

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**  
**PART 2**  
**Investigation of Seattle Chapter**

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

—————  
**MAY 12, 13, 14, AND 20, 1970**  
**(INCLUDING INDEX)**  
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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 3, 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 \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

**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.  
\* \* \* \* \*

# BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## Part 2

### Investigation of Seattle Chapter

TUESDAY, MAY 12, 1970

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

#### PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richardson Preyer, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, chairman; Richard H. Ichord of Missouri, chairman of the full committee; and John M. Ashbrook of Ohio.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Ichord, Preyer, and Ashbrook.

Committee member also present: Representative Albert W. Watson of South Carolina.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel; Stephen H. Romines, assistant counsel; and Thomas Q. Simmons and Richard A. Shaw, investigators.

Mr. PREYER. The committee will come to order.

The hearing today is a continuation of the series of hearings concerning the Black Panther Party. The subjects of inquiry are the origin, history, organization, character, objectives, and activities of the Black Panther Party in Seattle, Washington.

I might add that this is a part of a series of hearings that have been long scheduled, and no special significance in Seattle should be read into the fact that hearings are being held at this time.

The initial hearing was concerning the Black Panther Party activities in Kansas City, Missouri.<sup>1</sup> Today we are directing our attention to Seattle, Washington. The witnesses who have been subpoenaed from Seattle and committee investigators who were assigned to the Seattle area will testify pertaining to the development of the Black Panther Party chapter in Seattle, its membership strength, its leadership, certain of its demands and activities in the Seattle area, its objectives, and the general reaction of the Seattle community to the Black Panther Party.

An individual who may feel aggrieved by the nature of the testimony or its personal effect on him may request that he be heard. Every

<sup>1</sup> For additional information concerning those hearings, see appendix A, pp. 4377, 4378.

consideration will be given by the committee to afford him an opportunity to testify if he so desires. However, it will be on condition that he will be sworn, that he will conduct himself with propriety and decorum, and that he will be available for cross-examination.

The hearing this morning may recess a little earlier than 12 o'clock because of some scheduling problems, but we will go forward tomorrow and we will make up any lost time tomorrow or later in the week.

Mr. Counsel, you may call your first witness.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant Archie Porter.

Mr. PREYER. Will you stand and raise your right hand.

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. PORTER. I do.

Mr. PREYER. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, this first witness, Sergeant Archie Porter, is present this morning to answer any questions that the committee members may have pertaining to the Seattle Police Department's policies, practices, and procedures. To facilitate the committee questioning of the sergeant with respect to those policies and procedures, I intend to first ask the sergeant a number of questions to outline the general activities of the Black Panther Party in Seattle, Washington.

Subsequent witnesses will go into more specific detail with those activities.

#### TESTIMONY OF ARCHIE J. PORTER

Mr. ROMINES. Would you state your full name for the record, please?

Mr. PORTER. My name is Archie J. Porter.

Mr. ROMINES. By whom are you employed?

Mr. PORTER. I am employed by the city of Seattle, Seattle, Washington.

Mr. ROMINES. In what capacity?

Mr. PORTER. I am employed as a Seattle police sergeant.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you assigned to any specific unit or division, Sergeant Porter?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, I am.

Mr. ROMINES. What division or unit would that be?

Mr. PORTER. I am assigned to the intelligence division. I am in charge of the civil disturbance section of that division.

Mr. ROMINES. Could you give the committee a little information with respect to the civil disturbance unit? With what activities, organizations, groups, or individuals is it concerned?

Mr. PORTER. The civil disturbance section handles any disturbances that we might have in our city. I might cite some examples, such as college disorders, campus disorders, riots, any type of disturbances that we may have in our city.

Mr. ROMINES. How long have you been with the civil disturbance unit?

Mr. PORTER. Since December 1 of 1969. Prior to that I had a different assignment for 3 months and going back to September of '69, back to March of '68.

Mr. ROMINES. When did the civil disturbance unit actually come into existence, Sergeant Porter?

Mr. PORTER. The civil disturbance unit actually came into existence on December 1, 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. Under what circumstances did it come into existence?

Mr. PORTER. It came into existence as a result of the International Association of Chiefs of Police survey that was run on our police department. This was one of the many recommendations that this organization made, and it was followed through by our department.

Mr. ROMINES. So actually you have been head of the civil disturbance unit ever since the formation; is that correct?

Mr. PORTER. That is correct.

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

Mr. ROMINES. When did you first become aware of the existence of the Black Panther Party in the city of Seattle, Washington?

Mr. PORTER. It first came to our attention in the spring of 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you have any specific date?

Mr. PORTER. Late March, early April 1968; I can't give you the exact date.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know, Sergeant, who was instrumental in forming the Black Panther Party in the city of Seattle?

Mr. PORTER. There were several people actually that were instrumental. It started out not particularly as the Black Panther Party. A person from out of town, from another city, came to Seattle and started to organize a group of black people, but not under the name of the Black Panther Party. As a result of this organization, the Black Panther Party was an offspring of it, shall we say?

Mr. ROMINES. So if I understand you, perhaps the nucleus of this black organization became the nucleus of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PORTER. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Who was the individual who came to town to form this first black group?

Mr. PORTER. This man's name was John Henry Wilson.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he have any nickname?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What was that nickname?

Mr. PORTER. His nickname was the "Voodoo Man."

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know why he was called the "Voodoo Man?"

Mr. PORTER. It was his belief it had something to do—and I don't understand enough about it, I never studied it, but it had something to do with a type of religion in Africa.

Mr. ROMINES. Did John Henry Wilson, or the "Voodoo Man," actually become a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PORTER. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Who were the individuals who were instrumental in actually forming the Black Panther Party out of this nucleus of the organization formed by the "Voodoo Man"?

Mr. PORTER. The primary individuals were Aaron and Elmer Dixon, who are brothers, and Curtiss Harris. They were the three primary ones.

Mr. ROMINES. Where was the initial headquarters of the Black Panther Party in Seattle?

Mr. PORTER. The northeast corner of the intersection of 28th Avenue and Madison Street.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of a building is located there?

Mr. PORTER. This is a two-story warehouse with one apartment in the top story.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know by whom it was rented?

Mr. PORTER. Do you mean who the lessee or lessor was?

Mr. ROMINES. Right.

Mr. PORTER. I can't give it to you, but the following witness has that information and will furnish that to you.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the Panther Party subsequently move its headquarters from 28th and Madison?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. To where did they move?

Mr. PORTER. They moved from there to 34th and East Union Street.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be 1127½ 34th Avenue?

Mr. PORTER. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know, Sergeant, for what interval of time the Panthers maintained their headquarters at 28th and Madison?

Mr. PORTER. A very short time, roughly 3½ to 4 months.

Mr. ROMINES. So that would be from somewhere around March or April of '68 to about June of '68; is that correct?

Mr. PORTER. No, not June, about August.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of building is located at 1127½ 34th Avenue?

Mr. PORTER. That is an office building.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know from whom that building was rented?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Who was the individual?

Mr. PORTER. The individual that owned that building was a real estate man by the name of Benjamin Brill, who also had his own personal office next door.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the Panther Party subsequently move from the headquarters at 1127½ 34th Avenue to another address?

Mr. PORTER. Correct.

Mr. ROMINES. What is that subsequent address?

Mr. PORTER. That is the one at 20th and East Spruce.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know approximately when they moved into the building at 20th and Spruce?

Mr. PORTER. Oh, it would be about December of '69.

Mr. ROMINES. Are they presently located in the building at 20th and Spruce?

Mr. PORTER. Correct.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the type of building at 20th and Spruce?

Mr. PORTER. This is a two-story home.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the Panthers own or rent that?

Mr. PORTER. They rent this.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know from whom they rent?

Mr. PORTER. No. The following witness will have that information.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, what was the peak membership that the Black Panther Party enjoyed in the city of Seattle between April or May of 1968, when it was formed, and at present?

Mr. PORTER. If we are talking about people that went to meetings and rallies, I would say it peaked off at the very top between 150 and 200.

Mr. ROMINES. Is it possible that the number of people who would attend their meetings and their rallies might have varied?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, very much.

Mr. ROMINES. Depending on what, for example?

Mr. PORTER. Depending upon, as an example, if it was a rally held in a park when there was entertainment being given and the weather was nice, of course, you would get a fairly good turnout of people. If the weather was bad, naturally there was a regularly scheduled weekly meeting like they had and still do have, why, the number would not go nearly that high.

Mr. ROMINES. What, Sergeant, would have been the peak number of individuals whom you might term activists, those who could always be counted upon to be present and to carry out any particular functions, at the peak?

Mr. PORTER. At the peak you could count on about 25 to 30.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have any estimate as to the real hard-core central leaders at the peak?

Mr. PORTER. 12 to 15.

Mr. ROMINES. When did this peak in membership and activists occur, Sergeant?

Mr. PORTER. In the summer of 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the current membership of the Black Panther Party in Seattle?

Mr. PORTER. It would be between 8 and 11.

Mr. ROMINES. Now would that be individuals, such as those when we used the term "activists," who can always be counted upon to partake in party functions?

Mr. PORTER. This is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Would they be able to perhaps generate more membership, more attendance at their meetings and their rallies?

Mr. PORTER. No.

Mr. ROMINES. To what, Sergeant, would you attribute the decline of the strength of the Black Panther Party in Seattle?

Mr. PORTER. Of course, there are obviously several reasons for it. When I speak of the top membership of 200, or at least 200 participants, not particularly 200 members, we are talking about many young people. When I say "young people," I am referring to youngsters 11, 12, 14, 15 years old. This particular age group has left the party for several reasons.

Mr. ROMINES. What would you say are those reasons, Sergeant?

Mr. PORTER. Well, in talking to many of these youngsters, naturally, myself, they felt that the party had nothing to offer them. To quote several of these youngsters, they didn't feel like going to a meeting and listening to lectures and studying out of Chairman Mao's "red book." They were not interested in that type of an education.

I think the finances had something to do with it; they were no longer able to hold rallies.

Chairman ICHORD. At this point may I interrupt, Mr. Counsel?

Sergeant, you say the members were not interested in studying Mao's "red book." If I may intervene, Mr. Chairman, how do you know

that? Have you talked to individual members and have they told you that? Is that the basis of your knowledge?

Mr. PORTER. I have talked to individual members of this group since they have left the party.

Chairman ICHORD. In that respect the minister of information, Eldridge Cleaver, has made several declarations allying the Black Panther Party with Chinese communists. For example, he was quoted in an article in the *Guardian*, July 19, 1969:

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.

There are other references already in the record, by Cleaver and other national leaders of the Black Panthers, stating that the Black Panther Party is a revolutionary group allied with Chinese communists. Is this the only connection that you have seen between the Black Panther Party and Chinese communists, that is, teaching from Mao's so-called little red book?

Mr. PORTER. In answer to that, Mr. Congressman, I would have to say, in listening to public speeches given by the leadership of the Seattle Black Panther Party, they would, in addition, advocate what you were just mentioning in public speeches. I am sure you understand this, that I have never attended one of their meetings, obviously.

My information is obtained from intelligence sources and through people I have talked to and from public speeches that their leadership have given at different functions over the past 2½ to 3 years.

Chairman ICHORD. And several members have objected to you, though, personally, that they didn't go for the matter of instruction in Mao Tse-tung?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, several members, and let me state this clearly. Several members of the Seattle Black Panther Party that have left the party and are no longer active that I have personally talked to have indicated to me that they did not agree with the teaching of the party, and included in the teachings of the party was the violence that they taught plus the teachings and studying of Chairman Mao's "red book."

Chairman ICHORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I wanted to make clear the source of information.

Mr. ROMINES. We were discussing the reason for the decline. Would there be any other reasons that you know of that the Black Panther Party has declined in membership?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, there are. Several, shall we say, of the original hard-core members of the party have been arrested, charged, convicted, and sentenced to institutions. This is one reason.

Again, may I add the younger people that were originally in the party could see what was happening. The people were getting arrested, people were getting convicted, people were being sent to the penitentiary, and they didn't want any part of this.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, does the Black Panther Party in Seattle maintain a breakfast program?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, they do.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know at how many different locations they maintain such a program?

Mr. PORTER. I believe it is at three locations.

Mr. ROMINES. Are all three actually run by the Panthers?

Mr. PORTER. No; there is only one that is actually maintained and operated by members of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the Black Panther Party maintains a free medical clinic?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know where that is located?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Where is it located?

Mr. PORTER. That is located in their headquarters office, which happens to be this two-story home.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the Panther Party maintains a clothing distribution center?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Where is that located?

Mr. PORTER. At the same place, in the home.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you ever visited the breakfast program, the free medical clinic, or the clothing distribution center?

Mr. PORTER. No, not myself.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, have any members of the Seattle Police Department been killed by members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PORTER. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, have any members of the Seattle Police Department been shot at and wounded by members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PORTER. Let me answer that thus. Sources indicate to me that the answer to that would be yes. We have had about seven or eight Seattle police officers shot and wounded, but there have been no charges or convictions. However, the sources indicate to me that Black Panther members were responsible for these shootings.

Mr. ROMINES. Under what general circumstances did these shootings occur, Sergeant?

Mr. PORTER. The summer of 1968 was the so-called bad summer in Seattle as far as riots in the central area were concerned. These shootings would happen during these riots or immediately thereafter. When I say "immediately thereafter," I am talking about maybe the riot would quiet down at 12 or 1 o'clock in the morning, and then at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning we would have officers fired upon.

Mr. ROMINES. When you say officers fired upon, would that have been an actual gun battle between an officer and a member of the Negro community standing and facing each other and shooting at each other?

Mr. PORTER. No, at no time can I recall when that happened except, which I am sure we will get into later, during the results of a robbery. This was all sniper type fire.

Mr. ROMINES. Have any members of the Seattle Police Department been shot since 1968?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, we have had that; yes.

Mr. ROMINES. As to the officers who have been shot since 1968, are any attributable to members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PORTER. No, I don't believe so. No, it has happened just in the normal course of police duties.

Mr. ROMINES. Have any members of the Seattle Police Department been shot at by members of the Black Panther Party and as a result not been either killed or wounded?

Mr. PORTER. Again, I can't say definitely and positively that it was Black Panthers that did the shooting. Sources indicate it to me, yes, but again may I add, I am being as honest and fair about this thing as I possibly can be, and I must add that at no time has anybody been charged or convicted of this particular crime.

Mr. ROMINES. Hasn't there been one member of the Black Panther Party arrested and convicted for actually shooting at a police officer?

Mr. PORTER. Well, the shot was actually not fired. Are we referring to Armstead?

Mr. ROMINES. No, this would be Earl Brooks.

Mr. PORTER. Excuse me, you are right. I beg your pardon. That was in late December or early January of 1969. There was one hard-core member of the Black Panther Party who fired upon a police car, and the shot went through the window of the police car. However, the officer was not hit.

Mr. ROMINES. Was Brooks subsequently arrested?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, he was arrested that night.

Mr. ROMINES. Was he tried?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, and convicted for assault.

Mr. ROMINES. For what reason was the police car in the vicinity where Mr. Brooks was?

Mr. PORTER. This was at night and it was a routine traffic stop. Two officers in a police car stopped this automobile for a routine traffic violation, and I don't recall the violation—speeding or running a red light or something of that nature.

Mr. ROMINES. So the only member of the Black Panther Party who has been arrested and convicted for shooting at police officers would be Earl Brooks; is that correct?

Mr. PORTER. This is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Have there been any members of the Seattle Black Panther Party killed by the Seattle Police Department?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How many?

Mr. PORTER. One.

Mr. ROMINES. Who was that?

Mr. PORTER. Welton Armstead.

Mr. ROMINES. What were the circumstances surrounding that?

Mr. PORTER. Basically, there was a robbery of a motel out in King County, which is out of the city limits of the city of Seattle. A license number, make, and model of automobile was gotten by a witness; the description of suspects was gotten. This was relayed to the Seattle Police Department by the King County sheriff's office, who has the jurisdiction where the robbery took place.

The car returned to the city of Seattle and Seattle police officers spotted the automobile, stopped it, and subsequently there was one Panther killed.

Mr. ROMINES. That would be during the course of a lawful arrest; is that correct?

Mr. PORTER. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Have any members of the Seattle Black Panther Party been killed by merchants?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How many?

Mr. PORTER. One definite and possibly two.

Mr. ROMINES. Why do you say possibly two?

Mr. PORTER. The second one, which was quite recently, the captain of the Black Panther Party at the time of this killing was asked if the victim was a member of the Black Panther Party and the captain, Mr. Dixon, stated "No." However, records indicate that he had prior been a member some months previous.

Mr. ROMINES. Who was the individual who you say definitely was a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PORTER. Sidney Miller.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is the individual you say may or may not have been a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PORTER. Billy Ray Sims.

Mr. ROMINES. As to these individuals who were killed by merchants, what were the circumstances?

Mr. PORTER. In the Sidney Miller case, Mr. Miller and another subject were in the process of an armed robbery of the 7-11 grocery store in West Seattle when—I say the owner, it may be the manager—but anyway, as they left the store, the manager or owner—I am not sure which it is—fired his personal gun and did kill Mr. Miller.

Mr. ROMINES. And the other individual?

Mr. PORTER. Sims?

Mr. ROMINES. Sims, was that also a robbery?

Mr. PORTER. Yes. Mr. Sims was killed. He and another subject went into a dry goods store operated by one man in the central area and there was some discussion about they wanted a particular type of cloth, or whatever it may be. I don't recall the particulars. Anyway, during the course of this armed robbery Mr. Sims pulled a gun on the victim and said, "I want your money," and the owner pulled a gun from underneath the counter, shot Mr. Sims, and killed him.

Mr. ROMINES. You used the term "central area." What are you referring to?

Mr. PORTER. The central area is predominantly populated by minority races.

Mr. ROMINES. Would this be an area in the city of Seattle?

Mr. PORTER. Correct, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would this be an area where the Panther Party headquarters are?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, and all their headquarters have been in this particular area.

Mr. ROMINES. Is this the general area where the Panthers are most likely to be found and most likely to operate?

Mr. PORTER. Correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, let me return to these shootings for one moment. Did all of these shootings occur in 1968?

Mr. PORTER. Are we talking about shootings or killings?

Mr. ROMINES. Killings.

Mr. PORTER. No, the Sims killing was 4 or 5 months ago, something like that, just recently.

Mr. ROMINES. Would it have been in 1969 or 1970?

Mr. PORTER. Probably early '70. I think February, I can't be sure.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, do members of the Black Panther Party carry weapons?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what type of weapons they carry?

Mr. PORTER. Mostly hand guns and on some occasions they carried rifles.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you known them to carry weapons since the party was formed in mid-1968?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the Panther Party has conducted any type of organized practices with their weapons?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know over what period of time the practice has occurred?

Mr. PORTER. Primarily they were all in the summer of 1968. There may have been one or two in '69 and since that there have been none.

Mr. ROMINES. Now I would like to return one moment to the area of questioning pertaining to the decline in the membership of the Panther Party.

Do you know whether the strength in the membership of the party declined because members of the party voluntarily disassociated themselves from the party or whether there was any active attempt by the party itself to, if I may use the term, purge members or ask members to leave when they did not want to be associated with the party?

Mr. PORTER. To the best of my knowledge and through my sources, there has never been a purge in the Black Panther Party of Seattle. I might add that in talking to many of the mothers and fathers, the older people in the central area, and discussing the problem we were having with the Black Panthers, parents that had children that were involved in this program, the parents, I think, had a lot to do with the decline of the party. In other words, mother and father say, "Son, no, we don't want you there. We don't go for this type of indoctrination."

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, are you familiar with the name Jack Freeman?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, I am.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is Jack Freeman?

Mr. PORTER. Jack Freeman is a resident of Seattle. I have talked to him in my office on several occasions. He is an admitted revolutionist. He has told me that he fought in Castro's army. He told me that a year ago, which would have been in the summer of '69, that he left Seattle to Vancouver, British Columbia, to Hong Kong, to Cambodia, and back. I have had several conversations with this man.

Mr. ROMINES. Does he have any connection with the Black Panther Party in Seattle?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Is he white or colored?

Mr. PORTER. He is white.

Mr. ROMINES. What are his connections with the Black Panther Party in Seattle?

Mr. PORTER. I might start this out by saying I have seen him there.

Mr. ROMINES. When you say "there," where do you mean?

Mr. PORTER. At the party headquarters. Mr. Freeman has told me that he has given the Black Panther Party arms instructions, and I am repeating hearsay evidence that Mr. Freeman told me, that he

has knowledge of how to make bombs, et cetera, that he gained this information while fighting for Castro's army before the takeover of Cuba.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he indicate to you whether he had passed that information along to the Black Panther Party in Seattle?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, he did, definitely, indicate that he did.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he have anything to do with the Panther Party's first headquarters on 28th and Madison?

Mr. PORTER. I believe Detective Fridell will follow through on that.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, over the past 6 months to a year have you noticed any change in the press coverage in Seattle with respect to Black Panther Party activities?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, very definitely.

Mr. ROMINES. What would that change have been?

Mr. PORTER. There has been a marked decrease in coverage by the local news media in the Pacific Northwest of the Black Panther Party. They, of course, cover the national events as to what happened in Chicago, Los Angeles, et cetera, but the news media in the Pacific Northwest have had a marked decline in coverage.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you have any opinion as to whether that decline in news media coverage has had any effect upon the strength of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, I definitely believe it has.

Mr. ROMINES. What would be your opinion?

Mr. PORTER. Well, it is the same old story. When you have a product to sell, the best advertising you can buy is word of mouth. Newspapers, television, radio, et cetera, are mighty fine advertising. They are just not getting this. I don't know why. I cannot give you the reason. Of course, I have no knowledge of why the media are operating this way, but I do believe it has effected a marked decline in the party membership.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, what is the policy of the Seattle Police Department with respect to the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PORTER. Speaking for the chief of police of the city of Seattle, Frank Moore, I can state the following: As far as the Seattle Police Department is concerned, the Black Panther Party is just another group of people. If a person commits a crime in the city of Seattle, the Seattle Police Department will do all that is possible to effect an arrest and conviction regardless of whether the man be black, white, or a Black Panther or what he might be. We just don't feel the Black Panther Party is worthy of any special attention. Possibly some of the members who may be involved in crime would be, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. So if I understand you correctly, then, there is no such thing as a specific policy directed toward the Black Panther Party?

Mr. PORTER. Absolutely not.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, I have in front of me a copy of "The Harris Survey" which appeared in yesterday's *Washington Post*. There are several questions enumerated in that survey, and I would like to read those questions to you and ask you what are your answers to the questions. The first question is: "*In general, do you feel the Black Panthers are [1] a serious menace to this country, [2] annoying but not very serious, [or 3] a force for good in the country?*"

Mr. PORTER. I would answer that as (2), if they are (1), (2), (3)—annoying but not very serious. But I would also like to expound upon it a little bit, if I may be allowed to.

Mr. ROMINES. Surely.

Mr. PORTER. At a future date I believe that there could be problems. In other words, if the Black Panther Party is doing this, this is common knowledge; it is known throughout the Nation. In their breakfast program they are attempting to indoctrinate the youngsters and if they are able to do this, then they could become a serious threat to our Nation and the security of our Nation.

Mr. ROMINES. The second question is, and I quote :

Over the past few years, a fairly sizable number of Black Panthers have been shot and killed by law enforcement officers. Generally, do you feel law enforcement officers are trying to systematically wipe out the Black Panthers, or do you feel the shootings have been the result of violence started by the Panthers themselves?

Mr. PORTER. I can only answer for what has happened in Seattle and what I have read and heard has happened across the Nation. I would have to answer that question with (B). I think it is problems that they have started themselves. I don't feel that there is, at least in the city of Seattle; there may be in some other cities, I don't know, but there is no concerted effort to wipe out the so-called Black Panther Party or members of it.

Mr. ROMINES [reads]. "*Now let me read you some statements that have been made about the Black Panthers. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree.*" The first statement is: "Black Panthers give blacks a sense of pride."

Mr. PORTER. Absolutely not. I don't feel that they do.

Mr. ROMINES. "Panthers do good work among disadvantaged young people."

Mr. PORTER. That would be quite questionable to me. They are giving some advantages; they are feeding youngsters. If these youngsters are hungry, fine. But, again, are they just feeding the youngsters because they are hungry or are they trying to indoctrinate them into revolutionary thinking?

Mr. ROMINES. The third statement is: "Panthers are an extremist group who want to destroy America and cannot be tolerated."

Mr. PORTER. I believe this is true. Their beliefs cannot be tolerated, not the individual. The individual man or member of the Black Panther Party is a human being. When I say "cannot be tolerated," I believe the beliefs of the party cannot and should not be tolerated by this Nation.

Mr. ROMINES. The last statement is: "Panthers want to destroy police and should be put out of existence."

Mr. PORTER. Part of it is true. I believe that their policies, the teachings of the Black Panther Party, are true; they admit this.

Mr. ROMINES. Referring to destroying police?

Mr. PORTER. Right, true. But, again, let's not think of the individual member of the party, let's talk about the party itself and their beliefs and their teachings.

Mr. ROMINES. Sergeant, there has been some publicity in the past 3 or 4 months about an incident which occurred in Seattle with respect to a decision to execute or not execute—perhaps I should say "obtain"

or "not obtain"—a search warrant to search the Black Panther headquarters in Seattle for weapons which were allegedly in their possession.

Do you have any comments to make on that dispute or that argument?

Mr. PORTER. I would be happy to comment on that, if I may refer to some notes that I have with me.

Mr. ROMINES. Certainly. First of all, could you explain briefly for the committee what the problem was in Seattle, what the issue was?

Mr. PORTER. The actual issue at this time was that another law enforcement agency, which happened to be a Federal agency, apparently had some information that there was an—or some illegal weapons stored at the Black Panther Party headquarters in the city of Seattle. Our Seattle Police Department intelligence division sources indicated otherwise. Therefore, I think this is probably what caused the controversy, if we may call it that, or problem, if you wish to use that word.

Mr. ROMINES. So the central issue, then, was whether or not to obtain a search warrant to search the Black Panther Party headquarters?

Mr. PORTER. That is correct.

At this time, if I may, I would like to read a prepared statement that I prepared by myself. It has been given an OK by the chief of police of Seattle, plus the mayor of Seattle, and it will explain, hopefully, to you gentlemen what actually took place and what our stand is and was on that particular issue.

Gentlemen: In answer to your question as to why the Seattle Police Department refused to assist a Federal agency in a so-called raid on the Seattle Black Panther Party, let me state:

1. That at no time was there any evidence presented to the Seattle Police Department by any law enforcement agency that would indicate a violation of any laws by the local Black Panther Party.

2. Mr. Stan Pitkin, U.S. attorney, Western Washington District, told Captain Williams of the Seattle Police Department intelligence division not to be concerned as he, Mr. Pitkin, had examined the evidence and under no circumstances did he feel the evidence presented to him warranted his recommendation that a search warrant be issued for the Seattle Black Panther Party headquarters.

A continuous survey of problems generated by the unlawful actions of the Black Panther Party in the city of Seattle and throughout the Nation is being conducted by the Seattle Police Department intelligence unit. We had and have knowledge that the Seattle Black Panthers were expecting a raid on their headquarters and, as a consequence, had fortified their office with sandbags and sheet metal. In addition, they were prepared to take full advantage of the publicity that would be gained as a result of any raid on their party headquarters.

We were also aware that raids on the Black Panther Parties in other cities and the resulting publicity had strengthened instead of weakened the party. As a result of the surveys and knowledge gained by such, Wesley Uhlman, mayor of the city of Seattle, Chief Moore of the Seattle Police Department, and the intelligence division of the Seattle Police Department are determined that we will enforce the law in the city of Seattle in a fair and logical manner. We do not intend to be stampeded into making martyrs out of any group. Any person will be

arrested and charged if and when he breaks the law, but any such arrest will be handled discreetly and legitimately for all citizens. We can see no reason for allowing the Black Panther Party or any other group any claim for charges of harassment or extermination. We simply feel in Seattle that they are worthy of no extra attention.

We appreciate the professional and cooperative manner in which the investigators of the House Committee on Internal Security have conducted their investigation of the Black Panther Party in Seattle. The Seattle Police Department is ready and willing to cooperate with any agency—Federal, State, or local—in matters of law enforcement.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Sergeant Porter. Mr. Ichord?

Chairman ICHORD. Yes, Mr. Preyer.

First of all, I want to thank Sergeant Porter for his cooperation with the committee and his testimony today. I do have one or two questions.

Sergeant, the chairman of the subcommittee stated the purpose of this investigation at the opening briefly. What we want to do is to find out all we can about the objectives, the tactics, the membership, the financing of the Black Panther Party and to assess the nature of the threat, if any, which the Black Panther Party constitutes to the security of America.

Apparently your testimony parallels what we found in the city of Kansas City, Missouri, to the effect that the Black Panther Party has not received widespread acceptance in the black community. Is that correct in your opinion?

Mr. PORTER. That is very true. They did at first, but if I may be allowed to explain just a little bit on that, please, when they first organized in the spring of 1968 they did receive a lot of publicity. It was something new to not only the black community, but to everybody.

I am sure that everybody in the Nation, black and white, were all interested in, well, who are these people, what are their ideals, what are they going to do? So as a result of this, there was a lot of publicity at that time.

However, when it was determined or when people began to see what was actually what the party stood for, what they advocated, then may I say the good Americans—and please don't get me wrong, I am not saying the Black Panthers are not good Americans—but the good Americans could see through the policies, the thinking of the party. I think this had a great deal to do with the degeneration of it.

Chairman ICHORD. You say you are talking about the possibility of a person who, in effect, may be a nonradical, but attracted to the Black Panther Party for a narrow specific reason where his purpose might be a laudable purpose, for example, working in the breakfast program of the Black Panther Party?

There is nothing apparently wrong with the Black Panther Party operating the breakfast program, is there?

Mr. PORTER. No. As a matter of fact, as an example of this, of the three breakfast programs that are operating in Seattle, only one of them is really being operated by members of the Black Panther Party, and the other two are being operated by other groups, primarily members—some of them, not all of them—but some of them are members. of, well, we can call them SDS.

I am sure you gentlemen are aware there is no longer such an organization. We can call them Weathermen, but there is no longer such an organization. We will call them exactly what they are, the Seattle Student Union, and they change their name, of course, every time the University of Washington puts out an injunction against that particular group. They change their name, but it is still the same faces.

They are operating the two other Black Panther breakfast programs. There is one elderly white lady who is as American as you or I that is also assisting in the program. She thinks she is doing the right thing by feeding these children.

Chairman ICHORD. Apparently the Black Panther Party in Seattle has had the same experience as the Black Panther Party in Kansas City, declining strength. What was the top membership of the Black Panther Party in your estimation?

Mr. PORTER. Well, the top membership was about 125. However, like I stated earlier, they could get up to 200 at rallies, but the top membership was 125, 130, along in there. But now that has declined down to a maximum number of 12 and closer to 8.

Chairman ICHORD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. Sergeant Porter, I assume you have no objection if a copy of the written statement which you gave here was made available to the press.

Mr. PORTER. Absolutely not or to the committee either. I have several copies. I would be glad to introduce one into evidence if you so desire.

Mr. PREYER. Perhaps the committee might want to mimeograph that. The press will probably be interested in that.

Mr. Ashbrook?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Sergeant Porter, I too thank you for your testimony here, your cooperation. I would like to expand on several points you made. You have made repeated reference to the Black Panther breakfast program. It is general information and leads to specific information of our committee that in some areas of the country the Black Panther program for providing breakfast also carries with it intensive propaganda efforts directed at those young people who are the recipients of the breakfast program.

In some areas, particularly California, a so-called Black Panther coloring book was used as a part of this propaganda effort. Are you aware of this Black Panther coloring book?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, sources have indicated it to me. I have never actually seen one, but I have been told about what it contains.

Mr. ASHBROOK. For the record, it contains all sorts of pictures indicating liberation of the black man from the pig oppressor and it shows the young hero shooting a policeman with a bullet going through his head, and all that type of thing.

Are you aware whether or not this so-called coloring book is used in Seattle or has been used as part of their breakfast program?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, sources indicate to me that has been used.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Secondly, you mentioned Panthers are known to carry weapons; was that not correct? I understand your testimony, in response to a question, that the Panthers do carry weapons—

Mr. PORTER. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Further studying this matter of carrying of weapons, is this something that happens on occasion? Is it something that is a normal situation, an isolated situation? What would be the extent to which you would ascertain the carrying of weapons by the Panthers? Is this a normal thing, do they do it regularly, or is this something you run across in isolated instances?

Mr. PORTER. Later on there will be photographs introduced as exhibits showing actual photographs of Seattle Black Panthers carrying weapons at demonstrations. In addition to that, during the summer of 1968 each and every member of the Black Panther Party was required to gain, purchase, or however he or she may get a weapon, and have it available immediately, if not on his or her person, at least in the car that they were riding in.

Now this does not hold true today. Some of the Black Panthers may be walking around with a gun under their coat or something. This is probably true.

Mr. ASHBROOK. There is such a thing as legally carrying weapons and such a thing as illegally carrying weapons. In your experience in the past has the average Black Panther tended to carry his weapon illegally or legally?

Mr. PORTER. Primarily legally. We are talking about and the pictures will show Black Panthers carrying rifles.

Now if I may, we have a city ordinance which is called "carrying a concealed weapon."

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is primarily what I was getting at. I know in the California legislature they went into the legislature with rifles.

Mr. PORTER. They also did that with our State legislature.

Mr. ASHBROOK. So in some cases it is legal and in other cases illegal?

Mr. PORTER. Correct. The city of Seattle has arrested members of the Black Panther Party for CCW, carrying concealed weapons.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You mentioned in testimony that a number of Black Panthers have been committed and are now incarcerated in institutions. Were any of these convicted of carrying concealed weapons?

Mr. ROMINES. There will be other witnesses who will give testimony as to all Panthers who have been arrested.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I just wanted to get the witness' testimony as to whether or not he considered the weapons aspect a potential threat to citizens of Seattle and to the law enforcement officer.

Mr. PORTER. Yes; it is rising. If they maintain the momentum in this particular field that they are, as they are stockpiling weapons in the city of Seattle, the Black Panther Party is, and have been for several months. Again I can't say what they are going to do, but if they decide to have a so-called shootout with the police, obviously this is going to present some grave problems, or if they get a stockpile.

Now I am talking about all national Black Panthers. If they get a stockpile of weapons large enough that they think they might be able to overthrow the Government, then definitely it will be a problem. There is no question about it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. When you can build a broad-based program and attract hundreds and thousands, you don't really need to resort to violence because you have the strength in numbers. As the membership declines and the membership is a problem, there is always—histori-

cally, anyway, in this country and elsewhere—the tendency to resort to violence and use weapons to achieve your purpose if you can't do it by building a mass organization.

So I would certainly tend to agree with you that if the numbers have declined from 100 to 25, down to 8, 10, or 12, it certainly leaves the 8, 10, or 12 with more of a hard-core threat of danger.

Mr. PORTER. I think this is true and I believe it is just under or just over 2 percent of the population of Russia are actually members of the Communist Party, so you see what a small minority of a nucleus of the group can do if given the right opportunity.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would just close by commenting on one aspect of what you have said, referring to the so-called "good Black Panther." I know we have investigated other areas and we have always had the allegation on the part of witnesses that there was such a thing as a good Ku Klux Klan member and there was such a thing as a good Nazi.

I would have to be listed among those who would say it was hard to visualize a good Nazi. Anyone who accepts the principles on which the organization is based, whatever his motive could be, certainly could not list himself as a good American.

I think the same thing could be said of the Ku Klux Klan. Whether the same thing could be said for the Panthers, I would have to withhold my judgment at this time. Maybe we will find there is such a thing as a "good Black Panther." But I will withhold my judgment on that.

Mr. PREYER. Sergeant Porter, you mentioned in discussing the membership that peak membership was in the summer of 1968 and you broke that into three categories—the general membership of about 150 to 200, the activists of about 25 to 30, and the hard-core leaders, 12 to 15.

Then you mentioned the current membership and you say it is 8 to 11. Is that counting all of the categories or is it 8 to 11, at the present time, of just activists or hard-core people?

Mr. PORTER. No, Mr. Congressman, that is the total figure of members of the Black Panther Party in the city of Seattle.

Mr. PREYER. Eight to eleven is the total figure?

Mr. PORTER. I think I could give you the exact one, but I will leave it as just 8 to 11.

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

Mr. PREYER. This is an interesting thing because we have run into this in other cities. There seem to be a few among part of the public that think the Black Panthers are Robin Hoods of some kind, but when you get to the individual Black Panther Party in a specific city, that doesn't seem to be the effect they are having in areas among the people they are really working with.

You mentioned the name of Jack Freeman and you gave some testimony of what he told you and described him as a revolutionist. Does he live in Seattle now?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, he does.

Mr. PREYER. The only reason I bring that up is you did testify as to what he told you and I think this is an example of where, if Mr. Freeman wants to testify or contradict, that we will be glad to hear from him.

I was interested in your statement about your policy at the Seattle Police Department and in your general approach to the Black Panthers. I think one of the basic problems that the country is considering on the Panthers is, Are they rightfully prosecuted or are they unfairly persecuted?

You have made clear that in Seattle, at least, it seems to me you are leaning over backward to make sure that they are rightfully prosecuted rather than being unfairly persecuted. I gather you have even declined to raid the party headquarters because you were afraid you didn't have sufficient evidence. I think this is evidence which bears on this general question which young people, for example, may want to consider, that all Panthers are being unfairly persecuted.

Another question is, Are the Panthers purposeful terrorists or are they mostly big talkers? Another part of that is, Are they romantic heroes or are they criminals, either petty or vicious?

Your answers to those questions seemed to me to say your police department's attitude is that they are not worthy of special attention; that you consider them annoying, but not very serious. So I think your answer to that is that they are not romantic heroes and that perhaps they are more big talkers than highly effective revolutionaries.

I will qualify that in a minute, as you did.

I want to mention one thing. In the decline of membership, do you attribute any of that to the fact that the Panthers may be going underground? We know that the Panther uniform of the black beret and the turtleneck sweater and the black coat is now being worn mostly by non-Panthers, and the Black Panthers, the real Panthers, are going back to civilian clothes.

Do you feel that the decline of membership is related to a substantial number of Panthers going underground?

Mr. PORTER. At least locally, no. Nationally there have been some, of course, as we are all aware of who have gone underground. But not locally, I don't believe so.

I might say, if I may add, regarding the coats and the caps, one thing that we have noticed in the city of Seattle and our other problem areas, the schools and the colleges, we have had the long hair and the odd type dress, where now the younger people are going away from that.

They are getting the short, so-called—as I have—square haircut. And the reason for that, they tell me, is, one, for an obvious reason, because they cannot be identified as easily, which is true. Maybe this is why the Black Panther Party has gone from the black beret and the black jacket.

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

Mr. PREYER. I believe you did make some comment as to the effect that they are an extremist group and we can't live with their beliefs in this country. They are witnesses against themselves as to what their beliefs are, what they have in their minds.

Mr. PORTER. Unless the problem gets to where they are teaching enough of our young, like through the breakfast program, et cetera. As I stated earlier, then we could run into a grave problem.

Mr. PREYER. Sergeant Porter, we thank you for your testimony. We will hear more about the Panthers here in Seattle. It is a little difficult to see, when we hear your type of testimony and the unromantic hero

aspect of it, why the Black Panthers have support among white liberals in the country and among young people.

Yet in action in a specific area it doesn't seem to have that charisma.

Mr. Watson, do you have any questions?

Mr. WATSON. No.

Chairman ICHORD. I have one more question.

Did I understand you to say you thought one of the reasons for the decline was the diminishing attention given to the Black Panthers in the Seattle community by the news media?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, I definitely believe this.

Chairman ICHORD. You feel they have to have the publicity in order to survive, in order to thrive?

Mr. PORTER. That is correct.

Chairman ICHORD. Of course, the news media get it from all quarters. I have heard members of the Black Panther Party criticize the news media for what they consider lack of objective reporting. I, too, have joined in the criticism and in several respects have been quite frank about it.

I think the news media do have to evaluate methods of reporting in order not to aggravate the situation. Of course, even this committee has been criticized in conducting investigations at various times trying to find out the facts.

The charge is made that we ourselves, by merely holding a committee meeting, a committee investigation, give publicity. However, I can't particularly buy that unless we are resigned to the possibility of only reading newspaper reports and listening to the news media reports, which I don't necessarily consider objective. That depends upon the particular reporter. Isn't this one of the things you find in your experience in dealing with such disturbances?

Mr. PORTER. Yes; I have to agree with you. However, as you say, and I am sure this is correct, your committee gets it from all sides, our police department gets it from all sides, and the news media gets it from all sides. So it is a matter of a job to be done and done the best that your committee, our police department, and the news media can.

Chairman ICHORD. This is what we are trying to do in this investigation by bringing in people like you who have firsthand experience, by bringing in people who have direct knowledge.

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

Chairman ICHORD (presiding). I am not being critical in the sense that newspaper reports are erroneous, but I think we have to recognize we all have our prejudices; we are standing in a particular spot when we see an event happen. I know when I was practicing law, for a long time I was quite concerned why three people who witnessed an accident, for example, would give you three different versions. I was quite disturbed that at least two of them might be lying, but later on I understood that it all depends on where the person stands, what his particular beliefs are, what his particular biases may well be.

This is one of the problems, I think, that the news media do have in reporting these matters. It is a very difficult problem and I am not criticizing the individuals concerned. It is an inherent difficulty. These things can be blown out of proportion one way or the other. I think the news media do have to evaluate their methods of reporting and try to improve them.

Mr. PORTER. As well as law enforcement and everybody, we all have to improve; nobody is perfect. I think probably, if I might say it,

the news media, at least in the city of Seattle, our two major newspapers and the television, radio, probably think, and the reason there has been a decline in their coverage of the Black Panther Party is they feel if there are only 8 or 10 people, what is newsworthy of that? There are more and larger things happening in our Nation today. Maybe that is the reason. I don't know what their policies are. However, I do say it has definitely had an effect on the party.

Chairman ICHORD. You would evaluate, then, the Black Panther Party, at least in the Seattle area, as a minor threat to the security of the Seattle area?

Mr. PORTER. At this time; in 1968 it was different.

Chairman ICHORD. Because of the decline in the influence on the members of the black community of Seattle?

Mr. PORTER. That is correct.

Chairman ICHORD. I have one more question, Mr. Watson, and then I will yield to you.

I have stated many times that at this time—I am speaking at the present time—that you could put all of the violent revolutionary groups in the United States together working for the same purpose completely united, which they are not, and they would still not have the capability of overthrowing this society.

I make that statement primarily because of the way this society is organized. You have such a broad power structure, national police officers, you have local police officers, State police officers, reserve strength which can be called upon, National Guard, Army units, et cetera. It is pretty hard to pick out a single target which revolutionaries who would overthrow the society can aim at.

I do think their greatest immediate threat is the possibility of causing society to enact laws to control this type of activity that, in turn, will restrict the liberty of all. Would you basically agree with my conclusion?

Mr. PORTER. Well, I think if we are going to talk about the broad spectrum of people in our Nation, and I am getting away from just the Black Panther Party, if I may, let's talk about the SDS. These particular groups basically all have the same purpose. It has been from my studying of their groups, talking to their leaders, and reading their propaganda that they put out, or literature, if I may, or vice versa, it is all the same thing. It is all coming from the same place. Whether they be black people speaking it or white people, basically it is all the same thing.

Chairman ICHORD. Let me put my question in this way. We have demands coming from several quarters for the passage of legislation which, in effect, would put the Federal Government into the business of keeping law and order in the Seattle area.

If the situation gets so bad, in my opinion the legislation will probably be passed. There are some pieces of legislation that have been passed, and I am not particularly quarreling with the particular piece of legislation because society does demand some kind of order. But the thing that does concern me, if we go into legislation from the Federal level designed to keep the peace in Seattle we must establish a national police force. It does no good to pass a law if you don't enforce it.

You are just fanning the breeze, so to speak. We have to have a national police force to go out into Podunk, into Seattle, and, of course, if that is done, we will have lost a great part, in my opinion, of what this country stands for.

Mr. PORTER. I certainly agree with you 100 percent. I would hate to see it come in this Nation where it would become, what we are saying in essence, a police state. I don't think this is necessary.

Certainly I agree with you, there is some legislation we need on the Federal level, State, and local, that I am sure, hopefully anyway, that will come about in this present session. There happens to be one bill I am thinking of in particular that I would personally like to see passed.

Chairman ICHORD. The legislation in regard to bombing?

Mr. PORTER. Yes, that and also on the denial of bail for convicted felons. I think Attorney General Mitchell has actually backed or introduced or written this.

Chairman ICHORD. That would apply only to federally convicted felons?

Mr. PORTER. Right.

Chairman ICHORD. Mr. Watson?

Mr. WATSON. Thank you.

I apologize that I was not here to hear the testimony of Sergeant Porter. In fact, I am not a member, officially, of the subcommittee, but I am interested in this particular investigation or study, and some of the questions of the chairman prompted a question or two on my part.

You say, as I gather now, the Black Panthers are of no real consequence in your area?

Mr. PORTER. This is true.

Mr. WATSON. And did I understand the figure 8 or 10 as your estimate of the actual membership of the Black Panthers?

Mr. PORTER. That is true.

Mr. WATSON. That is today. What was your estimate of the membership in '68, as I concluded it was a factor in '68?

Mr. PORTER. It was a definite factor, sir, in 1968, and it was about 125 membership.

Mr. WATSON. And in '68 you say it was a definite factor. Would you mind amplifying that a little bit, to what extent?

Mr. PORTER. In the spring and summer of 1968 the city of Seattle suffered; I have forgotten how many riots we had, but there were several. It was my opinion that each and every single one of these riots that we had was at least agitated by the Black Panther Party leadership.

Mr. WATSON. And at that time you had around a hundred or so?

Mr. PORTER. About 125, yes.

Mr. WATSON. So if 125 could bring about that much disruption, destruction, and violence, then, although you have only 8 or 10, I assume that they are pretty well surveyed and under surveillance by your department, are they not?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. Let me ask you this. We have found a proliferation of these so-called leftist groups that in their idealism have their arguments and as a result they will fragment or they will start another

group. We find that there is always someone in the group who is trying to outmilitarize the other members, and so as a consequence they will become upset and they will start another group.

Instead of the Black Panthers, they would call them the Black Cats or something. Have you found that these 125 have left town or gone over into another group?

Mr. PORTER. There is another group in Seattle, a small group called the Black Cultural Center.

Mr. WATSON. Have you found some of these Black Panthers over in that group?

Mr. PORTER. Very few, only two or three. This is also a small group that consists of about five or six people. It just has tried to get off the ground and generate some membership and power, but it has not been able to do it.

Mr. WATSON. Sergeant, it has been a matter of concern to me to see what happened in Seattle. As you related a moment ago, these people were deeply involved in the riots and difficulties out there. I think Mark Rudd boasted of less than 75 members of SDS at Columbia University, yet they were able to bring that institution to a standstill for some 18,000 students.

I hope we are not overlooking the threat simply because of a small numerical strength. I would assume that even these 8 or 10, according to your intelligence, are pretty well versed in the nature of formulating unrest and even in bringing about violence. Would that be an accurate statement?

Mr. PORTER. This is true. However, let me cite an example, if I may. I don't recall the day because I happened to have been out of town all week long last week, but on my return to Seattle last Friday night we had a meeting in the office. And, during the week, I was told, there was a demonstration held in front of the Federal courthouse by the militant groups, the SDS, et cetera, et cetera.

What their reason was I don't recall, but anyway one of the local members of the Black Panther Party got up to speak on "Power of the People," et cetera, et cetera, and he was actually booed down by these other people.

They have been asked to join the other groups like the Seattle Liberation Front, the Seattle Students Union, the SWP, and all these other parties in their demonstrations and rallies, and once in a great while you see one member of the Black Panther Party show up. I understand that member is subpoenaed and will be here in front of this committee. And that is about the extent of the effect they have.

Mr. WATSON. Now you had 120 and you now have 8 identified. What happened to the 90-odd? Did they leave Seattle to go to other areas to form trouble or did they join other groups? I assume somewhere along the line you probably followed their whereabouts or their movements. Could you give us a little idea as to where they are or whether they have repented; hopefully they have repented. I can tell by the reaction of the audience that there is not much prospect of that.

Mr. PORTER. It might not be as bad as it sounds, quite frankly.

Mr. WATSON. If they would not destroy buildings, if they let those people get an education who wanted to do so, and permitted those who

wanted to walk along the streets, I think it would be the most humorous thing in the world, but when they start stepping on others' rights, then I think it is serious.

Mr. PORTER. I agree with you 100 percent, sir. Some of the hard-core ones have changed addresses, like the State penitentiary at Walla Walla, the State correctional institution at Shelton, Washington.

When I say 125 originally, those were not 125 hard-core members, and I don't believe that you were in the committee room at that time when I testified the number of hard core originally as about 12 to 15, maybe 18 at the most.

As you see, we are talking really about 105 or 110 ex-Panthers that you are talking about, that you are asking what happened to them, where did they go, what did they do? Some of them have moved away from Seattle and gone to other cities and are not active.

We, of course, communicate with other cities cross the Nation as they well do with us. Some of them have taken jobs. There have been a lot of Federal programs instituted in the city of Seattle, a lot of Federal money pumped into the city, where jobs have been available for minority races.

I have to admit—and it is not a matter of admission, it is the truth—that these people are doing the same as you and I are doing. They are out working for a living. They are causing no problems.

But again we are just talking about the 105 or 110 or so that were members because they probably thought at the time that was the thing to do. As I testified earlier this morning, these people didn't particularly believe in the teachings of the party, and this is one of the reasons they left.

Mr. WATSON. So finally it is your opinion, despite the literature or the propaganda, whichever word you choose, despite all of that, the party is really not maintaining support? The young people are not buying this propaganda?

Mr. PORTER. No, the young people are not. The only thing I am concerned about is the breakfast program and the youngsters that they are feeding. Now you have to remember that these are young people. Are they pumping enough revolution into their heads, to their thinking, so that when these children, who are now 8, 10, 11, 12, when they become 16, 18, 20 years old—let's say 10 years from now—are we going to have a problem with these people?

This is my big worry right at the moment. I am not really concerned too greatly about the 8 or 10 Panthers that hold an office at 20th and Spruce. I am worried about the youngsters out in those centers where they are feeding them.

Mr. WATSON. That is precisely my concern, because I rather believe now that we have the generation that some 10 or 12 years ago was instructed as youngsters that it is all right to violate a law if you think it is morally wrong. I think now we are reaping the whirlwind, and that is what I am apprehensive about in the years ahead.

While we all share the same object in eliminating the pockets of poverty and bringing about greater benefits for all of the people, if we have a generation who has been taught disrespect for the law, then regardless of what law you might change, they will still disrespect it or treat it according to their own interpretation.

Mr. PORTER. I recall who made that statement.

Mr. WATSON. I had no one in mind, so many have made that statement.

Mr. PORTER. I certainly agree with the statement and I am sure the majority of our Nation does feel the same way about it.

Chairman ICHORD. The meeting will be adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., Tuesday, May 12, 1970, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, May 13, 1970.)

# BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## Part 2

### Investigation of Seattle Chapter

WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1970

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,  
*Washington, D.C.*  
PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richardson Preyer, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, chairman; Richard H. Ichord of Missouri, chairman of the full committee; and John M. Ashbrook of Ohio.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Preyer and Ashbrook.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel; Stephen H. Romines, assistant counsel; and Thomas Q. Simmons and Richard A. Shaw, investigators.

Mr. PREYER. We will resume our hearings on the subject of the Black Panther Party in Seattle, Washington. You may call your first witness, Mr. Romines.

Mr. ROMINES. Stanley Fridell.

Mr. PREYER. Will you raise your right hand.

Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FRIDELL. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF STANLEY K. FRIDELL

Mr. ROMINES. Would you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. FRIDELL. Stanley K. Fridell.

Mr. ROMINES. By whom are you employed, Mr. Fridell?

Mr. FRIDELL. Seattle Police Department.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you assigned to any specific division or section of the Seattle Police Department?

Mr. FRIDELL. Detective in the civil disturbance section of the intelligence division.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that be the same civil disturbance section that Sergeant Archie Porter is sergeant in charge of?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, it is.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you work directly under Sergeant Archie Porter?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, I do.

Mr. ROMINES. How long have you been a detective in the civil disturbance section?

Mr. FRIDELL. Four years. Well, the intelligence division started out as general intelligence and they divided it up in 1969 into two categories.

Mr. ROMINES. So, you have been a detective for 4 years, and you have been a detective in the civil disturbance section ever since it was formed in the year 1969; is that correct?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. As a detective in the civil disturbance section, have you had occasion to investigate activities of the Black Panther Party in Seattle, Washington?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, I have.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any specific assignment with respect to the Black Panther Party?

Mr. FRIDELL. I was assigned to investigate them when they started out.

Mr. ROMINES. Approximately when would that have been?

Mr. FRIDELL. They first came to our attention in January of 1968. At that time we had a group headed by John Henry Wilson, known as the Voodoo Man. Also, in there were the Black Panthers and another party known as The Group.

Mr. ROMINES. Were the Black Panthers actually organized as a functioning organization in 1968?

Mr. FRIDELL. No, they were just starting out.

Mr. ROMINES. When did they actually become an autonomous organization, as such?

Mr. FRIDELL. In April and May.

Mr. ROMINES. What year?

Mr. FRIDELL. 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you then had the specific assignment of the Black Panther Party from April and May of 1968 to the present?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, I have.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Fridell, who was instrumental in forming the Black Panther Party in April or May of 1968?

Mr. FRIDELL. Aaron Dixon; his brother, Elmer Dixon; Curtiss Harris; E. J. Brisker; Larry Gossett.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any females involved?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, there were.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know who they were?

Mr. FRIDELL. Joyce Bruce, Kathleen Halley, Gwendolyn Morgan, who later married Aaron Dixon.

Mr. ROMINES. What titles were held by these people, if any, when the Black Panther Party was first formed in Seattle?

Mr. FRIDELL. It started out with Aaron Dixon and Curtiss Harris as cocaptains.

Mr. ROMINES. Did Elmer Dixon have any title at that time?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, I believe he did; they had different titles, as minister of defense.

Mr. ROMINES. Is Curtiss Harris still a cocaptain?

Mr. FRIDELL. No, he is not.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know at what time he relinquished that title?

Mr. FRIDELL. Sometime in the summer of 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. Now, as I understand it, the nucleus of the group organized by the Voodoo Man to a certain extent became the nucleus of the Black Panther Party; is that correct?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Was there much of a struggle for power between and among these respective organizations?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; when they first started out, John Henry Wilson claimed he would take charge of the group, that he had permission from Bobby Seale. And later on Aaron came out and said Bobby Seale appointed him.

Mr. ROMINES. Was Aaron Dixon, in fact, appointed by Bobby Seale to be captain of the Black Panther Party in Seattle?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, he was.

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit No. 1 and ask you if you can identify that, please.

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; this is a list of Panthers in the city of Seattle.

Mr. ROMINES. That is divided into approximately three sections. What is the first section?

Mr. FRIDELL. The first section is the members of the party when it first started out.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that have been the members or the officers?

Mr. FRIDELL. The officers.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the second section?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is the list of officers at the present time.

Mr. ROMINES. Is it at the present time?

Mr. FRIDELL. From 1968 to the present time.

Mr. ROMINES. So, in other words, it would be the individuals who may have been officers at some period of time between April and May of 1968 and the present; is that correct?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the last section?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is a list of the members from the start until the present time.

Mr. ROMINES. That is a list of people who were at one time or another members of the Black Panther Party between April and May of 1968 and the present; is that correct?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 2 and ask you if you can identify that, please.

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, I can.

Mr. ROMINES. What is Committee Exhibit 2?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is a series of mug pictures from the Seattle Police Department of known Panthers who admitted to be Panthers of the city of Seattle and also who showed up at demonstrations in the city.

Mr. ROMINES. Everyone whose name is on Committee Exhibit 1 would be in a picture on Committee Exhibit 2?

Mr. FRIDELL. If they had been arrested.

Mr. ROMINES. So there would be people whose names appear on Exhibit 1 whose pictures would not be attached to Exhibit 2; is that correct?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. I ask that Committee Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2 be accepted for the record at this point.

Mr. PREYER. So ordered.

(Documents marked Committee Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2, respectively. See appendix B, pages 4379-4392.)

Mr. ROMINES. Were you present in the hearing room yesterday to hear Sergeant Archie Porter testify, Mr. Fridell?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you hear him discuss with me his assessment of Black Panther Party membership in Seattle?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you agree with his evaluation of the membership there?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, I would.

Mr. ROMINES. May I have Committee Exhibit 1, Mr. Chairman? From Committee Exhibit No. 1, Mr. Fridell, can you identify for the committee, please, the individuals who are currently active in the Black Panther Party in Seattle, Washington?

Mr. FRIDELL. Aaron Dixon, Elmer Dixon, Frank Anthony Ware, Michael James Dixon, William "Bill" Green, Kathleen Halley, Alice Spencer, Joyce Ann Bruce, Michael Dean, Michael Murray, Gary Wade Owens, Gwendolyn Dixon (Aaron's wife), Julius Bishop, and there are some other Panthers, but I don't remember their names at the present time.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Fridell, on Committee Exhibit 1, alongside some of the names, there is a reference to certain individuals being section leaders. What exactly is a section leader?

Mr. FRIDELL. Well, the Panthers cut up the central area in certain districts, starting from McClellan Street working to, I believe, Prospect Street. Each section would have three or four blocks and the Panthers who live in this section would control that area.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know if these section leaders had any particular responsibilities or particular duties?

Mr. FRIDELL. They were responsible for the men in their district and to go out and recruit the citizens of the central area in that district.

Mr. ROMINES. Is the Black Panther Party in Seattle still organized in this way, do they still have section leaders?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, they do to a certain extent.

Mr. ROMINES. Also on Committee Exhibit No. 1 there is an indication that 12 individuals there are members of an organization or a group known as the Dirty Dozen. What is or was that organization or that group?

Mr. FRIDELL. That was an elite group of Panthers who were supposed to go out and do the bombings and also the enforcers with the Panthers. If any member stepped out of line, they would take care of that member.

Mr. ROMINES. Is the group known as the Dirty Dozen still in existence?

Mr. FRIDELL. No, it is not.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Fridell, you also heard Sergeant Archie Porter refer to the fact that the Black Panther Party in Seattle has declined in membership; is that correct?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. What would be your assessment of the reasons for this decline in membership?

Mr. FRIDELL. Many of the members were arrested and placed in jail. It was at that time when they were put in jail that the Panthers were supposed to make their bail and pay their attorney fees. A lot were never bailed out or attorneys hired for them.

Mr. ROMINES. So, in other words, the Panthers did not provide bail money or attorney money; is that correct?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct on some of the members. A lot of the people got fed up and quit for that purpose. Others got tired of going out for the drill or the preachings of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean by the "preachings of the Black Panther Party"?

Mr. FRIDELL. The study of the "red book."

Mr. ROMINES. The quotations from Chairman Mao?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. What do you mean by "drill"?

Mr. FRIDELL. They would hold a drill every Saturday, just like marching in the Army, close order drill.

Mr. ROMINES. When were these drills held?

Mr. FRIDELL. Either held on Saturday or Sunday, once a week.

Mr. ROMINES. Where were they held?

Mr. FRIDELL. They were held in different places, one at Washington Park, Madrona playfield, and Garfield playfield.

Mr. ROMINES. Over what interval of time were those drills held?

Mr. FRIDELL. They were held in the late summer and fall into winter of 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. Are those drills still being conducted?

Mr. FRIDELL. No. They are not.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know who conducted those drills?

Mr. FRIDELL. They were conducted by Jack Freeman, who came down to instruct them, and also by Elmer Dixon.

Mr. ROMINES. Approximately how many members of the Black Panther Party participated in those drills?

Mr. FRIDELL. It depended from time to time; it could vary from 15 to approximately 50 members.

Mr. ROMINES. Fifteen to how many?

Mr. FRIDELL. To 50.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is Jack Freeman? Is he a member of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. FRIDELL. No, he is not.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know who he is?

Mr. FRIDELL. I believe he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know for certain whether he is or not?

Mr. FRIDELL. I am not certain, no.

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

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Fridell, do you know whether the Black Panther Party itself conducted, if I may use the word, a purge or in any way asked or requested or forced any members out of the party?

Mr. FRIDELL. Just one.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is that one?

Mr. FRIDELL. Curtiss Harris.

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

Mr. ROMINES. Any others?

Mr. FRIDELL. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know why Curtiss [Harris] was asked to leave the party?

Mr. FRIDELL. It was more or less a power struggle. He was married to Elmer and Aaron's sister and there was a fight between the family.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Fridell, are you familiar with the area where the Panthers have their current headquarters and, I presume, spent a good deal of their time?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Does this area have any particular name or nickname?

Mr. FRIDELL. It would be in the central area of the city of Seattle.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you describe what the central area is?

Mr. FRIDELL. It is predominantly Negro.

Mr. ROMINES. Would it be a low-income area, an average-income area, a high-income area?

Mr. FRIDELL. It is a low- to middle-class income area.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Fridell, have you compiled at committee request a list of Black Panther Party members who have been arrested and convicted for felonies?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, I have.

Mr. ROMINES. In addition to that list would there have been other arrests and convictions for misdemeanor charges?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would there also have been other arrests for felonies and/or misdemeanors which are still pending?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Is this that list of individuals who have been arrested and convicted on felony charges?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, it is.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you please describe and read into the record those individuals who have been arrested and convicted on felony charges?

Mr. FRIDELL. Willie Brazier, Jr., arrested on April 6, 1968, for arson, first degree, two counts. It was reduced on January 22, 1969, to arson second. He was sentenced to 10 years. On March 14, 1969, he was arrested for bank robbery which was Fidelity Bank on Rainier Avenue. He was convicted on October 22, 1969, and sentenced to 20 years.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know, Mr. Fridell, what the circumstances surrounding the arson charge were?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes. That was when the Panthers and the Voodoo group were working together in April of 1968. They were sent out in groups of three's and four's to terrorize the central area, such as firebombing of private dwellings and commercial buildings and sniping at the police.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what particular type of dwelling Mr. Brazier firebombed?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, two private dwellings.

Mr. ROMINES. Were the residents of the private dwellings white or Negro?

Mr. FRIDELL. They were white.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is the next individual?

Mr. FRIDELL. Garner Earl Brooks.

Mr. ROMINES. What was he arrested and convicted for?

Mr. FRIDELL. On October 3, 1968, with possession of marijuana and March 21 of 1969 he was placed on probation. On January 11, 1969, he was arrested on assault, second degree, and he was convicted on June 23 of 1969 and sentenced to 10 years. This consisted of assault on a prowler car on a routine traffic stop.

Mr. ROMINES. Would this have been the routine traffic stop that Sergeant Archie Porter described to the committee yesterday?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, it was.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is the third individual?

Mr. FRIDELL. Richard Anthony Brown. He was arrested with Willie Brazier on the arson on 4/6/68, which was reduced on the 22d of January 1969. He was placed on 3 years' probation.

Mr. ROMINES. Why would he have been placed on 3 years' probation while Willie Brazier was sentenced to 10 years in jail?

Mr. FRIDELL. Willie Brazier was also placed on probation, but he violated the probation by committing the bank robbery.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he commit the violation of probation by committing the bank robbery?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Were the Black Panthers in existence at the time the arson occurred?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; not as a group by themselves, but they were working with the Voodoo Man's group.

Mr. ROMINES. This would have been, I presume, in the formative stage?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. How about Marshall DeLawrence Buford?

Mr. FRIDELL. He was arrested also with Brown and Brazier on 4/6/68 on first degree arson.

Mr. ROMINES. Was he also placed on probation?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; 3 years' probation.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is the next individual?

Mr. FRIDELL. Leonard Ralph Dawson, Jr., who also was arrested with Buford, Brown, and Brazier on the first degree arson. He was placed on 3 years' probation at the same time as the others.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is the next individual?

Mr. FRIDELL. Aaron Lloyd Dixon.

Mr. ROMINES. What was he arrested for?

Mr. FRIDELL. He was arrested for burglary and was charged with petty larceny on October 9, 1968. He was convicted on July 7 of 1969 and fined \$50 plus court costs of \$126.20. This burglary consisted of Aaron Dixon and two others burglarizing a model city program building at 17th and Cherry and stealing a typewriter and, I believe, a letter tray.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is the next individual?

Mr. FRIDELL. Elmer James Dixon III.

Mr. ROMINES. What was he arrested for?

Mr. FRIDELL. On February 16, 1969, he was arrested for armed robbery in Eugene, Oregon. He was convicted on 10/19/69.

Mr. ROMINES. Was he subsequently incarcerated?

Mr. FRIDELL. No; he is on appeal.

Mr. ROMINES. He is out on appeal bond?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is the next individual?

Mr. FRIDELL. Cornell Garden.

Mr. ROMINES. What was he arrested for?

Mr. FRIDELL. On August 16, 1968, he was arrested for assault and attempted robbery. He was arrested on October 4, 1968, on another robbery charge and on October 22, 1969, he was in violation of probation and was sent to a juvenile home.

Mr. ROMINES. He was a juvenile?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, he was.

Mr. ROMINES. Was he ever actually convicted of those crimes?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Since he was a juvenile what was done with him?

Mr. FRIDELL. He was sent to a correction home.

Mr. ROMINES. How about Curtiss Ray Harris?

Mr. FRIDELL. On September 18, 1968, he was arrested on threats to kill. He was convicted on October 8 of 1968. He was fined \$100. On March 10 of 1969 he was arrested for possession of marijuana.

Mr. ROMINES. Was he convicted?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, on June 9, 1969, and sentenced to 6 months, suspended.

Mr. ROMINES. Who was the next individual?

Mr. FRIDELL. Bruce Gordon Hayes. He was arrested on 4/4/69 on suspicion of narcotics and on 5/6/69 he was fined \$150.

Mr. ROMINES. Who was the next individual?

Mr. FRIDELL. Lewis Thomas Jackson. On 3/7/69 he was arrested for bank robbery with Willie Brazier. He was convicted on 11/24/69 and sentenced to 25 years.

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

Mr. ROMINES. How about Earl Nelson?

Mr. FRIDELL. Earl Nelson was arrested on September 25, 1968, and that was in the process of firebombing a building. He was charged with disorderly conduct, prowling, and was sentenced to 90 days.

Mr. ROMINES. Since he was in the process of firebombing a building, why was he charged with disorderly conduct?

Mr. FRIDELL. He had a container of gas and the rags, but they were not placed together as a bomb. There was no city ordinance at that time so we could convict him on firebombing.

Mr. ROMINES. How about Richard Eugene Noble?

Mr. FRIDELL. He was arrested on 8/19/69 on burglary. On 11/6/69 he was sentenced to 3 years, deferred.

Mr. ROMINES. Deferred sentence?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Chester Edward Northington?

Mr. FRIDELL. Arrested on 4/8/69 with Brazier, Brown, Buford on first degree arson.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he also receive probation?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, 3 years' probation.

Mr. ROMINES. How about Artis Allen Parker?

Mr. FRIDELL. He was arrested on December 28, 1968, for armed robbery, along with Buddy Yates, of a Market Basket grocery store. He was sentenced on 6/20/69 and has 3 years of probation.

Mr. ROMINES. Martha Jane Richard?

Mr. FRIDELL. On 8/2/69 she was arrested for prostitution, loitering, profane language, fined \$100, suspended, and 5 days in jail.

Mr. ROMINES. Ronald Louis Rolax?

Mr. FRIDELL. On 11/8/68 he was arrested on burglary, second degree, reduced to unlawful trespassing. He received 6 months, with 4 months suspended, plus costs. On 12/17/68 he was arrested for robbery, convicted on 5/2/69, and sentenced to 20 years. On 3/12/69 he was arrested again for possession of marijuana and convicted on 4/2/69 and sentenced to 90 days. On 3/12/69 he was arrested for threats to kill, convicted on 3/14/69, sentenced to 180 days.

Mr. ROMINES. Robert White?

Mr. FRIDELL. He was arrested on 11/8/68, possession of dangerous drugs, placed on probation on 1/23/69 until 7/25/69.

Mr. ROMINES. Buddy Eugene Yates?

Mr. FRIDELL. He was arrested with Artis Allen Parker on the robbery of the Market Basket grocery store. He was convicted on 5/5/69 and sentenced to 20 years.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Fridell, over the approximately 2 years you have been assigned to the Black Panther Party, have you known them to carry weapons?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What general types of weapons do they carry?

Mr. FRIDELL. They have their choice of either carrying a hand gun, rifle, or shotgun, but most prefer a hand gun so they can be concealed.

Mr. ROMINES. Do they carry their weapons at all times?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; that is one of their general orders, that they have to be armed at all times.

Mr. ROMINES. Have they ever, as an organization, displayed their weapons in some sort of a formation?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; they have on three different occasions.

Mr. ROMINES. What would those three occasions be?

Mr. FRIDELL. One was in the city of Seattle. It was after Welton Armstead was shot by the police. They held a press conference.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what day that was?

Mr. FRIDELL. Offhand, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that have been December 3, 1968?

Mr. FRIDELL. It could have been, yes.

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 3 and ask if you can identify that, please.

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; this is a photograph that appeared in the *Seattle Times* newspaper.

Mr. ROMINES. What is it a photograph of?

Mr. FRIDELL. Members of the Black Panther Party standing in front of their office at 34th Avenue. They were holding in their arms shot-guns and rifles.

Mr. ROMINES. There is a list of names which correspond to numbers, which numbers indicate individuals in the photographs. Are those all accurate identifications of the individuals in the photograph?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, they are.

Mr. ASHIBROOK. May I see that photograph, Counsel?

Mr. ROMINES. I ask that be admitted as Committee Exhibit 3, please.

What were the other occasions that they displayed weapons as an organization?

Mr. FRIDELL. One was in the summer of 1968. They went to Vancouver, British Columbia, on a speaking engagement. There were newspaper clippings sent down by the Canadians showing two Panthers walking off the campus with rifles slung across their shoulders and bandoliers of arms across their chests.

In 1969 they went to Olympia, Washington, which is the State capital, and stood on the capitol steps displaying their weapons, which were also shotguns and rifles.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they actually go inside the capitol?

Mr. FRIDELL. Not armed, no.

Mr. ROMINES. For what reason were they at the capitol?

Mr. FRIDELL. They were protesting police brutality in the central area.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know if members of the Black Panthers keep weapons in their headquarters?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, they do.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know approximately how many they keep there?

Mr. FRIDELL. They do not stockpile a great number of arms at the present time due to the fact when we arrested the Voodoo Man we confiscated quite a number of their weapons.

Mr. ROMINES. When would that have been?

Mr. FRIDELL. In the summer of 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how many weapons they have in their headquarters?

Mr. FRIDELL. At the present it will vary from time to time, depending on how many members are staying there.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what type of weapons they keep there?

Mr. FRIDELL. To my knowledge Aaron has an AR 15 which he keeps at the headquarters and an M-1 carbine. I believe there are some shotguns and rifles at the headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the Black Panther Party headquarters is fortified in any way?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; we noticed them going to the beach at Alki and filling sandbags. These were brought back to their headquarters and placed inside the building.

Mr. ROMINES. Is their headquarters a one- or two-story building?

Mr. FRIDELL. A two-story building.

Mr. ROMINES. Are both the lower and upper stories fortified?

Mr. FRIDELL. To my knowledge it is just the upper floor because we had talked to people who had been on the first floor of the place and they said there are no sandbags down there.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, did you admit for the record Committee Exhibit 3?

Mr. PREYER. Yes, that is admitted.

(Document marked Committee Exhibit No. 3. See appendix B, page 4393.)

Mr. ROMINES. You have already discussed with the committee the Black Panther Party members conducting firearm drills. Did they ever conduct any type of organized firearm practice?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes. They would go out once a week over the weekends and have target practice.

Mr. ROMINES. Over what interval of time did this occur?

Mr. FRIDELL. This would be in the summer of 1968. I am not sure if it went into 1969 or not.

Mr. ROMINES. Are they conducting any organized firearm practice at the present time?

Mr. FRIDELL. At the present time, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Where did this firing practice occur?

Mr. FRIDELL. It took place on different rifle ranges and also in gravel pits

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know the names of any of the rifle ranges?

Mr. FRIDELL. I believe one is the Redmond Gun Club; another is the Issaquah Gun Club.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the Kenmore Gun Club?

Mr. FRIDELL. The Kenmore Gun Club and also the gravel pit which is located in Bellevue.

Mr. ROMINES. Was this a regular type thing they did during this period of time?

Mr. FRIDELL. They were supposed to go out once a week.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know how many members of the party actually participated in this fire practice?

Mr. FRIDELL. This would change due to the weather. In good weather they would have quite a few out firing; if it was bad weather, it would be just a few.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what type of weapons?

Mr. FRIDELL. 30-06 rifles, carbines, .38 revolvers, shotguns between 20 gauge and 12 gauge.

Mr. ROMINES. As to firing practice and, I might add also, the drills that they participated in, did that include only males or both males and females?

Mr. FRIDELL. Both males and females.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know who conducted the firing practice?

Mr. FRIDELL. It would be Aaron and Elmer Dixon.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you familiar with the name Herman Moore?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, Herman Moore was a Black Panther.

Mr. ROMINES. You say "was." What happen to him?

Mr. FRIDELL. On April 1 of 1969 he had an argument with his girl friend. He went to her house carrying a bomb. We can assume he was going to throw this bomb into her house, but it went off instead killing him.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Fridell, do you know whether any merchants in the Seattle area have been approached by members of the Black Panther Party soliciting funds?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. In what particular area or areas?

Mr. FRIDELL. This would be in the central area.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you, in your official duties as a police officer, ever interviewed any of these merchants?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, I have talked to a few.

Mr. ROMINES. What were the results, generally speaking, of those interviews?

Mr. FRIDELL. Most of these individuals have Black Panther posters displayed in their stores. We asked them about it, and they refused to talk about it.

Mr. ROMINES. I am sorry, I did not hear you.

Mr. FRIDELL. Most of these stores had Black Panther posters appearing in their stores and, when we asked them about it, why they had them displayed, they refused to talk to us about it.

Mr. ROMINES. Did any merchants with whom you attempted to conduct an interview discuss with you the attempts by Black Panther Party members to solicit funds?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes. One would be the Safeway Store at 231 and Union.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the result of that interview?

Mr. FRIDELL. They wanted \$25 a week donation for their breakfast fund, and every day they refused to give them the money they wanted to add another \$25.

Mr. ROMINES. Did Safeway, in fact, ever contribute any funds to the members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. FRIDELL. No, they did not.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether any action was taken against Safeway for so failing to contribute?

Mr. FRIDELL. On two occasions; one occasion there was a firebomb thrown on the roof, which did no damage, and there was also some dynamite placed at the back door, which did minor damage.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether members of the Black Panther Party were responsible for either of those incidents?

Mr. FRIDELL. Only through our sources of information.

Mr. ROMINES. But you have no definite proof?

Mr. FRIDELL. No definite proof of the charge, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Can you give me the locations of any merchants other than Safeway who refused to contribute funds to the members of the Black Panther Party and were subsequently firebombed?

Mr. FRIDELL. There are two places firebombed; whether or not they refused to donate money or not, I do not know. These two places did not display posters. One was a cleaning establishment on Union Street in the 3300 block, and another was a small grocery store on 34th just north of Cherry Street.

Mr. ROMINES. As I understand, neither of these establishments displayed a Black Panther Party picture; is that correct?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Both were firebombed.

Mr. FRIDELL. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have any opinion, therefore, as to the reason for the display of the Black Panther Party picture by the merchants?

Mr. FRIDELL. In my opinion it was a protection deal.

Mr. ROMINES. I would like to return to Herman Moore for just one moment, Mr. Fridell. Do you know whether he had any specific assignment within the Black Panther Party?

Mr. FRIDELL. Through our sources, he was supposed to be making bombs for the Panthers and would use them for them.

Mr. ROMINES. To your knowledge, Mr. Fridell, have any members of the Black Panther Party ever used stolen credit cards?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; they would use these credit cards to travel from Seattle to California or when they left the State.

Mr. ROMINES. Over what interval of time did this happen?

Mr. FRIDELL. This would go on starting in '68, and I think it is still going at the present time.

Mr. ROMINES. Have there been any arrests and/or convictions for this?

Mr. FRIDELL. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Why not?

Mr. FRIDELL. Lack of evidence on handwriting samples.

Mr. ROMINES. How do you know then the Panthers are using stolen credit cards?

Mr. FRIDELL. On one occasion we had one identified at a gas station as someone using a stolen credit card.

Mr. ROMINES. Why was there no prosecution?

Mr. FRIDELL. There was not enough evidence on the handwriting analysis to convict.

Mr. ROMINES. Was there anybody who could have testified who saw what happened?

Mr. FRIDELL. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Fridell, I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit No. 4 and ask you if you can identify that, please.

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; this is a quotation from the Black Panther Party, Seattle, Washington.

Mr. ROMINES. Quotations used there?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Has that document been prepared by the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 5 and I ask you if you can identify that, please.

Mr. FRIDELL. This is an application for membership in the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 6 and I ask you if you can identify that, please.

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; this is an instruction sheet prepared by the Black Panther Party for the women members, what their duties should be during the time of a riot.

Mr. ROMINES. This was prepared by the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, it was.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Fridell, on Committee Exhibit 4, I note at the bottom it says, "Produced by Ministry of Information, Washington State Chapter, BLACK PANTHER PARTY." What is the relation of the Washington State Chapter of the Black Panther Party to the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. FRIDELL. It started out it was going to be the Washington State Chapter of the Black Panther Party, and then they changed it to Seattle.

Mr. ROMINES. I ask that Committee Exhibits 4, 5, and 6 be included in the record this morning.

Mr. PREYER. Without objection it is so ordered that they be included.

(Documents marked Committee Exhibits Nos. 4, 5, and 6, respectively. See appendix B, pages 4394-4399.)

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Fridell, did you hear Sergeant Porter's testimony yesterday with respect to the initial headquarters of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, I did.

Mr. ROMINES. And its location?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; this was located at 28th and East Madison Street. That is when the Panthers broke off with the Voodoo Man's group and they moved down there.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know who rented that building?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; it was rented by Robert Patrick and his wife, Josephine Patrick.

Mr. ROMINES. Were they members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. FRIDELL. No; they were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. ROMINES. Were they white or colored?

Mr. FRIDELL. White.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether Mr. Patrick has continued to furnish any support to the Black Panther Party?

Mr. FRIDELL. I have no knowledge at the present time if he is or not.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness at this time.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Ashbrook.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

You made repeated reference to training in firearms, target practice, and so forth. Would it be your opinion that arms and the use of arms would be central to the strategy and philosophy of the Black Panther movement in your area?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, it was.

Mr. ASHBROOK. To what extent do you think they have been successful in extending this idea of the use of arms to a particular community in which they operate and to the people whom they are trying to gather for their cause? Has this been a positive response or has it, in the last year, faded out? I notice you mention mostly 1968 and 1969, not too much 1970. Is it a growing threat or a diminishing threat?

Mr. FRIDELL. At the present time it is diminishing—on producing these guns, trying to show them in public, or going out for target practice. They are trying to change their image, I believe.

Mr. ASHBROOK. In what direction, away from firearm use?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct.

Mr. ASHBROOK. More or less appealing on a philosophy basis, would that be your judgment?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Noting yesterday the testimony that the membership of the Panthers has continually gone down in the area from something, say a high of 125, to anywhere from 10 to 25 at the present time, would you say they have been failing in this effort in this transition of philosophy and policy?

Mr. FRIDELL. I don't believe they are failing. Between the 12 and 15 members they believe they can control these people more readily. These people will go out in the community and talk to all the neighbors, and they believe when the revolution comes these people will fall in behind them.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I think this is one of the key points we find continually, looking into the revolutionary groups. The impact of the group is not necessarily determined by the number, but it is determined by their influence.

Twelve people influencing several hundred to several thousand would be adequate. To what extent would you say—by extent I mean numbers—would be the impact of influence of the Panther group in your territory?

Mr. FRIDELL. I don't believe they are influencing too many of the people in the central area.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Would you list this in scores or hundreds or thousands?

Mr. FRIDELL. We have had quite a few complaints of the people calling in and saying these Panthers are trying to influence them and they don't want to be influenced by the Panthers. The ones that are not complaining are not talking to us.

Mr. ASHBROOK. So you would think the impact would be minimal at the present time as far as influencing public opinion favorably?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It has been our experience in most areas—short of some tragic or important event of news value, confrontations, raiding of headquarters, somebody being shot, a shootout, that type of thing—short of this type of incident the Panthers for the most part have had a hard time getting through to public opinion.

Would you say in your area one of the reasons they have not gotten through to public opinion is there have not been important incidents of this type happening in your area, or what other reason would you give?

Mr. FRIDELL. We don't have too many incidents happening in the city of Seattle area, and also I believe the people just don't want to be involved with the Panthers.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It is my understanding—correct me if I am wrong—that there have been in your area a large number of bombings comparable to what might be happening in other areas of the country; is this correct?

Mr. FRIDELL. It is correct, but we can't place who the responsibility belongs on, either the white or the black race.

Mr. ASHBROOK. At the present time you don't know what the source of the bombing epidemic in your particular area would be?

Mr. FRIDELL. We have made some arrests. One of the arrests we made was white, one colored, involved with a white group.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is all the questions I have.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. Ashbrook.

I think the list of convictions you read off are of interest in view of the idea in the country that the Panthers in many areas are unfairly persecuted. From listening to the list of convictions you have read, there were a sizable number of fines and suspended sentences, especially on initial arrests.

For example, the arson charge was a suspended sentence, followed by the violation of probation. There are some heavy sentences in there, also. I think it is interesting to note, first, that I did not hear you read any charges that were of what we might call a political nature. There were no "conspiracies to create a riot" or "conspiracy to overthrow the Government" or any sort of conspiracy charges listed, were there?

Mr. FRIDELL. No.

Mr. PREYER. Nothing that could be interpreted as political charges?

Mr. FRIDELL. No.

Mr. PREYER. These are all common law charges, arson, bank robbery, and so forth. On the first arson charge you listed, you listed a sentence as 10 years. Then you stated that the original sentence was probation. This same man was then caught in a bank robbery?

Mr. FRIDELL. That is correct.

Mr. PREYER. So he was given 20 years on the bank robbery?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. And was given 10 years on the arson violation on probation; did they run concurrently?

Mr. FRIDELL. No; I believe the State dismissed the 10 years and let the Federal Government handle them on the bank robbery.

Mr. PREYER. In other words, what he really got was 20 years for the bank robbery and did not get 10 years for arson?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. What were the circumstances at the bank robbery, were they apprehended at the scene, or what was the nature?

Mr. FRIDELL. They were apprehended leaving the scene of the bank robbery.

Mr. PREYER. Do you have the rule in Washington State that you are eligible for parole after you have served a third of your sentence?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. I would say 20 years for bank robbery in my part of the country would be about a standard sentence for it where you have the one-third sentence for parole.

You mention another 25-year sentence, was that a bank robbery or a burglary?

Mr. FRIDELL. That was a grocery store robbery. This man was involved in numerous other armed robberies where he was identified, but not charged. He was just charged on this one case.

Mr. PREYER. Of burglary?

Mr. FRIDELL. No; armed robbery.

Mr. PREYER. So he was given a 25-year sentence?

Mr. FRIDELL. On armed robbery, yes, sir. You are talking about Buddy Yates.

Mr. PREYER. I didn't have his name down. I imagine that is who it was.

Mr. ROMINES. Buddy Yates was sentenced 20 years for armed robbery. I believe you are referring to Lewis Thomas Jackson who was sentenced to 25 years for bank robbery.

Mr. FRIDELL. The armed robbery was Fidelity Bank, but witnesses were threatened.

Mr. PREYER. So that again was a bank robbery case?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; with threats to witnesses if they testified in court. And one was an FBI agent, and that is why there was a heavier sentence on that.

Mr. PREYER. So the longest sentence was the 25-year robbery sentence?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. So the pattern seemed to be for the first offense there were an unusual number of fines—fining \$100 for threats to kill, and burglary being reduced to petty larceny, arson getting probation, and this doesn't sound like persecution, exactly, to me. Where these severe sentences were given, 20 years is not out of line, it doesn't seem to me, for armed robbery and bank robbery and burglary. There is no evidence here of wrongful persecution of the Panthers, of treating them any differently from other defendants.

Looking at the application form here for the Black Panther Party, it has a number of items to check, such as "Student," "Unskilled Laborer," "Skilled Laborer," and so forth, and one of the items is "Hustler." Then another question further on says, "Do you have any special 'hustling' skills? Yes ( ) or No ( )." What are "hustling skills"?

Mr. FRIDELL. It could vary, Your Honor.

Mr. PREYER. Are they street skills?

Mr. FRIDELL. I believe so. I am not sure.

Mr. PREYER. I will ask someone else about that.

Herman Moore blew himself up. Was Mr. Moore considered a demolition expert of the Black Panther Party in Seattle?

Mr. FRIDELL. I believe so.

Mr. PREYER. And as I understand it, he was in the process of throwing a bomb at his girl friend's house?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; his charge was set up with an electrical blasting cap. And in my opinion, I believe he thought he had enough time to touch these two wires to the battery and throw the bomb.

Mr. PREYER. Was he killed at the scene of the house?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes; he was blown up on the front porch.

Mr. PREYER. Well, with regard to the view of the Panthers as Robin Hoods, I would say, considering Mr. Moore's effort to blow up his girl friend, that is not exactly an act of a Robin Hood.

Was Aaron Dixon the one who had the title of minister of defense?

Mr. FRIDELL. Elmer Dixon.

Mr. PREYER. Elmer Dixon?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. It is interesting that when you read the objectives and the application forms of the Black Panthers, which I understand Bobby Seale was author of, they are couched in terms of the Declaration of Independence, and he gave titles to his people again in this vein, such as minister of defense, the purpose being, I gather, to indicate that the Black Panthers are a nation within a nation, that the original idea was to establish a separate nation.

Has there been any special emphasis in Seattle on the separatist idea by the Black Panthers there, that they are a nation within a nation? In the testimony I have heard, there has not been any testimony indicating this.

Mr. FRIDELL. They didn't want white policemen in their area. If you drove by their office they would yell at you, "Pigs, get out of the district, you don't belong here." And on one occasion you see, arrest of Elmer Dixon, there was an assault. Thirty-fourth avenue headquarters used to be the end of the line for the city buses, and they would come out and tell the bus drivers to leave. This one bus driver did not move fast enough so Elmer Dixon and other Panthers assaulted him.

Mr. PREYER. But as a matter of philosophy, they are not in sympathy with this Nation?

Mr. FRIDELL. No.

Mr. PREYER. One final question, Mr. Fridell. I gather from your answers to Mr. Ashbrook and from some of your testimony that the Black Panther Party in Seattle, as far as its influence goes, has been running downhill.

You mentioned the Dirty Dozen were effective at one stage and are no longer effective. You mention that target practice is being discontinued, was being done less and less, and you mentioned Jack Freeman conducted close order drills at one time and that is no longer being done.

So would you say it is a fair statement that the Black Panther Party is going downhill in Seattle, rather than in any other direction?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes, I believe it is going downhill.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. Fridell, we appreciate your being here and your testimony today.

Mr. ROMINES. I have one further question, Mr. Chairman.

Carrying this line of questioning one step further with respect to the influence or the impact the members of the Black Panther Party have in Seattle, what would be your opinion of the results of their breakfast programs, where they attempt to indoctrinate the younger people?

Mr. FRIDELL. I believe at a future date as these children grow up we will have some trouble.

Mr. ROMINES. So, if I may summarize what you are saying, at present you do not consider the party too much of a threat; however, in the long range it may very well be so?

Mr. FRIDELL. Yes.

Mr. PREYER. Have you run across the names of Robert Webes or John Turner in Seattle?

Mr. FRIDELL. No, sir.

Mr. PREYER. I should think that is good news. They were identified by the press as having gone to Cleveland and as having been regarded as the demolition experts for the Black Panther Party.

Thank you, Mr. Fridell.

Mr. Romines, I wonder if our next witness is the one involving rule XI, 27(m)?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman. I would anticipate that portions of the testimony of the next witness may fall within the purview of House rule XI, 27(m). I would therefore request, since part of that testimony could fall within that rule and for certain other reasons, that we adjourn the public session and go into executive session.

Mr. PREYER. The Chair has been previously advised that significant portions of the testimony of the next witness may fall within the purview of House rule XI, 27(m). That rule reads as follows:

- (m) If the committee determines that evidence or testimony at an investigative hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall—
- (1) receive such evidence or testimony in executive session;
  - (2) afford such person an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness; and
  - (3) receive and dispose of requests from such person to subpoena additional witnesses.

In order for the subcommittee to comply with that rule, the testimony of the next witness will be heard in executive session. It would be our intention to release, at a subsequent date, that part of the testimony taken in executive session to which the committee determines rule 27(m) is not applicable.<sup>1</sup>

Any individuals to whom the committee determines rule 27(m) applies will be accorded all of their rights under that rule before any portion of the testimony pertaining to them is released.

It is regretted that the public and the press representatives cannot at this time have the benefit of what is anticipated to be some interesting evidence within the witness's own personal knowledge. However, we are bound by present existing requirements of the House.

In view of that, the public session is recessed until 10 a.m. tomorrow morning and the hearing room will please be cleared at this time.

(Whereupon, at 11:04 a.m., Wednesday, May 13, 1970, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, May 14, 1970.)

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<sup>1</sup> For a summary of this executive testimony, see appendix D, pp. 4424-4428.

# BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## Part 2

### Investigation of Seattle Chapter

THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1970

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

PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 10:17 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richardson Preyer, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, chairman; Albert W. Watson of South Carolina; and William J. Scherle of Iowa.)

Subcommittee member present: Representative Watson.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel; Stephen H. Romines, assistant counsel; and Thomas Q. Simmons and Richard A. Shaw, investigators.

Mr. WATSON (presiding). I call you to order at this time, first, to make the announcement that by direction of the chairman, Mr. Ichord, the subcommittee has been reconstituted to include the gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. Preyer, as chairman and the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. Scherle, and the one speaking now, Mr. Watson of South Carolina.

At this time, because of a conflict in the committee, we have had two of our members temporarily detained and so we will recess the hearing, to resume at 11 o'clock. The witnesses so subpoenaed at 10 o'clock will be here at 11 o'clock, and I declare that the meeting is now recessed until that hour.

(Whereupon, at 10:19 a.m., the subcommittee recessed and reconvened at 11:07 a.m. with Mr. Preyer presiding.)

Mr. PREYER. We will continue the hearings on the Black Panther Party in Seattle, Washington.

I understand that our next witness is Mr. Elmer Dixon and that he is represented by counsel. Would they come forward.

May I ask Mr. Dixon's counsel to state his name, please, for the record.

Mr. REIN. David Rein, 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Mr. PREYER. Before we begin, I should apologize for the delay in the hearings and I must take the responsibility for that. We were on a piece of legislation in another subcommittee in a meeting with a Cabinet officer this morning, and it was a bit longer than we anticipated.

Are you ready to examine this witness, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. I will ask the witness if he will be sworn. Raise your right hand.

Mr. DIXON, do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DIXON. I do.

Mr. PREYER. You may proceed, Counsel.

**TESTIMONY OF ELMER JAMES DIXON III, ACCOMPANIED BY  
COUNSEL, DAVID REIN**

Mr. ROMINES. Would you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. DIXON. Elmer James Dixon III.

Mr. ROMINES. What is your address, Mr. Dixon?

Mr. DIXON. 173 20th Avenue, Seattle, Washington.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you employed, Mr. Dixon?

Mr. DIXON. I refuse to answer; I take the fifth amendment.

Mr. ROMINES. Are you a member of the Black Panther Party chapter in Seattle, Washington?

Mr. DIXON. I refuse to answer; I take the fifth amendment.

Mr. ROMINES. Is there a Black Panther Party chapter in Seattle, Washington?

Mr. DIXON. I refuse to answer; I take the fifth.

Mr. ROMINES. Does the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party operate a breakfast for children program in Seattle?

Mr. DIXON. I refuse to answer, take the fifth amendment.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you, Mr. Dixon, ever conducted drills of the Black Panther members in Seattle, Washington, where they practiced marching with firearms?

Mr. DIXON. I refuse to answer, take the fifth amendment.

Mr. ROMINES. Have members of the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party ever engaged in organized firing practices with firearms?

Mr. DIXON. I refuse to answer, take the fifth amendment.

Mr. ROMINES. Have members of the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party ever requested contribution of funds or merchandise from merchants in the Seattle area?

Mr. DIXON. Refuse to answer, take the fifth amendment.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Dixon, are you familiar with the term "off the pigs"?

Mr. DIXON. I refuse to answer, take the fifth amendment.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Dixon, do you advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government?

Mr. DIXON. I refuse to answer, take the fifth amendment.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you ever so advocated?

Mr. DIXON. Refuse to answer, take the fifth amendment.

Mr. ROMINES. Does the national office of the Black Panther Party advocate the forceful overthrow of the United States Government?

Mr. DIXON. Refuse to answer, take the fifth amendment.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, it is rather obvious this witness intends to answer no questions; therefore, I do not have any further questions to ask this witness.

Mr. PREYER. I think in view of his objections based on the fifth amendment that there is little purpose in continuing with it.

We have heard testimony over the past few days from witnesses in open session and one witness in executive session concerning the Black Panther Party in Seattle and we had hoped to hear your side of the story and to offer you this opportunity to testify.

I think we should say that this was not done strictly in a frivolous manner. We had reason to feel that you might testify in view of your willingness to sit down with our staff interviewers in Seattle and talk with them there. It was our hope and our expectation that when subpoenaed before this committee that you would have offered testimony.

It is, of course, within your rights to assert the fifth amendment and we will, of course, honor those rights.

Mr. Watson, do you have any comments you want to make?

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if the witness would tell us what the fifth amendment includes. You just repeatedly say, "I refuse to answer, the fifth amendment." What does the fifth amendment provide?

Mr. DIXON. Taking the fifth amendment provides I don't have to answer any questions because it would tend to incriminate myself.

Mr. WATSON. Tends to incriminate yourself? One of those questions you refused to answer was whether or not you were employed. Would the fact that you work or not work incriminate you? Is it incriminating to work nowadays?

Mr. DIXON. I will take the fifth amendment on that question also.

Mr. WATSON. In other words, it would incriminate you to state whether or not it is incriminating to work nowadays?

Mr. DIXON. I still take the fifth amendment.

Mr. WATSON. You were asked the question whether or not you advocated the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. Do you still think your answer would incriminate you in that regard?

Mr. DIXON. I still take the fifth amendment.

Mr. WATSON. Our chairman mentioned a moment ago that you talked with counsel of this committee earlier. Will you affirm or deny whether or not you talked with counsel? I am not asking you what you said, but will you affirm or deny that you talked with counsel of this committee?

Mr. DIXON. I still take the fifth amendment.

Mr. WATSON. In other words, you think it would incriminate you to even state whether or not you talked with counsel?

Mr. DIXON. I still take the fifth amendment.

Mr. WATSON. I notice you conferred with counsel prior to answering the first question, and then subsequently the answer was the same in pleading the fifth amendment. Your counsel advised you to so plead?

Mr. DIXON. I will take the fifth amendment.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. David Rein, counsel, you have served as counsel for a number of people before this committee?

Mr. REIN. It has been quite some time.

Mr. WATSON. In fact, Mr. Rein, you were identified by two witnesses under oath before this committee as a member of the Communist Party, were you not, sir?

Mr. REIN. I have not been subpoenaed as a witness.

Mr. WATSON. I just thought we would give you an opportunity to tell us whether or not you were still a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. REIN. I am appearing here as counsel.

Mr. WATSON. Are you still a member of the National Lawyers Guild?

Mr. REIN. I said I am appearing here as counsel.

Mr. WATSON. In fact, Mr. Rein, when given an opportunity to repudiate the testimony by two witnesses that you were a member of the Communist Party, you pleaded the fifth amendment, the same thing that you have recommended to Mr. Dixon here this morning; did you not, sir?

Mr. REIN. I think I have stated I am appearing here as counsel.

Mr. WATSON. The question was, earlier when you were given an opportunity to state whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party, you pleaded the fifth amendment, the same as you recommended to Mr. Dixon. You pleaded the fifth amendment then; didn't you?

Mr. REIN. I think I have responded.

Mr. WATSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have no further questions.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. Watson.

In view of this development, the hearing will recess for about 5 minutes and then we will resume with our next witness.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. PREYER. The committee will resume its hearings.

Counsel, you can call your next witness, please.

Mr. ROMINES. Richard Shaw.

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Shaw, do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SHAW. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF RICHARD A. SHAW

Mr. ROMINES. Would you please state your full name?

Mr. SHAW. Richard A. Shaw.

Mr. ROMINES. By whom are you employed, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. I am an investigator for this committee.

Mr. ROMINES. How long have you been an investigator for this committee?

Mr. SHAW. Ten months.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, have you had occasion to investigate the activities of the Black Panther Party in the city of Seattle, Washington?

Mr. SHAW. I have.

Mr. ROMINES. Over what interval of time did you conduct such an investigation?

Mr. SHAW. Approximately 4 weeks.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, in the course of your investigation did you ascertain whether any members of the Black Panther Party spoke at any high schools in the Seattle area?

Mr. SHAW. I did.

Mr. ROMINES. At what high schools did they speak?

Mr. SHAW. On March 12, 1969, there were members of the party who spoke at Bellevue High School, in Bellevue, Washington.

Mr. ROMINES. Were they invited to speak there?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, they were invited to speak to a class known as the 20th Century Contemporary Problems.

Mr. ROMINES. Were they paid for their appearance?

Mr. SHAW. There was no pay.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the basic format of the Panther presentation, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. The basic format involved the presentation, in each of the three classes to whom they spoke, of the Panther 10-point program and the Panthers' basic demands and goals.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any question-and-answer sessions held?

Mr. SHAW. There were.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of questions and answers arose therefrom?

Mr. SHAW. During the question-and-answer session the Panthers indicated that all black prisoners should be freed from jails because they were put there by racists, that is, white racist juries. Blacks also should not be made to serve in the U.S. Army as it was an army of a racist power structure. They made it clear that, as for blacks in the United States today, their problems could not be solved by the working-class whites. They believe that whites would never be their friends.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they indicate anything about the whites with respect to the ghettos?

Mr. SHAW. Not in this session.

Mr. ROMINES. Were the speakers who were present at that high school identified to you, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. They were. They were Cornell Garden and David Hendrix.

Mr. ROMINES. Did either of those Panther members have guns present at that session?

Mr. SHAW. There were no guns present within the school.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether there were any guns present in their cars outside the schools?

Mr. SHAW. There were.

Mr. ROMINES. Did any of the members of the Black Panther Party want to bring their guns into the school?

Mr. SHAW. As a matter of fact, there was a concession made in this regard and it was finally agreed they would not bring their guns into the class, but they would bring them in their automobile.

Mr. ROMINES. Did any of the Panthers attempt to go outside and get their guns and bring them inside?

Mr. SHAW. As the question-and-answer session proceeded and the Panthers had some difficulty answering the questions to their own satisfaction, Cornell Garden reportedly left the classroom very dramatically, went out to his automobile, and retrieved a bolt-action rifle.

However, another student followed him out and encouraged him not to bring this rifle into the school, which reportedly he did not.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ascertain what type of rifle it was?

Mr. SHAW. Nothing other than a bolt-action rifle.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ascertain whether it was loaded or not?

Mr. SHAW. It apparently was not loaded, according to the information, as the bolt was removed.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, was Mr. Brian Boyle, guidance counselor of Bellevue High School, interviewed?

Mr. SHAW. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he discuss with you at all what, in his opinion, were the recruitment tactics of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, with respect to his employment at Garfield High School in Seattle, Washington. He stated that it was his experience at Garfield High School that the Panthers would come into the schools and recruit from the Black Student Union, that is, at the high school level. The Panther members would ask members of the Black Student Union if they really wanted to do something about oppression and other situations in the United States or did they just want to talk about it. If they chose to just talk about it, then stay in BSU, or if they wanted to do something, then become Panthers.

Mr. ROMINES. Did Mr. Boyle express an opinion as to what general type of student the Black Panther members tried to recruit?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. In most cases the Panthers would recruit fairly poorly educated blacks, ones with perhaps a fourth grade education, but attending high school nevertheless.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he indicate why he thought they tried to recruit such individuals?

Mr. SHAW. They regarded these people as expendables. These expendables were not strong enough or trustworthy enough to really get involved in the party policy involving bombings and shootings. When their usefulness had been expended, or it was determined that they were not trustworthy enough to be involved in bombings and shootings, they were told that they would perhaps do best by leaving the Panther Party and returning to BSU.

They were very careful to not cause these people to think that they were being kicked out, but, rather, their usefulness was much greater in BSU. This provided the party with some protection in that these individuals did not turn out to be renegades or alienate themselves from the party to the extent that they would tell anything that they knew.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, was Captain Charles A. Meyer of the detective division of the Bellevue Police Department interviewed?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the general import of that interview?

Mr. SHAW. Captain Meyer stated that on August 1, 1968, members of the Panther Party, Seattle Chapter, attended a meeting conducted by the East Side Committee on Race and Religion which was held at the First Congregation Church of Bellevue, Bellevue, Washington.

At this meeting five members of the Black Panther Party were invited to acquaint East Siders with the purpose of the party. The only individual identified was captain of the party, Aaron Dixon.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ascertain what the remarks and comments were that were made by Captain Aaron Dixon?

Mr. SHAW. Essentially it was the moderator who asked the questions. It was primarily a question-and-answer session, but the moderator tended to control or direct this session.

Later it involved the audience's participation with regard to the questions. Members of the audience were permitted to ask questions, but during the speech the Panthers indicated that their goals and their attainment of political power comes from the barrel of a gun.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they advocate blacks being armed?

Mr. SHAW. They advocated arming each black household with a .357 magnum and an automatic shotgun for use in self-defense against the "pigs." They indicated that they are not in favor of causing riots because it gives the "pigs" an excuse to initiate the slaughter of blacks.

Also during the speech they advocated arming blacks with rifles and moving in small groups of twos and threes so they could operate quickly and quietly during any future revolutionary guerrilla action.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know approximately how many people attended that meeting?

Mr. SHAW. There were approximately 200 persons, all white.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know what the general response of the audience was to these statements made by Mr. Dixon?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, they responded to the tune of \$200. They passed a hat and collected that amount of money.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, was an interview conducted at Mercer Island High School?

Mr. SHAW. Correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Who was interviewed?

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Robert Tate.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he give the facts concerning speeches made by members of the Black Panther Party at Mercer High School?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. Mr. Tate explained that on March 5, 1969, the Panthers appeared at this high school for a session that was sponsored by the students' organization known as S.T.U.M.B.L.E., which stands for Students Trying to Understand More about a Better Life for Everyone.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he indicate approximately how many people were present?

Mr. SHAW. He could not recall.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he indicate whether the Panthers received any money for being present at that time?

Mr. SHAW. They did not receive any.

Mr. ROMINES. Was a tape recording made of that presentation, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, there was.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you listen to that tape recording?

Mr. SHAW. The recordings were reviewed.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you summarize for the committee, please, the import of that tape recording?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. Larry Tasino, David Hendrix, and Cornell Garden were the individuals identified as representing the party. They spoke about the 10-point program of the Black Panther Party and indicated that they were guided by quotations of Mao, that in order to get rid

of the gun you had to take up the gun. They put much emphasis on lack of black history in high schools, the inaccuracy of the high school history books and courses being presented today.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he indicate anything about a revolution?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. They indicated that a revolution is coming; it is in its cold stage now, but it is going to get hot.

Mr. ROMINES. What was their expressed attitude toward the police departments?

Mr. SHAW. The Panthers, first of all, indicated that they were the police of the black community and that there was really no place or they had no regard for what we regard as a police force today.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they have any comments to make pertaining to separatism between blacks and whites?

Mr. SHAW. They advocated separatism, or separation, if they could not obtain all of the goals set forth in the Panther 10-point program.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they give any estimation at that time of the membership strength of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. SHAW. They indicated that there are 200 to 300 Black Panthers in the Seattle Chapter and that there were 75 functioning every day, or from the hard core of the chapter.

Mr. ROMINES. Now what was the date of this tape recording, when were these speeches made, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. March 5, 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they indicate anything about property or money that should be given to them?

Mr. SHAW. They indicated that at the end of the Civil War they were supposed to have gotten 40 acres and two mules. They never received this so, as a result, today every black man should be able to have the equivalent, which is two El Dorados and a \$50,000 house.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they say anything about the Seattle Police Department, what their attitude towards them was?

Mr. SHAW. Racists, Fascists. Harassing them all the time.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they indicate whether they followed the writings in Chairman Mao's "red book" pertaining to Marxist-Leninist philosophy?

Mr. SHAW. They did.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they indicate whether they believed in it?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they indicate anything about whether Panther members should have their own guns?

Mr. SHAW. They indicated that every Panther owns his own gun and that the Panthers are being taught how to use these same guns.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, in the course of your investigation in the Seattle area, did you ascertain whether the Black Panther Party there has established a breakfast for children program?

Mr. SHAW. I did.

Mr. ROMINES. Over what period of time have they established such a program? Do you know?

Mr. SHAW. Approximately May 1968 through the present time.

Mr. ROMINES. In how many different locations have they had breakfast programs?

Mr. SHAW. Four.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the first one, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. The first breakfast program was located at the Madrona Presbyterian Church, located at 832 32d Avenue.

Mr. ROMINES. Have you discussed or interviewed anyone who participated in that breakfast program at the Madrona Church?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. The information indicated that the peak attendance of the children at this particular breakfast program would average from 20 to 25. The program itself was not well run. The place was dirty; they did not keep it clean. According to the information there were guns displayed during the breakfast program from time to time, and there was evidence marijuana was being smoked to some extent during this same breakfast program.

Mr. ROMINES. Do the Panthers still run the breakfast program at the Madrona Church?

Mr. SHAW. They do not. As a result of their conduct, their behavior, as it was described to me the congregation decided that the breakfast program would cease.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know when that breakfast program ceased at the Madrona Church?

Mr. SHAW. In the early part of the 1968-69 school year.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the second location established and run by the Panther Party?

Mr. SHAW. The second location was in the Seattle Atlantic Street Center located at 2103 South Atlantic Street.

Mr. ROMINES. When did the Panthers establish a breakfast program there?

Mr. SHAW. Approximately October 1968.

Mr. ROMINES. Is that still in existence?

Mr. SHAW. Correction. October 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. Do the Panthers still run that breakfast program?

Mr. SHAW. They do.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you interview anyone, Mr. Shaw, with respect to that breakfast program at that location?

Mr. SHAW. I did.

Mr. ROMINES. Whom did you interview?

Mr. SHAW. I interviewed several children who attended that program who requested that their names not be used.

Mr. ROMINES. What were the results of those interviews, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. I interviewed the mother, first, who essentially indicated that her children were permitted to go to the breakfast program because (1) it provided a rather well-balanced menu and that otherwise her children would have to go to school with cold cereal and things of that nature. I asked this mother if her family was qualified to receive food stamps. She stated that they were; however, her husband being a laborer does not make much money and she could not see putting out that money, that cash money, for food stamps when there were other things that she wanted to do. I also asked her if she could take advantage of the food commodity distributions. To this she replied yes. I asked her why she did not, and she stated that she did not know the locations of any of these distribution centers.

Mr. ROMINES. Was this woman Caucasian or Negro, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. Caucasian.

Mr. ROMINES. Are her children still attending the Panther breakfast program?

Mr. SHAW. They are.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you talk to any of the children, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. I talked to one, a 9-year-old daughter.

Mr. ROMINES. What did she tell you about the Panther breakfast program?

Mr. SHAW. She stated that the numbers attending would vary between 8 and 10 each day, that there are posters of Panther heroes that are placed on the walls each morning during the breakfast program, and that they teach them hate regarding the police and the Establishment. She stated that due to the Panthers' talking with them each day the children have learned to recite, at the direction of Panther breakfast leaders, the following:

PANTHER: What do the Panthers believe?

CHILDREN: All power to the people.

PANTHER: Who are the capitalists?

CHILDREN: They are the pigs who control the country.

PANTHER: What do the capitalists do?

CHILDREN: They steal from the poor.

PANTHER: How do they steal from the poor?

CHILDREN: They make the poor pay taxes and this makes the capitalists richer and the poor poorer.

PANTHER: What should happen with capitalists?

CHILDREN: Off the pig.

PANTHER: Should the capitalist share his money with the poor?

CHILDREN: Yes

PANTHER: If they don't, what should we do?

CHILDREN: Take it, because it belongs to the people.

QUESTION: Who do we love?

ANSWER: The people.

QUESTION: Who are police?

ANSWER: They are the pigs.

QUESTION: What do they do?

ANSWER: They work for the capitalists.

QUESTION: How do they work for the capitalists?

ANSWER: They put poor people in jail, they kill people, and they keep the people poor by not letting them get good jobs and be free.

QUESTION: What do the Panthers believe?

ANSWER: Off the pig.

QUESTION: Why are the pigs going to kill Bob Seale?

ANSWER: Because he wants freedom for all people.

QUESTION: Why do the pigs kill Panthers?

ANSWER: Because they want freedom for all people.

QUESTION: What happened to Eldridge Cleaver?

ANSWER: He had to leave the country to keep the pigs from killing him.

Mr. ROMINES. Did this individual indicate to you, Mr. Shaw, what he understood the term "off the pig" to mean?

Mr. SHAW. This 9-year-old explained that "off the pig" means to kill him. She replied, "no" when asked if the Panthers might mean that instead of killing the pig it was an expression of asking him or causing him in some means other than violence to leave your community.

Mr. ROMINES. So very clearly this 9-year-old stated by "off the pig" the Panthers mean kill the policemen?

Mr. SHAW. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you interview anyone else, any children who attended that breakfast program, or did you interview the mothers or the parents of anyone else who attended the programs?

Mr. SHAW. I did. The information was essentially the same. There were some things that were offered by some which other children could not respond to. For example, one child said that she could re-

member posters of Bobby Seale seated in the electric chair, Huey Newton, and Eldridge Cleaver. These posters were constantly on the walls during the breakfast hours.

Also a poster that depicts a pig in a policeman's uniform with his arms, legs, and head separated from his body was also hung on the wall. She said that the Panthers point to the picture and laugh because the pig is cut into pieces. She said that they do tell them, while pointing to this particular poster, that Bobby Seale is going to be murdered by the pigs because he wants food and freedom for the people; Huey Newton is in jail because he wants freedom for the people and an end to police brutality; and Eldridge Cleaver had to leave because the pigs were going to kill him.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, how would you summarize the results of your interviews with the parents and the children who have attended that breakfast program in Seattle?

Mr. SHAW. These individuals were identified by various youngsters that were interviewed: Aaron Dixon, Elmer Dixon, Bobby White, and Michael Dean.

The children believe that the Panthers, for the most part, are a rather wholesome force in that they are interested and concerned about the plight of our poor society. They view, I think, our Government and our police with far more suspicion than I consider usual for children of this age. There were other children talked with on a casual basis who do not attend this breakfast program. Their responses to questions with regard to the police and the Establishment were, I think, much more typical of an 8-, 9-, 10-, and 11-year-old child than were those of the children who attended the breakfast program.

Mr. ROMINES. Let me ask you this question, Mr. Shaw: As a result of your interviewing these children and these parents, what is your opinion as to what the Panthers are trying to inculcate in, or teach to, these children?

Mr. SHAW. The Panthers have made it clear themselves, and, as a result of my various interviews of individuals around the country, it seems abundantly clear that they are interested in indoctrinating the youngsters because they are putting their hopes on the tomorrows, that is, the eventual growing up of this child where one day he will be of service to the party, to the revolution.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, you testified a few minutes ago that the Panthers have maintained four different breakfast programs. You have identified two of them, at the Madrona and the Seattle Atlantic Center. Where are the other two?

Mr. SHAW. One is located at 6558 35th Avenue Southwest, which is the High Point Community Church.

Mr. ROMINES. How long have the Panthers been operating a breakfast program there?

Mr. SHAW. Approximately 6 months.

It is interesting to note in this case that the Panthers provided food for this breakfast program, according to the information, for 2 or 3 days. After that time, according to the minister of this church, and because of the lack of responsiveness on the part of the merchants, it was necessary for the church to begin to provide the food in order to keep the breakfast program operating.

Also, on the one particular morning I visited this program, there were approximately 70 to 75 children who attended. However, these numbers did not increase to this level until after the Panthers ceased to function in the program each day. The program is now being run primarily by volunteers from the community and church volunteers.

Mr. ROMINES. That would be three of the four. What would be the fourth one, Mr. Shaw?

Mr. SHAW. The fourth one is located at 7001 35th Avenue South. This is the Holly Park community park.

Mr. ROMINES. Are the Panthers presently running that one?

Mr. SHAW. On the occasions that I observed this program there were no Panthers present, there were no posters, there was no political information or literature about, nor conversations of that nature, which was the case also at the High Point Community Center.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether the Panthers established the Holly Park breakfast center?

Mr. SHAW. Yes; it was explained that basically the Panthers had expressed a desire to only start the programs until such time as they became strong enough or attended well enough that they could support themselves and then turn the programs over to the community.

Mr. ROMINES. As I understand your testimony then, Mr. Shaw, the original one started at Madrona is no longer in existence. Is that correct?

Mr. SHAW. Correct.

Mr. ROMINES. The Seattle Atlantic Center is still being operated by the Panthers; is that correct?

Mr. SHAW. Correct.

Mr. ROMINES. And the last two, High Point and Holly Park, were started by the Panthers, but are not now actually operated by the Panthers?

Mr. SHAW. Correct.

Mr. ROMINES. So the only food for children, or breakfast center, that they are now actually running and operating and sustaining would be the one at the Seattle Atlantic Center. Is that correct?

Mr. SHAW. That is right, which has 8 to 10 children a day.

Mr. ROMINES. What do the two average which are not run by the Panthers?

Mr. SHAW. The Holly Park averages about 20 to 25 per day, about three-fourths Negro children and the others are Caucasian. The High Point breakfast program averages around 60 children a day.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, in the course of your investigation of the Black Panther Party activities in the city of Seattle, did you have the opportunity to ascertain whether any members of the Black Panther Party received any funds for going to school?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Who would those individuals have been, what funds would they have received, and for what period of time?

Mr. SHAW. Aaron Dixon received a National Defense loan of \$800 for the 1968-69 academic year. He also received an Educational Opportunity grant for the winter quarter of '69 in the amount of \$250. Elmer Dixon received a National Defense student loan of \$1,000 for the 1968-69 school year. He also received an Educational Opportunity grant for the school year 1968-69 of \$450.

Sherry Lynn Bailey received a National Defense student loan, 2-year period, that would be the 1968-69 and the 1969-70 school years, in the amount of \$1,200. She also received an Educational Opportunity grant for those same 2 years in the amounts of \$250 and \$800, respectively.

Maude Allen received a National Defense student loan of \$600 for the 1968-69 school year. Also she received an Educational Opportunity grant for the 1968-69 school year in the amount of \$350.

Willie Brazier, Jr., received a National Defense student loan for \$350 for the academic year of 1968-69. He also received an Educational Opportunity grant for the same academic year of \$250.

Chester Edward Northington received a National Defense student loan in the amount of \$400 for the 1968-69 school year and also he received an Educational Opportunity grant for that same school year of \$150.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, with respect to the National Defense student loans, when are they to be repaid?

Mr. SHAW. Nine months after the school attendance is terminated.

Mr. ROMINES. Are any of those loans due and payable at this time?

Mr. SHAW. No, they are not.

Mr. ROMINES. When is the first payment on any one of those loans due?

Mr. SHAW. July 1970.

Mr. WATSON. May I interrupt, Counsel, at that point?

Now are they to be paid in toto 9 months after the completion of the school year? It is my understanding that they are to commence payments at that time.

Mr. SHAW. They are to commence payments; that is right.

Mr. WATSON. They are not to be paid in toto?

Mr. SHAW. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, in the course of your investigation in Seattle did you have the opportunity to interview a Mr. Benjamin Brill?

Mr. SHAW. I did.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is Mr. Brill?

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Brill owns a real estate agency located at 1127 34th Avenue.

Mr. ROMINES. Has he had any connection or relationship with the Black Panther Party in Seattle?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What would that relationship be?

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Brill rented one of his properties, located at 1127 1/2 34th Avenue, to the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party in which they located their headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. How did the Panthers treat this property that was rented to them by Mr. Brill?

Mr. SHAW. They caused considerable damage to the interior. They had boarded up the front with plywood and they had painted their slogans on this same plywood.

Mr. ROMINES. Did Mr. Brill inform you what the rental payments were to be?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, the rental payments were supposed to have been \$51 per month. He explained that initially he had requested \$65, but

they had forced him, through threats of violence to himself and to the property, to agree to \$51 a month.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he indicate to you whether any of those payments had, in fact, been made?

Mr. SHAW. Brill indicated that he had received 3 payments out of a total of 19.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. ROMINES. Did he indicate to you whether there had been any civil action taken to recover his rental payments?

Mr. SHAW. There has not.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he indicate to you whether there have been any arrests, prosecutions, or complaints to the police department for the way the Panthers treated him?

Mr. SHAW. He explained that he had discussed it on many occasions with the police department, but for fear of his own safety he chose not to prosecute. He also explained that the reason why he presented this property to the Panthers initially was that he had been approached by Aaron and Elmer—correction—by Aaron Dixon and Curtiss Harris, who requested to rent the property. He attempted to explain that he had rented this property to a church mission. According to Mr. Brill, they informed him that it would be better if he rented the property to them, and there was an exchange of obscenities. Brill explained that this same night this establishment was firebombed. And in 2 days Aaron Dixon returned and requested to rent the property and asked Brill had he changed his mind. Brill had changed his mind, and he rented them the property.

While I was there talking with Mr. Brill, he said his windows were knocked out the previous night. But it certainly cannot be suggested that the Panthers were responsible for this. However, I think it is interesting to note the life of many of the Caucasian and Negro businessmen also in these ghetto or inner city areas. If they choose not to succumb or submit to the demands of this group or that group, in many cases they do meet with some problems. In this case, Mr. Brill's windows had been knocked out. He was approached while I was sitting there by unidentified subjects who told him, after pointing to a business place in that same area, "If you have your windows replaced by that man, I can guarantee you this won't happen again."

Mr. Brill asked him how he could guarantee this, and he simply stated that "You are inconsiderate. I have told you many times to deal with the blacks and you will survive."

This also is indicative of why it is, I think, Mr. Brill was as scared as he was. The man is 73 years old. There is quite a bit of fight in him, but it can't be too much when you reach the age of 73.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, have the bank records of the Seattle Black Panther chapter been subpoenaed by this committee?

Mr. SHAW. They have, Mr. Counsel. However, they are incomplete.

Mr. ROMINES. Are they being forwarded to the committee and evaluated by the committee?

Mr. SHAW. They are being forwarded and evaluated.

Mr. ROMINES. But they are not all here yet; is that correct?

Mr. SHAW. Correct.

Mr. ROMINES. I would like permission to have inserted in the record at this point the results of our compilation and evaluation of the bank

<sup>1</sup> A sum equivalent to 2 months' rent was paid by the Panthers as a deposit and retained by Mr. Brill.

records when they have been received in toto, compiled, and evaluated by the committee staff.

Mr. PREYER. Permission granted.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 7 and I ask you if you can identify that, please.

Mr. SHAW. Yes. Would you want it picture by picture?

Mr. ROMINES. Is it a series of pictures?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you please identify for the record what each picture is?

Mr. SHAW. The first picture is the Black Panther Party headquarters of Seattle, Washington. That is called the Black Panther Party community center.

Mr. ROMINES. Is that their current headquarters?

Mr. SHAW. That is their current headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. Where is that located?

Mr. SHAW. 173 20th Avenue. This establishment also houses the Sidney Miller Medical Clinic.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the second picture?

Mr. SHAW. The second picture is that of 1127 1/2 34th Avenue, which is a storefront and is the property of Benjamin Brill.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the third picture?

Mr. SHAW. The third picture is 7001 35th Avenue South, the site of the Panther breakfast program.

The next picture is that of High Point Community Center located at 6558 35th Avenue Southwest.

The next picture is the Seattle Atlantic Street Center located at 2103 South Atlantic Street.

The next photograph is the Madrona Presbyterian Church located at 832 32d Avenue, a previous breakfast program site.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Shaw, as a result of your investigation in the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party, would you have an opinion as to the effect they have had on the community in general in that area?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. One of the primary problems in getting accurate readings or assessments as to what the community attitudes really are is the fact that so many people, particularly Negroes, are fearful of ostracism because the climate today represents to them an overwhelm-

<sup>1</sup> Pursuant to subpoena duly authorized, the Dixon-Pike Branch of the Seattle-First National Bank, Seattle, Wash., furnished data concerning an account of the Black Panther Party of Seattle, Wash. Bank records disclosed that the Panther chapter, 176 26th Avenue, Seattle, Wash., opened a checking account #2838508 on May 15, 1968, with a deposit of \$110.06. Any one of the following officers was designated as authorized to draw upon the account: Gwen D. Morgan, cotreasurer; Maude H. Allen, secretary; and Kathleen M. Halley, treasurer. The preponderance of deposits was made in cash. The account reflected an average monthly balance of \$200. The account was discontinued on Sept. 18, 1969, at which time a deposit of \$189.65 was made to cover a 3-month overdraw of the account. Seven checks of \$100 or more were deposited to the account during the time it was active. The total amount deposited to the account was \$6,420.58. Monthly deposits reached their highest total of \$1,313.08 in October 1968 and showed a steep decline beginning in March 1969.

Pursuant to subpoena the Liberty National Bank of Seattle furnished data concerning the Black Panther Party Breakfast for Children Fund account, number 60004793. The bank records showed that a checking account had been opened on July 22, 1969, with a \$500 deposit and that Elmer J. Dixon III was the person authorized to draw on the account. The records furnished covered the period from the inception of the account through May 1970. The average monthly balance was shown as \$361.62. Most deposits were by check. Most of these were less than \$25. Five were in amounts of \$200 or more. The total amount deposited in the account during the above period was \$5,953.42. Monthly deposits fluctuated between a low of \$100 for October 1969 and a high of \$1,027.74 for January 1970.

ing belief that the majority of the persons of that same community share or at least are sympathetic with regard to the Panther philosophy as it relates to violence, liberating, et cetera.

So I am saying, in so many words, that it is necessary when getting these readings to cause a person first of all to be interested or desirous of telling you precisely how he feels as opposed to something more evasive.

We have been rather successful in this regard and when we do this we find out that the readings that we are getting from various sources indicate that an overwhelmingly sympathetic attitude with respect to the Panthers is very inaccurate.

There is a great amount of fear that runs through the community, and I think that many people are confusing this fear, which engenders a lack of vocal response, with sympathy. This just has not been my experience.

Mr. ROMINES. Could I summarize what you have just said, then, by the statement that (1) you encounter a great amount of fear of the Black Panther Party and (2) very little actual support?

Mr. SHAW. Correct.

Mr. ROMINES. I have no further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you.

Mr. Watson.

Mr. WATSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Mr. Shaw, for this very helpful and lucid discussion of what you found concerning the Black Panther activities out in Seattle. You gave us one specific instance where they had spoken at Bellevue High School and you did mention others. Did you ascertain whether or not they had a rather active program of speaking at various high schools or could you ascertain that?

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Watson, what they would generally do, they particularly enjoyed speaking at high schools that were predominantly white. This caused some joy because of the inherent fear that runs through these youngsters who are unaccustomed to, perhaps, this behavior, which is so ugly. They knew that their likelihood of donations and the moneys in other form would be greater in these types of environments than they would be in the inner city. They had representatives in most of the high schools so they recruited primarily on the basis of that as opposed to rallies, speeches, et cetera.

Mr. WATSON. I see. In other words, it was principally an individual-to-individual recruitment program, rather than the massive effort made through meetings such as that?

Mr. SHAW. Correct, as it relates to high schools.

Mr. WATSON. What was the average age or general age of the Black Panthers?

Mr. SHAW. The average age would be in the neighborhood of 19 to 20. That does not remain constant; it varies. The party in Seattle began with a minimum age of 16 and sometime after that it dropped to 14. The ages don't run much over 23, 24 years old.

Mr. WATSON. Are most of them students?

Mr. SHAW. The majority of them—or dropouts. I guess I could safely say the majority of those who participate regularly in the Panther functions are not the best of students. What really happens,

those individuals who are students that come from the colleges and the high schools who are on the ball and have something going for themselves very seldom stay long anyway, so this leaves them, of course, the dropout and the individual less interested in development.

Mr. WATSON. The Dixon boys, do I understand correctly Aaron and Elmer are their first names?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. Are they brothers?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, sir.

Mr. WATSON. Are they students or dropouts?

Mr. SHAW. I don't think they are students.

Mr. WATSON. Yet last year each one of them had various NDEA loans as well as OEO grants<sup>1</sup> supposedly for educational purposes?

Mr. SHAW. Correct.

Mr. WATSON. Now you mentioned that when the Black Panthers were at Bellevue High School, at one stage of their speech someone went out to get a gun? I am sorry I did not follow that closely. What was the purpose for going out to get the gun, if you know?

Mr. SHAW. During the exchange that developed in the question-and-answer session, it appears that the Panthers were having extreme difficulty in answering the questions to their own satisfaction. In other words, there was a reaction on the part of the students—the audience was asking rather mature and substantial questions that were not bringing about the type of answers that apparently the Panthers would like to have been able to give. As a result of this, Cornell Garden dramatically stormed out of the classroom and went to his car and proceeded towards the school with this bolt-action rifle. He was followed by another student of that same high school who encouraged him not to do this.

Mr. WATSON. Then I assume he was going to get the gun to try to demonstrate that he could answer the questions by power if he could not answer them by word power?

I am still trying to understand why he did this. I am not trying to put words in your mouth at all. Why did he go out to get the gun; how does that relate to his inability to answer the questions?

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Watson, I think you have answered a question that there seems to be considerable difficulty in answering around this country today. That is precisely what it is. When you run out of logical answers, then you resort to something violent, something of a degenerate nature.

Mr. WATSON. Apparently that was it.

Now I believe you said that they advocated that each family be armed with what?

Mr. SHAW. .357 magnum or an automatic shotgun. However, I think basically these terms are used because they are common calibers and people understand them.

<sup>1</sup> These grants were inadvertently referred to as "OEO" grants. These are Educational Opportunity grants, which are administered through the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Members of the Seattle Black Panther chapter attending local colleges in the 1968-1969 school year included Aaron and Elmer Dixon and Curtliss Harris, who were enrolled at the University of Washington.

The committee has been advised that, at the time of its hearings in May 1970, those still associated with the Panther chapter no longer included anyone in the status of student. Nor were any of those most recently active known to be gainfully employed at other than Panther enterprises.

Mr. WATSON. This breakfast for children program has a very appealing name, and I was beginning to think that the Black Panthers may have some constructive ideas on the line. But do you sense, through the course of your investigation, that program was designed out of an altruistic desire to take care of the children or to use it as a vehicle to propagandize and capture the minds of these children?

I heard you recite this, I guess, daily ritual and daily recitation here. What is your opinion of the breakfast program there?

Mr. SHAW. I regard the breakfast program, as do those people who have taken the time to inform themselves and are attempting to be honest regarding the breakfast program, as a vehicle designed to capture as many students or youngsters as possible for the purpose of orienting them with regard to revolution.

Mr. WATSON. And you said you even found evidence that guns were displayed and marijuana was used at one of the breakfast programs?

Mr. SHAW. Correct. I think, Mr. Watson, there is a breakdown, and I don't think the separation is quite clear with regard to how people answered that question with respect to the good or bad of the breakfast program. Of course, the separation is that if children are hungry most certainly they should be fed. So that obscures the answer. I think that only half of the question is being answered when it is framed this way.

Mr. WATSON. I agree with you. You can't deny the fact that, if a child is hungry, to put something in his stomach is good, but at the same time if you poison his mind you probably are doing the youngster a disservice.

It was interesting to note that you had discussed the matter with, I assume, people of both races who would qualify for various government programs—the food stamp programs and others—but yet they would not go to the trouble of doing that. Apparently that is it; they would rather take the easy way out and just let the children go over to be fed by the Black Panthers.

Mr. SHAW. That is a part of it. Another part that I have never heard discussed, but I think it is real, is that if a parent does not happen to be particularly apprehensive with regard to sending his child to a breakfast program, the average child or many of the children would go to the breakfast program simply because he wants to get out of the house earlier in the morning than he would normally be able to do and he has a chance to be with his buddies and friends and eat his breakfast, which tends to tune up his day. And I do not think this has been overlooked.

Mr. WATSON. I have two final questions. You mentioned Mr. Dixon and someone else went over to talk with Mr. Brill about renting this place, and Mr. Brill apparently had another tenant in mind. Then I believe you said for a couple of days there was some difficulty with this place; Mr. Brill had some firebombs, I believe you said, thrown at his property?

Mr. SHAW. That same night, one, sir.

Mr. WATSON. Then 2 days later Mr. Dixon came back and they negotiated with Mr. Brill. Did he have any subsequent firebombs thrown at his property after he agreed to rent this place to the Black Panthers?

Mr. SHAW. According to Mr. Brill he did not.

Mr. WATSON. He did not.

I guess we are philosophizing a little bit here, but I'm searching for an answer, as we all are. You said that you did not believe that most of the black community really followed the philosophy and the hatred, obvious hatred, propaganda of the Black Panthers, but it was more out of fear than real belief in their teachings. Did I understand you to say that, basically?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, sir; fear plus the fear of ostracism; I think that's probably one of the greatest reasons.

Mr. WATSON. Of being called an Uncle Tom and a member of the Establishment?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. I believe you are right in that regard. And the next question naturally follows that oftentimes a person is motivated by fear of either damage by an individual or harm by an individual or ostracism by his peers, but after a while cannot that fear really be developed into a belief, since people normally don't like to continue to function under fear?

I am asking you to think with me that ultimately this fear can develop into a real belief. "I am going to dispel this idea simply because I am fearful of something, but ultimately I will join them"; do you follow me?

Mr. SHAW. Yes; I think it is a combination of fear and exposure. A continuing exposure to anything tends to cause you to be, I think, more tolerant of it if it is presented in its proper vein.

Mr. WATSON. We thank you very much for your testimony, Mr. Shaw.

Mr. PREYER. Thank you, Mr. Shaw.

I think we have one other witness that we do want to at least begin with his testimony so I will not ask you questions about your testimony, although it raises a number of interesting questions.

I would just make two comments. There have been a number of themes that I think apply when we consider the Black Panthers today. One of the themes is, "Are they romantic heroes or are they criminals?"

You have put some evidence in on that; Mr. Brill, who I understand is 73 years old, described how he rented his place, how it was pretty badly damaged, how he was not paid rent, and I believe also he suffered quite a bit of physical abuse from them as your evidence indicated.

Mr. SHAW. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. PREYER. We have heard evidence concerning Herman Moore, who blew himself up while he was trying to bomb his girl friend. So on the romantic hero side I would say the evidence tends to show something other than Robin Hoods.

Another theme which is of great interest: Are they purposeful terrorists or are they mostly big talkers? I don't think all the evidence is in on that.

In Seattle it seems to lean toward the big talker side. But you said one interesting thing on that, assuming that is all they are doing, that they are big talkers. You pointed out that the 9-year-old said he knew what "off" a pig meant; it meant "kill," it did not mean generally try to change ghetto conditions or something of that sort.

So I think the important thing there is that talk has an effect on people who excuse militants' rhetoric on the grounds of "Well, this is just the way you talk; they don't really mean it." They don't realize that people are responsible for the language they use. Language does have a catalytic effect; it makes things happen where there are psychotic people around to hear these things. So I think if you are just big talking, even that is a dangerous enough situation.

Thank you, Mr. Shaw.

We will try to get into the next witness here, Mr. Counsel. We will probably have to stop pretty shortly.

Mr. ROMINES. I call Mr. Thomas Simmons. Would you swear the witness, Mr. Chairman, please?

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Simmons, do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF THOMAS Q. SIMMONS

Mr. ROMINES. Would you please state your name?

Mr. SIMMONS. Thomas Q. Simmons.

Mr. ROMINES. By whom are you employed, Mr. Simmons?

Mr. SIMMONS. By this committee, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. In what capacity?

Mr. SIMMONS. As an investigator.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you, in the course of your duties as an investigator for this committee, have occasion to conduct an investigation on the Black Panther Party chapter in Seattle, Washington?

Mr. SIMMONS. I did.

Mr. ROMINES. Over approximately what period of time did that investigation last?

Mr. SIMMONS. Approximately a 3-week period.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Simmons, did you have occasion to ascertain whether any members of the Black Panther Party were receiving food stamps?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir, they are.

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 8 and ask you if you can identify that, please?

Mr. SIMMONS. This is a food stamp application form filled out by Mr. Aaron Dixon.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the actual title of that form, please?

Mr. SIMMONS. It is a "RECERTIFICATION FOR THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. ROMINES. Is there anything written on it which would indicate it is otherwise?

<sup>1</sup> The food stamp program is administered in the State of Washington through its Department of Public Assistance. This program operates under guidelines established by the Department of Agriculture.

According to the U.S. Government Organization Manual—1970/71—the food stamp program is administered by the Food and Nutrition Service pursuant to authority of the Food Stamp Act of 1964 and:

"Under an approved State plan of operation and through State welfare agencies, FNS provides food assistance for needy persons to help them feed their families properly. Participants exchange the amount of money they normally would spend for food for an allotment of food coupons of higher monetary value, and sufficient to provide a more nutritionally adequate diet. The coupons are used to purchase food in any retail store which has been approved by FNS to accept and redeem the food coupons."

Mr. SIMMONS. On this particular form there is written in pencil at the top, "New application."

Mr. ROMINES. What address is listed on that form?

Mr. SIMMONS. 173 20th Avenue.

Mr. ROMINES. What is located at 173 20th Avenue?

Mr. SIMMONS. It is currently the Panther headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. How many people are listed on that food stamp application form?

Mr. SIMMONS. On this one there are seven.

Mr. ROMINES. Did Aaron Dixon, in fact, receive food stamps after executing that form?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, he did.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the usual procedure or the required procedure in Seattle for executing a form like that?

Mr. SIMMONS. In Seattle at the present time the procedure seems to be only to present yourself at the office and fill out an application, stating name, address, and residents at that address.

Mr. ROMINES. Is there any requirement there that all of the individuals listed on the form sign it?

Mr. SIMMONS. It is required; however, it is not being enforced.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know whether it is not enforced for all people or whether it is just not enforced in specific instances?

Mr. SIMMONS. In this particular instance it is—it was not enforced.

Mr. ROMINES. When is that form dated, Mr. Simmons?

Mr. SIMMONS. 19 March 1970.

Mr. ROMINES. So that would be food stamps for the month of March of 1970; is that correct?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 9 and ask you if you can identify that, please?

Mr. SIMMONS. This is an application for food stamps.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the title of that form?

Mr. SIMMONS. A "RE-CERTIFICATION FOR THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM."

Mr. ROMINES. By whom is that executed?

Mr. SIMMONS. Aaron Dixon.

Mr. ROMINES. Why would he have executed a recertification?

Mr. SIMMONS. On the 7th of April of this year he went back to the office and added three more names to his list.

Mr. ROMINES. Is the address the same, the 173 20th Avenue?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROMINES. What amount of food stamps did Mr. Dixon receive for the months of March and April?

Mr. SIMMONS. For the month of March he indicated his income and those all also residing with him to be a total of \$200 from the sale of Panther newspapers, and expenses for that month were \$200 for rent.

This figures out on the table that they use —

Mr. ROMINES. By "they" you mean the people who administer the food stamp program?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; it figures out that the people at this residence are entitled—by paying \$3 they receive \$159 worth of food stamps, for a total of \$162.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the income figures and expense figures given for the recertification in the month of April?

Mr. SIMMONS. It is identical.

Mr. ROMINES. Now with three people who—would he receive the same amount of food stamps?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, he received more.

Mr. ROMINES. Is there the same \$200 for selling newspapers?

Mr. SIMMONS. Right, the expenses and income are the same.

Mr. ROMINES. What amount of food stamps did he receive in the month of April?

Mr. SIMMONS. With the three extra individuals listed it qualified Aaron Dixon to be entitled to \$209 worth of food stamps with a \$3 payment, for a total of \$212.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you interview anyone at the State agency that supervises the food stamp program?

Mr. SIMMONS. I did.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they indicate to you whether any investigation was made before Mr. Dixon was allowed to receive these food stamps?

Mr. SIMMONS. They did and they indicated then no investigation or steps to certify any of the other information on here were taken.

Mr. ROMINES. Did they indicate to you whether Mr. Dixon received any particular type of treatment when he came in to acquire the food stamps?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, he did. He went immediately to the front office. The procedure, of course, is to wait in line until your appointment with the interviewer. Aaron Dixon went to the front office, whereupon the food stamp supervisor received a call that he was to be taken care of promptly and expeditiously.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know from whom that phone call was received?

Mr. SIMMONS. I don't.

Mr. ROMINES. Are any of the individuals listed on either of those two exhibits, Committee Exhibit 8 or Committee Exhibit 9, as members of Aaron's household, members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir, seven are.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I would ask at this time that Committee Exhibits 7, 8, and 9 be admitted for the records.

(Documents marked Committee Exhibits Nos. 7, 8, and 9, respectively. See appendix B, pages 4400-4411.)

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I have approximately a half hour or 45 minutes more of questions for this witness. Is it your pleasure that we proceed now?

Mr. PREYER. We will have to recess now. Before we leave this point I might ask Mr. Watson if he wants to ask any questions now, as we will be recessing until next week.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I am absolutely flabbergasted about this food stamp program.

Now I can go in and just list some people on an application and I can get stamps, and according to your information there is no checking

<sup>1</sup>The seven individuals who are members of the Black Panther Party are Anthony Ware, Mike Dean, Bill Green, Ailee Green, Aaron Dixon, Sr., Valentine Hobbs, and Teola Hunter.

on the validity of the names, whether they are aunts, uncles, children, grandchildren, or out-laws or in-laws or anything else?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is currently the situation in Seattle.

Mr. WATSON. That is currently the situation in Seattle?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WATSON. And there was no effort made by the people at that office to ascertain whether or not these people paid \$200 in rent as they alleged?

Mr. SIMMONS. Sir, from our information there was no checking done on any of the topics of that application.

Mr. WATSON. Of course, it was not within your prerogatives to ask, but, just out of curiosity, did you by chance ask them why there was no check in this instance? Did you get any idea or hint as to why?

Mr. SIMMONS. We did ask. At this time we were speaking to a lower level supervisor, who indicated that when they came to the office they made their presence known immediately and to the front office, to the upper level supervisory people, at which time the lower level people received phone calls that these people were to be taken care of immediately, in other words, given the VIP treatment and, basically, not to make any waves for them.

Mr. WATSON. So far as your investigation reveals, this call came from the higher officials of that office and not from an outsider?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, sir; it was within the organization.

Mr. WATSON. It was from within the organization.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WATSON. And these people were to move up front and get, as you say, "the VIP treatment"?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WATSON. That is incredible. The taxpayers deserve a little bit better than that.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. PREYER. I share Mr. Watson's amazement at the way that is operating there.

The Black Panthers who so scorn our system seem to be reaping a considerable amount of special benefits and special privileges from it. I hope they will be looking into that out there.

The committee will adjourn until further notice at this time.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p.m., Thursday, May 14, 1970, the subcommittee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

<sup>1</sup> On May 15, 1970, Mr. Watson sent a telegram to the Honorable Clifford M. Hardin, Department of Agriculture, requesting an investigation of this matter. For a copy of the telegram and the Department's reply, see appendix C, p. 4423.

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**  
**Part 2**  
**Investigation of Seattle Chapter**

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**WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 1970**

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

**PUBLIC HEARING**

The subcommittee of the Committee on Internal Security met, pursuant to recess, at 2:45 p.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richardson Preyer, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, chairman; Albert W. Watson of South Carolina; and William J. Scherle of Iowa.)

Subcommittee member present: Representative Preyer.

Staff members present: Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel; Stephen H. Romines, assistant counsel; and Thomas Q. Simmons, investigator.

Mr. PREYER. This is a continuation of the hearings involving the Seattle Black Panther Party. I understand that the witness has been sworn and already has given some testimony.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. The hearing this afternoon should be relatively short. I think it is mostly in the nature of filling in some of the areas that have been touched on briefly before, but we wanted a little more information on it.

Mr. Counsel, any time you are ready.

**TESTIMONY OF THOMAS Q. SIMMONS—Resumed**

Mr. ROMINES. In the course of your investigation of the Black Panther in Seattle, did you have occasion to interview any one at the Safeway Stores in Bellevue?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, I did.

Mr. ROMINES. Whom did you interview?

Mr. SIMMONS. A Mr. James Clark.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the substance of that interview, sir?

Mr. SIMMONS. Basically we were attempting to determine if the Safeway Stores in Seattle had been approached by the members of the Black Panther Party on any matter.

Mr. ROMINES. On any particular matter?

Mr. SIMMONS. The matter of soliciting contributions to the party.

Mr. ROMINES. Had Safeway been approached?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, they had been.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Simmons, I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 10 and ask you if you can identify that, please?

Mr. SIMMONS. I can.

Mr. ROMINES. What is Committee Exhibit 10?

Mr. SIMMONS. This is a letter addressed to the Safeway Stores from the Black Panther Party by Elmer Dixon. It was received by Safeway on the 14th of July, 1969.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the basic content of that letter?

Mr. SIMMONS. The letter basically demands that Safeway contribute to the Black Panther Party breakfast program \$100 per week, and if this condition is not met, the demands will be raised to \$125 the next week and \$25 each succeeding week until the demands are met. And if the demands are not met, the store will be boycotted.

Mr. ROMINES. Were those demands ever met, Mr. Simmons?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, they were not.

Mr. ROMINES. Was the store in fact ever boycotted?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, it was.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any pickets in connection with the boycotting?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, there were.

Mr. ROMINES. For what interval of time did that last?

Mr. SIMMONS. The pickets began on July 24, 1969, reappeared on July 25 and again on July 26 and again on 6—no, I am sorry, 3 August, and again on 9 August.

Mr. ROMINES. What were the picket signs that were carried?

Mr. SIMMONS. The picket signs stated substantially that "I am hungry—Safeway won't feed me." "Boycott the capitalists—close Safeway." "Safeway refuses to help hungry children." "I am hungry—help feed me." "Boycott Safeway, and close them down." "We will close Safeway in 2 weeks."

Mr. ROMINES. Was Safeway ever closed?

Mr. SIMMONS. Not closed, no.

Mr. ROMINES. Approximately how many people, Mr. Simmons, participated in the picketing?

Mr. SIMMONS. On the first day of picketing, the 24th of July, six to eight adults and from 10 to 15 children appeared at the store. They were led by Elmer Dixon.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you have figures for the other dates on which picketing occurred?

Mr. SIMMONS. The figures pretty much averaged this same number of people.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the conduct of the individuals who participated in the picketing?

Mr. SIMMONS. On the first day their activities included blocking the entrance, reaching inside the door and turning off the automatic doors, threatening customers who attempted to enter the store, threatening customers who left the store on their way to the parking lot, and threatening employees.

On this occasion, police escorts were required to be on the scene to escort people into the store and back to the parking lot.

Mr. ROMINES. Was there ever any physical damage done to the Safeway Store?

Mr. SIMMONS. No physical damage was reported.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there ever any threats made to the Safeway Store management?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes. On the 24th and the 25th various individuals—among those identified was Aaron Dixon, who was using a loudspeaker system—would open the door of the Safeway Store and yell, "We are going to bomb the store."

Mr. ROMINES. Was a bomb in fact ever set at the store?

Mr. SIMMONS. On the 26th the police received a bomb threat. The store was subsequently closed and searched, but no bomb was found.

Mr. ROMINES. That was the day after Mr. Dixon made the threat?

Mr. SIMMONS. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there ever any prosecutions arising out of these Panther activities around the Safeway Store?

Mr. SIMMONS. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Do you know why?

Mr. SIMMONS. The basic—it basically was a decision made by the King County prosecuting attorney. Safeway attorneys presented copies of letters sent by Elmer Dixon and affidavits by employees of the store.

Mr. ROMINES. At this time, I hand you what have been marked Committee Exhibits 11, 12, 13, and 14 and ask you to identify them.

Mr. SIMMONS. These are the affidavits.

Mr. ROMINES. Are those copies?

Mr. SIMMONS. These are copies thereof.

Mr. ROMINES. Are those true and accurate copies?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. What generally is contained in these affidavits, Mr. Simmons?

Mr. SIMMONS. The facts surrounding the receipt of the letter and the subsequent activities surrounding the store.

Mr. ROMINES. I am sorry I interrupted you. You were in the midst of explaining why there were no prosecutions.

Mr. SIMMONS. The King County prosecuting attorney stated the letter from Elmer Dixon was so carefully worded that it only bordered on being extortion.

Mr. ROMINES. In other words, the prosecuting attorney did not think there were sufficient facts upon which to base the prosecution; is that correct?

Mr. SIMMONS. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the people at Safeway Store whom you interviewed give you an indication of the loss of business, if any, which resulted from the Panther Party activities?

Mr. SIMMONS. During the first week of the boycott the volume decreased by approximately \$10,000. An extra expense was incurred in the form of guard fees, which amounted to \$1,000.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Simmons, in the course of your investigation in Seattle, did you have occasion to interview anyone from the O'Brien Oil Company?

Mr. SIMMONS. I did.

Mr. ROMINES. Whom did you interview there?

Mr. SIMMONS. A Mrs. Rombauer.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the substance of that interview?

Mr. SIMMONS. Mrs. Rombauer was the office manager of the O'Brien Oil Company. We had received information that they had, this company had, made a contribution to the Black Panther Party. We inquired as to the nature of the contribution and Mrs. Rombauer explained that during the period of December and January of last year—

Mr. ROMINES. That would be December of 1969 and January of 1970?

Mr. SIMMONS. Right. She had received approximately four phone calls from individuals who identified themselves as Aaron Dixon. During these phone calls they requested a contribution be made to the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. Was that a contribution of money?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, it was a contribution of fuel oil.

Mr. ROMINES. Did she give you any indication whether any threats had been made if they refused to so contribute?

Mr. SIMMONS. No. She could attribute no threats to the Black Panther Party directly. However, just prior to receiving these phone calls, property damage was being incurred on the property in the form of bullet holes in the building, and the windows of the delivery trucks were being broken.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the O'Brien Oil Company make any contribution to the Panther Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, they did. They delivered 100 gallons of fuel oil to 173 20th Avenue.

Mr. ROMINES. What is located there?

Mr. SIMMONS. Panther headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. Did O'Brien Oil Company have any further problem with vandalism after this fuel oil delivery was made?

Mr. SIMMONS. No.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Simmons, in the course of your investigation did you at any time interview either adults who had children attending breakfast programs run by the Panthers or any of the children who attended Panther breakfast programs?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, I did.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the substance of those interviews?

Mr. SIMMONS. I interviewed a Mrs. Mary Skinner, who is the mother of three children, the oldest being 9 years of age. Mrs. Skinner advised me she let her children attend the Black Panther breakfast conducted at the Atlantic Street Center during the fall of 1969.

During that period Mrs. Skinner, in conversation with other mothers in the neighborhood, heard rumors that things were being taught at these breakfast programs that she considered to be unhealthy.

Mr. ROMINES. When you say "these programs" are you referring to the program at the Atlantic Street Center?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes. In this particular case she heard that basically the children were being taught to hate the police and disregard their authority.

Mr. ROMINES. Did she ascertain from her own children whether this was in fact true?

Mr. SIMMONS. She did question her own children about this, but they made the statement to her that they did not particularly listen to the

speeches during the breakfast program. They just ate and went on to school.

Mr. ROMINES. Does she still allow her children to attend the breakfast program?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, she stopped them from attending sometime prior to Thanksgiving of last year.

Mr. ROMINES. What reason did she give?

Mr. SIMMONS. She felt they were being exposed to an unhealthy influence and also there was a general stigma attached to the attending of the breakfast program, to the extent that neighborly pride in the—that you were not providing your children breakfast at home.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you interview any other individuals, either parents or children, who attended Panther breakfast programs?

Mr. SIMMONS. I interviewed a 12-year-old elementary school child by the name of David Davidson.

Mr. ROMINES. Which breakfast program did he attend?

Mr. SIMMONS. He attended the Atlantic Street program.

Mr. ROMINES. What did he tell you about attendance at that program?

Mr. SIMMONS. He went three or four times a week, approximately during the same period as the Skinner children, some time after the start of 1969-70 school year. He stopped going sometime before Thanksgiving last year.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he indicate anything to you about what the members of the Panther Party who ran that program taught him at the program?

Mr. SIMMONS. He could remember them making statements to the effect that it was OK to kill the pigs and—

Mr. ROMINES. Did he explain why it was OK for them to kill the pigs?

Mr. SIMMONS. The reasoning they gave to this was that if you killed the pigs you would help colored people to get jobs.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he tell you what he understood the term "pig" to mean?

Mr. SIMMONS. He did.

Mr. ROMINES. What did it mean to him?

Mr. SIMMONS. Police officers.

Mr. ROMINES. Did he indicate to you who was conducting these sessions, who was telling him it was OK to kill a pig?

Mr. SIMMONS. He could not recall names immediately. However, when the names Aaron Dixon and Elmer Dixon were brought into the conversation, he recognized their names as being the parties.

Mr. ROMINES. In the course of your investigation, did you interview any individuals who are connected with the Seattle Transit System?

Mr. SIMMONS. I did.

Mr. ROMINES. For what reason?

Mr. SIMMONS. To determine if any vandalism had occurred with Seattle Transit Company property.

Mr. ROMINES. Had any vandalism so occurred?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; vandalism had occurred and other instances of threats.

Mr. ROMINES. Would you summarize for the committee, please, what that interviewee reported to you?

Mr. SIMMONS. Basically that during the period between 9 April 1968 and 2 July 1969 there were 33 reports of incidents in the bus zone at 34th and East Union Streets.

Mr. ROMINES. What was located there at that time?

Mr. SIMMONS. Black Panther headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you get any more information as to why the buses and/or the drivers who stopped at that particular area were harassed, and, also, by whom were they harassed?

Mr. SIMMONS. Of the 33 reports that were filed by the drivers of the bus company, 22 could be directly related to the Black Panthers. Of the 22 reported, 17 were reports of drivers being threatened or harassed about using the parking zone in front of Black Panther headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. Did the Panthers give the drivers any reason why they did not want them to use the parking area there?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, they just did not want the buses to pull up in the end of the bus zone in front of Panther headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. I believe you said 22 of the reports related to the Panthers?

Mr. SIMMONS. Right.

Mr. ROMINES. Of those, how many were threats to the drivers?

Mr. SIMMONS. Seventeen.

Mr. ROMINES. How about the other five?

Mr. SIMMONS. The other five involved physical assaults and/or property damage.

Mr. ROMINES. Could you summarize those five for the committee, please?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes. On one occasion, the 18th of September 1968, an operator had his bus parked at the zone in front of Black Panther headquarters.

At this time a Negro male came out of Panther headquarters and told the bus driver to move. The operator told him he had approximately 2 more minutes in order to get back on the schedule. At this time the operator was struck in the head, and he subsequently left the area.

On the 3d of October 1968 an operator parked his coach in the bus zone at 34th and East Union, and at that time approximately 50 members of the Black Panther Party came out of Panther headquarters and started to harass the bus driver. On this occasion one of the individuals got on the bus and stated that he was checking to see about some harassment that the drivers were giving his men. After he made this statement, another individual got on the bus and noticed that the driver had a two-way radio set on the bus. At this time he grabbed the head set of the two-way radio, then ripped it out of the set, and left the bus. At this time, the operator closed the door and left the area.

Mr. ROMINES. Did anything else transpire on the particular occasion?

Mr. SIMMONS. On this particular occasion, Aaron Dixon was arrested for grand larceny for the theft of this piece of bus company

property. The charge was subsequently reduced to petit larceny for which he received a conviction and a \$50 fine.

Mr. ROMINES. That is two. What happened on the third occasion?

Mr. SIMMONS. On the 23d of October 1968, the operator parked his coach in the bus zone in front of Black Panther headquarters. At this time two Negroes entered the coach and told the operator that the coach should not be parked in the zone. One of the Negroes had political posters supporting the Black Panthers and wanted to place them on the bus. The operator offered no resistance. At this time another operator pulled in behind the first bus and got out to see what the problem was. As the second operator approached, one of the individuals got off the first bus and attacked him and pushed him back in his bus.

Mr. ROMINES. Any particular reason?

Mr. SIMMONS. No.

During the course of events, the first driver got off his bus to try to protect the second driver, and the first driver was struck in the ribs and in the face, and the second operator received a blow to the head.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any arrests arising out of that particular incident?

Mr. SIMMONS. There were not.

Mr. ROMINES. What happened on the fourth occasion?

Mr. SIMMONS. On the 4th of March 1969, an operator parked his bus in the zone at 34th and East Union. At this time, three Negro males came out of Black Panther headquarters and told the operator he should not park in front of their office. The operator told them he was not going to move the coach. This made the men angry and they made a statement to the effect that "We are going to beat your —— the next time you come up here."

At this time, the driver continued on his route. After proceeding a few blocks, he noticed a car behind him with three Negro males and a Negro female in it. When he stopped to pick up some passengers about three blocks later, the individuals stopped their car, got out, and entered the bus. At this time he recognized the individuals as those he had just had an encounter with.

Mr. ROMINES. The same three that had earlier come out of the Panther Party headquarters?

Mr. SIMMONS. Right. At this time the three Negroes started to fight with the bus driver. He was able to get a can of tear gas out of his pocket and sprayed one of them. However, the other two pulled him out of his seat and pushed him on the floor and began to beat him.

He got up and got out of the bus. At this time the bus, which was parked on a hill, moved forward striking one parked car, which struck another parked car, which struck a third parked car. The bus, in other words, went out of control.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any arrests arising out of that incident?

Mr. SIMMONS. No.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the last incident, Mr. Simmons?

Mr. SIMMONS. The last incident occurred on 2 July 1969, and this was another occasion of the drivers just being threatened or harassed about parking in front of Panther headquarters.

Mr. ROMINES. Was that by members of the party?

Mr. SIMMONS. In that case 10 blacks came out of Panther headquarters and made the statement to the driver.

Mr. ROMINES. From these incidents, then, there has only been one arrest and conviction, and that was for the theft of the radio equipment?

Mr. SIMMONS. Correct.

Mr. ROMINES. And the only reason given by the Panthers for this is that they did not want the buses stopping in front of their headquarters, right?

Mr. SIMMONS. Correct.

Mr. ROMINES. In the course of your investigation in Seattle, did you ascertain whether or not at any time any members of the Black Panther Party had dynamite in their possession?

Mr. SIMMONS. An instance involving dynamite was brought to my attention. However, it was never directly attributed to the Panthers.

Mr. ROMINES. How was it brought to your attention, Mr. Simmons?

Mr. SIMMONS. I visited agents of the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division of the U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service. They stated to me that on 23 May 1969 a confidential informant advised them that Aaron Dixon was storing dynamite in a vacant lot behind his house.

The Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms agents did investigate and found a case of dynamite behind the residence at 34th and Spring.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. ROMINES. Whose residence is there?

Mr. SIMMONS. Aaron Dixon's.

Mr. ROMINES. You say there is a vacant lot there?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, behind his residence.

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 15 and ask you if you can identify that?

Mr. SIMMONS. This is a picture of the case of dynamite found in the vacant lot.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any arrests arising from that case?

Mr. SIMMONS. No.

Mr. ROMINES. How many sticks are there in a case of dynamite?

Mr. SIMMONS. 166 sticks.

Mr. ROMINES. Was this a full case?

Mr. SIMMONS. No. There were 33 missing, and a total of 133 sticks of dynamite were recovered.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Simmons, in your investigation in Seattle, did you make any attempt to ascertain whether there have been any recent purchases of either firearms or ammunition by members of the Black Panther Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. I did.

Mr. ROMINES. What was the result of that part of your investigation?

Mr. SIMMONS. I reviewed the records of the business establishment named Central Loan [Office], a pawnshop.

Mr. ROMINES. Why did you select that particular establishment?

Mr. SIMMONS. It was recommended to me by agents of the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division in that this was a popular place for Panthers to purchase their firearms and ammunition.

<sup>1</sup> 3400 E. Spring.

Mr. ROMINES. Did those records indicate any purchases by members of the party?

Mr. SIMMONS. It did.

Mr. ROMINES. What had been purchased?

Mr. SIMMONS. Recent purchases included, on 3 April 1970 Aaron Dixon purchased a Plainfield automatic rifle, and a Fabrique Nationale, also known as an FN 30-06. On the 13th of April 1970, Aaron Dixon purchased a .30 caliber carbine, and also on 10 December 1969 Aaron Dixon purchased a Fabrique Nationale FN 30-06.

Mr. ROMINES. During the month of April, then, Mr. Dixon purchased three rifles?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is correct.

Mr. ROMINES. Did you ascertain what amounts he paid for those rifles?

Mr. SIMMONS. I did.

Mr. ROMINES. What did he pay for them?

Mr. SIMMONS. For the Plainfield automatic rifle he paid \$95. For the .30 caliber carbine he paid \$35.

Mr. ROMINES. He paid how much?

Mr. SIMMONS. I am sorry. \$95. For the FN 30-06, he paid \$89.

Mr. ROMINES. How did he pay for those rifles?

Mr. SIMMONS. They were all cash transactions.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Simmons, I hand you what has previously been marked and introduced as Committee Exhibit 9, which is the recertification form for food stamps executed by Mr. Dixon. Is that correct?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is right.

Mr. ROMINES. What does that form indicate Mr. Dixon showed as his gross income for April 1970?

Mr. SIMMONS. It indicates his net income.

Mr. ROMINES. Does it show his gross income?

Mr. SIMMONS. It does.

Mr. ROMINES. What is his gross income?

Mr. SIMMONS. A gross income of \$200.

Mr. ROMINES. Does it indicate his net income?

Mr. SIMMONS. The \$200 gross income, minus a listing of \$194.95 for hardship reductions, indicates on this form 5 cents net income.

Mr. ROMINES. That would probably be some sort of a typographical error or mistake. That would be five dollars and a nickel net income.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. ROMINES. How much did he spend, total, then, for the rifles in the month of April?

Mr. SIMMONS. He made a \$279 cash outlay for weapons during the month of April.

Mr. ROMINES. Were there any other weapons or ammunition purchased by Black Panther members in recent months?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, there were. During the period April to September 1969, Earl Nelson purchased a total of 1,850 rounds of various ammunition.

Mr. ROMINES. What type of ammunition would that have been?

Mr. SIMMONS. Mostly 30-06, .38 caliber, .22 caliber, and 30-30.

Mr. ROMINES. Any other purchases?

Mr. SIMMONS. On 1 August 1969 Robert O'Neil Green purchased a 30 caliber carbine.

Mr. ROMINES. And any others?

Mr. SIMMONS. On December 26, 1969, Gwen Donnet Morgan purchased 40 rounds of .223 caliber ammunition.

Mr. ROMINES. Who is Gwen Donnet Morgan?

Mr. SIMMONS. Aaron Dixon's wife. She used her maiden name to make the purchases.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Simmons, in the course of your investigation in Seattle, did you make an attempt to compile for the committee an itemization of the total number of arrests, from official police records where obtainable, of members of the Black Panther Party who have been identified on Committee Exhibit 1 as having been members from approximately late April 1968 to March of 1970 at one time or another?

Mr. SIMMONS. I did.

Mr. ROMINES. I hand you what has been marked Committee Exhibit 16 and ask you to identify that, please.

Mr. SIMMONS. This is a compilation of the arrest records involving 39 persons of the 81 individuals who, during the period of April 1968 to the present, have been identified as either party members or regular associates of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. ROMINES. How many total arrests were shown there?

Mr. SIMMONS. There were 130 total arrests.

Mr. ROMINES. And how many charges were shown?

Mr. SIMMONS. Of the 130 arrests, 142 charges resulted.

Mr. ROMINES. Would that indicate that some individuals who were arrested were charged with more than one offense?

Mr. SIMMONS. It does.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, I would ask that Committee Exhibits 10 through 16 be introduced to the record. I have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. PREYER. Does this include the letter to the Safeway Stores, the letter you referred to as being sent to Safeway Stores?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes, sir, that would be Exhibit 10.

Mr. PREYER. Exhibits 11 and 12 are affidavits.

Mr. ROMINES. Exhibits 11 through 14 are affidavits executed by employees of the Safeway Stores. Actually they are copies of affidavits.

Mr. PREYER. The last exhibit, No. 16, dealing with the arrests of the 39 persons from the Black Panthers from April 1968 to present, is this a summary of the earlier evidence on arrests which you offered into evidence?

Mr. ROMINES. No, sir. Mr. Chairman, Committee Exhibit No. 1 is a list of all persons identified as members of the Panther Party between April of 1968 to present, at least those we were able to obtain identifications of, and for the people listed on Committee Exhibit 1 those arrest records were compiled.

Mr. PREYER. So those 81 people, this is the arrest record of 39 of those people?

Mr. ROMINES. That is correct.

Mr. PREYER. Which comes to a total number of 130, and 142 charges. This would duplicate some of the evidence we have heard on specific matters?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. The Fidelity Bank case and that sort of thing. On the Safeway Stores, boycotting the stores and asking—picketing the

stores, asking people not to buy there, I would assume is a form of persuasion that has come under the first amendment. Operation Breadbasket seems to operate on that principle. This goes a little further, though, where you have one of these affidavits which says that Aaron Dixon opened the door of the store, as I understood it, and with a bullhorn said, in effect, "Get out, we are going to bomb the store."

Is that what your testimony was?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. I want clear what you said after that about whether some bomb threats were made to the store or were not made?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir, there was a bomb threat made. On the first 2 days of the picketing, Aaron Dixon or Elmer Dixon or other members of the Panther Party used the bullhorn and said, "Get out, we are going to bomb the store." One morning, prior to the opening of business, police received a bomb threat, that there was a bomb in the Safeway Store.

Mr. PREYER. There were no bombs, however?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, sir, a search revealed no bombs.

Mr. PREYER. That would certainly seem to fall afoul of Justice Holmes' statement that free speech does not include crying "Fire" in a crowded theater. To tell people to get out, that you are going to bomb the store, goes well beyond the standard picketing techniques.

The breakfast program, Mr. Counsel, could I speak to you here a moment?

Mr. ROMINES. Yes.

(Chairman confers with counsel.)

Mr. PREYER. You mentioned talking to a mother of some children, and one child at least, who were attending breakfast programs at the Atlantic Center. Is that right?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PREYER. The Atlantic Center was the one of the four breakfast programs that was operated by the Panthers. Is that correct?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. PREYER. I believe the record earlier is clear that there were four breakfast programs operating in Seattle.

Mr. ROMINES. Mr. Chairman, there had been four in the past year and a half. One at the Madrona Church was started and run by the Panthers for awhile and ceased to exist. There were two others started by the Panthers, but currently being operated by local community volunteers. The fourth one, at Seattle Atlantic Street Center, is the only program started and currently being operated by members of the Panther Party.

Mr. PREYER. As I recall, the Seattle center has, as I recall, about 8 to 10 children?

Mr. ROMINES. Somewhere between 6 to 10 attending.

Mr. PREYER. Some of these other community programs are substantial, with 40—

Mr. ROMINES. There are substantially larger numbers there.

Mr. PREYER. I think there has been misunderstanding that the testimony relating to the Seattle Panther center is the Panther program, and the one about which we have had the most testimony—that is, distinguished from the other two community programs which we have not had testimony on how they are operating—

Mr. ROMINES. That is correct.

Mr. PREYER. There was a misunderstanding on that, I think. The two-way radio charge and conviction. This radio was ripped out of the bus, and Aaron Dixon was charged with petit larceny on that?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is correct, sir. He was originally charged with grand larceny and the charge was reduced to petit larceny.

Mr. PREYER. And that was the only conviction shown growing out of the transit company property?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is correct.

Mr. PREYER. You mentioned the incident on which three people followed the bus and stopped it and beat up the driver, although he himself was apparently carrying a sort of a mobile pocket tear gas equipment, and the bus ended up wrecking or hitting two other cars. Were there no charges of any kind filed at that time?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, sir. By the time the confusion had settled down, the individuals got back into the car and left the area.

Mr. PREYER. The dynamite incident is circumstantial in nature, but as I understand it the case of dynamite was found in the vacant lot in back of Aaron Dixon's house?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. PREYER. Was there any sort of charge filed there?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, sir, there was not. At this time in the State of Washington, it is no crime to possess dynamite.

Mr. PREYER. How easy is it to purchase dynamite in the State of Washington? Can you freely purchase it? I assume it must be for some—you must have to give some reason why you purchase it.

Mr. SIMMONS. I got the impression, sir, that dynamite was freely available to anyone for the purchase price.

Mr. PREYER. These exhibits are all admissible in evidence, and the chairman will admit these into evidence.

(Documents marked Committee Exhibits Nos. 10 through 16, respectively. See appendix B, pages 4412-4422.)

Mr. PREYER. I don't think I have any more questions on your testimony, Mr. Simmons, as far as the facts on them and bringing them out.

Mr. Counsel, do you have any more questions you wanted to bring out?

Mr. ROMINES. No, sir.

Mr. PREYER. I think if we are through with Mr. Simmons, we will recess the hearings at this time until further notice.

The hearings are recessed.

(Whereupon, at 3:20 p.m., Wednesday, May 20, 1970, the subcommittee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

## APPENDIX A

[Ed. note. On page 2676 of the committee publication, Black Panther Party, part 1, it was stated:

"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."

By communication received on June 1, 1970, via Rev. Lawson's attorney, Stephen J. Pollak, Rev. Lawson submitted the following letter and enclosure:]

Mr. Donald G. Sanders, Esq.  
Chief Counsel  
Committee on Internal Security  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.

May 22, 1970

Dear Mr. Sanders:

This letter is in further response to the Committee's request for certain items of information made during my appearance on March 4, 1970 and confirmed in your letter to my counsel, Stephen J. Pollak, dated April 23, 1970.

Heretofore, Mr. Pollak, at my request, has forwarded to you my biographical sketch as well as a list of the names and occupations of the members of the Board of Trustees of the Inner City Parish. The purpose of this letter is to respond to the third and final item of information requested by the Committee: that is, for an accounting of the expenditures of the \$2,500 in the Young Adult Defense Fund and for a statement of the purposes for which the Human Resources Corporation supported Young Peoples Community Patrol during August and September of 1968. The purpose of this Patrol was to act as an intermediary body between police and the community during this period of high tension.

I served as administrator of the Patrol during this period which, pursuant to the agreement with the Human Resources Corporation, was to take, and did take, approximately one-quarter of my time. Funds in the amount of \$175 were received from the Human Resources Corporation to reimburse the Parish for the use of the Parish office and telephone during the period in connection with the activities of the Patrol. In addition, funds in the amount of \$200 were paid to the Parish to compensate the Parish for the time I spent administering the Patrol.

The final item of information requested by the Committee is an accounting of the expenditures from the \$2,500 Young Adult Defense Fund. I have reviewed the Fund records and enclose with this letter an accounting of the activities of the account, deposits and disbursements, from the date it was opened, April 22, 1969, through the date of my testimony before the Committee, March 4, 1970.

Sincerely,



Philip C. Lawson

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[Ed. note. The Methodist Inner City Parish Conference Report, 1969, described the following "Fund" as one of several in a Special Program, receipts for which came from the "Fund for Reconciliation." It was further said to be "A Legal Fee Aid Administered by the District Superintendent of the K. C. North District."]

YOUNG ADULT DEFENSE FUND

<u>Date</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Check No.</u>	<u>Deposit/Withdrawal</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
4/22/69	\$2,500.00		DEPOSIT	
5/2/69	200.	101	John L. Preciphs	Reimbursement for bail bonds paid during February, March, April, 1969 by Rev. and Mrs. Preciphs.
5/2/69	550.	102	Methodist Inner City Parish-Social Service Fd.	Reimbursement for bail bonds paid during February, March, April, 1969 by MICP-Social Service Fd.
5/7/69	100.	103	Methodist Inner City Parish-Social Service Fd.	Reimbursement for bail bonds paid during February, March, April, 1969 by MICP-Social Service Fd.
6/20/69	320.	104	Methodist Inner City Parish-Social Service Fd.	Reimbursement for bail bonds paid during February, March, April, 1969 by MICP-Social Service Fd.
7/22/69	25.	105	John L. Preciphs	- - -
7/29/69	20.	106	John L. Preciphs	Reimbursement for bail bond paid by Reverend Preciphs
7/31/69	12.	107	Phillip C. Lawson	Reimbursement for bail bond paid by Reverend Lawson
8/1/69	60.	108	Marcia Johnson	Reimbursement for bail bond paid by Marcia Johnson
8/14/69	250.	109	Atty. Sidney Willens	Atty's Fee for service to Levy Jones, Jr. in matter involving alleged mistreatment by police officers
8/15/69	350.	110	Vann Anderson	Loan to Young Adult Projects, Inc. for projects related to maintenance of a house for runaway youths and an anti-drug program
8/18/69	25.		DEPOSIT	
8/21/69	150.	111	MICP Social Service Fd.	Provision of emergency assistance to people in need (not used for bail bonds)
9/4/69	100.		DEPOSIT	
10/6/69	100.	112	VOIDED	
10/6/69	100.	113	Pete O'Neal	Funds for bail bond
10/18/69	25.	114	"cash"	Loan to needy young adult

[Ed. note. In summary, the foregoing account discloses expenditures as follows from the Young Adult Defense Fund, which was an aspect of the Fund for Reconciliation:

\$1362	bail bonds
250	attorney fee
25	John L. Preciphs
550	loans and other assistance
<u>\$2187</u>	total expenditures

Rev. Lawson's testimony (at page 2629) discloses that of the amount expended for bail bonds, \$800-\$900 was used by persons "affiliated with the Black Panther Party." Pete O'Neal, named in the accounting as the recipient of \$100 on October 6, 1969, was identified in the hearings as the head of the Kansas City Chapter of the Black Panther Party.]

## APPENDIX B

### COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1

Persons identified as officers in the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party at its inception late in April 1968:

Aaron Lloyd Dixon, Sr.—captain  
Curtiss Ray Harris—cocaptain  
Emanuel James Brisker, Jr.—lieutenant of education  
Willie Brazler, Jr.—lieutenant of information  
Chester Edward Northington  
Kathleen M. Halley—deputy minister of finance  
Maude Helen Allen—captain of women  
Elmer J. Dixon III—lieutenant of defense

Other individuals who held office at different times between April 1968 and March 1970:

Aaron Lloyd Dixon, Sr.—defense captain  
Elmer J. Dixon III—deputy field marshal—second in command but no title  
Frank Anthony Ware—lieutenant of education  
Michael James Dixon—minister of information  
William "Bill" Green—minister of defense  
Kathleen M. Halley—treasurer  
Alice Spencer aka Green—communications secretary  
Joyce Ann Bruce—lieutenant of women  
Robert "Bobby" White\*—lieutenant of information

Persons identified as Seattle Panther Party members or associates who, at various times between April 1968 and March 1970, participated in Panther functions regularly:

Garner Earl Brooks  
Richard A. Brown  
Frank H. Calhoun  
Michael Dean  
Lawrence Gossett  
Richard A. Gossett  
Robert Lee Harding aka Robert O'Neil Green (member of central staff)  
Bruce G. Hayes  
Leon Valentine Hobbs III  
Lewis T. Jackson  
Carl Miller  
Gary Wade Owens (leader of Panther Unit #8)  
Ronald L. Rolax  
Roland Sherman  
John H. Simon  
Billy Ray Sims  
Joyce Sims  
Buddy Eugene Yates\*  
Joanne Ellis  
Betty Ellis  
Robert Lee Henderson aka "Owana"  
Joanne Harris  
Kathleen M. Halley aka "Nafasi" "Kat" (member central staff)  
Lynn L. Greely  
Jake Fiddler  
Peter Evans\*

---

\*Member of the "Dirty Dozen."

Kenneth Duke  
Gwendolynn D. Dixon nee Morgan  
Cleveland A. Dillon  
Leonard R. Dawson, Jr.  
Joseph Atkins\* (leader of Panther Unit #6)  
James L. Davis\* aka "Timbu"  
Sylvia Yvonne Curtiss  
Billy Lee Conner  
Pieze W. Conner (leader of Panther Unit #4)  
Lawrence D. Chapman  
Kenno Carlos aka Joseph Edward Hall-Charlie Reno  
Frank O. Calhoun, Jr.  
Clifton Byrd  
Marshall D. Buford aka Patrick Dingus  
Leroy Brown  
Dwight M. Brown  
Albert Brown  
Theodore Otis Boyd  
Michael D. Bentley  
Vanetta L. Molson  
Earl Nelson\*  
Richard Eugene Noble (leader of Panther Section #3)  
Artis Allen Parker\* (leader of Panther Unit #9)  
Gregory M. Perkins  
Steve Phillips\* (leader of Panther Unit #1)  
Henderson J. Quinn  
Sandra Kay Randolph  
William D. Richardson  
Michael M. Tagawa\*  
Clark B. Williamson  
Michael Murray\*  
Cornell Garden  
Richard Winston V. "Ricky" Powell  
Julius Bishop  
Sidney Miller\*  
Welton Armstead  
George Hargrove  
Joyce Ann Bruce  
Eugene Misty Graham  
Kathy Jones  
Irma Dean Neal  
Teola Hunter  
Martha Jane Richard

---

\*Member of the "Dirty Dozen."

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2



BRAZIER, WILLIE, JR.



BROOKS, GARNER EARL



BROWN, RICHARD A.

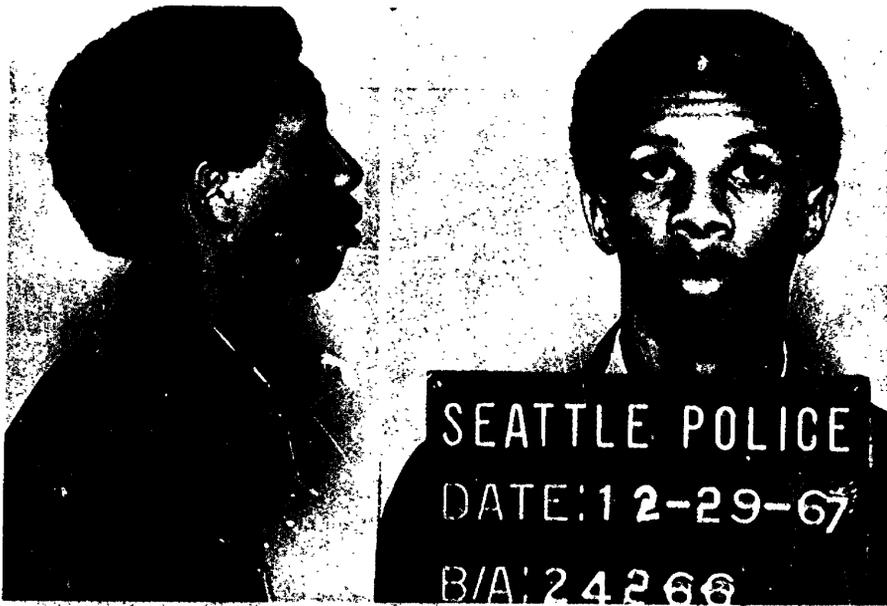


BUFORD, MARSHALL D.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 2-Continued



CALHOUN, FRANK H.



DEAN, MICHAEL

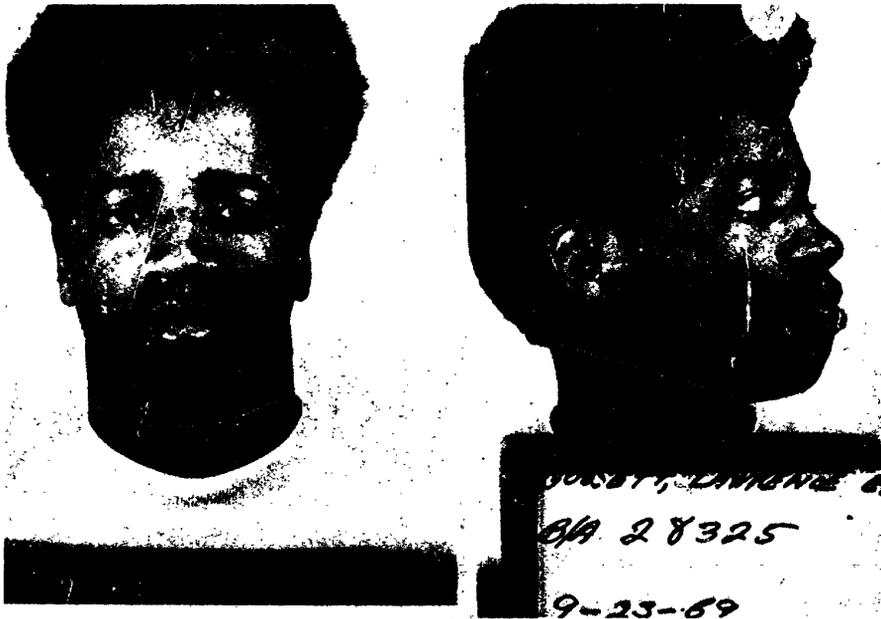


DIXON, AARON LLOYD, SR.



DIXON, ELMER J. III

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2-Continued



GOSSETT, LAWRENCE



GOSSETT, RICHARD A.

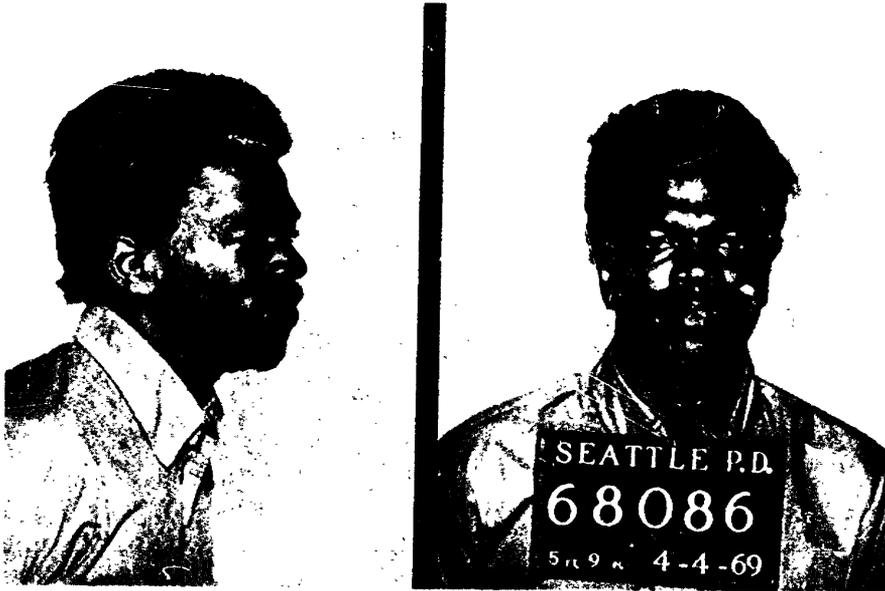


HARDING, ROBERT L.



HARRIS, CURTISS

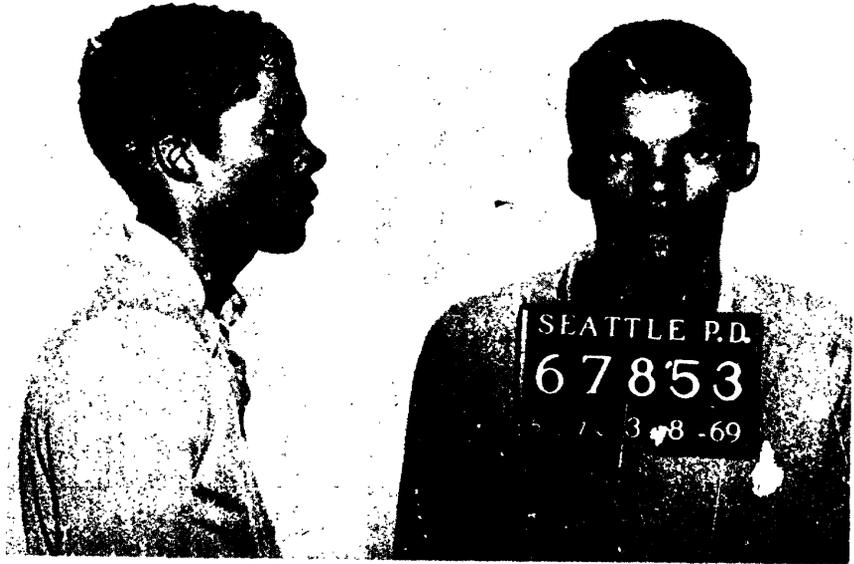
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 2-Continued



HAYES, BRUCE G.



HOBBS, LEON VALENTINE III



JACKSON, LEWIS THOMAS



MILLER, CARL

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2--Continued



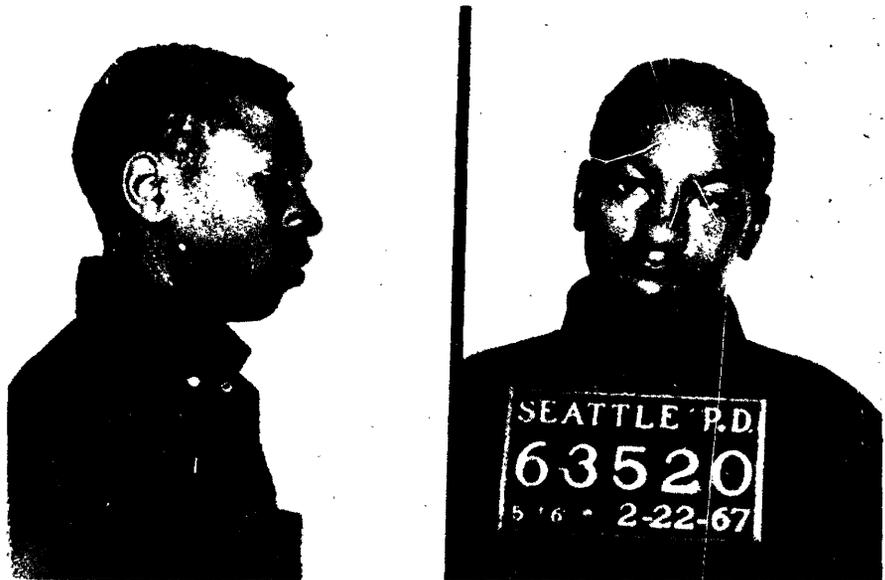
NOBLE, RICHARD EUGENE



OWENS, GARY WADE



PARKER, ARTIS ALIEN



ROLAX, RONALD L.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2-Continued



SHERMAN, ROLAND



SIMON, JOHN H.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 2-Continued



SIMS, BILLY RAY



WHITE, ROBERT



YATES, BUDDY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 3



1. Michael James Dixon
2. Garner Earl Brooks
3. Artis Allen Parker
4. Robert "Bobby" White
5. Robert L. "Robby" Harding, also known as Robert O'Neil Green
6. Steve Phillips

7. Curtiss Ray Harris
8. Chester Edward Northington
9. Aaron Lloyd Dixon, Sr.
10. Lewis Thomas Jackson
11. Richard Winston V. "Ricky" Powell
12. Gordon Brown

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 4

## Quotations by the Black Panther Party

1. Until the last fascist is shaken from the crumbling power structure, the enemies of the people will be right there to lick their boots and bear false witness against the vanguard party....Blood Brother
2. Long live the spirit of deputy chairman Fred.....Black Panther Party
3. The wrath of the people will descend upon you....Black Panther Party
4. Long live the Black Panther Newspaper...voice of the People, and scapegoat of the fascist pig power structure.....Black Panther Party
5. If we worry about what's going to happen to us, we couldn't accomplish anything...justice is gonna come when the mass of people rise up and see justice done...the more they try to come down on us, the more we'll expose them for what they are...pigs.....Chairman Bobby Seale
6. Fascism...fascism is the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic (racist) and most imperialist elements of finance capital. It does not stand above both classes-the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, nor is it super-class government, nor government of the petty-bourgeoisie or the lumpen proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. Finance capital manifests itself not only as banks, trusts, and monopolies, but also as the human property of finance capital-the avaricious businessman, the demagogic politician, and the racist pig cop. Fascism is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class, the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia...capitalism plus racism equals fascism.....Black Panther Party
7. The American flag and the American eagle are the true symbols of fascism, and they should elicit from the people the same outraged repugnance elicited by the swastika of Nazi Germany and the flag of the rising sun of the Japanese imperialists.....Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver
8. The oppressor must be paid in his own coin.....Eldridge Cleaver
9. There can never be peace between the slave and the slave master until the master is dead or the slave is free.....Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton
10. A slave of natural death who dies can't balance out to two dead flies. I'd rather be without the shame, a bullet lodged within my brain. If I were not to reach our goal, let bleeding cancer torment my soul.....Bunohy
11. To break the bonds of fascism we must develop a united front.....Black Panther Party
12. An unarmed people is subject to slavery at any given moment.....Huey P. Newton
13. The spirit of the people is greater than the Man's technology.....Huey P. Newton

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 4--Continued

14. The night they murdered "Li'l" Bobby they killed Eldridge Cleaver, but as long as the ghost of Eldridge Cleaver walks this land, the pigs of the power structures will have an enemy.....Eldridge Cleaver
15. By lifting their hands against Li'l Bobby, they lifted their hands against the best that humanity possesses.....Black Panther Party
16. When the slave kills the slavemaster, it acts as a cleansing process: because then a man is "born" and an oppressor is gone.....Huey P. Newton
17. We shall have our manhood. We shall have it or the earth will be leveled by our attempts to gain it.....Eldridge Cleaver
18. Solidarity with the people...pig agents will be dealt with as enemies of the people.....Black Panther Party
19. The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure.....Huey P. Newton
20. The Black Panther Party is going forth to make sure the desires and needs of the people are answered.....Bobby Seale
21. The blood, sweat, tears, and suffering of Black people are the foundation of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, will tear it down. The immediate result will be perpetual peace for all man kind.....Huey P. Newton
22. The State of California says that Huey Newton is a danger to the community. What do you say? (No?) Is Huey Newton a good force for the community or a bad one? (Good) We finished the case before Judge Zirpoli this morning. We've got an uphill fight friends, but we're gonna win. Right on. The people are gonna win. Right on. We want and we need Huey Newton out on the streets, don't we? Right on. In about three or four days the judge will decide whether he has the power to make the decision that's so important to us. You know this is the first time that we've even had a hearing on this important question. You know the only way that we're gonna make any headway is because of good people like yourselves. There's power in the people. Right on. Keep up the great work. We need each other.....Charles Garry

Produced by

Ministry of Information

Washington State Chapter

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

**DECLARATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE "BLACK PANTHER PARTY" PROGRAM**

THE PANTHER PARTY RECOGNIZES THAT WITHIN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BONDS 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 SEPARATION. WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE 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 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, HAPPINESS AND PEACE, THEREFORE IT IS MANDATORY THAT THE PANTHER PARTY DEVELOP ITS TO POINT PROGRAM TO DEAL WITH THE BASIC NEEDS AND RIGHTS OF ALL BLACK PEOPLE.

- from WHAT WE BELIEVE, BPP Platform (In part from Declaration of Independence)

"...America has a very serious problem...America's problem is us. We're her problem. The only reason she has a problem is she doesn't want us here. And every time you look at yourself, be you black, brown, red or yellow, a so-called Negro, you represent a person who poses such a serious problem for America because you're not wanted. Once you face this fact, then you can start plotting a course that will make you appear intelligent, instead of unintelligent."

"...be intelligent...Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery."

El-Hajj Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X)

"POWER is the ability to define phenomena and make them act in a desired manner."

Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, BPP

"Every black man should have a shotgun, a .357 magnum or a .38 in his pad to defend it...every woman should understand that weapon..."

Bobby Seale, Chairman, BPP

Each Panther MUST become politically educated, in order that he may conduct himself in a revolutionary manner that is beneficial to the Party and that furthers the obtention of the basic needs and rights of the Black people. Learn the ten points. Know what they mean, and be able to articulate that program. Remember: the Panther NEVER attacks; but don't back him into a corner, for "When the Panther roars, the world trembles!"

PANTHER POWER!

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5-Continued

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

(Filling out, please print clearly)

Age \_\_\_\_\_ Male ( ) or Female ( )

Address \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_

- Under 18, Kicked out of school . . . . ( )
- Student . . . . . ( )
- Inskilled Laborer . . . . . ( )
- Skilled Laborer . . . . . ( )
- Housewife . . . . . ( )
- Unemployed, Trying to make it . . . ( )
- Professional . . . . . ( )
- Semi-Skilled Laborer . . . . . ( )
- Hustler . . . . . ( )
- On Parole ( ) or Probation . . . ( )

What is your occupation/s; write below:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

What is the highest grade in school that you have completed. Circle one 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
11 12 ; Junior College 13 14

What High school did or do you attend? \_\_\_\_\_

What Junior College did or do you attend? \_\_\_\_\_

Major courses: \_\_\_\_\_

What State College or University did or do you attend? \_\_\_\_\_

Major courses: \_\_\_\_\_

Do you have any special "hustling" skills? Yes ( ) or No ( )

Are you married? Yes ( ) No ( ) If Yes, give husband or wife's name \_\_\_\_\_

How many members are in your family? \_\_\_\_\_

IMPORTANT:

Do you believe in Self-Defense? Yes ( ) No ( ) If No, Why? give reason on back.

Have you ever been convicted of a felony Yes ( ) No ( )

Have you ever been convicted of a felony where you used a firearm? Yes ( ) No ( )

What is your opinion of the Black Panther Party? Excellent ( ) Good ( ) Fair ( ) Poor ( )

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 6

THE OBJECTIVES OF WOMEN PANTHERS

- A. Establish an exact, standard uniform to be worn by all pantherettes. So as to complete the exactness of pride and dignity of black women.
- B. Establish an immediate training program for the women. Such as an extensive program in education on the gun - how to use it; the different types; field stripping; etc. Also an extensive military training program to be implemented into this training period.
- C. Courses in First-Aid should be started immediately as the time has indeed come when knowledge of first Aid will be detrimental to the survival, not only of the Brothers but the entire Party. I don't feel that the first aid course should be simply read from a book; an experienced person capable of doing and showing the actual fundamentals to the women. Reading is one thing, but actually doing is another.
- D. One idea for the sisters in knowing their guns is the sisters pads, can so be set up that when some stuff comes down the sisters houses will be broken into the different sections. ( I'm sure there are enough sisters for 2 - 3 in a section) For example at 23rd and union the pig vamps on some Black People, sister kathy's crib is located at 20th and union. Say the Central committee breaks down a special order for the panthers to put the pigs out of our territory. OK, Brother Bobby's unit starts out. They position themselves and vamp on the pig, say Brother Bobby runs out of Ammo 60 minutes later yet he has 4 guns . Sister kathy should be in a position that when Bobby runs to her crib she will have Ammo to put in his guns no matter what type or make. She should be able to make the necessary replacements while the brother takes a rest. Her job is far from over though, the sister is also responsible for ~~###~~ going out and setting the necessary replacements for those bullets used to be ready for next time. The sister should also be prepared to either natch him up or call in another more experienced sister down the street down the street, but only in

~~over~~

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 6-Continued

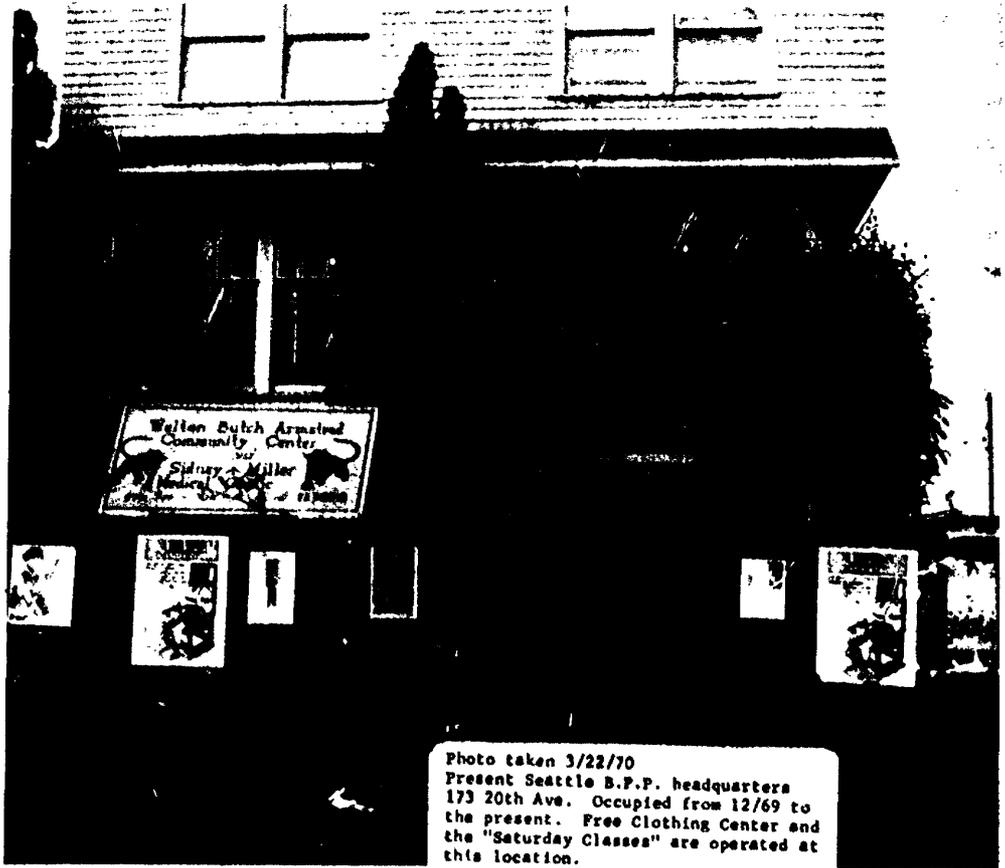
special cases should be made. Then when the exchange is completed and Brother Bobby is stationed, she should be ready for any attack a pig may make on her crib. Either she should guard the door with a shotgun or a reliable weapon. She should be confident in knowing that she has the knowledge and the ability to either A. Blow the mess out of the pig or B. go down trying like hell to blow the——' out of him, but always remembering never to give that weapon up for I feel that, as of now - the gun is a symbol of Black Pride and when you give away your gun you are giving up that one thing that is yours,

BLACK PRIDE

F. In light of this, it is very plain to see the immediate need for the installation of sections and subsections. Even if we must break the Central Area and the projects into 10 parts we must work to find 10 capable people as soon as possible to begin an immediate "watch of the central area". The reason being, that we should not have to look through the applications to "see" if we can't find a brother who lives near some——' to see what is happening. We the Black Panther Party should know before the Pig, Frazer or Hundley, exactly what is going down.

## POLITICAL EDUCATION

'The deleted word appears in original exhibit retained in committee files.



BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 7 - Continued

4401

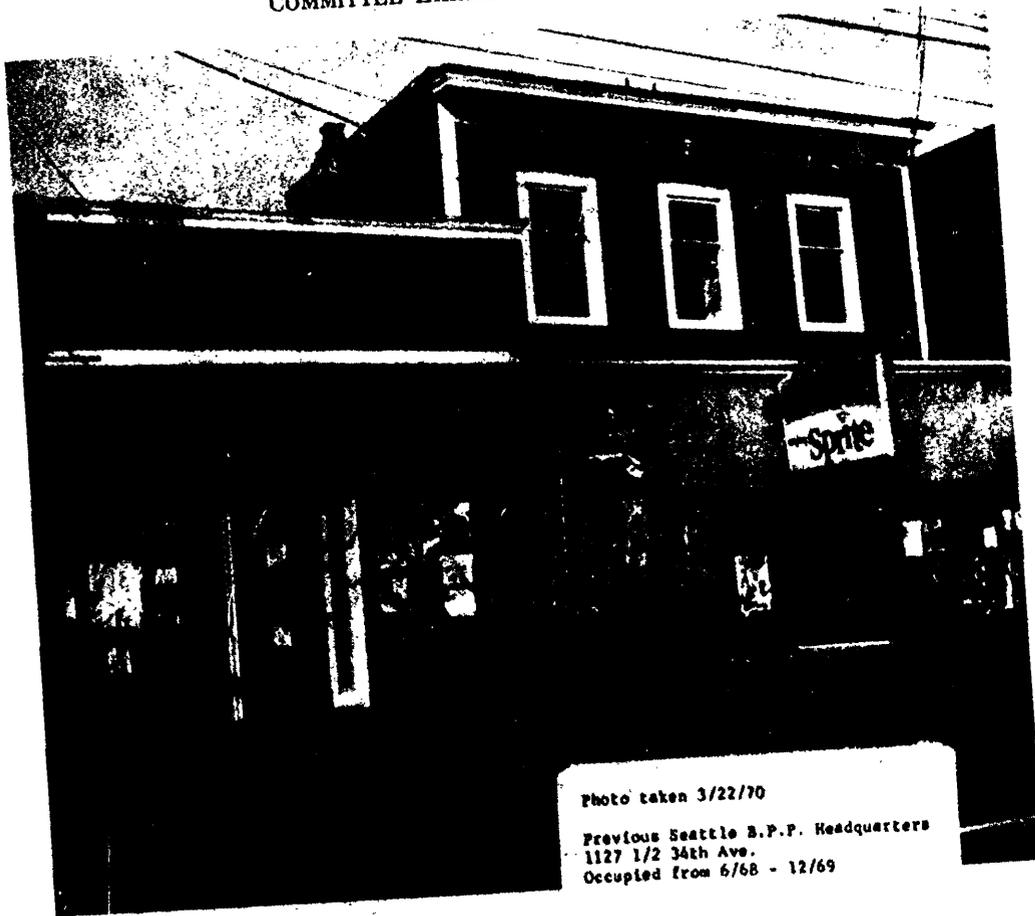


Photo taken 3/22/70

Previous Seattle B.P.P. Headquarters  
1127 1/2 34th Ave.  
Occupied from 6/68 - 12/69

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 7 - Continued

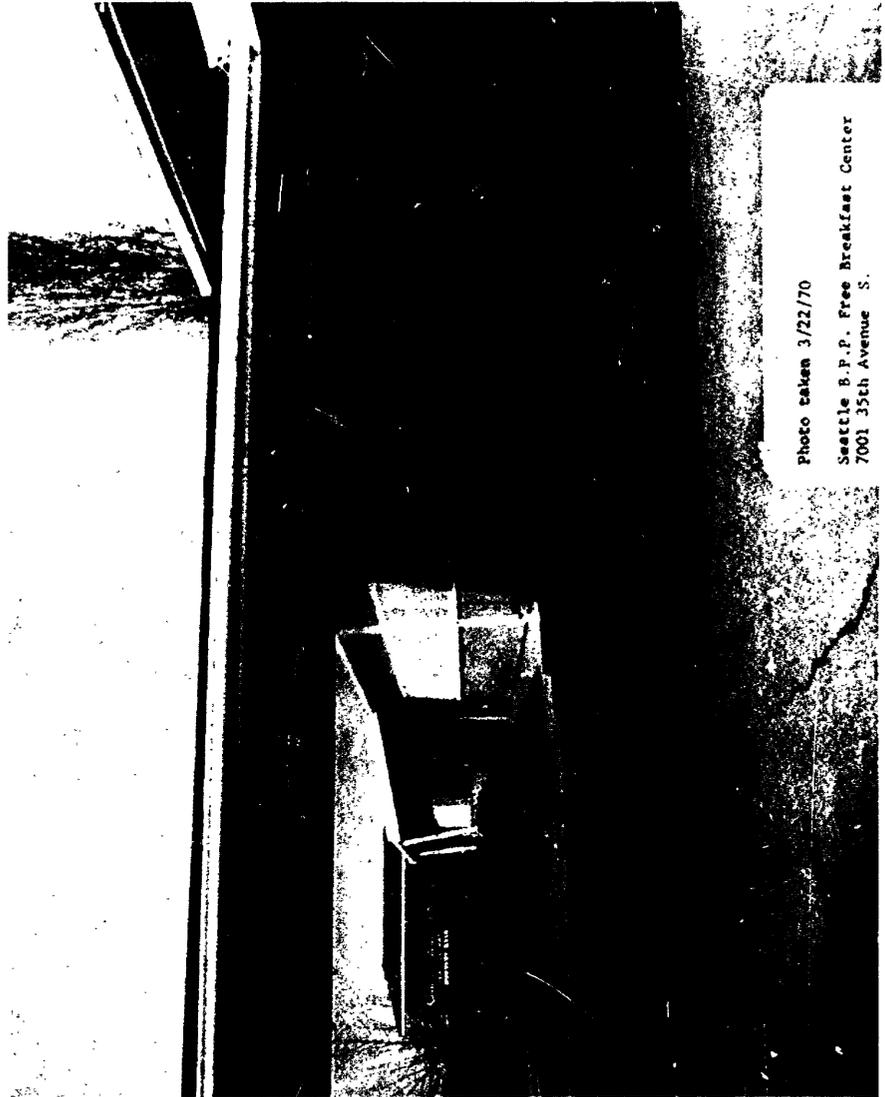
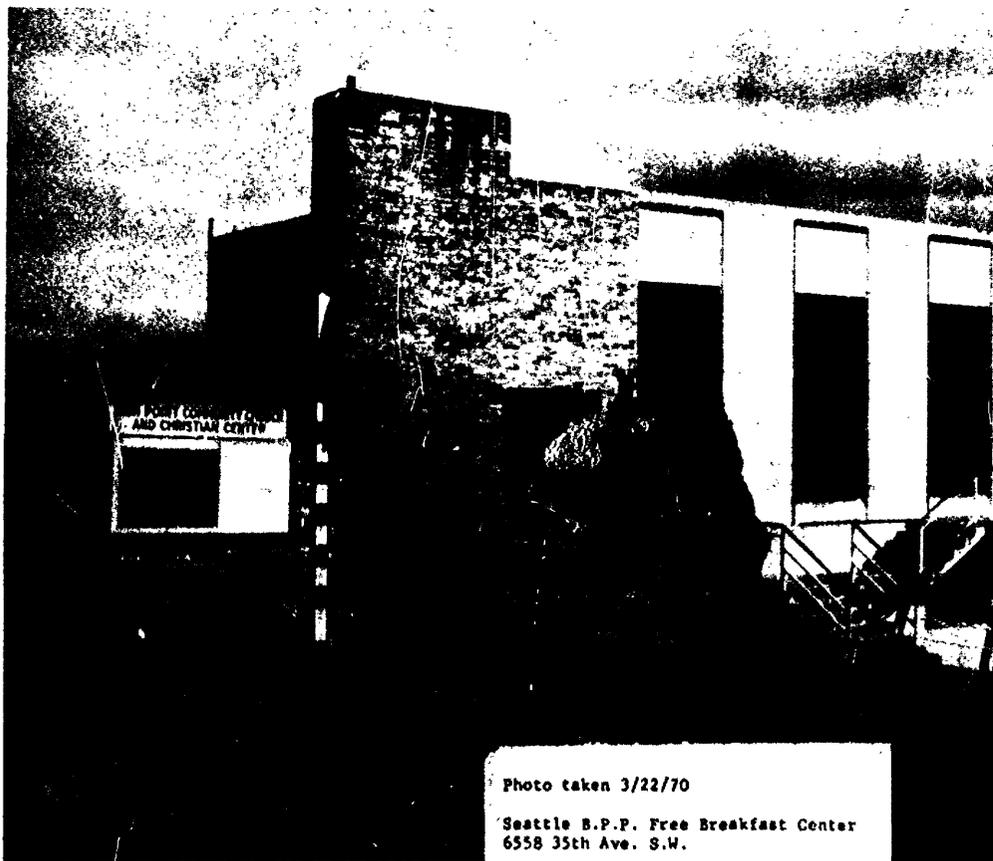
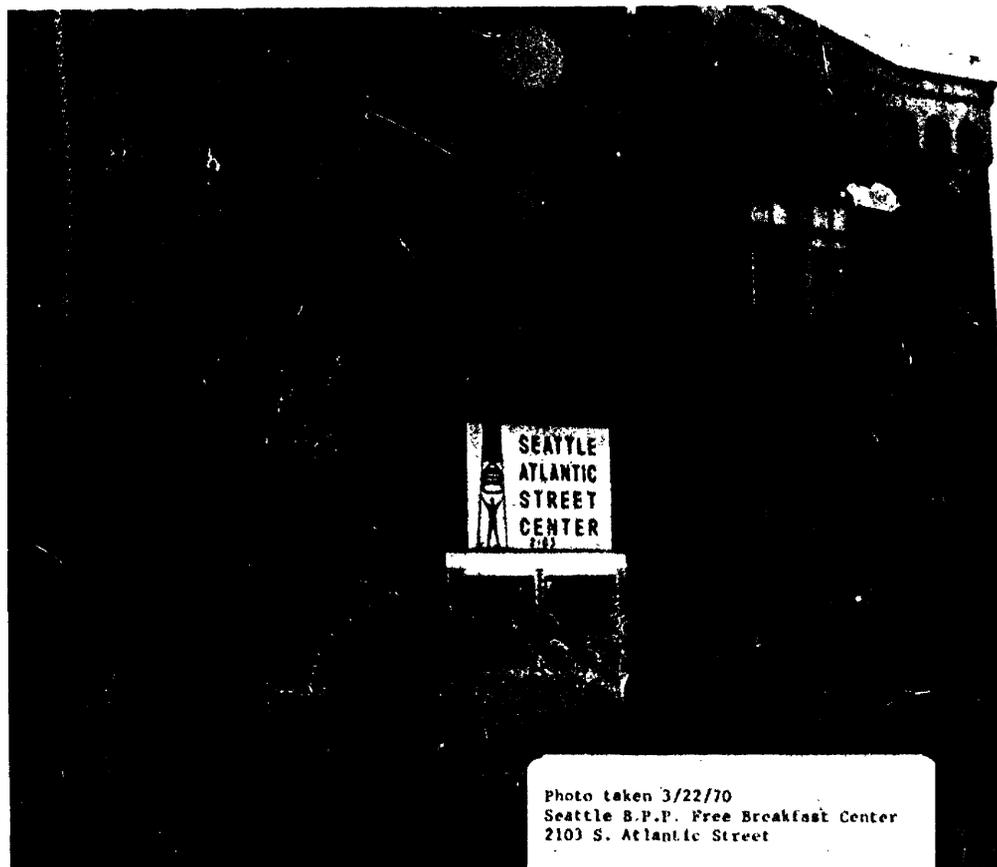


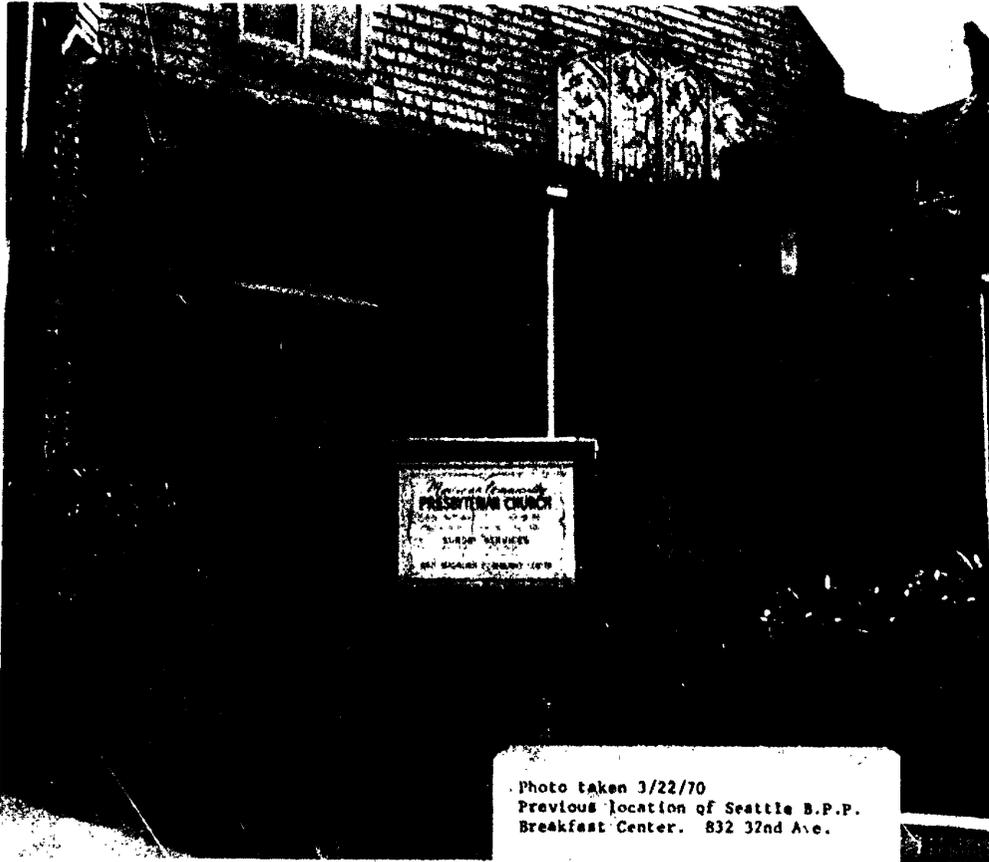
Photo taken 3/22/70  
Seattle B.P.P. Free Breakfast Center  
7001 35th Avenue S.

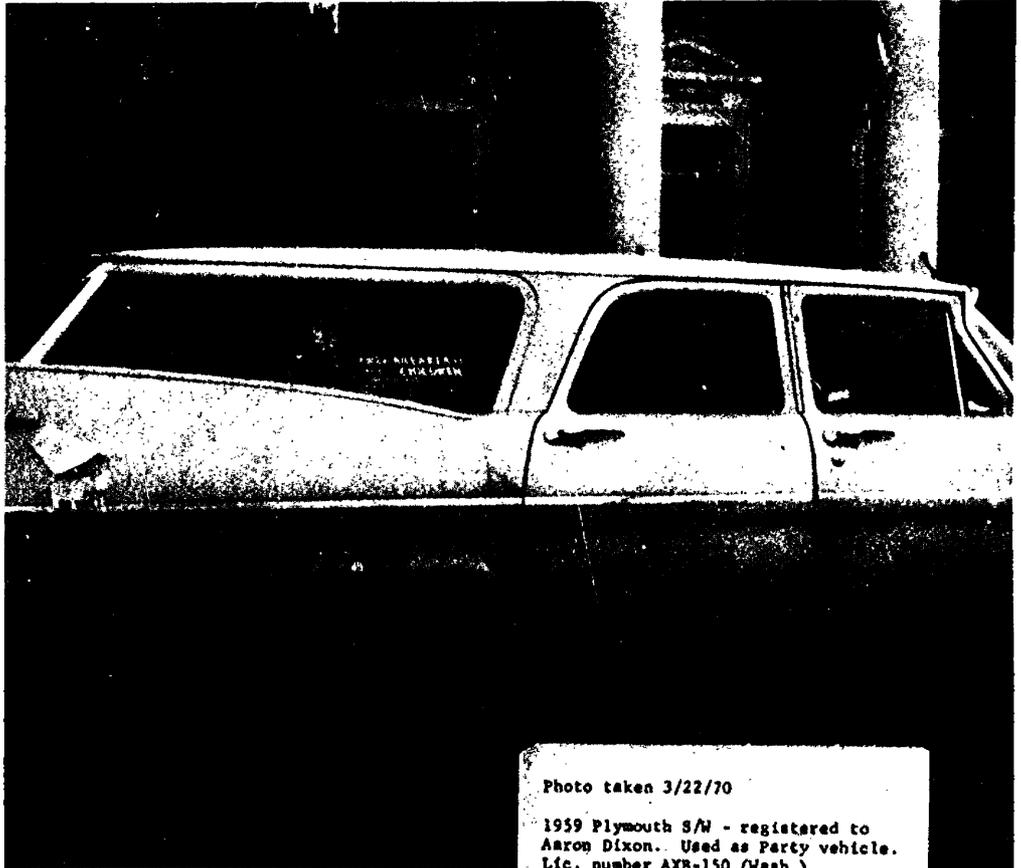
COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 7—Continued





COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 7-Continued





COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 7-Continued

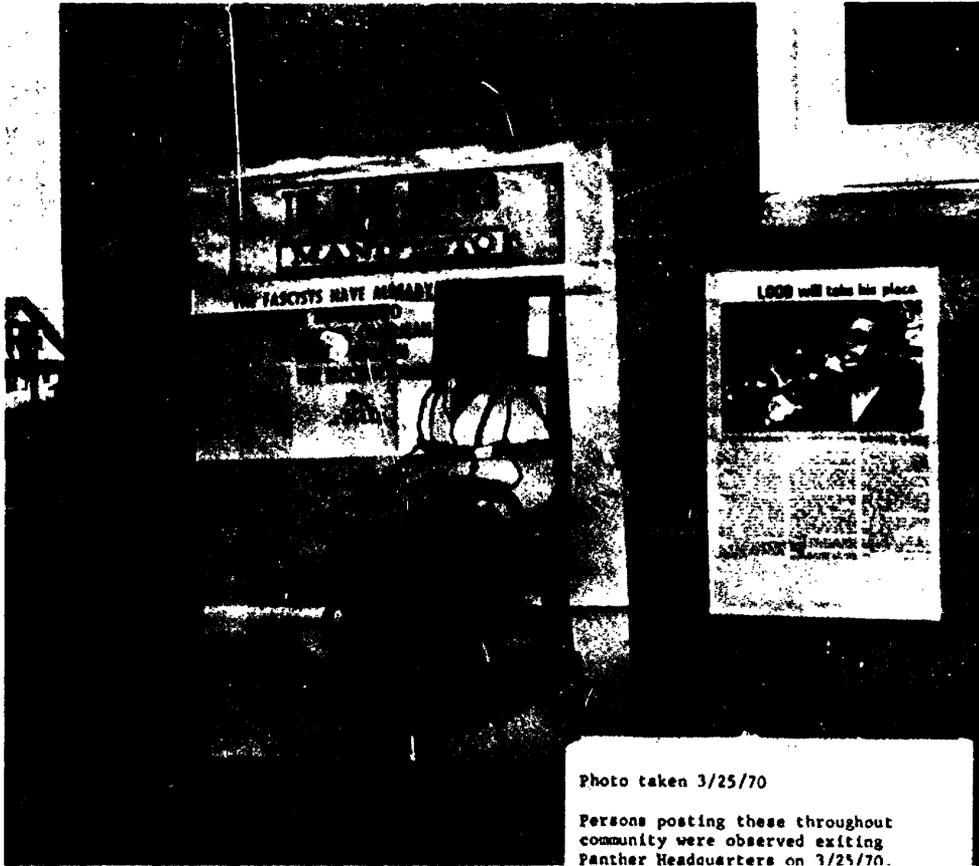


Photo taken 3/25/70

Persons posting these throughout community were observed exiting Panther Headquarters on 3/25/70.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 8

STATE OF WASHINGTON

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

RECERTIFICATION FOR THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

SS, 534-52-6686

*new applicant*

1. Name Caron Dixon

Case No. 41-330331

2. Address 173-20<sup>th</sup>

*rent \$200*

3. Number of Persons Eating Together (Including Boarders); explain any change in household since original application or last recertification: ~~Five~~ 7

4. INCOME

	Mo. Amount	Verification
1 DEBBIE DIXON		
2 GUYBONY WARE	\$ 200	Black Panther Paper Sales
3 MIKE DEAN		
4 BILL GREEN		
5 MIKE GREEN		
6 CARON DIXON JR		
7 CARON DIXON SR		1/2/49
TOTAL . . . . .	\$ 200	

5. LIQUID ASSETS

	Mo. Amount	Verification
	\$ 0	
TOTAL . . . . .	\$ 0	

6. CERTIFICATION BY APPLICANT:

I hereby make application for recertification for the Food Stamp Program for myself and other members of this household and declare under penalties of perjury that the above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. I agree to notify the Department of Public Assistance immediately of any change in the information contained herein. I agree that I and members of my Household will use the coupons only in accordance with the regulations of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Date 3/19/70

Signature of Applicant: Caron Dixon

4408 BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 8-Continued

FOR AREA USE ONLY

7. APPLICATION:  Approved  
 Denied--Reason: \_\_\_\_\_

Date 3/19/70

Signature: [Signature], Caseworker

8. CERTIFICATION FOR FOOD STAMP PROGRAM:

Period 3/1/70 to 3/31/70

Authorized Representative \_\_\_\_\_

Proxy: \_\_\_\_\_

BASIS FOR COUPON ISSUANCE

Monthly

Semi-Monthly -

Cash	Bonus	Total
3	159	162

9. INCOME COMPUTATION:

Gross Income 200  
 Mandatory Deductions \_\_\_\_\_  
 Hardship Deductions 181.60  
 Net Income 18.40

Reason for Hardship Deduction: \_\_\_\_\_

Verification: \_\_\_\_\_

10. REMARKS

$$\begin{array}{r} 200 \\ 30 \\ \hline 600 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 200 \text{ tax} \\ 60 \\ \hline 140 \\ 21.60 - \text{utility} \\ 20 \\ \hline 181.60 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{hard} 21.60 \\ \text{from} 20.00 \end{array}$$

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 9

STATE OF WASHINGTON

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

RECERTIFICATION FOR THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

4410

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1. Name Arvon Lloyd Dixon Case No. \_\_\_\_\_

2. Address 173-20 AVE

Rent \$00

3. Number of Persons Eating Together (Including Boarders); explain any change in household since original application or last recertification: 9 people  
Valentine Hobbs Michael Deane Sr. (11-69) (will bring)  
Teola Hunter

4. INCOME

	Mo. Amount	Verification
<u>all members involved in selling paper</u>	<u>\$ 200</u>	<u>Panther Paper Sales</u>
TOTAL . . . . .	<u>\$ 200</u>	

5. LIQUID ASSETS

	Mo. Amount	Verification
	<u>\$ 0</u>	
TOTAL . . . . .	<u>\$</u>	

6. CERTIFICATION BY APPLICANT:

I hereby make application for recertification for the Food Stamp Program for myself and other members of this household and declare under penalties of perjury that the above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. I agree to notify the Department of Public Assistance immediately of any change in the information contained herein. I agree that I and members of my Household will use the coupons only in accordance with the regulations of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Date 4-7-70

Signature of Applicant: Arvon Dixon

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 9-Continued

FOR COUNTY OFFICE USE ONLY

7. APPLICATION: (X) Approved  
( ) Denied--Reason: \_\_\_\_\_

Date 4-7-70

Signature: M S Macklin, Caseworker

8. CERTIFICATION FOR FOOD STAMP PROGRAM:

Period 4-1-70 to 4-30-70

Authorized Representative \_\_\_\_\_

Proxy: \_\_\_\_\_

BASIS FOR COUPON ISSUANCE

Monthly

Semi-Monthly -

Cash	Bonus	Total
3	209 <del>188</del>	212 <del>197</del>

9. INCOME COMPUTATION:

Gross Income 200  
Mandatory Deductions \_\_\_\_\_  
Hardship Deductions 194.95  
Net Income 5.05

Reason for Hardship Deduction: rent, utility, transport.

Verification: \_\_\_\_\_

10. REMARKS Net = 34.95

$$\begin{array}{r} 200 \\ - 30 \\ \hline 170 \\ + 2.00 \\ \hline 172 \\ + 34.95 \\ \hline 206.95 \\ - 172 \\ \hline 34.95 \end{array}$$

4412

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 10

TO: SAFEWAY STORES (23 rd & E. UNION)

FROM: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SOME TIME HAS BEEN SERVING BREAKFAST TO CENTRAL AREA CHILDREN. WE ARE NOW GOING FORTH TO TEACH THE YOUTH THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA THROUGH REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION SCHOOLS, THESE SCHOOLS ARE FOR ALL TO ATTEND BLACK AND WHITE. IN THE PAST THE SAFEWAY STORES HAVE REFUSED TO HELP OUT IN ANY SMALL WAY. IN ORDER TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE SCHOOL AND TO FEED THE CHILDREN WE ARE DEMANDING \$100 IN FOOD OR FOODS A WEEK. WE KNOW THAT THE SAFEWAY STORES HAVE THE LARGEST CHAIN IN AMERICA AND CAN WELL AFFORD \$100 A WEEK FROM ONE OF THE TWO STORES IN THE CENTRAL DISTRICT. WE EXPECT AN ANSWER BY JULY 18 FRIDAY. IF NOT THESE STEPS WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN :

1. THE STORE WILL BE BOYCOTTED EVERY DAY UNTIL YOU ACCEPT
2. THE AMOUNT WILL BE RAISED \$25 EACH WEEK AFTER THE FIRST WEEK OF BOYCOTTING UNTIL YOU ACCEPT

WE HOPE THESE STEPS WILL NOT BE NECESSARY BUT WE WILL CARRY THEM OUT WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE COMMUNITY IF NECESSARY.

CENTRAL STAFF  
WASHINGTON STATE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

*Ernest Dixon*  
1127 1/2 34<sup>th</sup> AVE  
Seattle 98122

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 11

STATE OF WASHINGTON )  
 )  
COUNTY OF KING )  
 )

I, MERRILL A. COX, being first duly sworn upon oath depose and say that I am employed as Personnel Manager of Safeway Stores, Incorporated, Seattle Division, and was so employed on the day or days referred to in this statement:

On Friday, July 25, 1969, I arrived at our Safeway Store #8, located at 23rd and E. Union, Seattle, at approximately 11:15 a.m. I observed ten adult male pickets at that time. The police mobile unit was on the scene and was talking to Elmer Dixon who is the leader of the pickets. I personally heard the police inform Mr. Dixon that they could not block the door ways. Approximately 10 minutes after the police left the parking lot, the pickets were again blocking the entrance making boisterous remarks and harassing the customers and employees when they were entering and leaving the store. In a few minutes the police arrived on the scene again and again ordered Mr. Dixon and the pickets to refrain from blocking the entrances to our store.

Throughout Friday I received numerous complaints from customers in regard to their being threatened by the pickets with bodily injury. I personally was threatened on three occasions, one example being, "Humpy, you're going to get your throat cut".

On Saturday, July 26, 1969, I arrived at the store with Mr. Jim Clark, Safeway Security Manager, at approximately 10:15 a.m. At that time I observed that all of the employees were out in the parking lot and across the street from the store. There were two police unit cars - one at the north entrance and one at the south entrance. I was informed by the Store Manager, Mr. Chuck Holmes, that the police had received a phone call from the Crisis Center stating that a bomb had been planted in the store and was to go off at 10:30 a.m. The store was searched and the

decision was made to open the store at 10:45 a.m. During all of this time the pickets were milling around the store. Approximately five or six adults and I would say probably ten kids. Ages ranging from 8 up to 16. During the day I observed that harassment of customers and employees continued and threats were made.

/s/ Merrill A. Cox

Subscribed and sworn before me this \_\_\_\_\_ day of July 1969

\_\_\_\_\_



I observed that on numerous occasions the picketers physically blocked the door entrances making it necessary for our customers to actually confront the pickets in order to enter the store. They stopped nearly every customer and talked to them.

On Saturday, July 26, 1969, I arrived at the store shortly after a bomb threat was reported. Of course, this made it necessary to clear all customers and employees from the store.

I quote one comment made to me as I entered the store - "Hey, white pig, we are going to blow you up into little pork chops". A bull horn was used during the picketing.

They were, on many occasions, boisterous and unruly.

Our automatic door switches are just inside the doors. I observed these switches being turned off numerous times by the pickets.

They were professional litter bugs. Also, they smeared up our glass doors and windows.

On Thursday, July 24th, 1969, while I was talking to our Third Man, Chester Gasca, a customer came up to us and asked to be escorted across the street to a parked police car. She stated that she was afraid to leave the store alone and was also afraid to walk home alone.

Because of the picketing and the general harassment of our customers on Thursday, Friday and Saturday we suffered a considerable loss in sales.

/s/ Gerald V. Curtright

Subscribed and sworn before me this \_\_\_\_\_ day of July, 1969.

\_\_\_\_\_

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

4417

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 13

State of Washington )  
County of King )  
 )

I, CHET GASCA, being first duly sworn upon oath depose and say that I am an employee of Safeway Stores, Incorporated, and was so employed on the day or days referred to in this statement:

Thursday, Friday, Saturday, July 24, 25, 26, 1969

Upon entering the store at 12:30 p.m. one of the Black Panthers approached me and told me that I had better not shop or go in, if I didn't want to get hurt. Later on that day, I carried some groceries out for the customers that were afraid. While walking out the door the Black Panthers would harass the customer and, on one occasion, while one customer was getting in the car, one of the Black Panthers told the customer that they had better not see their car in the Central Area again or else.

I observed the Black Panthers blocking the doors and threatening the customers that would come in. At one time Thursday afternoon one of the Black Panthers told me that I had better not come out with groceries any more or else they were going to knock the hell or beat the hell out of me after work. One of them, I don't know his name, told me that he was going to be waiting that night for me so he could blow my head apart with his gun.

Customers all day Thursday, Friday and Saturday, were threatened and I heard them complaining about the pickets outside the store. I heard the Panthers using four-letter words all day long in presence of customers. Also, I saw about three Panthers drinking beer outside on the parking lot. I noticed an unidentified woman telling two little children who had groceries with them, not to pay for the groceries, just to walk out with them.

One of the Black Panthers approached me Saturday and told me that the manager of this store was going to get it that night by a machine gun. He also told me not to be around next week because the store was going to be bombed.

/s/ Chet Gasca

Subscribed and sworn before me the \_\_\_\_\_ day of July, 1969

\_\_\_\_\_

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

4419

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 14

State of Washington )  
                          )  
County of King       )

I, JAMES M. CLARK, being first duly sworn upon oath depose and say that I am employed as Security Manager of Safeway Stores, Incorporated, Seattle Division, and was so employed on the day or days referred to in this statement:

Upon being informed that pickets had arrived at our Safeway Store #8, 23rd & E. Union, I arrived at approximately 11:30 a.m. on Thursday, July 24th, 1969. There were approximately 6 to 8 adults along with approximately 10 to 15 youngsters (8 to 15 years of age). Elmer Dixon was present and in charge. On a number of occasions I observed Elmer Dixon directing the activity of the pickets. Generally, throughout the day the pickets would block our door entrances - would reach in and turn the switches off of our automatic doors and would physically stop customers from entering our store. On three occasions throughout the day I observed and overheard three different customers (male) threaten to deck the pickets if they said one more word or refused to step aside. On two occasions I was asked to give safe escort to the parking lot for customers who had been threatened. Pursuant to a Seattle Police Dept. request we closed the store at 6:00 p.m. Because some of our employees had been threatened with bodily harm we requested police assistance at 9:00 p.m. when our male employees left the store.

On Friday, July 25, 1969, I arrived at the store at approximately 11:00 a.m. There were approximately 8 to 10 adult male pickets. Police were on the scene and informed Elmer Dixon that the pickets must not block doorways. Within a few minutes the police had to be called back to store to give the same statement to the pickets at the south door. Within 10 minutes after the police left the pickets were again blocking both south and north entrances and

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 14-Continued

stopping autos on the parking lot.

The Seattle Police Department was called in at approximately 6:00 p.m. because pickets were completely blocking the door and refusing to allow customers into the store. At approximately 6:10 p.m. two police cars arrived and parked on both sides of our store. Picket activity began to drop off and all pickets had left by 7:30 p.m.

Throughout the day numerous complaints were received from customers in regard to threats of physical violence. On two occasions of my leaving and returning to the store I was threatened with "We know who you are, white pig, and you are on our list to get your head blown off".

On Saturday, July 26, 1969 I arrived at the store at approximately 10:20 a.m. The store had been cleared as the police had received a call of a bomb having been planted inside the store. The store was searched and customers allowed to return at 10:45 a.m. At this time the pickets consisted of approximately 6 adults and 10 to 15 kids (ages 10-15), Elmer Dixon was not present.

At 3:15 p.m. the police were called in to stop picket harassment of customers. The pickets were also reaching in and turning off the automatic doors and were using obscene language.

On Thursday afternoon and Friday I observed Elmer Dixon and other Panthers using a bullhorn - occasionally they would hold the doors open and aim the bullhorn inside the store and shout threats such as "We're going to bomb this store".

Because of threats and intimidations to our customers and employees it has been necessary to put armed guards in this store around the clock.

/s/ James M. Clark

Subscribed and sworn before me this \_\_\_\_\_ day of July, 1969.

*Original of this document submitted to City of Seattle, Wash. State's Long.*  
*This being a true correct copy*  
 Witnessed - Stuart P. [unclear] to April 1970  
 James M. Clark



## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 16

During the period of April 1968 to present, eighty-one (81) persons were identified as members of the Seattle, Washington, Black Panther Party or as associates who participated in Panther functions regularly. Of those identified, thirty-nine (39) have known criminal histories as reflected below. The data, for juveniles and adults, include both misdemeanor and felony charges.

Total arrests:	130	Total charges:	142
Robbery (armed-unarmed)-----			24
Sex crimes (carnal knowledge)-----			2
Auto theft-----			14
Burglary-----			22
Assault-----			15
Larceny (Grand, Petty, Shoplifting)-----			14
Arson-----			5
Fugitive-----			5
Narcotics-----			12
Carrying concealed and/or dangerous weapon (drawing a weapon)-----			9
Threats to kill-----			4
Possession of stolen property-----			1
Aiding escape-----			1
Disturbing the peace-----			1
Coercion-----			1
Bad checks-----			1
Resisting arrest-----			2
Concealment of merchandise-----			2
Profanity-----			2
Interfering with a police officer-----			1
Incorrigible (Runaway and Curfew)-----			2
Escape-----			1
Property damage-----			1

## APPENDIX C

[Telegram]

MAY 15, 1970.

HON. CLIFFORD M. HARDIN,  
*Department of Agriculture,*  
*Washington, D.C.:*

Testimony before the House Internal Security Committee reveals that Black Panther Party in Seattle, Washington receive food stamps with virtual impunity. In fact, Panther second-in-command Elmer J. Dixon has received preferential treatment when picking up food stamps. This practice should be terminated immediately. Please investigate and advise me of your findings and determinations.

ALBERT WATSON, *Member of Congress.*

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,  
*Washington, D.C., September 15, 1970.*

HON. ALBERT WATSON,  
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. WATSON: We have just recently received the report from the Office of the Inspector General on their investigation into possible preferential treatment of Black Panther Party members at the King County, Washington food stamp office which you told us about in your telegram of May 15, 1970, to Secretary Hardin.

Our review of the report reveals that, Aaron Dixon, Captain of the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panthers, did receive preferential treatment when applying for food stamps on March 19 and April 7, 1970. On instructions from Mr. Matthew Hudson, Administrator, King Central Office, Washington State Department of Public Assistance, Mr. Dixon's application was expedited. He was served in Mr. Hudson's third floor office by caseworkers who came upstairs from the ground floor office where food stamp applicants are normally served.

When Mr. Dixon returned in May he came downstairs from Mr. Hudson's office and was interviewed by Mr. Lawrence Gustafson, Assistant Administrator and Mrs. Donna Knudsen, Assistant Food Stamp Supervisor. At this interview, the regulations were explained to Mr. Dixon and his application was denied. He left the office and has not returned. The Aaron Dixon household has not participated in the program since April.

Information in the report indicates that errors may have been made in certifying the Aaron Dixon household. Therefore, we have asked the State agency to take the necessary steps to prevent such errors in the future.

Moreover, we have written the State agency, pointing out that their preferential treatment of the Aaron Dixon household was contrary to our regulations and that such treatment shall not be accorded to any person or persons, even when attendant circumstances seem to indicate the need for expediency.

We appreciate your concern in this matter and thank you for calling it to our attention. We want to be apprised of any apparent inequities in the administration of our program so we can take the necessary action to correct and prevent them.

Sincerely,

/s/ Richard Lyng,  
RICHARD LYNG, *Assistant Secretary.*

## APPENDIX D

### SUMMARY OF EXECUTIVE SESSION TESTIMONY ON MAY 13, 1970<sup>1</sup>

On May 13, 1970, in executive session the committee received the testimony of a witness concerning Black Panther Party activities in Seattle, Wash. The witness joined the Seattle Black Panther Party and was a member for approximately 18 months in the 1968-69 period. While a member, the witness provided law enforcement agencies, on a voluntary basis, certain information pertaining to crimes which members of the Seattle Black Panther Party had committed or were planning to commit.

The witness requested to testify in executive session, asking that identification be withheld because of fear of possible physical retaliation by the Seattle Black Panther Party. The transcript of this witness' testimony is retained in committee files. That testimony, ordered to be printed by committee resolution of December 3, 1970, is summarized as follows:

The Seattle Black Panther Party chapter was formed in April or May 1968. It initially drew members from a predecessor black organization in Seattle led by John Henry Wilson, known as the Voodoo Man. In May 1968, Bobby Seale came to Seattle and appointed Aaron Dixon captain of the Seattle Black Panther Party. Other local individuals instrumental in the formation of the Seattle chapter were Elmer Dixon, Aaron's brother; Curtiss Harris; Willy Brazier; Clark Williamson; Earl Brooks; Larry Tasino; and Buddy Yates. In December 1969, Aaron Dixon was captain and Elmer Dixon was second in command.

The peak membership of the Seattle Black Panther Party chapter, occurring shortly after its formation, was approximately 200. These were active members who could be counted on to participate in most Panther-sponsored activity. In late 1969, the number of active members had decreased to approximately 100. During this interval only one member was expelled by the party; the rest left voluntarily.

The Seattle Panthers averaged in age between 14 and 22; most were under 18. They had little education and few were in school or had jobs. Panther members dropped out of school because Panther activities interfered with their school work. Aaron and Elmer Dixon told children at a breakfast program they should drop out of school because "whitey was not teaching them anything."

The Seattle Panthers operated a breakfast for children program in at least three locations. One program at Madrona Church, when observed on several occasions during 1969, had an average approximate attendance of 25 children. The children were taught by Aaron Dixon to hate "whitey" and to throw rocks at police cars. Elmer Dixon read to the children from the "red book," *QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG*, and also talked to them about Fidel Castro and Karl Marx. The Panthers told the children it is "okay" to steal, throw rocks, break windows, and use a particular obscenity, which one Panther said was the only word American Negroes had contributed to the dictionary.

The Panther members present at the Madrona breakfast program had in their possession weapons which were visible to the children. The witness knew of one check given to the Panthers to purchase milk for the breakfast program. The canceled check, when returned to the donor, showed an endorsement by United Airlines.

The Panthers maintained a free medical clinic at 178 20th Avenue<sup>2</sup> in Seattle. It was open on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Not many people used the medical

<sup>1</sup> On Dec. 3, 1970, the committee duly authorized the public release of this summary and ordered it included as an appendix to the May 1970 hearing record concerning Black Panther Party activities in Seattle, Wash.

<sup>2</sup> Address of Seattle Black Panther Party headquarters as of May 13, 1970.

clinic (which was more of a referral service) because of a lack of privacy and the presence of Panthers with guns. Dr. John Green, a neurosurgeon from the University of Washington, helped establish and operate the clinic. The witness contended Dr. Green suggested that it might be better to live in Cuba, where everyone is equal, working in the sugarcane fields.

During 1968 the Panthers conducted weekly meetings on Tuesday nights for the general public. They were held at Panther headquarters and at Aaron Dixon's house. The meetings were generally informal and of an informational nature.

Classes for Panther members only were held on an irregular basis at Aaron Dixon's house and Panther headquarters. Panther members were taught to live by the bullet and the gun and take nothing off "whitey." This meant "If whitey puts his hands on you, kill." Aaron Dixon instructed the members from *QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG*. On one occasion, Aaron and Elmer Dixon instructed the members to get a knife and cut a cat's or dog's throat—in line with a recommendation from Panther national chairman Bobby Seale—so they would know what it is like to be able to kill a living organism.

Panthers conducted classes in "boosting" [shoplifting] just before the 1968 Christmas holidays. Two local leaders\* and an unidentified third man whose first name was Steve were instructors. "Steve" was an ex-convict who supposedly had expertise in "boosting." Members were taught how to shoplift various items and were instructed to bring certain of them back for the personal use of one of the leaders.\* On one occasion he called a meeting and told the assembled members to get him a record player. Two members\* thereafter stole a Packard-Bell television set from a home in Seattle and gave it to him. The witness said the leader\* knew the television set had been stolen.

Members of the Seattle Panthers participated in speaking engagements. The principal speakers were Aaron and Elmer Dixon and Bobby White. Dr. Green, the neurosurgeon, helped Aaron and Elmer Dixon write some speeches. Aaron Dixon received as much as \$100 for a speech. Violence and revolution were often advocated in speeches purportedly in vulgar and obscene terms by the Dixons. Aaron Dixon would always say, "Our revolution has not begun yet. It has not begun and we must prepare ourselves for a revolution."

For a period of approximately 18 months, the Panthers rented an office building from Benjamin Brill. He rented it to them "through fear, he had no choice." The Panthers only paid him 1 month's rent\* and vandalized the building.

The witness said Mr. Brill alleged that Panthers broke into Brill's office and stole his checkbook. One of the Panther leaders\* wrote a \$25 check and cashed it at a food store. Mr. Brill said he didn't stop payment on the check because he was afraid as he and his wife were very old. The witness testified that on one occasion the Panthers, because they wanted to have pictures taken in front of his building, knocked the 70-year-old Mr. Brill to the ground and then made him go into his office.

Members of the Seattle Black Panther Party kept firearms in their possession. Agents from the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division of the U.S. Treasury executed a search warrant to obtain what was thought to be an automatic rifle

\* Prior to leasing the office building, the Panthers were required to pay a sum equivalent to 2 months' rent in advance as a deposit. This money, in addition to the 1 month's rent actually paid, was retained by Mr. Brill when the Panthers vacated the premises at 1127 1/2 34th Avenue. See p. 4354.

\* Whenever an asterisk appears, a Seattle Black Panther Party leader or member was identified, by name, as involved in the commission of a crime. The names are deleted to avoid prejudicing pending or future investigations and/or prosecutions.

kept in the apartment of Elmer Dixon. The weapon was subsequently returned to him when it was determined to be semiautomatic.<sup>4</sup>

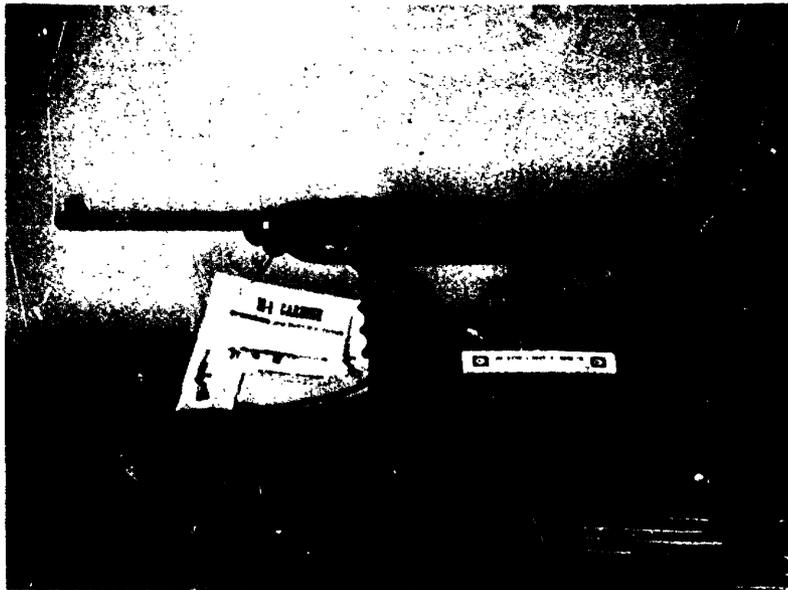
During 1968, the Seattle Panthers conducted group firing practices led by Elmer Dixon and Curtiss Harris. The firing practices were conducted at Issaquah Gun Club. Close-order drills, led by Elmer Dixon, were held every Saturday during 1968 and into early 1969. At drill practice they were taught how to take a rifle apart, how to clean their weapons, and were admonished: "Don't spare the bullet."

Panthers, according to the witness, had dynamite, dynamite caps, nitroglycerin, and hand grenades in their possession. The witness reported seeing about 25 sticks of dynamite and dynamite caps in a closet at Aaron Dixon's house, and about six hand grenades in the apartment of another Panther leader.\* In Panther headquarters, the witness claimed to have seen a case of dynamite and a bottle of liquid that looked like glue, which the Panthers stated was nitroglycerin. On one occasion a case of dynamite was ordered by a Panther member from an SDS member named Jerome Sherbon. Sherbon, however, was arrested by the police department before delivering the dynamite.<sup>5</sup>

The Seattle Black Panther Party was loosely organized into seven different units or sections as follows: (1) a robbery section; (2) a burglary section; (3) a striking force; (4) a women's section; (5) a section to harass merchants; (6) a section to harass the police department; and (7) a section to sell the Black Panther Party newspaper. The Panthers also arranged for a "representative" in school facilities to notify one of the Panther leaders\* "when anything would happen, or they were going to make a robbery."

There was a policy on the part of Panthers in the Seattle Chapter to attempt to get younger people to commit robberies and burglaries. This was done on the theory that, if apprehended, a teenager would be taken to juvenile authorities and probably would not be sent to a penitentiary. The Panthers figured "that this child would take the rap for them and eventually the child would be released to the parents."

<sup>4</sup> Pursuant to a duly authorized search warrant on July 7, 1969, a rifle alleged to be automatic was obtained from the apartment of Elmer Dixon. It was test fired by agents from the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division and determined to be an M-1, .30 caliber, semiautomatic Plainfield, serial number 15940. The weapon, a picture of which follows, was returned to Elmer Dixon on Aug. 18, 1969. The photograph was furnished to the committee by the Seattle Police Department.



<sup>5</sup> Jerome Sherbon, born Oct. 21, 1944, was charged with the unlawful possession of explosives on Jan. 6, 1970, and was subsequently convicted. He received a 30-day suspended sentence and was assessed court costs. He has been identified by the Seattle Police Department as a member of SDS.

The witness claimed to be knowledgeable of five major robberies, five burglaries, and two attempted extortions of merchants, followed by arson, all of which were perpetrated by members of the Seattle Black Panther Party. Details related by the witness were either overheard as the members planned certain of these crimes or they subsequently discussed certain crimes after they were committed.

Four members of the Seattle Black Panther Party\* robbed the Liberty Bank in Seattle.<sup>8</sup> Panthers were unhappy with the bank because they wanted a bank run by Negroes and the manager of the Liberty Bank was Caucasian. Also, the bank had hired both black and white females. Between \$16,000 and \$18,000 was stolen from the bank, with one Panther member dropping \$2,000 as he fled the scene of the robbery. The witness testified that Willie Brazler, Lewis Jackson, and one other member\* of the Seattle Black Panther Party robbed the Fidelity Bank in Seattle,<sup>9</sup> taking approximately \$20,000.

Four members of the Seattle Black Panther Party\* robbed the Imperial Lanes Bowling Alley in Seattle. The loss was \$2,000. Two of the four members also robbed the Safeway supermarket in Seattle.<sup>10</sup> The witness said Buddy Yates and Artis Parker, members of the Seattle Black Panther Party, robbed the Market Basket in Seattle. The loss was placed at \$16,000.<sup>11</sup>

Members of the Seattle Panthers who committed robberies were expected to split the proceeds with one of the leaders\* of the Seattle Chapter. Although the leader didn't take part in any of the robberies, he knew about every robbery committed. The percentage of the robbery proceeds he was to receive varied between 10 percent and 33 1/2 percent. The money was supposed to be used to finance the party. Some of the money was sent to national headquarters. The one member\* previously mentioned, who was expelled from the party, was expelled because he refused to contribute 20 percent of certain proceeds from robberies he committed. Subsequent to his expulsion from the Panthers, he was employed as a youth counsellor at \$700 per month under a program partially funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Four members\* of the Seattle Black Panther Party burglarized the Seattle Sporting Goods Store. It was burglarized at the direction of one of the Seattle Panther leaders\* because the chapter needed guns and bullets. Two of the same four Black Panther Party members also burglarized Stan's Sporting Goods Store.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to the burglary where the television set was stolen, the witness spoke of two other burglaries of private residences committed by the members of the Seattle Black Panther Party. One was the burglary of a woman's home, committed by a 15-year-old Panther.\*<sup>13</sup> All of the furniture was removed from the house. Some of the furniture was sold by the youth and two other members\* of the Seattle Panthers. The remainder of the furniture was used in the house of one of the Seattle Panther leaders.\*

A member\* of the Seattle Panthers stole a refrigerator and gave it to the wife of another Seattle Panther.\* In addition, the witness had seen personal property which had been stolen from homes in the Panthers' office. The witness stated, "I could have purchased a TV or stereo tapes and these [sic] sort of things."

The striking force and women's sections were to administer beatings when ordered. The witness claimed knowledge of five beatings administered by mem-

<sup>8</sup> The records of the Seattle Police Department reflect that on Jan. 7, 1969, the Liberty Bank was robbed. Two of the Panther members identified by the witness were known to the police, but could not be arrested because available witnesses refused to aid in the prosecution.

<sup>9</sup> Records of the Seattle Police Department reflect that the Fidelity Bank was robbed on Mar. 7, 1969. Willie Brazler and Lewis Jackson, two of the Panther members identified by the witness, were arrested and have been convicted. A third was a suspect in a police lineup, but not positively identified.

<sup>10</sup> The records of the Seattle Police Department reflect that on Dec. 25, 1968, the Imperial Lanes Bowling Alley was robbed. The records also reflect that the Safeway supermarket was robbed on Dec. 21 and on Dec. 28, 1968. There have been no arrests in any of the three cases.

<sup>11</sup> Records of the Seattle Police Department reflect that the Market Basket was robbed on Jan. 18, 1969. Buddy Yates and Artis Parker, two of the Panther members identified by the witness, were arrested and have been convicted.

<sup>12</sup> Records of the Seattle Police Department reflect that the Seattle Sporting Goods Store was burglarized on Dec. 12, 1968. Two Panther members identified by the witness were arrested for carrying concealed weapons. The weapons were reported stolen from the Seattle Sporting Goods Store on December 12. Police records also reflect that Stan's Sporting Goods Store was burglarized on Mar. 24, 1969. There have been no arrests.

<sup>13</sup> Records of the Seattle Police Department reflect he was arrested, brought before the juvenile authorities, and placed on probation for this offense.

bers of the Seattle Panthers. A Panther member named Gerald Hatcher was allegedly beaten by the striking force because he wanted to get out of the Panthers. The witness saw another Seattle Panther beaten for the same reason by two members\* of the Seattle Panthers, one of whom was a local leader.\* Testimony disclosed that the same leader assaulted a boy who refused to contribute money to a collection being taken up for one of the Panthers who had been killed by a police officer.

The witness saw two members of the Seattle Panthers\* beat a Caucasian girl, for no apparent reason, as she was leaving school. On another occasion the witness saw members of the women's section beat up a Caucasian woman going to a store with 52 cents to purchase milk for her child. The Panther women took the 52 cents from the woman, who was on welfare, but subsequently returned the money to her.

On several occasions, members of the Seattle Black Panther Party approached merchants in the Seattle area soliciting funds or merchandise. If the merchants refused to contribute, they would be harassed by the Panthers. If a merchant displayed a picture of a national Panther leader, for which the merchant paid a dollar, he would not be harassed by the Panthers.

On at least two occasions, according to the witness, members of the Panthers firebombed Seattle business establishments. The witness asserted one Panther member\* firebombed a cleaning establishment<sup>12</sup> on 34th Avenue and Union because it refused to contribute. Four Panther members\* firebombed a real estate agency,<sup>13</sup> also on 34th and Union, because Panthers felt the Caucasian owners were selling real estate in a prejudicial manner. Panther members\* also forced the Caucasian owners of The Beanery, a Seattle restaurant across the street from Franklin School, to sell out.

The merchants who were approached in a threatening or intimidating manner by Panther members usually were afraid to report the incidents to the police. If an arrest was made, according to the witness, the Panther member was back out on the street on bail before the officer submitted his report.

Panthers would call the police officers "cowboys" and "pigs" and throw rocks at their cars. The witness said the leader of that section "has been known to shoot at the police in their cars."<sup>14</sup> During 1968 and early 1969 four members\* of the Seattle Panthers sniped at police cars. Their expressed reason for the sniping was "to get rid of the pigs."

The Seattle Black Panther Party received newspapers each week from Oakland, Calif. The papers were sold on the streets on Fridays.

The witness has seen two of the Panther members,\* one a local leader, smoke marijuana. Also observed was another Panther leader\* taking pills known as "speed."

While still a member of the Panthers, the witness knew of at least one underground Panther.\* He did some sniping at the home of a Seattle attorney. In the opinion of the witness, there were underground Panthers operating in Seattle at the time testimony was taken.

The Seattle Panthers, according to the testimony, had a basic and ultimate objective of revolution. To further that objective they were constantly attempting to obtain more money and more members. The various robberies and burglaries<sup>15</sup> were to obtain operational funds as well as for personal gain. The breakfast program constituted one of their attempts to indoctrinate the young along the lines of thinking toward a revolution. The Seattle Panthers influenced the young members of the community; however, they didn't impress the older ones.

If a successful revolution should occur, the Panthers would replace the present form of government in the United States with a system comparable to Castro's in Cuba. Aaron Dixon explained what it would be like if they lived in Cuba: There would be no millionaires. The Panthers' idea is to take from the Establishment and "to give to the Negro people."

<sup>12</sup> The records of the Seattle Police Department reflect that the Cleaning Center, 34th Avenue and Union, was firebombed and burned on Apr. 6, 1968.

<sup>13</sup> The records of the Seattle Police Department reflect that the Lake Washington Realty, 1400 34th Avenue, was firebombed and burned on June 25, 1968. It was also firebombed on Mar. 15, 1968, shortly before the Panther Party came into formal existence in Seattle.

<sup>14</sup> See pp. 4304 and 4327 for the testimony of Sergeant Archie Porter and Detective Sergeant Fridell, both of the Seattle Police Department, for the facts concerning this incident and the disposition thereof.

<sup>15</sup> The criminal activity described herewith by the witness was carried out by a dozen members of the Seattle Black Panther Party in the period from September 1968 through March 1969.

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