and I went down to help feed the children.

The CHAIRMAN. Since it began, has it been continuously in operation on a day-to-day basis or have there been interruptions?

Mr. LAWSON. I am not sure. I believe it is still in operation today, but if it has been continuous, I am not sure. I don't know for sure, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know whether or not there have been gaps in between?

Mr. LAWSON. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, may I inquire of you—there was some allegation that came before the committee, at least in some of the breakfast programs, that there were attempts to show pictures and slogans inciting hatred for police. Was there any evidence that that may have happened at the Kansas City Black Panthers?

Mr. SANDERS. I asked Reverend Lawson about that, and he said he had no knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you every much, Reverend Lawson, for your appearance here today.

The Chair will declare the committee in adjournment until 10 tomorrow morning sharp.

(Whereupon, at 4:25 p.m., Wednesday, March 4, 1970, the committee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, March 5, 1970.)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Part 1

Investigation of Kansas City Chapter; National Organization Data

THURSDAY, MARCH 5, 1970

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richard H. Ichord, chairman, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Richard H. Ichord of Missouri, Claude Pepper of Florida, Louis Stokes of Ohio, John M. Ashbrook of Ohio, and William J. Scherle of Iowa.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel, and Richard A. Shaw, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We meet today for a continuation of the investigation into the activities of the Black Panther Party at Kansas City, Missouri.

Whom do you have as your first witness, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. SANDERS. Sergeant Parker of the Kansas City Police Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Sergeant, it is nice to have you before the committee. Will you first be sworn?

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

Mr. PARKER. I do.

Mr. SANDERS. The attorney from the Kansas City Police Department, Mr. Maier, is here and would like to sit with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Identify yourself for the record.

Mr. MAIER. I am Manfred Maier, attorney for the Kansas City Police Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER PARKER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, MANFRED MAIER

Mr. SANDERS. Will you state your full name and position please.

Mr. PARKER. My name is Walter Parker. I am a sergeant in the tactical unit of the Kansas City, Missouri, Police Department.

Mr. SANDERS. Tactical unit of the Kansas City Police Department.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Who is your immediate supervisor, Sergeant Parker?

Mr. PARKER. My immediate supervisor is Captain William Ponessa.

Mr. SANDERS. How long have you worked for the Kansas City Police Department?

Mr. PARKER. I have worked for the police for 19 years and 6 months.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you a native of Kansas City? Were you born and raised there?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I was born in Mississippi, but I was raised and schooled in Kansas City.

Mr. SANDERS. You have lived in Kansas City more than your years with the police department there.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you live in Kansas City proper?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, I do.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you live in what is sometimes referred to as the inner city? What area generally do you live in, sir?

Mr. PARKER. I live at 73d Street. I presume this would be a little beyond what you would consider the immediate inner city.

Mr. SANDERS. Is this an integrated neighborhood you live in?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, it is.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you aware of the existence of a chapter of the Black Panther Party in Kansas City?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, I am.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you had official assignments and duties with regard to the observation of the activities of the Black Panther Party and following its development?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, I have, since February of 1969, when the organization was first organized.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you explain how the chapter came into being there, by what means and what individuals?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know if I am clear on your question. Did you say how it came into being?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes.

Mr. PARKER. The organizing of the chapter?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any knowledge, Sergeant, as to how the chapter came into being?

Mr. PARKER. Partly. Let's see if I am clear on the question. It was organized by a group of young men who are known to me, and at that time I think it consisted of Pete O'Neal, William Whitfield, Keith Hinch, Brian O'Neal, a young lady by the name of Billie Ruth Robinson, Wanda Lee Keller. I should have been better prepared. I should have brought the list of names with me.

Mr. SANDERS. I hand you what has previously been marked Committee Exhibit No. 1, Sergeant Parker. Have you previously had an opportunity to examine that exhibit?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Does that refresh your memory?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, these are the persons. Do you want me to read these?

Mr. SANDERS. Just those active in the original formation of it.

Mr. PARKER. Felix Pete O'Neal was in the beginning the director or chairman, William Whitfield, Keith Hinch, Charles June Simms, who at that time was the captain of the vanguard I believe they called it. At its initial inception Henry Edward Finley was not at the beginning, then there was Billie Ruth Washington, André Weatherby, Brian O'Neal. I see members here who were not the originals.

Mr. SANDERS. I am just talking about the formation at the present time.

Mr. PARKER. William Young was one of the originals. Cornelius Taylor, Robert Newman, Sharon Cooper, Archie Weaver, Phillip Diffenbaugh, William Woodson, Alonzo Nash, Lowell Marshall, Phillip Ortega, Charles Wesley Allen, Stephen Sayers, Azel Cole, Kenneth Cooper, Luther Robinson, Ebb Everett, Merl Fulsom Brown, Joann Baker Walthall, Saun T. Hytche, Wanda Lee Keller, Ray Alfred Bell, Arnold Bolin and Larry Johnson.

Now, these were the originals in February of 1969.

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

Mr. SANDERS. You mentioned a person by the name of Billie Ruth. You said Washington. Did you mean Robinson?

Mr. PARKER. Robinson.

Mr. SANDERS. Did this organization seem to you to evolve from any other organization?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, they did. Over the years in Kansas City there were a number of groups of young blacks that carried various names and described themselves as having particular functions. These groups splintered out and busted up here and there for various reasons and they would go into other groups. Some came from the Black Committee of 20. Some came from other organizations they had around the various high schools. Some were school dropouts, and so forth.

So, most of these youths are about the same ones.

Mr. SANDERS. There was no one particular organization that suddenly transformed itself into the Black Panther Party.

Mr. PARKER. Not to my knowledge. It would have been members from various other groups and organizations of the community.

Mr. SANDERS. Was there any one individual who seemed to be a primary motivating force behind the creation or formation of the chapter?

Mr. PARKER. In my opinion, Mr. Pete O'Neal.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know how he came to know of the Black Panthers, how he came to determine to form a chapter in Kansas City?

Mr. PARKER. My opinion of how he came to do it?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARKER. Just my opinion of how he came to do it?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARKER. There was some difficulty that Mr. O'Neal had at a United Funds rally in Kansas City in 1969 where a group that he then represented, and I don't recall the name, went before the United Funds campaign dinner to inquire as to how to obtain better financial assistance for welfare people, to my understanding. I was not present at this dinner. I got my information from what was in the daily paper that day.

While there, there was a confrontation or some difficulty with one of the ladies at this meeting, and it turned out that this lady happened to be the wife of one of our police officers.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, let's stick to facts. Let's not necessarily draw too much on what appeared in the daily newspaper. If the sergeant has facts within his own knowledge, draw the information from him, but let's stick to information within his own knowledge developed from investigations and things he knows about firsthand.

Mr. SANDERS. Was any of this information placed in the form of an official police report that came to your attention, Sergeant Parker?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, not to my attention.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you learn this information from anyone who was present at the event?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I didn't.

Mr. SANDERS. We will pass over that then.

The CHAIRMAN. We can read the newspapers, so let's stick to the facts within his own knowledge.

Mr. SANDERS. From your experience in Kansas City and your police work, to what would you attribute the formation of this chapter? Was there any one reason existing within the Negro community that led to the development of the Black Panther chapter?

Mr. PARKER. I personally could not pinpoint any one particular thing I could attribute it to. In my opinion, it would be due to a number of reasons—dissatisfaction possibly with the police, with certain individuals here of Mr. O'Neal's group.

Mr. SANDERS. In January or February of 1969 when the chapter came into being, did it acquire a headquarters location?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, they did.

Mr. SANDERS. Where?

Mr. PARKER. At 2221-2223 Lydia.

Mr. SANDERS. Is that a duplex residential-type structure?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you engage, in and around that time, in conversation with various members of the chapter whom you have named concerning the formation of this organization?

Mr. PARKER. Do you mean did I engage in conversations with him in my duties?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you attempt in any way to dissuade them from the creation of such an organization?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I can't say that I attempted to dissuade them from the organization of their organization, but I attempted to dissuade them from the manner and the approach they were using in their methods in dealing with the police department.

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

Mr. SANDERS. What were those methods and approaches?

Mr. PARKER. They felt that the police should not be in the community and they felt and had stated that they were going to police the police, that they were following police cars and interfering with the officers in the performance of their duties.

Mr. SANDERS. What did they call that program?

Mr. PARKER. Policing the pigs.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you actually witness the conduct of this program?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, on several occasions I did.

Mr. SANDERS. How did they go about it?

Mr. PARKER. For instance, if an officer would have a car check, the Panthers had vehicles following the police car.

When the subject was stopped and approached by the officer, the members of the organization, two or three or whatever number were present, would get out and come and stand near or beside where the check was being performed. They would go over to inform the subject that they didn't have to answer any questions or they didn't have to do this or that, and on these occasions, which when I would go over and tell these fellows not to interfere with the officers in the performance of their duty and that people were advised of their rights and had a legal right to an attorney if they were to be arrested.

Of course, we would take a lot of verbal abuse from this.

Mr. SANDERS. As a result of your efforts, did they desist from this patrol program?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Is it still in effect now?

Mr. PARKER. They have discontinued it in most cases now. Very seldom do they do this now.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know why they discontinued it?

Mr. PARKER. I think I do. On several occasions we had to arrest these fellows for this type of activity.

Mr. SANDERS. What would the charge have been?

Mr. PARKER. Interfering with an officer in the performance of his duty.

Mr. SANDERS. For about what length of time did that program continue?

Mr. PARKER. Off and on for several weeks. Whenever they participated in this type of activity, and as I had told them and other sergeants cautioned them, as long as they did not interfere verbally with the operations and the duties of the officer, we didn't bother them. We wouldn't say anything to them.

On two specific occasions I recall where members of my squad were concerned, we had to effect arrest of them, and there were other cases of other sergeants and officers where arrests were made and they went to court and they were fined for it.

I think this helped in having them discontinue.

Mr. SANDERS. Throughout the year, Sergeant Parker, have you made attempts to talk with the Panther members and to, perhaps you might say, reconcile them to the community?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you consider that you have had any success in that regard?

Mr. PARKER. In a few cases, I have, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. How do the Panthers generally respond to such effort to reconcile them to the community?

Mr. PARKER. Not very well in most cases. The hard-core leaders, sir, wouldn't talk to me.

Mr. SANDERS. What is their technique or method toward a policeman? That is, let's say a policeman who wants to talk to them?

Mr. PARKER. They are not to talk to you. I feel I have been responsible—and this is my opinion—for a few people being expelled from the party because they are not to talk to a policeman.

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

Mr. SANDERS. These members were expelled from the party because they talked to you?

Mr. PARKER. They would be.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's pursue that a little further, Mr. Counsel. Pursue it yourself, if you wish.

Let me ask a question. Did you say, to your knowledge the Black Panther members are instructed not to talk to police officers?

Mr. PARKER. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. PARKER. They said so in my presence.

The CHAIRMAN. Individual members have told you that?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, individual members have told me, and I have been in front of their office buildings talking to those that I know. They have a number of young kids who I would not consider Panther members. This is a novelty to these kids and they will be there. I will stop, park my car, and go over and talk to the kids. I have had Pete O'Neal, Miss Weatherby, and these people come up and say, "Don't talk to that pig. Get away from him."

The CHAIRMAN. Do you say that talking to police officers by members is a basis for expulsion from the party?

Mr. PARKER. In some cases I believe that was the cause.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of a case where that had been done?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, I think I do.

I know personally Charles June Simms, and when he was a member I could talk to him and I would talk to him. I would go out of my way to talk to him. He would try to evade me in the beginning and eventually—I knew him personally. He was not a friend of mine, but I had known him for years. I talked directly and personally to him. When O'Neal or some of the hard-core members would see this, they would tell him, "Don't talk to him. You stop talking to that pig. If you keep talking to that pig I don't trust you," and eventually Simms was out.

Henry Finley I know. I talked to him many, many times. I parked my cruiser, got out, and would go sit by the building and talk to him. Mr. O'Neal didn't like this.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, you had some testimony about the operation of a community patrol. Was that being operated by the Black Panthers or was that a part of Reverend Lawson's operation?

Mr. SANDERS. Sergeant Parker has testified about this Panther patrol here this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead and get into it. Proceed to develop the facts.

Mr. SANDERS. I think we have just about left it. He said it lasted several weeks, following the police and when the police had occasion to stop anyone—it didn't have to be a Panther—

The CHAIRMAN. I thought the purpose of the patrol was to assist the police in keeping peace in the neighborhood.

Mr. PARKER. This is a different deal. The patrol you are speaking of is separate and entirely different from what I am speaking of. The patrol I am talking about is a patrol of the Panther organization itself and it has nothing to do with anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. They are policing the police?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SANDERS. What properties to your knowledge, Sergeant Parker, have the Panthers occupied in Kansas City besides the one on Lydia that you have already mentioned?

Mr. PARKER. 2905 Prospect, which was a storefront they rented.

Mr. SANDERS. As you explain these, would you explain the progression or movement from one to the other and how they fit in through the year.

Mr. PARKER. Originally, as I stated, they started at 2221 and 2223 Lydia. They moved from there about midsummer to a store building at 2905 Prospect.

My observation and investigation of these fellows during this period was, could we say, their administrative function was all transferred to 2905 Prospect as their headquarters, and there were members who lived and slept and ate at 2223 Lydia.

Later on in the summer they acquired another building, which my investigation showed belonged to Inner City Parish and was located at 3903 Olive Street. Most of the members that our investigation showed lived and ate at 3903 Olive and 2221 Lydia. The daily administrative activities, et cetera, were carried on in the store at 2905 Prospect. They maintained 2905 Prospect until about a month and a half ago.

They kept this until the last of January, or it could have been early February, when they moved out of this location.

Mr. SANDERS. Back to Lydia?

Mr. PARKER. Back to Lydia. I can't be sure of the exact date on 3903 Olive, but during the summer, the late summer, they moved out of there and all moved back to live at 2221 Lydia. This is where they lived.

Mr. SANDERS. Are police officers permitted entry into any of these premises?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you ever been in any of these properties?

Mr. PARKER. Once at 2221 Lydia when we had the deal with the Panthers carrying guns openly and in automobiles when they were first organized. At that time my squad had the duty of surveillance of these fellows with the guns. We warned them if they didn't stop carrying the guns we would arrest them. They continued this practice.

As I recall, one night they had two carloads of fellows with shot-guns, it appeared, and rifles, cruising around the street.

Mr. SANDERS. Was this in connection with their patrol?

Mr. PARKER. This was in connection, I presume, with their patrol. When we first noticed it we followed them several blocks and made an effort to stop them and investigate. They ran from us and ran to 2221 Lydia, and we pursued them right into the house and confiscated the weapons and arrested them.

Mr. SANDERS. Whom did you arrest?

Mr. PARKER. Archie Weaver.

Mr. SANDERS. Whitfield?

Mr. PARKER. Whitfield and Simms, I believe.

Mr. SANDERS. Is that William Whitfield?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, Charles June Simms and Archie Weaver.

Mr. SANDERS. You arrested the three of them in the house?

Mr. PARKER. Weaver was the one I believe who ran into the house with the gun. He would not stop. We followed him in. The other two fellows didn't continue on into the house. When we overtook them they stopped and surrendered and we continued on into the house.

Mr. SANDERS. Did each of them have possession of firearms?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. What did they have?

Mr. PARKER. They had a shotgun. It might have been two shotguns and a rifle. I believe it was two shotguns and a rifle.

Mr. SANDERS. Were they prosecuted on those charges?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, they were. Simms was prosecuted by the Alcohol Tax Unit as being a felon.

Mr. SANDERS. As being a felon in possession of a firearm.

Mr. PARKER. Yes. Simms and Whitfield were prosecuted in the Federal court.

Mr. SANDERS. Were they convicted?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, they were not convicted.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know why? We can cover that in later testimony.

Mr. PARKER. Archie Weaver, I believe, did not have a felony and was prosecuted in the municipal courts, I believe.

Mr. SANDERS. For what charge?

Mr. PARKER. Unlawful display of a firearm or possession of a firearm.

The final disposition on Weaver's case I am not definitely sure. I think he got a suspended sentence.

Mr. SANDERS. I will cover that later in the questioning.

That was right around the first part of February?

Mr. PARKER. February or March.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge of firearms in any of these properties on any other occasions?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir. During the month of July or August, at 3903 Olive one afternoon, one of my teams was involved in a situation I believe where Brian O'Neal spat on one of my officers, officer Sylvester Winston. Brian spat on Winston and Winston slapped him.

Mr. SANDERS. At the Olive Street property.

Mr. PARKER. At 3903 Olive. Later on I got a call to meet the cruiser at that location where some of the occupants of 3903 were standing on the porch with firearms. When I arrived there, there were several 10, 12, or 15 persons, Pete O'Neal, William Whitfield, Tommy Robinson, Henry Finley, a man from Oklahoma City whose name I don't recall now were the adults, and the rest of these were juveniles, 12-, 14-, 15-year-old kids.

Four or five of the kids had rifles and shotguns. There was a kid on the roof with a weapon pointed toward the direction of the street. There were kids seen inside standing at windows with guns.

Not a single adult had a weapon—not a one. I attempted to talk to Pete O'Neal, who refused to talk to me. I made an effort to talk to Robinson and some of these fellows. At the time I did not see Finley. I was looking for Finley. He was supposed to be the captain of the vanguard as they called it. I went around the block. There was a crowd of people that gathered naturally.

A couple of sergeants and myself were concerned about the safety of the people in the community if firing should start.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you estimate the total number of people you saw in the building or on it approximately?

Mr. PARKER. Twelve to fifteen, I would say.

Mr. SANDERS. How many of them juveniles?

Mr. PARKER. I would estimate 11 to 12 of them were juveniles; the others were adults.

Mr. SANDERS. Could you estimate the number of firearms in view?

Mr. PARKER. The number of firearms in view, at one time I observed three on the open porch. There was a kid that I observed on the roof in a prone position—I couldn't tell you what the gun was, but he did have a gun. There was one that stood at a window on the second floor, so that it would be five that I know I saw.

Anyway, I parked my car around the corner from the building, called for a commanding officer to meet me. I kept in contact with the commanding officer and asked him what action to take. We were trying to avoid any confrontation with firing. There was estimated to be 150 or 200 people and mostly kids, and these people naturally were using a lot of abusive and vulgar remarks to the police.

Mr. SANDERS. This was in the daytime?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir. It was in the afternoon.

Finally I got hold of Finley and talked directly to him. Finley came eventually. I talked to him. I think this confrontation lasted something like 1½ to 2 hours before they were convinced they should put the guns away and discontinue this.

Mr. SANDERS. Can you state the number of policemen eventually that were at the scene and what their disposition was?

Mr. PARKER. My squad at the time consisted of four men on duty, five including myself. I had three or four or six to eight district cars. We dispersed the officers around the area in order not to bring a big deal all down there. I do recall there were some Federal agents around, but we dispersed this deal to try to keep it down because any firing at that time would have been mass murder.

This is what we did our level best to do and I think we were successful in doing.

Mr. SANDERS. You said this one Panther member——

Mr. PARKER. Brian O'Neal.

Mr. SANDERS. Is he a younger brother of Pete?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. He spat on the officer and the officer slapped him.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. This was right at the property.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Did the officer attempt to go on the premises at this time?

Mr. PARKER. He didn't. I gave him a reprimand, but he said he was just a kid and he just slapped him and let him go.

Mr. SANDERS. He had no intention of arresting him?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Were more police called to the property?

Mr. PARKER. When this incident happened no police were called. Brian spat on Officer Winston, Officer Winston slapped him, and Brian kept going. These officers were cruising by the house. Brian O'Neal had a red book and they read daily on their porch. They would give kids lectures from this red book.

Mr. SANDERS. Is this the book of the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, and they had classes daily on the porch for the little kids of the neighborhood. When the police went by they would have the kids call the police pigs and dirty names. Officer Winston, as he described to me, went by. As they cruised by out at the corner of the sidewalk he made some reference or remark about there was a pig and spat on him. Winston got out, slapped him, and drove off.

Mr. SANDERS. Through the report that the officer made over the radio, I presume you came to the scene.

Mr. PARKER. He continued on. He didn't do anything. There was no crowd there. It was just Brian O'Neal and the kids. I presume after he got slapped, went in, got big brother on the phone, and big brother came down, and I guess 30 minutes or an hour later a crowd of Panthers gathered. And on the next cruise through when Officer Winston came by, here was all of these kids out there with these guns, and that is when they called me and told me they were being confronted with weapons.

Mr. SANDERS. No exchange of fire actually occurred?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Was the situation eventually resolved by the police officer departing or the Panthers going back inside?

Mr. PARKER. When I arrived at the scene and looked it over, as I recall, I met two or three other sergeants. We were deciding the plan, what to do and how to do it. We dispersed the officers to cruise the area. We retained what we considered adequate officers immediately there and had the other officers cruise the area and we were trying to negotiate. I was trying to negotiate with Finley or Pete O'Neal or some of the head men of this organization who were standing there.

Mr. SANDERS. Was the police department giving consideration to entry of the premises because of the firearms in evidence?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, not then I wasn't. It was really me. Everybody was asking me, and I was trying to make a decision as to what to do. There I saw these firearms. At that particular time, I didn't want to make this type of a deal. Not a single adult had a weapon. The only people with weapons were children—it was children, not that I don't feel a child could kill me with a weapon, but this told me something.

These children were being used, and there was not going to be any firing. I doubt that they had ammunition. That is how I felt. What I wanted to do then was to get this crowd of people and this thing settled down. We did talk about entering the deal. I don't recall whether I talked directly to Chief Kelley that afternoon, but I had talked

to the operations officers. I know I talked to him. I told him what I would like to do, and at the time they suggested maybe it would be better if I didn't then.

We explained that only children had those weapons. This was not going to be a—

Mr. SANDERS. Eventually all of the police officers departed the scene.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, except my surveillance team, which I kept on the deal as I recall until about 2 a.m. that morning to make sure that evening was calm.

Mr. SANDERS. Were there any subsequent developments from that event?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you aware of any other incidents when firearms were observed on any of the Panther properties?

Mr. PARKER. During the course of our daily investigations over the year, a number of times we had seen as you passed Panther buildings someone inside with a weapon openly so that you can see them.

You can go by, and they will raise their shade all the way up to the top and a man will be standing there pointing a weapon at you and holler, "I got that pig covered," and you can see the man standing there with the gun.

Mr. SANDERS. There has never been an exchange of gunfire between police and Panthers at any of these properties?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, never, not to my knowledge.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge of the source of the firearms or ammunition for the Panthers?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, during some of my investigation I do. I checked the Troost Gun Shop, I recall, at one time and found records or references where Keith Hinch bought rifles and ammunition. William Whitfield bought a Mauser and ammunition; Simms, Archie Weaver, and at one time I was called by the Overland Park [Kansas] Police Department, as I recall, and stated that a Pete O'Neal in company of a gentleman from Kansas City, Kansas, had purchased a .357 magnum and two boxes of armor-piercing ammunition.

Mr. SANDERS. From your conversations with members of the chapter, what does it appear to you is their policy with regard to the use of these firearms on their premises?

Mr. PARKER. Without hesitation they tell you that they have it for the pigs who they say are the police.

Mr. SANDERS. To be used in what type situations?

Mr. PARKER. Of course, they state that if you enter their premises you will be shot.

Mr. SANDERS. Do they contemplate that you might have a legally valid warrant which would entitle you to enter the premises?

Mr. PARKER. I have had personal talks with these fellows concerning the possibility of at some time having a legal search warrant for their premises. And I will say I had been told by Pete O'Neal, "If you come out and knock on that door, don't come in unless I let you in."

Other than statements like this, I told Pete, "If I get a warrant to search the premises I will be there. I will probably knock, but I will be in."

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

Mr. SANDERS. With regard to their policy concerning the use of firearms upon the occasion of the entry of a police officer, they do not accept the situation where he has a legally valid warrant?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I am sure they wouldn't.

Mr. SANDERS. You spoke, Sergeant Parker, of the Panthers conducting classes for children on this property. I believe you said the porch, in the summertime when the weather permitted.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. And they used what you referred to as the "red book," *QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG*.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Do certain members in the chapter have the responsibility for conducting such instruction?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know the assignment of persons to do this, but I have observed Tommy Robinson and Brian O'Neal particularly and Ed Rollins. When they had the property at 3903 they held daily sessions with the little kids in the neighborhood.

Mr. SANDERS. It would be in the summer when they were not in school?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. What is perhaps the greatest number of children you observed in attendance?

Mr. PARKER. I would have to estimate and say 10, 12, or 15. These jokers would buy them ice cream and sometimes you would get maybe 15 or 20.

Mr. SANDERS. For what length of time would they keep them?

Mr. PARKER. At that time we were working 4 to midnight, and during my tour of duty during the summer I have seen kids on the porch as late—usually we go in at quarter of 12 and there would be kids on the porch at that hour.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you mean 11:45 p.m.?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, 11:45 p.m.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you familiar with any other instruction that they have given to youth in any other circumstances?

Mr. PARKER. They have so much. You know, we are daily confronted with verbal abuse—the police, that is—and I just could not tell you how much. It is just so much.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you aware of any other classes that they actually conducted besides what you observed on the premises, classes for the instruction of youth?

Mr. PARKER. I have heard of, but I couldn't say.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know, Sergeant Parker, what the use of the "red book" would involve? What is it that they are teaching the children in plain language?

Mr. PARKER. How to perform in a revolution, what they should do, who their enemy is, and so forth.

Mr. SANDERS. Who are their enemies; do they say?

Mr. PARKER. They say the police, the power structure.

Mr. SANDERS. When they speak of a revolution, do they mean through the ballot box?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, definitely not.

Mr. SANDERS. What do they mean?

Mr. PARKER. They say through the barrel of a gun.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you cognizant of the breakfast program which the Panther chapter inaugurated in Kansas City?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. At what locations was that conducted?

Mr. PARKER. The first ones were to be at 25th and Paseo at the Paseo Baptist Church, and the other one was the Troost Baptist Church.

Mr. SANDERS. Approximately when was the breakfast program inaugurated?

Mr. PARKER. I believe it was first inaugurated in the early summer of 1969 at Paseo Baptist and St. Stephen. I heard they had attempted to do some teaching at Paseo and the pastor there would not permit them to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not talk to any of the children yourself?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. The preacher at the church told you this?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Did he explain what type of instruction?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. He objected to it and they discontinued it?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir. He didn't go for this deal of teaching anything in the church, other than to feed the kids.

Mr. SANDERS. Is the breakfast program still in effect?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, it is at St. Stephen, and now the Wayne Miner which started a week ago.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have personal knowledge, Sergeant Parker, of the number of children who may have been in attendance at that program on any occasions within recent weeks?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, I do. On Wednesday, February 4, a surveillance was conducted at the St. Stephen Church and a count of six children on that date.

On the 5th of February, at St. Stephen Church again, on the breakfast program on that date there were 15 children.

On February 6 a surveillance was conducted at the St. Stephen Church, and on that morning I counted 27.

During January I conducted four surveillances on four different mornings as I recall. I believe on January 19—I am not definitely sure on this exactly—but I conducted a surveillance and counted three kids on the morning of the 18th, I believe. On the morning of the 19th—both of these are between the hours of 6:30 to 8:15 a.m. On the 18th I believe I counted three and on the 19th I counted four.

Two weeks later—I picked 2 days out of the week—checked this breakfast, and one morning I had 11 and the next morning I had 13.

Mr. SANDERS. At other times I would assume the breakfast program has been well attended at times in the past; do you know?

Mr. PARKER. From my investigation and observation, sir, no, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know why it has not been well attended?

Mr. PARKER. I could say from my investigation and interviews with the people of the community, mothers have told me that their kids were not really hungry, but these people had food and most children

will eat. They said it would be all right for their kids to eat, but they didn't want the type of language used. They didn't want their kids endangered by being confronted with some type of deal there now. They said that this was the reason they kept their children away.

Some of the mothers themselves told me this. They just wanted the kids kept away from there.

Mr. SANDERS. Did these mothers tell you what was going on in there and what they didn't like about it?

Mr. PARKER. They told me they didn't like what they were attempting to teach the kids. They said this Panther said that justice came from the barrel of a gun, and this type of stuff.

Mr. SANDERS. Did they teach them any songs at the breakfast program?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, "Off the pig."

Mr. SANDERS. What does "Off the pig" mean, Sergeant?

Mr. PARKER. To me and what they have told me, it means to get rid of the policeman, shoot him, kill him.

Mr. SANDER. It does not mean just to move them out of the community?

Mr. PARKER. They described it to me, it means to kill him.

Mr. SANDERS. Is this the common understanding in the inner city in Kansas City?

Mr. PARKER. I believe it is. They have a little slogan that one mother told me they taught her child to say which was, "Seize the time and off the slime," and "the slime" is supposed to be the police.

Mr. SANDERS. What do they mean by "seize the time"?

Mr. PARKER. Choose the appropriate time and, as Brian O'Neal told me, start stealing.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you give the age range of the children you know who have been attending the breakfast program?

Mr. PARKER. From my observations, the children's ages range from kindergarten age to what would be about the sixth grade, maybe 12 or 13 years old.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you think the Panthers are having any success in indoctrinating these children?

Mr. PARKER. That is where my fear is.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you think they are getting across to them?

Mr. PARKER. They are getting across to some of them, and this is where my concern is with the Panthers, of teaching youngsters to hate. You see, hate will destroy anything and this is what I definitely disapprove of, and their philosophy is they teach hate and they are teaching hate to the youth.

Sir, you will have to excuse me, I have a little trouble with my throat.

Mr. SANDERS. Did it seem to you that the Panthers have made an effort to rejuvenate the program in recent weeks?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, they have. On February 24 the Panthers started a new breakfast program at the Wayne Miner project at 11th and Garfield. I conducted a daily surveillance and got a count on the breakfast program being conducted at Wayne Miner.

On February 24, the beginning of this tour, I conducted a surveillance at Wayne Miner and 44 children were fed. On the morning of

February 25, a surveillance was conducted at Wayne Miner and 53 children were fed.

A surveillance was also conducted at the St. Stephen Baptist Church that morning and 26 children were fed.

On February 26 at Wayne Miner, 103 children were fed.

The surveillance at St. Stephen Church that morning showed 24.

On February 27 at Wayne Miner, 106 children were fed, and at St. Stephen Church, 22 which gave a total for that week at Wayne Miner of 262 and at St. Stephen of 72.

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

Mr. SANDERS. Would you have any explanation as to why they have more recently now been successful in increasing the attendance at the breakfast program?

Mr. PARKER. You see, Wayne Miner, is a multiapartment building. It is a complex of 700 to 800 family dwellings. This is close and convenient right in the building there, and this is why they have this number. To me it is still a small number of children.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how they get the publicity out about the breakfast program? How do they inform the kids about the program?

Mr. PARKER. They publish it in the paper and over the news media, radio and television. They have printed pamphlets and deliver them around to the people, especially in Wayne Miner. They have a deal there. They have functions there all the time, and Wayne Miner all being together it is easy for them to get the word out.

Mr. SANDERS. Is Wayne Miner a public housing project?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is just a matter of the kids going to breakfast after they are advised?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir. I might state here, at the St. Stephen Church where they had the breakfast program for the last year, it is a matter of five blocks distance—five to six blocks—from Wayne Miner which supposedly hungry kids they were speaking of would not walk five blocks to get a breakfast, and then they got it around to Wayne Miner.

Mr. SANDERS. The actual place where the breakfast is served in the complex—is that an auditorium?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, it is.

Mr. SANDERS. Is that made available to anyone in the project, I suppose, if you want to use it for any purpose whatsoever?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir. I believe this is operated, sir, by the housing authority.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge, Sergeant Parker, of the means by which the Panthers fund this program?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, they are funding it through solicitation of the merchants in the inner city or any others who will donate, but they go around among the city's businessmen and solicit the food for this breakfast program.

Mr. SANDERS. Is it your impression that the food that they serve at these breakfasts comes entirely from donations by merchants?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. White as well as black?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. But the inner city merchants?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Does it seem to you that they require cash for the operation of the program in addition to food supplies?

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

Mr. PARKER. I understand from my investigation and in talks with these merchants, they have stated to me that they have contributed some cash as well as food.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know, Sergeant, whether any of the money or food which is contributed to be used in this program is used for any other purpose?

Mr. PARKER. I can't say that I know, but I think it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Just state what you know.

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I don't know.

Mr. SANDERS. Has any Panther member ever told you that it was used for any other purpose?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge of the Panthers attempting to solicit from merchants for any other activities or programs?

Mr. PARKER. Some, yes, sir. I have received information from merchants of members entering, soliciting for rallies, various rallies. On one particular case, I received a call in the office one morning that a member of the Panthers had entered Phil's Loan and Jewelry requesting drums to be used at the rally of some type.

Mr. SANDERS. From your own official investigations or from those of men working for you or police reports, are you aware of strong-arm attempts on the part of Panthers to secure funds from merchants?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you explain those you know of.

Mr. PARKER. Again, I have received information of attempts made by members of the Panthers to secure financing and in one particular one, the M & M Bakery. I went down and talked to the owner of this bakery and his wife. They had attempted to obtain \$25. When the merchant refused to give the cash and offered food, they had made threats of blowing the place out, and such statements.

In this one particular case where I can't get these people to prosecute, they will tell me this, but they won't do anything about it. You can't get them to prosecute.

Mr. SANDERS. Was the individual they identified a member of the Black Panther chapter?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. More than one at M & M?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. How many?

Mr. PARKER. Two.

Mr. SANDERS. Could you explain with particularity what the merchant said and how he described their technique in the store?

Mr. PARKER. This lady said these two persons came in, a man and a woman, and wanted to solicit some funds and said cash, they didn't say merchandise. They wanted cash to assist the people in the black community. They wanted them to give it to them because they were

in the black community making their living, and have made their living in the black community, and that the Black Panther Party was helping and assisting people and needed financial support and suggested that they give them a donation of \$25 per week that the Panthers would be using in their breakfast programs and other beneficial things they did in the community.

When the merchant explained to them that they would gladly give them food or deals such as this but they couldn't afford to give them cash money, they would have to talk with their bookkeeper before doing so, they stated that if they didn't they would be run out of the community and their windows would be broken and the place would be burned down.

Mr. SANDERS. In addition to the language used by the members in the store, did they engage in any overt threatening conduct?

Mr. PARKER. Other than in cases where they would pull out a book of matches and strike the match.

Mr. SANDERS. Did they do that at M & M?

Mr. PARKER. They did.

Mr. SANDERS. The Panther stood there and while he was talking the Panther would do what?

Mr. PARKER. Just strike a match and let it fall on the floor. He would blow it out and say, "If you don't donate, this place will be burned."

Mr. SANDERS. What other stores were victims to your knowledge?

Mr. PARKER. There was a news store at 31st and Brooklyn.

Mr. SANDERS. Excuse me. Let me ask you one or two more questions about M & M. Did the merchants make any payments?

Mr. PARKER. He admitted none to me.

Mr. SANDERS. But he did make an official complaint to you and that is why you went there.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Did a prosecution result?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; the merchant would not prosecute.

Mr. SANDERS. He wanted you to know about it, but he didn't want to take it to court.

Mr. PARKER. That is right.

Mr. SANDERS. What other business?

Mr. PARKER. Lou's Pharmacy.

Mr. SANDERS. One other question about M & M. Was that given any publicity in Kansas City?

Mr. PARKER. I am not sure. I think it was mentioned.

Mr. SANDERS. Was his store damaged in any way or were any further threats made to him?

Mr. PARKER. I believe he told me several times he did get broken window glasses.

Mr. SANDERS. Proceed to the next one.

Mr. PARKER. At Lou's, the same type of a deal had been done.

Mr. SANDERS. Where is Lou's located?

Mr. PARKER. Thirty-first and Brooklyn. The same type of conversation and the same methods of attempting to secure the finances was done, and, of course, this merchant also refused to donate and refused to pay any moneys to these people and also refused to prosecute.

Mr. SANDERS. Approximately when did the incidents occur at M & M and Lou's?

Mr. PARKER. They have occurred on several occasions. I got a call not too long ago from M & M.

Mr. SANDERS. When did the Panthers make the attempt to secure money from those merchants? What month was it?

Mr. PARKER. I believe the one at 81st and Brooklyn, Lou's Pharmacy, was in the summer and I am not sure whether it was July or August or June.

At M & M, this was during the summer, and I had a call as recently as a month ago.

Mr. SANDERS. From M & M complaining of damage to the store?

Mr. PARKER. No damage, but of visits from these people still trying to get money.

Mr. SANDERS. The same individuals?

Mr. PARKER. Not necessarily the same individuals. This time I was busy and I didn't get an opportunity to go out and talk with the owner yet, but in most cases when I go and check it is usually a woman and a man. It might not be the same woman or the same man each time, but it will be one of the same two in the cases that I have found.

Mr. SANDERS. Was the attempt at Lou's by the same individuals as at M & M?

Mr. PARKER. At that time, yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you recall the amount of money they asked for at Lou's?

Mr. PARKER. I believe they were asking for vitamin pills and a cash donation from Lou's. I don't believe they specified a definite amount of cash, but they wanted vitamin pills and some cash.

Mr. SANDERS. Did that merchant accede to their request?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Did he sustain any subsequent damage to his property?

Mr. PARKER. Not reported that I know of.

Mr. SANDERS. Did he follow through with a prosecution?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Why not?

Mr. PARKER. His reason to me was that he was capable of taking care of himself and he was not afraid and he did not want to prosecute.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know whether the match-striking technique was used at Lou's?

Mr. PARKER. He said it was.

Mr. SANDERS. Other than United Supermarket do you know of any other people who were such victims?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, Phil's Loan and Jewelry. Mrs. Tobias told me this had been the case with her.

Mr. SANDERS. Any others?

Mr. PARKER. Offhand I can't think of any.

Mr. SANDERS. Have any prosecutions resulted from such tactics?

Mr. PARKER. Other than the paint company and United Super's, I don't recall any.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I am going to cover the results of those prosecutions with other testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have any information, Sergeant, that any merchants have acceded to such strong-arm tactics?

Mr. PARKER. I have made investigations on these types of deals where I talked with merchants that I felt were making contributions, and they have admitted to me that they are making some contributions and they felt they should be made. They told me that they were not being forced to make these contributions, that they were doing it on their own, but they would not admit to me what they were giving.

Mr. SANDERS. You have no specific knowledge of any regular payments being made by any merchants?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I don't, and they would not admit it to me. They told me they were doing it voluntarily and did not need my services.

Mr. SANDERS. From your investigations, does it seem to you that these tactics are part of a rather official policy of the Panther chapter?

Mr. PARKER. I think so.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know how widespread it is?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I don't.

Mr. SANDERS. I am not talking just about strong-arm tactics now, but I am talking about anything that might even be considered a voluntary donation. Do you have any concept of how many merchants are involved in this?

Mr. PARKER. I have attempted to get some figure on this and have been unable to because most of these, as I told you, I have conducted investigations and interviews with the merchants that I had not received any complaints from and I felt they were contributing voluntarily, and I was trying to arrive at some figure of what these fellows might be receiving monthly and I have run into a stone wall. These people will not cooperate. They won't tell me anything.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know of any other source of funds for the chapter besides contributions by merchants?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I don't know of any, only what I think from the Methodist Inner City Parish.

Mr. SANDERS. The Methodist Inner City Parish.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. But you have no specific information on that?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Do they secure some funds from the sale of newspapers?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, they do.

Mr. SANDERS. How does this work?

Mr. PARKER. The papers they receive from the national headquarters. They sell them for 25 cents, and I have been told by members of the Panthers that if there was a need to retain these funds, they could do so with the permission of the national headquarters.

At one time we had as near as we could a count on the papers they might have, and through the weight deal, something like 500 pounds of paper we had counted one time, and 500 or 600 pounds per month. I have forgotten the breakdown. We figured out how many papers that would be that would sell for 25 cents.

Mr. SANDERS. Is the paper a weekly paper?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, it is a weekly.

Mr. SANDERS. You don't think then they are required to make a weekly remittance to the national organization for part payment of those papers?

Mr. PARKER. I have talked to some of the members of the Panthers who would talk to me and I have been told that if a chapter needed financing for a period of time—I think they said like 30 days or so—that the national would grant them this privilege of retaining all of the funds secured from the sale of papers for a short period of time.

Mr. SANDERS. You don't have a recollection of the possible number of papers they received on the average during 1969?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I wouldn't. I do know from our investigation and observation of the paper sales, there have been times that the paper sales were real flimsy. They didn't sell too many papers.

Mr. SANDERS. Although the national organization might give them a reprieve on the remittance, was it expected they would eventually make the payment?

Mr. PARKER. I presume.

Mr. SANDERS. What techniques did the chapter use for selling these papers?

Mr. PARKER. In what I have observed in selling the papers, they get youths, school dropouts, the local drunks and take them downtown and give them a bundle of papers and have them stand around with them. We have observed this.

We have also observed these fellows for long periods of time to try to determine how many papers they are selling, and there have been times a man would go downtown with an armload of papers and they would go back and pick him up with the same armload of papers.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know if the Panthers attempted to unload a number of papers on merchants?

Mr. PARKER. I do. In my interview of the merchants in the community to try to determine what they were getting for some of the solicitations, there is a Johnson Drug Store at 23d and Vine, and I know Mr. Johnson personally. One day I went in and saw 12 Panther papers. I asked him about this business.

He said that Tommy Robinson came in with the papers and wanted to know if he could leave them. He told him that he could leave them, but he would not guarantee him how he would get his money. He told me that he gave Robinson \$2 and told him to take the papers with him, that he didn't want them, and he said Robinson left the papers anyway.

This is what he told me personally and this was less than a month ago. So, he said when the paper came out, they came around and wanted to leave 15 or 20 papers on consignment and collect later. He told me when they came in with the papers he always gave them \$2 and told them to keep the papers because he didn't want to be responsible for them.

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

Mr. SANDERS. I presume from your remarks about the reluctance of a number of merchants to prosecute the Panthers, I would think there may be some fear of the Panther Party in the community.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, I believe this is true in some cases and I believe in some of the cases with the merchants, they want to do something worthwhile and they don't mind contributing.

Mr. SANDERS. From your experience and daily work in the community, do you have an opinion about the regard in which the chapter is held by the community in general?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, in my investigation and interview of the people in the community, I have found that there is no great support or acceptance of the Panthers in the community.

Mr. SANDERS. Can you attribute this to any particular reasons?

Mr. PARKER. Because of their actions, the manner in which they express themselves, and the language that is used by these fellows and their beliefs as people know.

Mr. SANDERS. Did the Black Panther chapter in Kansas City open a health clinic?

Mr. PARKER. We had information they were opening a health clinic. They did have an opening day. We had a surveillance of this and saw several members of the Panther Party and that is all. After that, nothing.

Mr. SANDERS. Did they have any medical equipment or supplies or any nurses or doctors available at this facility?

Mr. PARKER. It was stated, but I didn't see it.

Mr. SANDERS. Where was it located?

Mr. PARKER. 4202 East 31st Street.

Mr. SANDERS. When?

Mr. PARKER. As near as I can recall, it was in the early fall of 1969. I don't know the specific date.

Mr. SANDERS. Did the Panthers tout this problem as a big benefit to the community?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, they did.

Mr. SANDERS. By what means?

Mr. PARKER. By stating what they would do for the sick and elderly.

Mr. SANDERS. How did they publicize it, do you know?

Mr. PARKER. Through the *Kansas City Call*, a black weekly newspaper, over the KPRS radio station, and through the local news media, television and the daily *Kansas City Star*.

Mr. SANDERS. It was advertised as a Panther program?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, and reference was made to it.

Mr. SANDERS. To your knowledge it never operated?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Does it operate now?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, not to my knowledge.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know why they couldn't get it off the ground?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I don't know why, but I can think why.

Mr. SANDERS. What is your understanding of the reason why the Panthers have deliberately tried to provoke incidents with the police in Kansas City?

Mr. PARKER. I have not read all, but I have read some of the "red book," and this is the Panthers' bible. And it states you have to establish your enemy and once you establish the enemy, if there is anything that the enemy agrees to, you disagree. So we, the police, are their enemy and this starts the deal.

This is what they live on and this is their philosophy.

Mr. SANDERS. Does it seem to you that the Panthers believe in integration of the races and reconciliation between the races?

Mr. PARKER. They say this. They say they believe in integration. In my observation of them, I think I will have to say they do.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had occasion, Sergeant, to look at the 10-point program platform of the Panther Party?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I went over with one of the witnesses yesterday platform point 10, which would indicate otherwise as far as their platform is concerned; that they believe in a segregated society and, as a major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony, in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

There were other statements in the 10-point platform which were concerned that they may lean toward the segregated side, but in talking to the Black Panthers they have told you they believed in integration.

Mr. PARKER. I am going on my information and investigation they are integrated. These fellows live together, mixed marriages, and so on. This is what I see.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean by association?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SANDERS. Do they have any white members in the chapter?

Mr. PARKER. They have those who say they are Panthers. This is associations. I don't know, though, that they have them in the chapter.

Mr. SANDERS. You have never known of a white Black Panther member?

Mr. PARKER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. How many more questions do you have, Mr. Sanders?

Mr. SANDERS. Not too many, Mr. Chairman.

Sergeant Parker, I will hand you what has been marked "Committee Exhibit No. 12" and I will ask you to examine that, please.

Have you examined that?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Of what does it consist?

Mr. PARKER. Members and former members of the Black Panthers.

Mr. SANDERS. Does it correctly identify them?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. I offer Exhibit No. 12, which consists of photographs of the members of the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any objections?

Hearing none, the exhibit is so admitted.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 12. See appendix, pages 2833-2858.)

Mr. STOKES. Are we talking about present members, or does this exhibit depict past and former members?

Mr. PARKER. It is both, sir.

Mr. STOKES. Both?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. At some time or other the persons in there have been members of the chapter?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, and some are now.

Mr. STOKES. Some who are in this exhibit are not now present members?

Mr. PARKER. That is right.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have an estimate, Sergeant, of the greatest number of members of the chapter?

Mr. PARKER. From my observations and as I recall now, at one time actively, daily observed participating in Panther activities, 22.

Mr. SANDERS. On Exhibit No. 12, perhaps 40 or 50 persons are named. At any one time, the greatest number you believe would have been 22?

Mr. PARKER. Twenty-two that we actively saw participating and the length of time was a month.

Mr. SANDERS. Could you estimate the number of members currently in the chapter?

Mr. PARKER. The number of members currently in the chapter, from my investigation and observation daily, actively participating it would be six to eight.

The CHAIRMAN. At the present time?

Mr. PARKER. At the present time.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you know of any reason why it appears the membership is falling off?

Mr. PARKER. Not particularly, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Is it the lowest it has been?

Mr. PARKER. I would presume, yes.

Mr. SANDERS. It comes and goes?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Depending on particular activities, demonstrations, and rallies?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, and availability of publicity.

Mr. SANDERS. What techniques do the Panthers use to recruit new members?

Mr. PARKER. I don't have any knowledge of what they use in recruiting members. Publicity is the main thing. Kids want to be seen on television. They will create scenes or incidents to get television coverage, and that is how they try to recruit.

Mr. SANDERS. Have there been incidents or demonstrations within the past 12 months in Kansas City in which the Panthers have involved themselves?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Do any of these stand out in your mind as most prominent? Do you recall the Panther involvement in the beauty pageant?

Mr. PARKER. Right.

Mr. SANDERS. When was that?

Mr. PARKER. June of 1969.

Mr. SANDERS. What was that situation and how did the Panthers involve themselves?

Mr. PARKER. This was a beauty pageant put on by a white man who was a promoter of some type for black teenage girls, where the information I gathered was that the merchants would furnish the uniforms, the clothing, and the girls would model it.

A small fee was charged the parents, the mother, for her daughter's participation. Ray Bell at that time was a member of the Panthers and he was acquired to assist Mr. Ruggles in putting on this deal, and a compensation for Bell's services in this deal was arranged between Ruggles and Bell.

On the night that the affair was to take place, Pete O'Neal, chairman, Melvin Bowie, who was chairman of Soul, Inc., Bernard Powell of the Black Committee of 20—these fellows got together and decided this white man Ruggles was exploiting these Panthers and these girls and demanded that Bell and Ruggles give them the functions, to let them put this deal on and collect the financing.

That is how it went down and they said if it did not, they would not permit the deal to go on and, of course, they did not.

Mr. SANDERS. How did it end up?

Mr. PARKER. It ended up in a big split where charges and counter-charges took place. Ruggles charged them with robbery, and so on.

Mr. SANDERS. Did the event go off?

Mr. PARKER. No, it did not go off.

Mr. SANDERS. What happened?

Mr. PARKER. There was a disturbance, a fight ensued, the police were called. They attacked the police and everyone else and arrests were made, and they charged Ruggles and Ruggles charged them.

Mr. SANDERS. Were any Panthers arrested?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; resisting arrest and striking a police officer.

Mr. SANDERS. What were they doing that caused the officer to attempt to arrest them?

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Ruggles was attacked in the auditorium of the Ivanhoe Temple. At the time the fight began, I was in the auditorium alone and I was unable to control it. I got Ruggles out as best I could, outside until other officers arrived.

When they did, they made an effort to get to Ruggles. In this crowd of spectators that were gathering outside, a suspect wanted in some violations—I don't recall what it was, robbery or what not—was observed by one of the officers. He went over and attempted—he went over and arrested this suspect, handcuffed him, and attempted to take him away when the officers were attacked then by the crowd or members of the crowd.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, are you finished with this incident?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to interrupt you at this point. It is now quarter of 12. I want to make certain the members get an opportunity to ask their questions.

I think we will invoke the 5-minute rule. Sergeant, first of all let me thank you for your testimony. You have been very helpful. You say you have been a member of the Kansas City police now for 19 years.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Things have changed quite a bit during that period.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, quite a bit.

The CHAIRMAN. I remember when I was a kid. In the inner city in St. Louis, a police officer was the type of individual the kids looked up to. You could call on him for help. If you did not have a ball glove,

he would help you locate one, and so on. What is the attitude of the kids in the inner city area today?

Mr. PARKER. In some instances it is different. We have some who have the right attitude, but we have some where it is different.

The CHAIRMAN. I have occasions, Sergeant, to talk to police officers all over the United States. I must say that I am getting very discouraged about what I hear from the police officers themselves. Many of them are quite frustrated. As a matter of fact, I am not going to ask you individually what is your thinking, but not too long ago I talked to some police officers in Kansas City, and they were just about fed up.

They were trying to get out as soon as they could get a better job. This concerns me. This is one of the reasons why I support very strongly higher police pay. This will help the situation.

Do you hear that kind of talk among your fellow officers?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, this is very true.

The CHAIRMAN. Even here in the city of Washington we have had several positions which have been authorized for several years, and they have not been able to get the qualified men to fill the positions. I sympathize then with you and I respect you for the job you are doing.

Give me an example. How many times do you think you have been called pig?

Mr. PARKER. I think we would need a computer, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This incident you testified to about the meeting with the Black Panthers at their headquarters and all of the kids were armed with guns. How old were these kids?

Mr. PARKER. 14-, 15-year-olds.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have knowledge of where they got the guns?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they get them?

Mr. PARKER. The guns were in the party headquarters there, and I am sure they were told to take the guns by the adults in the headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see them get the guns out of the party headquarters or did you see them return the guns?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I did not see them get them out. I did see them there, and they did not leave there with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see any Black Panthers passing out the guns?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I did not see this. All of the Black Panthers were there, but only the kids had the guns, the adults did not have any.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you would estimate there were only six or eight Black Panthers. We received testimony in executive session that there were only six. That is pretty close to your figure. Therefore, would you not say the Black Panthers is a fading organization?

Mr. PARKER. I would hope so, sir, but I don't know. I just don't know, but I would hope so.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you honestly feel that they are getting through to the kids?

Mr. PARKER. To some of the kids.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean you noticed a change in the attitude of the kids they come in contact with?

Mr. PARKER. Yes. Hate is a terrible thing, sir, and this is what they are teaching them.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately when did this incident happen that you passed Panther headquarters and a gun, as I understand it, was stuck out the window and somebody hollered out, "I got a bead on him"?

Mr. PARKER. We perform patrol and surveillance daily in observing these fellows. From time to time some days you would see this. This is where we saw it. You could see some person inside with a gun.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever know them to conduct any organized firing practice or target practice?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, I have heard of this.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know of it.

Mr. PARKER. I did not see it, but it was in the State of Kansas.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you say is the general acceptance of the Black Panthers by the people in the inner city area?

Mr. PARKER. By the people in the inner city area, generally I would say they are not generally accepted by all, just some of the people for certain reasons.

The CHAIRMAN. You testified about the incidence of the Black Panthers teaching from Mao Tse-tung's "little red book." We received evidence to the effect that one of the reasons for the decline was the attempt to indoctrinate members with Marxist-Leninist concept, teaching from the doctrine of Mao Tse-tung, and the members just did not dig it.

Did you ever talk to any members who indicated they did not approve of this attempt to indoctrinate them?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of the members who had dropped out for that reason.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. PARKER. Two particularly.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you name those two?

Mr. PARKER. Henry Finley and Charles June Simms.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Iowa for 5 minutes.

Mr. SCHERLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Sergeant Parker, do you know Reverend Lawson?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Is the church he represents affiliated in any way with the Black Panthers?

Mr. PARKER. No; I don't know, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. The church does rent property to the Black Panthers. Are you aware of this?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know now, sir.

The difference in the church and the Inner City Parish. The Inner City Parish rents to them.

Mr. SCHERLE. That is what I had reference to and all of my questions will be on that basis, and reference will be to the Methodist Inner City Parish.

Do you know whether or not they have a direct affiliation with the Black Panthers?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know it, no, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know whether Reverend Lawson has ever met with the Black Panthers? Have you ever seen them together?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. With whom?

Mr. PARKER. Pete O'Neal, Tommy Robinson.

Mr. SCHERLE. Have you ever known Reverend Lawson to be at a rally with the Black Panthers?

Mr. PARKER. At a rally, yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. What was that rally about?

Mr. PARKER. I can't answer you directly as to what it was about. I recall a rally at the Briggs Center when the Panthers were first organized; it was to raise funds for their assistance or something. I do recall Reverend Lawson was there.

Mr. SCHERLE. Reverend Lawson was there to assist them?

Mr. PARKER. Well, he was one of the speakers on the program.

Mr. SCHERLE. He was a speaker on the program to raise funds for the Black Panthers?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would it be possible for Reverend Lawson to not know that guns were kept on the facility that was rented to the Black Panthers?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, I presume it would.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would it be possible for the Reverend Lawson to walk inside that facility and not know there were any guns there?

Mr. PARKER. I would have to go on hearsay now because I have not seen these guns, but from what I have heard of the way the guns are arranged, it would not be possible for him to walk in and not see them.

Mr. SCHERLE. If he walked into that facility to investigate church property, he would have to see those guns.

Mr. PARKER. From what I have heard, he would have to see those guns.

Mr. SCHERLE. How often would you say that you have seen Reverend Lawson associated with Pete O'Neal or Tom Robinson?

Mr. PARKER. I would say occasionally over the year.

Mr. SCHERLE. Occasionally over the year.

Mr. PARKER. Occasionally over the year.

Mr. SCHERLE. How often would "occasionally" be?

Mr. PARKER. I have seen weeks where I might have seen him four or five times in company of one or other of these fellows.

Mr. SCHERLE. In other words, you would say they are good friends?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, I would.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would you say it would be possible for Reverend Lawson to not know about the confrontation that took place when O'Neal spat on the police officer and almost 200 people over a 2-hour period were involved?

Mr. PARKER. Did you say would it be possible for him not to have known?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes.

Mr. PARKER. In this particular case I would have to say yes, it would be possible if he was not contacted directly, because this particular deal was not publicized as others.

Mr. SCHERLE. Was there anything in the paper at all?

Mr. PARKER. As I recall on this, no, it did not get in the papers.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would it be possible for Reverend Lawson to have known of this situation because of the close association he had with O'Neal and Robinson and the rest of the Black Panthers.

Mr. PARKER. I would say it could be.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know if there is any tie-in between the Black Panthers in Kansas City and Omaha and Des Moines?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know. My investigations would indicate there would be a tie-in.

Mr. SCHERLE. Then there is a tie-in between Omaha, Kansas City, and Des Moines?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know whether there has been any traffic between those three cities for any purpose whatsoever?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, but I don't know what.

Mr. SCHERLE. There has been traffic?

Mr. PARKER. Do you mean traveling back and forth?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. How about communications?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, this is what I meant. Other than telephone calls, I know they have made telephone calls and I know there have been persons from Des Moines in Kansas City. We have checked and found that this is where they are from.

Mr. SCHERLE. How about Omaha?

Mr. PARKER. Omaha, too.

Mr. SCHERLE. For what reason would they be gathering in different localities?

Mr. PARKER. This I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

We will have an opportunity to go back. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Pepper.

Mr. PEPPER. Sergeant, pursuing some of the line of inquiry made by our able chairman, I was interested to know what might be the relationship between the Black Panthers and crime generally in Kansas City.

You have already told about an episode where youngsters, young boys, got guns from the Black Panther arsenal. Have the Black Panthers had anything to do with drugs?

Are any of them drug users as far as you know?

Mr. PARKER. As far as I know, no, sir, I could not say I know it.

Mr. PEPPER. Have they had anything to do with the selling of drugs?

Mr. PARKER. Not to my knowledge, not that I know of.

Mr. PEPPER. Have any of them to your knowledge been involved in any personal crime other than acts of violence?

What sort of violence have they been connected with to your knowledge? I am referring to the Black Panthers in Kansas City.

Mr. PARKER. Other than verbal and the few other incidents of resisting arrests, that is all. That is all that I know of.

Mr. PEPPER. Do these men have any education or jobs before they became members of the Panthers?

Do they have jobs now?

Mr. PARKER. Some did, sir, have jobs before they were members. To my knowledge, at the present time none of the present members have jobs.

Are you asking me my personal opinion of what type of fellows they are?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes, that is right.

Mr. PARKER. My opinion is these fellows have hangups with society. They are fellows who have been involved in unlawful activities in some respect or some manner. They are most of them fellows who have hangups about society.

You have seen this kind. You know what I am talking about. He can't get along at home, they can't get along anyplace. Some of them are former convicts.

Mr. PEPPER. What do you mean by hangups?

Mr. PARKER. Maladjusted.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Pepper, along this same line may I say we have made an analysis of the criminal records of all of these members which we will offer at a later time, and it shows a breakdown into the types of crimes, the total numbers of convictions, dismissals, and so forth.

Mr. PEPPER. Since they don't have jobs, I guess these people all have to live out of the income they get from this movement.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PEPPER. Do they live in affluence? Do they wear good clothes and drive automobiles?

Mr. PARKER. They drive automobiles. Their clothes are fair.

Mr. PEPPER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. STOKES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Sergeant Parker, since this is an inquiry into the degree and the extent to which the Black Panthers represent a threat to the internal security of the United States, let me pose this question to you: From your testimony we understand there are six to eight Black Panthers in Kansas City, Missouri.

Let me refer you to a UPI article which appeared in yesterday's *Evening Star*. I will refer to the first paragraph. It says:

Lamar, S.C.—UPI—An angry white mob turned over two school busses loaded with Negro pupils at a newly desegregated school here today and attacked law enforcement officers with an axe handle, chains and bricks.

Let me ask you this question: As a police officer, which of these two groups to you represents a greater threat to the internal security of the United States—the six Black Panthers in Kansas City or the 200 mobsters in Lamar, South Carolina?

Mr. PARKER. Which to me?

Mr. STOKES. Which to you?

Mr. PARKER. Do you want to compare that to the total Black Panthers of the country or just Kansas City particularly?

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

Mr. STOKES. I did not make reference to the total mobsters conducting this kind of a thing. I am talking about the one group there now

in Kansas City and the one group in South Carolina. Which do you think represents the greater threat?

Mr. PARKER. These people attacked schoolchildren?

Mr. STOKES. Police and schoolchildren—attacked police with axe handles, chains, and bricks.

Mr. PARKER. To me, sir, two wrongs don't make a right, and I think they are equally wrong.

Mr. STOKES. The question was which represents a greater wrong, threat?

Mr. PARKER. I think they represent an equal threat.

Mr. STOKES. You made some references to counting the breakfasts that were served. In one particular week you said 234 children were fed and on one morning 106 children were fed breakfasts. Then you said you talked with some mothers who said their children were not hungry.

Mr. PARKER. That is right, that is what the mothers told me.

Mr. STOKES. Did they just say to you they were lazy mothers?

Mr. PARKER. They did give me that impression; yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. It would be your impression that these were not hungry children?

Mr. PARKER. Not actually hungry children.

Mr. STOKES. Is there any agency in Kansas City that does feed hungry children in the event you have hungry children?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, there are agencies.

Mr. STOKES. What agencies?

Mr. PARKER. I could not specifically tell you which ones, but there are agencies that help especially at the location where this deal is, where the welfare agencies and such handle these deals anyway and a low-rent housing project.

Mr. STOKES. Aren't these children from low-rent housing projects?

Mr. PARKER. They are, yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. In your low-rent housing projects, don't you have many people who are either underemployed or unemployed?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. Is it not conceivable then that many of these children would not have breakfasts if it were not for this program?

Mr. PARKER. I would not say there were none there that were not hungry.

Mr. STOKES. How many police in your department?

Mr. PARKER. 950, I believe.

Mr. STOKES. 950?

Mr. PARKER. 950, yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. How many black police?

Mr. PARKER. In the neighborhood of 60 or 65, I presume. I don't know exactly.

Mr. STOKES. As a police officer with 19 years' experience, are you familiar with the deterioration in relations which has occurred all over the Nation between the police and the inner-city residents?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. Are you familiar with the fact that most inner-city residents in most cities in the majority are black?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. Are you familiar with the fact that, in many cities, police brutality has contributed to the deterioration of the relationship between the police and those residents?

Mr. PARKER. I have heard that, yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. You have heard that?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. Have you ever seen police brutality?

Mr. PARKER. Very, very few cases, sir.

Mr. STOKES. Does the black community and the police department get along fine in Kansas City?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. STOKES. Is there a deterioration of relationships there?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. Would you attribute some of it to the police?

Mr. PARKER. It could possibly be; yes.

Mr. STOKES. As a police officer there in Kansas City, are you assigned to a specific area?

Mr. PARKER. No.

Mr. STOKES. Do you go all over the city?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If I may interrupt the gentleman from Ohio, his time has expired and the bells have sounded. I think this would be a good point to stop and resume the meeting at 2 p.m., and the Chair will give all of the members the opportunity to ask all of the questions they desire.

The meeting is adjourned until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., Thursday, March 5, 1970, the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—THURSDAY, MARCH 5, 1970

(The committee reconvened at 2 p.m., Hon. Richard H. Ichord, chairman, presiding.)

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

I believe Mr. Stokes and Mr. Scherle are on their way over. I apologize, gentlemen, but we got caught on a rollcall and the Chair was unable to answer until the second go-around.

Why don't you go ahead, Mr. Counsel, and conclude your questioning until the other members of the committee arrive?

Mr. PARKER. First, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Counsel, I would like to make a correction to a statement I made this morning concerning the spitting incident that occurred. At that time I think I stated that the spitting incident of June 20, 1969, was the cause of the weapon confrontation, which was incorrect. The spitting incident occurred on June 20, 1969, and involved one of the officers, Officer Winston, who works for me and did not have anything to do with the incident of the weapons display which occurred July 23, 1969.

Mr. SANDERS. There were two incidents, and you were confusing them in your testimony?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. The incident which you related for July 23, with the Panthers in appearance with guns and the police on the outside of the premises, did occur?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. The only difference was the cause?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. What was the cause?

Mr. PARKER. I referred to our records at that time and the cause was that there was a suspect who was supposed to be in the building at 3903 Olive who had something to do with the death of an officer on a robbery. The information received on this suspect was that he was supposed to be in the Panther building at 3903 Olive, and this is why the gun display, because preparations were anticipated of making a search of the building to see if this robbery suspect was in the building.

Mr. SANDERS. The testimony with respect to the spitting and slapping happened in the previous month.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, it was the previous month.

Mr. SANDERS. Did that result in a confrontation at Panther headquarters?

Mr. PARKER. No, it did not.

Mr. SANDERS. The incidents occurred, but there were two different incidents?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The spitting incident occurred at another time?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir. The dates were incorrect.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge of travel by any of the Kansas City Panthers to other cities in the Midwest?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you speak of your knowledge in that regard?

Mr. PARKER. I could not give you specific dates without referring to my records, but the result of my investigation and surveillance and information. I receive information when the members are going out of town, when they go to the airport, and I have on occasion gone down and saw who they were and received information as to where they were going then.

Mr. SANDERS. Do they have a customary means of travel?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, they don't.

Mr. SANDERS. Do they travel by air and by car?

Mr. PARKER. By air and by car.

Mr. SANDERS. What have been some of the most common destinations?

Mr. PARKER. This varies from time to time. I believe California at one time was mostly.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know why they went to California?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Any places in the Midwest?

Mr. PARKER. Yes; Des Moines, Chicago occasionally. I recall one incident. I believe it was New York or Connecticut.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know of any departures to go to Wichita and Omaha?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

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

Mr. SANDERS. Then are there Panther organizations in Wichita, Omaha, and Des Moines?

Mr. PARKER. I understand there are.

Mr. SANDERS. Was it your understanding their purpose in traveling to those three cities was in connection with Panther organizations in those three cities?

Mr. PARKER. This is what I believe, but I don't know.

Mr. SANDERS. Sergeant Parker, I will hand you what has been previously marked as Committee Exhibit No. 8. Do you recognize that? What do you find in Exhibit 8?

Mr. PARKER. In Exhibit 8 we have 2221 Lydia on May 1, 1969. We have the headquarters, previous headquarters, at 2905 Prospect and the station wagon appears to be the one that was owned by Mr. O'Neal's brother, who had a group called Soul, Inc.

We have another picture of 2905 Prospect with the Volkswagen bus which is owned by the Panthers. There is a picture of the present appearance of 2221 Lydia, and the other three pictures are of 2221 Lydia.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know who made those pictures?

Mr. PARKER. I have made pictures similar to those, and they might be the ones.

Mr. SANDERS. Do those appear to you to be accurate representations of the properties involved?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you knowledgeable, Sergeant Parker, concerning membership procedures that the chapter uses? First of all I am thinking of any initiation ceremony.

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Are Panthers required to pay anything in the nature of dues?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Do they have membership cards?

Mr. PARKER. I have not seen any.

Mr. SANDERS. Are they required to wear any particular kind of dress or kind of uniform?

Mr. PARKER. Yes; normally my observation has been that they wear black berets and black leather jackets with buttons with Huey Newton's picture.

Mr. SANDERS. On the button?

Mr. PARKER. On the button.

Mr. SANDERS. Are they required by any rules or regulations of the organization to possess individual firearms?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know this. I have heard it.

Mr. SANDERS. At the time they become members, are they required to take an oath or pledge or promise towards the organization?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you recall an incident in Kansas City in the month of June 1969, a demonstration pertaining to trash collection?

Mr. PARKER. At the Wayne Miner projects? Is that the one you are referring to?

Mr. SANDERS. It is my understanding it was at City Hall.

Mr. PARKER. A demonstration at City Hall?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes.

Mr. PARKER. I recall some incident at City Hall, but I don't recall if it involved trash.

Mr. SANDERS. Was there Panther participation in it?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, they were.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you describe the incident and how the Panthers were involved?

Mr. PARKER. I was not present there.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you have occasion to see any reports on it, either oral or written, from police officers?

Mr. PARKER. I don't really recollect.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you knowledgeable of picketing of a Safeway Store in Kansas City?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Were the Panthers involved in that demonstration?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Can you describe that?

Mr. PARKER. I cannot give a specific date, but this was one, as I recall, that was performed by the grape demonstrators, and the Panthers participated in the demonstration in front of the Safeway Store.

Mr. SANDERS. Was this in 1969?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Was that a peaceful protest?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, we did not have any problems with it.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you recall an incident at the Kresge store in November?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Was there Panther participation in that incident?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, there was.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you describe it?

Mr. PARKER. This was an incident that involved the members of my squad, where two male members and two female members supposedly of the Panthers were selling papers on the street in front of the Kresge store. The weather was cold. They went inside and blocked the door and were requested by the manager not to sell papers in the store and not to block the door. Then he called for police assistance and the officers went, and these fellows resisted arrest and refused to respond to the manager's desire that they leave the store.

Mr. SANDERS. They were arrested by members of your squad?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Were they convicted of a charge?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, they were and fined \$25 or \$50, I believe.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you recall their identities?

Mr. PARKER. Edward Rollins and Cecil Keys.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you recall the shooting in Kansas City in which Officer Dacy was killed?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. July of 1969?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you describe briefly the circumstances?

Mr. PARKER. Officer Dacy was off duty, I believe, at the time. A jewelry store was held up and Officer Dacy entered the store, and it is believed that he was not aware that the holdup was in progress until he was shot and killed before he could apprehend anyone.

Mr. SANDERS. Was the assailant ever identified?

Mr. PARKER. Was he identified?

Mr. SANDERS. Did arrest and prosecution result from this?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, I believe there was.

Mr. SANDERS. The assailant was not a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Did the Black Panther Party utilize this incident in any way?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. How?

Mr. PARKER. In the Black Panther paper they had quite an elaborate news article in reference to this officer having been "offed." That is the way they described it. They said the brother was successful in "offing a pig." I don't recall the issue of the paper that it was in.

Mr. SANDERS. This officer was killed attempting to prevent an armed robbery?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. And yet the Panthers spoke favorably about his death?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. That is, they did not deplore the act of killing him?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. STOKES. I wonder if we could ask counsel if that newspaper article is available to us.

Mr. SANDERS. Was that *The Kansas City Star*?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; it was the Black Panther paper. Some reference was made to it in *The Kansas City Star*.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a copy of that?

Mr. SANDERS. I think we may have it here. We will look for that.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the sergeant seen the article?

Mr. SANDERS. Would you recall the article if you saw it, do you think?

I will mark this Exhibit No. 13.

Is that the article to which you referred?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, that is it.

Mr. SANDERS. The sentence says here, "Three (3) unknown heroic brothers had the pleasure of 'offing a pig.'"

The CHAIRMAN. There being no objection, it will be accepted for the record.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 13. See appendix, page 2859.)

Mr. SANDERS. That was from the August 2, 1969, issue of the Black Panther Party paper.

Do you recall an incident in August of 1969 in which a Negro woman by the name of Faye Perkins was killed?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you explain the circumstances, please?

Mr. PARKER. This, as I recall, was an incident that had occurred at the skating rink. Is this the one you are referring to, sir?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes.

Mr. PARKER. This occurred at the skating rink. There was a disturbance inside the skating rink, a domestic disturbance and gang

fight involving a number of people. Officers Lloyd De Graffenreid and Sylvester Winston, who were off duty at the time, were called upon to stop the disturbance and to get these people out of the rink.

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

Mr. PARKER. In their efforts to do this, resistance occurred with one of the gentlemen involved. While the officers were attempting to subdue this suspect, Officer De Graffenreid was shot in the back by this Mrs. Perkins, and both officers returned the fire and Mrs. Perkins was killed.

Mr. SANDERS. To your knowledge were any members of the chapter involved in this fracas or shooting?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Did the Black Panther chapter make any propaganda use of this incident?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, they did.

Mr. SANDERS. By what means?

Mr. PARKER. By the same means—the Black Panther paper.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you recall seeing an article in their paper concerning this instance?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. I have here what purports to be a copy of an article on that incident, which I will mark Committee Exhibit No. 14.

Does this appear to be a copy of the article you saw?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; that is it.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you remember about when this article appeared in the Black Panther paper? Was it soon after the incident?

Mr. PARKER. It was soon after the incident.

Mr. SANDERS. We can establish this date. I offer Committee Exhibit No. 14 for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. SANDERS. It is a copy of an article which appeared in the Black Panther paper within a few months after the death of this Mrs. Faye Perkins.

Was this the local chapter of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; from the national Black Panther.

The CHAIRMAN. This was contained in the paper sold by the local chapter in Kansas City?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing no objection, it is so admitted.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 14. See appendix, pages 2860–2862.)

Mr. SANDERS. On the article about Dacy, it is shown to be written by André Weatherby. Although it is a national paper, it purports to be written by André Weatherby of Kansas City.

On the many occasions when Black Panther members have been arrested during 1969 and the first part of this year to which you have made reference, Sergeant Parker, what has been your experience concerning their release from jail following the arrests?

What I am getting at specifically is, do you have knowledge of their source of bail money and money to pay fines and attorney fees?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Were you present at, or have you seen reports concerning, a rally on January 25, which was held in Kansas City, at Wayne

Miner, where they had on the program that night Pete O'Neal, Austin Shute, and Thomas Robinson. Do you have any knowledge of that rally?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir. My information sources is all I have, but I don't know.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know the purpose of that rally?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you knowledgeable concerning a rally held the first part of this month, March 1, to raise funds in support of what was said to be revolutionary sons and daughters at Wayne Miner auditorium?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. I show you what has previously been marked Committee Exhibit No. 11. Have you had occasion to see that? Is that flyer familiar to you?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir. I did not see it.

Mr. SANDERS. Other than the breakfast program and the health clinic, have the Panthers in Kansas City engaged in any other programs of community benefit to your knowledge?

Mr. PARKER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SANDERS. You spoke in the early part of your testimony about Pete O'Neal being the leader of the chapter. Has he continued to be throughout 1969 up until the present time?

Mr. PARKER. To my knowledge, yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Does it seem to you that Pete O'Neal is a nominal-type leader or is he in effect and in practicality the person who runs the chapter?

Mr. PARKER. He runs the chapter, so far as I know.

Mr. SANDERS. In your opinion, Sergeant Parker, do the Panthers in Kansas City constitute a responsible movement to assist the disadvantaged people in the community?

Mr. PARKER. In my opinion, no.

Mr. SANDERS. Of course, we know that they have fed some children. Aside from this, do you know of any beneficial effects they have had on the black community?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Counsel.

I have one or two questions before I yield to the members. Sergeant, you estimated the Negro population on the Kansas City police force to be 60-some-odd.

I believe another witness estimated the portion to be 70-some-odd. I think, Mr. Counsel, you have another witness to follow. I would like to establish for the record the exact number of black policemen on the Kansas City police force, so I would ask the witness to come if they could give us the exact number.

Sergeant, let me ask you this: How many men do you have directly responsible to you?

Mr. PARKER. Six.

The CHAIRMAN. And you operate in the inner-city area?

Mr. PARKER. Not necessarily, no, sir. I operate throughout the entire city.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they all black policemen?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Sergeant, I read from the Black Panther paper on 8-2-69 as follows:

SUBJECT: Death of the Oppressor

The people of Kansas City are in an ecstatic state today following the execution of a pig. Three (3) unknown heroic brothers had the pleasure of "offing a pig."

I will skip over part of the article.

Let all the oppressors of the people beware. Dacy was an off-duty pig; the next pig may be on-duty. As Huey mentioned (in Correct Handling of a Revolution) the pig may well be sitting at a counter drinking a cup of coffee and come up missing. The brothers are ready and they will deal with the fascist pig.

ONLY ON THE BONES OF THE OPPRESSOR CAN THE PEOPLE BE FOUNDED—ONLY THE BLOOD OF THE OPPRESSOR CAN FERTILIZE THE SOIL FOR THE PEOPLE'S SELF-RULE

Sister Andre Weatherby
Deputy Minister of Health
Kansas City Chapter
Black Panther Party

The other article from the January 10, 1970, issue:

Members of the Kansas City Chapter, Black Panther Party, have been subjected to repeated acts of brutality, trumped-up charges, resulting in unjust arrests, and harassments by the reactionary lackeys of the power structure, the pig department.

Two nigger pork chops have escalated their repeated harassments of Panther brothers and sisters, in particular, and members of the Black colony, in general.

The article is headed, "PEOPLE DECLARE WAR ON NIGGER LACKEYS."

Let me ask you this: What is the effect upon your brother officers with this type of publication being circulated in the Kansas City area, being sold in several stores, coupled with the incidents that you have related—the teaching or the attempts to inculcate disrespect on the part of young children toward the police, the gun incidents? What effect does that have upon you as policemen? How do you feel?

Mr. PARKER. My men have done a wonderful job, sir, under those types of criticisms and circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you uptight? Does it make you a little nervous?

Mr. PARKER. You get used to it, sir. It does not bother you. I have a job to do. I have been a policeman for 19 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You have slowly adjusted to this?

Mr. PARKER. I have no qualms at all of enforcing the law in all fairness to everyone. May I say this? I have been on the police force 19 years and for 17 of those years I supervised the downtown traffic squad, which was white.

This 1 year is the first year that I ever supervised black officers.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you get a little nervous, a little uptight with these if you don't consider this rhetorical or do you just consider this rhetoric?

Mr. PARKER. Rhetoric until it happens. You are threatened daily. You learn to live with it. When you know you are doing, as they say, doing your thing, I know I am doing my thing to the best of my ability.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your job to enforce the law and maintain law and order in the Kansas City area. Certainly this would not make for good police relations with the Black Panthers.

Mr. SCHERLE? The Chair recognizes you.

Mr. SCHERLE. Sergeant Parker, would you pursue some of the relations that you might be aware of between the midwestern link between Kansas City, Omaha, and Des Moines?

I think we left off this morning on communications.

Mr. PARKER. This is all I know, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. When you say this is all you know, would you explain?

Mr. PARKER. From Des Moines to Kansas City.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you recall any to Omaha?

Mr. PARKER. Omaha, Chicago, various places around the country, for that matter.

Mr. SCHERLE. In other words, wherever there was a Black Panther unit, the telephone calls would go out to those areas?

Mr. PARKER. There have been records of such.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you recall seeing any Iowa cars in Kansas City near the headquarters at any time?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you recall seeing any Nebraska cars in the vicinity of the headquarters?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Very often?

Mr. PARKER. At various times, yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. Intermittently?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would those cars be there for any length of time?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. For a week?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, and sometimes for a month or 2 months.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know of the names of any of those people who might have visited from Des Moines or Omaha? Let me give you a few names. Do you know Arnold Bolin?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. What do you know about him?

Mr. PARKER. I know him when I see him.

Mr. SCHERLE. Is he a Black Panther?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. You know of him and you would recognize him if you had seen him?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. How about David Rice?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know him.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know whether or not the newspapers that were shipped from Kansas City to either one of these regions from headquarters—

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. Concerning the link between these three cities, this is primarily all you are acquainted with at this time?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know whether any of the gangs in Omaha or Des Moines were involved in any activities in Kansas City?

Were they ever arrested? Does Arnold Bolin have a police record in Kansas City?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you happen to know the names of any of the leaders in Des Moines, Iowa?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, not that I can recall, no, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Before you leave, I have a file in my office and I would like to supply you with some of those names later on. I am sorry I did not bring it with me this afternoon.

Let me pursue this Reverend Lawson thing a little further. What is the difference between the patrol of Reverend Lawson and the patrol of the Black Panthers?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know, sir. Really, I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. Did you mention this morning that this patrol we had reference to, with the Black Panthers riding around in a car with guns—was that the same patrol that was supervised by Reverend Lawson?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. What was the difference between his patrol and that patrol, because the testimony we received, Sergeant, was that he had this patrol, a committee patrol of some kind, for almost 2 months, so you must have been aware of it.

Mr. PARKER. I was aware of it, but it was a youth patrol. I don't know anything about—

Mr. SCHERLE. Would you like to talk to your counsel?

Mr. MATER. May I talk to the witness?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Black Panther patrol was a patrol to police the police?

Mr. SCHERLE. Reverend Lawson said he was out on the street to keep the peace.

Mr. PARKER. The patrol that Reverend Lawson had, I have been informed, was with the sanction of the police department, in cooperation with the police department, a youth patrol.

The patrol that I speak of that the Black Panthers had was theirs that they told us that they were going to police us. I did not have any knowledge of—

Mr. SCHERLE. Reverend Lawson told us he was out to keep the peace by this patrol, and I was wondering, if everybody was keeping the peace, why anybody had any fear of violence.

Did the police department pay Reverend Lawson anything?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. You don't know?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. Well, he was paid for supervising this committee patrol by, I think, an agency of the poverty agency.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, but he was dealing with youth. If these youth were not performing or participating with Black Panthers, I had no interest.

Mr. SCHERLE. When the Black Panthers were at this particular house, the youth had the guns?

Mr. PARKER. These were not the same youth.

Mr. SCHERLE. I believe you mentioned this morning that various Black Panthers solicited money and food for these breakfasts?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. You also gave us the numbers involved as to who attended and some as low as three. The question was posed by counsel, was there some other means of consuming or keeping this money other than the breakfasts, and you hesitated to reply at that time?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. If the various members of the Black Panthers went out and solicited money and food and only three children showed up for breakfast, then somebody apparently kept both, other than the children?

Mr. PARKER. I would assume so.

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe they did feed it the next day.

Mr. SCHERLE. You can't keep too much of that stuff for the next day. I would rather believe it was consumed and kept by the Black Panthers rather than being distributed to the children.

As far as solicitations are concerned with the Black Panthers and the merchants, was Tom Robinson the enforcer, the strong arm?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know Tom Robinson?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir, I know him.

Mr. SCHERLE. How well?

Mr. PARKER. Very well.

Mr. SCHERLE. If you know him very well, we have heard that he was the enforcer as far as the Black Panthers were concerned.

Mr. PARKER. To say I know, I could not say this. I couldn't say I know he is.

Mr. SCHERLE. And have you heard he was?

Mr. PARKER. I have heard he was.

Mr. SCHERLE. The other thing that is interesting to me is that when these threats are made, even to innuendoes or insinuations with respect to the matches that were thrown on the floor, were any of these threats carried out?

Mr. PARKER. There were a number of threats.

Mr. SCHERLE. To your knowledge then, none of them was carried out?

Mr. PARKER. To my knowledge, no.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you think it was because of the police or do you think it was because of a lack of willingness to carry them out?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. Doesn't it seem unusual for these men to be going from merchant to merchant making threats that are completely hollow and with no stimulus behind them? Sooner or later you could end up with nothing unless, as you said this morning, there was no need for them to go through with a threat because the fear of the threat was sufficient in many cases.

Mr. PARKER. This is an opinion of mine.

Mr. SCHERLE. This was the dominant factor of whipping them in line. It was fear and their willingness to retaliate through threat.

Mr. PARKER. That is my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have direct testimony scheduled with respect to direct threats?

Mr. SANDERS. Solicitation from merchants?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There may well be testimony in regard to those incidents.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know, Sergeant, whether the Methodist Inner City Parish ever paid any money to the Black Panthers?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know if they exchanged or received money from the Black Panthers?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. Were any parties ever held at the church for the Black Panthers, at the Methodist Inner City Parish?

Mr. PARKER. At the place of business?

Mr. SCHERLE. Yes.

Mr. PARKER. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERLE. How often did you make these rounds of the Black Panthers? Was it once a day?

Mr. PARKER. We do an 8-hour tour of duty and through the district. You check locations that they are known to frequent several times a day.

Mr. SCHERLE. Several times a day?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Did you sometimes use discretion in your investigations or what might appear to be obvious and just sort of drive on?

Mr. PARKER. It was according to the information we were attempting to obtain. It is obvious and we don't try to hide it. They know it and we know it and there is no problem.

Mr. SCHERLE. Did you keep a record of any meetings or did you know in advance of any meetings or rallies they had so that if any type of problem arose you would be there to look after the interest of the people?

Mr. PARKER. We tried, but in their rallies we don't bother unless there is a reason. But, no, we don't interfere with their rallies.

Mr. SCHERLE. That is all the questions I wish to ask Sergeant Parker at this time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Scherle.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. STOKES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Sergeant Parker, what is the highest rank held in the Kansas City Police Department by a black police officer?

Mr. PARKER. Captain.

Mr. STOKES. How many captains do you have?

Mr. PARKER. One.

Mr. STOKES. What is the next highest rank?

Mr. PARKER. Sergeant.

Mr. STOKES. How many sergeants do you have?

Mr. PARKER. I am not sure, sir—approximately nine.

Mr. STOKES. Nine?

Mr. PARKER. Approximately. I don't know definitely.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Counsel, are you going to have someone here who can give me information on this line?

Mr. SANDERS. The next witness is a higher ranking officer in the department and he may know more specifically, Mr. Stokes.

Mr. STOKES. Thank you.

Sergeant Parker, just to pursue for a moment the question that the chairman asked you with reference to some of the abuse to which a police officer is subjected—of course, all of us know by virtue of the kind of occupation that you have that you are subjected to certain verbal and physical abuse that persons in other vocations are not subjected to. Isn't that true?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. In fact, you are so disciplined as a police officer that it is understood as a police officer there is a certain amount of both verbal and physical abuse to which you must become accustomed in your line of occupation?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. STOKES. In fact, under your rules and regulations there would be some rule as to how you are to react if spit upon; is that not true?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. What do your rules and regulations say specifically regarding the fact that someone spits upon a policeman?

Mr. PARKER. I said yesterday, but I don't recall a specific rule as to how you are to react if you were spit upon.

Mr. STOKES. I know how I would react if someone spit on me, but I am not a policeman and I know a policeman is supposed to act a little differently than the way I would react.

Now there are certain rules and regulations concerning when you can—are justified in committing assault and battery?

Mr. PARKER. Are you referring to the rule that states the amount of force used that is necessary in apprehending a resister?

Mr. STOKES. Yes. In that line. There are certain circumstances under which you can use force or a reasonable degree of force.

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. STOKES. The incident you testified to this morning with reference to one of the officers having been spat upon and he in turn slapped the individual that spat upon him, that is an incident of force, is it not?

Mr. PARKER. It could be considered as such.

Mr. STOKES. You mean if you slap somebody it could be?

Mr. PARKER. It could be considered as such.

Mr. STOKES. What else could it not be considered?

Mr. PARKER. You might not consider it good judgment. I don't think I did. It was my man and in talking to him—

The CHAIRMAN. Would the gentleman yield at this point? I am rather interested in this line of inquiry. Would you rather be spit upon or slapped? Proceed.

Mr. STOKES. I think the point we were trying to get at, Officer, and I am not trying to be cute about it, but as a lawyer, in a court of law a policeman might have a little trouble defending himself on an assault and battery situation where the abuse was in the act of someone spitting on him.

You said at the time you thought your officer used bad judgment. The incident you testified about this morning you did not see, did you?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. STOKES. What you relied upon this morning was what you were told by your brother officer?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. You negotiated with some people at the scene there with these young people who had the guns and you named a couple of them this morning. Who were they?

Mr. PARKER. Finley, who at the time was a captain of the Black Panthers.

Mr. STOKES. It was just he that you had a conversation with?

Mr. PARKER. I had portions of conversations with several. I had a few words with Pete O'Neal to no avail. He walked away from me.

Mr. STOKES. To what do you attribute the fact that on that occasion there was no violence of any sort?

Mr. PARKER. I just did not move in, sir. I was the man in charge and I did not think that the incident as such would have been a good thing to have happen with all of those people and especially young kids right there. There was no possibility of a conflict there without innocent people being hurt.

Mr. STOKES. You must have received some degree of cooperation from the adults with whom you were talking since nothing came out of that situation; did you?

Mr. PARKER. I didn't get to talk to them until after we had quieted the situation down.

Mr. STOKES. We have had some testimony before us prior to your testimony to the effect that the police in Kansas City harassed the Black Panthers; that is, that they arrest them for very flimsy reasons. There was some testimony that they were changing a tire or something on a bus and were arrested.

With reference to harassment of the Panthers, can you verify whether or not this is being done?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir. I can only speak for my squad and for incidents that I have personally seen.

Mr. STOKES. Your squad does not harass the Panthers?

Mr. PARKER. I say they have not. The Panthers have definitely harassed us, and I am sure that they don't hesitate to harass any other officers. My instructions to my men are that if the Panthers violate the law and you find it necessary to arrest them, arrest them regardless of what they say. If this is harassment then we are harassing them—only if they violate the law.

Mr. STOKES. None of the Black Panthers in Kansas City ever killed a policeman, have they?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. STOKES. Has there ever been any occasion when there was a shootout between the police and the Panthers?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. STOKES. Have the Panthers in Kansas City ever injured a police officer?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. STOKES. On what occasion?

Mr. PARKER. In several confrontations my squad had with them, the one at the Kresge store where the Panther struck the several officers several times.

I can recall several incidents where we had to arrest them for law violations and had to fight with them—no serious injuries, but injuries.

Mr. STOKES. Were they injured, too?

Mr. PARKER. To some extent.

Mr. STOKES. Let's take the incident at Kresge's. What was occurring?

Mr. PARKER. What occurred, as I say, was these two young men were selling papers in the doorway inside the Kresge store, and the manager called for the officers.

He asked the men to leave and they would not leave and he called for the officers on his complaint to have the fellows leave the store, and they refused and physically resisted leaving.

Mr. STOKES. How many such occasions have you had?

Mr. PARKER. What do you mean?

Mr. STOKES. Altercations or confrontations of that sort?

Mr. PARKER. As I recall, three or four that I recall where I was present.

Mr. STOKES. You gave us some testimony this morning regarding search warrants. As you know, all around the country today there has been some problem with reference to the police search warrants in the homes or headquarters of Black Panthers. You know the situation in Los Angeles, the situation in Chicago, Illinois, and in other parts of the country.

Now, I can well understand in these kinds of situations—I am talking generally around the country—I can well understand situations where the police go to Panther headquarters or to a Panther's home pursuant to a felony warrant for a past committed crime. But the problem that is being generated around the country today, which is resulting in certain allegations being made with reference to a conspiracy and with reference to genocide, is that in many of these cases the Black Panthers are not being arrested or killed while in the process of committing the felony or killed in their homes pursuant to a felony attempt, but because of a search warrant.

For instance, in Chicago, Illinois, where we conducted some hearings regarding some Black Panther deaths there, to the Black Panthers the word "search warrant" has become synonymous with a warrant of death.

As a police officer, have you ever had to go in there and serve a search warrant?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, not a search warrant.

Mr. STOKES. As a police officer, would you see the necessity of exercising a search warrant, of doing so in the early hours of the morning?

Mr. PARKER. Would I see the necessity for doing it?

Mr. STOKES. Yes.

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am getting concerned, Mr. Counsel, about the speed at which we are proceeding and the convenience of some of the witnesses who have been subpoenaed here.

Mr. SANDERS. I have no further questions of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. How many more witnesses, then, do you have? Is it a great inconvenience for any of the witnesses to appear tomorrow

morning? I don't like the idea of subpoenaing them in here and keeping them 3 or 4 days.

Mr. SANDERS. They have all said they could be in tomorrow morning. If we could possibly later this afternoon dispose of one more, I think it would facilitate matters tomorrow morning, but whatever your wishes are.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we could take one more after the rollcall, and perhaps Mr. Stokes can proceed up until the second go-around if he has more questions, and then we can dispose of one more witness today.

I have postponed my trip to Missouri until 7:30 in the morning, and Judge Preyer will chair the meeting tomorrow.

Go ahead, Mr. Stokes.

Mr. STOKES. I have just a couple of more questions.

Would you describe for us the kind of neighborhood in which the Black Panther headquarters is located in Kansas City?

Mr. PARKER. It is a reasonably older neighborhood with several retired, old, established citizens, quiet. I believe three of the ladies are elderly, single, widow ladies and very uncomfortable.

The CHAIRMAN. I am familiar with the area. It is a much better area than you have in some parts of Cleveland.

Have you ever been in Cleveland, Sergeant?

Let me add and also St. Louis?

Mr. STOKES. Mayor Stokes may not like that.

Is it a slum neighborhood? Would you describe it as a slum?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir, not that street where it is located. It is a single-family dwelling. As I say, these people own their own homes. There are only seven houses, I believe, in the block, family-owned for years.

The CHAIRMAN. I would describe conditions there in Kansas City better than any ghetto conditions I have seen in any American city. That would be my own opinion of the area in Kansas City.

Mr. STOKES. I have never been there.

Mr. PARKER. It is a wonderful place.

Mr. STOKES. Throughout your testimony this morning, you spoke of the fact that the Panthers dwell on hate. At the same time you told us that this is a group that still believes in integration. Obviously, then, the hatred which you are talking about which they have is not racial hatred.

Mr. PARKER. I could not say that either.

Mr. STOKES. You said throughout your testimony that it is a group that thrives on hate, did you not?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STOKES. Then Mr. Sanders asked you if they believed in integration, and you said yes, they would have to believe in it.

Mr. PARKER. By virtue of their association.

Mr. STOKES. You went on to say something about white wives and you said they would have to believe in integration. Wasn't that your testimony?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Mr. STOKES. What I am saying to you, then, obviously both can't be true. If they believe in integration, they must not have racial hatred.

Mr. PARKER. Their teachings is what is racial.

Mr. STOKES. What do they teach racially?

Mr. PARKER. Race as such, no. They are against the power structure and it happens that the power structure, the people they are talking about, the city fathers, are primarily white.

Mr. STOKES. You have not cleared this up for me yet. Are you saying they hate white people, but yet they believe there in integration?

Mr. PARKER. They make reference to the power structure and the white man. These are the words they use—"the white man." This is the only way I know how to describe it.

Mr. STOKES. At the same time, do they believe that blacks and whites can live together and work together?

Mr. PARKER. Really, I have never heard them say.

Mr. STOKES. When you say they believed in integration, tell us what you meant by that.

Mr. PARKER. At the time I said this, I believe I said from my observations of their associations; this was my reason for saying I presume they believe in integration.

Mr. STOKES. Maybe you understand that, but I don't.

I don't have any further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Sergeant Parker. You have impressed me as a very dedicated officer of the law, and good luck to you, sir.

The Chair will declare a recess until 10 minutes to 4.

(Whereupon, at 3:25 p.m., the committee recessed and reconvened at 4 p.m.)

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order. Call your next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SANDERS. I call Captain Ponessa.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PONESSA. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Please be seated, and we welcome you to the committee.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM V. PONESSA, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, MANFRED MAIER

Mr. SANDERS. Captain, please state your full name and position with your department.

Mr. PONESSA. William V. Ponessa. I am a captain with the Kansas City Police Department and I am commander of the tactical division.

Mr. SANDERS. How long have you been with the department?

Mr. PONESSA. 15 years.

Mr. SANDERS. How long have you lived in Kansas City?

Mr. PONESSA. 16 years.

Mr. SANDERS. Does your particular assignment—do your particular responsibilities include keeping abreast of developments with regard to the Black Panther Party in Kansas City?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, it does.

Mr. SANDERS. Were you in the hearing room earlier today when Sergeant Parker testified concerning his knowledge of the party?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, I was.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you hear Sergeant Parker's testimony?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, I did.

Mr. SANDERS. Captain Ponessa, would you please explain whether the policies and conduct of the Black Panthers in Kansas City have resulted in any policies of your department?

Mr. PONESSA. Do you mean the organization of the squads?

Mr. SANDERS. I am talking about the attitude of the Black Panther members which we have heard in earlier testimony; that is, their rather hostile nature toward police officers, their repeated expressions of terms such as "off the pig," and their policies against association with police officers or conversations with police officers. Have all of these things together resulted in any changes in departmental policy?

Mr. PONESSA. No, they have not resulted in any change in departmental policy, other than the fact that we have in Kansas City a surveillance squad.

Back in the latter part of January [1969] there was a young group of militants who called themselves the Black Vigilantes. This was actually the original group of the Black Panthers now. They, of course, became involved in several instances in Kansas City, in minor disturbances, and so forth. Then all at once they decided to organize a chapter of the Black Panthers in Kansas City, which was the first part of February.

Mr. SANDERS. Has the formation or the existence of this chapter been responsible for any special orientation which the department has found necessary to give to the police officers in the performance of their duties?

Mr. PONESSA. Not to my knowledge. We have the in-service training relating to behavior sciences, but I do not believe relating to the Black Panthers.

Mr. SANDERS. You don't believe it has been necessary to give the officers any particular training with regard to their reaction to Panther conduct towards you?

Mr. PONESSA. To rephrase that a little bit, certainly we have brought to the officers the philosophy of the Black Panthers, and so forth, and the fact that this is psychological warfare on their part, and for police officers not to lose their cool—to use their terminology—and we try to bring this to their attention so they can be aware of some of the actions taken by the Panthers in addition to that which is projected in the national Panthers' papers and through the news media.

Mr. SANDERS. They are instructed not to lose any of their emotional stability when they are dealing with the Panthers?

Mr. PONESSA. Right.

Mr. SANDERS. Has the department given any instructions to the police officers to be repressive towards members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PONESSA. I don't quite understand.

Mr. SANDERS. Has the department told its officers to exert any form of violence toward the members of the Panther Party?

Mr. PONESSA. None whatsoever.

Mr. SANDERS. Have they been told to repress the Panthers?

Mr. PONESSA. No.

Mr. SANDERS. Has the department, to your knowledge, embarked upon any program to physically or violently wipe out the Panther chapter in Kansas City?

Mr. PONESSA. None whatsoever.

Mr. SANDERS. Has the department engaged in any conspiracy with any other local, State, or Federal departments to wipe out the Black Panther chapter?

Mr. PONESSA. No, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Have any of the Panthers in Kansas City attempted to communicate with the police officers on a reasonable or intelligent basis?

Mr. PONESSA. We have on several occasions attempted to communicate with the Black Panthers, but it has been very difficult because you can take them individually, singly, and talk to them away from a crowd, but when you are out there on the street and you confront them, right away they are like an actor. They turn on and attempt to draw a crowd and there is all sorts of misconduct, and it has been very difficult to communicate with them on the streets. Now on occasion we have talked to them singly and away from a group and on some occasions they have been very congenial.

Mr. SANDERS. You heard the testimony of Sergeant Parker concerning the shooting of Faye Perkins?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Would it be your impression that the facts concerning this incident were adequately available to the public?

Mr. PONESSA. To the best of my knowledge, all of the reports that are of public record certainly are available to the public.

Mr. SANDERS. I am not talking about police reports. Do you think an account of this incident was adequately explained to the public by the news media?

Mr. PONESSA. I was not in Kansas City during that time period and I had not read the newspaper articles.

Mr. SANDERS. I want to refer to the incident now involving the death of Officer Dacy. Was there any particular noticeable reaction of the police officers in the department to that shooting?

Mr. PONESSA. Certainly there is a certain amount of feeling involved here. You are talking about a fellow officer who was shot performing his duties. But I don't really feel anything would be detrimental to the Panthers or as far as any harassment or anything of this nature. There is no evidence of this.

Mr. SANDERS. There was testimony by Sergeant Parker in answer to questions concerning possible timing of searches of Panther premises. I believe Congressman Stokes asked about early morning searches of the premises, and of course this is hypothetical because the testimony has been that there has been no search of Panther premises, but would you explain the police department policy on execution of a search warrant?

Mr. PONESSA. Our department's policy has always been no matter what time of the day, if a warrant is necessary and it is necessary to serve it at 3 o'clock in the morning or 2 o'clock in the morning—of course, all of the facts have to be evaluated here. I cannot definitely

say we would serve one at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, but we don't believe in limitations. It is something that the commanding officers and the sergeants would have to decide at the time, depending on what the incident was, and so forth. It is pretty difficult for me to sit here and say we would not; we probably would. We don't have any set procedure.

They have projected this doctrine of the news media, of confrontation in Los Angeles, and so on, and they would like for us to go through their lawyers or some outstanding citizen in the community, first notifying them that warrants would be served in the daylight periods and not during the evening. Here you can create a haven. You can certainly make contact with them at night and whatever illicit activities are being done certainly will cease, so it is difficult to say. If it is necessary to serve a warrant at 2 o'clock in the morning, we may very well have to do it.

Mr. SANDERS. You know from reading news accounts in the last few months some search warrants have been executed during early morning hours, let's say predawn or dawn hours. From your experience as a police officer, what would you say is the primary reason for choosing such an hour?

Mr. PONESSA. There can be several reasons, less traffic, less congestion as far as the general public walking the streets.

You can probably rationalize this by saying you are concerned about innocent bystanders and you can almost be certain that this confrontation might result in firearms being used. Certainly this is our number one concern: the citizens who live in the area. We figure possibly at this time of the morning this may be the opportune time to go in there with search warrants in hopes of expediting it as quickly as possible. This is one thing in respect to this.

Mr. SANDERS. Is Sergeant Parker directly responsible to you?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, he is.

Mr. SANDERS. Some questions came up in Sergeant Parker's appearance on the witness stand that were perhaps not fully resolved because he was not certain of the answers. Perhaps you can elucidate further.

Number one: how many men and officers in the Kansas City Police Department all together?

Mr. PONESSA. 963.

Mr. SANDERS. Can you state the number of Negro officers?

Mr. PONESSA. We have a total of 57 Negro officers.

Mr. SANDERS. Sergeant Parker testified the highest ranking Negro officer is a captain?

Mr. PONESSA. That is right, one captain.

Mr. SANDERS. No lieutenants?

Mr. PONESSA. We have no lieutenants.

Mr. SANDERS. Nine sergeants?

Mr. PONESSA. We have six sergeants. One has just recently resigned.

Mr. SANDERS. How many captains all together would there be on the police force?

Mr. PONESSA. We have 46 captains all told.

Mr. SANDERS. You don't have the rank of lieutenant in your department?

Mr. PONESSA. No, we don't.

Mr. SANDERS. Since the formation of the chapter in Kansas City

a little over a year ago, you have had extensive contact with it, its members, and reviewed reports of your men; is that true?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, I have.

Mr. SANDERS. What is your understanding, Captain Ponessa, of the purpose or objectives of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PONESSA. The Black Panther Party, in my opinion—and I can only speak for the Kansas City Panthers—they preach revolutionary philosophies, but they do not want to be treated as such.

The Marxist-Leninist attitude is projected by Pete O'Neal. It has come up through the news media that he is for this and definitely for the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. I feel there in my own mind that possibly the greater majority of them do not even know the meaning of the Marxist-Leninist theory; they carry the Mao Tse-tung book of quotations and this hard-core group preach from this thing continually. I think they know it verbatim. There is no doubt about this; they do.

Mr. SANDERS. What specifically violent conduct do they advocate?

Mr. PONESSA. They advocate the overthrow of the Government, the overthrow of the Establishment, the doing away with the fascist, white structure as it is today, offing of the pig, which means killing the pig.

In their national papers and in coloring books they have shown six or seven different ways of killing the pig.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know of any other group—let's limit it to Kansas City, Captain Ponessa—black or white, that advocates killing police?

Mr. PONESSA. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know of any beneficial effect that the Panther chapter in Kansas City has had on the community?

Mr. PONESSA. I can see none.

Mr. SANDERS. What is your impression, Captain Ponessa, of the general attitude of the black community toward the Black Panther organization?

Mr. PONESSA. I think that is reflected in the success of the Black Panthers in our city and I think you have to give credit to the community and to the institutions that make up the community. When the Panthers were first organized they had a rally, a Free Huey Newton fund rally. You had at this rally a number of curiosity seekers. They had a rally shortly afterwards and their numbers have been going down. On May 1 of 1969 they projected that they would draw thousands of people and they drew exactly 50 of the 24 at that time who were Panthers and possibly 26 associates, and the rest were sightseers and some law enforcement people.

This was projected through the Negro paper of the community that they certainly did not go along with their philosophies. Every rally since then has been going down steadily. The last rally held out in front of the new Federal Building on 12th Street drew about 17 people, and that was the extent of it.

They have made several attempts to disrupt school practices by going from one school to another. That particular day they did the same thing in attempting to get the kids to break out so they would attend the rally, but they were unsuccessful in their attempts. Here again we have to give credit to the community and to the kids in school

because they just don't buy this, and we have been pretty fortunate, I think.

Mr. SANDERS. Does it appear to you there are other alternatives open to disadvantaged people in the Kansas City area to improve their conditions, other than by becoming members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PONESSA. Certainly within the city and with other organizations.

Mr. SANDERS. How many men do you supervise?

Mr. PONESSA. Right now approximately 45.

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

Mr. SANDERS. I will hand you what I will mark as Exhibit No. 15. Would you examine that, please? What does that photograph depict?

Mr. PONESSA. The weapons taken out of William Whitfield's home. One is a 30-30 caliber Stevens rifle and a 7-mm. Mauser. These weapons were taken from William Whitfield's home. These were taken by an officer from the Alcohol Tax Unit and another officer who assisted in the search.

Mr. SANDERS. Is that an accurate depiction of the weapons confiscated from Whitfield?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know Whitfield to be a member of the Panther chapter in Kansas City?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I offer this photograph.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any objection to the photograph?

It is so ordered.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 15. See appendix, page 2863.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Whitfield is not now a member, is he?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes. He is not as active as he used to be, but he is still a member to our knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you agree with the assessment of Sergeant Parker that there are only six or eight active members in Kansas City?

Mr. PONESSA. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SANDERS. Does the Kansas City Police Department have in effect procedures for receiving citizens' complaints and resolving them?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, we have two areas. Anybody wishing to register a complaint can do so with our internal affairs unit or with the OCC, which is Office of Citizen Complaints, which was newly organized in September, and any citizen wishing to register a complaint can do so at any one of the police facilities, either by telephone or at the Office of the Citizen Complaints, which is separate from police facilities.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you mean it is located in a separate structure?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, it is.

Mr. SANDERS. By whom is it staffed?

Mr. PONESSA. We have a director who is Doctor Ridpath, pastor in the community.

He has two counselors. One is a Mr. John Halvey, who is a retired policeman, and a Mr. Willie Walton, who is a civilian employee.

Mr. SANDERS. All of those men are police department employees?

Mr. PONESSA. No, not Doctor Ridpath. He is the director.

Mr. SANDERS. He just volunteers his services in this regard?

Mr. PONESSA. He is employed by the board of police commissioners.

Mr. SANDERS. It was formed just in September of 1969? Prior to that time, what did a citizen do if he felt he needed to make a complaint?

Mr. PONESSA. He could register his complaint with our internal affairs unit.

Mr. SANDERS. What does the department actually do after a citizen makes a complaint?

Mr. PONESSA. If our department receives a complaint they would evaluate the information and the facts in the complaint, and then it would be up to the director of the Office of Citizen Complaints then to decide what action would be taken. And this could be done either to have our internal affairs unit make a complete investigation of the complaint or a specific part of the investigation by our internal affairs unit, or he could request a conciliation between himself, the complainant, or the complainant himself and the officer if all parties were in agreement. Then recommendations are made and if it falls in the area that they are concerned with, which is unnecessary or excessive force, for one; abuse of authority by an officer; discourtesy, misconduct, or behavior by an officer; ethnic slur; derogatory remarks toward one's religion, creed, or nationality, the director could then make a recommendation to the chief of police—and he only as an adviser to the chief—of either substantiated, unsubstantiated, or successfully concluded either by conciliation or some other means. That is about it.

Mr. SANDERS. Have Kansas City citizens availed themselves of these proceedings?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, they have responded very well.

Mr. SANDERS. To your knowledge have some complaints been found to be valid?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, there have been some valid complaints.

Mr. SANDERS. Has any disciplinary action been taken against officers?

Mr. PONESSA. You are talking about specifics. There has been some disciplinary action taken, but I can't give you any specifics.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have any knowledge whether any members of the Black Panther Party chapter have made complaints to this agency?

Mr. PONESSA. How many to this exact agency? I know there has been a total of 10 complaints made by the Black Panther Party members.

Mr. SANDERS. Since September?

Mr. PONESSA. Not since September, since they have been organized.

Mr. SANDERS. Ten complaints all together?

Mr. PONESSA. Ten complaints.

Mr. SANDERS. In one of these categories you have mentioned, such as excessive force, verbal abuse, or something to that effect?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, various incidents, some excessive force, some had to do with the taking of Black Panther papers and things of that nature, and one was the incident where one of the officers slapped Brian O'Neal as was stated earlier.

They have not pursued any of these complaints. They have filed the

complaints. They have refused to sign statements. Registered letters were sent to them, personal contacts were made, telephone calls.

Mr. SANDERS. First of all, these Black Panther members have appeared at this agency and made oral complaints?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. About 10?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. The information would be taken from them as they presented it? What would the next step be?

Mr. PONESSA. The next step would be an investigation of the facts as determined either by the OCC, or internal affairs might investigate this.

Mr. SANDERS. Would an early step there be to ask the complainant to sign a statement containing the facts of the complaint?

Mr. PONESSA. Right.

Mr. SANDERS. Have any of these Panthers been willing to do this?

Mr. PONESSA. Not to my knowledge. My understanding is they have all refused to do so. There was one incident where there was a conciliation made. I will say one of the incidents and there was a conciliation made, and this involved a newspaper where a dollar was paid to the Panthers. They claimed two of their papers were taken. There was no way of knowing whether they were lost or what, but they agreed to give us a dollar, and that was it.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you mean give them a dollar?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. What you are saying, then, is that generally across the board the Panther complainants have declined to follow through on the processing of the complaint?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes; they say there is no constructive purpose for it.

We just had an incident involving Uncle Sam brought to their attention, and they said it was just like having Jesse James guard the bank, and this was their general attitude.

Mr. SANDERS. If they don't then follow through, do you know why they go to the trouble to make the report?

Mr. PONESSA. My own personal opinion now is I feel the Panthers do this for a purpose. They receive a little news coverage on it, and this gives them what they need to survive. Later, when it is brought to their attention on an incident, you ask them to file a complaint. They say, "What is the use? We have filed several complaints in the past and no results." But still then the general public will not know the disposition because these people have not extended themselves for disposition.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you saying that their initial complaint would ordinarily receive publicity?

Mr. PONESSA. In most cases.

Mr. SANDERS. Does the police department publicize it?

Mr. PONESSA. Not to the news media.

Mr. SANDERS. Who gives it to the news media?

Mr. PONESSA. An incident that is newsworthy, that is reported by them. And they usually call the news media themselves and say we are going to do this or that and, through their attorneys, they make it known that they are going to make a complaint.

Mr. SANDERS. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Captain, why do you feel that the Black Panthers need publicity to survive?

Mr. PONESSA. Because I feel without this publicity there just would not be any Black Panthers because they need the recognition.

The CHAIRMAN. How does the publicity assist them?

Mr. PONESSA. It gives them the status they feel they need in the community. It gives them recognition they never had before this. Something that is inflammatory makes good reading and people are interested, and they can draw around a crowd of curiosity seekers, and so forth. You have several localities of children who first, at the beginning, would make a visit to the Black Panther headquarters to pick up material or get information to write a thesis, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we do have problems with the identification on the part of many individuals in modern-day society. We have all seen where individuals, for example, walk before the camera, and I don't think you can restrict that to any group of people. People do like to be observed and noticed.

Mr. PONESSA. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you detect that on the part of the individuals? Do you feel they may be motivated to indulge in this type of activity in order to get the attention?

Mr. PONESSA. Most certainly I feel this very strongly.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we are getting into very broad questions of cause and effect here, and this is one of the things we do to try to gather the facts and try to determine what causes organizations like this to arise, and here you could write a book because the causation factors are many.

You can say conditions, community attitudes, and perhaps it involves police attitudes, but apparently you people in Kansas City have done a pretty good job of bringing this matter under control. You only have 6 or 8 as compared to 40, and guesses run as high as 60—you only have 6 or 8 active members. So I would think we have to conclude that the Black Panther organization in Kansas City is a fading organization.

Mr. PONESSA. I believe this, sir. And, as I said previously, the black community has contributed to this, and I am not saying we have not taken great strides in building good relationships.

We have storefronts in the ghetto for dealing with relations and they have been very successful, and I feel particularly the young children, the students in high school, and so forth, should be complimented for their demeanor. They have done an excellent job in Kansas City. There are not only Black Panthers involved, but we had Soul, Inc., run by the brother of Pete O'Neal.

During the spring of last year another attempt was made to get the kids to break out of school and it did not work.

So here again, I say there is much more to be done, and we all realize this as commanding officers in the police department as do the men. We have in-service training in the behavioral sciences, and so forth, and we feel we have good supervision.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a problem that always bothers me. Certainly we have many ills and deficiencies in our society and we should endeavor to correct them all. I think we will all differ as to the means of correcting some of the ills and deficiencies, but certainly we are not

going to be able to make much progress unless we do have order and until we do have respect for law and order.

I recognize the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. STOKES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Counsel, is this the officer to whom you had reference?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PONESSA. We have 963 police officers in our police department, 57 Negro officers and we have 6 sergeants that are black officers.

Mr. SANDERS. They don't have the rank of lieutenant in the department.

Mr. PONESSA. We previously had a Negro lieutenant who recently retired. He was one of the top five in the police department.

Mr. STOKES. Of what rank are the 57 officers?

Mr. PONESSA. The 57 officers, this includes 6 sergeants and the 1 captain. We are talking about the Negro officers. We are talking about 6 sergeants, 1 captain, and then there are 50 patrolmen.

Mr. STOKES. What means or manner do you have for promotion within the department?

Mr. PONESSA. We have a written examination that is required and then there is an oral interview, and that is the extent of it.

Mr. STOKES. Is that civil service?

Mr. PONESSA. No, this is not civil service. They are then placed on an eligibility list and taken according to their score from this list.

Mr. STOKES. Did we get the population figures you talked about?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think we did get that.

Mr. STOKES. What is the population of Kansas City?

Mr. PONESSA. To the best of my knowledge, the estimated population is 616,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Kansas City, Missouri?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, 616,000. This is the estimated population.

Mr. STOKES. This would be the city proper you are talking about?

Mr. PONESSA. Yes, we have 316 square miles in Kansas City.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have—to get the whole population of the metropolitan area, I think you would have to take in Kansas City, Kansas, too, wouldn't you?

Mr. PONESSA. To my knowledge this does not include Kansas City, Kansas.

The CHAIRMAN. Kansas City, Kansas, is just across the State line and it is a city right on the line.

Mr. STOKES. Your jurisdiction falls within Kansas City, Missouri, though, does it not? It would not take in Kansas City, Kansas.

Mr. PONESSA. No, that is an entirely different State.

Mr. STOKES. Approximately what would the black population be in Kansas City?

Mr. PONESSA. I would say 18 or 21 percent.

Mr. STOKES. Thank you; I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I have no further questions, Captain.

Thank you very much for your appearance today. It is really appreciated. And the Chair will declare the meeting in adjournment until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4:40 p.m., Thursday, March 5, 1970, the committee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Friday, March 6, 1970.)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Part I

Investigation of Kansas City Chapter; National Organization Data

FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1970

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richard L. Roudebush presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, Richard L. Roudebush of Indiana, and William J. Scherle of Iowa.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel, and Richard A. Shaw, investigator.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Counsel, call your first witness.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Levitt.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Levitt, will you raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEVITT. I do.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Let the record show the witness has been duly sworn.

(At this point Mr. Preyer entered the hearing room and chaired the hearing.)

TESTIMONY OF PAUL E. LEVITT

Mr. SANDERS. Will you state your full name, address, and business address.

Mr. LEVITT. My name is Paul E. Levitt. I live at 10109 Floyd, Overland Park, Kansas. My business establishment is at 2928 Prospect, Kansas City, Missouri.

Mr. SANDERS. What is the relationship of your business to the area which is often referred to in Kansas City as inner city?

Mr. LEVITT. Dispensing of food.

Mr. SANDERS. I mean the physical positioning of your business. Is your business located within the inner city area?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Is it located in an exclusively Negro, exclusively white, or a rather integrated neighborhood?

Mr. LEVITT. It is rather exclusively Negro.

Mr. SANDERS. How long have you been in business there, Mr. Levitt?

Mr. LEVITT. Approximately 9 years.

Mr. SANDERS. I don't believe you gave the name of your business.

Mr. LEVITT. It is the Prospect United Super.

Mr. SANDERS. Prior to that period of 9 years, had you been in some other business within the inner city of Kansas City?

Mr. LEVITT. Practically all my life.

Mr. SANDERS. In retail business?

Mr. LEVITT. In retail business, yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Has your family also been in business in the Kansas City area for many more years?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes, my father began his business in 1912 and that was at 100 Independence Avenue, which at that time was predominantly colored.

Mr. SANDERS. How many employees do you have in your store?

Mr. LEVITT. At this time we have approximately 14 or 15. It varies.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Levitt, on May 20, 1969, did you experience a situation at your place of business in which some individual attempted to secure funds from you?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes, I did.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you explain the circumstances, please.

Mr. LEVITT. It was approximately around 10 o'clock in the morning. A man and a woman came into the store. At that time I was giving one of our cashiers a break and I was on the register. He walked into the store and he said—shall I use the dialect he used or should I use my own?

Mr. SANDERS. I think it would be preferable if you would use his very language insofar as you can remember it.

Mr. LEVITT. He came into the store. I was on the register, and he threw down a Black Panther paper and he said, "Hey, man, I want to talk to you." I said, "I will be with you in a minute."

He said, "I want to talk to you now, man. I don't want to wait."

I said, "I will be with you in a few minutes."

He said, "I want you right now. Right now."

I said, "I will be with you in a few minutes." As soon as the cashier came back I went over to talk to him.

He said, "Do you know who I represent?"

I said, "No, I don't."

He said, "What does that paper say?"

I said, "I see what it says, but I don't know who you represent. Who are you?"

He said, "I don't have to tell you who I am." He said, "I am here for a donation."

I asked, "What type of donation?"

He said, "Man, I represent the Black Panthers."

I said, "Well, what are you demanding?"

He said, "I am demanding money."

I didn't ask him what kind of money because at that time I was

rather disturbed and I said to him, "I will have to consult with my other two partners." I have two other partners and myself.

He said, "Man, you are running this store at this time and you are going to contribute."

I said, "I can't possibly contribute without consulting my other two partners."

He said, "Well, we are going to show you that you are."

He started lighting matches and throwing them all over the place. I said, "That doesn't even concern me, and I will give you another package of matches to help you along with it."

He went on with his profanity, which I don't care to go into at this time. About that time I told him that there wasn't anything possible I could do for him.

As he left, he said, "You will hear from me."

In about 10 minutes I got a telephone call. "Man, are you the manager?"

I said, "Yes, I am the manager."

He said, "Get my black brothers out of there because I am going to blow your place up and every one of my black brothers has to get out of there because we are going to blow you up."

This quite concerned me because this was the first telephone call I got.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you recognize the voice?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes, I did recognize the voice. It was the same identical individual. He has a different type of voice, a high-pitched voice.

Anyway, I called the police downtown and reported it.

He [a policeman] brought out several pictures, and I identified him from the pictures that they showed me.

Mr. SANDERS. I hand you what has been earlier marked as Committee Exhibit 12 and ask you if you recognize a picture of that individual in here.

Mr. LEVITT. Yes, this is the man right here.

Mr. SANDERS. The photograph bearing the name of Thomas Robinson, Jr.?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes, that is right.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know that to be the same person who came in your store on May 20 demanding money of you?

Mr. LEVITT. I found that out later.

Mr. SANDERS. Continue with your story.

Mr. LEVITT. The police department sent out two men. I don't recollect the names of the two men that they sent out. They apprehended him at 2 o'clock that afternoon. They asked me if I would come down and sign a complaint. I said I would be more than glad to.

This was on a Wednesday. When I got down to sign the complaint, they had already released this man and I told them that I wanted this man brought back in. I waited in the prosecutor's office until the man was brought in and then I signed the complaint. I don't know how long they held him or whether they released him on bond. I didn't follow that.

But the event that followed it disturbed me very, very much. I was contacted by many, many businessmen, many of the people of the community to drop charges. I just couldn't see it that way and I continued

with these charges. I was going to press charges and I did press charges.

We had come to trial time and they would continue the trial, but in the meantime I was contacted by two prominent people, through letters, and in the interim I was constantly threatened—my children and myself and my wife.

Mr. SANDERS. By what means?

Mr. LEVITT. By telephone—never a direct contact. It was just strictly by telephone. I even had businessmen call me asking me to drop charges.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you recognize the voices?

Mr. LEVITT. Some of them were friends of mine.

Mr. SANDERS. Did any of them say they were Panthers?

Mr. LEVITT. No. The direct threats—they never said who they were. The indirect threats of my friends—putting it that way—said, "Paul, you don't realize what might happen to you or your family."

Of course, again, I have my own means of controlling my family's protection and myself.

I was visited by Mr. Greer and a Mr. Austin. Mr. Greer was out of the mayor's office. Mr. Austin was from the Chamber of Commerce. They both contacted me and asked me if they could talk to me. I said I would be more than glad to meet with them anywhere.

This meeting consisted of maybe an hour to an hour and a half asking me to drop charges against this Thomas Robinson. I couldn't just adhere to it. I said, "No, I am going to prosecute."

Gene Austin said, "You can't win. Cook Paint & Varnish Company is dropping their charges," which later at the trial I found out was untrue.

As we continued—they continued this trial until Judge Gnefkow got hold of it, and he said, "We are throwing it out for insufficient evidence."

I have some idea—I believe they held him over for Cook Paint & Varnish Company—extortion—but I believe he was released after the second trial there.

Mr. SANDERS. Did your case actually go to trial or was it a preliminary hearing?

Mr. LEVITT. I think it was a preliminary hearing.

Mr. SANDERS. And the judge dismissed the charges?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you take the stand and testify to the circumstances?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes, I did.

Mr. SANDERS. Were there any other witnesses on behalf of the prosecution or defense?

Mr. LEVITT. The representative of the Cook Paint & Varnish Company.

Mr. SANDERS. Did the judge announce the reason for dismissing the charge?

Mr. LEVITT. Insufficient evidence is what he said.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know from his remarks what he based that on or what he meant?

Mr. LEVITT. Being cross-examined, they went into the phraseology of our particular locality—"burn." There are all kinds of phraseology

gies that are used—"I will lay you straight, kitty." But if they say, "Cat, you are going to get laid straight," it means you are going to get killed, just like "off the pigs," or "Cat, you are going to get burned," that means you are going to get shot or burned up. They try to say that this phraseology was just a byword, which is not so.

Mr. SANDERS. What type of customers do you have in your store, commonly, Mr. Levitt?

Mr. LEVITT. Ours is predominantly Negro customers.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you talk with your customers?

Mr. LEVITT. Each day.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you consider yourself knowledgeable concerning the language of the inner city?

Mr. LEVITT. Very much so.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you sincerely feel that the particular language that Robinson had used in your store was not meant in a light, facetious, or insincere manner?

Mr. LEVITT. Definitely not.

Mr. SANDERS. What period of time was he in the store?

Mr. LEVITT. I would say anywhere from 10 to 15 minutes.

Mr. SANDERS. Were other customers present?

Mr. LEVITT. There were.

Mr. SANDERS. Did he state his reason for wanting this money?

Mr. LEVITT. To benefit the Panthers and its work within the community. The conversation went on, "Man, every day that you are in the community you are going to contribute. I mean you are going to contribute or you are not going to be in this community."

Mr. SANDERS. But he did not ever say the specific amount of money he expected?

Mr. LEVITT. I didn't give him a chance. I cut him off.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you say at first he came in with some newspapers?

Mr. LEVITT. He came in with one newspaper and threw it on the counter.

Mr. SANDERS. A Black Panther newspaper?

Mr. LEVITT. That is right.

Mr. SANDERS. Had you ever previously been solicited by Black Panthers?

Mr. LEVITT. In the breakfast program I thought it was quite—well, I did give them merchandise, not because I was being extorted. I felt like this was a very fair thing to do, and this was breakfast foods. I would give them a case of breakfast food. I thought that was the most appropriate thing for a breakfast.

Mr. SANDERS. How frequently and over what period of time did you contribute to that program?

Mr. LEVITT. As I told Pete and Gary, I know them both, very well, and I have watched them grow up.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you mean Pete and Gary O'Neal?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes, Pete and Gary O'Neal. Gary used to come in and I would tell him, "This is going to last you a month, isn't it?" And he would go along with that program. They were very easy for me to talk to because I watched them grow up.

Mr. SANDERS. They had not demanded any money from you?

Mr. LEVITT. Never, under no circumstances, just this Tom Robinson. He is their hatchetman.

Mr. SANDERS. The other individual with Robinson—do you know that person's identity?

Mr. LEVITT. This was a quite large woman.

Mr. SANDERS. I hand you the same exhibit and I ask you if you recognize that second individual.

Mr. LEVITT. Which second individual?

Mr. SANDERS. You said a large woman. Do you see her photograph in there?

Mr. LEVITT. Right there at the bottom. She was the woman.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know her name?

Mr. LEVITT. I never knew her name.

Mr. SANDERS. Let the record show the witness identified the photograph marked Sharon Louise Cooper who was previously identified by another witness.

She was with Robinson on May 20?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes; she was the little lady who was taking notes.

Mr. SANDERS. Did she make any remarks to you?

Mr. LEVITT. No, she had nothing to say.

Mr. SANDERS. How would you describe your relationship with your customers and business neighbors theretofore?

Mr. LEVITT. I was born in the north end of Kansas City. I played with the men that now are around 40, 45, 50 years old. I didn't go to the same school. In that particular area there was the Garrison School and the Emerson School, which was a matter of a block or so away. My father started his business in 1912. He catered exclusively to the Negro population due to the fact that they were the unfortunates, and I worked with him for approximately 30 years.

I started working with him when I was 9 years old due to the fact that, in this particular north end, there was a bad element, not the Negro element; it was another element that was in that north end at that time. There were bootleggers, dope runners, and so on. My father, to get me off the street, put me in the business at 9 years old. Other than the 3 years I have spent in the Army, I worked with him 30 years and then I went out on my own, and my second location was at 23d and Indiana in Kansas City, Missouri, which was a Negro location exclusively. And I have lived with these problems, I have seen them. My father has been very, very sympathetic; due to the fact that he was a new immigrant, he had very little chances so he catered to the Negro populace.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you feel you have been on favorable terms with the Negro community, with your customers?

Mr. LEVITT. They have confidence in me; yes. They ask me for opinions, they consult with me about their family problems and other problems they have, financial problems. Sometimes they get in an entanglement with the law, child support and what have you, and I sort of counsel them a little bit. They have that much confidence in me.

Mr. SANDERS. Subsequent to the May 20 incident, did your business property sustain any damage from what might appear to be intentional acts?

Mr. LEVITT. Prior to this?

Mr. SANDERS. Subsequent to May 20?

Mr. LEVITT. No, I don't want to go into my personal structure and my personal thinking and the way I would act, but they know that I don't take any foolishness.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you make a remark to Pete O'Neal that they had better lay off?

Mr. LEVITT. I was asked to meet with Pete O'Neal and I refused to meet with him. I know he wanted to give me several concessions, but I was not interested in that at all. My main purpose—this man had threatened me, and with this threat I wanted to carry it out to the fullest extent of the law. There was no backing up. I didn't back up.

Mr. SANDERS. Did it seem to you, from all of the ensuing circumstances, that Pete O'Neal had knowledge of Robinson's conduct?

Mr. LEVITT. I think he had knowledge of it after the incident. I don't know whether he had knowledge of it before. Now I can't say that. I don't know.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge of any of your business associates—I don't mean in your own business, but nearby—becoming victims of strong-arm attempts?

Mr. LEVITT. I have been told, but, Mr. Sanders, if you don't mind—

Mr. SANDERS. I am not asking for identities, but just, in general, do you have such knowledge?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes, I know this.

Mr. SANDERS. Could you give us some number. How many do you have personal knowledge of?

Mr. LEVITT. I would say 10, 15, or 20.

Mr. SANDERS. Of what would seem to you as strong-arm efforts to solicit funds by the Black Panthers?

Mr. LEVITT. Would you describe "strong-arm"?

Mr. SANDERS. Threatening remarks designed to encourage a merchant to make contributions to the Black Panthers.

Mr. LEVITT. That is so right.

Mr. SANDERS. In that number?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes; 15 or 20 of them.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you be able to say, Mr. Levitt, that a number of merchants have acceded to these demands or threats and have not been willing to report it to the police?

Mr. LEVITT. That is right. I was told that I was completely insane by my prosecuting, but I went ahead anyway.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you have any concept, from these cases about which you are speaking, of the amount of money that is being contributed?

Mr. LEVITT. It has been as high as \$100.

Mr. SANDERS. A week or a month?

Mr. LEVITT. I can't tell you this. I don't really know.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you mean per contact?

Mr. LEVITT. Per contact; that is right.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge that Tommy Robinson has been responsible for any of these other incidents of which you speak?

Mr. LEVITT. I can only say this, and this I know, that Tommy Robinson was responsible for Cook Paint & Varnish closing. He was re-

sponsible for making personal contact with me, and that is as far as I know.

Mr. SANDERS. Would it appear to you, from your knowledge of what other merchants are contributing to the Black Panthers not only in funds, but in food, and your knowledge of the extent of the success of the breakfast program in Kansas City, that the funds and food go entirely to support the breakfast program?

Mr. LEVITT. I would say no.

Mr. SANDERS. What other programs are they being used for?

Mr. LEVITT. To support them. You see, we were located directly across the street from the Panther headquarters.

Mr. SANDERS. Your business is?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes, 2928 Prospect, and they were located at 2905 Prospect. There is no way of me not observing them even if I didn't want to, because I would still have to look at the entrance to the headquarters. There was no possible way for me not to see the visitors who go in there. Every time I look out the window, there was the headquarters right in front of my door.

Mr. SANDERS. You say the food and funds are being used for the Panthers themselves; you mean to support themselves individually?

Mr. LEVITT. You must understand the Panther organization. The Panther organization is a bunch of fellows who are rejects. They can't fit themselves into society. Can I describe this in my own words, Mr. Sanders?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEVITT. These are men who are scavengers. They are misfits. They will sway to the left, to the right, to the middle, wherever there happens to be money, as long as they don't have to work, you see. Whether they sway to the communist side or whether they are integrated with the whites, if these whites are sadists and willing to donate to the cause and spur them along and use them—you see, from my observation, and this is strictly from my observation—and each and every Panther traded with me and came into my store to buy their food, and their food consisted of salami, bread, mustard, and this is the way they lived.

The less intelligent individual they can indoctrinate into whatever thinking is—well, it is just like water running down a hill. It will run down, so anyone they can indoctrinate into their thinking they will take them into their fold temporarily. They use them and then when they have no more use for them, then they are out of the party.

Their funds recently have been cut off. I used to cash all their checks.

Are you familiar with Miss Hill and André Weatherby?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEVITT. They were taking care of the headquarters in the past few months. O'Neal and Whitfield were not there half of the time, and they would sign the contributions that they would receive. They would be sent over to the store and I would cash their checks. On several occasions I would cash their Black Panther checks.

Mr. SANDERS. Would these be checks from other merchants in the community?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes; this is how I know these things. These are positive facts that I know that even the police do not know, and I don't

relate it to them. These are things that stay within—but now that I am here I am going to tell you what I know.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you be able to estimate the general level of their income per week or per month from the amount of checks you yourself cashed?

Mr. LEVITT. This would be hard to do. I cash approximately \$25,000 to \$30,000 worth of checks a week. I could say maybe \$150 to \$200 a week, maybe the next week it is \$30 or \$40. It is hard for me to say.

Mr. SANDERS. I want to ask you one other question about these other merchants you mentioned who have acceded to their threats and made contributions to them.

Would you be able to comment on what might have motivated them to do so?

Mr. LEVITT. Do you mean the merchants?

Mr. SANDERS. Yes; why did they accede to the threats?

Mr. LEVITT. \$5 or \$10 is better than giving in to trouble. It is just like the fellow on the road. You see, in our particular area, we are not able to obtain glass insurance, fire insurance, holdup insurance, or burglary insurance. So in place of getting a window broken out, which would cost \$200, they feel like a \$10 bill would take care of this situation.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you not have any of those forms of insurance on your place of business?

Mr. LEVITT. We have been able to obtain not enough insurance, but we have been able to obtain some fire insurance. But we do not have glass insurance so we put a screen mesh across our window to protect our glass. We have 10 or 12 panes of glass—don't hold me down to the exact number—cost close to \$300 a pane, and to put up this mesh wire it cost us \$1,200 and we felt like that was good insurance.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you attempted to get this other form of insurance and you have been unable to do so?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. What reason do they say?

Mr. LEVITT. The area itself.

Mr. SANDERS. The risk is too high?

Mr. LEVITT. The risk is too high, and they reject this insurance.

Mr. SANDERS. Is this also true with your business neighbors?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes, that is so right. As far as glass insurance and holdup insurance is concerned, that is true. Now, I don't know whether they are able to obtain fire insurance or not. We have been able to, and I am sure they have been able to if we can. For a while we were not able to obtain fire insurance. Even Lloyd's of London would not insure us.

Mr. SANDERS. From your conversations with your customers in the community, could you comment on the attitude of the citizen, the usual person you have had contact with who is not a Panther, toward the Black Panther Party?

Mr. LEVITT. Maybe I can make myself clear and if I don't—as you know, the Negro community is trying to uplift itself. The Black Panthers themselves are a thorn in their side. They would like to eliminate them themselves, but they are scared. They don't know which way to go. They would like to legally, even physically, if it is at all possible,

but they know they are controlled by the law. The average Negro man is respectful of the law. It is only the hoodlums and the misfits that don't respect the law and the police. I know this to be a fact.

Mr. SANDERS. What you are saying then is you don't feel that the Black Panther chapter in Kansas City is held in any high regard by the Negro community?

Mr. LEVITT. No. They are fearful of them. They are very fearful of them. They don't know from which direction they are coming or who they are.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. Sanders.

Mr. Roudebush?

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. I have just a few questions to clarify your testimony. You mention after the first contact by Tom Robinson that you received a telephone call saying, "Get my black brothers out." Was he referring to your employees or to your customers?

Mr. LEVITT. No, to my employees.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. After you filed charges or swore out a complaint against Tom Robinson, was he out on bond?

Mr. LEVITT. Sir, this happened on a Wednesday and Thursday I told the law enforcement agency that I couldn't get down to sign a complaint until Thursday morning. I was confined to my business. They had apprehended him that afternoon at 2 o'clock. The prosecutor's office—I don't know what their mechanical works are in the office, what they have to do to hold a man, but they released him.

When I got down to the prosecutor's office at 9 o'clock that morning, which I was told to do, this man was released that evening after they apprehended him.

I insisted they bring that man back in and I was going to sit in that office until they did. They made me very comfortable and they catered to me. I raised a little bit of the roof until they did bring him in; about 2:30 or 3 o'clock that afternoon they brought him back. They asked me if this was the man I wanted to sign a complaint against and I said yes.

At that time, I didn't know his name. I don't know what they did with him, whether they confined him or released him.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. You are not aware of the circumstances surrounding his being held by the police or anything?

Mr. LEVITT. I didn't ask. I didn't know whether he got out on bond or not.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. You mentioned the name several times Cook Paint & Varnish Company. Could you tell us briefly the circumstances of this company going out of business?

Mr. LEVITT. It happened that when Tom Robinson approached their manager, and this is what I heard in court, that he wanted to extort \$500 from the Cook Paint & Varnish Company, which is located up the street. There is a parking lot, and then the store is situated on the corner.

The following day Cook Paint & Varnish Company moved their entire paint stock and hardware stock out of there and boarded up the building. The community itself depended on Cook Paint & Varnish Company because that is the only store within the radius of 5 or 6 or 8 miles where they could obtain paint and hardware.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Are there many empty store buildings in your area where businessmen have pulled up stakes?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Have any of them been burnt out?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes; several of them.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. They have been burnt out?

Mr. LEVITT. Yes.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. You mentioned you had around 12 employees.

Mr. LEVITT. It varies.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Are those employees black Americans or white?

Mr. LEVITT. They are black and some white. There is a mixture. It is integrated.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. You mentioned your problem with fire insurance. You said you were finally able to obtain some fire insurance. Did you say the amount was insufficient to cover your loss?

Mr. LEVITT. If we had a loss, it would be insufficient to cover it.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. In other words, the amount of insurance you have is inadequate.

Mr. LEVITT. Yes; it is inadequate at this time and we cannot obtain any more, but we are thankful for what we have.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Those are the only questions I have at the present time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. Roudebush.

Mr. Levitt, again by way of clarification, I think we should get straight on the record the contacts you had from many businessmen in the community to drop charges, and you spoke of some threats, direct or indirect, against you and your family and then you talked about a visit from the mayor's office and the Chamber of Commerce.

I think we may have these threats and visits mixed up. I assume that some of your friends wanted you to drop the suit because of fear of personal harm to you and to your family and that others wanted you, such as the mayor's representative, and the Chamber of Commerce probably had as their motive for wanting you to drop the suit maintaining racial peace and harmony. The mayor's office and Chamber of Commerce did not threaten you, did they?

Mr. LEVITT. There was a motive.

Mr. PREYER. They may have been misguided or perhaps they were wrong, but I don't think we would want the record to indicate that you lumped those in with the people who were threatening you.

Mr. LEVITT. I don't mean to interrupt you, Mr. Chairman, but this Mr. Austin out of the Chamber of Commerce in Kansas City told me I couldn't win in court. Is that a threat?

So, why take up your time. And this was the actual fact.

As far as Mr. Greer is concerned, he was the contact man from the mayor's office. Whether his intentions were right or wrong, he said very little. He was backing up Mr. Austin, Gene Austin of the Chamber of Commerce. He sat in and this Austin Shute, which is the Panther's lawyer—Austin Shute would not make a statement, cross-examine without advice from this Gene Austin, as he sat in the gallery during the trial. So, again, I observed this. I don't know what his motives were.

Also, on this Gene Austin bit, I want to relate this, that on several occasions he had one check made out to the Black Panthers for \$75,

which I cashed, and the second check for \$75 was made out by his wife. There was a \$150 donation along the lines, and I cashed these checks. If they can be obtained, you will see our bank stamp on the back of them. Here is a man who represents the Chamber of Commerce of Kansas City, Missouri.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. Levitt. We will want to look into that a little further.

Your picture of the Panthers, as I get it, is more one of a group of scavengers, I think you called them, misfits and hoodlums.

Mr. LEVITT. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. That contrasts pretty dramatically with the popular image they may have in some circles in this country as the sort of Robin Hood of the ghettos and whatever you say about them may be courageous, and so forth, but from your picture this is not the case. You would call them instead of idealists, they would be closer to a bunch of bums.

Would that be a fair characterization?

Mr. LEVITT. You are right, Mr. Chairman. Also I will say this, that each individual, and I am no psychiatrist by a long shot, but I have handled many thousands of people. They are individualists and they are strictly for self-gain—self-gain.

Mr. PREYER. You do not see them as being overwhelmingly interested—

Mr. LEVITT. In the interest of the individuals in the community, absolutely not. They are a hindrance to the community.

Mr. PREYER. We do want to thank you, Mr. Levitt.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Chairman, before you dismiss the witness, I think there is one thing that should be clarified. You mentioned the amount of checks you cashed for a week. What was that amount you gave?

Mr. LEVITT. I would say approximately \$25,000 or \$30,000 a week.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. What portion of those checks were Panther checks?

Mr. LEVITT. As I said before, it would be very nominal in comparison to the amount of checks I cash.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. I thought you said \$40 or \$50 some weeks?

Mr. LEVITT. I do know that the rehabilitation center for example—Charlotte Hill—made out checks. The source I don't know. It was \$169—and some cents. Each check consists of this amount of money. This was in the period of a week.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. I did not want you to give the impression that this \$25,000 was for the Black Panthers.

Mr. LEVITT. No, I did not mean to leave that impression.

Mr. PREYER. I thank you very much for your testimony. And the fact that your testimony comes from a man who is sympathetic to the black community and who is the son of an immigrant who has lived and worked in the black community for many years makes it carry so much more weight. You are obviously a man who is sympathetic to the general cause of harmonious racial relations. Thank you very much.

Mr. O'Neal.

Mr. O'Neal, we ask our witnesses to be sworn, if you will stand, please.

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

Mr. O'NEAL. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF EVERETT P. O'NEAL

Mr. SANDERS. Would you please state your full name, your address, and your business, sir?

Mr. O'NEAL. I am Everett P. O'Neal. I am the owner and operator of O'Neal Tire Company, the Guard Service Company, and O'Neal Investment Company. I live at 2949 Victor, and my business enterprises are at 2611 Prospect.

Mr. SANDERS. All in Kansas City, Missouri?

Mr. O'NEAL. All in Kansas City, Missouri.

Mr. SANDERS. How many years have you been a resident of Kansas City?

Mr. O'NEAL. About 40 years.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you also been connected with the Kansas City, Missouri, Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. O'NEAL. As vice president of the Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. SANDERS. When was that?

Mr. O'NEAL. I was vice president 4 years, until this last election, when my term expired.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you still a member of the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. O'NEAL. Definitely, and I am on two or three committees.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you actively manage any of these businesses which you mentioned? Are you daily involved in their activity?

Mr. O'NEAL. I am daily involved, but I have two sons who do really lots of the management.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you during the year, 1969, and up to the present time been cognizant of the existence of a Black Panther Party chapter in Kansas City?

Mr. O'NEAL. I certainly have.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you had occasion to form certain opinions and conclusions concerning its formation?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes, I have, Mr. Sanders. As a black person in the community, my honest opinion is from my observation that they are a detriment to our community.

One of the things that has happened then in our community due to the pressure that they have tried to put on business people and the community, primarily the white business people—there are very few times—there have been some times—but very few times have they tried to put the pressure on the black merchants. But they are running the business out of the community and many, many storerooms are vacant today due to the kind of thing that they are doing. I call it many times "muscle" that they use and I personally feel that if something is not done, we will find ourselves with a Black Mafia.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have in your daily life, in your daily work, frequent contacts with the businessmen in the inner city?

Mr. O'NEAL. I certainly do.

Mr. SANDERS. And you have talked with many people in Kansas City about the Black Panthers?

Mr. O'NEAL. I certainly have, and all I have ever talked to agree with my feeling. We are very—we are having a difficult time of getting businesses going in the community, whether they be black or white. I am working with two organizations now, along with the Chamber of Commerce, trying to develop businesses in the community and also to develop black businesses irrespective of where they may locate. My feeling is that they should be able to locate anyplace in Kansas City—

Mr. SANDERS. We have had testimony that the Black Panther chapter there is filling some need for the Negro community. Do you have an observation on that?

Mr. O'NEAL. The need that the Black Panthers is filling is a need for themselves. They are not, in my opinion, trying to help anyone but themselves. To give you a good example of what I am saying is that these breakfasts that they are giving are not to help so much, but I feel they are to give an indoctrination.

To give you an example of what I am saying, one of my men, unbeknownst to them, was in Wayne Miner when Brian O'Neal was there with a group of children having breakfast, and he was explaining to them about Huey Newton and what the Black Panthers organization was all about. When he finally recognized my man then he stopped. But my opinion is this is for indoctrination. Mr. Sanders, you must realize that some of these kids are impressed with this kind of thing. Living in the poverty that they are living in, they are impressed with this, and many children have a lasting impression of the things that were done for them many years ago. Consequently, without a good, substantial background of a mother and a father and a home—and many of them do not have the father in the home—these children are impressed by these fellows.

Consequently, they are attempting to build for the future so that they will have people who will follow this kind of thinking, the kind of thinking they teach.

Mr. SANDERS. Would this indoctrination that you mentioned at the breakfast program, would you be able to elaborate further on this? Is this indoctrination of democratic principles or what?

Mr. O'NEAL. This is pretty much as what I would say is communism. As my man gave it to me—I did not hear them—that they are saying that the white man of America is totally against the black man.

We realize that there are lots of things that have gone on that we don't like. There are lots of things that have gone on that you don't like, but we all have to work together. And when you speak of separatism this is no deal, we can't have it.

Mr. SANDERS. Does it appear to you that the Panthers, at least in Kansas City, are a separatist organization?

Mr. O'NEAL. This is my opinion. They are separatists to the extent that they preach it, but when it comes down to help, they call on the white people who think pretty much the same as they.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you had occasion to observe any possible effects of their attempts to inculcate their ideas in small children in Kansas City?

Mr. O'NEAL. No, I have not personally. Actually I stay in the background and I learn an awfully lot because I have a particular opera-

tion that can do a great deal to get information that would be necessary.

Mr. SANDERS. What does it appear to you, Mr. O'Neal, is the true purpose of the Panther chapter? What are they trying to accomplish?

Mr. O'NEAL. I don't think they really have any more than revolution. This is what they are trying to do. They go to the City Hall, for instance, yesterday I called home and they were picketing in front of the Federal Building, trying to create a problem, trying to get recognition. They are confused.

Mr. SANDERS. Would it be fair to say they are trying to create friction and separatism and dissension in the community?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes; and I will have to be personal on this. I have worked with both white and the black community and, as I said to a man not too long ago, they were being formed by CUA [Council for United Action]—I have forgotten the man's name who formed it. I told him I had gotten far more jobs in 1 year for black people and white than his organization would get in 5 years. I have a purpose, but I don't think that the Panthers and those groups really have anything.

Mr. SANDERS. This conversation you just mentioned with an individual involved with CUA—how recently has that occurred?

Mr. O'NEAL. I would say almost a year ago.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you recall the individual's name?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes, A. O. Johnson, I believe it is, or A. L. Johnson.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge of a particular meeting of Kansas City businessmen and executives which was called to attempt to alleviate the job problem, to find jobs for Negroes? The particular meeting I have reference to is one at which the Panthers appeared and created some disruption of it.

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes, of course, Mr. Sanders, there were a number of meetings, and actually I called three or four of the meetings myself to get an understanding. I think the meeting you are talking about, I did not go to it. The president of the Chamber of Commerce and I discussed it, and I said that I felt that I did not want to go.

One of the things you have to understand is that a person like myself, who has worked hard for many years—when a truck would break down with a flat tire in the middle of the night, I would get out of bed in the middle of the night and go fix it myself, but I have gotten out there and have done lots of work and I know lots of people and, therefore, I can make these contacts with these people to help people get jobs. So I said to the president of the chamber that I did not think that I should be at the meeting because they put fellows like myself—and there are quite a few black business people who are trying to move ahead, trying to develop their businesses. We are pretty much in a worse position than many white people are in because they classify us as Uncle Toms, and they have a few other names that they call us, but they don't realize that we work harder than they will ever work in their lifetime because they are trying to live off the fat of the land.

Mr. SANDERS. So you were personally responsible for calling several meetings to try to resolve the job problems?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes; in fact you might say I called the first one.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you subsequently discuss the events of that meeting with the president or any other chamber official?

Mr. O'NEAL. With the executive of the chamber; yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Could you tell us what happened?

Mr. O'NEAL. I asked him what he thought about it. He said the Panthers came in and were rather rude in the way they carried themselves, but he felt maybe we gained a little something.

While I am here I want to say one thing, and I want to make it very clear that this person, Gene Austin, was not authorized to make the contacts with the Black Panthers that he did, and the moneys that he gave to the Panthers was given to them unauthorized.

Mr. SANDERS. This is the individual that Mr. Levitt mentioned.

Mr. O'NEAL. That is right. Gene Austin was requested to leave the job by the board on which I served and the other executives of the Chamber of Commerce. We found out things that this man did without the chamber knowing, and he did not go through the normal procedures.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you hear Mr. Levitt's testimony, Mr. O'Neal?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes, I did.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you hear what he said with regard to Mr. Gene Austin's appearance and remarks to him in connection with the extortion attempt?

Mr. O'NEAL. I did.

Mr. SANDERS. Did that seem to you to be anything which the Chamber of Commerce would have authorized?

Mr. O'NEAL. They would not authorize this at all. Having worked closely with the chamber, I know that they would not. To give you an example of the kind of guy Mr. Austin is—and I don't mean to run him down, but I want to clear the Chamber of Commerce at this particular time—Mr. Austin left Kansas City a few weeks ago and he had three young Negroes to help him load a trailer, moving out of the house he moved out of. For this, he gave them checks. They went to the bank, and I happened to be sitting in the Suburban Bank at the time they came in there. He had reported to the bank that these checks had been stolen, when he actually wrote the checks and gave them to the boys themselves. He is a crumb.

Mr. SANDERS. He said the checks that the boys presented there had been stolen?

Mr. O'NEAL. That is right.

Mr. SANDERS. How would you analyze the publicity or propaganda, if you will, that the Black Panther chapter in Kansas City disseminates with regard to its purposes and activities?

Mr. O'NEAL. Do you mean how effective is it, or how do they get it out?

Mr. SANDERS. I mean what are their motives and how effective does it seem to you to be?

Mr. O'NEAL. In my opinion, it is not effective at all. The purpose is to make a little money, try to get a few people to see their way, and I don't think they are effective. As has been said previously, they are losing ground.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you formed any opinions concerning the effect of the news media coverage which the Panthers have received during the last 12 months?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes, I have. I don't want to be critical of the news media, TV, newspapers, and what have you, but I think they have gotten too much free through the news media. In fact, I think that the news media, in trying to do a job of reporting which I realize is news, have pretty much made the Panthers in some respects. I am not being critical of them because I realize this is news to them.

I called a meeting of the news media—again I am always sticking my neck out—but with this, we had about 15 or 20 of the news media there including Mr. Paul Miner, who was the president of *The Kansas City Star*, and Mr. Joe Hottenbar, who is the president of KCMO, and a number of men for a 7 o'clock breakfast. We discussed this until about 11 o'clock. I felt that we really had not gotten anyplace, but I have seen the thing kind of level off.

Mr. SANDERS. When was the meeting?

Mr. O'NEAL. That has been about 6 or 8 months ago, but I think it helped in eliminating—and one of the things I said in this particular meeting, we were having difficulty at Southeast High School at that particular time. I said that if one of the Panthers or Souls or Black Youth of America—they were usually involved in a little of everything—if they came to you and said we want a camera and a newsman to come to Southeast High School, we are going to burn it down, I said to them, I don't believe they would burn it down if you said that we do not have a cameraman or newsman to appear there. But they may burn it down if you had someone there to photograph them, and a newsman.

Mr. SANDERS. So it appears to you that the Panthers have not had any difficulty in securing press coverage of their activities and functions?

Mr. O'NEAL. It is news, and this is the problem. I can understand the news media.

Mr. SANDERS. Taking into consideration everything else that is happening in Kansas City, taking into consideration the small number of men in the Panther chapter, does the extent of the coverage seem to you inappropriate?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes, it is inappropriate. You see, there are a number of black businessmen in Kansas City who are doing things, who are trying to develop apartments, businesses, creating banks, savings and loan associations, and there are no big writeups about these men. Why? Because they don't want it. They want to go do a job and go home.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you formed any opinion about any particular type of attitude which the Panthers are fomenting or attempting to create among the youth in Kansas City?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes; as I said a few minutes ago, I think that they are trying to get the youth to create a problem wherever they possibly can. I am sure this is their attitude, to create a problem, to keep on the scene, and to be seen and be heard if they possibly can—disturbances, and so on. I knew when it was called the Vigilantes and as they went on to be called the Panthers, they were doing the very same thing then that they are doing today, trying to create problems, and they do create problems for some people, when they can frighten them.

Mr. SANDERS. How do you assess the relationship between the Black Panther chapter in Kansas City and the Kansas City police?

Mr. O'NEAL. The police have a constant surveillance on them, and I don't disagree with that at all. I think the relationship is strained to a great extent many times, but I must say that I think that they don't have a man in the police department who is better able to handle it than Sergeant Parker. He is cool, calm, and collected and he does a beautiful job. They are constantly calling the police certain names, cursing them, and all of these kinds of things, and it takes a real strong person to do it. I am not saying that the police department is always right because they are not, and neither am I, but I think they do a pretty good job.

There was an incident a few weeks ago when they went into the police department, went up to the chief's office to sell the newspapers in the office. I was not there, but my honest opinion was I would have let them come on in, given them a quarter, and let them go on about their way, not try to keep them from coming in. Sometimes you can defeat things like this without having to use any force or pressure.

Mr. SANDERS. Does it seem to you, Mr. O'Neal, that the Panthers have endeavored to get along with the police?

Mr. O'NEAL. No; they don't want to get along with the police.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know why?

Mr. O'NEAL. This is a part of their operation, to create a problem whereby they may receive favorable publicity, and in the investigation in Chicago it appeared to me there for a while that maybe the police were wrong in attempting to serve a warrant. They want this kind of confrontation.

Mr. SANDERS. I think you would perhaps agree that the Panthers have had some measure of support from various segments in your city, and I am not speaking entirely of the Negro community.

Mr. O'NEAL. That I understand.

Mr. SANDERS. Could you elaborate on this?

Mr. O'NEAL. I don't know exactly who they are, other than one person. I am chairman of the Evaluation Committee of the United Campaign. After a meeting one fellow came over to me, real happy, joyful that he had given the Panthers another car, and of course this struck me wrong.

Mr. SANDERS. Another what?

Mr. O'NEAL. Another automobile—to take people to their clinic. There this struck me wrong, and I called a couple of other persons over of the black community and said I want you to hear what this man just said to me and he repeated it. All three of us tore into him for doing it. But I must say that this particular fellow is the kind of guy, if you walked in and said I need a suit of clothes or I need some food, he would give it to you. He would do it for anyone. He is a very fine guy, but there is support for the Panthers in some areas.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge of the Panthers' operations of a health clinic? Has this been a function of the chapter there?

Mr. O'NEAL. I read in the paper where they were setting it up, and this individual I just spoke of was supposed to have given a car to carry the people to this clinic.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know whether it has been in operation?

Mr. O'NEAL. I don't know. Only one physician that I heard was going to work there. The rest of them refused.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you cognizant of any other programs the Panthers have operated besides the breakfast program and the health clinic?

Mr. O'NEAL. The health center, the breakfast programs, and that is it.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge, in general, of the means by which the Panthers are able to financially support themselves?

Mr. O'NEAL. No, I really don't, other than blackmail, as I said, and getting merchandise and money from merchants. I have had three or four merchants talk to me about it. They say that they come in and want money or groceries, and I would assume, and I think I am right in saying this, that they live pretty much off of some of the merchandise that is given to them.

Mr. SANDERS. Is there any organization or organizations in Kansas City which give financial support to the Panthers?

Mr. O'NEAL. Specifically, I can't say, but I am thinking that there are. There is an organization in Kansas City that I have heard, indirectly, which has contributed to them, which is the Minutemen.

I don't know this to be a fact, but I understood that the purpose was to keep the separatism going and fall in line with what their indoctrination was. Now how true this was, I don't know.

Mr. SANDERS. You have never been able to verify it?

Mr. O'NEAL. No: in fact I tried to verify it once because I really did not believe it. Not knowing how to get to it, we could not quite get this done.

Mr. SANDERS. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Roudebush.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. O'Neal, first I want to compliment you first as an excellent witness. I know, speaking for the committee, we are delighted that you came and gave this information to the committee.

You say in the businesses that you own and operate that you have two sons who actually manage these businesses?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. To your knowledge has the bite been put on you to contribute to the Panthers?

Mr. O'NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. You mentioned a large number of vacant stores, as did Mr. Levitt, in your area?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Has this resulted in a lack of services to the black community?

Mr. O'NEAL. Sir, it is one of these things and it is really hard to describe. Say 10 years ago there were lots of businesses that would set up shop in the black community, but today with these kinds of guys operating as muscle men and as some other organizations, they are afraid.

For instance, if you want service on your car and you have a Ford, you have to go to Johnson County [Kansas] to get service on your car. If you have a Buick you have to go way south to get it. Really it has gotten to the point where even if you need a spool of thread you have to go blocks away to get it.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. You mentioned knowing a lot of the Black Pan-

thers in Kansas City. Do you know any of these Black Panthers who are actually gainfully employed and actually work for a living?

Mr. O'NEAL. Not at all.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Can you give us a rough idea of how many members the Black Panthers have in Kansas City?

Mr. O'NEAL. I would say six to eight now. I don't think there has ever been more than 25, but they have diminished, some have dropped off.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. And they all follow a common type, muscle men who live off the community?

Mr. O'NEAL. Definitely, fellows who are not going to work. There was an article in the paper a week or 10 days ago where a man was talking—walking down the street and one of the Panthers ran up to him, took his money off of him, his watch, and Pete O'Neal got into it because the police came and they put them in jail. Then the man was blackmailed to the extent—he identified them at the scene, but then after they got down to the jail he said he could not identify them. The next day they dismissed the case. It appeared to me this was nothing but some guys putting pressure on him.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Are you aware of any time that a black businessman has been approached by the Black Panthers and solicited for money?

Mr. O'NEAL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Only white businessmen. I think you said you knew six or eight.

Mr. O'NEAL. These have been white. You could say that I am in sort of a unique position, that lots of the white businessmen and I are very close. We all talk. Well, I get along with people.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. O'Neal, you mentioned the fact that you were now categorized by the radical element as being an Uncle Tom. Are your customers mostly white or black or are they mixed?

Mr. O'NEAL. Well, I could say 50-50 really. I handle lots of trucking companies, road builders, and construction, just a number of things of this type whereby only the white persons are in this type of business.

For instance a 335 or a 33 tire, which is a man-sized tire, we handle quite a few of those.

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

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Are your employees all black?

Mr. O'NEAL. At the present time. I have had white fellows. About 6 months ago the last white fellow I had left. It made me real unhappy to have him leave because he was an excellent worker.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. In other words, if you have a white man apply for employment—

Mr. O'NEAL. He has a job if he is qualified.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. You mentioned this Gene Austin, as did Mr. Levitt, as a former employee of the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce. Was he a Negro or a white man?

Mr. O'NEAL. He is white.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Was he hired as a liaison with the black community or what was his function?

Mr. O'NEAL. He was hired as a liaison, but under the supervision directly of the assistant vice president of the Chamber of Commerce,

who is a paid employee of the Chamber of Commerce. He came to Kansas City from Washington here, with a background of Washington University and the university in St. Louis, but we did a check on him recently after all of this going on and he has not—he did not graduate from any of these schools. He is not even known in them and he carries the title of Dr. Gene Austin.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Apparently this is self-acquired?

I have one other question about this Mr. Austin. I think you called him a crumb and I would say from your definition it is certainly appropriate. Did I understand you to say he hired people to move him and gave them bad checks?

Mr. O'NEAL. This is correct.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Then he reported the checks as stolen?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Was there any prosecution of Mr. Austin as a result?

Mr. O'NEAL. Mr. Austin left Kansas City. I don't know what has happened on that, but I had a contact 2 weeks ago wanting to know if I knew where he was.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Did you know where he was?

Mr. O'NEAL. I gave the last information I had. This contact said that he had gotten a fur jacket or coat for \$1,100 from this fur company, and they had not heard from him anymore.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Where was his last address?

Mr. O'NEAL. I made a telephone call—I am giving you some of my trade secrets, but I made a telephone call and I found that he had gone to Canton, Ohio.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. I imagine you will be hearing further from him anyway.

Mr. O'Neal, again I certainly want to congratulate you. I think a man of your caliber has done more to ease the tensions between the races than certainly many of the professionals in the business, if I can use that term.

Mr. O'NEAL. Thank you.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. I am very familiar with Kansas City. I am a former member of the Chamber of Commerce of Kansas City. Thank you very much.

Mr. O'NEAL. Thank you.

Mr. PREYER. For a moment there it appeared that the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce might have been soft on the Black Panthers, but I think you have very graphically refuted that charge.

I was impressed with your feeling of purpose in what you are trying to do in life, talking of building up your community and getting jobs for people. You compared that with the Panthers, whom you say have no purpose. In reading the Panther literature, the feeling is overpowering that there is one purpose and that is vengeance on the white man.

Mr. O'NEAL. That is true.

Mr. PREYER. From their literature it appears that vengeance on the white man is sweeter to them than housing, better education, jobs, all of the things that you are trying to work for.

From listening to your testimony and Mr. Levitt's, the Kansas City Black Panthers seem to have even less purpose than that. You were

telling us that they are just muscle men living off the community, interested only in themselves.

Mr. O'NEAL. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. As you described it, nothing other than a Black Mafia.

Mr. O'NEAL. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. You find no trace of idealism, no matter how misled. You find no redeeming features?

Mr. O'NEAL. None whatever. Here is a group of guys who are not going to go on a job and work, and the prey they have is any merchant. I did not mention a close relationship with many people in the community. A Jewish friend of mine stated to me that the Jews in Kansas City were complaining that the Negro, the black people were opposed to the Jews. I had to disprove that to him by getting some people together and carrying them to this meeting and expressing to him this was not the truth. Unfortunately, some felt that, and I can understand why they felt that way because many of the Jewish merchants are in the black community and they had been burned out when we had the riot, if you may call it that, or confrontation. Many of them were burned out.

Mr. PREYER. Of course, the Black Panthers' ideology has been strongly anti-Semitic, anti-Zionist.

Mr. O'NEAL. That is right.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Scherle.

Mr. SCHERLE. I want to apologize to Mr. O'Neal and Mr. Levitt for not being here because if there were two people whose testimony I wanted to particularly hear it was these. It was impossible for me to be here earlier so I will have to read the testimony.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. O'Neal, and your testimony has been very helpful to the committee.

Mr. JOHNSON, would you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear the evidence you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HERMAN A. JOHNSON

Mr. SANDERS. Would you please state your name, address, and your business or profession, sir?

Mr. JOHNSON. Herman A. Johnson. I live at 2632 West Paseo. I am a retailer. My business is located in the Merchants-Produce Bank at 531 Walnut. I am also a member of the Missouri House of Representatives from the 13th District.

Mr. SANDERS. How long have you been a member of the Missouri House of Representatives?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am a freshman.

Mr. SANDERS. How long have you been living in Kansas City?

Mr. JOHNSON. I have been in Kansas City 11 years.

Mr. SANDERS. You have been working and living in Kansas City during the past 12 months, also, have you?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you had occasion to observe the formation and development and progress of the Black Panther Party there?

Mr. JOHNSON. I have.

Mr. SANDERS. You have indicated that you have prepared a statement that you would like to give.

Mr. JOHNSON. I have a short lead statement, Mr. Sanders.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you please proceed?

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman and members of this committee:

I should first like to make it completely clear that I do not support violence, attacks on the governmental structure of this country, nor the carrying of firearms by militants of the right or the left, or any self-appointed vigilantes. I abhor both white racism and black separatism.

I am sincerely committed to the philosophy that the problems of the black American can be solved within our present governmental framework, combining the use of legislative and judicial processes with an aroused public opinion to end injustice.

I am further of the opinion that extremists of both the right and the left—because of the dramatic character of their activities—at times appear to be more significant on the American scene than their actual achievements justify.

I am particularly concerned with when extravagant verbal statements on the part of the Black Panthers result in overreactions by the police—who may confuse extreme language with illegal acts.

I believe that our society has the freedom and the capacity to tolerate expression of extreme views in the exercise of free speech.

In confrontation situations which go beyond peaceful assembly, there is always the danger that minor incidents which normally would be viewed, at best, as “disturbances of the peace” take on the character of more serious crimes.

The greatest danger which can result from military activity is overreaction by the police and other segments of the community. I am not convinced that hostile confrontations between the police and militant groups can produce any constructive improvement in the status of blacks in American society.

Specifically with regard to the function of this committee of the Congress, it seems to me that the concern of this committee is to determine whether there is any evidence which indicates that the Panthers or any other group are supported by a foreign power in any program of action against our democratic form of government. Also, one of its concerns should be to determine clearly whether or not the Black Panthers are engaged in a concerted course of action seeking to overthrow or change our form of government through violence—as opposed to mere expression of criticism.

If it should be found that the Black Panthers or any other groups support anti-American principles, I clearly do not support them. I must say that, personally, I have no knowledge of any such subversive activities. However, when the Panthers articulate justifiable complaints of the black community about the continued failure of the American society to right ancient wrongs, I must support their right to express these concerns, because I, too, share them.

I think this committee should determine either that the facts establish existence of subversion or the lack of such activity. If evidence

of subversive activities is established, it is clearly an appropriate matter for the courts. If no such evidence exists then the Panthers should have the right to the common channels of free speech and expression to present their point of view.

In your appraisal of the enforcement of existing law, you should examine carefully the lack of clarity which seems to exist among officials and the public about legal activities to obtain redress of grievances and the meaning of "peaceably to assemble."

Disagreement over methods and strategies, combined with the fear of change, may overshadow our understanding of the right provided by our Constitution. Programs to improve the skill and knowledge of law enforcement agents and to bring about a better public understanding of our constitutional rights, in my opinion, would be appropriate for this committee's consideration. The guarantees contained in the first and fourth amendments especially need to be reemphasized to the public.

Just as the extravagant rhetoric of the Black Panthers has frequently beclouded the issue, so has overreaction and overdefensiveness by the police reduced their stature in the eyes of the black citizens.

Poor police image can only lead to poor law enforcement and less respect for authority. However, Mr. Chairman, the threat to the internal security of this Nation is not limited to problems of law enforcement. The role of official and voluntary boards and commissions, nationally and locally, public administrators, citizens groups, the power structure, or the Establishment—call it whatever you wish—must be examined. Most of them have overreacted also to the pressures for change.

They used to turn deaf ears to civil rights groups. Next they demanded that all blacks get together, in order to present only one point of view—all the while playing one group against the other in the old "divide-and-conquer" strategy. Some of the very groups which give respect to their own kind, respond to responsible moderate language from black leadership with a halfhearted apology and statement that such leaders do not represent their people anymore.

Community leadership shudders at the shouts of the militants and, on the other hand, denies even recognition to the moderates. The power structure fails to give responsible black leadership the support they would expect from each other.

This appears to be conspiracy. A conspiracy—whether premeditated or subconscious in its origins—it maintains the racism which black citizens feel is the greatest threat to internal security.

I feel that we are treating symptoms and not the cause. The real trouble in Kansas City, which is the same in most cities, is lack of implementation of existing laws which require an end to discrimination.

The vast majority of black people are law abiding and against violence. But we are tired of insults to our dignity; we are hoping that congressional efforts will be redoubled to eliminate injustice, and that efforts to uncover any unlawful organizational activities will be color-blind.

Mr. SANDERS. Thank you, Mr. Johnson, for a very well considered and thoughtful statement.

From your experience in Kansas City, Mr. Johnson, would you be able to make an assessment of the sincerity of the purpose of the Black Panther chapter in the conduct of the breakfast program?

Mr. JOHNSON. First let me say I am immediate past president of the NAACP, which by necessity has made it necessary for me to kind of observe the Black Panthers. This is my personal opinion, that the Black Panthers are pulling a Madison Avenue approach, and that the breakfast and their health clinic is merely a sham for doing good when in reality they are not really concerned.

Their breakfasts certainly have not been an overwhelming success. The best information I have of the numbers that attended have been low in comparison to, say, what the needs should be for feeding children.

Then their health clinic, to the best of my knowledge, has not functioned. I say, to the best of my knowledge, but most of the things they do are done for the purpose of publicity, to say I am doing good and at the same time blackmailing merchants.

Mr. SANDERS. Other than the breakfast program and the health clinic, are you aware of any other programs they have engaged in?

Mr. JOHNSON. None. I have no personal knowledge of any and know of none that have been publicized.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you aware of any effects, beneficial effects, the chapter has had on the conditions in the community?

Mr. JOHNSON. I know of no beneficial acts that have been conducted by the Black Panthers except let us assume that the children who have eaten breakfast needed breakfast. I would say, well, that is beneficial at least to those children who ate. I don't know of any.

I have been concerned, for example, let us say, in the house of representatives in this last session we had about six law and order bills that kept us running from one committee to another and fighting them on the floor to keep them from even being passed. I did not see any Black Panthers lobbying anybody. If those bills had been passed, they would have been put out of business completely.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know of any adverse effects they have had on the attitudes of the youth in the inner city?

Mr. JOHNSON. I live in the inner city, right in the heart of it, and with all of the ills that we have in our urban areas, it is easy to influence young people. I am certain that the mere presence of the Black Panthers in the community has a detrimental influence upon young people. We have young people who are going to be influenced by someone all the time.

Of course, I personally feel that the Black Panthers in Kansas City, and with no knowledge of what they are nationally, they do not really amount to much at all. I think we have some more rabid college students.

Mr. SANDERS. What do you believe their true goals are in Kansas City? What are they trying to accomplish?

Mr. JOHNSON. I imagine they are following their national pattern in Kansas City. Let me back up to say this: The strange thing about the Panther organization in Kansas City is that they were the Black Vigilantes one day and a Black Panther chapter the next day. Within a period of 24 to 48 hours they moved from unknowns to real desper-

ate individuals, the way it is carried out in the press. To me they are the same identical fellows they were before they became Black Panthers.

I don't think they themselves are as completely indoctrinated as organizations that I have read about in other areas. They are local. They try to give an image of violence, but I think they are selling it on a Madison Avenue style.

Mr. SANDERS. I recognize there are many, many problems involved in this next question I want to put to you and it is a very complex matter, but I wonder if you might have any observations with regard to the adequacy of State and local laws to cope with an organization such as the Black Panther chapter.

Does it seem to you that there is a need for Federal help in this regard, or do you think it is a matter for State and local governments to handle?

Mr. JOHNSON. I don't think there is a need for Federal laws. As a matter of fact I don't think there is need for any more legislation. Personally, as I mentioned earlier about the six or seven law and order bills, we had some really ridiculous ones. I personally feel we have enough law on the books now, if properly enforced, to take care of any situation. I think that the local police can handle the situation with the Black Panthers. When the Black Panthers do something that is in violation of the law, arrest them.

Mr. SANDERS. You mentioned they are a very small organization. To what do you attribute their success in creating an impression that they are more efficacious than they are?

Mr. JOHNSON. I must say overreaction by the police department. I am definitely of the impression that as well trained as our police are and citizens, they have overreacted with them and they have built them up.

I live four blocks up the street from the 2300 block of Lydia. When they first opened their headquarters there they complained of very close surveillance, that they could not go anywhere and that there were police following them, and that sort of thing.

The police continually denied the fact that there was close surveillance—no, we are not watching the Panthers. There is no surveillance. It appeared in the press. Every night we could hardly sleep for helicopters flying over our area keeping a close surveillance on the Black Panthers, and the Black Panthers wanted it, but everybody in the neighborhood was scared to death because they were expecting a confrontation between the police and the Black Panthers and bullets would be coming through holes, so the black people in the area were scared to death.

Mr. SANDERS. It served to increase their stature and image.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is why they set the police up.

I guess most of my testimony is opinion testimony anyway so let me say this: For example, going on the fifth floor of the police station to sell *Black Panther* papers is not an accident. They went up there because the chief's office is there. I would have purchased a *Black Panther* paper or sent my secretary out to do it and forgot about it.

I heard testimony since I have been here about the boys with shotguns and a man being spat upon and that sort of thing. I am so

happy Parker handled it in the manner he did. I doubt there were any bullets in those shotguns, if they had been carefully examined. These are the kinds of things they have done in an effort to bring the police in to do something.

If here they had killed one of those 15-year-olds and there was not any ammunition or shots in the gun, as far as they were concerned that boy is expendable because they have gained a purpose, that the "pigs" are not any good.

Mr. SANDERS. Did it seem to you that the Panthers were making a positive effort to create friction or confrontation with the police department?

Mr. JOHNSON. Absolutely.

Mr. SANDERS. What would be your evaluation of the attention given to the Panthers by the news media?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think far too much; again like other witnesses, I fully understand that the newspapers must print news. But I think the news that has been published and I think promulgated by the Black Panthers to give reason for news has been done in order to increase their image of being important in the community when in fact they have had—never had very many people to begin with and now they have less than they ever had. They're dying on the vine.

Mr. SANDERS. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. Proceed, Mr. Roudebush.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. You mentioned, as did previous witnesses, that you knew of only two claimed charities being performed by the Black Panthers. One was the medical clinic and the other was the breakfast program, where they were to feed hungry children.

Do you know of anyone who received any medical care from this clinic?

Mr. JOHNSON. Not from my personal knowledge. To my personal knowledge, I have not heard of it actually operating. Now it may have, but the information I have as a matter of fact is to the contrary.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. You mentioned the number of children they fed. You probably heard how many children attended this breakfast.

Mr. JOHNSON. I have heard upward from 3 to 13 or 14 in one place, about the same figure in another place until the Paseo Baptist Church stopped having it, and then I heard a figure, which is the largest I have heard, about 57 people at a breakfast at the Wayne Miner.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Is this breakfast feeding, or whatever we want to call it, still continuing?

Mr. JOHNSON. It was when I left Kansas City.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. I think those are the only questions I have, Mr. Preyer.

I would say that I appreciate, Mr. Johnson, along with the rest of the committee, your appearing and testifying and I think you have given us some very worthwhile information.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Scherle.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Johnson, you represent the 13th District in Kansas City, Missouri.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. SCHERLE. What is the population that you represent as a member of the house of representatives?

Mr. JOHNSON. 26,738. I have not counted them, but that is what they say.

Mr. SCHERLE. That sounds like one man, one vote to me.

Mr. JOHNSON, of those 26,000, are you located in the middle of those 26,000? Is that where you reside?

Mr. JOHNSON. On one corner of it. I am not right in the middle, but I live in the district at the southwest corner of the district.

Mr. SCHERLE. Is the Methodist Inner City Parish in your district?

Mr. JOHNSON. Just below it, over the line.

Mr. SCHERLE. Across the street?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; just about a block away from where my district ends.

Mr. SCHERLE. And the property owned by the Methodist Inner City Parish would be in your district?

Mr. JOHNSON. The Olive property is in my district.

Mr. SCHERLE. Would you say that the activity that usually originates in that general area is within the confines of the district that you represent?

Mr. JOHNSON. Of the Panther activity, yes, they are in my district.

Mr. SCHERLE. In other words, you are right where they operate?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. JOHNSON, what is the population or number of policemen on the Kansas City police force?

Mr. JOHNSON. The last figure I heard was 995. It is over 900, let me say.

Mr. SCHERLE. These policemen are usually fairly well-educated men, would you say?

Mr. JOHNSON. They meet whatever their minimum requirements are for being a policeman, which is not very high.

Mr. SCHERLE. But they would certainly be average in intelligence and education?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you feel that following the Black Panthers in their various activities is something they want to do?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am not in a position to say. I think if they did not have the Black Panthers, they would be just as well satisfied, I am sure.

Mr. SCHERLE. Then do you think that the surveillance that they keep on the Black Panthers is futile, it is not necessary, it is make-work?

Mr. JOHNSON. I have to give you my opinion. I don't think the Black Panthers in Kansas City are important enough to spend much time on.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you feel with a commissioner of police and captain and all the way down through the chain of command somebody is just spending time, spinning their wheels, or doing this because there is no legitimate reason for doing it, that they are doing it just for nothing?

Mr. JOHNSON. The only thing I can say is this, and I am certain the chief of police and the police force must have information which I don't have. The only thing I can say is this: Kansas City, from what I have read, has been different from any other city. Not one time have they had a confrontation with the Black Panthers that there have been any weapons on the part of the Black Panthers.

Mr. SCHERLE. I beg to disagree with you.

Mr. JOHNSON. With the exception of the one situation, and that was news to me until I heard the testimony, where they had guns showing at the 39th and Olive property.

Mr. SCHERLE. You live in the heart of that community and you are not any more aware of this than the testimony you heard yesterday where Sergeant Parker said he could drive through and pass that house and see guns exposed?

Mr. JOHNSON. I have driven by and I have not seen it. So you are asking for my opinion. I have been by there and I personally have not seen it, seen any weapons.

Mr. SCHERLE. There is a difference between Herman Johnson and the police uniform and the so-called pig. They would not treat you the same. Apparently the uniform or any authority does something to the Black Panthers. I would not just really relegate it to the police.

In my own mind, I feel that that is a fine police force in Kansas City and I am sure, in my own mind, if they feel this surveillance is necessary that they are doing it for a purpose, because I could not figure why they would waste their time, when they have many other things to do.

Mr. JOHNSON. Let me say that I have no objection at all, and I don't think I tried to say it in my short prepared statement, nor do I believe that there should not be some surveillance of the Black Panthers if they feel it is necessary. I am saying we ought not to overreact.

Mr. SCHERLE. How have they overreacted?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think they overreacted on two occasions. I think they overreacted when they sold papers in front of the chief's door.

Mr. SCHERLE. What did that involve? Did they throw them out?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think they threw them out.

Mr. SCHERLE. Literally?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think they arrested them at that time for disturbing the peace. I think there might have been some overreaction at the police station again when they attempted to get into a press conference.

Mr. SCHERLE. There have to be a few rules and guidelines that people have to obey and as a lawmaker you should know this. There are some things you do and some things you don't do.

I was a paperboy, too, and if I could have sold one to the chief I would have done it so I am not against a paperboy, but if nothing of any catastrophic nature came out of this, I don't see where there would be any overreaction in just asking them to leave. Maybe there was some confrontation in the hall. Do you know?

Mr. JOHNSON. They wrote a very derogatory statement on the police department and they went up there and sold it. As a legislator, I feel that you just don't let people put you into a place where you can embarrass yourself. This is premeditated. They want to do it, but if you are smart you won't let them do it.

There are acts where if they commit them you can arrest them and put them in jail. But certainly selling a paper with a derogatory statement in it on the fifth floor of the police department should not cause difficulty.

Mr. SCHERLE. Maybe in this instance you are overreacting?

Mr. JOHNSON. I don't think I am, and this is what I think is extremely important. For example, we have got to do something about some of the real ills that we have in our communities. We have to let these Panthers die a death, which apparently they are doing—they are down to five or six or seven people. If we keep on building them up they will get back up to 25 or 30. May I say something else to back up what I have to say?

For example, we have testimony here, I have heard, then of merchants who have given money to the Black Panthers at their request, at their blackmail. Let me say I am a member of the NAACP and the Urban League and each year we have a Freedom Fund Dinner at the NAACP, which is a \$25-a-plate dinner which is for the purpose of raising funds. The moneys we operate on are from paid memberships. We don't get 1 percent of the merchants in the black community to participate in anything that we have, including membership.

Mr. SCHERLE. Why?

Mr. JOHNSON. I don't know. We don't blackmail them. We would like for them to participate in an organization that is doing something for the community in which they do business, but they don't voluntarily to it.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Johnson, this is a free society and if a person does not want to give that is their constitutional right. Just because they don't give to you, I don't think you mean that they should be blackmailed by the Black Panthers to give something.

Mr. JOHNSON. I don't think they should give anything to the Black Panthers. That is my point. I don't think they should give anything.

Mr. SCHERLE. But the problem is maybe they also feel they should not give anything. Maybe out of fear they have to give something to them.

Mr. JOHNSON. My point is I think the emphasis, Mr. Scherle, should be upon what can we contribute that will better the conditions in the community and not what we are going to contribute to keep our place from being burned down.

There is an altogether different attitude on the part of the man who gives out of fear for his own personal protection, but fails to give of his substance for the betterment of the community, whether it is the community at large or confined to that of the black community.

Mr. SCHERLE. If the merchants gave voluntarily to your organization, to your fundraising dinners or rallies or whatever you might have, do you think this will actually prevent the Black Panthers from operating outside the rules of society? Do you think they really won't be extorted in some manner because they have given to the NAACP?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think the NAACP and Urban League personally have kept the calm and cool in Kansas City all these years and I think that is one of the reasons why the Black Panthers are not any stronger in Kansas City.

Mr. SCHERLE. I certainly hope you are right, but by the same token we have had testimony to the extent that, I think, regardless of whether you would operate or be organized, they would still exist because their fight is not with you but, as you and others mentioned earlier, that they are fighters against the power structure.

How well acquainted are you with Congress to the extent of what

we try to do each year to benefit the unfortunate, the disadvantaged, and the incapacitated?

We have spent almost \$25 billion a year in social legislation. What country has tried to do more, but you can't have it yesterday. This all takes time. Because we have an outgrowth of people who are dissatisfied with the society, I don't think because you have an organization called the NAACP or Urban League that is going to solve these problems as quickly as these people want the problems solved.

Mr. JOHNSON. It is not what Congress has passed in terms of law or appropriated in terms of money for programs. I don't think it is the Supreme Court decisions that have been handed down either. It is the implementation of these laws that you have passed, the decisions made by the Supreme Court as they are interpreted and implemented on State and local levels.

You do a great job here but it is—it does not reach the man who really needs it in the street in Kansas City or in any other town.

Mr. SCHERLE. I would hate to see the time that the Congress of the United States would have to go down to the local level and spoonfeed or administer anything. I would like to think we are in a position here in Congress, as a lawmaking body, to implement the necessary legislation, fund it, give it back to the States and to the people in the local community. That is where their problem is. You talk about the courts.

I have to go further than that. I am talking about guts in enforcing the law. That is where the problem is, in the leniency and permissiveness that exists in our courts today, and so many of our laws are geared to protect the guilty and not the innocent, that is where the problem lies today, and not what we have on the books.

You are entirely correct.

Mr. JOHNSON. This is kind of stale and worked over but let me say this: In 1954 the Supreme Court said segregated schools, separate but equal, were unconstitutional and 16 years later we still have people turning over school buses because they don't want to integrate schools.

This is what I am talking about in implementation. It has been clear what our Constitution is on this question, but we can't get it done. It is the same way with the many of the laws passed by Congress and much of the money appropriated.

Take our equal employment contracts with the Federal Government. They are still not working. The labor unions are still not employing people in the construction businesses, so it has not worked.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Johnson, as a new lawmaker, you want these things done yesterday, and this is not possible. You will find out that the frustrations that you will be faced with such as we are every day of the week we know it has to be done, but we are making every attempt to get things done. I don't know what the number of your body is in Missouri, but I do know here we have 435 Members in the House and 100 Senators and we have a process that has withstood internal and external criticism for almost 200 years.

Yet we are still here. We are making every attempt to correct some of these situations that you talk about. But I am also concerned about many other areas. I am thinking about Cornell University, where they walked out of that school with bandoliers and guns slung over their

shoulders. I think about the involvement in Washington, D.C., 2 years ago, when they almost burned this city to the ground. I am thinking about the storming of the Pentagon.

These things also bother me. These are frustrations perhaps that society has not brought upon themselves but, because of the leniency in the law and the permissiveness that exists in this country, is primarily responsible.

I will go a little further. This situation must be curtailed in the near future. Law must be put back in the hands of the law enforcement people, and the laws that we pass should not be established to protect the guilty as much as they should be established to protect the innocent.

I think all of these things hinge on the existence of the Black Panthers.

Mr. JOHNSON. Let me give you one example of fear and riot that needs to be taken under consideration. In Kansas City, we had a riot, but 2 years after—before that, a moderate leadership asked that we have a fair housing act in Kansas City and ordinance.

We eventually compromised to put it on the table because elections were coming up. It took us 18 months to get it off the table. Then when we got it off the table they said it was not an emergency. We said things were a little tense, we ought to start making some noticeable progress in race relations in Kansas City and make it an emergency.

No, we could not make it an emergency. It was up for referendum for April 30. On April 7, we had a riot in Kansas City and burned down some places. We don't know who started the fires, but the fires were started.

The city council took that off the table and introduced a new emergency clause before April 30. Now how do you think the people in the community feel when responsible leadership attempts to get something done and the only way it is accomplished is when something is destroyed?

This is one of the evils that our power structure has got to understand. People in authority must understand that moderate, intelligent, responsible leadership who know the conditions exist must be listened to and something must be done within the framework of our construction, our right, and our—all that sort of thing.

Mr. SCHERLE. I think the way you explained the situation there are a multitude of other rights that have never been taken into consideration. We have a legitimate process of people elected by people to represent them in all bodies of government.

I am a firm believer in the methodical, systematic approach that we use in legislation. It is sound. If it were not sound this Government could not have survived for 200 years.

Do you think that these frustrations that you feel and that the people feel today are new? I like to look back and think of the immigrants that came to this country since the foundation of this country to help make this country great.

I don't think it is correct that if you feel abused or aggrieved you should have to run up and down the street destroying that person's property, stopping them from speaking their right, shutting down institutions of higher learning.

What about the silent majority? This is a new term we have, but they have not been bold enough yet. There has still been a lack of a

determination and guts on the side of the silent majority. I don't think I would tolerate the situation as long as it has been from a position of influence.

But all of these things will come about, and I don't know if they can be done any faster by any other way, and the last way I would like to see it enforced or implemented is through intimidation, coercion, or any other method, even blackmail.

Mr. JOHNSON. I agree with you.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Johnson, we want to thank you for your testimony. I think in your statement you have made some interesting comments there about the problems that this escalation of rhetoric in our country is causing in the area of free speech, where people customarily talk in terms that they feel is casual conversation, and yet the words carry meanings which under our old laws of free speech would be beyond the pale.

It is a tough problem.

You said one thing that I think is very important. You, in effect, say that the Panthers amount to nothing in Kansas City, that if you leave them alone they will die on the vine. But you said that what really concerns you more was the far more radical student and you implied some of those may have what the Panthers don't have, namely, intelligence, namely, a deep commitment to what they are doing rather than being sort of casual scavengers and who are deeply alienated and whom we don't see out in public.

Those are the ones who scare me.

Mr. JOHNSON. I think those are the ones that we really need to be concerned about.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Ichord has asked me to express to you and to Mr. O'Neal and to Mr. Levitt his sincere regret that he could not be here today and to tell all three of you how much he appreciated your trouble in coming to testify.

We thank you, and I think it has been very helpful for the committee.

Thank you very much.

I understand, Mr. Sanders, that we can excuse these three witnesses at this time.

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. And we do have Mr. Shaw who wishes to put in some testimony.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. I would move we adjourn at this point, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. I am sorry we did not get to you this morning, but we will get to you on Monday.

The committee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p.m., Friday, March 6, 1970, the committee recessed, subject to call of the Chair.)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Part 1

Investigation of Kansas City Chapter; National Organization Data

TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1970

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richard H. Ichord, chairman, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Richard H. Ichord of Missouri, Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, and William J. Scherle of Iowa.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel, and Richard A. Shaw, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The committee meets this morning, continuing its investigation into the Black Panther Party activity in Kansas City, Missouri.

Mr. Chief Counsel, I understand you have one witness remaining.

Mr. SANDERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is your next witness?

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Shaw, the committee investigator.

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

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

Mr. SHAW. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF RICHARD A. SHAW

Mr. SANDERS. What is your position with the committee, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. I am employed as an investigator with this committee.

Mr. SANDERS. What during the last several months has been your primary assignment?

Mr. SHAW. My primary assignment has been looking into the Black Panther Party and, more specifically, as it relates to Kansas City, Missouri.

Mr. SANDERS. You have been investigating the Black Panther Party chapter specifically in Kansas City, Missouri?

Mr. SHAW. That is correct.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you spent time in Kansas City and talked to individuals resident there in the inner city?

Mr. SHAW. I have.

Mr. SANDERS. I hand you, Mr. Shaw, what I will mark as Committee Exhibit 16.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you identify that exhibit, please.

Mr. SHAW. Yes. This is a compilation of newspaper articles contained in the Black Panther Party national newspaper regarding activities in Kansas City, Missouri, as they relate to the Black Panther Party.

Mr. SANDERS. By whom was that prepared?

Mr. SHAW. It was prepared by the research staff of this committee.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you reviewed it and does it appear to you to fairly represent the articles which appeared in the Panther paper?

Mr. SHAW. I have reviewed it and it does.

Mr. SANDERS. I offer Committee Exhibit 16 for the record, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The exhibit will be admitted.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 16. See appendix, pages 2864-2866).

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Shaw, are you also familiar with an article which appeared in the Black Panther paper in July of last year purporting to be a statement by Fred Hampton in relation to the attitude of the Black Panthers toward law enforcement officers?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, I am.

Mr. SANDERS. I hand you what I have marked Committee Exhibit No. 17. Do you recognize that?

Mr. SHAW. I do.

Mr. SANDERS. What is it?

Mr. SHAW. It represents an article in the July 1969 edition of the Black Panther's paper by Fred Hampton, deputy chairman of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you read that short statement for the record, please.

Mr. SHAW. According to the statement attributed to Fred Hampton, it reads as follows:

If you kill a few, you get a little satisfaction. But when you can kill them ALL you get complete satisfaction. That's why we haven't moved. We have to organize the people. We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about revolutionary political power. And when they understand all that we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction, we'll be killing 'em all and getting complete satisfaction.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that statement made?

Mr. SHAW. This statement was contained in the Black Panther Party newspaper, the July 19, 1969, edition, page 7.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I offer Committee Exhibit No. 17 for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The document will be received.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 17 and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Shaw, I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 18. Would you please identify it.

Mr. SHAW. Yes, this is a criminal arrest profile of individuals identified in Kansas City as having been Black Panther Party members through the year 1969 or associates who participated in Panther functions regularly. It represents, of the 50 individuals identified in Kansas City, 40 of these persons have known criminal histories. These data do not include juvenile or traffic arrests.

The information indicates that the average age is 25 years. The total arrests, 394. Of those 394 arrests, there were 277 convictions, 41 not charged, 52 dismissed, 24 disposition unknown. Of those arrests, there were 284 arrests that were made prior to the inception of the Kansas City Chapter of the Black Panther Party, which was founded January 31, 1969. There were 110 arrests after the inception of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. 110 arrests after the inception of the party as compared to total arrests of 394?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, sir; 394 total arrests.

Mr. SANDERS. Who is responsible for the preparation of this exhibit?

Mr. SHAW. I was.

Mr. SANDERS. What was your source material?

Mr. SHAW. Records from the Kansas City Police Department.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you please state for the record the convictions in the categories of what we might ordinarily term serious crimes.

Mr. SHAW. Homicides, there were 2 convictions; sex crimes of a felonious nature, there were 4 convictions; robbery, 28; auto thefts, 14; burglaries, 19; aggravated assaults, 31; larcenies, both petit and grand, 29.

Mr. SANDERS. I offer Committee Exhibit 18 for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The document will be accepted for the record.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 18. See appendix, pages 2867-2868.)

The CHAIRMAN. I understand this is on 40 of the 50 persons that you knew to be members of the Black Panther Party; is that correct?

Mr. SHAW. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is 394 arrests on 40 persons?

Mr. SHAW. Total arrests.

The CHAIRMAN. Only 110 of those occurred after.

Mr. SHAW. That is correct.

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

The CHAIRMAN. In looking at those figures, there does not seem to be undue harassment on the part of Kansas City Police Department. Proceed.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Shaw, I hand you what I have marked as Committee Exhibit 19. Do you recognize that document?

Mr. SHAW. I do.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you identify it and describe it?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. It is information received in response to a subpoena regarding the activities of two of the telephones used by the Kansas City Black Panthers during the year 1969. However, this information is incomplete. We only have the activity that would cover the period June 1969 through December 1969.

Mr. SANDERS. When you speak of two of the telephones utilized by the Black Panthers, would you please elaborate on that aspect?

Mr. SHAW. The investigation revealed that on February 4, 1969, service was connected for 2221 Lydia, which was then the Black Panther Party headquarters. That working number was 924-3206. The subscriber to this number was William Henderson. William Henderson, according to knowledgeable police, is an alias used by Felix "Pete" O'Neal.

Mr. SANDERS. He is known to the department to have used that alias?

Mr. SHAW. That is correct.

Mr. SANDERS. This Henderson was the individual supposedly who asked for that telephone service to be installed?

Mr. SHAW. That is correct.

At the time Henderson contracted the service, he gave his employment as youth coordinator for the Methodist Inner City Parish.

On May 20, 1969, service for this number was transferred to 2905 Prospect, which then became the new Panther headquarters. As of that transfer, the balance due on this account was \$81.

On April 9, 1969, service was connected for 3903 Olive, which was the residence of Felix "Pete" O'Neal and referred to commonly as a Panther pad. This property was also owned by the Methodist Inner City Parish. The name William Henderson was again given as a subscriber. This number was 923-6542. References given by Henderson at this time were Reverend John Preciphs and Reverend Phillip Lawson of the Methodist Inner City Parish.

The CHAIRMAN. Has Henderson been identified as a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. SHAW. Henderson is an alias used by Pete O'Neal.

Mr. SANDERS. Before we go any further on this telephone information, would you state whether or not this information you have just covered and the remainder of the information you will give as coming from the telephone company has been received by subpoena?

Mr. SHAW. It has, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Continue.

Mr. SHAW. On August 8, 1969, telephone service for the telephone number 923-6542 was disconnected for nonpayment. The unpaid balance of the account of this number was then transferred to working service account 924-3206, which was the number active at 2905 Prospect. At the time this information was received, there was a balance due for both accounts of \$120.80.

Mr. SANDERS. When was that information received?

Mr. SHAW. January 13, 1970.

From February 1969 to December 1969, the average monthly phone bill for each account was \$100.

Additional information received in this regard indicates that during this period previously mentioned, there were 102 telephone calls to 26 cities in 11 States. There were 21 telephone calls made to the Black Panther Party headquarters in Berkeley, California. There were six telephone calls made to the Chicago chapter of the Black Panther Party. There were eight telephone calls to the Los Angeles Black Panther Party, and one to the New York chapter in New York City and one to San Francisco.

Mr. SANDERS. Committee Exhibit No. 19 lists the many cities to which calls were placed, does it not?

Mr. SHAW. It does, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Without going into each one individually, because this will be part of the record, will you sort of summarize this?

For example, a number of calls were made to colleges and universities. Could you explain those?

Mr. SHAW. Yes; there was one telephone call to the University of Arkansas; one call to Philander Smith College—

Mr. SANDERS. That is in Little Rock?

Mr. SHAW. Right. There was one telephone call to AM&N College in Pine Bluff. There was one telephone call made to Newsreel in Chicago.

Mr. SANDERS. We started on the schools. I wanted to stick to the schools for the moment.

Mr. SHAW. There was one telephone call to Iowa State, one to the University of Kansas, one to Kansas State, one to Wichita State, and one to Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Mr. SANDERS. Proceed.

Mr. SHAW. There were 23 telephone calls to the Black Mobile Street Workers of Des Moines, Iowa. At this time, we have no information as to the character of the Black Mobile Street Workers, but our continuing investigation will establish this.

Mr. SANDERS. You started to mention a call to Newsreel.

Mr. SHAW. Yes; there was one call made to the Newsreel in Chicago, Illinois. This is a New Left propaganda film organization, concerning which testimony was given in the 1969 committee hearings on the Students for a Democratic Society.

Mr. SANDERS. I offer for the record Committee Exhibit 19.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Hearing none, it is so received.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 19. See appendix, page 2869.)

Mr. SANDERS. Did you ascertain information concerning any utility account on any property or properties that the Panther chapter utilized in Kansas City?

Mr. SHAW. I did. I established who contracted for gas service. On May 28, 1969, Henry Finley contracted for gas service at 2905 Prospect, which was then the Panther headquarters.

January 6, 1969, John Henderson, an alias used by Pete O'Neal, signed for service at 2221 Lydia.

At 3903 Olive, service was signed for by Thomas Robinson, but no turnon date specifically was available.

Mr. SANDERS. Were any references given on any of those accounts?

Mr. SHAW. No, sir, there were not.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the nature of the house on Olive Street? You had one on Prospect, one on Lydia, and one on Olive.

Mr. SHAW. The establishment on Prospect was a storefront used by the Panthers and used through February 3, 1970; 3903 Olive was where Pete O'Neal was residing and was also used as a Panther pad, specifically, where they hung out and had quasi meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Lydia was the property owned by the Methodist Inner City Parish.

Mr. SHAW. It was owned by them and is still deeded to them, as is 3903 Olive.

Regarding the 2221 Lydia, John Henderson listed as references the Methodist Inner City Parish.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you conducted investigation concerning the bank account maintained by the Black Panther chapter in Kansas City?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, I have.

Mr. SANDERS. How was this information secured?

Mr. SHAW. This information was secured in response to a subpoena.

Mr. SANDERS. To what bank?

Mr. SHAW. To the Swope Parkway National Bank.

Mr. SANDERS. I hand you what I have marked as Committee Exhibit No. 20. Would you identify that and explain it, please?

Mr. SHAW. This is an activity sheet reflecting that activity involving the Black Panther Party bank account at the Swope Parkway National Bank from February 17, 1969, through December 1969.

Mr. SANDERS. More recently than December, have you established what the balance is of that account?

Mr. SHAW. I did. On March 10 I was informed that the present balance of the Black Panther Party account was \$101.08. The number of that account is 00-404-9.

Mr. SANDERS. You said March 10. Was this inadvertent? Today is the 10th. Did you mean yesterday?

Mr. SHAW. I meant yesterday, the ninth.

Mr. SANDERS. During that 12-month period in 1969, what was the total amount of money deposited to that account?

Mr. SHAW. \$11,951.54.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you conducted a review with regard to various portions which were deposited by cash and by check?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, I have a partial listing on that.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you explain that.

Mr. SHAW. Deposits made by the Black Panther Party for the month of September 1969 totaled \$1,705.24, of which \$1,284.99 was deposited as cash and the balance of \$420.25 was deposited through checks.

Deposits for the month of October amounted to \$2,081.85, of which \$1,123.25 was deposited as cash and the balance of \$958.60 was deposited as checks.

In November 1969 total deposits were \$731.80, of which \$641.80 was deposited as cash and the balance of \$90 deposited by check.

In December 1969 total deposits were \$354.25, of which \$206.50 was deposited by cash and the balance of \$147.75 was deposited by check.

A check in the amount of \$25 from Don's Liquors made payable to the "Breakfast for School Children" account was deposited to the Black Panther Party's general account on September 5, 1969.

Mr. SANDERS. What is the name in which that account is carried, to which you have been referring?

Mr. SHAW. The account I have been referring to is the Black Panther Party account, Kansas City Chapter.

Mr. SANDERS. From your last remark, concerning this \$25 check from the liquor store being deposited to the Black Panther Party

general account, does it appear there is another account utilized by the chapter there?

Mr. SHAW. There is. They have a separate account for the "Breakfast for School Children."

Mr. SANDERS. Have you secured data from that account?

Mr. SHAW. A request has been made through subpoena in that regard. However, the clerk of the bank advised that they have not as yet put together the activities involving that account.

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

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have information concerning a check deposited to this Panther general account which was made by Reverend Lawson?

Mr. SHAW. A check in the amount of \$600 from the Young Adult Projects, Incorporated, made payable to Phil Lawson was deposited to the Black Panther Party account on October 31, 1969; also a check in the amount of \$200 from the KPRS Broadcasting Corporation made payable to the Free Health Clinic funds was deposited to the Black Panther Party's account on September 15, 1969.

Mr. SANDERS. I hand you what I have marked as Committee Exhibit No. 21. Would you identify that exhibit?

Mr. SHAW. This is the contract initiated at the time the account was opened and reflects the signatories.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you explain those, please?

Mr. SHAW. Pete O'Neal, title: deputy chairman.

Mr. SANDERS. What is the effective date on that?

Mr. SHAW. February 17, 1969.

Mr. SANDERS. He is shown to be an authorized signatory for the account?

Mr. SHAW. That is right.

Mr. SANDERS. Who else?

Mr. SHAW. William Whitfield, whose title was deputy minister of information; Keith Hinch, deputy minister of education; Norman D. Benjamin, deputy minister of finance.

The CHAIRMAN. At that point, Mr. Counsel, I observe that Mr. O'Neal for signatory purposes describes himself as deputy chairman. I thought that he was actually chairman of the Kansas City Black Panther Party. Does he describe it in relation to the national Black Panther Party, or can you explain that?

Mr. SANDERS. Are you asking me, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking the witness. Was he not chairman of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. SHAW. The individuals who serve in the various chapters around the country are referred to as deputy chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SHAW. On November 21, 1969, there were some adjustments made as to the signatories of this same bank account involving the Black Panther Party. Thomas Robinson was then titled as deputy minister of labor; Philip E. Crayton, deputy minister of information; Charlotte Hill, deputy minister of finance; and André Weatherby, deputy minister of education.

Mr. SANDERS. According to the agreement with the bank, how many signatures were required to withdraw funds?

Mr. SHAW. Any two of the signatories could do that.

On April 23, 1969, an account was opened in the name of "Breakfast for School Children." That account number 82-483-6. The signatories involved in this account were Billy Ruth Robinson, Pete O'Neal, and Bill Whitfield, who identified himself as deputy minister of information.

Mr. SANDERS. You are still collecting and analyzing information from that last-mentioned account, the breakfast account?

Mr. SHAW. That is right.

Mr. SANDERS. I offer for the record, Mr. Chairman, Committee Exhibits 20 and 21.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Hearing none, they are so admitted.

(Documents marked Committee Exhibits Nos. 20 and 21, respectively. See appendix, pages 2870-2871 and 2872-2881.)

Mr. SANDERS. Committee Exhibit No. 20 constitutes, then, an analysis prepared from official bank records?

Mr. SHAW. That is correct.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you developed information concerning financial transactions on vehicles utilized by the Panthers in Kansas City?

Mr. SHAW. I have.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you relate that information, please?

Mr. SHAW. On May 8, 1969, the First National Bank of Kansas City granted a loan to Pete O'Neal of the Black Panther Party in the amount of \$2,072.76 for the purchase of a 1969 Volkswagen. The payment schedule involved \$227.73 per month.

On October 31, 1969, due to an accident, Pete O'Neal was granted a loan from this same bank of \$400 to have this same vehicle repaired.

Mr. SANDERS. Perhaps I missed it, but did you state the name of the bank?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. This loan plus the balance on the other account were consolidated into a new account which then created a new balance of \$2,052.99. \$293.28 per month is the present payment schedule.

On October 28, 1969, O'Neal was granted a loan from this same bank for \$1030.80 for the purchase of a 1965 Volkswagen from Angle Motors. The monthly payment on this account is \$85.90.

On January 27, 1970, this 1969 VW bus of the Black Panther Party of Kansas City was repossessed for nonpayment. A delinquent payment of \$257 was made to the bank later this same day and the vehicle was returned to the Panthers.

Interestingly, on January 25, 1970, there was a fundraising rally at the Wayne Miner auditorium, located in the Wayne Miner housing project, that was billed as an effort to raise funds for the breakfast.

Mr. SANDERS. So the delinquent payment was made on the 27th of January and the Panthers regained possession of that vehicle.

Mr. SHAW. Yes; the same day.

Mr. SANDERS. What vehicles do they have now at the present time?

Mr. SHAW. The 1969 Volkswagen bus, the 1965 Volkswagen sedan.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Shaw, what would be the total amount of monthly payments they are obligated to be making at the present time?

Mr. SHAW. Total monthly payments would be \$379.18.

Mr. SANDERS. I hand you what I have marked as Committee Exhibit No. 22. Examine that, please, and identify it.

Mr. SHAW. Yes; the first document is an agreement between the Methodist Inner City Parish and the Black Panther Party of Kansas City, Missouri, regarding a vehicle transaction.

The document reads:

The Methodist Inner City Parish herewith release the Certificate of Title to the Volkswagen Bus to the Black Panther Party of Kansas City, Missouri under the following stipulations:

The Volkswagen referred to in this instance is a 1963 Volkswagen bus. It was owned by the Methodist Inner City Parish and had been used by various Panther members from its inception, from the Panthers' inception through May 1969. The stipulations are:

1. That the Black Panther Party pay to the Methodist Inner City Parish the appraised value of \$65.00 (sixty-five dollars). * * *

2. That the terms for paying said appraisal be \$15.00 (fifteen dollars) as downpayment and \$10.00 (ten dollars) per month beginning June, 1969 for a period of five months, ending October, 1969.

This document was signed "John L. Preciphs, 12th Street Minister; Pete O'Neal, Chairman, Black Panther Party; Henry Finley, Captain, Black Panther Party."

The second document is a copy of a certificate of title to a motor vehicle for the State of Missouri on a 1963 Volkswagen station wagon. This title was initially executed in the name of the Methodist Inner City Parish June 28, 1966.

The third document is a customer statement. The name Pete O'Neal, 29 years of age, 3909 Olive Street,¹ Kansas City, Missouri, employed, Black Panther Party, chairman; monthly income \$500; previous employment, Ford Motor Company, Claycomo, for 3 years. He indicated his present employment as chairman of the Black Panther Party was for 7 months preceding the execution of this customer's statement.

Mr. SCHERLE. May I ask a question at this point, Mr. Chairman? The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SCHERLE. Can the witness tell us from where he received that \$500-a-month income?

Mr. SHAW. The reference indicates he was paid this by the party. The implication was the Kansas City Chapter.

Mr. SCHERLE. The Kansas City Chapter of the Black Panthers paid Pete O'Neal \$500 a month salary?

Mr. SHAW. That is what he reflects.

Mr. SCHERLE. Where did the Black Panthers get that amount of money?

The CHAIRMAN. There was testimony previously that there was better than \$11,000 collected and placed in the Black Panthers' account.

Mr. SCHERLE. Where did that come from?

The CHAIRMAN. Most of it seems to have come from cash deposits for the year 1969. A part of it was checks collected, donations, and so forth.

¹ Correct address "3903 Olive Street."

Mr. Shaw gave detailed information with regard to the bank account.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Shaw, could you comment on the general nature of the checks which were deposited to the Panther account? Were they mostly small checks, small in amount?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, the majority of them were small. There were several of them for \$200, but the majority of them were small checks.

The CHAIRMAN. On this application he listed his employment as the Black Panther Party?

Mr. SHAW. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then listed his salary as \$500 a month?

Mr. SHAW. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In analyzing the withdrawals from the bank account, were many of the checks made out to Mr. O'Neal? Did you observe \$500 in checks on a periodic basis made out to him or various checks on a weekly basis?

Mr. SHAW. There were no such checks given to us reflecting Pete O'Neal being paid \$500.

Mr. SCHERLE. Then we really have no way of knowing, other than the assumption, that he did receive \$500 a month?

Mr. SHAW. That is right.

Mr. SCHERLE. How did the information generate to where this information became known to us that this was the figure he received?

Mr. SHAW. These documents that were processed at the time O'Neal made application for one of several loans contained this information, and purportedly this is what he put on the document as his monthly salary.

Mr. SCHERLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel, did you receive authority for the admission on Exhibit 22?

Mr. SANDERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to Exhibit 22? The agreement between the Black Panther Party and the Methodist Inner City Parish is received.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 22. See appendix, pages 2882-2884.)

Mr. SANDERS. At this point I might make reference to Exhibit No. 10, a report made by various members in Kansas City, furnished to us by a Methodist minister, the Reverend Cole. I might mention a paragraph in there in which he said:

Our concern is that the relationship between the Methodist Inner-City Parish and the Black Panther Party has gone beyond their definition of ministry and service. There is evidence of participation in the internal affairs of the Black Panthers, as well as the use of money, property and personnel to encourage, support and defend the Black Panther Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Reverend Cole a witness while the Chair was gone Friday?

Mr. SANDERS. No, sir, he was not, but Reverend Lawson identified this document and was aware of it, although he says it was not an official document of the Methodist Church. It was kind of an ad hoc committee.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Counsel, would I be interrupting your proceeding there if I were to ask a few questions concerning these telephone calls?

Mr. SANDERS. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Can the witness tell me have these names been offered for the record?

Mr. SANDERS. The whole document has been; yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. Can the witness tell me, when we come to Omaha, Nebraska, as to what the Raleigh B. House is?

Mr. SHAW. No, sir, our investigation in this area is continuing, and we are going to try to determine who some of these individuals are, and the Mobile Street Research Workers of Des Moines will also be researched to determine their character.

Mr. SCHERLE. In other words, all of these names that you have offered for the record will be or at the present time are under investigation to the extent of their involvement as a Black Panther or their connection with the Black Panthers?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. But at this stage you have no information to offer for the record as to what part they played, whether they are members, or their affiliation with the party?

Mr. SHAW. That is right, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. That is all, Mr. Chairman, thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SANDERS. With regard to the Lydia and Olive Streets properties in Kansas City used by the Black Panthers, have you ascertained whether those properties would be entitled to tax-exempt status under the real property laws of Missouri?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, sir. On February 24, 1970, I contacted the Jackson County assessor's office and determined that both properties, 3903 Olive and 2221 Lydia, were deeded to the Methodist Inner City Parish and are entitled to tax-exempt status under the Missouri real property law—

Mr. SANDERS. Did you, on February 3 of this year, observe the Panthers engaging in a move from one premises to another?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, I did.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you describe that, please?

Mr. SHAW. On February 3, 1970, I had occasion to be in the area of 2905 Prospect and observed a truck backed up to the front door, and the following individuals were loading office equipment and other paraphernalia within 2905 to the vehicle parked in front. They were Edward Rollins, John Jacobs, Pete O'Neal, and Thomas Robinson.

Also on February 3 I observed the front of 2221 Lydia being remodeled. There were several individuals in the process. Pete O'Neal and Thomas Robinson were two subjects identified, with hammers and nails and plywood closing in the front and building what would amount to a closed-in foyer that runs almost to the sidewalk.

Approximately February 5 this job was completed, with the exception of painting it green, and they had begun to put posters symbolic of the Panthers' heroes around the front portion of this property.

This work that was done on the front of the Lydia Street address was in no way casual. It was put up pretty permanently.

Mr. SANDERS. On or about February 3, while you were in the vicinity of that property, did Robinson commit a provocative act toward you?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. On February 5, 1970, I had now another occasion to be in the area with Sergeant Walter Parker of the Kansas City Police Department, who was operating an unmarked sedan. As we drove by 2221 Lydia, Thomas Robinson attempted to spit upon this vehicle. However, this vehicle is known to the regular Panthers as a police vehicle.

Mr. SANDERS. Was anything done by you or Parker to precipitate this?

Mr. SHAW. Nothing other than our presence.

Mr. SANDERS. Go ahead.

Mr. SHAW. On February 5, 1970, 4202 East 31st Street, which was the location of the Black Panther Party free health center, was physically inspected and found to be inactive and that, according to the arrangement of furniture and other items within this property, there has not been any activity at this address for some time. To the best of my ability I was able to determine that there are in fact no free health clinic services being performed as a function by the Panthers.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you had occasion to observe the Panthers' conduct of the breakfast programs in Kansas City?

Mr. SHAW. I did. On Wednesday, February 4, 1970, I had an occasion to observe the location of the breakfast program which was being held at St. Stephen Baptist Church located at Truman Road and Paseo. I observed this operation from 6:30 a.m. through 8:25 a.m. I observed six children between the ages of 6 and 10 years enter the church at various times. Of the four adult subjects who appeared to be in charge of this operation, three were identified as Edward Rollins, Brian O'Neal, and Thomas Robinson.

On Thursday, February 5, 1970, once again I observed the breakfast operations, and I observed 15 children between the ages of 6 and 10 enter the church at various times. The time of my involvement was 6:30 a.m. through 8:45 a.m. Those subjects identified as being members of the Panthers and participating as coordinators of this program were Edward Rollins, Thomas Robinson, Brian O'Neal, and Charlotte Hill.

On Friday, February 6, 1970, again I had an occasion to observe this activity and observed 27 small children enter the church between the hours of 6:30 a.m. and 8:45 a.m. Their ages were similar to the other dates that I observed. The Panthers identified on this occasion were Edward Rollins, Thomas Robinson, John Jacobs, Melvin Bowie, Pete O'Neal, Brian O'Neal, and André Weatherby.

During my observations of the breakfast program, almost all of the children attending were rather well clothed.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you have occasion to interview a Reverend Williams and, if so, in what regard?

Mr. SHAW. I interviewed Reverend Williams on January 14, 1970, and Reverend Williams is the pastor of the St. Stephen Baptist Church.

Mr. SANDERS. What is his full name?

Mr. SHAW. John J. Williams. Reverend Williams indicated he has no personal knowledge of the success or failure of the Black Panther Party breakfast program being held in his church. He indicated that,

when Pete O'Neal first approached him and requested the use of the church facilities to have this program, he told him he would consider taking this matter up with the church board of directors if he could give his assurance that no posters of Panther heroes or any indoctrination would be a part of this activity.

He said that Pete O'Neal attempted to convince him of the necessity of having such matters as political education and indoctrination or orienting the children as to Panther belief, but soon gave up after Reverend Williams stated he was most emphatic about not permitting such activities to take place within the church.

Mr. SANDERS. Have the Panthers in their official publications made any expressions of their purpose with regard to the breakfast program?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, in the July 19, 1969, edition of the Black Panther Party newspaper. I would like to read a portion of an article contained therein referring to the Breakfast for Children:

What are we doing? The Breakfast for Children program. We are running it in a socialistic manner. People came and took our program, saw it in a socialistic fashion not even knowing it was socialism. People are gonna take our program and tell us to go on to a higher level. They gonna take that program and work it in a socialistic manner. What'd the pig say? He say, "nigger—you like communism?" "no sir, I'm scared of it." "You like socialism?" "No Sir, I'm scared of it." "You like the breakfast for children program?" "Yes sir, I'd die for it". Pig said, "Nigger, that program is a socialistic program." "I don't give a ——— if it's Communism. You put your hands on that program ——— and I'll blow your ——— brains out." And he knew it. We been educating him, not by reading matter, but through observation and participation. By letting him come in and work our program. Not theory and theory alone, but theory and practice. The two go together. We not only thought about the Marxist Leninist theory—we put it into practice. This is what the Black Panther Party is about.

I would like to explain the blanks I stated are not blanks in the article.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you develop information concerning an incident which occurred on June 14, 1969, involving a number of members of the Panther Party in Kansas City relative to their participation in demonstrations about trash pickups and trash burning?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, I did.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you explain that incident?

Mr. SHAW. On June 14, 1969, there was a demonstration in City Hall at Kansas City, Missouri, that was purported to be in response to a recent ordinance that prohibited the burning of trash and what they termed the inadequate pickup services being provided by the city.

It was not determined who, if anyone, specifically called for this demonstration, but those organizations identified as having participated were the Black Panthers of Kansas City; representatives of Students for a Democratic Society; Black Youth of America, that was described as an ultramilitant organization very much in keeping with the Panthers; and Soul, Inc., which was likewise described.

This incident was explained how, as a matter of fact, the Panthers tend to reflect or purport that masses of people are supporting their various programs.

I might point out that the Panthers did bring their bus with a PA system as a speaker affixed to the top, and this was a device used for various people to make their speeches.

At this rally speeches were made by Henry Finley, Felix Lindsay O'Neal, André Weatherby, and Lee Bohannon. Lee Bohannon has been described as a member of the Black Youth of America.

At the time the officers were on the scene, the various members of the group began to use profanity, and during a speech by André Weatherby she began to use some rather profane terms. At this time the officers contacted Felix O'Neal and advised him that any further profanity being used over the PA system would result in the parties being arrested. A police sergeant also announced at that time over the PA system regarding the use of profanity and the consequences of such.

Mr. SANDERS. It would be your understanding that the use of obscenities or profanities in public in Kansas City would be a violation of ordinance?

Mr. SHAW. That is right.

Mr. SANDERS. Although they were doing this, the police in the very first instance did not arrest them, but warned them to refrain from it.

Mr. SHAW. That is right. As a matter of fact, after the admonishments regarding the use of profanity, Felix O'Neal began his speech over the PA and proceeded to use profanity, for which he was placed under arrest for using profanity in a public place. Then Robert Lee Newman, who was identified as a member of the Kansas City Black Panther Party, then began to speak over the PA system in response to O'Neal's arrest. He too was arrested and charged with the using of profane language in a public place. Gary O'Neal, who was at that time identified as the head of Soul, Inc., and the brother of Pete O'Neal, was arrested while he gave a dissertation over the PA system and again used profanity. Steve Michael Fenton, described as a white male and a member of SDS and a VISTA worker, was likewise arrested for the using of profanity.

After these arrests were made, the crowd began to disperse and approximately 25 persons from this group proceeded to the Safeway Store at 3510 Prospect Avenue, where they picketed for a while in support of the grape boycott. There were, according to the police, no incidents of violence.

Mr. SANDERS. What were the Panthers trying to accomplish in that demonstration concerning the trash removal?

Mr. SHAW. It was really difficult to conceive what they were attempting, if you are referring to any constructive developments. It would be in keeping with their unusual techniques and that is to capitalize on already prevailing situations that are already sensitive, emotional, and of concern to people in general.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Counsel, would the witness repeat the name of the VISTA worker?

Mr. SHAW. Steve Michael Fenton.

Mr. SCHERLE. Do you know whether or not he is still employed by VISTA?

Mr. SHAW. I understand he is not, but I was not able to determine that.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SANDERS. Have you compiled information, Mr. Shaw, concerning firearms and ammunition in the possession of members of the Panther chapter in Kansas City and the means by which some of these were acquired?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you relate those?

Mr. SHAW. For example, on March 7, 1969, Charles E. Simms was arrested upon leaving a local gun store by the Kansas City Police Department. He had in his possession one .30-caliber carbine, one box of .30-caliber ammunition, one 15-round and one 30-round clip for this weapon. On March 13, 1969, Simms was indicted by the Federal grand jury as follows: section 1202(a), title VII, of the Omnibus Crime Control Act, Safe Streets Act of 1968 as amended by title III of the Gun Control Act of 1968 in that he did possess a firearm and being a convicted felon. The second charge of the violation was section 922, paragraph A (6), false and fictitious intent to deceive the dealer.

On June 9, 1969, Simms was found not guilty on both charges. The decision was based as follows: Simms contended that the dealer did not tell him to read and understand the entire form required to be filled out upon any such gun purchase regarding felony convictions and other stipulations and, since the specific reference to convictions was at the bottom of this form, he failed to see it. He further contended that he had to be unaware of any wrongdoing since he was aware that the police had followed him to the gun store. In a later interview with assistant U.S. prosecuting attorney in Kansas City, Missouri, he indicated that Mr. Calvin Hamilton—Mr. Hamilton indicated, although the form has been revised and this particular reference to felony convictions is now located near the top of the form, there is still concern on his part and on the part of other enforcement agencies regarding the latitude for interpretation given to the courts pertaining to crimes as serious Federal gun law violations.

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

Mr. SHAW. On March 21, 1969, the Federal grand jury in Kansas City, Missouri, indicted William Whitfield for having purchased firearms on February 3, 1969.

The CHAIRMAN. At that point, Mr. Shaw, was the first trial of Simms a jury trial?

Mr. SHAW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He was found not guilty by the judge on the basis of the law. There had to be actual knowledge that the law did forbid the possession and the sale to convicted felons?

Mr. SHAW. No, sir; it seems the breakdown came when Simms contended that he did not see certain stipulations and that the gun dealer did not admonish him that he should read and understand this same form, and on the basis of that the case was dismissed.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you ought to forward this testimony to the Judiciary Committee. I know they have that particular section under study at the present time. Proceed, Mr. Shaw. I am sorry I had to interrupt you.

Mr. SHAW. With regard to William Whitfield, on February 21, 1969, a Federal warrant was issued for Whitfield, and later this same day at 4:20 p.m. Alcohol and Tobacco Tax agents and Kansas City police went to the residence of William Whitfield located at 1913 East 17th Street and arrested Whitfield on the strength of this warrant. A search of the residence was conducted incident to this lawful arrest. The officers seized one 30-30 caliber Stevens rifle, model 323-B; one 7-millimeter Mauser-Chilean rifle, model 1895; serial No. E4023;

seven 12-gauge shotgun shells; 30-30 caliber cartridges; thirty-three 7-millimeter cartridges; and one woven web cartridge belt.

The 7-millimeter Mauser was found loaded with five rounds in an upstairs bedroom under a child's bed. Under another child's bed in the same room the 30-30 caliber rifle was found, and in the top of a chest of drawers three 7-millimeter rifle cartridges and twenty 30-30 caliber cartridges and seven 12-gauge shotgun shells were found.

Prior to the officers' removing Whitfield from the residence, they indicated that Whitfield turned to several small children and said to them several times, "Take a good look at these men. These are the pigs. Get a good look at these men and don't ever forget them because these are the pigs."

At 6 p.m. on March 21, 1969, Whitfield was taken before a U.S. commissioner at Kansas City and his "Omnibus" hearing was set for March 25, 1969, and bond was set at \$5,000. The bond was not made and Whitfield was remanded to the custody of the U.S. marshal. Count one of the Federal grand jury indictment charges—Mr. Counsel, is it all right if I read the substance from the indictment, or do you want it in its complete form?

Mr. SANDERS. Just the essence of it.

Mr. SHAW. On or about the third day of February 1969 at Kansas City in the Western District of Missouri, William Henry Whitfield, the Second, also known as William Henry Whitfield, knowingly did make a false written statement as to the material facts that when completing United States Department of Treasury IRS Form 4473 entitled "Firearms Transaction," a record relating to the purchase and acquisition of a firearm, that is a 7-millimeter Mauser purchased from the Troost Gun Shop located at 4042 Troost Avenue in Kansas City, Missouri, when he initiated this form he certified he was not prohibited from the provisions of chapter 44 of title 18 of the U.S.C. or title 7 of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 from receiving a firearm in interstate or foreign commerce, when in truth he knew, by virtue of a felony conviction on 23 February 1961, that he had a record that would prohibit his purchasing these firearms.

According to additional information, the felony conviction of Whitfield occurred in Little Rock, Arkansas, when he was charged and convicted of forcibly breaking into a building then being used in part as a United States Post Office with the unlawful intent to commit a larceny, all in violation of the previous sections indicated.

Mr. SANDERS. Was Whitfield subsequently tried on this indictment?

Mr. SHAW. That is right; he was tried.

Mr. SANDERS. What was the verdict? Was that a jury trial or by judge?

Mr. SHAW. It was no trial. It did not go to trial as such. It went before a judge.

The CHAIRMAN. A single judge hearing?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The same judge as in the Simms case?

Mr. SHAW. I don't know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the judge?

Mr. SHAW. I am sorry, I don't have the judge's name.

Mr. SANDERS. What happened to the charge?

Mr. SHAW. This charge was dismissed. There were motions to dismiss, motions not to dismiss, and the substance of the dismissal—when Whitfield was convicted of this felony—

Mr. SANDERS. Are you speaking of the 1961 felony?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, the 1961 infraction; he was sentenced and placed on probation under the provisions of the Federal Youth Corrections Act, title 18, section 5010(a). The motion to dismiss essentially set forth that Whitfield was due to go off probation October 22, 1964. The conditions of his probation were for 3 years. Prior to midnight October 22, 1964, the judge in Little Rock set aside and terminated his probation.

The particular section that makes reference to this reads as follows, with regard to the unconditional discharging of an offender:

Where a youth offender has been placed on probation by the court, the court may thereafter, in its discretion, unconditionally discharge such youth offender from probation prior to the expiration of the maximum period of probation theretofore fixed by the court, which discharge shall automatically set aside the conviction, and the court shall issue to the youth offender a certificate to that effect.

Mr. SANDERS. The indictment in Kansas City was dismissed on the basis that because the 1961 conviction had been set aside he was therefore not a convicted felon?

Mr. SHAW. That is right; even though it happened a matter of hours prior to the terminating of the probation, it nevertheless held.

Mr. Hamilton, for example, indicated that this is what the judge's ruling was based on, and he further said he had no argument with the ruling because the law is clearly on the books. But he regards the law in matters involving firearms as antiquated, that since firearms have become a problem with both white and black militants, it would justify some review.

The CHAIRMAN. You testified previously there were 394 arrests of 40 members of the Black Panther Party there in Kansas City, 277 convictions among the 40. How many of these 277 convictions were felony convictions? Do you have that broken down?

Mr. SANDERS. The charges are broken down there, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. With some of these charges you would have difficulty determining whether they are felony charges because of the differences in laws from jurisdiction to jurisdiction for the classification of a crime. Certainly homicide, 7 convictions on that; sex crimes, rape, felonious assault, 8; robbery, armed and unarmed, 60; auto—all of that would be felony. Burglary is a felony. Aggravated assault would be a felony in most jurisdictions, 38; larceny, grand and petit, 42, grand larceny would be a felony; drugs would probably be a misdemeanor; kidnaping is a felony; checks, 8, that could or could not be a felony; concealed weapons—in most jurisdictions that is a misdemeanor; resisting arrest and interfering with police officers, that would be a misdemeanor; property destruction, 5, that could or could not be a felony; escape—I don't know what kind of escape it is. Now, obviously there is a deficiency as held by the judge. This has not gone up, to your knowledge, to a higher court.

Mr. SHAW. No, sir, it has not.

The CHAIRMAN. Obviously there is a deficiency in the Federal Gun Control Act and this is apparently handicapping the Kansas City Po-

lice Department in bringing guns owned by the Black Panthers under control.

Are you making the documents from which he has read part of the record, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. SANDERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think it is necessary to clutter up the record with that information, but I think you should forward it to the Judiciary Committee because this committee would not have jurisdiction over the Federal Gun Control Act, and this should be brought to their attention.

Mr. SANDERS. We will do that.

Mr. SHAW. I might add the concern on the part of enforcement agencies in that area was not specifically concerning the Black Panthers, but anyone of such character who would be in the market for procuring firearms and have the wherewithal to use them.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that. I don't know how many of them had felony convictions, but there were a great number of felony convictions in what I read—50 robbery, 7 homicides. Undoubtedly a lot of the convicted felons have been handling guns, in accordance with the testimony we received previously. This would handicap the Kansas City police force in bringing this activity under control. I understand it would also apply to other organizations that are indulging in criminal activity.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have information concerning possession of firearms by a Panther member named Ortega?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. In January 1970 Phillip Ortega was arrested in Los Angeles, California, for carrying concealed weapons and stolen property.

According to the agencies responsible, Ortega was charged with the carrying of this loaded firearm, which was a misdemeanor, but he was not charged with having in his possession stolen property because it could not be proved that Ortega knew this .38-caliber revolver to be stolen property. This revolver previously had been taken from the home of a Kansas City, Missouri, police officer.

Mr. SANDERS. Would that be during 1969?

Mr. SHAW. During 1969. Ortega pleaded guilty to the misdemeanor, but he did not return for his sentencing, which was scheduled for the next several days.

Mr. SANDERS. In other words, he was prosecuted under California law?

Mr. SHAW. That is right.

Mr. SANDERS. His sentencing on that plea of guilty is still awaiting finality?

Mr. SHAW. A bench warrant has been issued and, from my reading, his whereabouts are unknown.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have any further knowledge concerning the acquisition of firearms by the Panthers in Kansas City?

Mr. SHAW. During my investigation I reviewed the records of various gun dealers in the Kansas City, Missouri, area with the following results:

The C & R Gun Company located at 1409 Walnut revealed that on February 28, 1969, Keith Hinch had purchased an F.N.-98 Mauser, a

30-06 rifle, serial number 4565. According to the records, Hinch paid \$75 cash for this weapon and signed his correct signature, Keith I. Hinch, on the Alcohol Tax Firearm Form 4473. Additionally, the records indicated that on February 27, 1969, Hinch purchased 100 rounds of 7 by 57-millimeter ammunition. At the Troost Gun Shop located at 4241 Troost Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri, their records reflect that Stephen Sayers had purchased a .22-caliber Noble pump gun, model N-235, on May 23, 1969.

Mr. SANDERS. Is Sayers known to be a member of the Panthers in Kansas City?

Mr. SHAW. He was identified as such, yes, sir.

C & R Gun Company also had information that on April 30, 1969, Henry Finley and Larry Johnson made separate purchases of ammunition. However, the quantities or the caliber had not been recorded.

Mr. SANDERS. Have Finley and Johnson previously been identified in these hearings as members of the Black Panther chapter?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, they have.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you conduct your own investigation, Mr. Shaw, to ascertain whether or not members of the Panther chapter in Kansas City had been engaging in any intimidating tactics toward merchants to solicit funds?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, I did.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you explain your results, please?

Mr. SHAW. On February 10 I interviewed Ervin Linville, who is the sales manager of Guy's Nuts, address 2215 Harrison Street, Kansas City, Missouri. Previous information had indicated that on February 6 individuals who identified themselves as being from Soul, Inc., had come to this establishment and had demanded merchandise. Mr. Linville stated that these subjects did come, who were later identified as Gary O'Neal, Dennis Fulson, Ralph Robertson, Kenneth Cooper, Otis Lee Jackson, and Parrish Moore.

Mr. SANDERS. Have any of them been known to be members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. SHAW. Kenneth Cooper, Otis Jackson have been identified; Gary O'Neal has been identified only as the brother of Pete O'Neal.

In any event, Mr. Linville said that in the latter part of January these same subjects had visited the establishment and requested that they be given merchandise to help them in their program to make it a more pleasant life for the needy people in the community. At that time, Linville said that sample packages of potato chips were given to them and they thanked him and left.

Then on February 6 when they returned, he said that they came in demanding that they be given merchandise, and the quantity they were interested in would definitely exceed that which they were given on their visit of January 29, 1969.

Linville said that, for as much as any reason, the demand that was being made was the thing that caused him not to be interested in responding to these fellows because he felt if he continued to do this they would continue to bleed him.

He said as soon as he informed them that there were not going to be any more donations, they began to make such remarks as, "Let's burn this place down," "Let's come back tonight and tear it up," and several

of them placed their hands in their pockets and made gestures and comments that would suggest they were going to shoot them.

He said one switchboard operator and the owner, Mr. Caldwell, Guy Caldwell, in his opinion were genuinely scared. I asked Mr. Linville at that point if he had ever been visited by individuals who identified themselves as members of the Black Panther Party. Linville indicated that he had not been, but that he did not know there was too much difference between the two organizations because they run together, they act alike, and in general they are of the same character.

Linville also said that as a result of this incident that they are in the process of moving their entire plant out of the city so they might avoid any such future incidents.

He also indicated that there are a number of other merchants who have done and who are going to do the very same thing because of the types of activities with regard to extortion attempts that are becoming so prevalent.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you talk with other merchants?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, I did.

On January 15 I talked with Mendel Roslawowski. Mr. Roslawowski is the owner and operator of the M & M Bakery located at 1721 East 21st Street, Kansas City, Missouri.

He confirmed earlier information that on May 20, 1969, Thomas Robinson and Sharon Louise Cooper had entered his place of business during business hours and Robinson had demanded of him \$25. He went on to say that Robinson and Cooper then entered his shop. Robinson demanded \$25 of him to help sustain the Black Panther breakfast program, and that after he received this \$25 he would be back for more anyway.

Roslawowski indicated that Sharon Cooper had nothing to say throughout the incident and that Robinson did all of the talking. Robinson identified himself as a member of the Black Panther Party of Kansas City and said that this money was going to be used for a breakfast program that was needed in the community and that if he did not come up with the contribution indicated that he would simply have his store burned down.

Mr. Roslawowski told me that he tried to explain to Robinson that he does not have this type of money; however, he does regularly and has for some time given baked goods to the neighborhood children. Roslawowski indicated that Robinson was not at all interested, apparently, in what other deeds he had done in response to the needs of the community, but rather he was intent on receiving the cash donations.

He said in about 10 minutes Robinson left and as he left he shouted warnings that he would be back and if he did not receive the money he would see that the store was burned down.

Mr. SANDERS. Did he mention whether Robinson engaged in any intimidating behavior other than his remarks?

Mr. SHAW. He said that while Robinson was talking about burning his store down, he struck several matches and threw them to the floor to indicate to Roslawowski if he could that he meant business.

I asked Roslawowski if he felt that Robinson's statements were rhetorical in nature or whether he felt Robinson really meant it. Mr.

Roslawowski indicated that he felt that Robinson did mean it. However, he felt if he did not prosecute that Robinson would let him alone and he would not have to sustain any reprisal on the part of the Panther organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, the Chair has another meeting which he is trying to make today. How much longer do you anticipate the testimony will be?

Mr. SANDERS. I think 20 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will accept all of this information for the record as evidence of community attitude and certainly not any evidence as to whether these attempts did in fact occur.

I know you had evidence Friday of extortion, but I do not consider this very important except as evidence of community attitude and not any proof at all that these events did in fact occur because there Mr. Shaw is relating what someone told him. If you consider it important enough, subpoena the people up here to testify.

Mr. SANDERS. There were roughly five merchants, Mr. Chairman, and I thought instead of subpoenaing all of them up here——

The CHAIRMAN. I will accept it as community attitude, but I don't consider it very important. If the community attitude mainly consists of this, let's speed it up.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Levitt testified on Friday.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not accepting this hearsay testimony as evidence that the events did in fact occur. I will accept it for the record as evidence of the community attitude.

Mr. SHAW. In January, Mrs. Tobias, the wife of Phil Tobias, the owner and operator of Phil's Loan, located at 2600 East 31st Street, stated that her husband had given her an account of the incident.

She explained essentially that Thomas Robinson and a subject later identified as Merl Fulsom Brown demanded \$100 a month and demanded that Mr. Tobias buy a paper. Mr. Tobias said he would have to check with his banker and Robinson again embarked on making threatening pronouncements. Mrs. Tobias said when her husband came home he was almost prepared to make the donation because of fear.

He was reluctant to cooperate with the police for fear of reprisals, and she insisted that they not do this, that he go ahead and run his business and let the police handle it. But they would not prosecute. The overall demeanor of Robinson in this case was the same as the other case described.

At the Cook Paint & Varnish Company located at 3000 Prospect—on February 5, 1970, I talked with Mr. Robert L. Shelnuttt who at that time was the manager of this particular store. He indicated that Robinson and Sharon Cooper came into his store demanding \$200 or \$300.

Mr. SANDERS. Did he say when they were in there?

Mr. SHAW. May 20, 1969, and also May 20 for Phil's Loan Company there. The same date.

He indicated that Robinson essentially conducted himself in the same manner as previously described, except he wanted in this case \$200 or \$300. He told him he would have to check with his supervisor.

Robinson said at that time, "You have 15 minutes." Robinson shouted warnings and said he was a Panther and it was for the breakfast program and he left.

Shelnutt left behind him and called the police. Charges were subsequently filed and Robinson was arrested. However, the case was later dismissed.

With respect to Midland Hardware, located at 2607 East 31st Street, Mr. Reith was interviewed on February 5, 1970, regarding his encounter with Robinson and Merl Fulsom Brown on May 20, 1969. Here again Robinson did essentially the same thing as in the other cases. In this case he demanded \$200 or \$300. He identified himself as a Panther. He explained that the money was to be used for other things and specifically the breakfast program in the neighborhood, and he used the same profanities in this case as in the other cases.

Mr. Reith said he did not respond. Robinson threatened to come back the next day, May 21, but as it worked out Robinson was later arrested on May 20 so he didn't make it back.

None of these people has, according to their information, sustained any damage or threats since the initial arrests.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you have one more there?

Mr. SHAW. No.

Mr. SANDERS. Robinson was arrested on extortion?

Mr. SHAW. Second degree robbery. Originally it was extortion, both in the Cook Paint & Varnish Company incident and the Safeway incident.

Mr. SANDERS. There was a prosecution?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, but the charges were dismissed.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the charges dismissed before the case was prosecuted?

Mr. SHAW. There was a trial, sir.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know the basis for the dismissal of the charges?

Mr. SHAW. Rhetoric—that this is the type of communication customary in the inner city and they did not understand what it was Robinson was saying, in fact, and that he didn't mean it.

Mr. SANDERS. Are you saying that the court found that the language used by Robinson was not in fact a threat to burn down the store or blow it up, as the case may have been?

Mr. SHAW. The court apparently responded to the defense argument that this was rhetoric and that he didn't mean that he was literally going to burn the store down.

Mr. SANDERS. What could be the alternative meaning? What could he have meant if the judge is correct in his interpretation? What would he have meant by this?

Mr. SHAW. I don't know for sure, Mr. Counsel, but I can tell you this. Understanding the customs and the ways and the different forms of communications as it relates to the inner city is not exclusive to blacks or inner city people per se, but it is exclusive to those people

who have been surrounded long enough and who have become familiar enough with those same customs as they relate to the inner city.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you develop information concerning a shipment of newspapers to the Black Panther chapter in Kansas City?

Mr. SHAW. I did.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you explain your findings?

Mr. SHAW. In an investigation on May 30, 1969, specifically, Pete O'Neal signed for and paid \$66.93 and received 10 boxes of newspapers. This return address reflected Sam Napier, 1336 Fillmore, San Francisco, California. Sam Napier is the circulation manager for the national Black Panther Party and 1336 Fillmore is the headquarters for the San Francisco chapter.

Mr. SANDERS. What was your source of information?

Mr. SHAW. A bill of lading.

Additional information indicates that at about this same period of time Pete O'Neal was receiving approximately 3,000 Black Panther newspapers per month at a cost of 12½ cents each.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you interview Reverend Preciphs?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, I did.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you relate the information which he furnished to you?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. Reverend Preciphs was interviewed by me February 10, 1970. Reverend Preciphs identified himself as the assistant director of the Methodist Inner City Parish. I identified myself to Reverend Preciphs as precisely who I was and precisely what I was interested in, and Reverend Preciphs said in response to this, as one who is probably closer to the Panthers than anyone else in the city, that he could say as a matter of personal observation that the Panthers are the best thing that has ever happened to the Negro community, that their philosophy has given the Negro community something to be proud of. It has given the Negro momentum. The Panthers have given the Negro community unity, and as far as he is concerned the only thing the Panthers have done that is wrong is that they have not done their homework, that the Panthers should involve themselves more vigorously in attempting to politicize and rhetorize the Negro community. He said that violence, as relates to the Panthers, to him means only self-defense.

Reverend Preciphs said that the Panthers are supported by himself and Reverend Lawson 100 percent and that as far as he is concerned this is today the only proper organization existing and that the Urban League and the NAACP haven't done a damn thing, that the Panthers have done more in their short life span to cause concessions and changes within the Establishment than these other organizations have in a lifetime.

I asked Reverend Preciphs if the Methodist Inner City Parish provided any financial aid to sustain the Black Panther Party in Kansas City, and he told me, "We don't even get paid ourselves, so how could we give them any money."

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know a person named Jose Renteria?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you see him in Kansas City on January 17 of this year?

Mr. SHAW. No, sir, I did not.

Mr. SANDERS. Did you see him while you were in Kansas City?

Mr. SHAW. No, I did not.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you have knowledge that he was there?

Mr. SHAW. According to information furnished by the police department on January 17, Renteria was observed in Kansas City having been to the Black Panther Party on Prospect Street.

Mr. SANDERS. The police observed him?

Mr. SHAW. They had occasion to stop his vehicle for a traffic violation and it was confirmed by Renteria and others they were from St. Louis. But they were not Panthers, but members of the Black Nationalist Party, and this was the equivalent in St. Louis since St. Louis does not have a Black Panther Party.

Mr. SANDERS. What is Renteria's relationship?

Mr. SHAW. He announced he was a member of this organization and that a news article appeared in *The Kansas City Star* earlier this same month indicating that Renteria was one of the individuals who was arrested during a police raid in St. Louis on the Black Cultural Center, where they seized 15 guns and an assortment of ammunition and other paramilitary equipment.

Mr. SANDERS. What did Renteria do in Kansas City in January of 1970? Did you say he visited the Panther headquarters?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you know of any other activities by him?

Mr. SHAW. I know of no activities in Kansas City, but I know of some activities in 1968 when this investigator was still in the police department in Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. SANDERS. I wanted to ask you about your background. Before you came with the committee, what had been your experience in investigations and law enforcement?

Mr. SHAW. I had been a police officer 12 years, an investigator for 8 years.

Mr. SANDERS. You were going to mention you had personal knowledge of his activities in Columbus, Ohio, while you were employed there.

Mr. SHAW. That is correct.

Mr. SANDERS. You were in the Columbus Police Department?

Mr. SHAW. Right.

Mr. SANDERS. Would you go ahead and explain what you know of him?

Mr. SHAW. I was a member of the intelligence bureau of that police department. Renteria came to Columbus in 1968, the early part of 1968. We developed information that indicates that he has a date of birth of 2/21/45, born in Missouri, has aliases of Jose Bacheo, Jose Pancheo, and Jose Pancho, the Third.

Renteria was in the military from 1964 to 1966, after which he became actively involved in the Black Nationals and the Black Panthers in Los Angeles.

In 1967 Renteria reportedly left Los Angeles and went to St. Louis, Missouri, where he was to transform the St. Louis chapter of CORE, Congress of Racial Equality, into a Black Nationalist group.

In 1968 Renteria came to Columbus, Ohio, where he attempted to develop the fragments of the local Congress of Racial Equality into a Nationalist organization.

Investigations and observations while in Columbus, Ohio, with regard to Renteria's activities are as follows:

On April 9, 1968, Renteria was reportedly overheard boasting that he was one of the persons responsible for having set a lumberyard afire several days prior to this date. This fire was declared arson, but due to the sensitivity of the issue with regard to concern for other people, the prosecution was not able to take place.

On April 11, 1968, Renteria with several other subjects was attempting to encourage these individuals to assist him in setting another lumberyard afire, but according to the information this met with cool response.

On April 17, 1968, Renteria attended a Columbus chapter CORE meeting and attempted to convince the membership that violence and terrorism was the only answer to freedom. Renteria attended the April 18, 1968, CORE preconvention in Chicago, Illinois.

May 8, 1968, Renteria, while attending a CORE meeting, purportedly caused the organization to come up with some fundraising programs so they could buy weapons which would be used on the police. Renteria in his circle, that is the circles of the militants in Columbus, made no secret out of his purported desire at least to cause some police officers to be shot.

On June 10, 1968, Renteria managed to disrupt the memorial services for Dr. Martin Luther King by going onto the stage, taking the microphone, discrediting the services, using all types of profanities, and he was rather successful in doing this.

On July 22, 1968, Renteria was arrested in Columbus for possession of numbers slips, and that is when he left our city.

Additional information indicates that Renteria on August 23, 1967, was arrested for unlawful assembly, disturbing the peace, and conspiracy to incite a riot.

There has been some discussion regarding whether or not the Kansas City Black Panther operation is unique or exclusive to Kansas City or whether or not there is any cooperation among various other people in the country, and I think this points up the fact that these people are not Sunday school people as has been suggested. I think, if you check their histories back, they are of like character. I think that they do possess the propensity for violence.

Now, whether or not they do this in accord with a complete conviction, I regard as superfluous. As long as the deed is done I don't think it is much of a matter of whether it is conviction or sport.

Mr. SANDERS. Do you think the Panthers in Kansas City have some special appeal to the young in the inner city, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. They represent something ugly, something vigorous, something that a youngster or someone not quite mature would point to and say, "If you do this or that to me, I will sic these individuals on you" or create the implication that this may happen.

Mr. SANDERS. Does it appear to you that the efforts of the Kansas City Chapter of the Panthers have resulted in any beneficial effects?

Mr. SHAW. The only beneficial effect, which would be a side issue, would be feeding the children, regardless of who fed them. I am not suggesting, because I don't know what the poverty rate or figures are in Kansas City, but to feed a child, and this is precisely what the Panthers are aware of, they are aware of the sympathy, the compassion the people have for children especially and for the elderly, which was one of the high tones of their health clinic, how they care for the young and the elderly. They realize these are devices that they can get sympathy forthwith.

Mr. SANDERS. From your investigations and studies, does it appear to you that the Panthers' motive is simply to feed hungry children?

Mr. SHAW. No, I don't think it is.

Mr. SANDERS. How would you assess their motives?

Mr. SHAW. I would assess their motives as being devices to do what I previously said—to capture sympathy, to cloud the area in such a manner to get for themselves certain immunities from surveillance, and things of this nature.

For example, let's just for a moment review that several of the things the Panthers holler the loudest about is genocide and repression. I will tell you, as a member of that same race, there has never been to my knowledge anything in my lifetime that has represented repression any more than the Black Panthers. I think if you honestly sit down with "X" number of community people in that same community, and there circumstances are provided that are conducive to get the truth out of this man, you will find that fear prevails more than support.

There seemed to be some confusion here, and the differentiating is not being done to where we thoroughly understand just where the Negro community is with respect to the Panthers.

Mr. SANDERS. What is your evaluation of the Panthers' attitude, policies, and conduct toward the police department in Kansas City?

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Counsel, if I may, I would like to read you one portion of a newspaper article attributed to Pete O'Neal as having come from an interview with a newsman of *The Kansas City Star*. According to the article O'Neal stated:

"I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy," Chairman Mao said in 1939 (pg. 15 of the "Red Book")—

Mr. SANDERS. Where did that appear?

Mr. SHAW. In the July 10, 1969, edition of *The Kansas City Star* newspaper. He goes on to say—

"for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy.

"It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves.

"It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but have achieved a great deal in our work."

Continuing in that same passage, it [the "red book"] goes on to say:

*To Be Attacked by the Enemy Is Not a Bad Thing but a Good Thing * * **

We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports.

Mr. Counsel, I can't tell you whether members of the Black Panther Party subscribe to the direction of the doctrines of Mao Tse-tung. I can only tell you that their activities have a tendency to show likeness in character in terms of their skills, their direction, and how they are able to do with the police the very thing that they know is necessary to create this clear line of demarcation between the enemy and the people.

So, when the question is asked, do they really believe, do they really mean what they say with regard to revolution, I am not sure that anyone knows that. I am only sure that their activities would certainly overwhelmingly indicate a tendency toward paralleling precisely what is contained in this book with regard to revolution.

We also have non-Panthers who are saying all over that the Panthers' pronouncement, "Off the pig," and other symbolic expressions I have referred to, don't really mean what they say. Now, at the same time these non-Panthers are screaming about this issue, the Panthers themselves are just as busy screaming that they do mean it. Now the question is, Who knows the most about it, the Panthers or the non-Panthers?

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I have one question along that line. You made a study of 50 persons who were members of the Black Panther Party in Kansas City. How did you pick this 50? I thought there was evidence to the effect that there were 60-odd known members in and out, and the membership would fluctuate from time to time. At the same time you started making this study, were these the 50 persons known to you as members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, sir, those were the 50 persons identified.

The CHAIRMAN. With 394 arrests of these 40 individuals, 10 of them did not have any history of any arrest.

Mr. SHAW. This is not known because if they had not been arrested for one thing or another in Kansas City I would not have known it. Time did not permit me to get additional rundowns.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this arrest record only the Kansas City arrests?

Mr. SHAW. No, sir, it is not, but all of those individuals had been arrested at one time or another in Kansas City.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you would run it nationwide if they had been arrested in Kansas City.

Mr. SHAW. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. As far as the 10 are concerned, you don't know anything about their arrest record outside of Kansas City?

Mr. SHAW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the 40, this would be an average of 10 arrests for each member and an average, almost, of 7 convictions for each member. Did you make any study of their mental history? Is there any evidence of mental problems, mental aberrations along this line?

Mr. SHAW. Sir, I did not have an opportunity to make a study in that regard.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we have had evidence from citizens of the inner city area. Did you have an opportunity to speak to the landowners and many of the responsible people in the Kansas City area?

Mr. SHAW. I did not limit my interviews to specific people. I tried to draw from a cross section of individuals which would provide for me a greater insight as to how Kansas City felt about the Black Panther Party, the relationships thereto. And it is from this cross section of interviews that I was able to draw what I feel to be a reasonable representation of the attitude in Kansas City with respect to the Black Panthers.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly we have received evidence to the effect that there are only six or eight active members now in the Black Panther Party in Kansas City. This would indicate they are a deteriorating organization in Kansas City. Do you feel that the community attitude in Kansas City has a bearing upon the deterioration of the Panthers?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, sir. There are usually two factors involved. One would be community response and the other would be leadership. Sometimes it is hard to tell which comes first, but those are the two main factors.

With regard to numbers, there is a lot of reference being made to numbers as far as the Panther strength is concerned. I don't feel that it is how many there are, but how dedicated they are. We also heard testimony that indicated of those six or seven remaining they represent the hard core of the group. Now, what "hard core" means with respect to their willingness to partake in revolutionary acts I am not real sure, except to say that it would seem to provide a greater likelihood that they might be involved this way. Furthermore, if one person of a group of 1,000 shoots at you, you are just as dead as if one of six shot at you. This is a relative term. I am not sure how it can be boiled down in terms of a threat.

The CHAIRMAN. There is one thing Sergeant Parker did not make clear to me in a question I directed to him. I think perhaps a lot of your police forces think this may be a leading question, but I asked Sergeant Parker whether these incidents which occur, the spitting incident, the instruction of the children that the cops are pigs and they have to grow up to kill them, the incident about guns being trained out of Black Panther headquarters on passing police cars, and shouting, "I've got a bead on the police"—I am wondering whether he really understood my question.

I know that policemen are accustomed to this type of harassment, but I can't understand that a police officer would not at least be somewhat worried or disturbed about such activity when coupled with the threats that have been made nationwide and with such articles as you read in the Black Panther paper. How did you find the attitude of the police in Kansas City?

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I have talked with a number of Negro police officers around the country, and with regard to this they have more concern for the exploiting of the Negro race in general by the Panther Party than they do for themselves.

What they mean is that the coverage, the type of notoriety, the type of full publicity, free in nature, which they can get for themselves tends to create an image that these youngsters are looking at as a responsible, vigorous, wholesome thing that is now prevailing, that they should perhaps at least consider involving themselves, so the police officers go through phases of uptightness. There is no question about this. But as far as being willing to sacrifice their convictions, sacrifice what they know as Americanism for a group which they describe as gangster, they will choose to do their job.

An officer who would leave the employment because of this, I am not sure he should be a police officer in the first place. This is the way they generally feel about it. They have concern from time to time regarding their family, and this is usually commensurate or proportional to the strength of a given chapter, but the majority of these officers are not about to succumb to what they know to be designs on the part of the Panthers to whip them psychologically into shape.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean they are very much concerned about overreaction?

Mr. SHAW. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Sergeant Parker testified in substance to that. He did register concern about the Panthers and the effect they were having upon the youth in the inner city area in Kansas City and the attitudes they were instilling in the youth toward the police, who have the responsibility of maintaining law and order.

Mr. Counsel, if you have no further questions, the Chair will first of all commend Mr. Shaw for the way he related his investigation to the committee by testimony here today and also for the very excellent job Mr. Shaw and the staff have done in assembling the information for the benefit of the committee.

We have had now 5 days of testimony, and the Chair commends you and your superior, Mr. Horner, for the investigation which you have done.

The Chair declares the committee in adjournment until Monday, March 16, at which time we shall begin hearings on the bills to repeal title II of the Internal Security Act. The first leadoff witness, I understand, Mr. Counsel, will be former Chief Justice Goldberg.

We are now adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 a.m., Tuesday, March 10, 1970, the committee adjourned.)

APPENDIX

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5

House Committee on Internal Security

The Black Panther Party
(Staff Study)

In October, 1966, Huey P. Newton and Bobby G. Seale organized the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in Oakland, California. In its little more than 3 years of existence, it has grown from a local group of about 40 members said to be organized to protect black people from alleged police brutality, into a nationally known organization with chapters in many major cities throughout the Nation.

The party subsequently dropped the words "for self defense from its name to reemphasize its political character" and by the end of 1968 boasted that it had "30 branches and perhaps a thousand members." ^{1/}

I. PURPOSE:

"The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure." So stated Huey Newton, the Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party in an article entitled "In Defense of Self Defense" published in the party newspaper, The Black Panther. The militant Panther leader also set forth the following purposes for the existence of the revolutionary organization: "The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore, it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black revolution in racist America.

"The main function of the party is to awaken the people and teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, * * * The Party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

* * * * *

"The main purpose of the vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in.

"The vanguard is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational process * * * hopefully when the party is forced to go underground the message of the party will already have been put across to the people. The vanguard party's activities on the surface will necessarily be short-lived. This is why it is driven into secrecy. At this time the people know the party exists and ^{1/} "Black Panthers: Serving the people, fighting police repression." The GUARDIAN, February 21, 1970, "Guardian/Panthers/ Supplement, page 3

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-2-

they will seek out further information on the activities of this underground party.

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

"The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as handgrenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. * * * The people never make revolution. The oppressors by their brutal action causes the resistance by the people. The vanguard party only teaches the correct method of resistance." ^{2/}

Eldridge Cleaver, the Panther's Minister of Information set forth the Party's purpose in an article which he reportedly wrote while he was in prison, and which Ramparts magazine claimed to have smuggled out and published. In that article Cleaver declared that:

"Our message is one and the same. We're going to talk about black people arming themselves in a political fashion. . . We're going to talk about political power growing out of the barrel of a gun."

Cleaver also called attention to the fact that the motto for the Black Panther Party was a quotation from the Chinese Communist Party Chairman, Mao Tse-tung's "Little Red Book" which had been chosen by Huey Newton. It states:

"We are advocates of the abolition of war; we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war; and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to pick up the gun." ^{3/}

Pete O'Neal, Black Panther leader in Kansas City, Missouri, declared in an interview that the purpose of the Black Panther Party is "'to

^{2/} The Black Panther, July 20, 1967:5

^{3/} Ramparts magazine, June 15, 1968:20, 21

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 5 - Continued

-3-

liberate the black colony and stimulate revolution in the mother country." This, he said would be done through "armed revolution".^{4/}

The Guardian declared in a two-page article concerning the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, that the party's Illinois chapter had "set out at once to implement the national party's analysis and program: America is imperialist and racist; the black community is an internal colony; the revolutionary struggle of the black colony will be the vanguard of the class struggle; and struggle requires the leadership of an armed revolutionary party."^{5/}

II. POLICIES AND PROGRAM:

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party -

"A democratic dictatorship by the proletarian class the people ~~whc the Black Panther Party members come~~ from is the real reason for the Party."^{6/}

"The Black Panther Party is a righteous revolutionary front against this racist, decadent, capitalistic system. * * * So if we want to develop a socialistic system within the black community we're saying its also going to have to exist in the white community * * * We have an organization, a revolutionary organization and this organization has rules, it has revolutionary principles and it adopts revolutionary tactics. The organization makes analysis objectively NOT SUBJECTIVELY. We make analysis from political theory as to how things are going and as how things are moving and what we should do to destroy the capitalistic system."^{7/}

Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information declared -

"* * * We're struggling against the capitalist system * * *. In order to organize a revolutionary struggle, we must be able to (manipulate ideas.) We must have knowledge of ourselves and our enemy and of the situations that we find ourselves in, in order to organize a true revolution to move against them.

"We're not reformists, * * * We are revolutionaries, and as revolutionaries our goal is the transformation of the American social order.

"In order to transform the American social order, we have to destroy the present structure of power in the U.S., we have to overthrow the government * * * And we say that we will do this by any means necessary.
(Emphasis added)

"We must not get into a bag of thinking that we're involved in a game. A revolution is not a game; it's a war. We're involved in a war - a people's war against those who oppress the people, and this is the war in the clearest sense of the word."^{8/}

The following is a statement written by the "national office of the Black Panther party" for publication in February 1970:

4/ Kansas City (Missouri) Star, July 10, 1969

5/ The Guardian, May 17, 1969:6,7

6/ The Black Panther, May 4, 1969:3

7/ The Movement, March 1969:12,13

8/ The Guardian, July 19, 1969

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-4-

"The Black Panther party stands for revolutionary solidarity with all people fighting against the forces of imperialism, capitalism, racism and fascism. Our solidarity is extended to those people who are fighting these evils at home and abroad. Because we understand that our struggle for our liberation is part of a worldwide struggle being waged by the poor and oppressed against imperialism and the world's chief imperialist, the United States of America, we -- the Black Panther party -- understand that the most effective way that we can aid our Vietnamese brothers and sisters is to destroy imperialism from the inside, attack it where it breeds. * * *

"The aims of the Black Panther party are manifest in our 10-point platform and program. We demand the right to self-determination for all third-world peoples and we call for a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only the black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate. * * * Our program is not much different from any liberation front's program in the third world.

* * * * *

"In the words of the party's chairman, Bobby Seale, we will not fight capitalism with black capitalism; we will not fight imperialism with black imperialism; we will not fight racism with black racism. Rather we will take our stand against these evils with a solidarity derived from a proletarian internationalism born of socialist idealism."

Four specific programs have been emphasized by the Panthers: "free breakfast for children, free health clinics, liberation schools and the petition campaigns for community control of police. Every branch was required to implement at least the breakfast program and the police petitions." ^{10/}

III. ORGANIZATION

Membership in the Black Panther Party has probably not exceeded 1200-1500 members at any one time. Its active membership at the present time is believed to have dropped below the 1000 mark.

Approximately 25-30 branches of the party exist in cities throughout the nation. (A complete list of such branches will be placed in the hearing record at another time.)

IV. KEY LEADERS

Huey Newton, Minister of Defense
 Bobby Seale, Chairman
 Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information
 David Hilliard, Chief of Staff
 Don Cox "DC", Field Marshal
 Raymond "Masai" Hewitt, Minister of Education
 Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture
 Kathleen Cleaver, Communications Secretary

9/ "Panthers! Black Panthers: Behind the myth" The Guardian, February 21, 1970, Guardian/Panther/ Supplement, page 1.

10/ Black Panthers: Serving people, fighting repression" The Guardian, February 21, 1970, Guardian/Panther/ Supplement, page 8.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 5--Continued

-5-

Not all of the Panther officers listed above are, however, in a position to exert active leadership: Huey Newton is serving a 2-15 year prison term for shooting and killing a police officer in Oakland, California; Bobby Seale is serving a 4-year prison term for contempt of court, and is awaiting extradition to Connecticut where he is scheduled to stand trial for his part in the murder of fellow Panther Alex Rackley; Kathleen and Eldridge Cleaver are "in exile" in Algeria. In November 1968, Eldridge Cleaver jumped bail and fled to Cuba to avoid being returned to prison in California. In July 1969, Cleaver and his wife Kathleen arrived in Algeria as guests of the Algerian government and have resided there since that time. David Hilliard has been indicted on "two counts of attempted murder and two counts of assault."

11/

V. PUBLICATIONS

The Black Panther is a newspaper published weekly by the Black Panther Party, Minister of Information. It varies in length from 16 to 32 pages, and is published in San Francisco. Subscriptions are \$7.50 a year and are directed to either Panther headquarters at 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, or to Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco.

Eldridge Cleaver is listed as Editor of The Black Panther; Big Man (Elbert Howard) is Managing Editor; Revolutionary artist and Lay-out is Emory Douglas; Production Manager is John Seale; Distribution Manager is Andrew Austin and Circulation is in the hands of Sam Napier.

Other items published by the Black Panther Party include:

The Catechism of the Revolutionist - by Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin (a 19th century anarchist), with an introduction by the Minister of Information (Eldridge Cleaver). He titled his introduction "Perspectives in Black Liberation #1".

WHAT WE WANT -- WHAT WE BELIEVE - a flyer setting forth the 10-point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party.

The Platform and Program has been published as a separate document and is repeated in each issue of The Black Panther. It was adopted in October 1966 and remained unchanged until the July 3, 1969 issue of The Black Panther. At that time, point #3 was revised. What had been "We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community" became "We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community."

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -- PLATFORM AND PROGRAM
What We Want -- What We Believe

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

11/ The Black Panther, January 31, 1970: 2.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5—Continued

-6-

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5-Continued

-7-

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group of people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

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; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Other items published by the Black Panther Party include:

Revolution in the White Mother Country and National Liberation in the Black Colony - a Minister of Information Black Paper.

Black Panther Coloring Book - 20 pictures with slogans inciting hatred for the police which was distributed at the Free Breakfast for Children.

In recent months two "revolutionary" albums have been issued: "Seize The Time," an album of "revolutionary" songs recorded by Elaine Brown, Deputy Minister of Information, Southern California Chapter, of the Black Panther Party, and "DIG" by Eldridge Cleaver. The albums sell for \$3.50 each and are available at Black Panther National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley; at its San Francisco branch at 1336 Fillmore Ave., or at any one of several locations listed in The Black Panther, January 24, 1970:16.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 5 - Continued

-3-

VI. ACTIVITIES

(1) Invasion of State Legislature

On May 2, 1967, twenty-four members of the Black Panther Party invaded the California State Assembly at Sacramento while it was in session. The invaders were armed with rifles, shotguns, and pistols and claimed they were there to protest a gun registration law. Security guards seized the weapons, unloaded them, and returned them to the Panthers, who then walked out of the building. ^{12/}

(2) Use of Firearms Against Police

Reports of incidents in which the Panthers have engaged in gun battles with the police have appeared in the daily press as well as in The Black Panther newspaper. The following are examples of such shoot-outs which have occurred in cities throughout the country.

Oakland, California

On October 28, 1967 - Black Panthers were involved in a shoot-out with Oakland Police in which Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense for the Black Panthers, shot and killed an Oakland, California, police officer who had stopped him for a routine traffic check. Newton was convicted of voluntary manslaughter and given a 2-15-year prison sentence, which is being appealed.

On April 7, 1968 - in another gun battle with the Oakland police, Black Panther member Bobby Hutton was shot and killed. Eldridge Cleaver, the Panther's Minister of Information, was wounded. "We're pretty sure this was planned and was an ambush," Deputy Police Chief Robert Cazadd told newsmen later. The police recovered a number of weapons including two military rifles and a submachine gun. ^{13/}

Jersey City, New Jersey

On November 30, 1968 - a police station in Jersey City, N. J. was raked by submachine gun shots. On December 5, 1968, three members of the Black Panther Party were arrested and charged with the attack on the police station. Police reported that they had confiscated two .45 caliber revolvers, a .38 caliber revolver, ^{14/} "a quantity of explosives" and written instructions for making firebombs.

Chicago, Illinois

On December 4, 1969 - a gun battle broke out as police officers from the Illinois State's attorney's office sought to search for illegal weapons in a Chicago apartment occupied by several members of the Black Panther Party. In the exchange of gun fire two BPP members were killed and four BPP members were wounded. In addition, one police officer was wounded and another police officer was injured by flying glass. ^{15/} The police found large stores of arms and ammunition in the apartment.

^{12/} J. Edgar Hoover, Statement before the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, September 18, 1968:11.

^{13/} NEW YORK TIMES, April 8, 1968:30

^{14/} NEW YORK TIMES, December 6, 1968:34

^{15/} CHICAGO TRIBUNE, December 11, 1969

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-9-

Los Angeles, California

On December 8, 1969 - Los Angeles police officers went to BPP headquarters in Los Angeles with warrants for the arrest of two men charged with assault with a deadly weapon against a police officer and with a warrant to search for illegal weapons. In an exchange of gun fire three police officers as well as three BPP members were wounded. The police seized a store of guns. ^{16/}

(3) Warfare with Rivals

January 18, 1969 - twelve Black Panthers were charged by the Los Angeles police with plotting to retaliate against a rival black militant group known as US, after members of that organization shot and killed two black student leaders at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). The victims, Bunchy Carter and John Huggins were both members of the Black Panthers. The twelve panthers suspected of conspiracy were rounded up at the home of one of the shooting victims, where the police also confiscated a cache of rifles, shotguns, hand guns, ammunition and home-made bombs. The men were arrested as they were loading weapons into a car in front of the home. ^{17/}

(4) Plot to Kill Distrusted Member.

Alex Rackley, a member of the Black Panther Party was brutally murdered in Connecticut in early May 1969. Eight members of the New Haven, Connecticut, Black Panther Party were arrested and charged with conspiracy to commit murder and/or murder itself. One of those arrested, Ericka Huggins, acting deputy chairman of the New Haven branch is the wife of John Jerome Huggins who was killed in Los Angeles in January 1969 by members of US, the rival militant group led by Ron Karenga.

There is reportedly a direct link between the murder of Alex Rackley and the arrest of the 21 Panthers in New York City in April 1969. They were charged with plotting to kill policemen, to dynamite department stores in the city, and to blow up a police station and a commuter railroad's right of way. Rackley was allegedly tried by the Panthers in a "kangaroo court" and tortured. The police obtained a tape of the trial in a raid on party headquarters where the trial and torturing occurred. The police revealed that 80% of the tape was Rackley trying to defend himself. Police said that statements by the Panthers participating in the trial which were picked up on the tape reveal that Rackley was thought to be a police informer. ^{18/}

(5) Purges of Membership

David Hilliard announced in January 1969 that the Panthers had launched a campaign to "purge its ranks of fools and jacknapes." Also being purged, he said, are "elements within the Black Panther Party who are working within the establishment to destroy the party." ^{19/}

16/ LOS ANGELES TIMES, December 10, 1969; NEWSDAY, December 19, 1969

17/ The EVENING STAR (Washington, D. C.) January 19, 1969: E 16

18/ NEW YORK TIMES, May 23, 1969: 24

19/ The GUARDIAN, February 1, 1969: 5

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-10-

The Black Panther announced in its May 11, 1969 issue that one hundred members had been expelled from the party in the last 45 days.

The Washington Post reported on June 25, 1969 that 40 Oakland Panthers had been purged, and possibly three times that many on a nationwide basis.

At various times throughout 1969 The Black Panther carried the names of persons it declared it was expelling or purging from its ranks. It invariably denounced these former members as "renegades," "jacknapes," or "counterrevolutionaries."

(6) Candidates for Public Office

The Peace and Freedom Party nominated Eldridge Cleaver as its candidate for President of the United States. He headed that ticket in the 1968 elections. Other Panthers who were given a place on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket were: Kathleen Cleaver, candidate for the California State Assembly from the 18th district; Huey Newton and Bobby Seale were write-in candidates for the U. S. Congress and State Assembly respectively; The Peace and Freedom Party "offered its ballot slots to the Black Panther Party so that Huey Newton and Bobby Seale can run for Congress and Assembly."^{20/}

(7) Education Classes

The Black Panther Party conducts teach-ins for the study of Franz Fanon's book "The Wretched of the Earth" and Mao Tse-tung's "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung" which they claim explain the use and meaning of violence in a political context. The party proclaims that it is the duty of the black intellectuals to read and absorb "Che Guevara, Regis Debray and other revolutionary fighters and writers to learn the military means successfully employed by minority populations to win their freedom."^{21/}

(8) Liberation Schools

The Black Panther Party announced that its Free Breakfast for School Children program would be replaced with Liberation Schools during the summer months. The first program claimed to have started in Berkeley, California, on June 25, 1969. According to an article entitled "Liberation Means Freedom," the Liberation is the "second of many socialistic and educational programs that will be implemented by the Black Panther Party to meet the needs of the people."

In addition to their plans to conduct schools for black children, the party also announced that "Community Political Education classes will also be starting in the evening for adults."^{22/}

Throughout the summer months of 1969, various chapters reported on the progress of their particular "Liberation School." The following is an example of the curriculum set forth by several of the chapters:

20/ Peace and Freedom Party election brochure, 1968:4

21/ The Black Panther, June 10, 1968:24

22/ The Black Panther, July 5, 1969:3

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-11-

Monday	Revolutionary History Day
Tuesday	Revolutionary Culture Day
Wednesday	Current Events Day
Thursday	Revolutionary Films Day
Friday	Field Trip Day

"(The topics can be changed around for the benefit of the people working in a Liberation School.)" 23/

(9) Free Breakfast for Children

The Panthers initiated their "Free Breakfast for Children" program in January 1969. It was started in the San Francisco Bay and Oakland areas and has since that time, been initiated in many cities where the Panthers have organized branches.

This activity serves more than one purpose. In addition to feeding the children, the Panthers use the free breakfast time as an opportunity to indoctrinate the youngsters with their philosophy of hate. The children are taught songs which advocate hatred for the police, and have been given coloring books which depict the police as pigs, with young black men and women in the act of stabbing the "pig."

(10) Asks U.N. recognition as a colonial power

In July 1968, the Black Panther Party announced at a press conference in New York City that they would apply for U.N. recognition. The Panthers also requested U.N. observer teams for cities throughout the United States, because they claimed to fear that "the racist power structure in this imperialist country is preparing to unleash a war of genocide against her black colonial subject." 24/

(11) Travel to meet with foreign revolutionaries

On August 10, 1968, the then Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, and Joudon Ford, a Panther leader from New York arrived in Havana, Cuba. Murray's denunciation of the United States was quoted by Cuban Communist Party newspaper, Granma in an article entitled "Black Panther Leaders arrive in Cuba, assert that black movement in the United States is inspired by Che's example." 25/

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party attended the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam which was held in Montreal, Canada, on November 28 through December 1, 1968. While there, he reportedly presented the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (Viet Cong) with a gift of \$300. 26/

In July 1969 several leaders of the Black Panther Party traveled to Algiers to attend the Pan-African Cultural Festival. Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver were reportedly there as guests of the Algerian government. David Hilliard and Emory Douglas, Panther Chief of Staff and Minister of Culture, respectively, also attended the Festival, according to reports.

23/ The Black Panther, August 2, 1969:11-14

24/ New York Free Press, August 1, 1968:3

25/ Granma, August 25, 1968

26/ Human Events, December 21, 1968

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-12-

They were accompanied by Robert Scheer, editor of Ramparts magazine. 27/

Subsequent reports on the activities of the Panthers in Algiers revealed that an impressive two floor Afro American Center had been opened and was lavishly stocked with Black Panther publications, pamphlets and posters. It was allegedly supported by the Algerian government. 28/

In September 1969, Eldridge Cleaver "led a delegation of the Black Panther Party, U.S.A., to the International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight Against the Aggression of U.S. Imperialism," which was held in Fyongyang, North Korea. The Panther delegation which reportedly consisted of Cleaver and Byron Booth, a Deputy Minister of Defense, arrived in Korea on September 11, for the conference which lasted from September 18 through the 24th.

In his address to the Conference on September 22, Eldridge Cleaver stated:

"The revolutionary forces inside the United States must be supported by the revolutionary peoples of the whole world, because whereas the peoples outside of the United States will slice off the tentacles of the heinous (sic.) octopus of the U. S. oppression, the revolutionaries inside the United States will cut its wicked heart and give the decisive death blow to U. S. fascism and imperialism."

Cleaver then declared that it "is time for the revolution to explode inside the imperialist nations themselves." This will be done, he stated, "by stepping up of revolutionary activity inside of the imperialist nations -- particularly the United States of America." 29/

Before returning to Algiers, Cleaver made a stop in Moscow. He was interviewed by UPI reporter Henry Shapiro who quoted the Panther leaders' assertion that "the Russians ought to provide nuclear weapons for the fight against the United States in Vietnam." 30/

(12) Maintain representatives abroad

The May 4, 1969 issue of The Black Panther revealed that Skip Malone and Connie Mathews represent the Black Panther Party, which is characterized as "the revolutionary vanguard in the United States," in the Solidarity Committee for Third World People's Liberation Struggle. They also represent the party in two Scandanavian countries, Copenhagen, Denmark and Stockholm, Sweden.

The authorization for such representation stated:

"It has been approved by the Black Panther Central Committee that the solidarity committee for Third World People's Liberation Struggle, represented by Skip Malone and Connie Mathews and established in the Scandanavian countries communicates and represents the Black Panther Party's political line and in fact is authorized to mobilize to carry out

27/ NEW YORK TIMES, July 21, 1969:C-40

28/ NEW YORK TIMES, July 23, 1969:C-13

29/ The Black Panther, October 25, 1969:12

30/ The Washington Post, October 12, 1969:A-24

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-13-

demonstrations of support, raise funds, and inform the peoples of Scandanavia about poor black and oppressed peoples revolutionary struggle from the Panthers vanguard position, won in blood and battle against America's imperialistic viscious pigs (police)."

//signed
David Hilliard, Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party Central Committee.

Bobby Seale, Chairman, Black Panther Party

(13) Hijacking Planes

Some members of the Black Panther Party seeking transportation to Cuba have hijacked commercial airlines in order to get there, according to news reports. In early 1969, an unnamed federal attorney allegedly revealed that "there have been several hijackings", and he said, "the Panthers have pulled off some of them." ^{31/}

One such incident involved a reported hijacking by Panther Raymond Johnson. Johnson allegedly hijacked a plane to Cuba in 1968, and then complained that the Black Panthers who had gone to Cuba were kept isolate^d and imprisoned. He revealed that the Panthers were not permitted to move about freely in Cuba; that he now wanted to leave Cuba and go to Africa.

Bobby Seale responded to the disillusioned Panther's plea by declaring at a press conference that Johnson "is 'nothing but an agent for the fascist CIA and FBI'." ^{32/}

(14) Demonstrations and rallies to protest arrests and trials of fellow Panthers

After demonstrating for the release of Huey Newton, about 45 black demonstrators left the federal building in San Francisco and invaded a nearby restaurant. Chairs were hurled through plate glass windows and Mrs. Sam Berman, wife of the restaurant owner was injured. The crowd then surged into a clothing store next to the restaurant, smashed windows and looted until members of the Police Tactical Squad arrived. ^{33/}

In another incident which occurred in New York City in 1969, 135 Black Panthers demonstrated to protest the indictment of 21 Panthers who had been indicted on charges of plotting to kill policemen, and to dynamite city department stores, a police station and a commuter railroad's right-of way. After the demonstration, two Panthers were seized in the Chambers Street station of the BMT Subway and were arrested on charges of felonious assault in the beating of two Transit Authority patrolmen. ^{34/}

(15) Weekly radio program

The Panthers announced that they would begin broadcasting their own weekly radio program on July 5, 1969, over the New York radio station

^{31/} The Guardian, February 1, 1969

^{32/} The Washington Post, June 28, 1969

^{33/} The Washington Post, May 2, 1969:A08

^{34/} NEW YORK TIMES, May 2, 1969:16

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5-Continued

-14-

WILB. The 30-minute show was to be aired each Saturday from 8:45 to 9:15 p.m. and would be entitled "People's Information Slot." Although a sponsor was not identified, the announcement stated that "the show would not be sponsored." Guests scheduled to appear on the first program were Don Cox, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, and Zayed Shakur, a Deputy Minister of Information in New York. 35/

(16) National Conference for a United Front Against Fascism

In May 1969 The Black Panther Party issued a call for a "Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism" to be held in Oakland, California, July 18-21, 1969. Its headquarters was to be the Black Panther Party office at 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, California.

The Panthers devoted several articles to the forthcoming conference in the June and July issues of The Black Panther, and they quoted extensively from speeches delivered in 1935 by Georgi Dimitroff, to the 7th World Congress of the then existing Communist International. The speeches were subsequently published in pamphlet form under the title "The United Front Against Fascism and War."

Ray "Masai" Hewitt - "(most often called just Masai), the Black Panther Party Deputy Minister of Information -- the man to do Cleaver's job while Eldridge is out of town" set forth the qualifications for attendance at the conference: "first," he said, "you've got to be against Fascism, second you can't be anti-communist." He also revealed the hope that one of the major results of the conference would be "community control of the police," and announced that the program would begin with "the circulation of petitions based on this demand." 36/

The conference was held July 19-21, 1969, at the Oakland Auditorium and at Merritt College. Its speakers included Herbert Aptheker, theoretician of the Communist Party, U.S.A., Charles R. Garry, the Panthers' chief attorney, William Kunstler, the Panthers' attorney on the east coast, Jeff Jones of SDS; Don Cox, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party; Ray "Masai" Hewitt - recently elevated to Panthers' Minister of Education; Ron Dellums, Berkeley City Councilman; Proacherman, field secretary of the Young Patriots, and several others.

The results of the conference which were published in the Washington Star revealed Black Panther Party plans to organize a national campaign to gain community control of local police.

"The plan calls for the organizations to start petitions to get the issue of reorganization of police forces on city ballots. * * * 37/

35/ NEW YORK TIMES, July 4, 1969
36/ The Black Panther, June 21, 1969:16
37/ Washington Star, July 21, 1969

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-15-

The Conference also took steps to solve some of its legal aid problems. It created a "national committee of lawyers, law students and some nonprofessionals to defend students and others who engage in political reform demonstrations." The committee will be headed by Charles R. Garry, the Panthers' chief attorney. ^{38/}

"Mr. Garry said that plans were being made to prepare lawyers across the country to handle the cases of student radicals, Black Panthers and others involved in what he referred to as the 'revolutionary movement.'"

"He said that in the next 60 days, special lectures would be set up across the country by the National Lawyers Guild ^{39/} to train lawyers." ^{40/}

^{38/} "Charles R. Garry, a practicing attorney in the city of San Francisco since 1938, was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Dr. Jack Patten, former CP member in that city who testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities on June 19, 1957

Mr. Garry was subpoenaed as a witness by the committee on June 21, 1957, but refused to answer questions regarding activities in the Communist Party on the grounds of possible self-incrimination." [Communist Legal Subversion, The Role of the Communist Lawyer. Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, H. of R. 86th Congress, 1st Session, Feb. 16, 1958:40]

^{39/} "Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents' " [Guide to Subversive organizations and Publications, House Committee on Un-American Activities, Revised and Published Dec. 1, 1961:121]

^{40/} NEW YORK TIMES, July 21, 1969:67

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5—Continued

-16-

There were reports of "discontent among white radicals" at the conference which "not only focused on the issue of community control. There were disagreements with the way the women's panel was handled, the politics of the United Front, the close ties the Panthers seem to have built with the Communist Party, the lack of opportunity for discussion or debate from the floor and the way in which dissent was muffled or eliminated." (emphasis added.)

On the final night of the conference, Bobby Seale reportedly told the audience, "We have no guns to fight fascism with, * * * but we'll begin with petitions." h1/

VII. INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCES

In its May 25, 1969 issue of its newspaper, the Black Panther Party declared:

"We must have international allies in order to succeed."

Panther alliances appear to exist in Communist China, Cuba, Algeria, and more recently, in North Korea and with the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam. (NLF) (Vietcong)

Communist China:

The Panthers have based much of their ideology on the little red book containing the "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung." His statement in support of the "afro-American struggle" was published in the May 25 issue of The Black Panther, and the Communist Chinese leader was referred to as "our great leader."

Cuba

Two Cuban diplomats to the United Nations have been denied re-entry visas to the United States. The Cubans are accused of having conducted intelligence activities and with giving financial and directional aid to militant negro groups such as the Black Panther Party. Several Panthers have visited Cuba, and Eldridge Cleaver sought refuge there when he violated parole and was to be returned to prison in California.

Algeria

Eldridge Cleaver and his wife Kathleen travelled to Algeria in July 1969 as guests of the Algerian Government. Cleaver is now living in Algeria.

North Korea

After Eldridge Cleaver and Byron Booth visited North Korea in September and October 1969, The Black Panther increased its coverage and praise of that Communist country and its dictator Kim Il Sung. In January 1970, a telegram to the Panthers from Kim Il Sung declared:

h1/ The Guardian, August 2, 1969:2

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-17-

"I express my hearty thanks to your party for the revolutionary greetings sent to me on the new year.

"Last year your party and the progressive black people of America courageously repulsed the ever intensified fascist oppression and persecution by the U.S. imperialists and won great victory in the struggle for freedom, democracy and the vital rights. The Korean people watch with profound sympathy and express militant solidarity with your just struggle to abolish the cursed system of racial discrimination of the U.S. imperialists and win liberty and emancipation.

"Convinced that the militant ties between the Korean people and the progressive black people of America will further strengthen and develop in the new Year in the battle against U.S. imperialism our common enemy, I wish you fresh successes in your struggle."

//signed Kim Il Sung
Premier of the Cabinet
Democratic People's Republic of Korea
January 17, 1970 ^{42/}

National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NLF) (Vietcong)

A photograph of Eldridge Cleaver and four men who appear to be Vietnamese is captioned "In Solidarity Against A Common Enemy -- The NLF of South Vietnam and the Black Panther Party FF Babylon."

Two pages of articles accompanying the photo concern proposals for an exchange of prisoners - Black Panthers for U. S. soldiers captured by the Communist Vietnamese. ^{43/}

In its January 31, 1970 issue, The Black Panther printed the text of the "Statement of The Spokesman of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam on the Massacre by U. S. Troops of Civilians in Son My."

Young Communist League of Canada

The Young Communist League of Canada called "upon progressive Canadian youth organizations to join it in forming local committees in major centres in Canada for the defense of the Black Panther Party and other young victims of U. S. Murder, Incorporated.

"We urge a campaign for petitions, demonstrations before the U.S. embassy and U.S. consulates in Canada, letter seeking an investigation to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations and letters to Federal, provincial and local governments in Canada urging official protest to the extermination by U.S. police of militant and democratic fighters."

It was signed by Chuck McFadden, General Secretary of the Young Communist League of Canada. ^{44/}

^{42/} The Black Panther, January 24, 1970:10,11

^{43/} The Black Panther, November 1, 1969:12, 13

^{44/} The Black Panther, January 24, 1970:15

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-18-

Solidarity Committee for Third World People's Liberation Struggle

The Black Panther announced in its May 4, 1969 issue that Skip Malone and Connie Matthews would represent the Black Panthers in the Solidarity Committee, and would be located in Stockholm, Sweden and Copenhagen, Denmark.

Danish Left Wing Socialist Party - Denmark

The second national congress of the Danish Left Wing Socialist Party passed a resolution in support of the Black Panther Party, and, "in cooperation with other revolutionary organizations" in Denmark, "arranged a big demonstration in a park in Copenhagen." ^{42/}

Al Fatah - also referred to as Al Fat'h and Al Fath

Reports of the Black Panther Party's support for the Arab guerrilla organization Al Fatah date back to at least July 1969, when Eldridge Cleaver arrived in Algiers, declared that Al Fatah would win, and denounced Israel as an "American Puppet." ^{46/}

The Black Panther of August 23, 1969 reported that Al Fath, "the Palestinian People's Liberation movement, held a press conference on Victor Hugo Street on the second day of the 1st Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers -- July 21 to August 1, 1969.

The room was filled to maximum capacity. Attending the press conference were: Algerian workers, students, and government officials, representatives from the African Liberation movements (SWAPO, FRELIMO, MPLA, ZAFU), members of the domestic and foreign press, two embassy representatives from the Peoples Republic of China, and four members of the Black Panther Party Central Committee -- Eldridge Cleaver, David Hilliard, Emory Douglas and Kathleen Cleaver.

The second question addressed to the Al Fath delegation was: 'What is your attitude toward the Black Panther Party?'

Al Fath: We support them. Absolutely! And revolutionaries all over the world. We see our battle as one and the same -- a fight against imperialism and capitalism -- and that fight can't be divided."

In December 1969, Cleaver appeared at the International Congress of Committees of Support for Palestine with the Al Fatah commando leader, Yasser Arafat. The American Panther leader delivered a fierce attack on "American Zionists," and expressed "heartly support" for the Palestinians. ^{47/}

In the past month Eldridge Cleaver received a "personal" invitation from Arafat to visit the Fatah guerrillas.

"Richard C. Hottelet of CBS quoted Abu Basseem, a Fatah spokesman in Algiers as saying that Fatah was considering training Panthers in combat against Israel and in sabotage for a campaign of assassination and destruction in the United States."

45/ The Black Panther, June 21, 1969:18

46/ NEW YORK TIMES, July 23, 1969:13

47/ Washington Post, December 26, 1969:A-18

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5-Continued

-19-

According to the report, "Bassen spent two months in Canada and the United States a year ago looking into the Panthers and that the Fatah high command was now acting on his favorable report."

Cleaver's visit is the next step.

"Hottel quoted the Algiers spokesman as saying that after their training "When the time comes, the Panthers will carry out quick and deep strikes in the United States, assassinations of men responsible for the policy of discrimination from high levels to low, and sabotage to factories and capitalist installations."

"Bassen told AP that Panthers were receiving combat training in Palestine, but did not say what the purpose was. He said Fatah did not refuse foreign volunteers, but considered that its battle could only be fought by Palestinians." 48/

An Associated Press report attributed the following statement to Bassen:

"We will help our brothers and train them in the war against imperialism and Zionism," Bassen said. "That's completely natural when you consider President Nixon's position toward the Arabs and his latest statements to American Jewish leaders.

"For us, our cooperation with all oppressed peoples, including the American black people is one and indivisible. And while understanding our Black Panther friends in the defense of their positions against the American whites, we are with the whites who are fighting alongside their black comrades against imperialism and Zionism."

"Bassen said his organization approved the Black Panthers' position 'against Nixon.'" 49/

VIII. DOMESTIC ALLIANCESCommunist Party, U.S.A.

The Communist Party of Southern California donated \$100. to the Black Panther Party's breakfast program and "with it came a warm pledge of solidarity" for the Black Panther organization. 50/

In April 1969 the Communist Party of Northern California issued a statement in which it declared its support for Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party. 51/

The 19th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., "in a plenary session at the Towers Hotel in Brooklyn on May 3, unanimously adopted resolutions on the black liberation movement in the United States."

The resolution on the relationship between the Black Panthers and the Communist Party stated in part:

48/ Washington Post, February 1, 1970:A-13

49/ Washington Star, February 1, 1970:A-13

50/ People's World, April 19, 1969:3

51/ People's World, April 26, 1969:3

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-20-

"* * * be it resolved that our Party, wherever possible, join forces and initiate cooperation with the Black Panther Party * * * That we actively support the Black Panther Party in its determined effort to survive and develop that we join in the defense of the Black Panther Party against frameups, murder and harassment." ^{52/}

The introductory speech at the Panther initiated National Conference for a United Front Against Fascism was delivered by Communist Party Theoretician, Herbert Aptheker.

The need for such a conference had been emphasized by Charles R. Garry, the Panther's chief attorney who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party, and by William Patterson, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party in an interview with Bobby Seale and David Hilliard. ^{53/}

In January 1970, the People's World published the text of a statement in support of the Black Panther Party which was signed by Communist Party Chairman, Henry Winston, and General Secretary Gus Hall. The statement urged immediate action! It called for "protest in all ways possible - telegrams, letters, petitions - to the Justice Department and the President to stop the attack on the Panthers and free Bobby Seale, Huey Newton and other Panther prisoners.

Hold vigils * * *
 Hold Protest meetings * * *
 Give support to the inquiry of eight black and white congressmen * * *
 Pay indemnities to all families of the victims of police attacks
 Demand ousting all racists, Minutemen, KKK and John Birchers from the police departments * * *
 Demand and support community control of the police in all cities.
 Stop the trial of the Chicago Seven * * *
 Call upon the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to inquire into these crimes as being in violation of the Declaration of Human Rights * * *
 Call for the immediate ending of the war and withdrawal of our troops from Vietnam now! ^{54/}

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

In February 1968, it was announced that SNCC and the Black Panther Party would merge.

Stokely Carmichael had just returned from several months travel in Cuba and other countries where he met with Communist and other revolutionary leaders. He appeared at the Rally for Huey Newton in Oakland at which the merger with SNCC was announced. Rap Brown and James Forman of SNCC were also at that rally. It was announced at the rally that Carmichael was the Prime Minister, Brown as Minister of Justice and James Forman the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Black Panthers.

This merger was terminated in August 1968 according to reports in the press:-----

^{52/} Daily World, May 15, 1969:9
^{53/} THE Black Panther, July 5, 1969:2
^{54/} People's World, January 3, 1970

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-21-

Peace and Freedom Party

In the same period, the Panthers formed a coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party. Eldridge Cleaver, the Panthers' Minister of Information who subsequently was nominated as the Peace and Freedom Party's candidate for President, said this coalition was the "beginnings of a revolutionary movement in this country. * * * Cleaver said 'there is a possibility for the growth of a coalition to bring down this system.'" 55/

The June 10, 1968 issue of The Black Panther carried an extensive explanation and definition of the BPP-PFP Coalition, which stated in part:

"We believe that the Coalition formed between the Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party in California is the foundation or nucleus of this new and needed machinery, or at least its prototype. And we believe that it will be looked back upon as the fountainhead from which flowed the revolutionary party that will uproot this decadent society. * * *"

FFP continues its support of the Panthers. After the arrest of 21 New York Panthers, FFP held several rallies to raise bail funds, and to protest the indictment of the Panthers and the amount of bail which had been set. Contributions were directed to Fred Heinze of the New York Peace and Freedom Party at Box 1224, Erocklyn, New York. 56/

Students for a Democratic Society

The National Council of SDS met in Austin, Texas, March 27-30, 1969. At that meeting a resolution which declared support for the Black Panthers was passed by the NC. One part of the resolution stated:

"An especially important part of the Panther program is the Black People's Army -- a military force to be used not only in the defense of the black community, but also for its liberation."

* * * * *

SDS declares -

- its support for the Black Panther Party and their essentially correct program for the liberation of the black colony.
- its commitment to defend the Black Panther Party and the black colony against the vicious attacks of the racist pig power structure.
- its commitment to join with the Black Panther Party and other black revolutionary groups in the fight against white national chauvinism and white supremacy.
- its total commitment to the fight for liberation in the colony and revolution in the mother country. 57/

55/ The Militant, August 30, 1968:3

56/ NEW YORK TIMES, May 3, 1969:32

57/ New Left Notes, April 4, 1969:3

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5-Continued

-22-

At its national convention in June 1969, SDS expelled its Progressive Labor Party faction "for failure to support the Black Panther Party, the NLF and other Revolutionary struggle * * *" ^{58/}

When SDS declined to go along with the Panthers' proposal to circulate petitions calling for community control of the police in white communities, the Panthers broke with them. In August, Bobby Seale and David Hilliard stated in an interview that "S.D.S. cannot attain any revolutionary credibility." The denunciation of SDS by the two Panther leaders appeared to be a final break between the two organizations. ^{59/}

Friends of the Panthers

The organization was founded in Los Angeles by Prof. Donald Freed. He announced in June 1969, that the Panthers were proposing to drop the name of Panthers and adopt "American Liberation Front" in order to attract revolutionaries of all ethnic groups. Freed also stated that "Tom Hayden, Stu Albert, and a lot of people from Chicago street gangs, and a few intellectuals from the old New Left" were also in on the planning. ^{60/}

Other organizations for whom the Panthers have declared their support include the Young Lords, the Young Patriots, the Youth Against War and Fascism, the Socialist Workers Party, and the American Servicemen's Union.

IX. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONSYoung Socialist Alliance (YSA)

YSA, the youth arm of the Socialist Workers Party held its 8th National Convention Nov. 28 - Dec. 1, 1968. Members of the Black Panther Party were among the speakers at that convention, according to J. Edgar Hoover in testimony before Appropriations Committee, April 17, 1969.

Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF)

A SCEF mailing dated July 7, 1969 called for support of the Black Panther Party and its conference to be held July 18-21, 1969. Enclosed with the letter - which was signed by identified Communists Carl and Anne Braden - was a copy of the Call "for a conference to develop a united front against fascism."

Other organizations whose support or cooperation with the Panthers is a matter of public record include the -

Socialist Workers Party
Fort Hood Three
Republic of New Africa
Black Panther Legal Defense Committee
Black Student Union

^{58/} The Black Panther, June 28, 1969:14

^{59/} The Black Panther, August 9, 1969:12, 13

^{60/} Los Angeles Free Press, June 6, 1969:17

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-23-

Medical Committee for Human Rights

The Panthers have given much credit to MCHR for the formulation of the Panthers medical program. It has also been the primary source of medical assistance to BPP members. MCHR is also credited with having coined the following phrase which has become a party slogan:

"The greatest disease in America today is the fascist pig cops." 61/

National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

NECLC assisted three Panthers who were arrested in New York on January 17, 1969. A defense fund was set up. The Guardian of February 1, 1969 asked that contributions to the Panther Defense Fund be sent to Gerald Ierfcourt at the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 25 East 26th Street, New York, N. Y.

X. ASSESSMENTS FROM VIEWPOINT OF INTERNAL SECURITY:

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, directing his attention to the Black Panthers in a statement to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence on September 18, 1968, pointed out that --

"THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY is an organization which advocates the use of guerrilla tactics and guns to end the oppression of the black race and the drafting of Negroes to fight in Vietnam. On May 2, 1967, 24 members of this group invaded the California State assembly at Sacramento while it was in session. The invaders were armed with rifles, shotguns, and pistols and claimed they were there to protest a gun registration law. On two occasions during October, 1967, and April, 1968, members of this group engaged in gun battles with the police resulting in the murder of one policeman, as well as the death of one group member and the wounding of another." 62/

In testimony before the House Committee on Appropriations for fiscal 1970, J. Edgar Hoover made the following statements concerning the Black Panther Party:

"The political philosophy of the Black Panther Party" Mr. Hoover stated, "is based in part on the writings of Mao Tse-tung. Instructions have been given to members on the making and the use of Molotov cocktails. Members have also been instructed in guerrilla warfare tactics in preparation for a showdown with established authority. It is reported that in the near future scheduled training sessions in California will teach guerrilla warfare tactics to selected members from all parts of the United States."

61/ Daily World, June 25, 1969:9

62/ J. Edgar Hoover, Statement before the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, September 18, 1968:11

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

-24-

Reporting on Communist influence in militant leftist groups, the FBI Director revealed that:

"The Black Panthers, the most violent of all, and several others almost as bad, are organizations that the Communist Party has not been able to control. The black militants are more or less a law unto themselves and want no leadership other than their own.

"* * * This is pure and simple gangsterism. They are recruiting known criminals and hoodlums and encouraging them to engage in a broad range of terroristic tactics and other criminal actions while explaining that such actions, being revolutionary in nature are justified. As I testified, they are having guerrilla warfare tactics in schools in California in the near future." 63/

In July 1969, Mr. Hoover revealed that among the "violence-prone, black extremist groups" the Black Panther Party "represents the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." He called attention to the fact that the Panthers are schooled "in the Marxist - Leninist ideology and the teachings of Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung". Its members, Mr. Hoover revealed, "have perpetrated numerous assaults on police officers and have engaged in violent confrontations with police in cities throughout the country. Leaders and representatives of the Black Panther Party travel extensively all over the United States preaching their gospel of hate and violence, not only to ghetto residents, but to students in colleges, universities and high schools as well." 64/

63/ J. Edgar Hoover, testimony before House Subcommittee on Appropriations for fiscal 1970, April 17, 1969:68, 70, 99.

64/ U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation report to the Attorney General, July 15, 1969:4

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 6

House Lease

THIS AGREEMENT, made this 15th day of January A. D., 19 69,
between Methodist Inner City Parish
hereinafter designated as lessor, and Felix O'Neal and William Whitfield
hereinafter designated as lessee,

WITNESSETH, That the said lessor does hereby lease to the lessee in the present condition thereof, the following described premises, to-wit:

A duplex located at 2221 - 2222 Lydia, Kansas City, Missouri

for the term of 1 (one) year beginning the 15th day of January
A. D. 19 69 and ending the 15th day of January A. D. 19 70. And the
lessee agrees to pay, as rent for said premises the sum of One dollar per year
dollars per month, payable monthly in advance, during the entire term at the office of Methodist Inner City Parish

Lessee accepts the property in the present condition thereof, agrees to keep and maintain the same in as good condition as at present, and free from debris, danger of fire or any nuisance; to commit no acts of destruction, or other acts tending to injure or deface the property, or which may invalidate the insurance or increase the rates thereon, and at the expiration of this lease will deliver the same without notice to the lessor in as good condition as when he received the same, less by fire, unavoidable accident and ordinary wear excepted.

Lessee agrees not to sublet said premises, or any part thereof, nor assign this lease, or any portion of the term of said lease, nor make any alterations, or additions to any of the buildings on said premises, or fixtures therein, without the written consent of the lessor, but such consent shall not release the lessee from his obligations of this lease.

If the premises shall be destroyed or so damaged by fire or other unavoidable casualty as to become untenable, either party may terminate this lease at once by giving written notice of the intention so to do within a five (5) days after such casualty.

At the expiration of the term hereby created, or if default be made in the payment of rent after the same is due, or upon the breach of any of the covenants and agreements herein contained, the lessor or his agent shall have the right to enter and take possession of the leased premises, and the lessee agrees to deliver same without process of law, and this lease, at the option of the lessor, shall terminate; or the lessor may relet the same for or on account of the lessee but for this cause the obligation of the lessee shall not cease.

Lessee or his agent shall be permitted to enter the premises to show the property for sale, at reasonable times, and for thirty days before the expiration of this lease to keep a rent or sale sign displayed on the premises and show the property for rent.

Either party may terminate this lease by giving 30 days written notice. The lessees shall pay all utilities during the rental period.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written. EXECUTED IN DUPLICATE.

Felix O'Neal [Seal]

Bill Whitfield [Seal]

_____ [Seal]

_____ [Seal]

Best available copy

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 6-Continued

ASSIGNMENT OF LESSEE

Subject to the consent of the lessor, I hereby assign and transfer to _____

_____ all my right, title and interest in the within lease, and said assignee hereby assumes all of the obligations of said lease, and agrees to pay the rent as therein provided.

Dated at _____ this _____ day of _____ A.D., 19 _____

Lessor

Assignee

I hereby consent to the above assignment of within lease.

Lessor

House Lease	FROM	TO	PREMISES	Rental \$
				Date 19
				Expires 19

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 7



THE METHODIST INNER CITY PARISH

OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
EVANGEL HALL 1717 EAST 18TH STREET, GR. 1-0789
CENTRAL OFFICE FAMILY SERVICES EMPLOYMENT

INDEPENDENCE AVENUE CHURCH
2401 INDEPENDENCE AVENUE
BE 1-3835

TROOST AVENUE CHURCH
2536 TROOST AVENUE
VI 2-8009

ST. JAMES CHURCH
2601 SPRUCE
UN 1-0932

January 10, 1970

MEMORANDUM

TO: Felix O'Neal
Bill Whitfield

RE: Lease on house at 2221 - 2223 Lydia

FROM: Phillip C. Lawson, Executive Director

We would agree, as per our previous conversations, to extend our lease to you on the above named property.

The extension of this lease will be on the same terms as those stated in the original lease of January 15, 1969. If you find this agreeable, please sign both copies and return the original to us.

Felix O'Neal

Felix O'Neal

William Whitfield

William Whitfield

Phillip C. Lawson

*God, through Christ, Changed Us From Enemies Into His Friends. And Gave Us The Task Of Making Others His Friends
Also. Our Message Is That God Was Making Friends Of All Men Through Christ.*

**Best available
copy**



Headquarters - Kansas City, Mo.
Black Panther Party
May 1, 1969 -- 2221-23 Lydia

Best available copy
and as follows.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 8-Continued



2826

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 8—Continued

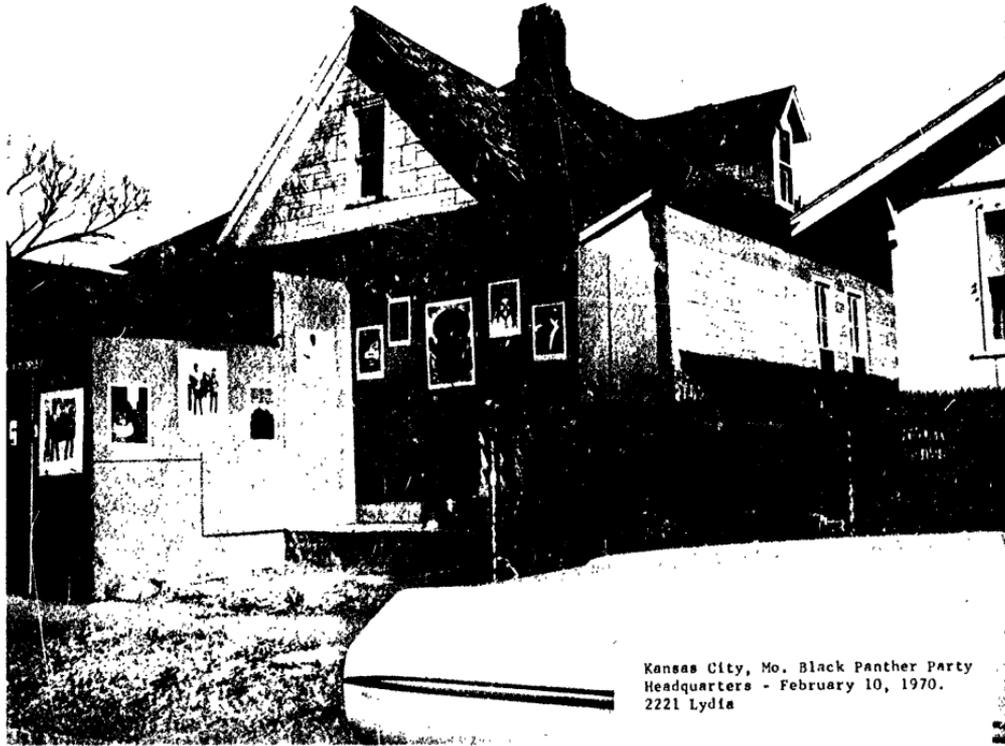


Kansas City, Mo. Black Panther Party
headquarters, February 2, 1970.
2905 Prospect Ave.

1. Black Panther Bus



COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 8—Continued



Kansas City, Mo. Black Panther Party
Headquarters - February 10, 1970.
2221 Lydia

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

2829



COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 9

Kansas City Star—Sunday,
March 1, 1970 Page 3

A BISHOP VIEWS PANTHER FUSS

**The Rev. Eugene Frank
Makes Statement on
Church Aid**

ISSUE TO CONFERENCE

**Mission Goals Are Set
by State Group,
He Says**

By Harry Jones, Jr.
(A Member of The Star's Staff)

Bishop Eugene M. Frank of the United Methodist church for Missouri yesterday revealed his position regarding the controversy swirling around the aid given the Black Panther party here by the Methodist Inner-City parish of Kansas City.

That aid is one of the objects of inquiry by the House committee on internal security which will hold hearings in Washington Tuesday and Wednesday concerning the Panthers of Kansas City.

Thursday, in a copyrighted article in The Star, the Rev. Philip Lawson, director of the parish, revealed the extent of the financial and moral support given the Panthers by the parish since the beginning of last year. It was considerable.

Bishop Frank, of St. Louis, indicated in his statement yesterday that the question of whether any action is to be taken by Mr. Lawson's superiors in the church faces the annual confer-

ence of the church in Missouri. The question, he said, is:

"What would Jesus do if He lived in the poverty of a great city?"

Various officials within the church's hierarchy in Missouri are sharply divided over the parish's relationship with the Panthers.

The district superintendent for Kansas City, North, for instance, said he is "100 per cent" behind Mr. Lawson, while the district



Bishop Eugene Frank

superintendent for Kansas City, South, said he has requested that the relationship be severed. The parish is in the northern district.

Bishop Frank's position in its entirety, follows:

The annual conference is the authoritative voice of the United

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 9—Continued

Methodist church. A bishop presides over the annual conference but does not speak for it. The annual conference sets the goals for the mission of the church in the world and seeks to unite congregations in common tasks of missionary-evangelism.

The United Methodist Inner-City parish reports to the annual conference and the last report was made in May, 1969. In this report the parish board related its dedication to minister to all groups of people in their community, even though they be militant and deeply alienated from society. This report was accepted with questions and some misgivings, but the annual conference accepted the mission of the parish as it was interpreted at that time.

A bishop does not determine the mission of the church, but he has an obligation to interpret it as he sees it.

Personally, I have never known Christians more willing to pay any price to demonstrate God's love for all conditions of men than the staff of the parish. The honesty and frankness manifest in the interview with the Reverend Lawson may reveal facts that are unpleasant to many but it also reveals the depth of his sincerity and earnestness in trying to be God's man in the midst of very angry and hurt people.

On the other hand, personally, I cannot accept the kind of involvement the parish manifests in connection with the so-called Black Panthers.

First, this kind of involvement identifies a Christian mission with one faction which claims to be a panacea for social ills.

Second, such identification is not the real mission, certainly not the total mission of the parish, but because of national publicity, it becomes an exclusive mission, and the total is overlooked.

Third, such identification alienates both blacks and whites who are equally threatened by the image of Black Panthers and who are still struggling valiantly for racial peace and justice, refusing to give up the

vision of a brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

There is risk involved in going as a missionary into a non-Christian hostile country. There will be risk involved for any person who tries to live as a Christ-man in the center of a city struggling for social justice. It is my personal opinion that Christians must not forget the risk is imperative. On the other hand, the kind of involvement a Christian has may separate him from the spirit of Jesus's gospel.

The Reverend Lawson has given a clear, concise and frank interview. I believe he has demonstrated an integrity of Christian intent. Now the issue is not in the newspapers. It is in the minds of those in the annual conference of the United Methodist church who must struggle over a question.

The question is not 'What is wrong with the mission of the parish?' The question is 'What would Jesus do if he lived in the poverty of a great city?'

The parish is directly under a board of directors, a majority of whom voted support for Mr. Lawson last week after he had received a subpoena to appear before the House committee. They are:

Ansel Howard, chairman; Archie Counts, vice-chairman; Mrs. Marvia Neil Thompson, secretary; Mrs. Mildred Johnson, treasurer; Rev. Dale Pollock, publicity director; Bob Mann, legal consultant, and Lawrence Bennett, Mr. Lawson, Mrs. Nellie Abernathy, Mrs. Jean Shelton, Clarence Edmundson, the Rev. John L. Preciphs, Frank L. Door, jr., and the Rev. Lawrence T. Yeo.

Also A. J. Levine, the Rev. Paul Jones, the Rev. Charles McEwen, the Rev. Forrest Standard, the Rev. Harry B. Davis, the Rev. L. Vann Anderson, the Rev. Richard Blount, Mrs. Marcella Womack, the Rev. Richard Vogel, jr., Mrs. Doretta Henderson, Mrs. Lucille Johnson, and Pete O'Neal, head of the Black Panther party chapter here.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12



ALLEN, Charles Wesley
DOB: 8/10/48



BELL, Ray Alfred
DOB: 2/17/43

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 12-Continued



BERRY, James Leon
DOB: 6/15/48

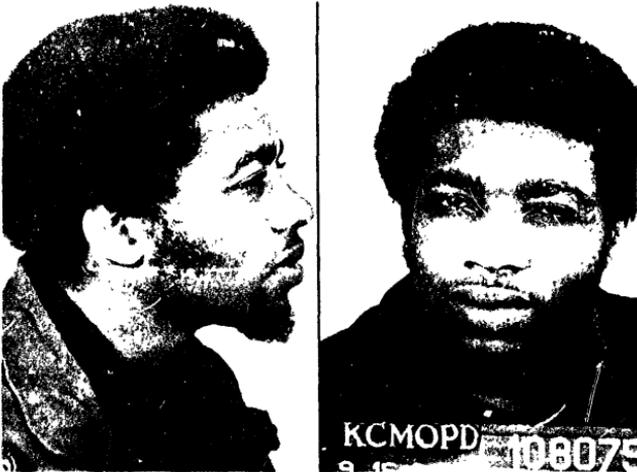


BOLIN, Arnold Eugene
DOB: 12/29/49

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12—Continued



BOSTON, Marvin G.
DOB: 1/24/52



BOWIE, Melvin
DOB: 12/15/46

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12-Continued



BROWN, Merl
DOB:



CALHOUN, Robert Edward
DOB: 1/6/36

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12-Continued



COOPER, Kenneth
DOB: 2/12/46



COOPER, Sharon Louise
DOB: 12/18/47

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12--Continued



GRAYTON, Philip E.
DOB: 12/13/45



DE PATTEN, Clive
DOB: 10/25 /50

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12-Continued



EVERETT, Ebb
DOB: 5/26/38



FINLEY, Henry Edward
DOB: 4/4/40

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12 - Continued



HAMMOND, Ronald Lee
DOB: 4/3/50



HINCH, Keith I.
DOB: 9/6/47

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 12-Continued



HOWARD, William James
DOB: 2/22/47

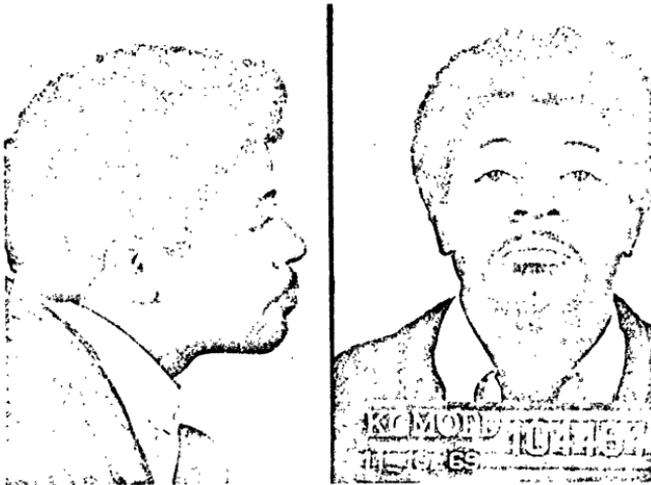


HYTCHE, Saun
DOB:



JACKSON, Otis Lee
DOB: 7/2/49

BEST AVAILABLE COPY



JACOBS, John Henry
DOB: 12/26/39

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12—Continued



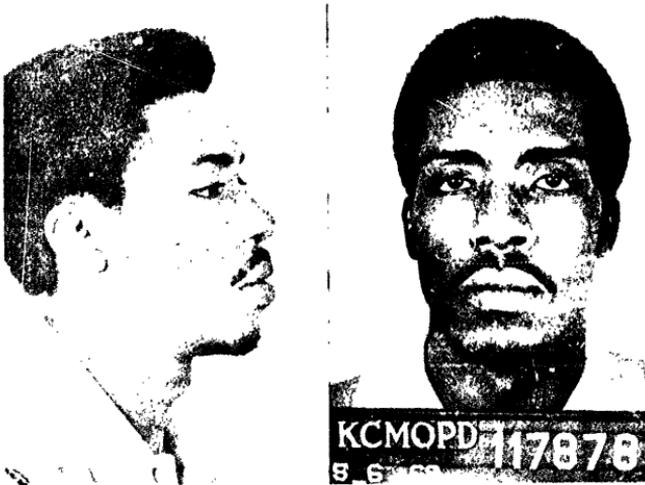
JOHNSON, Charles Edward
DOB: 8/3/31



JOHNSON, John Edward
DOB: 10/6/44

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12--Continued



JOHNSON, Larry N.
DOB: 1/25/45



KELLER, Wanda Lee
DOB:

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12-Continued



KINSLow, George Alonzo
DOB: 10/15/32



MARSHALL, Lonell
DOB:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12-Continued

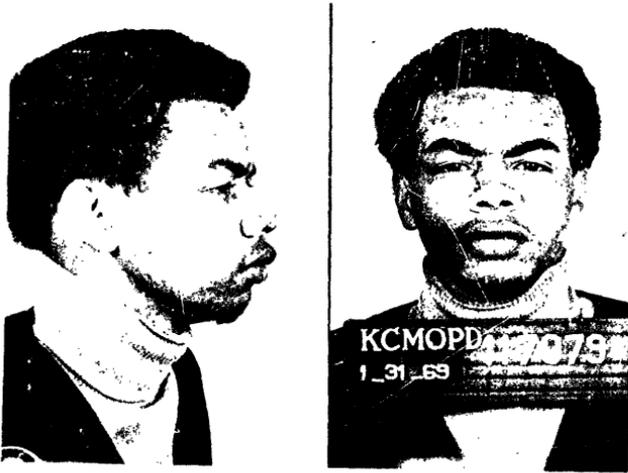


NEWMAN, Robert Lee
DOB: 5/8/46



O'NEAL, Felix Lindsay
DOB: 7/27/40

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12—Continued



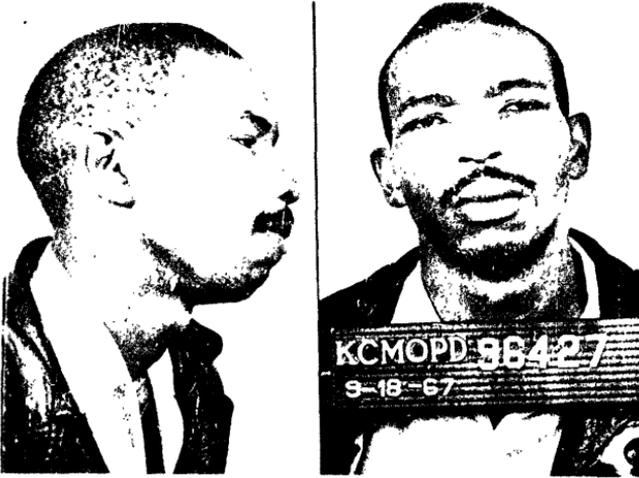
ORTEGA, Phillip Wayne
DOB: 11/16/48



Robinson, Billie R.
DOB:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 12-Continued



ROBINSON, Luther Eugene
DOB: 7/26/43



ROBINSON, Thomas Jr.
DOB: 2/3/41

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12--Continued



ROLLINS, EDWARD
DOB: 7/18/51



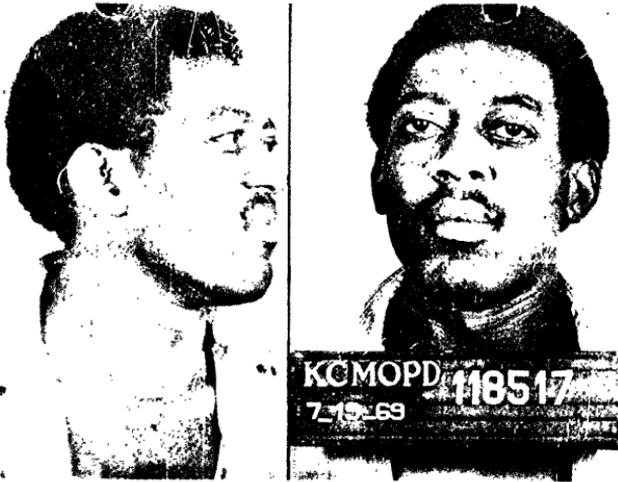
SAYERS, STEPHEN M.
DOB: 8/24/50

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12-Continued



SIMMS, Charles E. "June"

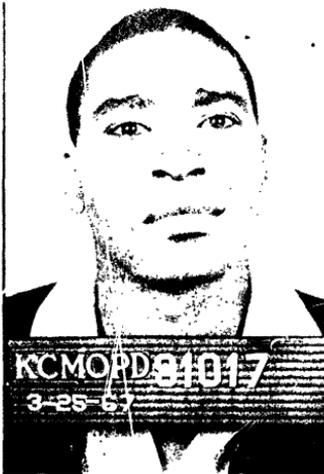


TAYLOR, Cornelius
DOB: 7/8/41

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12-Continued



WALTHALL, Joann B. WEAVER, Archie Lee WHITFIELD, William
DOB: 12/31/48



YOUNG, William

WOODSON, William Victor
DOB: 4/6/40

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12-Continued



December 4, 1969
Black Panther News Conference at
Kansas City, Mo. Police Department
Charlotte Hill

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12-Continued



December 4, 1969
Black Panther News Conference at
Kansas City, Mo. Police Department

1. George Kinslow
2. Edward A. Rollins
3. Patricia Miller (also known as
Mattie Scott)
4. Felix "Pete" O'Neal
5. Charlotte Hill
6. John Jacobs
7. André Weatherby
8. ?

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12—Continued



December 4, 1969
Black Panther News Conference at
Kansas City, Mo. Police Department

Clive DePatten with
Panther Mascot

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12 - Continued



December 4, 1969
Black Panther News Conference at
Kansas City, Mo. Police Department
1. Felix "Pete" O'Neal
2. Charlotte Hill
3. Patricia Miller (also known as
Mattie Scott)





December 4, 1969
Black Panther News Conference at
Kansas City, Mo. Police Department
1. George Kinslow
2. Robert E. Calhoun
3. Edward A. Rollins

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 12—Continued





Kansas City Fascist Pig Performing His Final Duty

Off-duty pig's last act-of-terror

to; national Headquarters
FROM: Kansas City Chapter
DATE: July 22, 1969

SUBJECT: Death of the Oppressor

The people of Kansas City are in an ecstatic state today following the execution of a pig. Three (3) unknown heroic brothers had the pleasure of "offing a pig."

The late pig, John Edward Dacy, 31 year old slum lord, was shot by three black brothers. In the same area where he owns property. Dacy was a well known pig and well known exploiter of black people. The brothers, were in the process of getting back what was theirs from Jo-Art Loan Company, 3933 Main Street, when Super Pig Dacy, who was off-duty, made the fatal mistake of trying to stop them. The brothers retaliated by firing on the pig three times, striking him in the head and upper body with a .22 caliber piece. Persons on the scene reported that

pig Dacy fired two shots from his "off-duty weapon", a .38 caliber revolver. "Dead-eye" Dacy was not able to hit anyone.

The Kansas City Pig Department, with their great degree of technology, and after calling in a task force of 80 extra men, cannot locate the brothers who are still free. (Right on!) Chief Clarence M. Kelly, Chief of the Kansas City Pigs, has intensified the force by the people are protecting the brothers.

The people of Kansas City, Missouri are saying aloud, "No more occupation of our community!" They are tired of the pigs that are here to contain them and carry out their fascist acts. The brothers in their revolutionary act of offing and their revolution act of offing the pig and beating the heat, set an example for others in the black colony. Chief Kelly and his sty of pigs will not find the brothers and while

they are looking they had better beware. The people are at large, and "today's pig may well be tomorrow's bullet-cured bacon."

Let all the oppressors of the people beware. Dacy was an off-duty pig, the next pig may be on-duty. As Huey mentioned (In Correct Handling of a Revolution) the pig may well be sitting at a counter drinking a cup of coffee and come up missing. The brothers are ready and they will deal with the fascist pig.

ONLY ON THE BONES OF THE OPPRESSOR CAN THE PEOPLE BE FOUNDED—ONLY THE BLOOD OF THE OPPRESSOR CAN FERTILIZE THE SOIL FOR THE PEOPLE'S SELF—RULE
Sister Andre Weatherby
Deputy Minister of Health
Kansas City Chapter
Black Panther Party

Best available copy
and as follows.

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, JANUARY 10, 1970 PAGE 6

PEOPLE DECLARE WAR ON NIGGER LACKEYS

Members of the Kansas City Chapter, Black Panther Party, have been subjected to repeated acts of brutality, trumped-up charges, resulting in unjust arrests, and harassments by the reactionary lackeys of the power structure, the pig department.

Two nigger pork chops have escalated their repeated harassments of Panther brothers and sisters, in particular, and members of the Black colony, in general.

These two fascist lackeys, Lloyd DeGraffenried and Sylvester Winston, have been instrumental in the repeated attacks that Party

at a skating rink party. Sister Faye was attempting to assist her other half who was being brutally beaten by pigs DeGraffenried and Winston. These nigger pigs, being the pigs that they are, decided that they had fallen victims of an unprovoked attack by this young, unarmed, (but far from defenseless) sister. They proceeded to shoot the sister in her head. Later, the



Pig De Graffnried

members and the people have been subjected to.

August 17, 1969, DeGraffenried and Winston took out their self-hate tendencies and love for fascism, as all lackeys do, on a 19 year old Black sister, Faye Perkins.

This brutal, inhumane, yet "Legalized" act of genocide, took place



Pig Winston

two lackey puppets said that the sister had a gun, yet investigation of the incident showed that she was, in reality, totally unarmed. (An unarmed people are subject to slavery or LEGALIZED GENOCIDE at any given moment). These two pigs, the same night, were free to walk the streets of Babylon and carry out other fascist attacks

This murder committed by these two scum eating pigs, seemed to call on and bring forth their reserve reactionary tendencies.) (Pig Winston even stated later, "My goal in life is to become a better pig.") They immediately began to harass and brutalize the peoples' servants. Weeks later, six Panther brothers were delayed

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 14—Continued

in their attempts to serve the people after they had stopped to fix the Panther bus. Pigs, including DeGraffenried and Winston, had been putting heavy surveillance on the Panther vehicle all that day.



Clive De Patten



Pete O'Neil

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 14—Continued

After the brothers had come to work on it, the gestapo troops swooped in. A numerous amount of patrol cars and wagons were immediately on the scene. The pigs attempted to harass and provoke the brothers and told them to get out of the street. The brothers shouted, "These are the peoples' streets. Get your gestapo forces out of our community."

The pigs took no notice of these brothers' warnings, and proceeded to beat, club, and mace them. One brother, Clive DePatten, after being taken to the pig pen after the incident, was beaten again by at least fifteen gestapo storm troopers after he had attempted to defend himself. The brother's head was cracked wide open, yet he was refused medical treatment. The people from the community saw these tactics of the pigs and tried to assist the brothers. They were beaten and jailed also.

The people realize that the pigs make no distinction between Black

Panther Party members and people of the community. The people now realize that this nation's plan to carry out acts of mass genocide has "an ultimate goal of not only wiping out the Black Panther Party and other revolutionaries, but all poor and oppressed people who stand up and try to take their freedom."

Pig DeGraffenried and Pig Winston, the people are declaring war on you and are saying to you and all the pigs who oppress, brutalize and murder, in the name of "LAW AND ORDER", "We will have our manhood, we will have it or the earth will be leveled in our attempts to gain it."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

POW'S FOR PANTHERS

Kansas City Chapter
Black Panther Party

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 15



Weapons and ammunition seized from the residence of William Whitfield on 3/21/69.
1. 7m.m. Mauser Chilean Rifle
2. 30-30 Caliber Stevens Rifle

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 16

REFERENCES TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHAPTER OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
IN "THE BLACK PANTHER" NEWSPAPER

The first mention of the Kansas City Chapter was in the March 16, 1969 issue which contained a listing of Black Panther offices and included one at 2223 Lydia, Kansas City, Missouri.

The April 20, 1969 issue carried a letter by Pete O'Neal, Deputy Chairman, Kansas City Chapter who announced the beginning of "Patrols of the Pigs" and described an encounter between himself, a group of Panthers and Kansas City police officers. This resulted in the arrest of six Panthers. O'Neal concluded his letter with the statement, "The more the Black Panther Party is confronted and attacked and the more we fight back, then we can well assume that we are making the position of the Pig Establishment less secure and more vulnerable to attack."

A letter attributed to Thomas Robinson, Deputy Minister of Labor, Kansas City Chapter, appeared in the May 19, 1969 issue. The letter concerned a controversy involving Teamsters Local 41, and the Gustin Bacon Co., and Larry Johnson, "a Panther," who had allegedly been fired for threatening a foreman. Robinson ended his letter with the statement, "The revolution in Labor is here! So all you Hogs, Pigs and porkchop bootlicking niggers, get the H--- out of the way or wait to be sent there."

The August 2, 1969 issue quoted a letter by Andra Weatherby, Kansas City Chapter Deputy Minister of Health to Black Panther National Headquarters dated July 22, 1969, the subject of which was "Death of the Oppressor." It described the killing by "three black brothers" of Police Officer John Edward Dacy who had attempted to arrest the Millers while they were robbing a loan company. The letter opened with the statement "The people of Kansas City are in an ecstatic state today following the execution of a pig."

"A future sister" was the author of a letter printed in the August 9, 1969 issue. This protested the sentencing of Pete and Gary O'Neal and police "attacks" on Black Panther headquarters in Denver, Salt Lake City, Sacramento, and Chicago. The letter stated in part, "and when we say 'OFF THE PIG', that is just what we intend to do if he illegally breaks down our doors or trespasses on our property."

The August 16, 1969 issue contained an announcement from the Black Panther Party Office, 2905 Prospect Avenue, Kansas City, concerning the opening of its Bobby Hutton Community Clinic, over John's Pharmacy at 31st and Jackson, "for the benefit of the poor and oppressed masses," whose needs the government does not recognize as being imperative. Care was said to be free of charge and donations of money, medical supplies, and professional services were requested. The September 13, 1969 issue noted that the clinic "is getting off to a rather slow start."

The September 13, 1969 issue announced the resumption of the Black Panther "Breakfast for School Children Program." The article claimed "the Black Panther Party in Kansas City fed over 700 children every day last semester," and said the program would be expanded. According to Deputy Minister of Education Keith Hinch, the author, the breakfast program would include "a Liberation School" for the children emphasizing some of the better known revolutionary figures during slavery, Malcolm X, the Black Panther Party's 10 Point Platform and Program, and revolutionary songs. The article terminated with the slogans, "All Power to the Breakfast Program, All Power to the Future Revolutionaries, Free all Political Prisoners."

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 16--Continued

The headline "Confrontation with Kansas City Light Company" in the September 27, 1969 issue introduced an article by Andre Weatherby, Communications Secretary, Kansas City Chapter. This concerned a march on the Kansas City Power & Light Company by residents of the Wayne Minor housing projects who had been without power for twenty-two hours. Weatherby commented that Black Panther Party members who were present "to help protect the people" had a political education class. The article ended with the following paragraph:

"The people of this decadent, fascist system can see that the people of the oppressed classes are educating themselves and putting into practice such theories as Marxist-Leninism and quotations based upon this theory such as: 'Weapons are an important factor in wars, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by the people!'"

A "Kansas City Press Release" appeared in the October 25, 1969 issue of the Panther newspaper. The substance of the article was a complaint against the Kansas City Police Department for taking into custody "two sisters and four brothers" who were "selling papers and educating the unaware masses." One "brother" was allegedly accused of driving without a proper license. The police were accused of removing the license plates from the "brother's car" and placing it in the back seat "to make it look like the brother did not have the proper license."

2905 Prospect Street, Kansas City, Missouri, telephone 816-924-3206, was listed in the December 27, 1969 issue as one of the 25 locations out of 29 Black Panther offices throughout the United States at which "Breakfast for School Children Programs" were in operation.

The January 3, 1970 issue described Black Panther demands on the Kansas City Police Department that observers be present during searches and arrests of Panthers; that searches be carried out in daylight hours; that the Panther attorney be notified whenever arrest warrants are issued for Panthers; and that the police admit to "provocative harassment and killing of young Black leadership in general, and Black Panthers in particular." The list of demands, which were said to have been rejected by the Chief of Police, were allegedly signed by a cross section of the community "who have not adopted the philosophy of the Panthers." The article concluded with the slogans, "All Power to the People. Seize the time, and Off the Slime." The article was reprinted in the January 10, 1970 issue.

The January 10, 1970 issue contained an article describing the Kansas City Chapter Breakfast Program and noted the program had been taken over by workers in the community who are allegedly feeding 200 children daily. According to the article, the Panthers had sponsored a full Thanksgiving Day turkey dinner for 800 people and had given food and clothing to over 400 children and adults on Christmas Eve.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 16--Continued

The January 10, 1970 issue contained allegations against the Chief of Police of Kansas City to the effect that he suppressed information resulting in a fraudulent claim against an insurance company and that he had authorized supplying firearms to the Minutemen and other right-wing organizations. The article claimed that Panther leader Pete O'Neal testified concerning these matters before a grand jury. Following this they attempted to enter a press conference held by the Chief of Police, had been refused entry, and had been "brutally beaten, clubbed and stomped. Brother Tommy Robinson had to be treated for a fractured skull and wounds on the head that required a large amount of stitches."

The same issue carried photographs of two Kansas City police officers, Lloyd De Graffenried and Sylvester Winston, who, the article claimed, "have escalated their repeated harassments of Panther brothers and sisters..." According to the article, these officers shot and killed a woman when she came to the assistance of "her other half who was being brutally beaten by pigs;" that despite allegations to the contrary by the police she was unarmed. An allegedly unprovoked attack by these same officers on a group of Panthers who were working on the Panther bus was also described. Panther Clive DePatten was said to have been beaten by fifteen "storm troopers," to have had his head "cracked wide open" and to have been refused medical treatment. "People from the community" who saw these alleged acts and tried to assist the Panthers "were beaten and jailed also." The article charged that, "The People now realize that this nation's plan to carry out acts of mass genocide has an ultimate goal of not only wiping out the Black Panther Party, and other revolutionaries, but all poor and oppressed people who stand up and try to take their freedom. Pig DeGraffenried and Pig Winston, the people are declaring war on you and are saying to you and all the pigs who oppress, brutalize and murder, in the name of 'Law and Order,' We will have our manhood, we will have it or the earth will be leveled in our attempts to gain it."

The January 17, 1970 issue announced the opening of a Kansas City Chapter Peoples Liberation School to supplement the breakfast and free clothing programs.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 18

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
KANSAS CITY CHAPTER
CRIMINAL PROFILE

The data contained in this report is a profile of the criminal history of the fifty (50) persons, who, during the year 1969 were either identified as members of the Kansas City, Missouri Black Panther Party or as associates who participated in Panther functions regularly.

Of these fifty (50) persons, forty (40) have known criminal histories as reflected below.

This data does not include juvenile or traffic arrests.

Average Age:	25 years
<u>Total Arrests:</u>	994
Homicide	7
Sex Crimes (rape-felonious assault)	8
Robbery (armed-unarmed)	50
Auto Theft	18
Burglary	39
Aggravated Assault (with and without weapon)	38
Larceny (grand and petit)	42
Drugs	1
Kidnapping	1
Checks	8
Concealed Weapons	17
Resisting Arrest or Interfering with Police Officer	21
Other gun arrests	5
Property destruction	5
Contributing to the delinquency of a minor	1
Crimes against family (wife and child neglect)	3
Disorderly Conduct - Disturbing the Peace	82
Misc. Misdemeanor arrests (Vagrancy, loitering, etc.)	27
False information to the police	3
Escape	3
Parole and Probation Violations	8
Bench warrants issued	7

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 18—Continued

DISPOSITION ANALYSIS

<u>CRIME</u>	<u>CONVICTION</u>	<u>NOT CHARGED</u>	<u>DISMISSED</u>	<u>DISP. UNKNOWN</u>
Homicide	2	3	1	1
Sex Crimes	4	2	1	1
Robbery	28	11	10	1
Auto Theft	14	2		2
Burglary	19	11	7	2
Aggravated Assault	31		5	2
Larceny	29	6	6	1
Drugs	1			
Kidnapping				1
Checks	6	2		
Concealed Weapons	14		2	1
Resist and Interfering	18		2	1
Other gun Violations	3			2
Property destruction	4			1
Contributing	1			
Crimes against family	2		1	
Disorderly conduct	70	3	7	2
Miscellaneous Misdemeanor	21	1	3	2
False Information	3			
Escape	1			2
Parole & probation violations	6			2
Bench Warrants			7	
	<u>277</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>24</u>

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 19

Toll call records covering the period 6/69 through 12/69 were obtained by subpoena. These calls were made from Black Panther headquarters on Olive Street and on Prospect Street. There was a record of 102 such calls to 26 cities in 11 states, as follows:

Ames, Iowa
Berkeley, California
Chicago, Illinois
Columbia, Missouri
Denver, Colorado
Des Moines, Iowa
Fayetteville, Arkansas
Ferguson, Missouri
Inglewood, California
Jefferson City, Mo.
Lawrence, Kansas
Little Rock, Ark.
Los Angeles, Calif.
Manhattan, Kansas
Nashville, Kansas
New York City
Omaha
Pine Bluff, Ark.
Pittsburgh, Kansas
San Francisco
St. Louis
Tarkio, Mo.
Topeka, Kansas
Washington, D.C.
Waterbury, Conn.
Wichita, Kansas

The identification of the persons to whom the called numbers were listed is incomplete. An initial review shows calls to the Black Panther headquarters in Berkeley, California, to the Black Panther Party offices in Chicago, Los Angeles, New York City, and San Francisco.

A call to Newsreel in Chicago was noted. This is the New Left propaganda film organization concerning which testimony was given in the 1969 Committee hearings on the Students for a Democratic Society.

Calls were noted to the following colleges and universities:

University of Arkansas
Philander Smith College, Little Rock
Arkansas A&M
Iowa State
University of Kansas
Kansas State
Wichita State
Lincoln University - Jefferson City, Mo.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (Kansas City Chapter)
 2221 Lydia
 KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI 64109

2870

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

<u>DATE</u>	<u>BPP</u>	<u>CREDITS</u>	<u>DEBITS</u>	<u>SER. CHG.</u>	<u>BALANCE</u>
<u>1969</u>					
Feb		\$1031 23	\$283 26	None	\$747 97
Mar	(1 to 16)	302 75	987 66	1 38	261 68
Apr	(22 to 30)	885 90	977 50	1 59	168 49
		245 50	120 41	1 08	292 50
May		1088 85	936 60	2 19	442 56
June		799 15	1000 72	1 72	239 27
July		1031 40	1245 09	2 34	23 24
Aug		1493 62	1378 68	2 15	136 03
Sept		1705 24	1793 03	1 91	46 33
Oct		2081 85	1235 14	1 91	891 13
Nov		731 80	1375 04	2 27	245 62
Dec		354 25	591 82	1 77	6 28
	<u>TOTAL (2 thru 12)</u>	<u>\$11951 54</u>	<u>\$11924 95</u>	<u>\$20 31</u>	

Account # 00-404-9 (Opened February 17, 1969)

SWOPE PARKWAY NATIONAL BANK

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

AUTHORIZED

SIGNATORIES

TITLE

(As of February 17, 1969)

Pete O'Neal	Deputy Chairman
Bill Whitfield	Deputy Minister of Information
Keith Hinch	Deputy Minister of Education
Norman D. Benjamin	Deputy Minister of Finance
(Any two can draw)	

(As of November 21, 1969)

Thomas Robinson	Deputy Minister of Labor
Pete O'Neal	Deputy Chairman
Philip E. Clayton	Deputy Minister of Information
Charlotte Hill	Finance
Andre Weatherby	Deputy Minister of Education
(Any two can draw)	

CO-404-9

Authority of Lodge, Association or Other Similar Organization to Open Deposit Account

To: Swaps Parkway Natl.
49th & Swaps Parkway
NAME OF BANK
ADDRESS

Date 2/17/69

At a regular meeting of the Kansas City Chapter of Black P. P.
of the _____
held on the 17th day of February 1969 at which a quorum
was present, the following officers were duly elected for the ensuing year and until their successors shall be elected and shall have qualified:

Name	Title	Specimen Signature
<u>Pete G. Neal</u>	<u>Deputy Chairman</u>	<u>Pete G. Neal</u>
<u>Bill Duffell</u>	<u>Deputy Minister of Information</u>	<u>Bill Duffell</u>
<u>Keith Hinch</u>	<u>Deputy Minister of Education</u>	<u>Keith Hinch</u>
<u>NORMAN BENJAMIN</u>	<u>Deputy Minister of Finance</u>	<u>Norman Benjamin</u>

Under the rules of the _____
any funds deposited to its credit with a bank or trust company may be withdrawn by any 2
signatures of the above 4 signatures.

(Use blank spaces for titles of signing officers and state whether checks will bear one signature or will be signed and countersigned)

who _____ authorized to endorse and sign Checks, Drafts and Orders for the payment of money.
The undersigned authorizes and requests you to pay and charge to said account checks, obligations and orders for the payment of money drawn on or payable at, or which shall be paid or honored by your bank when so signed whether payable to the order of any of said signers or not; and further authorizes and requests you to receive deposits and conduct the said account in accordance with the instructions stated above, and stated on the authorized signature card filed with you by the undersigned.

The authority herein given is to remain irrevocable so far as the above bank is concerned until it be notified in writing of the revocation of such authority and shall in writing acknowledge receipt thereof

Affix Seal Below

X Norman Benjamin
Deputy Minister Secretary
of Finance

Approved:

To be signed by the signing officers

Best available copy

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 21 - Continued

2874

TO ENABLE US TO GIVE YOU BETTER SERVICE, PLEASE FILL IN THE BLANKS BELOW

Mailing Address		5211 Lytle		64109	
NUMBER	STREET	CITY	ZONE	STATE	
Do you wish your statement & cancelled checks mailed?		Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	Telephone 924-6698	
What was your last banking connection?				924-3206	
Other current banking connections?					
Affiliated Accounts in this bank?					
Savings Deposits					
Acquaintances in this bank?					
Commercial References?					
Reasons for selecting this bank					
Business or purpose of organization?					
Are the persons authorized to sign on this account citizens of the U.S.?		Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>		
We are now using or are interested in the following banking services:					
	Now Using	Interested		Now Using	Interested
Business Loans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trust	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Real Estate Loans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Safe Deposit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Night Depository	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Certificate of Deposit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Municipal-Government Bonds	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

00-404-9

AUTHORITY OF UNINCORPORATED CHURCH, SCHOOL, LODGE, FRATERNAL ORGANIZATION, ASSOCIATION OR OTHER SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS TO OPEN ACCOUNTS

TO: _____ DATE _____

At a regular meeting of the K.C. Chapter of
The Black Panthers
held on the 21st day of Nov., 1969, at which a quorum was present,
the following officers were duly elected for the ensuing year, commencing _____,
and continuing until their successors are duly elected and qualified:

NAME	TITLE	SPECIMEN SIGNATURE
<u>Thomas Robinson</u>	<u>Sup of Labor</u>	<u>Thomas Robinson</u>
<u>Pete O'Neal</u>	<u>Dep. Chairman</u>	<u>Pete O'Neal</u>
<u>Philip C. Bayton</u>	<u>Dep. Sec. Information</u>	<u>Philip C. Bayton</u>
<u>Charlotte Hill</u>	<u>Treasurer</u>	<u>Charlotte Hill</u>
<u>Andre Montebey</u>	<u>Deputy Master of Education</u>	<u>Andre Montebey</u>

Under the agreement of association, rules and bylaws of the _____
any funds deposited to its credit with your bank may be withdrawn by
the _____ . Each
(Insert in blank the titles of the authorized officers)

withdrawal shall require _____ authorized signature(s). The authorized officer or officers are empowered to endorse and sign checks, drafts and orders for the payment of moneys of this organization. The authority hereby given shall remain in effect until your bank is notified in writing by the President or Secretary of this organization of the revocation of such authority and until your bank shall in writing acknowledge receipt of such revocation.

SECRETARY

AFFIX SEAL BELOW APPROVED

To be Signed
By the Retiring
Officers

VOLUNTARY UNINCORPORATED ASSOCIATION

NAME K.C. Chapter - Black Panther Party ACCT. NO. 00-4049
TO SWOPE PARKWAY NATIONAL BANK OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

This card should be accompanied by properly certified resolution

The above in the name adopted and used by the members of a voluntary unincorporated association.
Below find _____ duly authorized signatures which you will recognize in the payment of funds to the transaction of other business on the account carried in the above name.

Depositor agrees as follows and the Bank accepts business on the following conditions:
In receiving items for deposit, collection, or cash, this bank acts only as the depositor's collecting agent and assumes no responsibility beyond the exercise of due care. It shall not be liable for default or negligence of any correspondent selected by the depositor. In transit, each correspondent so selected being liable only for its own negligence; the bank or its correspondents may send cash or checks directly to any bank including the payor, and accept its draft or credit as conditional payment in lieu of cash; all items shall be subject to receipt of final payment in cash or solvent credits by this bank at its own office and may be charged back only if there is final payment, whether or not returned; when a credit is given for an item drawn on this bank and cashed after 2 P.M. such cancellation may be exercised at any time prior to midnight of the business day following the next business day after the giving of such credit; items drawn on or by other banks or payable to other banks in this city, or in Kansas City, Kansas, may be carried by presentation on the business day following the date of deposit under Clearing House arrangements or otherwise; items payable outside the city need not be forwarded until the business day following receipt thereof; items are received subject to existing or future banking custom, rules and regulations of the Kansas City Clearing House Association, of the Federal Reserve Board, of any Federal Reserve Bank to which forwarded, and to the laws of the State of Missouri. The bank accepts no responsibility for payment of checks presented the same day deposits are made, unless there is, prior to such deposits, a sufficient balance to cover such checks. This bank may charge back, at any time prior to midnight on its business day next following the day of receipt, any item drawn on this bank which is ascertained to be drawn against insufficient funds or otherwise not good or payable. An item received after 2 P.M. shall be deemed received the next business day.

Depositor also agrees that funds deposited in this bank shall be subject to such service charges as shall, from time to time, be established and charged by the bank.

Depositor also agrees to indemnify the bank against any loss on account of any claim made by the maker, drawee, or any prior endorser of any item by reason of handling of any item on above terms.

In case this bank is requested to Stop Payment on an item or items, the depositor agrees to hold this bank harmless for all expenses and costs incurred by this bank on account of refusing payment of said item, and further agrees not to hold this bank liable on account of payment contrary to this request if same occur through inadvertence, accident or oversight, or if by reason of such payment other items drawn by the depositor are returned insufficient. Request for Stop Payment is effective for 180 Days, but Renewals may be made from time to time. No Stop Payment request, renewal, or revocation shall be valid if oral, longer than 15 days unless written notice is received by this bank.

(INSERT NAMES BELOW ON TYPEWRITER)	OFFICIAL TITLE, IF ANY	SIGN HERE	TELEPHONE NO.
<u>New Signatures</u>	will sign	<u>Patricia E. Neal</u>	
	will sign	<u>John B. [unclear]</u>	
	will sign	<u>Thomas Robinson</u>	
	will sign	<u>Charlotte Hill</u>	
	will sign	<u>Archie [unclear]</u>	

I do hereby certify that _____ persons whose signatures appear above have been duly authorized to draw checks upon and transact all other business on the account described above by resolution of the Board of Directors of said Association, all in accordance with the provisions of its constitution and bylaws.

Date 11-21-69

SECRETARY OF SAID ASSOCIATION

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Association Registered On _____ Date _____
New Cards Registered On _____ Date _____

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 21 - Continued

NAME K.C. Chapter Black Panther Party VOLUNTARY UNINCORPORATED ASSOCIATION
 TO SWOPE PARKWAY NATIONAL BANK OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI ACCT. NO. 00-404-9
Party

This card should be accompanied by properly certified resolution

The above is the name adopted and used by the members of a voluntary unincorporated association.
 Below find _____ daily authorized signatures which you will recognize in the payment of funds or the transaction of other business on the account carried in the above name.

Depositor agrees as follows and the Bank accepts business on the following conditions:
 In receiving items for deposit, collection, or cash, this bank acts only as the depositor's collecting agent and assumes no responsibility beyond the exercise of due care; it shall not be liable for default or negligence of any correspondent selected by it nor for assets of any correspondent so selected being liable only for its own negligence; the bank or its correspondents may send items, directly or indirectly, to any bank, including the payor, and accept its draft or credit as conditional payment in lieu of cash; all items shall be credited subject to return of the payment in cash or solvent credits by this bank at its own office and may be charged back at any time before final payment, whether or not returned when a credit is given for an item drawn on this bank and deposited after 2 P.M. such right of revocation may be exercised at any time prior to midnight of the business day following the next business day after the giving of such credit; items drawn on or by other banks or payable to other banks in this city, or in Kansas City, Kansas may be carried over for presentation on the business day following the date of deposit under Clearing House arrangements or otherwise; items payable outside this city need not be forwarded until the business day following receipt thereof, all items are received subject to existing or future banking customs and rules and regulations of the Kansas Clearing House Association, of the Federal Reserve Board, or any Federal Reserve Bank to which forwarded and in this regard the State of Missouri; the bank accepts no responsibility for payment of checks presented the same day deposits are made, unless there is a deposit of sufficient balance to cover such checks. This bank may charge back, at any time prior to midnight on its business day next following the day of receipt, any item drawn on this bank which is ascertained to be drawn against insufficient funds or otherwise not good or payable. An item received after 2 P.M. shall be deemed received the next business day.
 Depositor also agrees that funds deposited in this bank shall be subject to such service charges as shall, from time to time, be established and charged by the bank.

Depositor also agrees to indemnify the bank against any loss on account of any claim made by the maker, drawee, or any prior endorser of any item by reason of handling of any item on above terms.

In case this bank is requested to Stop Payment on an item or items, the depositor agrees to hold this bank harmless for all expenses and costs incurred by this bank on account of refusing payment of said item, and further agrees not to hold this bank liable on account of payment contrary to this request if some occur through inadvertence, accident or oversight, or if by reason of such payment other items drawn by the depositor are returned insufficient. Request for Stop Payment is effective for 180 Days, but Renewals may be made from time to time. No Stop Payment request, renewal, or revocation shall be valid if oral, longer than 13 days unless written notice is received by this bank.

(INSERT NAMES BELOW ON TYPEWRITER)	(OFFICIAL TITLE, IF ANY)	SIGN HERE	TELEPHONE NO.
Mr. _____	_____	<i>Patricia O'Hall</i>	_____
Miss _____	_____	<i>Philip C. Clayton</i>	_____
Mr. _____	_____	_____	_____
Miss _____	_____	_____	_____
Mr. _____	_____	_____	_____
Miss _____	_____	_____	_____
Mr. _____	_____	_____	_____
Miss _____	_____	_____	_____

I do hereby certify that _____ persons whose signatures appear above have been duly authorized to draw checks upon and transact all other business with reference to the account described above by resolution of the Board of Directors of said Association, all in accordance with the provisions of its constitution and by-laws.

Date _____ SECRETARY OF SAID ASSOCIATION _____

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

2877

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 21 - Continued

Address 2102 108th STREET CITY W.C. ZONE 11 STATE Mo.

Do you wish your statement & cancelled checks mailed? Yes No Telephone _____

What was your last banking connection? _____

Other current banking connections? _____

Affiliated Accounts in this bank? _____

Employed by _____ Phone _____

Acquaintances in this bank? _____

Commercial References? _____

Opening Deposit:

Reasons for selecting this bank _____

Business or purpose of organization? _____

Are the persons authorized to sign on this account citizens of the U.S.? Yes No

We are now using or are interested in the following banking services:

	Now Using	Interested		Now Using	Interested
Business Loans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trust	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Real Estate Loans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Safe Deposit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Night Depository	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Certificate of Deposit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Municipal-Government Bonds	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 21 -- Continued

TO ENABLE US TO GIVE YOU BETTER SERVICE, PLEASE FILL IN THE BLANKS BELOW

Mailing Address		2905 Prospect St. N.W.	
NUMBER	STREET	CITY	ZONE STATE
Do you wish your statement & cancelled checks mailed?		Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	Telephone
What was your last banking connection?			
Other current banking connections?			
Affiliated Accounts in this bank?			
Employed by		Phone	
Acquaintances in this bank?			
Commercial References?			
Reasons for selecting this bank			
Business or purpose of organization?			
Are the persons authorized to sign on this account citizens of the U.S.?		Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
We are now using or are interested in the following banking services:			
	Now Using	Interested	Now Using Interested
Business Loans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trust <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
Real Estate Loans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
Safe Deposit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Night Depository <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
Certificate of Deposit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Municipal-Government Bonds <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

2879

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 21 - Continued

2880

NAME Breast Fed For School Children ACCT. NO. 82-143-6 Individual Joint

I hereby acknowledge receipt of a copy of the Rules and Regulations adopted by THE SWOPE PARKWAY NATIONAL BANK, Kansas City, Mo., for its Savings Department and subscribe and agree to be bound by said Rules and Regulations together with such changes, modifications or additions thereto, which may have been, or shall be hereafter, adopted.

We, the undersigned, hereby acknowledge receipt of a copy of the Rules and Regulations adopted by THE SWOPE PARKWAY NATIONAL BANK, Kansas City, Mo., for its Savings Department and subscribe and agree to be bound by said Rules and Regulations together with such changes, modifications or additions thereto, which may have been, or shall be hereafter, adopted.

The undersigned joint depositors, hereby agree each with the other and with the bank that all monies deposited heretofore or hereafter deposited by either or both of said joint depositors with said bank to their credit as such joint depositors with all accumulations thereon, are and shall be owned by them jointly, with right of survivorship and be subject to the check or receipt of either of them or the survivor of them and payment to or on the check of either or the survivor shall be valid and discharge said bank from liability. Each of the undersigned appoint the other attorney, with power to deposit in said joint account moneys of the other and for that purpose to endorse any check, draft, note or other instrument payable to the order of the other or both said joint depositors. Payment to or on check of the survivor shall be subject to the laws relating to inheritance and succession taxes and all rules and regulations made pursuant thereto. The rights or authority of the bank under this agreement shall not be changed or terminated by said depositors or either of them except by written notice to said bank which shall not affect transactions heretofore made.

In case this bank is requested to Stop Payment on an item or items, the depositor agrees to hold this bank harmless for all expenses and costs incurred by this bank on account of refusing payment of said item, and further agrees not to hold this bank liable on account of payment contrary to this request if same occur through inadvertence, accident or oversight, or if by reason of such payment other items drawn by the depositor are returned insufficient. Request for Stop Payment is effective for 180 Days, but Renewals may be made from time to time. No Stop Payment request, renewal, or revocation shall be valid if oral, longer than 15 days unless written notice is received by this bank.

Ms. X Bill Whitfield
 Miss X Pete
 Mr. X Bill Whitfield Deputy Minister of Information
 Miss _____
 Mr. _____
 Miss _____
 Mr. _____
 Miss _____
 Mr. _____
 Miss _____

DATE 4/23/69 Soc. Sec. No. _____

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 21 - Continued

TO ENABLE US TO GIVE YOU BETTER SERVICE, PLEASE FILL IN THE BLANKS BELOW

Mailing Address		2221 Lydia		KANSAS CITY		Mo 64108	
	NUMBER	STREET	CITY	ZONE	STATE		
Do you wish your statement & cancelled checks mailed?		Yes	No	Telephone Carl 6698			
What was your last banking connection?							
Other current banking connections?							
Affiliated Accounts in this bank?							
Employed by				Phone			
Acquaintances in this bank?							
Commercial References?							
Opening Deposit \$33.00							
Reasons for selecting this bank							
Business or purpose of organization?							
Are the persons authorized to sign on this account citizens of the U.S.?		Yes	No				
We are now using or are interested in the following banking services:							
		Now Using	Interested			Now Using	Interested
Business Loans		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trust		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Real Estate Loans		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Safe Deposit		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Night Depository		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Certificate of Deposit		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Municipal-Government Bonds		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 22

THE METHODIST INNER CITY PARISH
OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

EVANGEL HALL 1717 EAST 12TH STREET, GR. 1 0789
CENTRAL OFFICE FAMILY SERVICE EMPLOYMENT

INDEPENDENCE AVENUE CHURCH
2401 INDEPENDENCE AVENUE
NE 1-3535

TROOST AVENUE CHURCH
2536 TROOST AVENUE
VI 2 9009

JAMES CHURCH
2601 SPRUCE
IIN 1 0932

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE METHODIST INNER CITY PARISH AND THE BLACK
PANTHER PARTY OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

May 15, 1969

The Methodist Inner City Parish herewith release the Certificate of Title to the Volkswagen Bus to the Black Panther Party of Kansas City, Missouri under the following stipulations:

1. That the Black Panther Party pay to the Methodist Inner City Parish the appraised value of \$65.00 (sixty-five dollars). (As appraised by Angle Motors, 5900 North Oak Traffic Way, Kansas City, Missouri.
2. That the terms for paying said appraisal be \$15.00 (fifteen dollars) as downpayment and \$10.00 (ten dollars) per month beginning June, 1969 for a period of five months, ending October, 1969.

Signed John L. Preciphs, 12th Street Minister
John L. Preciphs

Signed Pete O'Neal, Chairman, Black Panther Party
Pete O'Neal

Signed Henry Finley, Captain, Black Panther Party
Henry Finley

*God, Through Christ, Changed Us From Enemies Into His Friends, And Gave Us The Task Of Making Others His Friends
Also, Our Message Is That God Was Making Friends Of All Men Through Christ.*

STATE OF MISSOURI

CERTIFICATE OF TITLE TO A MOTOR VEHICLE

15-06 011 • 6965 24- 950

FULL NAME: METHODIST INNER-CITY BARRISH of Kansas City, Missouri
 ADDRESS: 1704 E. 16th St. COUNTY: Ja. STATE: MISSOURI ZIP CODE: Kansas City, Missouri

MANUFACTURER'S NUMBER: 5263330
 1057 055

YEAR MODEL: 1963
 BODY STYLE: S/W
 NEW-USED: X

PREVIOUS TITLE# STATE: 4 MO 3 15

SIGNATURE OF OWNER: X BY *Maxwell L. Helge, Director*

VEHICLE SUBJECT TO LIEN: NONE

PRICE: \$4332

THE UNDERSIGNED, HOLDER OF THE LIEN DESCRIBED ON THE CERTIFICATE OF TITLE HEREBY RELEASES SAID LIEN.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE



STATE OF MISSOURI

NAME OF LIENHOLDER

DATE OF RELEASE

STATE OF MISSOURI

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO BEFORE ME THIS DAY OF 19

NOTARY PUBLIC

MY COMMISSION EXPIRES

Thomas A. David

DIRECTOR OF REVENUE

IN WITNESS WHEREOF

I HAVE HERETO AFFIXED MY SIGNATURE AND OFFICIAL SEAL AT JEFFERSON CITY.

ANY ALTERATION OR ERASURE WILL AUTOMATICALLY VOID THIS TITLE.

JUN 28 1966

Best available copy

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CUSTOMER'S STATEMENT

PRINT NAME MR. <input type="checkbox"/> MRS. <input type="checkbox"/> MISS <input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Pete O'Neal</i>		AGE <i>39</i>	MARRIED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SINGLE <input type="checkbox"/> DIVORCED <input type="checkbox"/>	DEPENDENTS AGE OF CHILDREN <i>3</i>
PRESENT ADDRESS <i>3909 Olive St. Kc</i>		CITY	STATE	LIVED THERE HOW LONG <i>23</i>	HOME PHONE <i>913-1-6698</i>
PREVIOUS HOME ADDRESS		CITY	STATE	BUSINESS PHONE	
EMPLOYED BY SELF <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OTHER <input type="checkbox"/>	NAME OF BUSINESS AND ADDRESS <i>Black Panther Party</i>			HOW LONG YEARS <i>7</i>	
OCCUPATION <i>Chairman Ford Mtn. C. Clay comm</i>	NAME AND ADDRESS OF PREVIOUS EMPLOYER			NO. OF YEARS <i>3 yrs</i>	
INCOME PER MONTH <i>500.00 Mo.</i>	SALARY	OTHER INCOME	SPOUSE'S INCOME	TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME	
SPOUSE'S GIVEN NAME IF SPOUSE EMPLOYED, NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER					
NAME OF MY BANK <i>Super Pky Bank</i>		ADDRESS		CHECKING <input type="checkbox"/>	SAVINGS <input type="checkbox"/>
PRESENT MONTHLY PAYMENTS	FOR WHOM	ADDRESS	BALANCE DUE	MO. PAYMENT	
	<i>Inter City</i>	<i>Waltham Park</i>	<i>12/68</i>	<i>1000</i>	
NEAREST RELATIVE NOT LIVING WITH ME	NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP		
	<i>Dany O'Neal</i>	<i>3301 Paseo</i>	<i>Bw</i>		
SPOUSE'S NEAREST RELATIVE NOT LIVING WITH ME	NAME	ADDRESS	RELATIONSHIP		
BUSINESS REFERENCE	NAME	ADDRESS			
PERSONAL REFERENCE	NAME	ADDRESS			
CAR REGISTRATION	IN NAME OF	ADDRESS	CAR LICENSE NUMBER		
PAYMENTS FOR LAST CAR MADE TO	NAME	ADDRESS	MONTHLY PAYMENT \$		
HOME RENT <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OWN <input type="checkbox"/>	LANDLORD OR MORTGAGE HOLDER <i>John Creste</i>	ADDRESS	MONTHLY PAYMENT \$		
THE UNDERSIGNED WARRANTS THE TRUTH AND ACCURACY OF FOREGOING INFORMATION					
MONTHLY PAYMENT DATE DESIRED \$	CUSTOMER'S SIGNATURE	DATE			

5504 000112 PPS 50672

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 23

**THE METHODIST INNER CITY PARISH
OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI**

 EVANGEL HALL 1717 EAST 12TH STREET, GR. 1-0789
 CENTRAL OFFICE, FAMILY SERVICES, EMPLOYMENT

 INDEPENDENCE AVENUE CHURCH
 2401 INDEPENDENCE AVENUE
 BE 1-3535

 TROOST AVENUE CHURCH
 2536 TROOST AVENUE
 VI 2-9009

 ST JAMES CHURCH
 2601 SPRUCE
 UN 1-0932

**Names and Occupations of Board of Directors of
The Methodist Inner City Parish, as of February 1970**

Mr. Archie Counts	Postal Clerk
Mr. Lawrence Bennett	Postal Clerk
Mrs. Marvia Thompson	Elevator Operator - Bd. of Trades
Mrs. Nellie Abernathy	Beautician - Adler's
Mrs. Jean Shelton	Housewife
Mr. Marvin Barkis	Attorney - Legal Aid
Reverend John L. Preciph	Minister - Methodist Church
Mrs. Doretta Henderson	Welfare Receipt
Mrs. Lucille Johnson	Welfare Receipt
Mr. Pete O'Neal	Chairman - Son of Malcolm, Community Worker
Mr. Ansel Howard	Office Manager, Southtown Motors
Mrs. Mildred Johnson	Civil Engineer
Mr. Frank Dorr, Jr.	Minister - Methodist Church
Reverend Lawrence Yeo	Secretary, Sales & Accounts Dept. Owens Corning Fiberglas
Mrs. A.J. Levine	Professor of Theology - St. Paul School
Dr. Paul Jones	District Superintendent - Methodist Church
Reverend Charles McEwoen	Minister - Methodist Church
Reverend Dale Pollock	District Superintendent - Methodist Church
Reverend Forrest Standard	Minister - Methodist Church
Reverend Harry B. Davis	Metropolitan Planning Commission
Reverend Richard Blount	Secretary - Metropolitan Planning Com.
Mrs. Marcella Womack	Attorney
Mr. Bob Mann	Resident Bishop of the Mo. Area of the United Methodist Church
Bishop Eugene Frank	

**Rev. Phillip C. Lawson, executive director and member
of board.**

*God, Through Christ, Changed Us From Enemies Into His Friends. And Gave Us The Task Of Making Others His Friends
Also. Our Message Is That God Was Making Friends Of All Men Through Christ.*

INDEX

INDIVIDUALS

A	Page
Abernathy, Nellie.....	2832, 2885
Agnew (Spiro T.).....	2614
Albert, Stu.....	2819
Allen, Charles Wesley.....	2681, 2833
Anderson, L. Vann.....	2832
Aptheker, Herbert.....	2811, 2817
Arafat, Yasser.....	2815
Austin, Andrew.....	2802
Austin, Gene.....	2738, 2745, 2750, 2754, 2765

B	Page
Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich.....	2802
Barkis, Marvin.....	2885
Bassem, Abu.....	2815, 2816 ¹
Batista (Fulgencio).....	2799
Bell, Ray Alfred.....	2681, 2702, 2833
Benjamin, Norman D.....	2775, 2872, 2873
Bennett, Lawrence.....	2832, 2885
Berman, Mrs. Sam.....	2810
Berry, James Leon.....	2834
Big Man. (See Howard, Elbert.)	
Billings, Peggy.....	2653
Blount, Richard.....	2832, 2885
Bohannon, Lee.....	2782
Bolin, Arnold Eugene.....	2681, 2717, 2718, 2884
Booth, Byron.....	2809, 2818
Boston, Marvin G.....	2835
Bowie, Melvin.....	2636, 2702, 2780, 2835
Braden, Anne.....	2819
Braden, Carl.....	2819
Brown, Elaine.....	2804
Brown (H.) Rap.....	2817
Brown, Merl Fulsom.....	2681, 2789, 2790, 2836

C	Page
Caldwell, Guy.....	2788
Calhoun, Robert Edward.....	2836, 2857
Carmichael, Stokely.....	2817
Carter, Bunchy.....	2806
Castro, Fidel.....	2799
Cazadd, Robert.....	2805
Cleaver, Eldridge.....	2616, 2673, 2799-2802, 2804, 2805, 2807-2809, 2811, 2813-2816, 2818
Cleaver, Kathleen.....	2801, 2802, 2807, 2808, 2813, 2815
Cole, Azel.....	2681
Cole, Elbert C.....	2652-2654, 2778
Cooper, Kenneth.....	2681, 2787, 2837
Cooper, Sharon Louise.....	2681, 2740, 2788, 2789, 2837
Counts, Archie.....	2667, 2832, 2885

¹ Spelled "Bassen" in this reference.

	Page
Cox, Don "DC"-----	2801, 2811
Crawford, William E-----	2653
Crayton, Phillip E-----	2775, 2838, 2875-2877

D

Dacy, John Edward-----	2712, 2714, 2716, 2727, 2859, 2864
David, Thomas A-----	2883
Davis, Harry B-----	2832, 2885
Debray, Regis-----	2807
DeGraffenreid, ¹ Lloyd-----	2714, 2860-2862, 2866
Dellums, Ron-----	2811
DePatten, Clive-----	2838, 2854, 2856, 2861, 2862, 2866
Diffenbaugh, Phillip-----	2681
Dimitroff, Georgi-----	2811
Dorr, Frank L., Jr-----	2832, ² 2885
Douglas, Emory-----	2801, 2802, 2808, 2815

E

Edmundson, Clarence-----	2832
Everett, Ebb-----	2681, 2839

F

Fanon, Franz-----	2790, 2807 ³
Fenton, Steve Michael-----	2782
Finley, Henry Edward-----	2681, 2684, 2686-2688, 2704, 2722, 2773, 2777, 2782, 2787, 2839, 2882
Ford, Joudon-----	2808
Forman, James-----	2817
Frank, Eugene M-----	2651, 2652, 2831, 2885
Franklin, Benjamin-----	2615
Freed, Donald-----	2819
Fulson, Dennis-----	2787

G

Garry, Charles R-----	2811, 2812, 2817
Gnefkow-----	2738
Goldberg, Arthur J-----	2797
Greer-----	2738, 2745
Guevara (Ernesto) Che-----	2807, 2808

H

Hall, Gus-----	2817
Halvey, John-----	2730
Hamilton, Calvin-----	2783
Hammond, Ronald Lee-----	2840
Hampton, Fred-----	2770
Hayden, Tom (Thomas)-----	2819
Heinze, Fred-----	2818
Henderson, Doretta-----	2832, 2885
Henderson, John. (See O'Neal, Felix Lindsay (Pete).)	
Henderson, William. (See O'Neal, Felix Lindsay (Pete).)	
Hewitt, Raymond "Masai"-----	2801, 2811
Hill, Charlotte-----	2742, 2746, 2775, 2780, 2853, 2855, 2875, 2876
Hilliard, David-----	2801, 2802, 2806, 2808, 2810, 2815, 2817, 2819
Hinch, Keith I-----	2630,
	2631, 2680, 2681, 2689, 2775, 2786, 2787, 2840, 2864, 2872, 2873
Hoover, J. Edgar-----	2805, 2819-2821
Hottelot, Richard C-----	2815, 2816
Hottenbar, Joe-----	2751
Howard, Ansel-----	2667, 2832, 2885
Howard, Elbert (also known as Big Man)-----	2802
Howard, William James-----	2841
Huggins, Ericka-----	2806
Huggins, John Jerome-----	2806

¹ Appears as "De Graffenried" in some references.

² Appears as "Frank Door, Jr." in this reference.

³ Appears as "Fannon" in this reference.

Hutton, Bobby	2805, 2864
Hytche, Saun T.	2681, 2841

J

Jackson, Otis Lee	2787, 2842
Jacobs, John Henry	2779, 2780, 2842, 2853
James, Jesse	2732
Johnson	2698
Johnson, A. O. (or A. L.)	2749
Johnson, Charles Edward	2843
Johnson, Herman A.	2756-2767 (testimony)
Johnson, John Edward	2843, 2856
Johnson, Larry N.	2681, 2787, 2844, 2864
Johnson, Lucille	2832, 2885
Johnson, Mildred	2632, 2667, 2832, 2885
Johnson, Raymond	2810
Jones, Jeff (Jeffrey Carl)	2811
Jones, Paul	2832, 2885

K

Karenga, Ron	2806
Keller, Wanda Lee	2680, 2681, 2844
Kelley (C. M.)	2688
Kelly, Clarence M.	2859
Keys, Cecil	2712
Kim Il Sung	2813, 2814
King, Martin Luther	2793
Kinslow, George Alonzo	2845, 2853, 2857
Kunstler, William	2811

L

Lawson, Phillip C.	2618-2678
(testimony), 2706, 2718, 2772, 2775, 2778, 2791, 2824, 2831, 2832, 2885	
Lefcourt, Gerald (B.)	2820
Levine, A. J.	2832
Levine, Mrs. A. J.	2885
Levitt, Paul E.	2735-2746 (testimony), 2750, 2754-2756
Linville, Ervin	2787, 2788
Lytle, D. Russell	2653

M

Maier, Manfred	2679, 2725
Malcolm X	2864
Malone, Skip	2809, 2815
Mann, Bob	2832, 2855
Mao Tse-tung	2616,
2636, 2688, 2704, 2729, 2794, 2795, 2799, 2807, 2813, 2820,	2821
Marshall, Lonnell	2845
Marshall, Lowell	2681
Masai. (See Hewitt, Raymond.)	
Mathews, Connie	2809, 2815
McEowen, Charles	2628, 2662, 2832, 2885
McFadden, Chuck	2814
Miller, Patricia (also known as Mattie Scott)	2853, 2855
Miner, Paul	2751
Moore, Parrish	2787
Murray, George Mason	2808

N

Napier, Sam	2791, 2802
Nash, Alonzo	2681
Needles, Phillip E.	2653
Newman, Robert Lee	2681, 2782, 2846
Newton, Huey P.	2616,
2711, 2716, 2729, 2748, 2798, 2799, 2801, 2802, 2805, 2807,	2810,
2816, 2817, 2859	
Nixon (Richard M.)	2816

¹ Misspelled "Maann."

	Page
O'Neal, Brian-----	2680, 2681, 2686-2688, 2690, 2692, 2731, 2748, 2780, 2858
O'Neal, Everett P-----	2746, 2747-2756 (testimony)
O'Neal, Felix Lindsay (Pete) (aliases John Henderson; William Henderson)-----	2622
	2623, 2625, 2635-2637, 2642, 2646, 2650, 2661, 2665-2667, 2669, 2680-2682, 2684, 2686-2689, 2705, 2706, 2711, 2715, 2722, 2729, 2733, 2739, 2741, 2742, 2754, 2772-2782, 2787, 2791, 2794, 2799, 2822, 2824, 2832, 2846, 2853, 2855, 2861, ¹ 2864, 2866, 2872, 2873, 2875-2877, 2880, 2882, 2884, 2885
O'Neal, Gary-----	2739, 2782, 2787, 2804
O'Neal, Pete. (See O'Neal, Felix Lindsay.)	
Ortega, Phillip Wayne-----	2681, 2786, 2847

P

Parker, Walter-----	2679-2725 (testimony), 2725-2728, 2730, 2752, 2763, 2780, 2796, 2797
Patten, Jack-----	2812
Patterson, William-----	2817
Perkins, Faye-----	2713, 2714, 2727, 2860
Pollak, Stephen J-----	2618, 2645, 2675
Pollock, Dale-----	2832, 2885
Ponessa, William V-----	2680, 2725-2734 (testimony)
Powell, Bernard-----	2702
Preacherman-----	2811
Preciphs, John L-----	2628, 2631, 2643, 2663, 2667, 2772, 2777, 2791, 2832, 2882, 2884, 2885

R

Rackley, Alex-----	2802, 2806
Reith-----	2790
Renteria, Jose (also known as Jose Bacheo, Jose Pancheco, and Jose Pancho, the Thrd)-----	2792, 2793
Rice, David-----	2717
Ridpath-----	2780
Robertson, Ralph-----	2787
Robinson, Billie Ruth-----	2680, 2681, 2776, 2847, 2880
Robinson, Luther Eugene-----	2681, 2848
Robinson, Thomas, Jr. (Tom) (Tommy)-----	2636, 2666, 2667, 2686, 2690, 2698, 2705, 2706, 2715, 2719, 2737-2741, 2744, 2773, 2775, 2779, 2780, 2788-2790, 2848, 2856, 2864, 2866, 2875, 2876
Rogers, Will-----	2614
Rollins, Edward A-----	2712, 2770, 2849, 2853, 2857
Roslawowski, Mendel-----	2788, 2789
Ruggles-----	2702

S

Sayers, Stephen M-----	2681, 2787, 2849
Scheer, Robert-----	2809
Scott, Mattie. (See Miller, Patricia.)	
Seale, Bobby G-----	2798, 2801, 2802, 2807, 2808, 2810, 2813, 2817, 2819
Seale, John-----	2802
Shakur, Zayed-----	2811
Shapiro, Henry-----	2809
Shaw, Richard A-----	2769-2797 (testimony)
Shelnett, Robert L-----	2789, 2790
Shelton, Jean-----	2832, 2885
Shute, Austin-----	2636, 2715, 2745
Simms, Charles E. "June"-----	2681, 2684, 2686, 2689, 2704, 2783, 2784, 2850
Smith, Alfred O-----	2658
Standard, Forrest-----	2832, 2885
Stokes, Carl-----	2724

¹ Appears as "Pete O'Neil" in this reference.

	Page
C	
CAP. (<i>See</i> Community Action Program.)	
CORE. (<i>See</i> Congress of Racial Equality.)	
CUA. (<i>See</i> Council for United Action.)	
Camera News, Inc. (<i>See</i> Newsreel.)	
Central United Methodist Church.....	2654
Communist International. (<i>See</i> International, III.)	
Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) ...	2799, 2816, 2817
National Structure:	
National Committee.....	2817
National Conventions and Conferences:	
Nineteenth Convention, May 3, 1969, Brooklyn, N.Y.....	2816
Districts:	
Northern California.....	2816
Southern California.....	2816
Community Action Program (CAP).....	2658
Human Resources, Inc.....	2658, 2675, 2676
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) :	
Columbus, Ohio, chapter.....	2793
St. Louis chapter.....	2793
Cook Paint & Varnish Co.....	2738, 2741, 2744, 2789
Council for United Action (CUA).....	2749
D	
Don's Liquors (Kansas City, Mo.).....	2774
F	
Fort Hood Three (Defense Committee).....	2819
G	
Gust'n Bacon Co.....	2864
H	
Hemispheric Conference To End the Vietnam War, November 28-December 1, 1968, Montreal, Canada.....	2808
Human Resources, Inc. (<i>See</i> entry under Community Action Program (CAP).)	
I	
Independence Avenue United Methodist Church.....	2620, 2882, 2885
International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight Against the Aggression of U.S. Imperialism, September 18-24, 1969, Pyongyang, North Korea.....	2809
International Congress of Committees of Support for Palestine, December 1969.....	2815
International, III (Communist).....	2811
Seventh World Congress, July 25-August 20, 1935, Moscow.....	2811
J	
Johnson Drug Store.....	2698
K	
KCMO.....	2751
KPRS Broadcasting Corporation.....	2775
Kansas City Police Department.....	2648, 2865
Kansas City Power & Light Co.....	2865
Korea, Government of:	
People's Democratic Republic of Korea.....	2814
L	
Lou's Pharmacy.....	2605, 2696

vii

M

	Page
MCHR. (See Medical Committee for Human Rights.)	
M & M Bakery.....	2694, 2696, 2788
Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR).....	2820
Methodist Inner City Parish. (See entry under United Methodist Church.)	
Midland Hardware	2790
Minutemen	2753, 2866
Mobile Street Research Workers.....	2779

N

NAACP. (See National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.)	
NECLC. (See National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.)	
NLF. (See National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.)	
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) ..	2764
National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.....	2820
National Conference for a United Front Against Fascism, July 18-21, 1969 (Oakland, Calif.).....	2811, 2812, 2817
National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC) (formerly Emergency Civil Liberties Committee).....	2820
National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NLF) (also known as Viet Cong).....	2808, 2813, 2814, 2819
National Lawyers Guild.....	2812
Newsreel (Camera News, Inc.).....	2773
Chicago, Ill.....	2869
Ninth Street Gang.....	2641

P

PFP. (See Peace and Freedom Party.)	
Pan-African Cultural Festival, July 22-August 1, 1969, Algiers, Algeria	2808, 2815
Paseo Baptist Church.....	2691, 2761
Peace and Freedom Party.....	2807, 2818
New York.....	2818
Phil's Loan and Jewelry.....	2694, 2696, 2789
Progressive Labor Party (PLP) faction. (See Students for a Democratic Society (Boston).)	

R

Raleigh B. House.....	2779
Republic of New Africa.....	2819

S

SCEF. (See Southern Conference Educational Fund.)	
SDS. (See Students for a Democratic Society.)	
SNCC. (See Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.)	
St. James United Methodist Church.....	2618, 2620, 2664, 2882, 2885
St. Stephen Baptist Church.....	2691, 2693, 2780
Socialist Party (Denmark).....	2815
Socialist Workers Party (SWP).....	2819
Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).....	2819
Eighth National Convention, November 28-December 1, 1968.....	2819
Solidarity Committee for Third World People's Liberation Struggle... 2809,	2815
Soul, Inc.....	2645, 2702, 2733, 2751, 2781, 2787
Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).....	2819
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).....	2817
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).....	2677, 2773, 2781, 2819
National Council.....	2818
Conventions and Conferences: National convention, June 18-22, 1969, Chicago, Ill.....	2819
Students for a Democratic Society (Boston) (also referred to as Progressive Labor Party (PLP) faction and Worker-Student Alliance faction) ..	2819
Swope Parkway National Bank.....	2774, 2871-2873, 2876, 2877, 2880, 2884

T

	Page
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of: Local 41.....	2864
Troost Avenue Methodist Church.....	2620, 2631, 2691, 2882, 2885

U

United Methodist Church.....	2652
Board of Missions, National Division.....	2620, 2653
General Conference.....	2652, 2653
Methodist Church, Kansas City, Mo.....	2641, 2651
South District.....	2652, 2653
Methodist Inner City Parish.....	2618, 2619, 2622, 2652-2654, 2659, 2660, 2685, 2697, 2704, 2720, 2762, 2772-2774, 2777, 2779, 2791, 2822, 2824, 2831, 2832, ¹ 2882, 2883, 2885
Missouri West Annual Conference.....	2619, 2620, 2633
United Methodist Annual Conference.....	2655
University of Missouri: Afro-American Institute.....	2630
Urban League.....	2764

V

Viet Cong. (*See* National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.)

W

Welfare Mothers Association.....	2633, 2634
Workers World Party (WWP):	
Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF).....	2819

Y

YSA. (<i>See</i> Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance.)	
Young Adult Projects, Incorporated.....	2630, 2631, 2775
Young Communist League of Canada.....	2814
Young Lords Organization.....	2819
Young Patriots.....	2819
Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). (<i>See</i> entry under Socialist Workers Party.)	
Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF). (<i>See</i> entry under Workers World Party (WWP).)	

PUBLICATIONS

B

Black Panther, The.....	2798, 2802, 2864
Black Panther Party—Platform and Program: What We Want—What We Believe.....	2616, 2802, 2864

C

Catechism of the Revolutionist, The.....	2802
--	------

K

Kansas City Call.....	2699
Kansas City Star, The.....	2699, 2751

Q

Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung (book) (Mao Tse-tung).....	2634 2890, 2807
--	--------------------

U

United Front Against Fascism and War, The (pamphlet).....	2811
---	------

W

Wretched of the Earth, The (book) (Franz Fanon).....	2799, 2807
--	------------

¹ Appears as "United Methodist Inner-City Parish" in this reference.