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**RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS**

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**HEARINGS**  
BEFORE THE  
**PERMANENT**  
**SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS**  
OF THE  
**COMMITTEE ON**  
**GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS**  
**UNITED STATES SENATE**  
NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

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PURSUANT TO SENATE RESOLUTION 308, 91ST CONGRESS

---

JULY 31; AUGUST 4, 5, AND 6, 1970

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**PART 25**

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Government Operations

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(II)

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## RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1970

U.S. SENATE,  
PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,  
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10:00 a.m., in room 3302, New Senate Office Building, pursuant to Senate Resolution 308, agreed to February 16, 1970, Senator John L. McClellan (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Members of the subcommittee present: Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas; Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican, New York; and Senator Lee Metcalf, Democrat, Montana.

Members of the professional staff present: Jerome S. Adlerman, general counsel; Philip W. Morgan, chief counsel to the minority; John Brick, investigator; Philip R. Manuel, investigator; Walter S. Fialkewicz, Department of Justice; Ruth Y. Watt, chief clerk; Daniel Harris, General Accounting Office; Jerry Perry, General Accounting Office; and John Klotz, General Accounting Office.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

(Member present at time of convening: Senator McClellan.)

The CHAIRMAN. I will insert in the record the authority to proceed. We will probably have another Senator or two here in a few minutes, but I want to move along so that we can get through with what we have scheduled by noon.

(A letter of permission to proceed dated July 23, 1970, follows:)

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,  
SENATE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS,  
Washington, D.C., July 23, 1970.

Pursuant to Rule 5 of the Rules of Procedure which was amended by the Committee on Government Operations for its Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations on June 3, 1963, and reaffirmed on March 4, 1970, permission is hereby granted for the Chairman to conduct hearings in open session without a quorum of two members for the purpose of taking testimony in connection with bombings and terrorism in the United States as part of the over-all investigation of riots, civil and criminal disorders on July 31, 1970.

JOHN L. McCLELLAN,  
Chairman.

KARL E. MUNDT,  
Ranking Minority Member.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do we have for our first witness?

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Manuel.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Manuel, will you be sworn, please. Are the gentlemen going to testify?

(5571)

Mr. MANUEL. No, sir. They will assist me.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give before this Senate subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MANUEL. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You may have been previously sworn. You are identified already in the record, I am sure, as a member of the committee staff who has been assisting and probably supervising to a great extent this investigation into the bombings.

Do you have a prepared statement this morning?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement. It is kind of lengthy. You may want to read excerpts from it. Whatever you don't read will be printed in the record. So you may read that part of it that you care to at this time.

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you, sir.

**TESTIMONY OF PHILIP R. MANUEL, DANIEL HARRIS, JERRY PERRY, AND JOHN KLOTZ**

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, my name is Philip Manuel. I have been an investigator on the subcommittee staff since March 1, 1968. I have had approximately 10 years of experience in the field of investigations.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you proceed, identify the gentlemen now with you. What is their connection?

Mr. MANUEL. To my right, Mr. Chairman, is Daniel C. Harris and Jerry Perry. On my left is John Klotz. These three gentlemen were assigned to the subcommittee staff by the General Accounting Office, and they assisted and did most of the work in preparation of certain staff studies which I will introduce today as part of my testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. These three gentlemen have been working with you in compiling the charts and the information and data that you are going to present to the subcommittee today?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct. They did much of the research, the listing, and what could be called the accounting type of work.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe I will let each one of them be sworn and take their background, too.

Will each of you stand and be sworn at this time, please.

Do each of you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give before this Senate subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HARRIS. I do.

Mr. PERRY. I do.

Mr. KLOTZ. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like each of you to identify yourself and give briefly your background and experience so that we will know what kind of people have been working on this project.

Mr. KLOTZ. My name is John Klotz, sir. I am employed by the General Accounting Office. I have been employed there for approximately 1 year now. I was assigned to this committee for this study.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your previous experience?

Mr. KLOTZ. I have approximately 1 year with the General Accounting Office.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do prior to that?

Mr. KLOTZ. I was in school.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman on the right.

Mr. HARRIS. My name is Daniel Harris. I have been with the General Accounting Office the last 4 years. I have been assigned to this committee the last year for a full year.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been working for the committee for a full year.

Mr. HARRIS. Right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On riot and campus cases as well as the bombing investigations?

Mr. HARRIS. That is right, sir.

I also worked on the militant hearings and on the Vietnam investigations.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been on assignment with the committee for quite some time.

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name, sir?

Mr. PERRY. My name is Jerry Perry. I am employed by the U.S. General Accounting Office. I have been employed by them for 10 months. I am a management auditor. Before that, I was in private industry for 10 years in management type positions.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had experience for 10 years in private employment?

Mr. PERRY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, you may proceed, Mr. Manuel.

I thought that the record should reflect the experience of these gentlemen and their employment so that we would know the character of people who have been concerned with the investigations.

You may proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. As a part of this investigation of bombing and terrorism, the staff has prepared three separate studies which relate to (1) Bombings, both explosive and incendiary, and attempted bombings; (2) Thefts of explosive; and (3) Terroristic attacks and assaults on law-enforcement facilities and personnel.

The first study I introduce is a chronological list of some bombings and bombing attempts during the period January 1, 1969, through July 9, 1970. It was compiled by research of public-source material, news clips, and coordination with major law-enforcement agencies.

This study does not list every bombing or attempt in the United States during this period. Our intention in this study was rather to collect and isolate readily available information on bombing incidents, thereby giving the subcommittee and the Congress a cross section or profile of the scope of the problem, including the nature, pattern and escalation of cases involving misuse of destructive devices.

However incomplete it may be, I believe the study represents the first detailed composite work on the subject. At the start of this investigation, we quickly learned that no source—either Federal or local government or private institution—had this type of information available.

Mr. Chairman, I offer this first staff study, prepared under my direction and the overall supervision of General Counsel Adlerman, as an exhibit in these hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received as exhibit No. 825.  
(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 825" for reference and will be found in the appendix beginning on p. 5757.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you state that this is not complete.

Mr. MANUEL. It is not complete in the sense, Mr. Chairman, that it does not purport to list every bombing that has taken place in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. How many does it list, overall?

Mr. MANUEL. I get to that later in my statement in the summary.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not give all the incidents, but these you can verify and know that they occurred?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. It is accurate insofar as it goes?

Mr. MANUEL. We have a source for every one of the incidents that we list.

It was intended as a cross section or profile to give the subcommittee a better idea of the type of bombings we have been experiencing.

Schedule A of the study summarizes the statistical totals by month, year, and category. Schedule B breaks down the targets of bombings and attempts into specific categories.

We recorded on schedule A a total of 1,188 bombings and attempts for 1969 and for 1970 through July 9, including 599 explosive bombings, 453 incendiary bombings, and 136 attempts to bomb.

For 1969 we recorded a total of 602 bombings and attempts, including 298 explosive bombings, 243 incendiaries, and 61 attempted bombings. For the 190-day period from January 1 to July 9, 1970, we recorded 586 bombings and attempts, including 301 explosive bombings, 210 incendiary bombings, and 75 attempts.

When we started this study, we expected to document an average of at least one incident per day. Our average on completion of the study shows 1.6 per day for calendar year 1969 and a startling 3.1 per day for 190 days in 1970—

The CHAIRMAN. That shows they are on the increase, almost double this year as compared to last year.

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

For a combined average of 2.1 per day for the 18-month period.

That figure doubles our original expectation, even though it includes only approximately 20 percent of total bombings and attempts reported to the subcommittee by the Treasury Department as a result of their nationwide survey made at our request.

Schedule B shows that from January 1, 1969, to July 9, 1970, the targets of these 1,188 bombing attacks included:

Foreign embassies and consulates, all in 1970-----	7
Bombing attacks on Federal Government property, including selective service offices and ROTC facilities-----	106
Bombing attacks on State and municipal government property-----	126
Bombing attacks on industrial facilities, public utilities, and railroads----	151
Bombings in private homes and against personal property, such as automobiles. In this category we also recorded 16 separate incidents of teenagers injured while constructing homemade bombs-----	253
Bombings against schools and colleges, 145 of which occurred at colleges, 71 at high schools, and 5 at elementary schools, indicating that teenagers and even younger children are taught how to use explosives and incendiaries and indeed are using them-----	228
Bombing attacks were directed at churches and synagogues-----	32

All of these bombing incidents are recorded by date, place, and brief description in the body of the study.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that included in the exhibit?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. The second staff study is a chronological list of some thefts of dynamite and other explosive materials in the United States from January 1, 1969, to May 30, 1970. The study was compiled from pertinent public-source material, newsclips, and from reports of such thefts by manufacturers to the Institute of Makers of Explosives in New York City. Those manufacturers who belong to the institute regularly report thefts from their magazines and from contractors and customers.

We do not intend to convey the impression that we have included here all thefts which occurred during this period. However, from available information, this study represents a profile of the nature, frequency, and type of thefts which have occurred.

Mr. Chairman, I offer the second staff study as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received and made exhibit 826.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 826" for reference and will be found in the appendix on p. 5789.)

Mr. MANUEL. In the study, we have documented by date, location, and description a total of 87 separate thefts involving 31,370 pounds of dynamite and other explosives, 94,018 blasting caps, and 101,540 feet of detonating cord and fuse wire.

The CHAIRMAN. All of this has been stolen?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. During the 18-month period?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean necessarily that this was all that was stolen, but you have been able to document this much. Is that right?

Mr. MANUEL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know how much more has been stolen that you have not been able to get information about.

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Does this include the thefts from the military installations?

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Adlerman, it includes only those military thefts, and there were very few, that were reported in the press. Usually these thefts from military installations are not reported in the press, but rather through military channels. We will hear later from a representative of the Department of Defense who will testify to this.

(At this point Senator Metcalf entered the room.)

Mr. ADLERMAN. These figures you give are not complete figures so far as thefts from the military installations?

Mr. MANUEL. No, sir.

The documented thefts of 31,370 pounds, or approximately 16 tons, of explosives clearly points to a lack of security in the storage of this dangerous material. In the past, contractors and others users of explosives generally have stored supplies of dynamite in remote areas, mostly in primitive storage shacks without adequate security.

The study also contains details of thefts of explosives from military installations, as reported in the press. Most of these thefts, however, are not made public, but are reported through military channels.

Last week we had testimony from the chief deputy attorney general of California, who told the subcommittee about the alarming frequency of thefts of arms, ammunition, grenades, and explosives from military installations in that State. Following my testimony this morning, the subcommittee will hear from a Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Army, who will be accompanied by officers from the other armed services. Among other matters, they will testify about the problem of thefts of destructive material from military installations.

The third staff study, which I believe is also the first of its kind to be made public, is a chronological compilation, by State, of terroristic attacks, including bombings, both explosive and incendiary, sniping and ambushes directed against police and other law-enforcement personnel and their facilities during the years 1968, 1969, and through July 1, 1970.

In preparing this document we received information from Federal and local law enforcement agencies. We sought to eliminate from this study any deaths and injuries to police officers which related to customary police duty. We included only terrorist-type acts. I offer this third staff study as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be made exhibit 827.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 827" for reference, and will be found in the appendix on p. 5792.)

Mr. MANUEL. In summary, we recorded a total of 359 attacks on police, including 40 explosive bombings, 27 incendiary attacks, 14 bombing attempts, 216 ambushes and snipings, and 62 cases in which officers were injured attempting to quell riots, disturbances, and demonstrations.

The CHAIRMAN. That is over a 2½-year period, isn't it?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

These 359 attacks resulted in 23 deaths of police officers and 326 injuries to police officers.

The State of California ranked first in total attacks with 70 recorded cases, followed by Illinois with 60, and New York and Florida with 22 each.

I wish to discuss the results of the subcommittee's investigation concerning the nature, sources, and distribution of printed matter of the do-it-yourself variety, which instructs individuals either by diagram or step-by-step directions in the making of explosive and incendiary devices. Also included is printed matter which advocates the necessity or desirability of active sabotage, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare in this country.

By way of introduction to this subject, it should be noted that during the period of June 16 to June 30, 1969, this subcommittee held public hearings into the activities of four separate extremist organizations; namely, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Black Panther Party (BPP), the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Republic of New Africa (RNA).

Testimony and exhibits in the hearing record show conclusively that members of these organizations have distributed, or caused to be

distributed, books, pamphlets, newspapers, or similar documents containing detailed instructions and diagrams on the making of incendiaries and explosives, ranging from simple Molotov cocktails to very sophisticated bombs made of nitroglycerine and other highly volatile substances.

More than 20 such documents and publications were introduced as evidence. However, they were not printed in the hearing record. In light of recent events involving the use of bombs, a short review of the more pertinent exhibits may offer perspective which would aid in preparing remedial legislation.

Exhibit 269 contains a document entitled "Mechanical Methods of Sabotage," which was distributed at the October 1968 convention of SDS in Boulder, Colo., and a document entitled "What Must We Do Now?—An Argument for Sabotage at the Next Logical Step Towards Obstruction and Disruption of the U.S. War Machine," which was printed in Toronto, Canada, for distribution in the United States to various antiwar groups, including the SDS. Testimony established that SDS members distributed this document and discussed its contents at their meetings.

The document, "Mechanical Methods of Sabotage," gives detailed instructions on making all types of incendiaries and explosives, plus instructions on when they can be used by revolutionary groups and what results can be expected. Most of the bombs and incendiaries described in this booklet can be made by the potential bombmaker from materials easily obtained. Diagrams give step-by-step instructions for making these weapons.

The second pamphlet, "What Must We Do Now?" urged the use of incendiary devices to immobilize local draft boards, ROTC buildings, other Government agencies, and war industries. The pamphlet contains detailed instructions for making incendiary devices. It emphasized the necessity for clandestine attacks and urges that only two or three persons know about any sabotage plan, in order to preclude compromise.

After this pamphlet on sabotage was circulated, a wave of assaults with firebombs was, in fact, made against campus ROTC facilities and some Selective Service Board offices across the country.

Many exhibits were introduced to show that the Black Panther Party has issued instruction sheets and pamphlets on the making of destructive incendiaries and explosives, including but not limited to exhibit 333, entitled "Firebombs." This document gives step-by-step instructions for assembling destructive devices from easily obtainable material. It was distributed by the BPP at their November 1968 "retreat" held in Oakland, Calif. A very similar instruction sheet was printed in the Black Panther newspaper of Saturday, November 16, 1968, on page 22, entitled "Grenades and Bombs: Anti-Property and Anti-Personnel."

The Black Panther newspaper had an estimated circulation at that time of 45,000 copies, distributed all over the country. While the newspaper itself does not in so many words advocate the use of the bombs it describes, the danger of putting such information in the hands of persons indoctrinated by Black Panther propaganda is clear.

Exhibit 408C of our hearings is a diagram on how to make a bomb and a timing device. It was found in the boot of Midwest SNCC Direc-

tor Charles Koen after his arrest by the St. Louis Police Department on September 4, 1968. A comparison of the diagram and instructions with the description given by the FBI of the explosive device which killed SNCC members Ralph Featherstone and William Payne just before the trial in Maryland of former Chairman H. Rap Brown indicates that this type of weapon has been known to SNCC members for a long time.

Evidence also showed that basically the same type of bomb-making instructions, complete with diagrams, can be obtained easily from certain mail-order houses. For example, a police official from Jersey City testified that Black Panther members in his area were instructed to order books on making bombs, both explosive and incendiary, from a mail-order firm called Panther Publications, Inc., in Boulder, Colo. Among the books that one could order from Panther Publications were numerous U.S. Army field and technical manuals, used for training by the U.S. Army.

For purposes of emphasis, Mr. Chairman, at this time I would like to have re-introduced in the record the more pertinent exhibits which we made part of our record last year.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see them.

Do you want this as an exhibit?

I will just let this material be made exhibit No. 828, and you can letter them separately.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 828A-828E" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. We considered it important in this current investigation on bombing and terrorism in the United States to determine more fully the sources, nature, and description of this type of printed material.

Our investigation discloses that there are at least five mail-order operations in existence at this time from which individuals can obtain reproductions of U.S. Army field and technical manuals which tell how to make explosive and incendiary devices. These mail-order houses circulate brochures and catalogs. Several have advertised these manuals in nationally known magazines.

The mail-order establishments are:

- (1) Panther Publications Inc., Boulder, Colo.;
- (2) The Normount Armament Co., also known as The Combat Bookshelf, Forrest Grove, Oreg.;
- (3) The Angriff Press, Hollywood, Calif.;
- (4) Combat Books, McDonald, Ohio; and
- (5) The Sons of Liberty, Hollywood, Calif.

I introduce five separate exhibits showing that the five organizations above offer for sale specific U.S. Army field and technical manuals containing instructions plus diagrams on the making of explosives and incendiaries.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, these organizations, Panther Publications and others that you mentioned, advertise these books for sale—how to make the bombs and how to conduct guerrilla warfare?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Go ahead.

Mr. MANUEL. Exhibit 1 is a mailed catalog from Normount Armament Co. advertising for sale, among other things, the following U.S. Army manuals:

1. Guerrilla Warfare.....	FM 31-21
2. Ranger Training.....	FM 21-50
3. Irregular Forces.....	FM 31-15
4. Evasion and Escape.....	FM 21-77
5. Hand-to-Hand Combat.....	FM 21-150
6. Bayonet Fighting.....	FM 23-25
7. Boobytraps.....	FM 5-31
8. Grenades and Pyrotechnics, together with Demolition Reference cards and mine reference cards.....	FM 23-30
9. Explosives and Demolitions.....	FM 5-25
10. Demolition Materials.....	TM 9-1946
11. Military Explosives.....	TM 9-1910

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received as exhibit 829A.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 829A" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. Exhibit 2 is a combined book list for 1969-70 for Normount Armaments and Panther Publications, which offers the following U.S. Army Manuals:

1. Land Mine Warfare.....	FM 20-32.
2. Military Pyrotechnics.....	TM 9-12370-20.
3. Combat in Fortified and Built-Up Areas.....	FM 31-50.
4. Guide to Viet Cong Boobytraps and Explosives Devices.....	Department of Army Pamphlet 381-11.
5. Guide to Germ Warfare.....	TM 3-216.
6. Guide to Chemical and Gas Warfare.....	TM 3-200.
7. Special Forces Operational Techniques.....	FM 31-20.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, these are Army manuals? In other words, this group of militants—

Mr. MANUEL. These are mail-order houses, Mr. Chairman. These are not militant organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. You get them from mail-order houses?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that what you are offering as an exhibit?

Mr. MANUEL. That is the first one.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received as exhibit 829B.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 829B" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. As you can see from the listing of the Normount Armament Co. manuals, they range from explosives and demolition to guerrilla warfare.

The next exhibit, exhibit 3, is page 18 from the national magazine Gun Week of March 6, 1970, showing advertisements from both Angriff Press, Hollywood, Calif., and Combat Books, McDonald, Ohio, offering military manuals and other books on explosives and incendiaries.

Exhibit 4 is a copy of a mail solicitation for U.S. Army Technical Manual TM 31-200-1, "Unconventional Warfare Devices and Techniques," offered by the Sons of Liberty, Hollywood, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be made exhibit No. 829C and 829D.  
(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits No. 829C and

829D" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. The national leader of the Sons of Liberty is James K. Warner, who formerly was the national secretary of the American Nazi Party and has also been affiliated with the National States Rights Party.

I would like to offer an exhibit which is a letter under the signature of James K. Warner, who identifies himself as the National Secretary of the American Nazi Party.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received as exhibit 830.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 830" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. During this investigation we attempted to interview Mr. Warner regarding the source of the Army documents which he offers for sale and his intention in doing so. However, Mr. Warner would not cooperate and refused to answer pertinent questions.

The CHAIRMAN. He has been subpoenaed as a witness?

Mr. MANUEL. That is right, Mr. Chairman, he has.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. MANUEL. Investigation also established that a mail-order operation called Atlan Formularies is involved in selling two separate documents dealing with the manufacture of explosive and incendiary devices. The first is a pamphlet called Militants' Formulary, and the second is a book called Explosives Like Grandad Used to Make.

The documents are sold by Donald E. Sisco and published by an organization called Sturmstrup Press, P.O. Box 9011, Phoenix, Ariz. P.O. Box 9011 in Phoenix is the mailing address of the headquarters of the Arizona branch of the American Nazi Party.

Mr. Sisco is an admitted former member of the Minutemen and the American Nazi Party.

I would like to introduce an exhibit which is the American Nazi Party publication entitled "Attack," showing the "P.O. Box 9011, Phoenix, Ariz.," to be their address.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be made an exhibit and appropriately numbered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 831" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

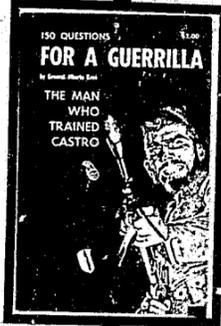
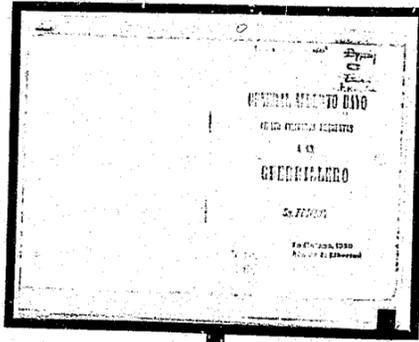
Mr. MANUEL. In the pamphlet Militants' Formulary, Mr. Sisco identifies current works on making explosives and advises the reader how and where he can purchase them. In addition, Mr. Sisco gives the reader sources of chemicals which can be obtained in the making of explosive and incendiary devices. He tells how to order them so that the purchases cannot be traced.

The section dealing with explosives gives detailed instructions on the uses of potassium chlorate, ammonium nitrate, gunpowder, igniters, chemical-delay igniters, and every conceivable type of bomb, including the match-head bomb, the pipe bomb, antipersonnel bombs, gas-tank bombs, and all types of incendiary or firebombs.

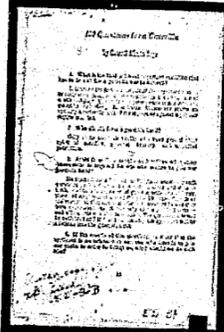
I introduce a copy of the "Militants' Formulary" and an advertisement for the "Militants' Formulary" from the magazine "The Shotgun News" as exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be made exhibits 832 and 833.

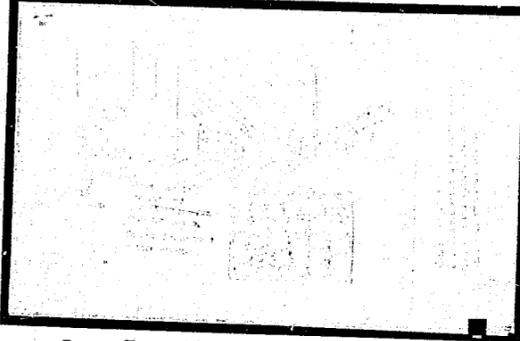
ORIGIN OF  
INSTRUCTIONS ON  
MAKING BOMBS,  
BOOBY TRAPS, etc.  
STARTING WITH  
CUBAN BOOK



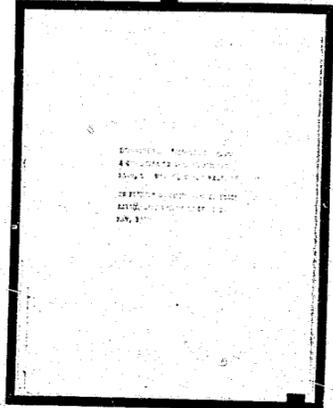
English  
Translation  
First Printing  
February 1963



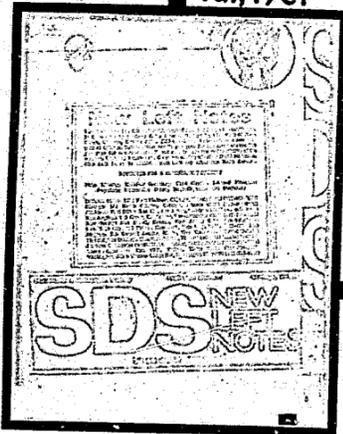
Copies Found in **KOM HEADQUARTERS** Philadelphia Pa., 1967



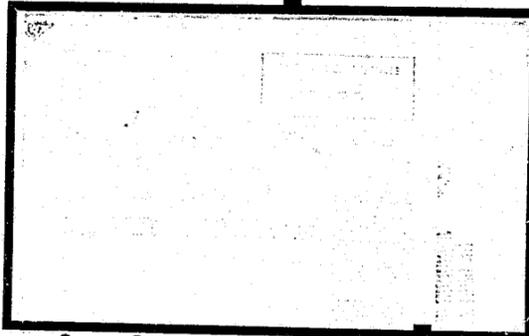
Copy Found in **BLACK PANTHER** Pad in San Francisco, Calif. Mar. 25, 1969



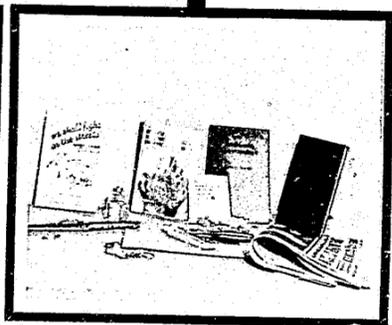
Copy Found in Possession of **SNCC** Member in New Orleans, La. May 1968



Copied in this Form, Found on **CAMPUS** in **IOWA** and **CALIFORNIA**. Also Disseminated at **SDS CONVENTION** in **MICHIGAN** and **COLORADO** Bolder Colo., 1968



Copy Published in **RAT UNDERGROUND** NEWSPAPER Feb. 6, 1970



Copy Found in **WEATHERMAN BOMB** FACTORY Chicago, Illinois March, 1970

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 832 and 833" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. Panther Publications, Inc., offers for sale a book entitled "150 Questions for a Guerrilla," written by Gen. Alberto Bayo, the man who trained Fidel Castro, Che Guevarra, and other Cuban revolutionaries in the art of guerrilla warfare. This book was brought directly to the United States from Cuba by the president and operator of Panther Publications, Robert K. Brown. Mr. Brown had the book translated into English, copyrighted it, and has offered it for sale.

From an interview which I had with Mr. Brown in Boulder, Colo., it was learned that Panther Publications has sold about 5,000 copies of this book.

In order to show the widespread distribution of this book, which contains diagrams and instructions for the manufacture of explosive bombs and incendiaries and offers guidance to the prospective saboteur in picking targets, the subcommittee has prepared a chart tracing the book from its origin in Cuba in 1959 to its use by various militant groups and its reprinting in underground papers.

I introduce this chart into evidence. This is the chart which is being demonstrated now by Mr. Brick.

The CHAIRMAN. That chart may be made exhibit 834.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 834" for reference and faces this page.)

Mr. MANUEL. The first exhibit on the chart is a copy of the original book in Spanish published in Havana, Cuba, in 1959, showing certain diagrams of Molotov cocktails and grenades and incendiary devices.

The second exhibit is the translation into English, for sale by Panther Publications for \$2, showing the identical diagrams on bombmaking.

Law-enforcement officials all over the country have documented for us incidents where these diagrams have been circulated on college campuses, or have been found in the possession of members of extremist organizations, or have appeared in certain underground papers of considerable circulation.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who circulated them on campuses?

Mr. MANUEL. We have one exhibit on there that we know was circulated on college campuses, the one that Mr. Brick is pointing to now.

It always had the cover of "SDS New Left Notes" on it. Underneath that you see the same diagrams as in the original Spanish book.

We know that this document was circulated at the SDS convention in East Lansing, Mich., and in Boulder, Colo., in 1968.

The CHAIRMAN. That particular document was circulated on campuses?

Mr. MANUEL. Exact copies were; yes, sir.

We know from testimony we have had so far in these hearings that it has appeared on campuses in the State of Iowa and California, among others.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. A number of these diagrams were entered as exhibits in our hearings on SDS and the Black Panthers.

Some examples which appear on the chart are:

(1) Copy of this book was found by the Philadelphia Police Department in a raid on the headquarters of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) in Philadelphia in 1967.

You will notice the same diagrams appear.

(2) In 1968, 1969, and 1970 the same diagrams, with a cover page identifying the SDS "New Left Notes" were distributed in SDS workshops at their convention in East Lansing, Mich., in June 1968, and at their convention in Boulder, Colo. in October 1968. Copies have also appeared, according to testimony, on college campuses in Iowa and California.

(3) Copies of the same diagrams were obtained by the San Francisco Police Department in a raid on an apartment occupied by Black Panther members in March 1969.

(4) Copies of the diagrams were found in the possession of members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) when they were arrested in New Orleans in May 1968 during the trial of H. Rap Brown.

(5) The diagrams were reprinted in the "Rat," a New York underground newspaper, in its February 6, 1970, edition.

This publication, Mr. Chairman, has circulation all the way out to Seattle, Wash.

(6) When Chicago police and FBI agents discovered dynamite and other arms in an apartment at 5433 North Kenmore Street in Chicago, occupied by members of the Weatherman faction of SDS, they found, among other material, the book "150 Questions for a Guerrilla," containing the same diagrams.

Many other examples could be included. However, this chart should give the subcommittee some idea of the circulation of this type of printed matter to members and sympathizers of these groups.

Our investigation also found another example of printed material emanating from Cuba and mailed directly into the United States. It deals with the necessity, desirability, strategy, and tactics of guerrilla warfare, sabotage and terrorism.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Before you leave that, on this chart you show there on the top the Cuban publication by Bayo, the same fellow who taught Fidel Castro guerrilla warfare, how to make the bombs. The same bomb instructions are contained in the translation, and then they are further found in the SDS "Weatherman."

Mr. MANUEL. Exactly the same diagrams.

Mr. ADLERMAN. All of them contain the same diagrams of the bombs?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct.

Mr. ADLERMAN. That emanated from Cuba?

Mr. MANUEL. And the translation from Spanish to English is identical in the instructions.

The subcommittee's staff has prepared another chart showing the nature and proliferation of this material relating to the January-February 1970 issue of a book called "Tricontinental," to which Mr. Brick is pointing right now.

This book is self-identified as the theoretical organ of the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, headquartered in Havana, Cuba. The postal

# ORIGIN OF INSTRUCTIONS ON GUERRILLA WARFARE EMANATING FROM CUBA.

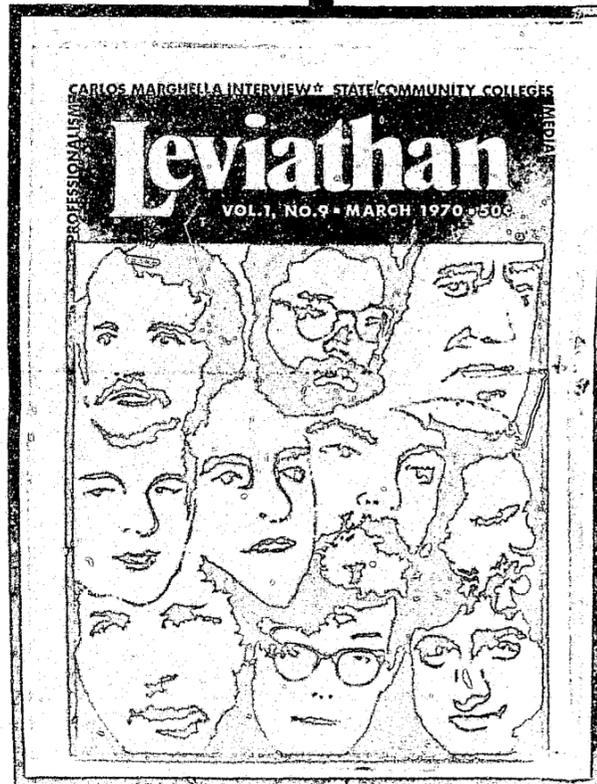
## TRICONTINENTAL

PUBLISHED BY OSPAAAL IN CUBA  
JANUARY 1970 - SETS FORTH STRATEGY AND ORGANIZATION OF GUERRILLA GROUPS



BOOK COVER  
SEP. 1968

MINIMANUAL  
OF URBAN  
GUERRILLA  
BY CARLOS  
MARIGHELLA  
JAN 1970



STRATEGY AND TACTICS  
OF CARLOS MARIGHELLA  
ON INTERVIEW IN  
LEVIATHAN NEWSPAPER  
PUBLISHED IN  
SAN FRANCISCO  
MARCH 1970

QUOTATIONS  
FROM CARLOS MARIGHELLA  
APPEARING IN  
PART 4

**ORGANIZING SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS**      **PART-4 RECIPES**

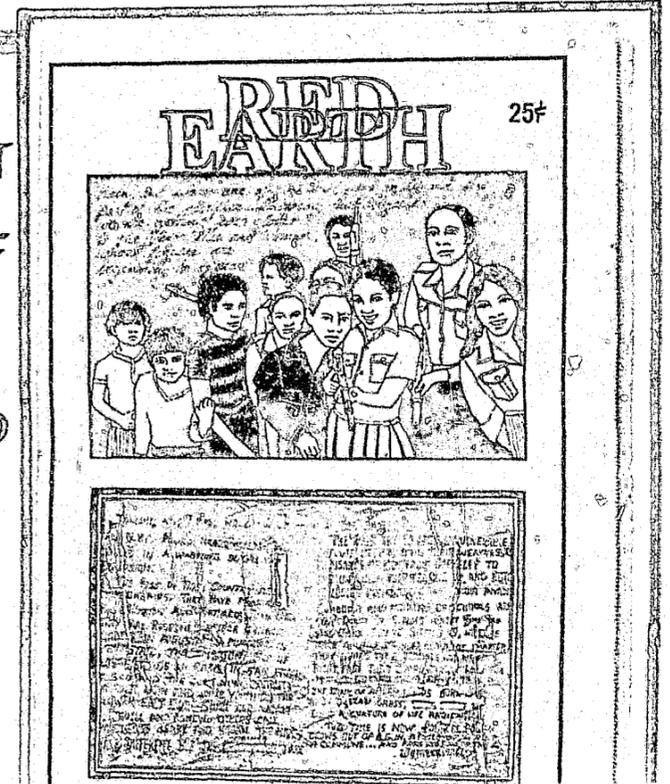
**SELF IGNITING MOLotov COCKTAIL**

**PEOPLES HANDGRENADE**

**RACIST-MAD PIGS SIG K9 POLICE DOG ON BROTHER**

BOOKS CAN BE PURCHASED AT  
NORMOUNT ARMAMENT, BOX 211 GAS  
FORDEN GROVE, OREGON 97118 U.S.A.

FULL REPRINT  
OF  
MINIMANUAL OF  
URBAN  
GUERRILLA  
IN  
UNDERGROUND  
PAPER  
"RED  
EARTH"  
JUNE 1970





address is Post Office Box 4224, Havana, Cuba. The book is printed and disseminated from Havana.

The feature article in this edition is a 41-page treatise on guerrilla warfare, strategy, and tactics called the "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla." It was written by Carlos Marighella, a Brazilian guerrilla fighter who is described in the publication as "one of the strongest advocates in theory and practice of urban guerrilla warfare."

"Tricontinental" in its preface explained that this article was considered an instrument of the arms struggle in the cities of Brazil. However, it continues, the "Minimanual" contains lessons useful to any revolutionary. "Tricontinental" stated that the publication of the "Minimanual" was part of its mission to spread understanding of revolutionary activities, strategy, and tactics. Some of the more significant passages from this "Minimanual" are—I have listed here, Mr. Chairman, a number of quotes which are very germane to the strategy, tactics, and an organization of guerrilla units.

The CHAIRMAN. All of these quotes you have here in this prepared statement are from this book that you just referred to?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir. They relate to the organization of guerrilla groups, their strategy, their method of operation, what targets they should pick, how they should attack the Government, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is this book found in this country?

Mr. MANUEL. Among other ways that it got into this country, this book was mailed directly from Cuba to certain places in the United States.

The subcommittee, itself, as I will explain later in our testimony, did receive directly in the mail one such copy, a different edition but the same book, directly from Cuba to our post office box.

The CHAIRMAN. This chart may be made exhibit No. 835, the chart about which you have just been testifying.

Do you want to read any of these?

(The document referred to was marked "exhibit No. 835" for reference and faces this page.)

Mr. MANUEL. They are quite lengthy, Mr. Chairman. In the interest of time, perhaps I could read one or two and have the rest entered into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They will all be entered into the record.

Mr. MANUEL. One of the most important is the third one down, quotes from the book:

To know how to make and repair arms, prepare Molotov cocktails, grenades, mines, homemade destructive devices, how to blow up bridges, tear up and put out of service rails and sleepers, these are requisites in the technical preparation of the urban guerrilla that can never be considered unimportant.

The highest level of preparation for the urban guerrilla is the center for technical training. But only the guerrilla who has already passed the preliminary examination can go on to this school—that is to say, one who has passed the proof of fire in revolutionary action, in actual combat against the enemy.

Another passage is the very quote on the next page:

The construction and courses in explosives and sabotage must be organized. The primary materials for practicing these courses must be obtained ahead of time to prevent an incomplete apprenticeship—that is to say, to leave no room for experimentation. Molotov cocktails, gasoline, homemade contrivances—such as catapults and mortars for firing explosives, grenades made of tubes and cans, smoke bombs, mines, conventional explosives such as dynamite and potassium chloride, plastic explosives, gelatine capsules, ammunition of every kind, are indispensable to the success of the urban guerrilla's mission.

The CHAIRMAN. I have glanced at some of them here.

In order to function, the urban guerrilla must organize in small groups. A group of no more than four or five is called the "firing group."

Mr. MANUEL. I believe what he refers to as the "firing group" is similar to what we have heard testimony about and has been referred to as "affinity groups" in this country. They are very similar in operation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Weathermen call them another name.

Mr. MANUEL. "Affinity groups."  
I might say, in the latest indictment of Weathermen members, in the conspiracy to bomb certain police stations and other things, which was just handed down last week, they also used another term. They called them focals.

The CHAIRMAN. Here it says:

No firing group can remain inactive while waiting for orders from above. Its obligation is to act. Any single urban guerrilla who wants to establish a firing group and begin action can do so and thus become a part of the organization.

All right.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Manuel, before you leave the question on affinity groups, were the Weathermen operating before that in a different fashion? Were they operating in larger groups?

Mr. MANUEL. The Weatherman faction was originally part of—they broke away from the larger SDS groups.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Did they live together in communes?

Mr. MANUEL. They called them communes. They established living residences with each other, 10 or 12 people.

Mr. ADLERMAN. They were living in groups of 10, 12, 15 in number?

Mr. MANUEL. That is true.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Since then they have broken up in smaller groups of three and four?

Mr. MANUEL. It appears some of them have; yes, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. That makes it more difficult to detect them.

Mr. MANUEL. According to law-enforcement officials, this is true.

The CHAIRMAN. They pointed that out also in the statement, that is true.

I see the concluding quote you have says:

The organization is an indestructible network of firing groups and of coordinations among them that functions simply and practically with a general command that also participates in the attacks, an organization which exists for no purpose other than pure and simple revolutionary action.

(The remaining quotations from "Minimanual" contained in the prepared testimony of the witness follow:)

The basic question in the technical preparation of the urban guerrilla is nevertheless to know how to handle arms such as the machine gun, revolver, automatic, FAL, various types of shotguns, carbines, mortars, bazookas, et cetera.

A knowledge of various types of ammunition and explosives is another aspect to consider. Among the explosives, dynamite must be well understood. The use of incendiary bombs, of smoke bombs, and other types are indispensable prior knowledge.

The method of obtaining the necessary materials and munitions will be to buy them or to take them by force in expropriation actions especially planned and carried out.

The urban guerrilla will be careful not to keep explosives and materials that can cause accidents around for very long, but will try always to use them immediately on their destined targets.

The firing group plans and executes urban guerrilla actions, obtains and guards arms, studies and corrects its own tactics—the old type hierarchy style of the traditional left does not exist in our organization. This means that except for the priority of objectives set by the strategic command any firing group can decide to assault the bank, to kidnap or execute an agency of the dictatorship, et cetera.

This method of action eliminates the need for knowing who is carrying out which actions since there is free initiative, and the only important point is to increase substantially the volume of urban guerrilla activity in order to wear out the Government and force it on to the defensive. The firing group is the instrument of organized action within. Its guerrilla operations and tactics are planned, launched and carried through to success.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, you may proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. "Tricontinental" came to the attention of the subcommittee in October 1968. The September-October issue was mailed from Cuba to a post office box the subcommittee used to collect publications of extremist groups. This issue—the cover is shown on the chart—illustrates ways to mount a Molotov cocktail on a shotgun to make a weapon which can be useful in city fighting from roofs, balconies, terraces, and similar places. The reader receives this command: "Use it."

To give the subcommittee some idea of the proliferation of the tactics and strategy of Carlos Marighella, I wish to point out that we found detailed information about him in the March 1970 edition of "Leviathan," an organ affiliated with the Weatherman faction of SDS.

Mr. Brick is now illustrating that.

We also established that the April 18, 1970, issue of the Black Panther newspaper carried an article called "Organizing Self-Defense Groups." This article was accompanied by diagrams of Molotov cocktails and the so-called peoples' handgrenade, which is made from easily obtainable materials.

Describing Panther concepts of "self-defense," Donald Lee Cox, chief of the Panther underground, quotes from Carlos Marighella:

The accusation of assault or terrorism no longer has the negative meaning it used to have. It has acquired new clothing, a new coloration, it does not factionalize, it does not discredit; on the contrary it respects a focal point of attention. Today, to be an assailant or terrorist is a quality that ennobles any honorable man because it is an act worthy of a revolutionary engaged in arms struggle against the shameful military dictatorship and its monstrosities.

So with that I can say all self-defense groups must strike blows against the slave master until we have secured our survival as people, and if this takes shooting every pig and blowing up every pig sty then lets get on up.

"Pig" and "pig sty" in this context, Mr. Chairman, refers to policemen and to police stations and police law-enforcement facilities.

This article also contains advice on books, mostly U.S. Army manuals, which can be purchased from the Normount Armament Co. Other issues have advised the reader to order the same type of books from Panther Publications, Inc.

The subcommittee also disclosed that the entire text of these articles on so-called self-defense groups have been distributed to various Black Panther chapters. Examples on the chart show these documents stamped with the identification of the Connecticut State Chapter of the Black Panther Party and the National Committee to Combat Fascism in Washington, D.C.

These are handouts that have been reprinted and sent out to Black Panther Party chapters showing the exact material which was contained in the Black Panther Party newspaper.

I might add that this particular issue of the Black Panther Party magazine had approximately 100,000 circulation.

Further proliferation of this material is indicated on page 11 of the May 30, 1970, edition of the Washington, D.C., underground newspaper, Quicksilver Times. That page has an exact duplicate of the article "Organizing Self-Defense Groups" from the Black Panther paper of April 18.

It is significant to note that page 11 contains this article advising people to shoot policemen and blow up police stations, while the next two pages contain a map showing locations and giving descriptions of police stations and other related law-enforcement agencies in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Chairman, there is another exhibit on the chart which is a full reprint of the "Minimanual" of the urban guerrilla, which we just acquired recently. It was contained in an underground paper called The Red Earth, which is also affiliated with the Weathermen faction of the SDS.

As I say, it contains the full and total reprint of the "Minimanual" of the urban guerrilla, which I have previously described.

The CHAIRMAN. This indicates it is not much trouble for anyone who wants to be a revolutionary or engage in sabotage to get good directions and expert information on how to proceed and how to get the weapons and make the weapons that he needs to commit the acts of sabotage, bombing and so forth.

Mr. MANUEL. I think it is also important to note, Mr. Chairman, that this information emanates from an organization in Cuba.

The CHAIRMAN. The basic information, the book that they use really as a—

Mr. MANUEL. I might add that this book "Tricontinental" identifies itself in the cover, but it says that it is translated into four different languages and distributed to many countries. They have French editions, English editions, Italian editions, Spanish editions, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. That indicates that it has been distributed to many countries. Would that be some indication that it is part of a world conspiracy?

Mr. MANUEL. I would say that is a pretty good piece of evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, where it is a world conspiracy, the objective is to spread revolution all over the world?

Mr. MANUEL. This is what they themselves say in the book.

The CHAIRMAN. They say in the book that that is their objective?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To spread revolution all over the world?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. We also obtained copies of a publication from Berkeley, Calif., called Black Politics. It calls itself an independent journal providing a forum for vanguard theories and ideas that deal with crucial issues. It says that it believes freedom, justice and equality must be obtained by those means which the oppressed think necessary.

The business manager is identified as Tom Sanders of Berkeley, also a member of the editorial board. Several issues of this publication have contained articles by a person using the name "George Prosser."

I introduce the following articles from Black Politics, written by Prosser:

(1) Volume I, No. 1, dated January 1968, page 13, an article entitled "Weapons for Self-Defense."

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received as exhibit 836, and letter each separate item.

(The documents referred to were market "Exhibit Nos. 836A-836E" for reference and may be found in the file of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. (2) Volume I, No. 3, dated March 1968, page 4, an article entitled "How To Acquire the Rifle."

(3) Volume I, No. 9-10, dated September-October 1968, page 18, an article entitled "Handguns."

(4) Volume II, Nos. 11 and 12, dated January-February 1969, page 18, an article entitled "An Introduction to Elementary Tactics" (involved in urban guerrilla warfare). In this article Prosser recommends reading material as follows:

(a) "We Shall Fight in the Streets," by Capt. S. J. Cuthbert.

(b) "Guerrilla Warfare," by "Yank" Bert Levy.

(c) "Total Resistance," Maj. H. von BackBern.

(d) "150 Questions for a Guerrilla," Gen. Alberto Bayo.

(e) "The War of the Flea," Robert Tabor.

(f) "Guerrilla Warfare," by Che Guevara.

Prosser states in the article that all these books can be bought from Panther Publications, Post Office Box 369, Boulder, Colo., or the Combat Bookshelf, Post Office Box 211-L, Forest Grove, Oreg.

(5) Volume II, Nos. 13 and 14, undated, page 42, an article entitled "Terrorism and Sabotage," with an advertisement for Panther Publications.

In the Prosser article "An Introduction to Military Tactics," the author indicated the importance of the timing concept for guerrilla warfare. Prosser stated:

The time has come for us to consider some of the elementary tactical principles involved in urban guerrilla warfare, but it should be understood at the outset that we do not advise action now to carry out these principles. A certain period of preparation is necessary before armed actions can seriously be considered. Weapons, ammunition, explosives, and much related equipment must be obtained and stockpiled, suitable recruits and the desired revolutionary orientation must be selected and trained.

In "Terrorism and Sabotage," Prosser stresses the difference between organized effective sabotage as opposed to individual acts of terrorism. This Prosser article reproduces pages from official military manuals on demolitions and explosives. There are instructions and diagrams for making Molotov cocktails, for firing mortar shells, and advertisements for handbooks on explosives and small arms and ammunition.

Prosser wrote that he is not advocating that anyone follow his instructions, but that the material is for the interested reader. He then proceeded to say:

To sabotage railroad lines only the simplest equipment is needed, crowbars and sledge hammers. To derail a train all that is necessary is to loosen the tie mountings on each successive tie.

He then describes how communications and transportation may be effectively sabotaged.

At this point I would like to state that the staff in its investigation in the bay area, California, tried to locate Mr. Prosser. We could not locate Mr. Prosser or any record of Mr. Prosser.

We attempted to interview the business manager of this publication, Mr. Sanders. He would not cooperate with the subcommittee's investigation, would not answer any of our questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe he is also under subpoena.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sanders is. We don't know where Prosser is.

The CHAIRMAN. This material and these instructions you read clearly confirm that a great many of these bombings are really a part of training for the ultimate effort at revolution, training in guerrilla warfare.

As he points out here:

A certain period of preparation is necessary before armed actions can seriously be considered. Weapons, ammunition, explosives, and much related equipment must be obtained and stockpiled. Suitable recruits and the desired revolutionary orientation must be selected and trained.

I am pretty well convinced that many of these bombings are a part of the training and development, getting prepared for more precipitate action.

Mr. MANUEL. It is true, Mr. Chairman, especially in the light of the fact that in order to be an effective bomber you have to receive training from someplace, either a book or instruction from a competent instructor. You just don't go out and decide one day you are going to make a bomb and put it together. You need some instruction in this.

These documents are evidence that these instructions are being given.

Mr. Chairman, all the documents represent a small sample of all we have collected which teach how to make explosives and incendiaries or which show the necessity and desirability of conducting active sabotage and guerrilla warfare in this country.

There is a very serious question involved in our examination of these materials. When an organization prints and circulates such instructions on how to construct and use explosive and incendiary devices, at the same time extolling the virtues of such acts, is that organization in fact advocating and encouraging the readers of such material to commit sabotage? Unless it can be provided that the paper or document advocated that the reader actually blow up a target and that in turn it can be proved that the reader acted upon this prompting, existing law evidently has no effect.

Barring a confession, there is no possible way to prove in court that a person blew up a powerline or a building, or derailed a train, by reason of reading how to do it in a specific article or handbook, whether those instructions were disseminated by the SDS, the Black Panthers, the American Nazi Party, or the U.S. Army.

The Army, for example, has handbooks and manuals on demolition which are currently being circulated among revolutionary extremists of all kinds. Obviously, the Army did not intend that they be used to sabotage installations in this country. On the other hand, the authors and distributors of printed matter of the type introduced in our hearings, not only by the staff but also by every other witness who has

appeared before us, would be hard pressed to explain what their intent was, if it was not to stimulate and provoke violent action of some sort.

There is also the question of the legality of using the mails to distribute this type of printed matter. In that regard, I would like to submit as an exhibit a press release issued by the Post Office Department on Saturday, October 7, 1967. In that release, the then Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien disclosed that the Post Office had barred from the mail the May 1967 edition of the Crusader Monthly Newsletter written by Robert F. Williams, who was then living in Peking, China.

The CHAIRMAN. The Post Office Department press release to which you have just referred will be received as exhibit 837.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 837" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. O'Brien said the publication was guilty of "flagrant violation of law and decency." He said the publication encouraged U.S. servicemen in Vietnam to murder fellow soldiers and engage in sedition.

Mr. O'Brien stated that the May 1967 edition violated U.S. law and that the postal services would not carry any written matter which advocates treason and insurrection. In citing the legality under which the Post Office Department had acted in banning the Crusader Newsletter of May 1967 from the mails, Mr. O'Brien stated that the publication violated a number of laws, including title 18 of the United States Code, sections 957, 1461, 1717A, and 2387.

I will not read these sections of title 18, Mr. Chairman. We will have officials of the Post Office Department themselves come in and explain them to us. But I would like them in the record.

Section 957 makes it a penal offense for anyone in the aid of any foreign government willfully to possess or control any property or papers designed for use in violating a Federal law or any treaty obligation of the United States.

Section 1717A states that any matter which violates section 957 is nonmailable and is not to be carried in the mails.

Section 1461 provides for criminal penalties for those who mail matters "tending to incite arson, murder, or assassination." This subject matter is unmailable.

Section 2387 makes it a crime to distribute any written or printed matter which advises insubordination, disloyalty, or refusal of duty by any member of the military.

The CHAIRMAN. In spite of what Mr. O'Brien said, they are freely carried through the mails?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

At the present time, Mr. Chairman, the staff research on these four sections of the law indicates that they are still in effect. Questions about their constitutionality have not been decided by any court.

With that in mind, I would like to introduce as an exhibit an article which appeared in the Black Panther Newspaper on Saturday, May 2, 1970.

The CHAIRMAN. This exhibit that you are referring to now may be made exhibit No. 838.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 838" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. This article was written by Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information of the Black Panther Party, and is addressed "To My Black Brothers in Vietnam." This is the article in full. I would like to quote from it.

The CHAIRMAN. You may quote from it.

Mr. MANUEL (reading):

We appeal to you Brothers to come to the aid of your people. Either quit the Army, now, or start destroying it from the inside. Anything else is a compromise and a form of treason against your own people. Stop killing the Vietnamese people. You need to start killing the racist pigs who are over there with you giving you orders. Kill General Abrams and his staff, all his officers. Sabotage supplies and equipment or turn them over to the Vietnamese people. Talk to the other Brothers and wake them up. You should start now weeding out the traitors amongst you.

It is better to do it now than to allow them to return home to help the pigs wipe us out. Especially the Uncle Tom officers should be dealt with now, because the pigs will use them as effective tools against our people. When you can no longer take care of business inside the Army, then turn yourself over to the Vietnamese people and tell them you want to join the Black Panther Party to fight for the freedom and the liberation of your own people. If you do cross over, you don't have to worry about the Vietnamese people abusing you. They will be glad to see you drop out of the Army because what they want most in life is to stop the fighting in their land. You have a duty to humanity as well as to your own people not to be used as murderous tools by racist pigs to oppress the people.

Following my testimony this morning we will hear from a representative of the General Counsel's Office, U.S. Post Office Department, and from the Chief Postal Inspector, who may be able to enlighten the subcommittee as to the effectiveness of current law on determining the mailability of this type of printed matter.

Before I concluded, Mr. Chairman, I have one more exhibit I would like to introduce for the record for our files. That is copies of six separate indictments that have been returned by the United States against certain members of the Weathermen for their part in conspiracy in bombings or riot activities, inciting riots.

The CHAIRMAN. Those cases have not been tried.

Mr. MANUEL. They have not been tried. These are just copies of indictments.

The CHAIRMAN. That is public information. They may be received and marked as Exhibit No. 839.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 839" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. That concludes my testimony this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. These gentlemen accompanying you here this morning all helped you prepare this information?

Mr. MANUEL. That is correct, Mr. Chairman. I would like to thank them now for a competent, well-done job.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to thank them on behalf of the subcommittee for their services.

We will certainly benefit in our work from the information and documents that are being used by these elements in our society who are causing this trouble by bombing and undertaking to create disorder and sabotage and instill terror in the minds and hearts of the people.

We appreciate the cooperation that these gentlemen have given you in this work.

Is there any thing further you wish to state about it?

Mr. MANUEL. No, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, do you have any questions?

Senator METCALF. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel?

Mr. ADLERMAN. I notice you make a reference to Robert F. Williams, who was living in Peking, China, and also was the publisher of the Crusader Monthly Newsletter. Is he affiliated with any organization in this country?

Mr. MANUEL. In the past Mr. Williams has been affiliated with the Revolutionary Action Movement. And of late he has been affiliated with the Republic of New Africa.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Is he affiliated with any other organization besides those?

Mr. MANUEL. Not any organization that has been the subject of our investigation.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Is he a fugitive from the United States?

Mr. MANUEL. No, sir. He has returned from Peking sometime last year. I believe he is now residing in the Detroit, Mich., area.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Where?

Mr. MANUEL. In Detroit, Mich. I believe that is where he is residing now, in that area.

Mr. ADLERMAN. He was charged with some crime before he left for China, was he not?

Mr. MANUEL. He was charged with kidnaping. This was the result of some activity in Monroe, N.C., back in 1960. He was also charged with flight to avoid prosecution.

Mr. ADLERMAN. He has since returned to the United States?

Mr. MANUEL. He has. I believe right now he is currently fighting extradition to North Carolina for that trial.

The CHAIRMAN. The chair has no questions.

I will make this observation.

It seems to me, with all of this information now available, with the facts and materials that are being made a part of this record, duly authenticated, no question about the validity—it seems to me that no citizen can longer be complacent about this problem or be under any illusion that there is not an underground effort or revolutionary effort to destroy this Government.

All of this testimony clearly indicates that there is more than one group. There are many groups that are engaged in dispensing this information and distributing this information, encouraging through this means, and I am sure through personal contact as well, the recruiting and enlisting of people to join in this effort to train for guerilla warfare, to engage in sabotage and to come to that time when a full-scale revolution will be launched.

I don't think we can disregard it. At present, I am sure, there are enough of them to launch a full-scale revolution. It may be a long time before they will ever get that strong. I hope they will never get strong enough to do it. But it is in the making. This is what is being attempted. And the American public should be alerted.

We hope these hearings will alert them, that all responsible officials of Government will take note, and that we will work to enact laws to strengthen the ability of Government to combat such influences and

that we will succeed in preventing these forces from gaining momentum and support and the reinforcements that will be necessary to carry out their designs of revolution and overthrow of our Government.

I think this is very, very significant testimony. It can't be ignored. It should stir our Government, all citizens to take action to try to combat the further development, the further growth of these forces in our country.

Senator, do you have any statement?

Senator METCALF. No, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Call the next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army, John G. Kester.

The CHAIRMAN. You do solemnly swear the evidence you shall give before the Senate subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KESTER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Be seated, and identify yourself for the record, please, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF JOHN G. KESTER

Mr. KESTER. I am John G. Kester, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army for Manpower and Reserve Affairs.

(Biographical sketch of Mr. Kester follows:)

John G. Kester, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army (Manpower and Reserve Affairs), was born June 18, 1938, in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. He was graduated from high school in that city, and majored in economics at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, where he received the B.A. degree in 1959. While attending the university he was a member of the Reserve Officers Training Corps, was designated a Distinguished Military Graduate, and on graduation was commissioned in the U.S. Army Reserve.

Mr. Kester spent the academic year 1959-60 at Aix-en-Provence, France, as a Fulbright scholar at the Universite d'Aix-Marseille.

He returned to this country in 1960 to enroll in the Harvard Law School, from which he received the L.L.B. degree magna cum laude in 1963. During 1962-63 he served as President of the Harvard Law Review.

Following graduation from law school, Mr. Kester was law clerk to Mr. Justice Black of the Supreme Court of the United States for the 1963 and 1964 terms. In 1965 he entered active military service, where he was assigned until release from active duty in 1968 to the Office of the General Counsel, Office of the Secretary of the Army.

After practicing law briefly in Washington, D.C., he became Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Michigan Law School, teaching constitutional law. In 1969 Mr. Kester was appointed to his present office. He is a member of the bars of the District of Columbia, the United States Court of Military Appeals, and the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. KESTER. I have a prepared statement, Mr. Chairman, if you care to hear it.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You may read it, if you like. If any part of it you omit, it will be printed in the record.

You may proceed.

Mr. KESTER. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman and Senator Metcalf, I am John G. Kester, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army (Manpower and Reserve Affairs). I am pleased to appear before you today to give information from the Department of Defense on several subjects in which this subcommittee has expressed interest. At the conclusion of my prepared statement, I shall be happy to respond to questions.

First I shall address the availability to the general public of military publications dealing with such subjects as explosives and incendiary devices and unconventional warfare techniques. The subcommittee staff has been furnished copies of these publications.

I shall not elaborate upon the need for disseminating such information to members of the Armed Forces, to train them in counterinsurgency techniques and in protecting themselves from enemy explosive and incendiary devices.

Under Public Law 89-487, members of the public can obtain copies of many unclassified publications of the military departments by request to the Superintendent of Documents at the Government Printing Office, or to the military departments themselves. Reprinting of uncopyrighted materials from Government documents is not restricted.

Some of the Army manuals furnished the committee have been generally available. However, it became a matter of concern that some groups were offering copies of some of these publications for resale. Two such instances were brought to our attention earlier this year by your general counsel. Therefore, action has been taken to review existing policy on the general availability of these publications.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to insert this biographical sketch of you here. We will let it be inserted in the record immediately preceding your testimony.

Mr. KESTER. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You say it has now become a matter of concern to the military that copies of such material are being offered to the public for sale?

Mr. KESTER. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. When did it become a matter of concern to you?

Mr. KESTER. I would say, Mr. Chairman, the concern has grown with the rash of bombings which this committee has documented in its previous hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you recently have become concerned because of the revelations of these hearings.

Mr. KESTER. Certainly over the course of the past year, and these hearings certainly have brought this further to our attention.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not trying to have the committee take credit for it. I am trying to see if any good has come from the exposure that the committee has been making.

If we have alerted you folks to where you are now concerned, I think we have contributed something to the military.

Mr. KESTER. I believe you have, Mr. Chairman.

As I continue in my statement, you will see some specific steps have been taken.

The CHAIRMAN. You said two such incidents were brought to your attention. Is the military now engaged in a review of your existing policy to see what you can do about it in this area?

Mr. KESTER. That is correct, Mr. Chairman. We have already taken steps with regard to several of the manuals, as I will explain in a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You may proceed.

Mr. KESTER. In determining whether these publications should be released to the public, we realize that restriction will not make such information unavailable. There are many published books, articles,

and monographs on such subjects as explosives manufacture and fabrication of bombs.

For example, the public reading room of the Library of Congress lists 850 titles under the heading "Explosives," 250 titles under the heading "Blasting," 34 under the heading "Incendiary Bombs."

Detailed information of this kind has appeared in newspapers and in publications of various groups.

As Mr. Manuel's study indicates, and as you have observed, Mr. Chairman, it is not difficult for the urban guerrilla to get the basic information he wants.

Equally important, it is unfortunate but true that explosive and incendiary devices can be fabricated out of commonly available materials with little training. Making a Molotov cocktail or a black powder pipe bomb requires no great skill or technical knowledge.

We have no reason to believe that publications of any agency of the Department of Defense have played any significant role in domestic acts of arson or terrorism. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that under current conditions such publications, although not unique in their contents, might contribute to criminal activities.

For this reason, those manuals containing the most explicit information on explosives are being retained only for internal instructional purposes within the military departments. The Army presently is reviewing a number of other manuals to determine whether they may contain information which would warrant similar action.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you have the whole policy under consideration to see whether you can revise it so as to restrict the availability of such material.

Mr. KESTER. That is correct, Mr. Chairman. We are reviewing each publication, page by page.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. KESTER. Your second question dealt with thefts of weapons and ammunition from military installations within the continental United States.

This again is an area in which the quantitative impact of items from the Defense Department inventory can be described only as negligible. Nevertheless, we regard the loss or theft of a single weapon or a single round of ammunition as a serious occurrence, and the existing careful security measures are being tightened still further.

To put the matter in perspective, let me point out that the Federal Bureau of Investigation estimates that there are today in the hands of the American public 35 million rifles, 31 million shotguns, and 24 million handguns. That adds up to 90 million weapons or nearly one for every two men, women, or children in the United States.

Compared to this, the entire small arms inventory of the military services is not large. The four services combined have issued to troops or in their inventories approximately 4.8 million small arms. This includes weapons in Southeast Asia.

From this inventory, the Army reported 682 weapons lost through theft in the continental United States in 1969. There were 369 lost or stolen weapons recovered during the same period.

The Air Force does not maintain data differentiating between loss through theft and through other causes. Its total weapons lost in 1969 were 259. There were 119 weapons recovered during the same period, for a net loss of 140.

The Marine Corps, like the Air Force, does not maintain separate records on thefts. Total losses of Marine weapons in 1969 in the United States were 715. Statistics on the number recovered are not available.

For the Navy, weapons loss figures are available only on a worldwide basis, including combat areas. For 1969, the worldwide total is 1,129, including losses through causes other than theft. That figure also includes those Marine Corps losses previously stated, which were referred to the Naval Investigative Service. Data on recoveries of Navy weapons are not available.

Of weapons stolen, based on Army experience, an average of 44 percent are subsequently recovered. Moreover, an indeterminate number of losses reported as thefts are believed to reflect errors and inventory shortages.

Thus, disregarding recoveries, counting Navy losses worldwide, and counting losses from causes other than theft for the Air Force, Navy, and Marines, the 1969 weapons loss for the Defense Department in the United States was 2,777 weapons.

Even though overstated, this figure is fifty-seven one-thousandths of 1 percent of the total DOD stocks on hand. It is three one-thousandths of 1 percent of the 90 million weapons already in private hands throughout the United States.

Senator METCALF. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Metcalf.

Senator METCALF. I wonder if the witness would mind an interruption at this time.

It would seem to me that you have neglected to talk about what is the most important thing, the type of weapons stolen. It makes a lot of difference whether you steal a carbine or a Thompson submachinegun.

The theft of automatic weapons that are particularly designed for the military is much more dangerous than the theft of a weapon that is similar to a sporting rifle or a handgun.

It seems to me that you should supply for the committee a description of the kind of weapons that were stolen.

Constantly through these hearings and through other hearings, we have observed that there are in the hands of some of these guerrillas automatic firing weapons and light machineguns that are not available except through the military and must have inevitably been stolen from arsenals. That is the real concern that we have.

Mr. KESTER. Let me respond in two ways.

Senator METCALF. Certainly.

Mr. KESTER. We have given the committee a breakdown, by type of weapon, of the weapons losses to which I referred. I don't have the figures in front of me at this moment.

I can tell you in general the most commonly stolen weapons are—

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have furnished to the staff a breakdown of these weapons?

Mr. KESTER. We have done so already, Senator.

Senator METCALF. Furnished to the staff?

Mr. KESTER. Yes, sir; on a monthly basis.

The CHAIRMAN. That can be compiled, and we can get a breakdown, with your assistance. Compile it with the staff, and we will place it in the record at this point. Get as much detailed information as you can.

Mr. KESTER. We will be happy to, Mr. Chairman.

I can summarize what these figures show. The most commonly stolen weapons are automatic pistols, .45 caliber type, and rifles which are usually M-14's or M-1's.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you get any carbines stolen?

Mr. KESTER. Some carbines.

The CHAIRMAN. Submachineguns?

Mr. KESTER. Very few.

The CHAIRMAN. Especially we want to know about those. Give us a list of those.

Mr. KESTER. We will provide that.

(The information supplied follows:)

*Military weapons losses during calendar year 1969*

	<i>Number stolen</i>
<b>Army weapons:</b>	
.22-caliber pistol	17
.38-caliber pistol	5
.45-caliber pistol	395
.38-caliber revolver	1
.22-caliber rifle	88
5.56-millimeter rifle (M-16)	16
7.62-millimeter rifle	66
.30-caliber rifle (M-1)	49
.30-caliber M-1 carbine rifle	3
.45-caliber submachinegun	3
.30-caliber machinegun	1
7.62-millimeter machinegun (M-60)	10
12-gage shotgun	3
Grenade launcher M-79	3
Miscellaneous	22
<b>Total</b>	<b>682</b>
<b>Air Force weapons:</b>	
9-millimeter pistol	1
.22-caliber pistol	13
.38-caliber revolver	100
.45-caliber pistol	21
.22-caliber rifle	7
.30-caliber rifle	17
5.56-millimeter rifle (M-16)	53
.22-caliber survival rifle	16
12-gage shotgun	10
22/410 survival rifle	11
30/338 rifle	1
.30-caliber carbine (M-2)	5
30-30 rifle	2
7.62-millimeter machinegun (M-60)	1
Grenade launcher M-79	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>259</b>
<b>Marine Corps weapons:</b>	
.38-caliber revolver	50
.45-caliber pistol	214
.30-caliber rifle (M-14)	442
Assorted shotguns	5
7.62-millimeter machine gun (M-60)	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>715</b>

	<i>Number lost or stolen worldwide</i>
<b>Navy weapons:</b>	
.38-caliber revolver	72
.45-caliber pistol	469
Pistol, single shot	2
Rifle, bolt action	1
.30-caliber or 5.56-millimeter rifles (M-14 or M-16)	333
.45-caliber submachinegun	7
Assorted shotguns	19
7.62-millimeter machinegun (M-60)	20
Grenade launcher M-79	26
Miscellaneous	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>* 956</b>

\*This figure (which includes Marine Corps losses) is 173 less than the total of 1,129 for calendar year 1969 given in Mr. Kester's statement since, at present, the Navy has a statistical breakdown of weapons losses only from Jan. 1, 1969, to Dec. 10, 1969.

Senator METCALF. We have documented records in this hearing and other hearings before the Committees on Gun Control where obviously American military weapons, automatic firing, late machineguns, Thompson submachineguns, and so forth—the kind of guns we call burp guns—appear. Where do they come from?

Mr. KESTER. I would say, Senator, there are several places these could come from besides military sources in the sense of being stolen from the Army or the other services.

We have many, many weapons overseas of American manufacture, as I am sure you know. We have supplied small arms to many countries throughout the world through MAP and other programs of that sort.

Senator METCALF. And they come back into the country?

Mr. KESTER. There is a significant amount of arms smuggling across the border, I am told. The Treasury Department is more cognizant in this area than I am.

I just want to emphasize that the Department of Defense, itself, is not necessarily the sole source of this kind of materiel.

In fact, the manufacturers themselves could be robbed, too. As I indicate in my statement, the number of thefts from civilian sources in this country really overshadows by a great margin those from the military.

Senator METCALF. Nobody steals a light machinegun from a civilian source, do they?

Mr. KESTER. From the manufacturer, Senator.

Senator METCALF. From the manufacturer?

Mr. KESTER. Possibly.

Senator METCALF. Because no civilian has a light machinegun.

Mr. KESTER. We hope none does.

Senator METCALF. Except these militarists, gangsters, and criminals. I think the real concern here is not the theft of an M-1 or a military weapon that can be broken down into a sporting rifle or something of that sort. If somebody really wants a gun, the rifle or a comparable parallel weapon is readily available on the market.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a whole lot cheaper to steal them, if they can.

Senator METCALF. But these very dangerous weapons, these highly militaristic weapons, automatic weapons, are certainly not available in the market.

Mr. KESTER. Not on the legal market; no, sir.

Senator METCALF. No, not on the legal market. We have recurrent experiences of these being part of the arsenals of these militants who are captured. This is a matter of real concern, I think.

Mr. KESTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, tell us about the most recent theft, out at Camp Pendleton, right close to the President's California White House. When did that occur, and what were the losses?

Mr. KESTER. The Camp Pendleton theft occurred earlier this week, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Earlier this week?

Mr. KESTER. Yes, sir. This was a case in which a sentry was posted in the arms room.

The CHAIRMAN. There was what?

Mr. KESTER. There was a sentry posted in the arms room at Camp Pendleton, where this occurred. A man came up to the door dressed as a Marine drill instructor, in a uniform, and identified himself as such, and was admitted by the sentry.

After the door was opened, this man who was dressed as a Marine rushed in. Three or four other individuals followed him. They struck the sentry on the head, knocked him unconscious, put a mattress over him, and sat on the mattress while they took a number of weapons from the arms room. I don't have the figure in front of me. It was on the order of about 15 weapons.

Senator METCALF. That was just a highway robbery.

Mr. KESTER. It was.

The CHAIRMAN. How many weapons did they get?

Mr. KESTER. I can't tell you precisely from memory, sir. I believe it was on the order of 15.

It was perhaps nine rifles and five pistols. It is not the kind of weapons you were talking about, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they get explosives at the same time?

Mr. KESTER. No explosives were taken.

The CHAIRMAN. Just weapons?

Mr. KESTER. Just weapons.

The motive in many of these thefts, Mr. Chairman, seems to be fast money. If you steal a .45 automatic pistol, there seems to be a ready market for it in the black market.

It may well be that that was the motivation in this case. But this is under investigation right now, Senator.

I have been handed the information on precisely what was taken: Nine rifles, one pistol, and one grenade launcher, M-79.

Senator METCALF. What kind of rifles were these?

Mr. KESTER. These were M-16's.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. KESTER. According to the data in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Crime Information Center, there were 89,085 weapons reported stolen in the United States in 1969. The 2,777 military losses would amount to 3 percent of this total.

Service regulations on security of weapons are detailed and precise. Commanders have repeatedly emphasized the need for strict observance of security precautions in this area.

Army regulations, for example, require that weapons be locked in specially constructed arms storage rooms or buildings. Weapons in these structures are further secured in locked weapons racks or containers. Minimum standards for such storage areas are prescribed by official engineer drawings.

All weapons are secured according to a triple lock concept, which includes double doors with locks, double locks on the arms buildings, one additional lock on each arms rack and container, and racks and containers chained or bolted to the floor.

In this connection, I should like to point out that the arms taken from the California collection which were referred to in earlier testimony before this committee were not under military control.

The CHAIRMAN. Whose control were they under?

Mr. KESTER. They were placed there, Mr. Chairman, by agents of the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Unit.

The CHAIRMAN. Whose control were they under?

Mr. KESTER. The Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Unit, sir. They had the locks and keys.

Civilian law enforcement officials requested and were granted permission to use two empty bunkers at a no longer used coast artillery site. The security arrangements they adopted were not those prescribed for military weapons storage facilities, and subsequently the weapons were removed at the request of Army officials.

The Department of Defense cooperates in every way possible with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and State and local authorities when thefts occur.

For example, every loss, theft, or disappearance of an Army weapon anywhere in the United States must be reported to the Provost Marshal General in Washington within 24 hours. He then, in turn, gives complete information to the FBI's National Crime Information Center.

We are not aware of any evidence that groups planning organized violence are seeking to use the military as a principal source of supply for arms, although it is possible that such persons have been responsible for particular incidents. Although many thefts involve single weapons, multiple thefts have occurred.

The objective usually is to obtain money by selling the weapons or ammunition taken to receivers of stolen goods, or even scrapmetal dealers.

Nevertheless, the services consider any loss or theft of weapons or ammunition a cause for concern, and have taken measures to keep such losses at the lowest possible levels. Continuing efforts are underway to analyze possible vulnerabilities, the techniques of weapons thieves, and trends of criminal activity.

As a further safeguard against weapons thefts, the services recently have taken several additional steps. For example:

Analysis of the methods of forced entry to arms rooms has shown thieves most frequently destroy locks with bolt cutters to gain access. Accordingly, the Army has developed new high-security locks and hasps specifically designed to withstand forced entry. These are currently being distributed within the Department of Defense.

Commanders worldwide have been instructed to take necessary action to provide additional protection during the times when their

facilities are most vulnerable. Many are employing a man on guard duty in the arms rooms around the clock.

Regulations on explosives handling are being revised to include the same security criteria as are presently applied to ammunition.

The Army and Air Force have consolidated arms rooms to the maximum extent possible in order to provide fewer targets for weapons thieves. The Army is considering development of a specially constructed standard consolidated arms room with greatly enhanced security. Security criteria for existing arms rooms have been upgraded.

The Army is evaluating the use of intrusion detection equipment in all arms rooms. The National Guard Bureau has programed three-quarters of a million dollars for this project in fiscal year 1971, and about \$2 million more in fiscal year 1972. Use of such equipment by the Army Reserve and Active Army is under consideration, subject to availability of funds.

In summary, the magnitude of arms thefts is small, and the services are taking every reasonable step to maintain and improve weapons security.

I will now discuss damage to ROTC facilities and military recruiting stations.

All services report an increase of violent acts directed against ROTC facilities during the current school year. For example, the Army reports that during academic year 1968-69 there were about 20 acts of violence directed against ROTC, with a total monetary loss to the Government of \$10,000.

During the past school year, there were 126 such incidents, and 19 campuses had Army ROTC buildings destroyed or substantially damaged by fire or vandalism. Cost estimate of damage to Government property as a result of these incidents is \$102,000. More than half the damage occurred this past May.

The Air Force reports only five violent incidents, with \$1,300 damage to Government property during academic year 1968-69, as against 56 such incidents, with \$22,000 damage to Government property during the school year just completed.

Navy data show the same trend. There were three violent incidents in academic year 1968-69, with damage to Federal property of \$15,435, 15 in 1969-70, with Federal loss of \$30,800.

There have been very few incidents against ROTC involving bombs or explosive devices, and in the majority of those instances the damage was minor. No personal injuries were reported. The services report a total of four ROTC bombing incidents in academic year 1968-69, eight in academic year 1969-70. Seven inflicted only minor damage, such as broken windows or cracks in the wall. In five instances, the damage was more extensive.

ROTC buildings are the property of the host schools, and responsibility for the security of these buildings rests with campus, local, and State police officials. Investigations of acts of violence against ROTC facilities are carried out by State and local police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Incidents against recruiting and examination stations have increased during calendar year 1970. The main area of damage is broken windows and other acts of vandalism.

Since January 1968, explosive devices have been used against service recruiting facilities in four instances, against Armed Forces examining and entrance stations in two, and once against a downtown Armed Forces Police office.

There are no reported cases of injury sustained in connection with the explosions referred to above.

During the past week, a serious bombing incident occurred on a military reservation. Explosions damaged a telephone exchange and an electrical plant at Camp McCoy, Wis. There were no injuries and no disruption of the Army's training schedule. The matter is being investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Army criminal investigators.

Your final question concerned disestablishment of ROTC units. Disestablishment can occur for any of a number of reasons, such as uneconomically low enrollment, the institution's loss of accreditation, or lack of institutional support.

The Army has phased out ROTC at three campuses—Harvard, Dartmouth, and Boston University—and is in the process of doing so at Yale and Allen Military Academy. Princeton and New York University also have requested disestablishment.

This will leave Army ROTC on 276 campuses. In addition, 42 other colleges and universities have requested establishment of new Army ROTC units.

The Air Force has ended ROTC at ten institutions. These were Brooklyn College in 1966, George Washington University and Franklin and Marshall College in 1967, Boston University in 1969, and Kenyon College, Occidental College, Rochester University, Hobart College, Washington University at St. Louis, and Colgate University in 1970.

This leaves 168 Air Force ROTC units. Ten more will be terminated in 1971: Grinnell College, Tufts University, Lawrence University, Union College, Harvard University, Brown University, Stanford University, Dartmouth College, New York University, Princeton University, and Trinity College. Princeton's AFROTC will end in 1972.

Many of the Air Force disestablishment decisions have been taken because of uneconomically low production rates. There is a waiting list of 72 colleges and universities seeking Air Force ROTC.

Navy ROTC is scheduled to end at eight schools: Columbia, Brown, Harvard, and Princeton in 1972, and Dartmouth, Stanford, Tufts, and Yale in 1973.

The Navy is starting a new unit at The Citadel this fall, which will make the total of NROTC units 54. There are 29 other institutions with applications on file.

In total, ROTC has been or is about to be disestablished at 24 schools; 332 will still host 480 ROTC units. Most of these universities where ROTC is ending did not have large ROTC enrollments, so the loss in terms of officers commissioned is small—only about 2 percent of the total. This numerical loss can easily be made up by awarding new units to some of the many institutions seeking them.

The number of officers commissioned through ROTC has increased steadily over the past 5 years, rising from 16,347 in fiscal year 1966 to an estimated 23,635 in fiscal year 1970.

Total enrollment in the program has declined, but a large portion of this decrease is the result of many campuses choosing a voluntary program rather than one in which ROTC was compulsory for all male students for the first 2 years.

It is not possible to say with certainty what effect opposition to ROTC will have on future enrollments. Acts of violence have not significantly disrupted the program to date.

The international situation, student deferment policies, and the movement toward a zero draft call may ultimately be the most significant influences on students' decisions to enter ROTC. Actual enrollments will also be limited by the services' requirements for officers, which we expect to diminish significantly as the total number of military personnel in the Department of Defense is reduced.

We do regret the fact that some universities have decided to discontinue ROTC. We are heartened that the great majority are continuing with the program.

We believe that this avenue to commissioned military service should be available to men of the widest variety of backgrounds, and that the study of military science on the campus is to the lasting benefit of the student, the university, the military service, and the country.

I am prepared to respond to any questions you may have.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, Mr. Kester.

Are there any questions, Senator?

Senator METCALF. Mr. Chairman.

With all due deference to you, Mr. Secretary, I find that I am disappointed in your statement.

I am pleased with your statement that you are now aware of the urgency of additional protection, and at long last are beginning to take new security measures to protect weapons and explosives in the various arsenals.

However, in the whole outline that you have submitted, you have not discussed the theft of explosives at all, except as almost a footnote in saying that you are taking the same precautions about explosives.

Time after time we have had stories of TNT, for instance, showing as part of the explosives. Now, that is not a commercial explosive. It is a military explosive, and it came somewhere from the military.

Do you have any record of thefts of explosives along the same line parallel to the reports you have of the thefts of guns and ammunition?

Mr. KESTER. Let me say first of all, Senator, I do not mean to convey the impression that the security steps which I mentioned are something that we have just done in the past few weeks. If you would like, I could supply for the record copies of messages which have gone out over a period going back at least 2 years from the Chief of Staff of the Army and the heads of the other military services, to their commands, emphasizing the need for security of weapons and explosives and suggesting a number of steps which could be taken.

I would like to submit that for the record, if you would like.

(The information supplied follows:)

Examples of recent Headquarters Communiques to Military Installations Concerning the Theft of Weapons and Explosives Follow:

DA (OTPMG)

CNGB

CAR

CINCUSAREUR

CINCUSARPAC

CGUSCONARC

CGUSAMC

CGUSARAL

COMUSARSO

Subj: Security of small arms and ammunition.

A. AR 190-11.

B. AR 190-13.

C. AR 190-33.

1. Recent thefts of arms and ammunition are of grave concern at all levels of this headquarters. The security of weapons and ammunition is of great importance and continues to be a critical item of interest to the chief of staff.

2. It is imperative that additional command measures be taken to materially decrease the number of thefts of arms and ammunition within army components and prepare for future threats. Commanders at all levels are responsible for insuring that necessary precautions are taken to safeguard Government property, particularly weapons and similar property, which is readily marketable on the civilian economy or in foreign countries.

3. Immediate action will be taken to examine the security of army weapons and ammunition with a view toward reduction of hazards that may contribute to their loss. Re-emphasis will be placed on the following areas:

A. Compliance with referenced army regulations.

B. Installation of high security padlocks on arms storage facilities.

C. Installation of intrusion detection alarm systems.

D. Increasing inspections and guard checks, particularly at arms storage facilities which are left unattended on the weekends and during nonworking hours.

E. Frequent unscheduled inventories for detection of loss by collusion or surreptitious entry.

F. Continual liaison with installation provost marshals/physical security officers to insure installation/facility physical security plans and procedures are current and workable.

G. Consolidation of small unit arms rooms, where spaces and troop locations are compatible.

H. Changes in interior guard structuring/schedules to allow for greater emphasis placed on security of arms and ammunition.

I. Greater control of entry, circulation and exit of personnel and vehicles on posts/installations, especially near critical storage facilities during periods of reduced activity.

4. An aggressive program of improving the overall physical security of army equipment, facilities, and material must be implemented immediately pending revision of appropriate DA regulations. This headquarters is prepared to provide technical assistance and direction, as required.

5. This information will be brought to the attention of commanders and responsible personnel at all levels.

ALMAJCOM 1608, 18 Nov. 69. For: Commander.

Subject: Theft of Conventional Munitions/Explosives.

References:

a. CSAF ALMAJCOM Msg 112301Z Jun 68.

b. CSAF ALMAJCOM Msg 072315Z Aug 68.

c. AFR 125-37, 27 July 64.

d. AFM 127-100, 20 Apr 64.

1. Thefts of conventional munitions/explosives and firearms continue to be a matter of concern to this headquarters. The current national atmosphere with respect to firearms control and the daily incidents of bombings and bomb

threats make it essential that we insure that firearms, explosives, and similar munitions under USAF control are protected against pilferage and loss. Recent thefts of explosives and firearms from military installations emphasize the need for increased attention and the personal interest of all commanders to this problem.

2. Commanders will supplement the explosives safety measures required by reference d with whatever local measures are considered necessary to achieve the required protection. As a minimum, munitions and firearms should be stored in locations which receive frequent security police patrol coverage. Storage of these items in remote areas greatly increases their vulnerability to theft. If used, remote area facilities must afford a much greater resistance to theft or pilferage than would be required for storage facilities in occupied areas. Materials stored in unmanned facilities should be inspected at least daily by custodial personnel and receive increased surveillance by security police patrols during non-duty hour periods.

3. Forthcoming changes to applicable directives will incorporate and expand on this subject.

<i>Coordination:</i>	<i>AFISPM</i>	<i>AFISPP</i>	<i>AFSSS</i>
Maj Schoidel	LtCol Harrell	Young	LtCol Gerfin (57524)
Maj Bullock			
LtCol Dorrington	<i>AFSSSMB (EOD)</i>	<i>AFIAS</i>	
Mr. Brown	Maj Roars (70771)	Col Cook (53500)	<i>Dep IG Safety, Norton</i>
Col Malone	<i>AFSTP</i>		Col Berreta (876-8137)
Col Pollen	Vm/m 2 2		
			Records Cy AFISP R/F Cy

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,  
HEADQUARTERS U.S. MARINE CORPS,  
Washington, D.C.

From: OMC.  
To: ALMAR.

MCBUL 5500 of 7JUL69, CH 1, attempted sabotage and ammunition theft.

1. Previous guidance in the original BUL emphasized need for commanders at all levels to review security measures for adequacy and to ensure utmost vigilance. Efforts of suspected sabotage and weapons/ammunition thefts continue to be received.

2. The fact that an area is fenced or a door locked may not constitute adequate security. Perimeter security, illumination, internal patrols, command inspection or any combination of these are examples of security means which may be required on a routine rather than an exceptional basis.

3. All commanders are requested to conduct a comprehensive re-examination of local security procedures to ensure continuing improvement of their overall security programs.

4. Change the date in par 4 to read 31JAN71

Senator METCALF. Mr. Chairman, I think that would be an appropriate and proper addition here, to find out just what the military has done and is doing in its concern for the thefts from military arsenals and military establishments, because when you say in your testimony that, "We are not aware of any evidence of groups planning organized violence are seeking to use the military as a principal source of supply," that may be true, not as a principal source of supply, but they are certainly seeking to use it as a supply.

Let me inform you, and the staff will inform you, right now that testimony has been adduced at these hearings that the military has been a source of supply for these groups planning and plotting organized violence.

Mr. KESTER. Let me address that, Senator Metcalf.

You mentioned the question of explosives, and wanted that dealt with. We have supplied to the committee staff, along with the docu-

mentation on weapons thefts, documents on thefts of explosives as well.

We have very, very few reported cases of explosives being taken from the military, so the number, it seems to me, is not significant.

Now, as to the testimony you spoke of, I assume you are talking about Mr. O'Brien's testimony, the chief deputy attorney general of California.

Senator METCALF. Let us talk about Mr. O'Brien's testimony.

Mr. KESTER. Following his testimony, we wanted to find out exactly what details he was referring to, so I and some members of my staff went to Los Angeles and to San Francisco to talk to officials of the attorney general's office in California.

What we were able to turn up were only three instances, Senator, in which explosives in California were traceable to military sources.

I am sure you understand, you know a good deal about explosives, that it is difficult to trace this kind of material. It is not like a rifle that has a serial number on it. Sometimes you can achieve it through lot numbers. It is difficult to trace.

Senator METCALF. We have had testimony that we should have better registration and more permits, and so forth, so that we can have, even recognizing the difficulty, a greater opportunity to trace some of these explosives.

But when somebody has TNT or a plastic explosive, those are military explosives.

When you have dynamite, you might have gotten it from a military arsenal, or a construction camp, or from a farmer, or from a mining camp. But you don't use TNT, and you don't use these plastic explosives except as a military weapon.

Mr. KESTER. But that does not mean that the U.S. military was necessarily the source.

Senator METCALF. Where did they get it?

Mr. KESTER. Again, Senator, this is the kind of thing that can be smuggled in.

Senator METCALF. As a matter of fact, then, you really don't know what has happened to a good deal of both weapons and military explosives as a result of this huge number of weapons you are sending to Vietnam, and that are lost over there, and lost in other foreign camps, and so forth, and finally come back into the United States.

Mr. KESTER. I am saying that the Department of Defense cannot provide you with information on what happens to weapons in a MAP shipment, say, to some country in the Near East. What happens to them after that point is something over which we really have no control.

There is a policy decision made that it is in the interest of the United States to put these weapons in the hands of that government. Now, whether that government maintains an adequate security over them or not is something about which we would certainly give advice, but we don't have the ultimate control.

Senator METCALF. I interrupted you. You were going to tell me about Mr. O'Brien.

Mr. KESTER. I said most of what I had to say on that point.

Senator METCALF. Mr. O'Brien testified that, pursuant to the order of the Federal District Court for Northern California, weapons and ammunition were confiscated and given to the U.S. Army for safekeeping. He was testifying at that time to this 70-ton arsenal.

Subsequently, he testified that among the 70 tons of weapons was a machine gun that was used, an automatic weapon fired on the Oakland police, and it was turned over to the U.S. Army for safekeeping.

This is one of the weapons put in a deactivated post called Fort Cronkhite, in the San Francisco area, in Marin County.

Would you explain that?

Mr. KESTER. I was speaking to you about this before. These weapons were not in the custody of the U.S. Army. They were on Fort Cronkhite physically.

What happened is this. The law enforcement officials seized some 70 tons of weapons, which Mr. Thoreson had accumulated. This, you can realize, is a massive quantity of equipment. They had no place to put it. They tried several alternatives. Finally they went to the Army and said, "Do you have any place where we can keep this?"

The Army, after some discussion, agreed to allow them to use two old bunkers which are at Fort Cronkhite.

These are not standard Army storage facilities at all, but the law enforcement officials were satisfied that this would do the job for their purposes. So the ammunition and rifles and other materiel were moved into these bunkers. They were padlocked by the civilian law enforcement officials, who kept the keys.

No inventory was ever furnished the Army. It was made quite clear at the time—

Senator METCALF. Just left out in the bunkers, padlocked; no security, no guards?

Mr. KESTER. Only to the extent that this was on a military post, and military police patrols check all the buildings on the military post from time to time. Beyond that, there was no other security provided.

Senator METCALF. Who would be responsible for the security of these weapons, if anyone was?

Mr. KESTER. The civilian law enforcement officials who placed them in these facilities.

The Army was trying to cooperate in every way possible, but we didn't have the manpower to provide sentries, or the funds to provide burglar alarms, this sort of thing. On several occasions, the provost marshal advised the civilian officials that they would do well to enhance their security. At one point the Army said that the doors ought to be welded shut. Eventually, the doors were welded shut. The Army did it.

Finally, as I say, after several requests by the Army, these munitions were removed from our facility.

But I don't want you to judge the Army's ordinary security precautions by this particular incident, because this was not a case of Army weapons being stored according to Army regulations.

Senator METCALF. You are familiar with Mr. O'Brien's testimony. Let me read you some more from his testimony:

Both Port Chicago and the Port of Oakland have been frankly the subject of undercover investigation by the law enforcement officials in California because of the suspected stealing from those ports of war materials for the troops in Vietnam.

In the course of your discussion, does this include theft of war materials for troops in Vietnam, or theft, maybe, in Vietnam, or materials that have come back here to the United States, or are you just talking about domestic thefts?

Mr. KESTER. We were told by the committee to address domestic thefts. That includes, in my mind, the Port of Oakland and Port Chicago.

If you would like me to address that, I will be happy to.

Senator METCALF. Please. Just answer this charge that Mr. O'Brien made.

Mr. KESTER. When I went to California, I spoke to Mr. O'Brien's assistant, asked him about thefts from shipments going through Oakland Army Terminal or Port Chicago. He said that they had had rumors of such thefts, and referred me to their agent in San Francisco, which is geographically close to the area.

My staff discussed this matter with the agent in San Francisco. He had no evidence of theft through Oakland or Port Chicago.

He said, and I paraphrase his comment, that he thought, considering the volume of materiel that goes through the ports, the Army is doing a good job, and that this is not a serious matter concerning the San Francisco area. I am only repeating what he said.

I visited the Oakland Army Terminal. I spoke to the provost marshal there. He showed me the security measures which they take. He informed me that they have no recorded thefts of small arms or ammunition from the Port of Oakland over the past 2 years.

Port Chicago, Senator, is an ammunition shipping point, and is an extremely secure area, because of the danger of explosion as well as the danger of theft. We have no record of any thefts of ammunition from Port Chicago, either.

I might say that the volume of small arms moving through Oakland is perhaps not as great as you might expect. It is small enough so that when a shipment comes through, it can be given rather personalized attention by the personnel.

Senator METCALF. What about explosives?

Mr. KESTER. Explosives for the most part move through Port Chicago.

Senator METCALF. You feel that you have had adequate security measures there?

Mr. KESTER. We do.

Senator METCALF. So you feel that when Mr. O'Brien stated that he thought the Army and military have a much more serious problem than they have recognized in terms of the safekeeping of confiscated weapons and explosives, that you are now taking measures that answer that concern?

Mr. KESTER. We are now, and we have been.

As Mr. O'Brien observed in his testimony before the committee, the cooperation between the military and the California officials has been very close and mutually satisfactory.

Senator METCALF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you included in any report you have given to us the theft that occurred at Edwards Air Force Base in California on November 10, 1969?

Mr. KESTER. I believe that was included, Mr. Chairman; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that was included?

Mr. KESTER. I can check, Mr. Chairman. That was an Air Force theft involving explosives, as I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. That involved explosives, and these were apparently stored in a bunker. What about that?

Mr. KESTER. That, Mr. Chairman, appeared to be an inside job, because the locks were never broken. There were some personnel who were suspected of having misused their access to this bunker, and the matter has been investigated. As far as I know, no charges have been brought yet.

The CHAIRMAN. That is 7 or 8 months ago. Don't you know anything about it now? Have you found out anything?

Mr. KESTER. I believe the matter is still under investigation, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You said something about believing it was an inside job. In this period of time, have you been able to come to some determination about who committed the offense, and whether it was an inside job or not?

Mr. KESTER. Mr. Chairman, I assume that if the investigation has not been closed, that this would be in the nature of an ongoing internal case.

I hesitate to say much. From my own knowledge, I have given you what I have.

The CHAIRMAN. There were some 70-odd pounds of dynamite stolen at that time.

Mr. KESTER. A large quantity of explosives.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be a pretty substantial quantity of dynamite; would it not?

Mr. KESTER. I would think so.

The CHAIRMAN. How much does one stick of dynamite weigh? Do you know?

Mr. KESTER. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. It weighs less than a pound; does it not?

I guess they come in different sizes. Maybe they weigh from half a pound to 2 pounds.

Mr. KESTER. A quarter of a pound up, I am told.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know what size these were?

Mr. KESTER. We can find out for you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. The possession of 70 pounds, half-pound sticks or quarter-pound sticks, is a substantial quantity, is it not?

Mr. KESTER. We can supply that figure.

Dynamite also varies in its content of nitroglycerine, so that the explosive capability varies.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other thefts of any size of explosives or ammunition as such?

Mr. KESTER. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Are you speaking now of California? We have given data on the explosives loss.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think you included this in your report to us. I wonder how many now are missing that we don't have.

Mr. KESTER. I will certainly go back and review it.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would go back and review it. This is one I am confident that you did not include.

I want you to get whatever the facts are and supply them for this record with respect to these thefts. Along with the 75 pounds of dynamite, there were 132 pounds of plastic explosives also taken at the same time, as I understand, 450 feet of safety fuses, some plastic caps, detonating cords, and so forth.

I wish you would look into this, now, and examine again what you have submitted to us, and then file with us a supplemental statement of any other thefts and so forth of arms, ammunition, or explosives that you have a record of.

Mr. KESTER. We will be happy to, Mr. Chairman. We will supply a fact sheet on the Edwards theft in particular.

(The information supplied follows:)

#### THEFT OF EXPLOSIVES, EDWARDS AFB, CALIFORNIA

During the period 5-10 November 1969, persons unknown entered a munitions bunker located on a remote area (the Bomb Range) of Edwards AFB, California, and removed 53 two-and-one-half pound blocks of C-4 plastic explosive, 74 one-pound blocks of TNT, 800 feet of detonator cord, 38 electrical and non-electrical blasting caps, 421 feet of safety fuse, and 9 fuse lighters. Personnel responsible for the maintenance and handling of the explosives stated that the explosives were secure in the bunker on 5 November; the theft was discovered on 10 November.

The thieves apparently entered the Bomb Range by taking down a section of barbed wire fence. They then made their way into the munitions bunker without forced entry; when the theft was discovered, the combination padlock securing the bunker door was still locked through the hasp. However, the padlock on a wooden blasting cap container was missing. A search of the scene revealed several spent .22 caliber and .45 caliber cartridges, many discernable footprints of tennis shoes and cowboy boots, and vehicle tire tracks. The cartridge casings and some metal cans and broken glass found at the scene were sent to the FBI Laboratory for fingerprint tests. Plaster casts of the tire tracks and footprints were also sent to determine size, type, and manufacture. The FBI assumed investigative jurisdiction in the case and notified all West Coast law enforcement agencies. The FBI investigation did not produce any suspects and was closed on 5 March 1970.

It appears that the crime was committed by two persons who were performing various acts of vandalism in the area, including shooting out windows in unoccupied houses. Tire tracks led from such sites of vandalism to the munitions bunker, and the footprints around the bunker matched those throughout the surrounding area. Although the bunkers themselves are not visible from the access road from which the intruders gained entry, the area is dotted with wrecked aircraft and other items which might have attracted their attention.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

The staff tells me that we have a breakdown only from the Army. We have nothing from the Air Force, and nothing from the Navy or Marine Corps in the nature of breakdowns of these thefts. Will you see if they can supply that for us?

Mr. ADLERMAN. We do have one from the Marine Corps.

The CHAIRMAN. We do have one from the Marine Corps. From the Air Force and Navy we do not have breakdowns.

Mr. KESTER. We will see what can be done within the statistical capability.

The CHAIRMAN. What I spoke of before was from the Air Force, I believe.

Mr. KESTER. It was, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. I would like to make this record as complete as we can. This subject matter is of mounting concern, because of the implications of it, the purpose of these thefts, where they are going, the use that is to be made of these armaments. So I think we ought to get this record just as complete as we can.

Now, we have here information about some 11 Army documents, Army manuals, one on "Guerrilla Warfare," "Ranger Training," "Irregular Forces," "Evasion and Escape," "Hand-to-Hand Combat," "Booby Traps, Grenades, and Pyrotechnics," together with demolition reference cards, and so forth, explosives and demolitions. There are a number of them.

I want you to review that, now, and give us a statement as to which of these are still made available upon request to whomever wants them.

Mr. KESTER. Yes, sir. These are all manuals which we have under review right now, or which we have already restricted. We will provide you, item by item, a statement as to the current status.

The CHAIRMAN. You have submitted a statement showing that already?

Mr. KESTER. No; I said we shall.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what we want. We want a statement about all of these that have been listed here in the statement of Mr. Manuel. You have a copy of it. Let that be supplied and indicate which of these manuals are no longer available just on request or for purchase by the public.

Mr. KESTER. We will provide that.

(The information supplied follows:)

#### STATUS OF CERTAIN DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY MANUALS

##### I. MANUALS NOT AVAILABLE TO PUBLIC

FM 5-31*	Boobytraps.
FM 21-77A*	Worldwide Evasion and Escape Manual.
FM 23-4	Individual and Miscellaneous Weapons.
FM 31-20A	Special Forces Operational Techniques.
FM 31-21A	Special Forces Operations—U.S. Army Doctrine.
FM 31-22A	U.S. Army Counterinsurgency Forces.
FM 31-40	Tactical Cover and Deception.
TM 31-200-1*	Unconventional Warfare Devices and Techniques—References.
TM 31-201-1	Unconventional Warfare Devices and Techniques—Incendiaries.
TM 31-201-2	Unconventional Warfare Devices and Technical Series Explosives Manufacturing.
TM 31-210	Improvised Munitions Handbook.

\*Indicates manuals mentioned in Mr. Phillip R. Manuel's testimony.

#### II. MANUALS UNDER REVIEW FOR RELEASEABILITY TO PUBLIC

FM 3-10	Employment of Chemical and Biological Agents.
FM 5-25*	Explosives and Demolitions.
FM 19-15	Civil Disturbances and Disasters.
FM 19-20	Military Police Investigations.
FM 19-30	Physical Security.
FM 20-32*	Land Mine Warfare.
FM 21-50*	Ranger Training and Ranger Operations.
FM 21-75	Combat Training of the Individual Soldier and Patrolling.
FM 21-76	Survival Evasion and Escape.
FM 21-150*	Combatives.
FM 23-30*	Grenades and Pyrotechnic Signals.
FM 30-5	Combat Intelligence.
FM 31-16	Counterguerrilla Operations.
FM 31-20*	Special Forces Operational Techniques.
FM 31-21*	Special Forces Operations—U.S. Army Doctrine.
FM 31-50*	Combat in Fortified and Built-Up Areas.
TM 3-215	Military Chemistry and Chemical Agents.
TM 3-216*	Military Biology and Biological Agents.
TM 9-1300-214	Military Explosives.
TM 9-1370-200*	Military Pyrotechnics.
TM 1005-208-35	DS, GS, and Depot Maintenance Manual Including Repair Parts and Special Tools List: Rifle, Caliber .30, Automatic: Browning; M1918A2.
DA Pam 381-11*	Guide to Selected Viet Cong Equipment and Explosive Devices.

#### III. SUPERSEDED MANUALS

FM 31-15*	Irregular Forces (replaced by FM 31-16, which is being reviewed for public availability).
FM 23-25*	Bayonet Fighting (replaced by FM 21-150, now under review).
TM 3-200*	Guide to Chemical and Gas Warfare (replaced by FM 3-10, now under review).
TM 9-1946*	Demolition Materials (replaced by TM 9-1375-200, now under review).
TM 9-1910*	Military Explosives (replaced by TM 9-1300-214, now under review).

As the above groupings show, of the 19 manuals mentioned in Mr. Manuel's statement, 5 are no longer used by the Army, 11 are under review for public releasability and 3 are now not available to the public. In addition, one of the 24 manuals in which the subcommittee originally expressed interest, TM 9-285, was rescinded by DA Circular 310-76, 1963.

(At this point Senator Javits entered the hearing room.)

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, before the witness leaves, I have just one question. I won't keep you but for a minute.

When I was in the war, I remember having to go through manuals which were actually towering in their size. They stood mountainlike on desks. Has there been any concept of the armed services reviewing the manuals to see what they feel needs to be public and what needs to be restricted or held confidential?

Mr. KESTER. Yes, sir, Senator. I discussed that with the chairman earlier. We have underway a review of every manual which has been referred to us in Mr. Manuel's statement and elsewhere, any manual which could possibly be in this dangerous area. We have already

\*Indicates manuals mentioned in Mr. Phillip R. Manuel's testimony.

limited the availability of several of them, and there is an extensive, page by page, review of the rest going on right now.

Senator JAVITS. I notice also with great interest your reference to the amount of arms which are in the hands of the public, without regard to the military. I see your figure is, generally speaking, half the figure that I have seen on that subject. I have seen estimates as high as 200 million.

I see you quote the FBI. Do you have any independent estimate?

Mr. KESTER. The Department of Defense does not, sir. I have the impression that those are soft figures. Nobody really knows how many weapons there are.

Senator JAVITS. Really, it is an order of magnitude.

Mr. KESTER. It is very, very large, but how large I couldn't say.

Senator JAVITS. And the comparison with the entire small arms inventory in the military services is quite extraordinary, it seems to me.

It indicates why gun control, which I am very much for, is so critical an element in dealing with opportunities for criminals and those who do deal with terrorism and so forth.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, these are the manuals now that they seem to have in stock. They are now restricting the availability of some of them, I understand. They have them under study.

I have asked him to submit for the committee's records those that are now restricted and not available to the public.

Senator JAVITS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, I don't think we can conclude at an early hour. I guess we will have to come back this afternoon.

I have an engagement in a few minutes. If satisfactory to you gentlemen, we will come back at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

Thank you very much, Mr. Kester.

Mr. KESTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(Whereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m., the same day.)

(Members present at time of recess: Senators McClellan, Metcalf, and Javits.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

(Member present at time of convening: Senator McClellan.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be sworn?

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

Mr. NELSON. I do.

Mr. COTTER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the first witness?

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. David A. Nelson. And he is accompanied by Mr. William J. Cotter.

(At this point Senator Metcalf entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify yourself for the record?

Mr. COTTER. My name is William J. Cotter. I am Chief Postal Inspector.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that position?

Mr. COTTER. I have held that position since April 1969.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify yourself, please, sir?

Mr. NELSON. My name is David A. Nelson, I am General Counsel for the Post Office Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Each of you gentlemen has a prepared statement. One of you may proceed.

Mr. NELSON. With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I should like to proceed first and then Mr. Cotter will follow me.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

#### TESTIMONY OF DAVID A. NELSON

Mr. NELSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I welcome the opportunity to appear before the subcommittee to discuss the mounting wave of bombings and acts of terrorism in the United States, and the postal laws and regulations that have a bearing on the efforts of the Nation's law enforcement officials to bring this grave problem under control.

The bulk of these laws are to be found in the criminal code, title 18, United States Code, indicating a recognition by Congress that criminal sanctions are the most effective means of policing the mails. Section 1461 of that title, although having its origin in a statute enacted in 1865 to prohibit the mailing of obscene and indecent matter, was amended in 1911 to define "indecent" as including "matter of a character to incite arson, murder, or assassination." This statute provides a penalty of up to \$5,000 and imprisonment for not more than 5 years for a first offense, and a fine of up to \$10,000 and imprisonment for up to 10 years for repeated offenders using the mails in violation of its prohibitions. It further declares such matter to be nonmailable and states that it "shall not be conveyed in the mails or delivered from any post-office or by any letter carrier."

It may be worthy of note that in *Manual Enterprises, Inc., v. Day*, 370 U.S. 478 (1962), the one recent Supreme Court decision involving this quoted language, three of the seven Justices participating interpreted this language, in the light of constitutional considerations, as not conferring on the Postmaster General the authority to defuse delivery of matter in the mails as a result of his administrative determination that it was not "mailable."

Section 1715 of title 18 prohibits the mailing of firearms which can be concealed on the person except to military officers, police officers, and certain other categories of persons having a legitimate need for such weapons. Section 1716 prohibits the mailing of a variety of injurious articles specifically including explosives and inflammable materials. Violations of these sections are punishable by fines of up to \$1,000 and imprisonment for up to a maximum of 2 years. However, if injurious matter is mailed in violation of section 1716 with the intent to kill or injure a person or to damage property the maximum punishment is \$10,000 fine and 10 years imprisonment.

The death penalty can be imposed if a crime prohibited by section 1716 has resulted in the death of any person.

Section 1717, in language somewhat similar to section 1461, prohibits the mailing of written or printed matter "advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United

States," as well as matter in violation of certain other criminal statutes. The maximum punishment for violation of this statute is \$5,000 fine and 10 years' imprisonment.

Section 2101 makes punishable the use of any facility of interstate commerce, specifically including the mails, by a person if used with intent to incite a riot or to commit certain other acts related to the encouragement of, or participation in, riots if the person also does some other overt act in furtherance of these purposes. A violation of this act is made punishable by fines of up to \$10,000 and imprisonment for up to 5 years.

Of further possible relevance, although it does not specifically refer to the mails, is section 231 of title 18 which prohibits the act of any person who "teaches or demonstrates to any other person the use, application, or making of any firearm or explosive or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons," if the person charged has reason to know or intends that it will be used in a civil disorder which may adversely affect interstate commerce or the performance of a federally protected function, including collection and distribution of the mails. A "civil disorder" is defined as a "public disturbance involving acts of violence by assemblages of three or more persons which causes an immediate danger of or results in damage or injury to the property or person" of another individual. Violations of this section are punishable by fines of not more than \$10,000 and up to 5 years imprisonment. There seems to be no reason why use of the mails to teach or demonstrate in the prohibited manner would not come within the statute.

In title 39, United States Code, which relates to the postal service, section 4001 declares to be nonmailable any matter the deposit of which is punishable under various sections of title 18 including, of the ones which I have mentioned, sections 1461, 1715, 1716, and 1717.

The postal regulations implementing the statutes on mailability matters are found in parts 124 and 953 of title 39, Code of Federal Regulations. They make provision for an adversary administrative proceeding before the Post Office Department Judicial Officer or a hearing examiner to determine questions involving written or printed matter of doubtful mailability. These regulations were employed in the proceedings that led to the Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Manual Enterprises v. Day*, in which, as I mentioned earlier, three Justices concluded that Congress had given the Postmaster General no authority to withhold the delivery of mail on the basis of an administrative finding of nonmailability.

Senator METCALF. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Metcalf.

Senator METCALF. I once sat upon an appellate court, too. I wrote minority opinions. I was delighted when attorneys came in and cited my minority opinions. But they weren't the law. What did the majority of the Court hold? Why are you continuing to cite the three Justices that were on the minority side? What about the four that were on the majority side of the Court?

Mr. NELSON. There wasn't a single majority, Senator, because, as I recall it, Mr. Justice Harlan—

Senator METCALF. Certainly you are not citing the opinion of the three Justices of the Supreme Court as authority.

Mr. NELSON. I am not citing it as a holding of the Supreme Court, because I do not consider it to be such.

Senator METCALF. Why are you citing it for?

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Justice Clark dissented in a very excellent opinion which I commend to the subcommittee's attention. Mr. Justice Harlan and those who concurred in his opinion did not reach this issue because they found that the matter in question was in fact mailable. It was not of a nonmailable character, and they did not address themselves to the question that was discussed by Mr. Justice Clark. That was the reason.

Senator METCALF. What was the law of the case as applied to the matter before us?

Mr. NELSON. The law of the case, I suppose, Senator, was that the individual to whom the magazines in question were addressed was entitled to receive them. I can derive no further rule from the decision of the Court because of the variety of opinions placed on different grounds.

Senator METCALF. Then the law of the case would be against the dissenting opinions of these three Justices that you continue to cite or you have cited twice in your statement.

Mr. NELSON. If I referred to them as dissenting opinions, I misspoke myself, Senator.

Senator METCALF. You did not say "dissenting opinions." I said dissenting opinions.

Mr. NELSON. They did not dissent from the holding of the Court.

Senator METCALF. Mr. Chairman, I suppose we, as lawyers, will have to read the case. But it would seem to me that the constituted citation of three out of the seven as against the majority opinion, which you have already said is the law of the case, is not very conclusive.

Mr. NELSON. No; it is not conclusive, and we do not have a square holding of the Supreme Court on this point.

If I may jump ahead just a moment, Senator Metcalf, I think it would be appropriate at this point to point out that there is pending in the Supreme Court now a case which we are very hopeful will clarify an area of the law that has been, to put it most charitably, murky since 1962.

Senator METCALF. Do you think that will clarify the position of the mailability and nonmailability of this type of material?

Mr. NELSON. We are very hopeful that the decision that the Supreme Court will render in the *Mailbox* and *Book Bin* case, so-called, will shed light on the power of the Post Office Department to take administrative action against matter that is declared to be nonmailable under the statute, such as the kind I have been citing. If we get a favorable decision in that case, as I am very hopeful we will, I think that the power of the Post Office Department to take positive affirmative action will be very greatly enhanced and that our chances of success before the district courts will be materially improved.

Senator METCALF. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry that I interrupted, but I think that that last statement is worth the interruption; if they win this case, the power of the Post Office Department will be enhanced and the opportunity to take care of nonmailability of these things will have a greater chance of achievement in the district court.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. What the witness was attempting to do was to inform us of the confused state of the law.

Is that what you were trying to demonstrate here now?

Mr. NELSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You really don't know what the law is and can't tell from previous decisions of the Court. You are hoping now that in this case that is pending there will be a clarification so that we can know what the law is and enforce it.

Senator METCALF. I was troubled because of his citations of the minority opinion all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. I guess he was showing they were strong minority opinions with a strong point of view, a view that you hope will ultimately prevail.

Mr. NELSON. I am not so certain, Mr. Chairman. There were four justices in the case of *Enterprises v. Day* who addressed themselves to the question whether the Post Office Department has the power to take administrative action against this material. Three of those four justices said that we do not have such power. The fourth, Mr. Justice Clark, in a very cogent opinion, a dissenting opinion, the only dissenting opinion in the case, said that we did have that power.

Now, it would be my personal hope that the view expressed in 1962 by Mr. Justice Clark might ultimately become the majority view, but it has not thus far.

Senator METCALF. I think that has been helpful in clarifying it.

Mr. NELSON. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think so, too. I think it has been very helpful. Notwithstanding what power may be conferred upon the Post Office Department with respect to the mailability or refusing to deliver material in the mails, there is the power and the duty on the part of the Justice Department to prosecute these people.

Mr. NELSON. Indeed, there is, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The question about these laws, is whether these statutes are constitutional. You get the source of the mailing and the character of the material; there is no trouble to establishing that, is there?

Mr. NELSON. In many cases there is not. The inspection service, of which Mr. Cotter is the head, maintains a staff in the field, very able investigators, who do keep a close watch on mailers.

The CHAIRMAN. In many instances you can establish the sender. Also, I guess, if you could link it to materials like those we have made exhibits here this morning, you could pretty well establish the purpose and intent, could you not?

Mr. NELSON. We can.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that under existing law it would be legal—or I will ask it the other way—could one be successfully prosecuted for mailing a bulletin like that entitled "D.C. Piggeries," showing where the location of every law enforcement facility is in the city? It also gives instructions on how to make bombs, to destroy them, and advocates guerrilla warfare or revolution. Is there any reason why they can't be prosecuted for it? Or is there a confused state of the law in that field?

Mr. NELSON. Let me respond in this way, Mr. Chairman. I was very struck this morning by the excellent testimony of Mr. Manuel,

and particularly by his quotation on the next-to-the-last page of his statement from the Black Panther newspaper of Saturday, May 2, 1970, in which Mr. Manuel quoted a passage that I interpret, at least, as overt incitement to those receiving the publication to "kill General Abrams and his staff, all his officers," to rise up—I am paraphrasing the quotation now, but the thrust of it is that Negro soldiers in Vietnam were to rise up now and wipe out the Uncle Tom officers amongst them. The emphasis is on "now."

It is important, I think, that the material be of a character that invites to imminent lawless action and that actually has a tendency to risk the production of such lawless actions. The Supreme Court has indicated in *Brandenburg* against Ohio, reported in 395 U.S. 444, that if there is incitement to imminent lawless action and such incitement is likely in fact to produce such action, that the matter in question is not constitutionally protected.

I would think that some of this material such as that from which I have read in Mr. Manuel's prepared statement might well fall in that category if addressed to the kind of people who would be likely to take action on it. Obviously, if this material were mailed to you or to me or to Mr. Cotter, it would not produce the action sought to be produced.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us look back earlier in his statement, on pages 9 and 10, where this Tricontinental pamphlet is referred to. It is being mailed out and distributed. I quote Mr. Manuel:

\* \* \* This article is considered an instrument of the armed struggle in the cities of Brazil, however the "minimanual" contains lessons useful to any revolutionary.

Tricontinental stated that the publication of the minimanual was part of its mission to spread the understanding of revolutionary activities, strategy and tactics. Some of the more significant passages are—

and so forth.

I turn to page 10 and read the last five paragraphs cited. I won't take time to read them, they speak for themselves. But this material is mailed to persons with instructions about how to make bombs and what the overall objective is. It concludes, "An organization which exists for no purpose other than pure and simple revolutionary action."

That may be a borderline case, but certainly anyone knows that the whole purpose of mailing it along with instructions on how to make bombs, and instructing firing groups of five or less to actually commit the acts, it seems to me, is an act of subversion that should be punished.

Mr. NELSON. I think, Mr. Chairman, a lot depends on the audience to which this borderline material is sent.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the group organized to commit the act. That is what it says.

Mr. NELSON. That fact, I think, makes the chance of success in a criminal prosecution greater than if sent out broadcast, not being a rifle shot to the group most likely to take action.

The CHAIRMAN. They are sending it to the groups who expect to use it. It even says:

No firing group can remain inactive while waiting for orders from above. Its obligation is to act. Any single urban guerrilla who wants to establish a firing group and begin action, can do so and thus become a part of the organization.

I don't see how you can incite or persuade with much stronger language, with much more impressive urgency than this language carries.

Mr. NELSON. It is inflammatory and it is despicable.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is. I don't know what the court will hold, but we are in a pretty bad situation. It is a pretty sad commentary on our system if it can't protect itself legally from assaults, from bombings, from destruction, from terror. If it can't protect itself, we are in a very difficult situation.

I believe the system can protect itself, and I don't believe the Constitution was ever written with the intent that it could not, or with any provisions in it that should not be or could not be rightfully invoked to aid our Government in protecting itself against an element of organized criminals and revolutionaries who are committed to violence, committed to the destruction of the Government, as these elements are.

Senator METCALF. What is your opinion as to the mailability of "150 Questions for a Guerrilla" or "Tricontinental" or these other pamphlets and publications displayed on the board?

Mr. NELSON. Senator Metcalf, I confess that I have not read the publications and I would be less than lawyerlike if I hazarded an opinion without having read them. But let me reiterate that I think an awful lot depends on the particular audience to whom the publication is sent.

Senator METCALF. Suppose I write in and ask for "150 Questions for a Guerrilla"; do you think that that would prescribe a successful prosecution?

Mr. NELSON. Yes, sir; I confess I do.

Senator METCALF. Suppose a Black Panther writes in?

Mr. NELSON. If a Black Panther who is likely to act on this material receives it through the mail, I think a prosecution could be successful.

Senator METCALF. Suppose a Minuteman organization wrote in?

Mr. NELSON. I think it depends on the likelihood of his taking action on the material.

Senator METCALF. I want to take as lawlike an approach as you do. I haven't read the cases, but it seems to me that if I mailed out "150 Questions for a Guerrilla," hoping that somebody would utilize that information, it would not make any difference what the motive or the thought or the intent of the receiver was. It is the motive of the person who is mailing it, isn't it?

Mr. NELSON. I think now, Senator Metcalf, we are wrestling with the problem of the constitutional constraints to which the Congress is subject in drafting the legislation. We may or may not agree with them, but as I read the cases they do seem to require what Mr. Justice Holmes used to refer to as "the clear and present danger." I think that a majority of the Supreme Court still do adhere substantially to "the clear and present danger" test that initiated as of course now in his dissent, but that ultimately came to be representative of the majority view on the Court.

The *Bradenburg* case which I cited a moment ago is pertinent in that connection.

Senator METCALF. I am very sorry. I am talking about something that I haven't read the case on, but I am going to.

Mr. NELSON. It makes interesting reading.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Along this same line, if you notice, these publications were copied by the SDS and distributed on the campuses and at the SDS conventions. Then they are found in the underground newspapers affiliated with the Weatherman organization, and finally wind up in a Weatherman bomb factory. How much more do we need to establish the intent?

Mr. NELSON. That is a pretty persuasive chain of evidence.

Mr. ADLERMAN. On the other side, we have instructions on manufacturing bombs on one page and then a map of the District of Columbia showing the police stations in the District of Columbia and many of the very important installations in the District here as targets. How much more do you need?

Mr. NELSON. I guess—and here, like Senator Metcalf, I am perhaps stepping a little outside my field, because this is the kind of thing that is handled by the Department of Justice and the FBI—

Mr. ADLERMAN. I mean as far as mailability is concerned.

Mr. NELSON. I think, Mr. Adlerman, as far as mailability is concerned we may—I want to be cautious in what I say, because I don't want this record being quoted against me later on—but we may well be met with an argument that we must show through external evidence, evidence outside the publication itself, that there is a risk or a threat that the person receiving his material will take action thereon.

Coupled with this, of course, is the constitutional question that does exist insofar as what the courts refer to as a prior restraint on expressions, mailability proceedings involving detention of the matter, failure to deliver it to the addressee. Of course, as you know, the courts have expressed themselves in a number of cases, among them the cases of *Mail Box* and the *Book Bin*, which I was about to come to in my prepared statement, as casting doubt on the constitutional power of the Post Office Department acting administratively rather than through the courts to restrain the dissemination of the material.

Mr. ADLERMAN. They are not determining the constitutional power of the Post Office. What they are determining is whether Congress enacted a law which is constitutional.

Mr. NELSON. This is true in the *Manual Enterprises* case. In the light of the constitutional questions, they chose to read the statute in a way, I think, different from the way you and I would read it if the constitutional question were not present.

The *Mail Box* and *Book Bin* cases, however, involved a statute, 39 United States Code, section 4006, that did not directly involve a prior restraint. This statute gives the Postmaster General authority to return to the sender mail addressed to a person whom the Postmaster General has found, after an administrative hearing, to be using the mails to obtain remittances for obscene material. Three-judge U.S. district courts sitting in Los Angeles and Atlanta held section 4006 unconstitutional because of its failure to provide constitutionally required safeguards for expression protected by the First Amendment. *Rizzi v. Blount*, 305 F. Supp. 634 (C. D. Cal. 1969); *United States v. The Book Bin*, 306 F. Supp. 1023 (N.D. Ga. 1969).

This was not a decision that Congress had not given us the power. It was a decision that the statute was unconstitutional. These are the cases that we have appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and we are hopeful that the decision of the Supreme Court

in those cases will clear up an area that, as the chairman said, is very cloudy, very murky at the moment.

Also involved in one of these decisions is the validity of section 4007 of title 39, United States Code. This statute authorizes the Postmaster General to seek, and the U.S. district courts to issue, orders directing the detaining of mail during administrative proceedings for the enforcement of both the civil obscenity and false representation statutes. Section 4007 may have particular significance in this context because of its legislative history. Congress in enacting the bill that became section 4007 rejected a proposal which would have given the Postmaster General authority to issue such orders for limited periods and instead gave this responsibility entirely to the courts to be exercised upon a showing of probable cause. Notwithstanding this reliance upon judicial rather than administrative action, the district court held that this statute failed to provide adequate safeguards for expression protected by the first amendment.

These decisions have been appealed by the Government directly to the Supreme Court and will in all probability be decided by the Court during the coming year. While the issues raised by these cases are distinguishable from the questions involved in attempting to restrict the mailing of matter allegedly inciting acts of violence, the claim of constitutional protection for expression is common to both. It seems likely that the decision of the Court in these cases will shed additional light on the ability of the Postmaster General to determine administratively the mailability of materials alleged to incite violence.

Apart from the legal questions which I have suggested, however, I must, in all candor, mention that there are serious practical limitations upon our ability to prevent the actual transmission of harmful material through the mail. The sheer volume of mail poses a staggering limitation. The Post Office is now handling mail at a rate of 85 billion pieces a year. It would not be physically possible to subject any substantial portion of this torrent of mail to scrutiny for relation to political terrorism, even if we were willing to accept the increased delays which such scrutiny would involve.

Compounding the difficulty of detecting nonmailable matter is the ease with which its objectionable character can be hidden. An Army technical manual on explosives when mailed by parcel post in a plain brown wrapper looks no different from any other book of similar size and weight. An underground newsletter urging violence, when sealed in an envelope, will not be distinguishable from a garden club newsletter.

First-class mail, of course, is sealed against official inspection and cannot be opened except on the authority of a search warrant. Even if we should suspect that mail sent at first-class rates contained non-mailable matter, we would not be able to confirm our suspicions, let alone take any action to prevent delivery of that piece of mail, unless we could satisfy the requirements for the issuance of a search warrant. Written or printed matter that can be mailed as first-class mail may thus be almost impossible to detect in practice.

Further complicating the difficulty of attempting to intercept unlawful written or printed matter in the mail stream is the fact that the line is not clearly drawn between matter that is protected by the

first amendment freedoms of speech and press, and matter that transcends the bounds of protected expression. This, of course, would be as true of criminal prosecutions as of mailability proceedings, but it would add to the practical difficulty of attempting to determine the lawfulness of particular items in a great volume of mail which must be delivered with the least possible delay.

Our experience indicates that if persons wish to use the mails to transmit written or printed matter, regardless of its content, and are willing to accept the risk of prosecution after it has been transmitted, it is not possible as a practical matter to prevent them from using the mails. Mailboxes are found on almost every corner.

A sealed envelope effectively conceals the nature of its contents and is almost at once hidden among the thousands upon thousands of apparently similar envelopes passing through the mails. This is not to say that the mails may be used with impunity for unlawful purposes. It does suggest that attempts to intercept, and so prevent the delivery of, items unlawfully sent through the mails, as contrasted to efforts to prosecute those who have used the mails unlawfully, may not as a practical matter have much effect.

It may, moreover, be fair to say that the problem of terrorist literature is not one which involves considerations peculiar to the Post Office Department. There seems no room for doubt that written and printed matter boldly calling for acts of violence does pass through the mails, but the use of the mails seems incidental rather than central to the activities of the terrorists. Although precise, or even approximate, figures are lacking, our experience does not suggest that the underground press relies on the mails for most of its circulation. Nor does any information available to us indicate that the dissemination of literature advocating terrorism or advising in the techniques of guerrilla warfare would be more amenable to successful prosecution under statutes prohibiting the use of the mails for such a purpose than would be true under statutes having more general application.

The soundest approach to the problem of political terrorism would seem to be that taken by the administration in proposing legislation directly relating to the manufacture, distribution, and transportation of explosive materials. One such proposal, for the revision of the criminal laws relating to the use of explosives and incendiary devices, which has been introduced in the Senate as S. 3650 by Senator Hruska, was described in some detail by Assistant Attorney General Wilson in his testimony before this subcommittee on July 17. The other major administration proposal calls for thorough Federal regulation and control of the explosives industry. This measure, which was introduced in the Senate last week as S. 4107, also by Senator Hruska, is the product of an intensive study by a high-level interdepartmental task force. By striking directly and comprehensively at the root problem of the availability of explosive materials rather than in piecemeal fashion at more remote elements, these proposals seem likely to provide the most effective means for the suppression of this sordid activity.

Mr. Chairman, that completes my prepared statement. I shall be happy at the chairman's pleasure to respond to any further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions at this time, Senator?

Senator METCALF. We have had an excellent statement. I feel that you have demonstrated to us some of the confusion in the law that will perhaps be cleared up by the coming Supreme Court decision on the case you brought up. What happened to the Department ruling in May 1967 by Postmaster General O'Brien on the Crusader Monthly Newsletter by Robert F. Williams who, at that time, was in Peking, China?

Mr. NELSON. That is another case that we lost, Senator Metcalf.

Senator METCALF. You lost it?

Mr. NELSON. We lost it in the U.S. District Court in the District of Columbia. The court held that the debarment of the matter in question, Crusader Newsletter, was not proper because of the failure of the Post Office Department to accord a hearing to both the mailer in China and the intended recipients of the newsletter. We are considering at this very moment the question of an appeal of that decision.

Senator METCALF. I was going to ask you about that. You are contemplating looking into the case further?

Mr. NELSON. Yes, sir.

Senator METCALF. So, you don't have any appellate court ruling on that decision?

Mr. NELSON. No; we do not. It is a question of tactics, whether the likely result in the Supreme Court will be worse than what we have. We have not reached a decision.

Senator METCALF. This morning it was stated that Postmaster General O'Brien stated his opinion on several statutes. My attention has been called that he did not mention 18 U.S.C. 957 and 18 U.S.C. 1717A. Section 957 makes it a penal offense for anyone in the aid of any foreign government willfully to possess or control any property or papers designed for use in violating a Federal law or treaty obligation of the United States. Section 1717A states that matters which violate 957 are nonmailable and cannot be carried in the mail.

Did you raise that question with Mr. Williams, a resident of Communist China?

Mr. NELSON. I am checking, Senator Metcalf, to see whether the opinion which was rendered by a member of my office in 1967 on the mailability of that particular matter cited the statute to which you refer. I have the opinion here. The opinion does refer to section 1717A.

Senator METCALF. That would be mailability of this material in violation of section 957?

Mr. NELSON. Yes. I regret that Mr. Lawrence, who rendered that opinion, is not able to be with me today. He is unavoidably out of town, but he did cite that statute in his opinion.

Senator METCALF. I think it has been most helpful, Mr. Chairman, to have a witness here to present both the magnitude of the problem on the billions of mailable articles and the security and privacy that we want to maintain for such things as first-class mail and at the same time the fuzziness and the confusion that we have on the actual mailability. I would hope that you would present these matters on appeal so that we can clarify many of these issues. I am sure that they can be clarified if we can get some appellate court decisions.

Mr. NELSON. I appreciate that, Senator. No one wants these matters clarified more than I do, I can assure you.

Senator METCALF. I have one other question.

Do you have any mechanical facilities to identify explosives, and so forth, in the mail?

Mr. NELSON. This is a question that comes more within Mr. Cotter's area of competence than mine, but I would, of course, suggest to the subcommittee that some of these matters perhaps should not be discussed in a public hearing.

Senator METCALF. I agree with you. I have some trepidation here that we are writing sort of a textbook on guerrilla warfare, and perhaps more of this should be discussed in executive session.

Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. You have given us an excellent statement.

Now, Mr. Cotter, you have a prepared statement. Do you want to read it?

Mr. COTTER. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, you may proceed.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM J. COTTER

Mr. COTTER. Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the subcommittee, since the Postal Inspection Service is the law enforcement and security arm of the Post Office Department, I appreciate the opportunity to comment on the exceedingly serious matters which are the subject of these hearings. The proliferation of bombing incidents throughout the country, the transportation of explosives and incendiary devices, and the distribution of instructional literature relating to the manufacture of such devices are of vital concern to the Post Office Department.

We have previously supplied the subcommittee staff with data relating to the distribution of instructional literature of this nature and, therefore, my remarks will be confined to acts of bomb violence and the threats of such violence that are postal related and thus within our investigative purview.

The U.S. Postal Service, I can assure you, has experienced its full share of grief and concern as the result of senseless and deliberate acts of bomb violence. Bombs must be placed or delivered in the vicinity of those to be injured or intimidated and it would be strange indeed if the largest transportation and communication system in the world would not at times find itself utilized for this purpose.

Nearly a hundred years ago a Postmaster General recommended, and Congress enacted, a postal statute to curb overt acts of this very nature. It was the first Federal statute, I believe, to deal with the desperate acts of those fanatics, criminally sick, and terrorists whose thoughts turn to bomb violence.

The proscriptions of the original statute, as amended from time to time over the years, are presently codified in section 1716, title 18, United States Code. Essentially, it proscribes the mailing, among other things, of all explosives, inflammable materials, infernal machines, and mechanical, chemical, or other devices or compositions which may ignite or explode. Anything declared nonmailable by section 1716, if deposited for mailing with intent to kill or injure another, or injure the mails or other property, subjects the mailer to a fine of not more

than \$10,000 or imprisonment of not more than 20 years, or both. Moreover, if mailings prohibited by this section result in the death of any person, the mailer is subject to the death penalty or to imprisonment for life if the jury shall in its discretion so direct. In the case of a plea of guilty or if jury trial has been waived, the trial court may direct the death penalty or life imprisonment.

The capital punishment sanctions of the statute were enacted into law by the Congress in 1957 at the Postmaster General's request based upon the recommendation of the then Chief Postal Inspector.

It was felt at that time that the punishment should be more in keeping with the hideous and vicious nature of such criminal acts and might better serve to deter those tempted to commit them. So that explosives may be excluded totally from the mails, criminal penalties are provided whether or not the mailing was made with intent to maim or intimidate, with felony provisions when the intent to kill or injure is established and misdemeanor provisions when such intent is not provable.

In the main, our encounter with actual bomb violence has not stemmed from overt acts of political or revolution motivated anarchists. The technology required to prepare an explosive for carriage by mail in such a manner as to insure detonation at the precise time and place desired has apparently dissuaded so-called terrorist mailings. It is much simpler to plant or throw an explosive at the desired target.

Perhaps the only period in our postal history when the mails were extensively used in what might be termed as an organized campaign of bomb terror and intimidation, occurred in the early part of this century. So-called "Black Hand" societies operated widely during that period extorting huge sums from immigrant groups on threat of death and destruction. Bomb threats were delivered by mail and at times carried out by mail. Foreign born populations in various large communities in Ohio, Illinois, and even as far west as California, lived in fright and terror for quite some years. Postal inspectors effected numerous arrests in various parts of the country and the blackmail societies were fairly well neutralized by 1920 when 12 members were convicted in one case in Chicago.

But these groups were motivated by profit, and the threats and bombs were directed at specific persons. This has been generally true with respect to most of our experiences in actual mailings of explosive devices. Such diverse causes as love, hatred, jealousy, revenge, and other emotional factors are usually responsible. To cite several recent examples:

On May 1, 1969, Orville E. Stifel II. was found guilty of mailing a bomb which instantly killed his rival in a love triangle, Daniel J. Ronec, 23, of Lorain, Ohio. Eighty Government exhibits were introduced and 13 witnesses testified for the prosecution at the trial which resulted in a finding of guilty. The defendant was sentenced to life imprisonment.

On January 30, 1970, Enoch Dalton Chism was found guilty of mailing a bomb which resulted in the death of Mrs. Nola Puyear on August 18, 1967 at Marshall, Mich. Mrs. Puyear was coowner with her husband of a cafe in Marshall which Chism wanted to buy, but

only Mr. Puyear was willing to sell. Chism has been sentenced to life imprisonment.

Perhaps the only known situation in recent years wherein explosives have been mailed in a politically inspired effort at terror, occurred when a series of reckless bomb mailings were made by anti-Castro groups in the United States.

On April 3, 1967, a parcel exploded after delivery to the Cuban mission at the United Nations, slightly injuring Cuba's ranking diplomatic representative. On December 4, 1967, a parcel exploded in the basement of the Elizabeth, N.J., Post Office wreaking extensive damage and injuring five postal employees. None was in close proximity to the explosion and thus suffered only minor injuries. On December 7, 1967, a parcel exploded in the outgoing foreign mails section of Morgan station, New York. Luckily again, no employees were near the spot where the explosion occurred, and although eight employees were injured, none suffered serious consequences. On January 8, 1968, a mail sack exploded in the post office at Havana, Cuba, allegedly after having shortly arrived from New York.

Investigations made by the postal inspection service in cooperation with the FBI and local authorities in various cities, indicated that these incidents were related and could be laid to the bungling terrorist activities of certain militant anti-Castro groups in this country. Presumably finding it impractical to construct explosives in such a manner as to insure detonation at the time of delivery by mail, these terrorists abandoned this approach, and a number were subsequently arrested for local bombings in the Miami area.

We take no solace in the fact that few cases dealing with the mailing of explosives and related devices relate to deliberate acts of terrorism, as distinguished from other motivations. We are concerned enough that whereas in fiscal year 1967 we concluded 24 investigations of this nature, in fiscal year 1970, 161 such postal related cases required investigative attention. This represents a 670-percent increase in the space of 4 years.

Moreover, while the postal system has not seemingly been the actual target of overt acts of bomb violence as have police stations, courthouses, and certain corporate and other Federal offices, four young men were arrested on the night of March 4, 1970, at Seattle, Wash., on charges of exploding two sticks of dynamite against the wall of the university station of the Seattle Post Office. The blast severely damaged a postal vehicle with lesser damage inflicted on the building. One of the defendants had been previously charged with aggravated battery and mob action at Chicago, Ill., on October 8, 1969, for assaulting a police officer with a lead pipe, and the cited Seattle incident is one of a series of incidents for which individuals believed affiliated with the Weathermen have been indicted. An escalating problem the Post Office Department does share in full measure with other Government agencies, schools and colleges, large business firms, and other transportation systems, is the false bomb threat and the bomb scare situation. With over 700,000 employees occupying some 40,000 postal facilities and processing over 85 billion pieces of mail annually, such threats and scares are understandably disruptive and costly.

They are generally transmitted by telephone by anonymous callers alleging that a bomb is in a post office or mail transportation vehicle.

The number of recorded calls in fiscal year 1967 was 108. During the fiscal year just ended, a total of some 758 such calls were reported. Over 300 bomb scares alone occurred during the work stoppage period in March 1970, with over 20,000 work-hours lost through the need to evacuate those employees who were on duty.

Although each call to date has been found to be a hoax, each generates the need for a serious judgment decision and building evacuation is frequently ordered. Under no circumstances will the Department endanger the lives and well-being of its employees and customers. We are alert to the fact that the next threat may indeed be real.

We suffer with the airlines the disruptive effect of bomb scares relating to alleged bombs aboard commercial air carriers transporting mail. Planes must be delayed and all contents including mail must be isolated and examined. Approximately 100 such threats required investigation in fiscal year 1970 and caused delays in mail movements.

The willful conveying of threats or false information concerning attempts to damage or destroy real or personal property by fire or explosives is a violation of section 837(d), title 18, United States Code. The problem, of course, is not inadequate law, but of identifying the person making the threat or false report. We are working closely with other agencies in this common problem.

As the Security Officer of the Post Office Department, I will say in summary that I most sincerely share the deep concern already expressed by the many Federal, State, and local officials before this subcommittee. The Postal Inspection Service maintains continuing liaison with the law enforcement community at all levels, and intelligence is freely exchanged relevant to actual and potential attacks by arson and explosion. The Assistant Attorney General, in recent testimony, pointed to certain proposals now before the Congress which are designed to strengthen present law in this area. Effective means must assuredly be found to reverse the trend toward the increasing use of wanton bomb violence, and threat of such violence, for political or other purposes.

I mentioned earlier in my testimony that indeed there had been no concerted attention being directed to the Post Office Department, but I fear that this observation is changing somewhat. Just in the last day I received a couple of teletypes, one from Omaha, Nebr., wherein at 7:30 a.m. yesterday a 10- by 12-inch concrete block was thrown through the front plateglass window of the post office in Omaha, Nebr., followed by a Molotov cocktail bomb, causing damage only to the front window and the venetian blinds. Also a small-type bomb was thrown through a rear window causing minor damage.

At 1:35 a.m. yesterday morning an explosion occurred in a post office collection box at the northeast corner of Avenue B, East Third Street, New York City. The police checked it out. The explosion was caused by a number of "jelly" bombs thrown into the box.

Indeed, it appears we are going to be confronted with much more of this terroristic activity directed toward postal installations.

This concludes my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. These occurred just in the last couple of days?

Mr. COTTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not had any attempts at bombing of postal facilities for how long?

Mr. COTTER. In my statement I indicated it has not been a major problem, but just over the past month or so I have noticed more of these types of things—of, for example, Molotov cocktails being tossed into postal installations for no apparent reason.

The CHAIRMAN. Apparently it is just beginning?

Mr. COTTER. We are starting to be affected by this type of bombing activity.

The CHAIRMAN. You are now becoming a target?

Mr. COTTER. Yes, sir. In the past, of course, we may have been a target when we were located in the same building as perhaps the Selective Service people, and so forth. But there appears to be no reason whatsoever now for attacks against the Post Office itself.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it is directed at you, definitely?

Mr. COTTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, do you have any questions?

Senator METCALF. I had a couple of questions, but I am going to heed the admonition of Mr. Nelson and not ask them, because I feel that some of the material should not be presented in public session.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say to the Senator that anything that appears of that nature that we feel we want, we will have it supplied to the committee for use, and we will hold it as received in executive session. So, if the Senator will submit any questions to them, we will have them answer them so that we will have the information for the committee.

Senator METCALF. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I think these two gentlemen have given excellent statements. It is hard to make the public understand why the Federal Government cannot do something about it. They just don't understand it, and neither do I. If someone mails a bomb or mails material telling how to make a bomb and encouraging someone to carry out some act of violence, I can't understand why we are not able to get convictions.

Maybe the laws we have are loosely written in some respect. Maybe they do need to be revised. I don't think it was ever intended by our Founding Fathers who were the authors of the Constitution that they would write a constitution that could be interpreted so loosely that the Government could not protect itself against destruction. I still don't believe they intended that. I think a proper interpretation of the Constitution would enable us to secure convictions of some of these people who are committing these crimes, some of these people who are fomenting revolution in our country.

I may be wrong, but when they go out and encourage revolution and try to get someone to commit acts of violence, I think those matters can be prohibited by law and the law could be enforced.

Thank you very much, gentlemen. I may say to you, if we submit to you some questions along the lines that we have discussed we will appreciate your answering them. They will be handled as the Chair has indicated.

Counsel tells me these are all the witnesses for today. So we will stand in recess until next Tuesday at 10 a.m.

(Whereupon, at 3 o'clock p.m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 10 o'clock a.m. on Tuesday, August 4, 1970.)

(Members present at time of recess: Senators McClellan and Metcalf.)

## RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1970

U.S. SENATE,  
PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met at 10 a.m., in room 3302, New Senate Office Building, pursuant to Senate Resolution 308, agreed to February 16, 1970, Senator John L. McClellan (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Members of the subcommittee present: Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas; Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat, Washington; Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican, New York; Senator Charles H. Percy, Republican, Illinois; and Senator Edward J. Gurney, Republican, Florida.

Members of the professional staff present: Jerome S. Adlerman, general counsel; Philip W. Morgan, chief counsel to the minority; Philip R. Manuel, investigator; John Brick, investigator; Walter S. Fialkewicz, Department of Justice; Ruth Y. Watt, chief clerk; Daniel Harris, General Accounting Office; Jerry Perry, General Accounting Office; and John Klotz, General Accounting Office.

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing will come to order.

(Members present at time of convening: Senators McClellan, Javits, Percy, and Gurney.)

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Jerome Bakst, director of research for the Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be sworn please, sir.

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give before this Senate subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BAKST. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Be seated and identify yourself for the record please, sir.

### TESTIMONY OF JEROME BAKST

Mr. BAKST. My name is Jerome Bakst. I am director of research and evaluation of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Javits.

Senator JAVITS. Before the witness starts, may I say I consider the Anti-Defamation League extremely knowledgeable about this field and capable of being very helpful to the committee in terms of providing the factual basis for legislation and the nature of legislation which will be most effective. I have read through the testimony of the

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witness and believe that it measures up to the very high standard set by the Anti-Defamation League in previous appearances before the Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. We welcome you, Mr. Bakst. You have a prepared statement, I believe. You may proceed to read it, if you like.

Mr. BAKST. Thank you, sir.

My name is Jerome Bakst and I am director of research and evaluation of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. We appreciate the invitation of the subcommittee to offer testimony with respect to bombings and other terrorist acts directed primarily against religious institutions, and to express our views concerning possible legislation to strengthen controls over the traffic in dynamite and explosives.

The Anti-Defamation League, in whose behalf I appear, was established in 1913 as the educational arm of B'nai B'rith, America's largest and oldest Jewish service organization, founded in 1843. The ADL seeks to promote good will and understanding among Americans of the various religious, ethnic, and racial groups and to prevent discrimination against any of them. And to this end it has developed a vast library of education materials and programs widely used by the schools and the mass media of America.

The ADL program has its roots in the religious teachings of Judaism that man is a creature of God, that all men are equal before the Almighty, and that the dignity of the individual is God-given and must not be violated—teachings which are shared of course, by all great religions.

As part of its activities, the ADL combats anti-Semitism in all its forms through research, exposure of the problem to public opinion, and through long-range educational programing. As part of this on-going concern, the ADL has inevitably concerned itself with anti-Semitic organizations, publications and activities, and with politically extreme and violence-prone organizations that pose a threat to democratic institutions in the United States and, therefore, to the security of the Jewish community.

Violence directed at Jewish synagogues and temples, and at other Jewish institutions, has been an on-going problem that has been a concern of the ADL for many years. This violence, directed at Jewish houses of worship and at other religious installations and facilities, has taken a variety of forms: bombings, attempted bombings and bomb threats, arson, vandalism, and other forms of desecration.

In recent years the number of anti-Semitic episodes of all kinds, directed at religious facilities and at Jewish-owned property has, according to ADL records, averaged about 75 a year. However, when to these approximately 600 episodes of all kinds in the last 8 years there are added some 900 swastika episodes that took place in the United States during the 1960-61 epidemic of such daubings and defacements that swept across the country, a total of approximately 1,500 anti-Semitic episodes have been recorded by ADL in the last 10 years.

It is our belief, however, that these figures are misleading and that in all likelihood they seriously understate the dimensions of the problem. We of ADL do not believe that our information is a complete record of all such anti-Semitic manifestations in the United States. Our record is a record of only those episodes of anti-Semitism that happen to come to our attention through our research operations

and those of our 30 regional offices across the country. It is our best judgment that if the records of local police and law enforcement agencies around the country were gathered together, the number of anti-Semitic episodes, including bombings, attempted bombings, bomb threats, and cases of arson would be higher than those recorded only by ADL.

In any case, episodes of vandalism and desecration of Jewish religious institutions are so numerous that we see no value in submitting a count, especially on the basis of our incomplete information. These episodes of malice include ransacking of houses of worship, defiling of holy objects, and defacing of temples and synagogues. They also include vandalism and desecration of cemeteries, in many cases the overturning or defacing of gravestones, sometimes several hundred stones at a time.

With respect to the subcommittee's major concern—bombings, attempted bombings, bomb threats, and arson—a summary of pertinent information recorded by the ADL in the last 20 years is attached to this statement. (Exhibit A.)

Exhibit B is a statistic chart of such bombing episodes of the last 10 years. It shows a total of 75 with increases in the years 1968, 1969, and 1970.

Exhibit C is a chronology of bombings and bomb threats at Jewish institutions for the period January 1, 1969, to the present time.

Exhibit D is a summary of fires and arsons at Jewish institutions in the last 10 years showing a total of some 60 with, again, increases in 1969 and 1970.

Exhibit E is a chronology of such fires and arsons recorded by ADL for the period January 1, 1969, to the present.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not have a copy of the exhibits before me.

Mr. BAKST. Senator, I believe they are attached to the statement, are they not?

The CHAIRMAN. Since they are not at great length, I will let them be printed in the record.

Mr. BAKST. Exhibit F presents some examples of desecrations at Jewish institutions for the period January 1, 1969, to the present. (The exhibits referred to follow:)

#### ANTIDEFAMATION LEAGUE—EXHIBIT A

##### BOMBINGS, ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS AND BOMB THREATS AGAINST JEWISH INSTITUTIONS—BACKGROUND

Actual and attempted bombings—and bomb threats—directed against Jewish religious institutions, so far as is known, have taken place only within the last 20 years. The first such manifestations took place in Miami during 1951 when a series of five bombings or attempted bombings were directed against four Jewish institutions between June and December of that year. Of the five episodes, three were abortive—unexploded dynamite sticks being discovered before they went off. In the other two episodes, a partly completed Jewish Center was damaged by a dynamite explosion and a Temple and its school were partly wrecked by a blast that shattered 44 windows.

The five episodes were part of a general campaign of terrorism in Miami during 1951 during which eight other actions took place, some aimed at Jewish institutions, some at public buildings, some at a Negro housing project.

A second series of bombings or attempted bombings was aimed at seven Jewish houses of worship and other institutions in various Southern states between November 11, 1957 and October 12, 1958. These episodes took place at Charlotte

and Gastonia, N.C.; at Miami and Jacksonville, Fla.; at Nashville, Tenn., Birmingham, Ala., and Atlanta, Ga. The Charlotte and Gastonia attempts were abortive.

In a report published at that time, the Anti-Defamation League noted several patterns in the 1957-58 bombings and attempted bombings. In all cases, an apparent attempt was made to avoid injury to human life and to time the explosions so that they could only cause property damage—an apparent attempt to intimidate the local Jewish communities in the cities mentioned. Almost identical zippered satchels were used to conceal the dynamite in the Gastonia and Birmingham cases. The Miami and Nashville episodes took place on the same day. The Jacksonville and Birmingham episodes took place on successive days. In all cases, with the possible exception of Birmingham, the dynamite used was reported to be of a common variety, readily available for sale or easily stolen.

In four cases—Nashville, Miami, Jacksonville and Atlanta—telephone calls were placed to prominent local individuals by anonymous persons identifying themselves as members of a so-called "Confederate Underground." It was generally believed by law enforcement authorities that one group of individuals was responsible for all seven of the episodes.

The ADL said in its report that the similarity of the dynamitings indicated that these bombings and bombing attempts were part of a criminal conspiracy cutting across state lines. So far as we know, no arrests were made, except in the case of the blast at the Temple in Atlanta on October 12, 1958. In that case, five men were indicted—all of them affiliated with the racist, anti-Semitic organization called the National States Rights Party. One of the defendants was tried, his first trial ending in a hung jury and a mistrial, the second trial in an acquittal. So far as is known, none of the other defendants was ever brought to trial.

The National States Rights Party is still active, with headquarters in Savannah, Ga. One of its long-time leaders is an announced candidate for Governor of Georgia this year. The party publishes a monthly propaganda paper called The Thunderbolt with a paid circulation, reported to the U.S. Post Office in the Fall of 1969, averaging 32,589 for the 12 months preceding filing date, and 49,655 for the issue nearest filing date. These circulation figures are believed to be far higher than the actual membership of the NSRP, although the group has small, scattered units in a number of states, both in the South and elsewhere around the country.

The decade of the 1960s reveals the following picture:

In 1960, there were 30 bomb threats and four actual explosions—the latter including the following: A molotov cocktail thrown at a temple in Los Angeles; a dynamite bombing at a synagogue in Kansas City, Mo., one explosion at a temple in Springfield, Mass., and a fire-bombing at a synagogue in Gadsden, Ala. The bomb threats took place in various states—California, Florida, Texas, Tennessee, Illinois, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, New York and the District of Columbia among them.

In 1961, there were dynamite blasts at two synagogues in Chicago, and a molotov cocktail was tossed at a synagogue in New York, a total of three bombings. There were two abortive attempts and five threats.

In 1962, a bomb exploded in a box containing religious garments at a temple in Philadelphia, and in Miami, dynamite sticks were found by police in front of a temple. The year saw half-a-dozen bomb threats.

In 1963, there was only one episode—a bomb threat against a synagogue in Gloucester, Mass., while in 1964, there were no recorded bombing episodes of any kind. There were two bomb threats recorded in 1965—one in Dallas, Texas, the other in Springfield, Mass., while in 1966, there were no recorded bombings, attempted bombings or bomb threats.

In September, 1967, a temple was bombed in Jackson, Miss., and two months later, the home of its rabbi was bombed.

In 1968, there were three actual bombings. A dynamite blast at a temple in Meridian, Miss., in May caused considerable damage to a religious school attached to the temple, and blew out one wall of the temple itself. In June, the Hebrew Theological College at Skokie, Ill., was the target of a home-made pipe bomb that was thrown five feet short of the building itself and caused damage to windows only. In August, a small cherry-bomb was thrown outside a temple in Whittier, Calif., injuring students in front of the building. In October, a fire-bomb was thrown at a Hebrew school in Brooklyn, N.Y. Earlier in the year, fire-bombs and anti-Semitic signs were found outside the offices of a Jewish Educational and Vocational Services agency in St. Louis; the unexploded bombs were

made from liquor bottles filled with gasoline and cloth wicks. The wicks had not, apparently, been ignited.

During 1969, there were one dynamite explosion, four fire-bombings and two bomb threats. The dynamite explosion took place on January 11, 1969 at Shaare Tikvah Synagogue in Temple Hills, Prince Georges County, Md., and damage was heavy, being estimated at \$150,000. The four fire-bombings took place as follows: On March 15, 1969, at a Hebrew day school in Plainfield, N.J., on April 29 at the Hebrew Shelter Home in Hartford, Conn., and on May 6 and September 12 at two different synagogues in Brooklyn. The September episode took place during a break in the Rosh Hashanah high holiday services, as worshippers were leaving the building. The bomb threats during 1969 took place at the Sunday school of a reform temple in Shreveport, La., while classes were in session. After the phone call, children were evacuated but no bomb was found.

For the year 1970, through July 15, there has been one dynamite blast, one episode involving explosive devices described in one report as "noise-makers," two fire bombings, and one bomb threat. In February, the doors of a Seattle synagogue were splintered by a dynamite explosion. The "noise-makers" episode took place on March 25, when two explosive devices were tossed at a Jewish Center, in the Bronx, N.Y. The two fire-bombings took place on June 18 at a temple in Elizabeth, N.J. and on July 7, when two fire bombs were thrown at a temple in Rockaway Beach, Queens County, N.Y. The one bomb threat so far this year took place on March 18 and was received, via mail and telephone, at a temple in Springfield, Mass.

The pattern of recent years—especially 1969 and 1970—appears to show a tentative trend toward more frequent use of fire bombs and molotov cocktails, easily made from bottles, gasolines, and cloth wicks.

ANTIDEFAMATION LEAGUE—EXHIBIT B.—BOMBINGS, ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS, AND BOMB THREATS

	[Jewish institutions]					Totals
	Dynamite explosions	Other explosions	Fire bombings	Attempted bombings	Bomb threats	
1960.....	2		2		30	34
1961.....	3			2	5	10
1962.....	1			1	6	8
1963.....					1	1
1964.....						
1965.....					2	2
1966.....	2					2
1967.....	2	1	2	1		5
1968.....	2		4		2	7
1969.....	1	1	2		1	5
1970 (1/2 year).....						
Total.....	12	2	9	4	47	74

<sup>1</sup> Cherry bombs.  
<sup>2</sup> Unignited fire bomb.  
<sup>3</sup> Noise maker.

ANTIDEFAMATION LEAGUE—EXHIBIT C

BOMBINGS AND BOMB THREATS AT JEWISH INSTITUTIONS, JANUARY 1, 1969—JULY 15, 1970

1969

January 11, 1969: Temple Hills, Prince Georges County, Md., Shaare Tikvah Synagogue bombed. \$150,000 damage. Dynamite used; heavy damage.

February 2, 1969: Shreveport, La., Bomb threat by telephone at Sunday school of reform temple.

March 15, 1969, Plainfield, N.J., Fire bomb attack on Hebrew day school.

April 29, 1969, Hartford, Conn., Fire bombs at Hebrew Shelter Home.

May 6, 1969, Brooklyn, N.Y., Fire bomb at Congregation Yetev Lov D'Satmar Synagogue.

September 12, 1969, Brooklyn, N.Y., Kehilath Yakov Synagogue fire bombed during Rosh Hashanah (just after services).

November 13, 1969, North Hills, Long Island, N.Y., bomb threat at Temple Judea. No bomb found.

1970

February 6, 1970, Seattle, Wash., Synagogue doors splintered by dynamite.  
 March 18, 1970, Springfield, Mass., Bomb threat received by telephone and mail at Temple Kadimah.  
 March 25, 1970, The Bronx, N.Y., two explosive devices thrown at Mosholu Jewish Center.  
 June 18, 1970, Elizabeth, N.J., Temple B'nai Israel fire-bombed.  
 July 7, 1970, Rockaway Beach, Long Island, N.Y., two fire bombs at Congregation Derech Emunoh.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE—EXHIBIT D  
 FIRES AND ARSONS AT JEWISH INSTITUTIONS

	Arsons	Attempts	Threats	Total
1960	2			2
1961	6	1	1	8
1962	4			4
1963		1		1
1964	2			2
1965	3	1		4
1966	4			4
1967	2			2
1968	7			7
1969	15	1		16
1970 (½ year)	10			10
Total				60

ANTIDEFAMATION LEAGUE—EXHIBIT E

FIRES AND ARSONS AT JEWISH INSTITUTIONS, JANUARY 1, 1969—JULY 15, 1970

1969

January 1-2, 1969: Brooklyn, N.Y., Series of three small fires set at Manhattan Beach Jewish Center.  
 January 3, 1969: Far Rockaway, Long Island, N.Y., Fire destroyed Shaaray Tefila Synagogue. Cost to replace synagogue estimated at \$1,000,000.  
 January 20, 1969: Brooklyn, N.Y., "Suspicious" fire at Yeshiva Magen David Synagogue. Student received summons for criminal mischief.  
 January 23, 1969: Far Rockaway, Long Island, N.Y., Fire at Hebrew Institute of Long Island.  
 January 30, 1969: Brooklyn, N.Y., Fire at Yeshivath Torah Vadaath of Crown Heights. School supplies and texts destroyed.  
 February 16, 1969: Brooklyn, N.Y., Three-alarm fire, destroyed gymnasium at United Lubavitcher Yeshiva.  
 March, 1969: Philadelphia, Pa., Fires set to mail placed in door at Congregation Beth Zion Synagogue.  
 March, 1969: Manchester, N.H., Arson attempt at Jewish Community Center.  
 May 15, 1969: Newark, N.J., Fire at Temple B'nai Abraham. Arson suspected.  
 July 8, 1969: Manchester, N.H., Vandals set fire to rabbi's office at Temple Adath Yeshurun. Valuable records and book manuscript destroyed.  
 July 14, 1969: Brooklyn, N.Y., A "deliberately" set fire damaged a room at the Yeshiva of Flatbush.  
 October 5, 1969: Los Angeles, Calif., Fire at Hillel Building at University of Southern California. Damage estimated at \$10,000.  
 November 28, 1969: Brooklyn, N.Y., Fire gutted Yeshiva Marbestse Torah. \$100,000 damage estimates.  
 December 7, 1969: Queens, N.Y., Fire set at Woodside Jewish Center. Three teenagers charged with setting fire.

1970

January 19, 1970: The Bronx, N.Y., Fire damaged Congregation Ahavath Torah Synagogue. Scrolls and religious objects destroyed. Arson charged by City Fire Marshal's office.

January 28, 1970: The Bronx, N.Y., Fire set at Minsker Congregation. Prayer books and lobby area damaged. Synagogue also smeared with swastikas.  
 February 9, 1970: Brooklyn, N.Y., Fire at Congregation Kasser Torah. Ark containing sacred scrolls damaged.  
 February 12, 1970: Brooklyn, N.Y., Fire caused extensive damage to Yeshiva of Flatbush. Arson suspected.  
 May 6, 1970: Dorchester, Mass., Vandals set fire to sacred scroll in Chezra Shas Synagogue.  
 May 27, 1970: Dorchester, Mass., Vandals set fire to sacred scroll in Chezra Shas Synagogue for second time.  
 May 27, 1970: Dorchester, Mass., Two fires set in Agudath Israel Synagogue.  
 June 2, 1970: Dorchester, Mass., Fire of suspicious origin damaged Congregation Chai Odom Meeting House.  
 June 19, 1970: Dorchester, Mass., Fire of undetermined origin at Hebrew School of the Congregation Agudath Israel. \$1,500 damage estimated.  
 June 19, 1970: Washington, D.C., Fire at Yeshiva High School for Boys in Rockville, Md. Arson suspected. \$30,000 damage estimated.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE—EXHIBIT F

EXAMPLES OF VANDALISM AND DESECRATION: AT JEWISH INSTITUTIONS,  
 1969 AND 1970

1969

January 10: Shreveport, La., Swastika painted on a synagogue.  
 January 23: Far Rockaway, N.Y., Vandalism at Temple Emanuel.  
 February 4: The Bronx, N.Y., Windows smashed and locks broken at a synagogue.  
 April 2: New York, N.Y., Temple Rodeph Sholom defaced: "33,000 GI's Dead" painted in orange letters 18 inches high. Episcopal church nearby similarly defaced.  
 April 3-4: Springfield, Mass., Three Jewish institutions smeared with swastikas.  
 July 15: Woburn, Mass., Seventy headstones overturned at a Jewish cemetery.  
 July 22: Massapequa, Long Island, N.Y., Congregation Beth-El vandalized.  
 July 29: Rockaway, Queens, N.Y., Rocks thrown at Young Israel of Queens.  
 August 24: Waterbury, Conn., Beth Israel-Sharis Israel synagogue vandalized. Holy Ark damaged.  
 September 1: Glen Cove, Long Island, N.Y., Temple Tifereth Israel desecrated. \$10,000 damage. Obscenities on walls, holy scrolls damaged, furniture smashed, office ransacked.  
 September 3: Derby, Conn., 200 gravestones overturned at Jewish cemetery.  
 September 26: Brooklyn, N.Y., Crown Heights Yeshiva vandalized.  
 October, 1969: Brooklyn, N.Y., Synagogue vandalized twice this month.  
 October 31: Queens, N.Y., One synagogue and two Jewish centers smeared with swastikas.  
 November 1: Cheyenne, Wyo., Swastikas painted on front door of Mount Sinai Synagogue.  
 November 3: Brooklyn, N.Y., Anti-Jewish slogans and swastikas painted outside Congregation B'nai Jacob.  
 November, 1969: Rumson, N.J., One Jewish cemetery desecrated. Congregation B'nai Israel desecrated four times in one year. Cemetery chapel also desecrated. Alleged KKK activities being investigated by Monmouth County prosecutor.  
 November 19: Lynn, Mass., Robbery and desecration at synagogue.  
 December, 1969: Indianapolis, Ind., Three Jewish cemeteries recently reported vandalized.  
 December 24: Canton, Mass., Temple Beth David desecrated by swastikas and anti-Jewish slogans.  
 December 26: Wanamassa, N.J., Congregation B'nai Israel cemetery desecrated.

1970

March 12: Bangor, Me., Beth Israel Synagogue damaged by vandals.  
 April 5: Brooklyn, N.Y., Vandalism at synagogue.  
 April 13: Springfield, Mass., Swastikas smeared during recent days at two Jewish synagogues.

April 20: San Francisco, Calif., Congregation Knesseth Israel vandalized for second time in two weeks.

June 1: Hartford, Conn., 100 tombstones overturned in recent days in two Jewish cemeteries.

Mr. BAKST. Exhibits A, B, and C have been revised slightly to reflect one additional fire bombing at a Jewish institution since this statement was prepared. The figures for the period January 1, 1969, to the present with respect to bombings and fires at Jewish institutions are as follows:

Bombings, 1969:	
Dynamite explosions.....	1
Fire bombings.....	4
Bomb threats.....	2
1970 (to present):	
Dynamite explosion.....	1
Minor explosion (2 explosive devices described as "noisemakers").....	1
Fire bombings.....	3
Bomb threats.....	1
Fires, 1969:	
Actual fires.....	15
Attempted arson.....	1
1970: Actual fires.....	10

An indication of the problems confronting voluntary community service organizations like the ADL in compiling accurate statistics on violence directed at institutions can be seen on figures for arson and fire for the year 1969. As you will note, we list 15 fires and one attempted arson nationwide.

However, information recently supplied to a group of Jewish agencies in New York at a conference with officials of the New York City Police Department showed that the police had recorded 23 cases of arson directed at Jewish synagogues during 1969 in New York City alone.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

If a central repository for information concerning acts of violence aimed at religious institutions does not already exist somewhere in the Federal Government, we suggest that the subcommittee might consider legislation to set up—for statistical and research purposes only—such a central clearinghouse, to which local law enforcement authorities would report. We would hope that the statistics compiled would be available to the public. We think such information would be valuable for research purposes and for the use of the Congress and law enforcement authorities alike.

Also, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has for some time favored stricter legislation governing the sale, possession, and traffic in dynamite, explosives, and other ingredients for bombs and similar weapons of terror. In 1967—and again as recently as this May—resolutions were adopted by our national commission urging the establishment by law of registration requirements and procedures governing the sale and possession of the ingredients for bombs and explosive devices. We also urged expansion in the personnel of agencies charged with enforcing existing firearms legislation—and the same would apply to agencies charged with enforcing laws regulating the traffic in dynamites and explosives.

ADL in addition called this May for prompt action by the President and the Congress to implement the recommendations of the National

Commission on Civil Disorders—the Kerner Commission—and the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence—the Eisenhower Commission—to deal effectively with some of the fundamental causes of civil disorder and violence.

(At this point Senator Javits withdrew from the hearing room.)

As to our recommendations for Federal legislation to deal with some aspects of these problems: First, we certainly want to support recommendations such as those made by Police Commissioner Leary of New York for a series of controls to limit access to high explosives. In this connection we want to emphasize that any such statutory plan must be State as well as Federal since the Federal jurisdiction is, after all, limited to control of commerce and to protection of buildings and territory under Federal jurisdiction.

In this connection we are submitting herewith a model explosives control bill which we prepared some time ago for possible use in the various States in which bombing attacks on schools, houses of worship, Federal buildings, and other buildings and places have become a problem. We also call to the attention of this subcommittee a similar law adopted in Colorado dealing with the regulation and inspection of explosives.

Mr. Chairman, there are a few copies of this model State law available if the subcommittee should wish them.

In general we agree, of course, that there should be both Federal and State regulation and licensing of all manufacturers and sellers and users of explosives. Manufacturers and sellers and users must be required to keep strict records of their sales and use of explosives. There should be regular and frequent Federal and local inspection of these records. The law should require that special care be taken to prevent thefts of explosives and certainly casual purchase of explosives by anyone should be barred.

We agree with Commissioner Leary that some machinery should be developed and required by statute for enabling identification of the source of any explosives by manufacturer and sales lot so that when such explosives are used for dynamiting public buildings and religious institutions and schools, et cetera, the police might be able to identify the source of the explosives and thus trace them to the illicit user.

Devices should be developed—to be required by statute—through which dynamite and other explosives can have added to them some chemical marker or, as Commissioner Leary suggests, some coded indestructible object that could be recovered after the explosive is set off and used to trace the origins of the material.

So much for general recommendations. We are aware, of course, that the Civil Rights Act of 1960 contained provisions, now embodied in title XVIII of the United States Code, section 837, prohibiting transporting in interstate and foreign commerce of any explosive with knowledge or intent that it would be used to damage any real or personal property in order to interfere with the use of such property for educational or religious, charitable, residential, business, or civic objectives—or in order to intimidate persons pursuing such objectives.

We are also aware that for some time there has been Federal legislation barring transportation of explosives on passenger vehicles involved in interstate and foreign commerce and barring the use of any

instrumentalities of commerce in connection with an attempt to violate the ban on transporting of explosives in interstate or foreign commerce with the knowledge or intent mentioned above. But these laws have not proved effective.

For this reason we support proposals such as those contained in H.R. 17154 introduced by Mr. Celler on April 23, 1970. This is an excellent bill as far as it goes, though we would hope that it would have added to it a requirement that manufacturers include in all explosives some identifying device which could not be removed from it would help tie the particular explosive used in any illegal bombing or explosion or the particular explosives seized in connection with any violation of the law to the manufacturer, and through him to the seller.

We would hope also that the recordkeeping provisions of the Celler proposal will be strengthened so as to ease the police job of tracing illicit explosives through the channels of commerce to the person who illicitly obtained them or used them illegally.

Incidentally, we note on page 9 of the Celler bill, line 6, that the form used to insure knowledge on the part of the local police of a purchase by a potential user of explosives uses the word "firearm" instead of the word "explosives."

We also believe that H.R. 16699 introduced by Representative McCulloch for himself and 23 other Members of the House should be given careful and favorable consideration.

As has been pointed out in previous testimony before this committee on the subject, bombings, fire bombings, other forms of violent sabotage, et cetera, have become almost epidemic in our country. Hate-mongers and radicals—right and left—who are engaged in such illicit dangerous activity must be stopped. The Federal Government as well as the State governments have a duty to take legislative action along the lines we have suggested above.

Mr. Chairman, that completes my prepared statement. I would like to make a few additional remarks, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. BAKST. First, the number of bombing episodes and suspicious fires at Jewish institutions appears to be increasing, as the figures for 1969 and the first half of 1970 clearly indicate on the basis of our admittedly incomplete information. The use of fire bombs aimed at Jewish institutions also appears to reflect the wider trend toward the use of incendiary devices noted by previous witnesses.

Second, our statement was prepared before we had had an opportunity to examine in detail the administration's proposals now embodied in H.R. 18573, sponsored by Mr. McCulloch and others. We have now had a chance hurriedly to examine this bill and we believe that, like the Celler bill H.R. 17154, it represents a major step forward that deserves the most favorable consideration.

We feel, however, that, like the Celler bill, it has some shortcomings which we hope can be remedied. The first shortcoming as we see it is that the bill fails to require a system for identifying explosives by manufacturer's lot number and doesn't likewise provide for some kind of nondestructible ingredient for identification after an explosion has taken place.

Unless legislation is adopted which requires such an ingredient as part of an overall tracing system, we believe that law-enforcement officials will continue to be handicapped in their efforts to trace explosives used in bombings to their original source and to the culprits involved.

We have already noted that we view with favor the suggestion made by Commissioner Leary of New York City for some coded indestructible object that could be recovered after an explosion and that would aid in tracing the explosive to its source and user.

We have also suggested that dynamite and other explosives might have added to them chemical marker or dyes which would aid in identification of the source and user of the materials used in bombing.

The second shortcoming we see in the administration bill is that it fails to require the permittee to keep a specific record of the use to which each piece of explosive purchased by him was put. We would hope that the final legislation that may be adopted would include a requirement for such a rigid system of inventory control by permittees.

Such records would aid law-enforcement authorities in tracing explosives used in bombings and it would hopefully aid in apprehending criminals who did the bombing. The essential element in any legislation that may be adopted as we see it includes (1) licensing; (2) registration, permits, and recordkeeping by manufacturers, dealers, and permittees; and (3) identification requirements for the explosives themselves by manufacturer's lot number, nondestructible devices, and/or chemicals and dyes.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Are there any questions, gentlemen?

Senator PERCY. I have one question, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of Senator Javits. Senator Javits would like to ask this question.

The Black Panther Party has recently taken an anti-Israel position in the current Mideast Arab-Israel problem. They have supported Arab guerrilla movements such as Al Fatah. In light of this and in light of the fact that more recent attacks against Jewish institutions have occurred in places like New York City, can you tell us whether there is any possible connection between anti-Israel positions of the Black Panthers and increased bombings and arsons against your temples and synagogues?

Mr. BAKST. I would have to answer that, we don't know. We don't have enough evidence as to who has perpetrated some of these episodes in order to make a judgment as to whether Panthers have even been involved at all. So, I would have to say that the answer is that there is not such information to warrant an honest answer to that question.

Senator PERCY. As far as you can determine, can you tell us whether this has been a marked increase in the number of attacks on Jewish-owned and operated businesses in some metropolitan areas of the country?

Mr. BAKST. I don't think that our records are adequate on that. There has been some increase, I think, in vandalism in general directed at various kinds of Jewish properties. But in terms of the business community, it is very hard for me to answer simply because the problem of getting the information from around the country is very difficult for a private agency.

There has been, I would say, an increase in that kind of malicious mischief in neighborhoods of tension and in areas where groups are coming into some friction with each other in some of the larger cities.

Senator PERCY. Has the Research and Evaluation Division of ADL had occasion to collect samples and types of printed matter which instructs individuals in the making of bombs and how to use them?

Mr. BAKST. Yes, Senator, I do have some material of that kind. I don't know quite how you want me to refer to it, but we have seen in recent years some samples of literature put out by the Minutemen, which is a far right political extremist organization, that dealt with the making of explosives, that in effect gave instructions on how to prepare explosive material.

We have seen diagrams circulated by apparently radical leftwing extremist and revolutionary groups, such as the Weathermen. We have seen in the Black Panther newspaper some diagrams and instructions on how to make bombs and in one case, I believe, from an empty aerosol can.

There is a good deal of that kind of material circulating in what I would refer to as the political underworld, both far right and far left.

Senator PERCY. These are obviously not instructions on how to use explosives for constructive or mining purposes. Do the pamphlets and the literature also describe what should be bombed?

Mr. BAKST. In some cases there is a good deal of literature or at least we have seen samples of literature, the so-called underground newspapers, which in effect hail and welcome each new manifestation of a bombing against a bank. This does not necessarily relate to religious institutions, but rather to the so-called symbols of the establishment.

We have seen that kind of material and I have some with me, if the committee is interested in it.

Senator PERCY. I wonder if you could theorize with us as to what the community of interest is between radical groups on the extreme right and extreme left. Their goals in reshaping society would seem to be quite different. What is it they have in common that makes them both want to physically destroy American institutions whether the targets be synagogues or temples or churches or police stations, banks, civic buildings, Chicago department stores, or anyplace else that they feel they get at the establishment? What is it that motivates both extreme groups to want to use the same means of physical destruction and terrorism?

Mr. BAKST. I would refer to a passage in a report that we submitted to the Eisenhower Commission on the causes and prevention of violence in 1968, and one of the things that we said at that time in submitting our report, which was of course one of many, was that the hallmark and the common denominator of political extreme groups and violence-prone groups is that the end justifies the means. "Our cause is just, therefore whatever we do to achieve it is justified."

In my humble judgment and I speak personally, it is one of the most pernicious doctrines in the history of mankind, but it seems to me the political denominator of the political far right extremist and political far left extremist is willing to use any means necessary to achieve goals that he happens to feel are just.

In addition, I think that at least in my view the target of the political extreme movements, whether of the far right or the far left, is the

moderate center, whether conservative or liberal, however you want, but those of us who believe in ballots not bullets, and who believe that we can settle our differences and achieve peaceful change and peaceful reform, if need be, by the democratic process that we are all committed to. I don't think that the extremist groups share our commitment to the democratic process and we are seeing evidence of that all around the place right now, Senator.

Senator PERCY. Do you ever see evidence of violence being committed by, say, the extreme groups on the right, but they try to attach it to or blame it on or associate it with extreme groups on the left, and vice versa?

Mr. BAKST. Every time I get any kind of report of an episode or the circulation even of literature, that is the first question that comes to my mind, because nobody signs it and nobody notarizes it. It can be that you are looking at fabricated documents. However, quite aside from the specific pieces of propaganda that come our way and that we examine so carefully, quite aside from that, the identifiable writings of the extremist groups themselves express a commitment to violence and to militant or extreme militant activity, so that I am prepared to say that—but I have not seen anything that I have been able to identify, sir, as a fabrication.

There have been other fabrications, but they don't relate to episodes of violence. We had an episode, for example, in Long Island, N.Y., where a right-wing group—and I don't think it was ever really identified—but there were reports in the press that it was a Minuteman unit there, had distributed literature which was designed to create animosity toward black people in the area by the spurious document and the contents thereof. But that did not relate to any violence.

Senator PERCY. Lastly, because your work is research and evaluation, could I throw a theory to you and have you evaluate it? Could the common denominator of the extremist groups on both left and right be that both want a society of repression? The Minutemen, for instance, distrust the democratic process, they don't really believe in it, they want authoritarian control instituted. Consequently they create violence and engage in bombings, for the purpose of encouraging every conceivable kind of repressive measure and restriction on individual liberties and freedoms and human rights.

They thus are accomplishing the goal they sought all along, a repressive society, controlled authoritatively at the central source.

Of the left, the extreme groups also want to carry forward a program of terrorism to bring a repressive society, but that is not the end objective. That is only the step, the means. Their ultimate hope is for revolution against the repression they helped create. A condition of anarchy and class warfare is what they want to create, class warfare in the classic Lenin-Marxist tradition.

Having spent a good many years in this field, does this theory in your judgment, seem to hold any water at all?

Mr. BAKST. I would general say, Senator, that I would go along with much of what you say, perhaps having some reservations on this detail or that nuance. But by-and-large, yes. Certainly with respect to the far left I would say that what you have said is quite true.

There are groups that no doubt, in my mind, on the far left that wish to see repressive measures taken and wish to provoke them in

order to be able to say, "See, we told you that the society is repressive already and, therefore, it has to be destroyed" and the more repression, the more they can point to and say, "This shows the system is no good and ought to be destroyed."

Senator PERCY. Margaret Chase Smith has said on the floor of the Senate, and I agree with her, that given the choice between anarchy and repression, Americans will always choose repression.

This is the direction in which we may be moving if we continue the course we are on.

Mr. BAKST. The mood of the country will move toward repression and possibly is already to some extent. Of course, repression won't be the answer either and that is unfortunate, too, isn't it?

Senator PERCY. I wish to indicate my deep personal concern at the number of bombings which have occurred in Jewish temples and synagogues. It's beginning to seem as if you cannot go with safety into a church or temple, you can't be safe in your home and you can't be safe on the street. It makes you wonder sometimes what kind of freedom we have in this country.

The founders of this country came here for political freedom, yet the very thing we lack today is the freedom from fear, the most basic freedom of all. Society must somehow provide a protection against that kind of fear.

Your testimony is further incriminating evidence that something is dreadfully wrong in our society and that we have a responsibility to try to find the most intelligent and most enlightened solutions.

Thank you very much.

Mr. BAKST. If I may say so, Senator, we make reference in passing in our statement to the recommendation of the Kerner and Eisenhower Commissions. There is something there that perhaps can offer some hope for at least some progress toward eliminating some of the things that generate this violence. That is why it is in the statement.

Senator PERCY. Absolutely. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Gurney?

Senator GURNEY. Do your statistics have any rundown on the amount of damage done by bombing and terrorism against Jewish institutions over the period you testified to?

Mr. BAKST. I am sorry, Senator, not except in this or that episode where the damage is reported. We have a very difficult job in getting information at all, let alone damage estimates. I am afraid the answer to your question is that we don't have any sort of total.

Senator GURNEY. However, as I glanced over these statistics, I guess it is fair to say it would run into the several millions dollars, is that right?

Mr. BAKST. Easily. You may have noted on the first line in exhibit C there was a bombing here in Prince Georges County, Md., of a synagogue early in 1969 where \$150,000 was the estimated damage. So often you get a rather major amount of damage like that. Very often in the case of incendiary or fire bombs the damage is usually identified in the reports you get as slight or nominal or sometimes a thousand dollars, \$5,000.

I am sorry that I can't give you an overall figure, but easily millions, yes.

Senator GURNEY. Your statistics seem to indicate, too, that the bombing pattern against Jewish institutions seems to be more in the nature of fire bombs than explosive bombs.

Mr. BAKST. In the last few years, Senator, it looks pretty clear from these rather limited statistics that that is the case and that the Molotov cocktail and the gasoline-filled bottle are becoming more used than the dynamite.

It is easier obviously.

Senator GURNEY. Is it also fair to say that your statistics also show a very dramatic increase in bombings and terrorism of all sorts within the last year or 2 years?

Mr. BAKST. Yes. There is a noticeable increase starting in 1968. It looks to me like we are going to finish 1970, if we continue it at the present rate, with a rather noticeable increase, granted that the figures are small.

I think the thing that I would like to point out and it is contained in exhibit A, which is a brief history of the bombings directed at Jewish institutions and temples, is that there was never any such thing in this country until 1951. There was no recorded episode of that kind against a Jewish religious institution until 1951.

Now you get, starting in 1951, a little rash in the Miami area. Then in 1957 and 1958 you get an outbreak of six or seven in a period of about a year. Then throughout the—I am talking only about dynamite explosions, Senator.

Then you go through the middle 1960's and it is rather a good picture in terms of the absence of that kind of thing, I suspect mostly because some of those who engaged in bombings were more concerned with other targets, for example, Negro churches in the South in the mid-1960's got a tremendous amount of violence directed at them.

Then coming into the late 1960's, and I am not sure why, you begin to pick up increases in bombings directed against Jewish institutions.

Exhibit B, Senator, you may notice in the first column, dynamite explosions, 1963, 1964, 1965 and 1966 are blank, but you begin to get some of them in 1967, 1968 and 1969 and the first half of 1970, and fire bombings begin to show up in 1969 and 1970 rather noticeably.

Incidentally, in 1970 the figure is three, not two. There has been another one since this. So, you get a total altogether of 75 in 10 years of bombings or attempted bombings.

That is in contrast to the first 100 and so years of our history when there were none. That, I think, is what the trend is if I were to give you an evaluation.

Senator GURNEY. Another interesting thing here in these statistics is that the recent episode seemed to have occurred in the Northeast mainly.

Mr. BAKST. Yes; that is true. As I say, looking at exhibit C, a good deal of this—though not all of it—some of it takes place in neighborhoods of tension.

Senator GURNEY. Have your statistics shown any—we have bombings and terrorism scattered all across the United States now and much of it, as you have pointed out earlier, and our testimony here in these hearings, have shown them to be what you might call establishment bombings, against society, against the centers of authority and symbols of authority.

Have you noticed whether Jewish institutions have seen, particularly in the last year or two, more bombing and terrorism incidents than any other religion or group?

Mr. BAKST. I could not give you a good honest answer on that because not only is it difficult for us to get any kind of complete information—and these statistics, as I said in my statement, are not complete for Jewish institutions—it is even more difficult with respect to institutions of the other faiths, and I am afraid that is one of the reasons we suggest the need for some central repository of information on this particular subject.

We all need it, I suspect.

Senator GURNEY. You certainly have brought that out.

Mr. BAKST. There may already be, Senator, but I don't know about it. If there is such stuff, it may not be available to the public or to private groups either. That is another problem.

Senator GURNEY. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I have just consulted with counsel regarding the point that you were making, Senator. He tells me that so far as he can observe, from the statistics that we have gathered for these hearings, that there is no indication that your group, your organization, your denomination has suffered any more than any other in proportion. It is not that you are being singled out other than the fact terrorism is against, as you say, the establishment, against our society.

It all stems from the same two extremes that you have referred to. Anything in between, anything that is decent and legitimate under our present system, is the object of their purpose of destruction. So I don't think you folks have been singled out.

I note something else that counsel calls to my attention here. I note that there is some gratification that since 1969 none of your institutions in the South have been attacked. So we are behaving pretty well down there, it seems.

Mr. BAKST. That's right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not anti-Semitic.

Mr. BAKST. And anti-Semites are all over and outside the United States as well.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe there are a few around the Suez Canal. I believe you do have a few over there.

Very well. We appreciate your statement very much. We are simply trying here to gather this information to get the facts assembled so that Congress can weigh them and also get the recommendations and counsel of those who may have some idea of what new legislation should be and what action that the Congress can take. You have presented a very fine statement. I wish to thank you for it.

Mr. BAKST. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Call the next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. The next witnesses were Reverend Burrell and Rev. Jesse Jackson. However, we have received notice that they will be late, so I will call the following witness.

The CHAIRMAN. We will suspend for just a moment.

(Members present at time of recess: Senators McClellan, Percy, and Gurney.)

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Robert K. Brown.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be sworn, please, sir?

You do solemnly swear the evidence you shall give before this Senate subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BROWN. I do.

(At this point Senator Gurney entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. Be seated.

The Chair will make an announcement at this time.

We will have a rollcall vote in the Senate at 12:15. Now, I don't know how long it will take to hear this witness but I would hope that we could conclude with this witness in time so that we could recess at 12:15 for lunch. Whether we will have an afternoon session I am unable to determine yet.

Some witnesses were expected to be here today and they have not yet arrived. We have information that they are delayed but they are on their way. So, if they get here in time, we may have an afternoon session. Otherwise, the situation may be such that we will defer until tomorrow hearing these other witnesses that were scheduled for today.

So, we will now proceed with Mr. Brown.

#### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT KENNETH BROWN

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brown, will you identify yourself, please, sir?

Mr. BROWN. My name is Robert K. Brown. I am editor and publisher, as well as president, of Panther Publications, located in Boulder, Colo.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us a little of your background, please, sir.

Mr. BROWN. I have a B.A. in history from the University of Colorado; master's in political science from the University of Colorado. I have served in the Army for a total—approximately—of 6 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You have what?

Maybe your microphone is not working well.

Mr. BROWN. I have served in the Army approximately 6 years, my last tour of duty being from December 1967 to April 30 of this year. During that period of time, I spent 14 months in Vietnam.

I have been associated with this firm since its inception in early 1963.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any further statement you want to make?

Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. BROWN. Negative.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. BROWN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say your connection is with Panther Publications?

Mr. BROWN. I am the editor and publisher, as well as president.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the owner of it?

Mr. BROWN. Boulder, Colo.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. BROWN. Boulder, Colo.

The CHAIRMAN. The owner?

Mr. BROWN. The owner?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. Myself. I am the prime stockholder. It is incorporated. It is a very small firm and I am the prime stockholder.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the prime stockholder?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When was it organized?

Mr. BROWN. In February 1963, approximately.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it publish?

Mr. BROWN. We publish as well as distribute a wide range of books which include military science, as well as various works dealing with unconventional warfare and counterinsurgency, as well as what we call associated copy. Under this heading, we would include books on weapons, camping and, of course, the subjects you people are interested in, explosives.

The CHAIRMAN. When was it incorporated?

Mr. BROWN. I can't give you the precise date on that. Probably, I would assume, a year after we put out our first publication.

The CHAIRMAN. According to the notation I have here, September 24, 1963.

Would that be about correct?

Mr. BROWN. It probably is.

The CHAIRMAN. You are incorporated under Colorado law?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you required under Colorado law to file annual reports?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When was your last one filed?

Mr. BROWN. I believe just recently, according to my attorney.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe one you filed in 1968 said the nature of the business was listed as wholesale books and publications.

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

We also retail but through the mails. We do not have a retail outlet at our office.

The CHAIRMAN. You do sell through the mails?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mail order?

Mr. BROWN. That is our primary method of distribution.

The CHAIRMAN. Do any of your publications deal primarily with the use and manufacture of explosives and incendiary devices?

Mr. BROWN. A very small number of them do; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Also in the use of firearms?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do any of them deal with instructions in hand-to-hand combat and guerrilla warfare?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have some copies of those with you?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do we have copies of them?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see them.

I hand you one here, exhibit No. 829B. It says, "Winter 1969-70, new book list."

I ask you to examine it and state if this is one of your publications.

Mr. BROWN. This is a catalog, sir, that was published in conjunction with another firm with whom at one time we contemplated merger. This merger is not taking place. This particular catalog was printed by another firm. The majority of the titles that are listed and described here are the publications of this other firm. Some of our publications are also listed and described in it.

I draw your attention to—if you would open the brochure up you will find in the middle of the center page the name "Panther Publications, Inc.," and underneath that title you will find a series of books that we handle.

I would like to point out at this time that this is not all the books that we handle or have handled. At one time, we handled approximately 200 titles of books that in some way dealt with these subjects.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you exhibit No. 836E.

I hand you here a copy of Black Politics magazine, volume II, Nos. 13-14. Presumably, the price is 50 cents. The headlines are "George Prosser on Terrorism and Sabotage," Mek Nimr on "Israel," and so forth, "On Student Strikes."

I find in this publication an ad—I am not sure of the page number, but it is an ad in this publication. The title is "Fantastic New Manual," an ad presumably placed in here by Panther Publications of Boulder, Colo.

Would you examine the pamphlets and the ad and advise us whether you identify the two?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; this is a copy of an ad that appeared in another medium which was printed in the publication without our consent.

I would like to point out at this time that at no time in the past since the inception of our company have we at any time run any ads or had any connection with any radical group. This ad was printed without my knowledge and without the knowledge of any members of my firm or anybody that had any association with my firm while I was in Vietnam, and to prove this I would like to point out that at the bottom of the ad you will notice a code number "Department 1, SGN."

This was put in there specifically so that we could determine the whole amount of sales that we would receive from a specific medium.

This ad was run in another medium—

The CHAIRMAN. What medium was it run in?

Mr. BROWN. It was run in a publication called Shotgun News.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of publication is that?

Mr. BROWN. It is, I believe, a bimonthly publication which caters to the gun trade, people who buy and sell guns, as well as outdoors, et cetera.

This ad was apparently extracted from that particular media and was published without our consent.

The CHAIRMAN. Let that be received and identify the ad particularly, what page it appears on.

(The document referred to is page 45 of exhibit No. 836E, and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now I hand you another pamphlet or publication entitled "Guerrilla Warfare Book List." I quote: "Panther Publications is now able to supply a wide selection of books on guerrilla warfare and associated subjects."

I will ask you to examine that and see if you can identify it.  
 Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; that is also one of our promotional media.  
 The CHAIRMAN. That is one of your promotions?  
 Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.  
 The CHAIRMAN. How did you promote it?  
 Mr. BROWN. By mailing.  
 The CHAIRMAN. You mailed that?  
 Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.  
 The CHAIRMAN. What is the size of your mailing list?  
 I am trying to get some idea of the amount of distribution.  
 Mr. BROWN. Approximately 5,000 people.  
 The CHAIRMAN. It is mailed to 5,000 people?  
 Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.  
 The CHAIRMAN. Were they prospective guerrillas?  
 Mr. BROWN. Sir, we have no method or manner or means to determine precisely who our customers are.  
 The CHAIRMAN. You mail such material to those who you think are interested in it; do you not?  
 Mr. BROWN. That is right.  
 The CHAIRMAN. You don't waste a mailing on somebody that you would not think would be interested?  
 Mr. BROWN. Right.  
 The CHAIRMAN. So you did send that to 5,000 people who you thought would be interested in making purchases of this material?  
 Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; that is correct.  
 The CHAIRMAN. Let that be made exhibit 840.  
 (The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 840," for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)  
 The CHAIRMAN. I hand you another pamphlet here of "Black Politics," and I will ask you some questions about these in a few moments. This is dated January-February 1969, volume II, Nos. 11 and 12, and I will ask you if you can identify this pamphlet.  
 Mr. BROWN. Are you asking me to identify the entire publication here?  
 The CHAIRMAN. Yes.  
 Mr. BROWN. I have never seen it before.  
 The CHAIRMAN. You cannot identify it?  
 Mr. BROWN. Let me briefly run through it to see if there is anything in here—  
 No, sir; there doesn't appear to be anything in this that we have any connection with, or knowledge of.  
 The CHAIRMAN. All right. Let it be held for a moment.  
 I will ask you to read from page 26 of exhibit No. 836D, the document which you just had. I will read from it and I will ask you to verify what it says.  
 On page 26 of the Black Politics material that I just submitted to you, I read as follows:  
 "Recommended reading:"  
 "We Shall Fight in the Streets," by Capt. S. J. Cutkwik, \$2.  
 Guerrilla warfare, "Yank," by Bert Levy, \$2.  
 "Total Resistance," by Maj. H. von Dach Bern, 50 cents.  
 "150 Questions for a Guerrilla," Gen. Alberto Bayo, \$2.  
 "The War of the Flea," by Robert Taber (Lyle Stuart), \$4.95.

"Guerrilla Warfare," Che Guevara, \$3.95.  
 Then there follows right under those listings:  
 "All of the above books are available from Panther Publications, Post Office Box 369, Boulder, Colo."

Although this publishing house is distinctly right wing in its orientation and definitely not sympathetic to the aspirations of the oppressed of this earth, it nevertheless constitutes a very important source of study material of which we should avail ourselves.

All sales are by mail order and the price of postage is included in the price of the book.

These same remarks apply to the Combat Bookshelf, a somewhat similar publisher, whose address is Post Office Box 211-L, Forest Grove, Oreg.

The simple written request accompanied by 25 cents to cover the cost of postage will bring complete catalogs of all available from either of these sources.

You say you know nothing about it?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, those titles listed, with the exception of the last two, are titles that have been published by our firm but I have negative knowledge as far as them using that in their publications.

The CHAIRMAN. You would recognize, you would agree from this, that the extremist groups who want to promote guerrilla warfare in this country are directing their following to your publications, to your company as a source where they can get books that will instruct them in the techniques and so forth of guerrilla warfare?

Mr. BROWN. I am aware of it now.

The CHAIRMAN. You also had that in mind and knew that was your purpose of mailing the circular to those and mailing out the 5,000 copies of the other circular to which we referred?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I would like to clarify that.

The CHAIRMAN. I will let you clarify it but that was the purpose of those who might be interested in carrying out guerrilla warfare in this country.

Mr. BROWN. That is not true, sir. I did not mail it out for that specific purpose in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it have any other purpose except to make money out of it?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; it did.

The CHAIRMAN. What wholesome purpose or any other purpose could it have?

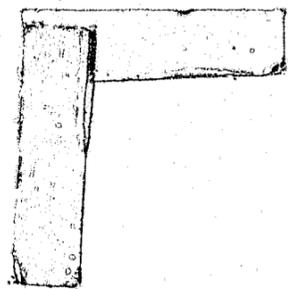
Mr. BROWN. Sir, when this firm was formed in 1963, it was formed long before the Black Panthers were even a dream in Huey Newton's eye or before any of these other radical groups were organized.

I formed the firm with the idea of distributing and selling this type of material because at that time it became apparent to me that there was a large group of people who were interested in guerrilla warfare in a similar manner as there are many people who are military buffs as far as World War II goes, as far as World War I goes, the Civil War, the Revolutionary War.

When the firm was formed and this type of material was distributed, there was no intention on my part to cater to the radical or the extremists on either side of the political spectrum.

The CHAIRMAN. That was back in 1963.

What about now? You know how it is being used. What is your attitude about it now?



**CONTINUED**

**1 OF 3**

Mr. BROWN. I can see the concern of the committee and a large segment of the population—

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. BROWN. I can understand the concern of the committee and a large segment of the population that this material in some cases is being misutilized for purposes which are detrimental to society.

I would like to point out that over the last two and a half years I have not had direct contact with the firm because I have been in the military. I did spend 14 months in Vietnam.

During this period of time, apparently this is when the increase in the domestic problems has risen and during this period of time I have not had direct control over the firm. I have been in contact with it simply by mail.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the principal owner?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you return from Vietnam?

Mr. BROWN. In October 1969.

The CHAIRMAN. It will soon be a year ago.

Is the publication pursuing the same policies now?

Mr. BROWN. We continue to sell the books, yes, because they are sold by other firms—

The CHAIRMAN. Are you continuing to advertise and mail out this circular that I showed you a few moments ago that you mailed 5,000 of?

Mr. BROWN. We are not mailing that particular one out; no.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you cease mailing it out?

Mr. BROWN. It has been out of print for 3 or 4 years.

The CHAIRMAN. What are you mailing out now as a substitute for it?

Mr. BROWN. We put out a circular, I would say, 2 or 3 months ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a copy of it?

Mr. BROWN. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it advertise these books?

Mr. BROWN. No; it does not.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it advertise?

Mr. BROWN. It advertises some new books.

The CHAIRMAN. It advertises some new books on the same subjects, guerrilla warfare, how to make bombs, and so forth?

Mr. BROWN. I would like to point out that two of the books that are advertised in this particular circular that are currently concerned with explosives, we have inserted a note in the circulars stating that these books will only be sold to individuals who can write to us on their letterheads which will indicate that they are members of police departments, fire departments, governmental agencies, or agencies or individuals that have need to know this type of information.

The CHAIRMAN. When you get an order, do you try to investigate to determine whether that order is from a police department or someone legitimately entitled to it?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir. We hardly have the facilities to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. So they are still available to anybody who sends in the money and orders them?

Mr. BROWN. If somebody gets a false letterhead, that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. So you have not actually changed your policy. You are still pursuing the same distribution to anybody who sends in the money and buys them?

Mr. BROWN. If they write in on a letterhead.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Do you feel that this is a business—the activities you are carrying on—that can contribute to the bombings that are occurring in this country today, make some contribution to that?

Mr. BROWN. I think it is probably safe to assume that some of our publications have been misused.

The CHAIRMAN. When you have a publication on guerrilla warfare, I don't know how you can misuse it.

Mr. BROWN. It depends on what criteria you set up.

The CHAIRMAN. Unless it isn't used at all—anything else would be a misuse of it.

Is there any other way you can misuse it?

Mr. BROWN. As I stated earlier, Senator, many of the people, I would say the vast majority of the people, who order our books are simply military buffs that are interested in guerrilla warfare inasmuch as guerrilla warfare—

The CHAIRMAN. The Army does not order your books.

Mr. BROWN. We have sold to Army bookstores as well as libraries and various governmental institutions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you feel that by this kind of activity you are contributing to the violence that is occurring in this country and to the building up of a guerrilla movement in America?

Mr. BROWN. No more than General Motors, in respect possibly to the Black Panthers driving a General Motors car to conduct a bombing.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that advertising guerrilla warfare and ways to advance it puts your products on the same basis as automobiles made by General Motors?

Mr. BROWN. I think a parallel can be drawn; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, a legitimate instrumentality may be used for an illegitimate purpose?

Mr. BROWN. Precisely.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact that you advertise how to commit illegitimate acts and how to use illegitimate weapons puts you on the same basis of integrity and patriotism and so forth?

Mr. BROWN. Senator, you are putting words in my mouth.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not. I am simply trying to clarify what you have said.

Mr. BROWN. Let me say that we do not advocate and never have advocated that this type of material should be used for illegitimate means.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see that advertisement.

You never did what?

You say you never did advocate it?

You advertise the value of it for that purpose; don't you?

Mr. BROWN. People advertise weapons for sale, too, but they don't advertise that it is to be used for murdering people.

The CHAIRMAN. This says guerrilla warfare. It says that is the purpose of it.

What other purpose did you advertise it for if you did not say guerrilla warfare in the documents you sent out?

Mr. BROWN. Simply because we describe guerrilla warfare does not mean that we are promoting guerrilla warfare within the United States, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you mail them out in the United States?

Mr. BROWN. Simply mailing out circulars of this nature does not mean you are promoting it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you conscious of the fact that there are groups in the United States that are advocating guerrilla warfare today?

Mr. BROWN. I am conscious of the fact.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think this could give them aid, comfort, and assistance—the material you are mailing out?

Mr. BROWN. I suppose it could, the same as Winchester rifles.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you regard guerrilla warfare as legitimate as a Winchester rifle?

Mr. BROWN. I regard the dissemination of information as legitimate as I do the sale of Winchester rifles.

The CHAIRMAN. By this kind of publication you are in a sense advocating and encouraging guerrilla warfare in the United States.

Mr. BROWN. I disagree with you. I am not encouraging it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do so by making available the things that are needed to carry it out successfully.

Mr. BROWN. The book, itself, does not pick up a gun, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. No; it does not. That is true. But it tells how somebody else can do it and should do it to carry out guerrilla warfare; doesn't it?

Mr. BROWN. That is very true.

(At this point Senator Jackson entered the hearing room.)

(At this point Senator Percy withdrew from the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. I read from page 45 of exhibit 836E. I note the following at the bottom of this ad that you say was lifted by this publication from another one where you had authorized the ad to be published:

Notes on guerrilla warfare. We have discovered another gem that will intrigue the guerrilla buff. It is titled "Notes on Guerrilla Warfare," and was initially published by the Republic Army, issued by general headquarters in 1956.

That is one of them.

Fantastic new manuals—demo specials—explosives and demolition. This is the latest edition revised in May 1967, covers military explosives and special charges, demolition accessories, non-electric and electric firing system, timber cutting, steel cutting, land clearing, quarrying, breaching and preserving charges, bridge demolition, disruption of transportation lines and communications systems, destruction of buildings, installations, equipment and supplies.

I believe you said you graduated from Colorado University?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your master's thesis, "The Impact of Revolutionary Tactics on the Anatomy of Organized Labor in Cuba 1959 to 1969"?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with that, did you go to Cuba on more than one occasion in 1959 and 1960 for interviews with officials of the Castro government?

Mr. BROWN. I went to Cuba three times, once in 1958, once in 1959, and once in 1960. The purpose of the visits was to obtain material that would be utilized in my master's thesis.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you while there confer with Gen. Alberto Bayo?

Mr. BROWN. I wrote a story for the Associated Press on Alberto Bayo in 1959.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the author, I believe, of the book on guerrilla warfare entitled, "150 Questions for a Guerrilla"; is that correct?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time, I believe you decided to bring this book as published in Havana in 1959 in Spanish to the United States and have it translated and copyrighted; did you?

Mr. BROWN. I brought it to the United States on my return from my trip in 1960.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have it copyrighted so that you could have it for sale in this country?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Will someone point out on the exhibit over there on the chart which book we are talking about?

Mr. ADLERMAN. The original book in Spanish is the top book. This is the translation in February 1963, "150 Questions for a Guerrilla."

The CHAIRMAN. Is that your translation, that book?

Mr. BROWN. Will you say it again?

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the translation that you made of it?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is being distributed, "150 Questions for a Guerrilla," in this country as a result of your bringing this book into the country and translating it; is that correct?

Mr. BROWN. That is our publication.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your purpose in doing this, to aid and encourage guerrilla warfare, or just to make money out of it, or both?

Mr. BROWN. I published the book initially in the early months of 1963 with the idea in mind that inasmuch as guerrilla warfare and conventional warfare was the type of activity that appeared to me to be the—I don't like to use the phrase "wave of the future"—but the type of warfare that would be utilized in various undeveloped countries throughout the world, that this type of material would be of value to alerting the people, if you will, that this type of warfare could be utilized and would cause, could be utilized by Communist groups.

The CHAIRMAN. You are in sympathy with that type of warfare; are you?

Are you in sympathy with that type of warfare and do you want to promote it in this way?

Mr. BROWN. It depends on what the end is, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any of these movements in this country that you are now in sympathy with where this might be used to help?

Mr. BROWN. Negative.

I am in sympathy with none of the radical movements in this country; right or left.

The CHAIRMAN. Who do you think is going to profit from this material except those groups?

Mr. BROWN. As I pointed out in my earlier testimony, these books have been sold to a wide variety of people, including libraries—

The CHAIRMAN. You told me you did not mail these out to anybody except persons you thought were interested and wanted to buy them and needed them.

Mr. BROWN. We mail out promotional material to people who have written to us. This includes Army bookstores, various personnel from the Armed Forces, libraries, stores, et cetera.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that the underworld element—the revolutionaries and those who are advocating the overthrow of our Government by force and violence, by guerrilla warfare, if you please—do you think now that they have more and better information than they would have had and therefore they are better equipped and prepared to carry out their purpose because you made this information available to them?

Mr. BROWN. I am not in a position to make an evaluation of that nature.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not in a position to deny it, either, are you?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. So, you are willing—for the sake of whatever compensation you make out of it, if you have no sympathies either way—you are willing to engage in this kind of activity and to let the thing take its course. If it encourages people and aids people who want to overthrow the Government, all right; if it does not, all right. Is that your attitude?

Mr. BROWN. No; my attitude is that there is possibly—I emphasize the word “possibly”—there is a very small minority of our customers who might utilize this for illegal means.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would use it for legal means when it is advocating guerrilla warfare—“150 Questions About Guerrilla Warfare”?

How can any of that be used for legitimate means?

Mr. BROWN. As I pointed out in my testimony, there are many people who study this subject because they are military buffs on guerrilla warfare, much the same as there are many people in this country who study the Civil War, the First World War, who study the Second World War.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't have to give them the latest information on how to prepare for guerrilla warfare, do you, unless you have in mind it will be of some service to them in their objective?

Mr. BROWN. I believe that book was written in 1948 so I hardly suggest it is current.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you transcribe it?

Mr. BROWN. 1963.

The CHAIRMAN. The English translation of it that was distributed in this country was copyrighted by you?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Far later than 1949. So, it has no relation to that,

Mr. BROWN. I am simply saying that is when the document was written and therefore it is not current.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you realize that this book is now found in the possession of the Weathermen, Black Panthers, all of these extremist groups? Do you know that they make use of it?

You know that, don't you?

Mr. BROWN. I have been made aware of that fact; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You still think it is proper and you are likely to continue to engage in supplying them with this information?

Mr. BROWN. I would suggest that it might be somewhat difficult to set up a determination or criteria as to precisely what would be of use to these people who use these types of books for illegal methods. In other words, where do we draw the line?

The CHAIRMAN. You don't deny this could be of use to them, do you?

Mr. BROWN. That is right; just as a Winchester firearm might be of use to them.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

They might get a firearm. If it were illegitimate and illegal to sell them, you could advertise where they might get them. Of course, you would be encouraging them to get the weapon, to get it illegally and to use it for an illegal purpose. That is what I associate with this.

I don't know why anybody would need the information “150 Questions on Guerrilla Warfare,” except that he was interested in promoting guerrilla warfare and possibly was engaging in it.

Mr. BROWN. All I can do is reiterate what I have said in the past, that there are many people who are interested purely in the intellectual sense, and study this subject because they are interested in it for no other reason than that they are interested in the subject of guerrilla warfare.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think it could have any possible impact on any of these radical groups or extremist groups that are dedicated to guerrilla warfare?

Mr. BROWN. As I have said in my previous testimony, it is very possible that a small minority of our customers have misused the information that we have put out.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it occur to you that on some of these bombings that have taken place their targets were selected on the basis of these suggestions and information they got out of such a book?

Mr. BROWN. I do not deny the possibility.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. BROWN. I do not deny that possibility.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that is a business now that you want to continue to engage in?

I don't know how you feel about it.

Mr. BROWN. I would suggest once again, I would like to point out the fact that I have been out of the country during the period of time when these problems have accelerated and, due to the heat that we have received, that we will probably start publishing different types of material.

The CHAIRMAN. I would hope that you would publish some different type of material.

I don't know whether you have any scruples about this kind of publication and what you are doing with it and the impact it may have on our country. I don't know what your scruples are about it. If you have none, you can say so.

Mr. BROWN. Sir, if I had no scruples about it, I would run my ads in the underground press and left-wing magazines.

The CHAIRMAN. They are getting it and using your material.

Mr. BROWN. That may be the case but not through any authorization from me.

The CHAIRMAN. It was advertised in their books.

Mr. BROWN. Negative. I refer to earlier testimony; at no time have any of these ads appeared through my authorization.

The CHAIRMAN. Are we to understand, then, that you are innocent of having any impact or influence on the conditions that prevail in this country today with respect to the prospective guerrilla warfare and the bombings and so forth that are occurring?

Mr. BROWN. I am not going to answer that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I wouldn't, either.

Are there any further questions?

Senator GURNEY. Yes. I have one or two here.

How many different publications are you now selling, Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. At the present time?

Senator GURNEY. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. We have approximately—when I say “approximately,” about a dozen of our own. We handle maybe 50 titles that were put out by another firm which is much larger than ours.

(At this point Senator Jackson withdrew from the hearing room.)

Mr. BROWN. In the past, we have handled up to approximately 200 different titles of various books that in some way are connected with guerrilla warfare which are put out by a variety of publishers—Credo; Little, Brown.

Senator GURNEY. You mentioned a number of your own titles, did you not?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Senator GURNEY. What are these publications? Are you saying you write these; they are your own product?

Mr. BROWN. Some of them are. Some of them have been translations of books that we have obtained from overseas. In one case, we obtained a book; we obtained the right to reprint a book from a foreign firm here in the United States.

Senator GURNEY. What are the subjects of these publications?

Mr. BROWN. They also are guerrilla warfare.

Senator GURNEY. You mentioned the business was started in 1963; is that correct?

Mr. BROWN. That is right.

Senator GURNEY. Do you have any figures on the sales volume in each year since then?

Mr. BROWN. I can't give you exact figures. I believe we have done a relatively, as far as volume of gross sales goes, very small amount. In 1965, I think we sold something like \$16,000 worth of books.

In 1966, I think, about \$24,000.

Since I returned from the service, our sales have dropped down to about \$10,000 a year.

Senator GURNEY. What was the figure for last year, 1969?

Mr. BROWN. Between \$10,000 and \$12,000.

Senator GURNEY. That is the cash value of the sales?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; retail sales.

Senator GURNEY. How did you assemble your mailing list? I think I recall you said that you had a mailing list of about 5,000.

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Senator GURNEY. Where did those names and addresses come from?

Mr. BROWN. Primarily through ads that we have run in various national publications.

Senator GURNEY. And then people would write in?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator GURNEY. Then they would join your list of prospective customers?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

Senator GURNEY. Do I understand that you sell Army manuals on guerrilla warfare?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

Senator GURNEY. How do you obtain these?

Mr. BROWN. The vast majority of these we would obtain from another firm that has reprinted them.

Senator GURNEY. Could you give us the names of these other firms?

Mr. BROWN. The firm is Combat Bookshelf out on the west coast. We are simply a distributor of a large number of their titles.

Senator GURNEY. What is their address?

Mr. BROWN. Box 211, Forest Grove, Oreg.

Senator GURNEY. Any other source?

Mr. BROWN. We have on occasion purchased small amounts of manuals from private individuals, surplus houses; things of that nature.

Senator GURNEY. How would you do it with private individuals? Do they drop into the office and say, “I have a book to sell”?

Mr. BROWN. If I were in a surplus store possibly I would see some or somebody would write a letter saying “We have some for sale.” Normally, they are speaking of relatively small quantities; one or 200.

Senator GURNEY. Is there any other publishing house other than the one you mention on the west coast that you regularly obtain materials from?

Mr. BROWN. Negative.

Senator GURNEY. Do you obtain any governmental publications, Army manuals, from the Government Printing Office?

Mr. BROWN. No, we do not. We obtained at one time some publications that we marketed from the GPO, but at the present time we are not doing this. We have not done this in a couple of years.

Senator GURNEY. From what?

Mr. BROWN. From the Government Printing Office.

Senator GURNEY. But not now?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

Senator GURNEY. Where do you get your Army manuals that you use?

Mr. BROWN. As I said, we purchase them from this one firm that I mentioned who reprint them inasmuch as there are no copyright laws. They are in the public domain, so to speak.

On occasion, we purchase small amounts from private individuals, stores, et cetera, names that are out of print, textbooks.

Senator GURNEY. Where would these stores be that you obtain them from?

Mr. BROWN. I can't put my finger on any specific one. Occasionally, you will run into a dozen copies or two dozen copies that these people

have. I have no idea where they obtained them from. But they have them and I purchase them.

Senator GURNEY. I take it, then, perhaps you or someone else would go around, perhaps, to secondhand bookstores and pick them up. Would that be the method?

Mr. BROWN. Right. I cannot think of any instance that we have done this. As I have said, I have not been associated with the firm closely in the last two and a half years.

Senator GURNEY. How many people does the firm employ now?

Mr. BROWN. About two; sometimes one.

Senator GURNEY. What are their duties?

Mr. BROWN. Secretary and bookkeeper.

Senator GURNEY. Mr. Brown, at one time I think you testified earlier that you planned a merger with some company known as the Normount Armaments Co.

Mr. BROWN. That is right. That is not taking place.

Senator GURNEY. Why did that not take place?

Mr. BROWN. The gentleman who owned the place decided he did not want to move to Colorado.

Senator GURNEY. Did anything happen to him? Did he run afoul of the law?

Mr. BROWN. I really don't think I could comment on that sir. If you wish me to comment in private, why, I will certainly be happy to.

Senator GURNEY. Isn't it a fact that Mr. McLean who is the operator of this company was arrested and indicted on charges of possession of illegal weapons and explosives?

Mr. BROWN. I believe that is true.

Senator GURNEY. Is that why the merger did not go through?

Mr. BROWN. No. That took place after the decision was made not to merge.

Senator GURNEY. Were you aware of his dabbling in illegal weapons and explosives prior to the plan of merger?

Mr. BROWN. Negative.

Senator GURNEY. You mentioned that you recently had service in Vietnam.

What period was that?

Mr. BROWN. From July 1968 until September 1969.

Senator GURNEY. What was your service there, Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. For the first 6 months, I was an intelligence officer for the 1st Division.

The second 6 months I was commander of an "A" team, Special Forces "A" team, near the Cambodian border.

In the last 2 months, I was political warfare officer for the 5th Special Forces Group.

Senator GURNEY. Did any of these assignments have anything to do with guerrilla warfare?

Mr. BROWN. I would say yes.

Senator GURNEY. Is that why you volunteered for service in Vietnam, because of your interest in guerrilla warfare?

Mr. BROWN. I volunteered for my period of service in Vietnam because basically I believed in what we were trying to do there although I don't certainly agree with some of the methods that were used.

Senator GURNEY. You sought to get into the activities that were connected as much as possible with guerrilla warfare. Is that fair to say?

Mr. BROWN. Well, this term "guerrilla warfare" is a very ambiguous term. Certainly the type of activity that I was involved in, I don't really think you could categorize it as guerilla warfare per se. Again this depends on how you want to define the phrase "guerrilla warfare."

Senator GURNEY. What are the activities of the "A" team?

Mr. BROWN. Well, our prime responsibility was to interdict and intercept Vietcong and NVA units that were coming across the Cambodian border. So, I would not, in my estimation, call it guerrilla warfare per se.

Senator GURNEY. What kind of tactics did you use?

Mr. BROWN. We utilized the type of tactics that are being used by conventional units, as well as special forces units in Vietnam.

Senator GURNEY. What were they?

Mr. BROWN. Ambushes, primarily; search and destroy.

Senator GURNEY. Did you engage in the manufacture of explosives such as boobytraps, things like that?

Mr. BROWN. Negative. No; we did not.

Senator GURNEY. How about experience with enemy boobytraps?

Mr. BROWN. Sir?

Senator GURNEY. Did you have any experience—

Mr. BROWN. Negative. We did not utilize them in our area of operation.

Senator GURNEY. You say the enemy did not?

Mr. BROWN. No. We did not.

Senator GURNEY. How about the enemy?

Mr. BROWN. In my particular area of operation, when I was with Special Forces, they did not. When I was with the 1st Division, we suffered many casualties from boobytraps.

Senator GURNEY. How about instruction of our forces over there? Are they instructed in how to manufacture boobytraps and devices like that?

Mr. BROWN. I would suggest that they received a good bit of instruction on deployment of them. As far as the actual manufacture goes, I would say this type of knowledge is not as widespread because there is no need for them to actually know.

Senator GURNEY. Did you bring back any Army manuals from Vietnam?

Mr. BROWN. Sir?

Senator GURNEY. Did you bring back any Army manuals from Vietnam?

Mr. BROWN. I brought a few back but none of the ones I did bring back have been utilized for publication. They were just personal copies.

Senator GURNEY. Let us turn for a moment, Mr. Brown, to your Cuban visit.

When was this?

Mr. BROWN. I visited Cuba three times: Once in 1958, once in 1959, once in 1960; for a total of approximately 6 months.

Senator GURNEY. What was the purpose of these visits?

Mr. BROWN. The purpose of the visit in 1958 was an attempt to contact some of the guerrilla units that were operating in the hills.

Senator GURNEY. Did you contact them?

Mr. BROWN. Negative.

Senator GURNEY. What did you do in 1958?

Mr. BROWN. We tried to make contact with some of the guerrilla groups. We were unsuccessful. We ran out of money and came home.

Senator GURNEY. Why were you interested in contacting them?

Mr. BROWN. At that time, I was affiliated with a group which was supporting Castro which at that time thought that he was a good replacement for the regime led by Batista.

Upon my return from Cuba and my third trip in 1960, I broke with the Castro regime and began working some of the counterrevolutionary groups in this country.

Senator GURNEY. What group was that that was interested in getting rid of Batista?

Mr. BROWN. The 26th of July movement.

Senator GURNEY. I thought you were referring to a group in this country.

Mr. BROWN. That is right. He had sympathetic groups in this country.

Senator GURNEY. But still known by the same title as his own group in Cuba?

Mr. BROWN. Right; that is correct.

Senator GURNEY. Where were they located?

Mr. BROWN. They had branches throughout the United States; primarily in Miami, Chicago, and New York. We also had a group in Colorado.

Senator GURNEY. What were your activities during those days?

Mr. BROWN. Primarily propaganda. I assisted in writing propaganda.

Senator GURNEY. Did you collect funds and send it to them?

Mr. BROWN. We collected funds but they were very minute in amount. They barely covered the cost of the propaganda work that we did.

Senator GURNEY. I noticed that during the trip to Cuba you had conversations with this General Bayo; I guess that is how you pronounce it.

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

Senator GURNEY. Was he then the leading exponent of guerrilla warfare in Cuba?

Mr. BROWN. I don't know whether you could describe him as the leading exponent. He certainly was well known as a guerrilla authority inasmuch as he had wide experience in guerrilla warfare and also established a camp for trainees of Raul Castro in Mexico in 1956, prior to their invasion of Cuba.

Senator GURNEY. When you talked to him as I understand it in your time sequence there, 1959—was it 1959?

Mr. BROWN. I saw him twice: In 1959 and in 1960.

Senator GURNEY. At this time, you and your group were sympathetic toward the Castro revolution in Cuba and the effort to overturn the then government?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

Senator GURNEY. What was your purpose in bringing the book on guerrilla tactics back to this country at that time?

Mr. BROWN. I just brought it back as a curio, a souvenir, what-have-you.

When I got back, I started contemplating the possibility that there might be a market for this type of material. In the course of publishing it, I also wrote a relatively lengthy introduction concerning Bayo and his activities, inasmuch as it was my theory that this individual was in many ways responsible for Castro's success, an individual who had received very little credit for the efforts that he had made.

Senator GURNEY. When did you start publishing the book?

Mr. BROWN. February, I believe, of 1963. I had it translated earlier and had attempted to interest a larger publisher in publishing. I could not interest anybody. Therefore, I decided to publish it myself.

Senator GURNEY. Did you distribute some of the copies of it earlier; that is, shortly after you brought it back?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir; I did not.

Senator GURNEY. Did the 26th of July movement later become the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. BROWN. I would suggest elements of it may have.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee was organized, I believe, some time after we broke relations with the Cuban Government. Our group disbanded. The group that we had, the 26th of July movement, disbanded shortly after the revolution was successful in 1959.

Senator GURNEY. I take it, then, some of the same people, same cast of characters that you knew originally in the July 26th movement, later became active in the Fair Play for Cuba?

Mr. BROWN. One or two. I did not know these people intimately, inasmuch as they were operating out of Chicago. As a matter of fact, I could not even give you their names right now. In many cases, they were individuals who were at that time misled by Castro as to goals and design.

After I returned from Cuba in 1960 and upon the inception of the Fair Play for Cuba, I took a very active part in opposing the Fair Play for Cuba activities in the Denver area.

Senator GURNEY. You, yourself, never became a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. BROWN. No, I did not.

Senator GURNEY. When did you become disillusioned with Fidel Castro?

Mr. BROWN. In the early months of 1960. I had been away for a year, and it became quite apparent to me when I was down there in early 1960 precisely what turn the government was taking and therefore I started, as I said, started working with the counterrevolutionaries upon my return to the United States.

Senator GURNEY. Was your main motive for your interest in what was going on in Cuba this intense interest in guerrilla warfare?

Mr. BROWN. I would say my interest in guerrilla warfare developed after my observing what had happened in Cuba. It became apparent to me that this was, as I stated earlier, this was a means that would be utilized, that could be utilized, by Communist elements to overthrow a legitimate government.

Senator GURNEY. How did you get interested in the revolution in Cuba?

Mr. BROWN. Simply through reading various reports in the press concerning the goal of Castro, his political theory which at that time, of course, gave the impression of being a liberal democrat. We felt that his cause was just and that Batista was a dictatorship and therefore I associated myself with a group that was opposing Batista.

Senator GURNEY. What were you doing at that time?

Mr. BROWN. At that time, I was attending the University of Colorado.

Senator GURNEY. Was there an active July 26th movement out there?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Senator GURNEY. On the campus?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator GURNEY. Was this a Communist group?

Mr. BROWN. Negative. It certainly was not. In fact, we had an attempt by members of the Communist Party to penetrate our group and we would not cooperate with them in any way, shape, or form.

Senator GURNEY. Who started the movement out there?

Mr. BROWN. Myself and two or three of my friends.

Senator GURNEY. Why were you motivated?

Mr. BROWN. Because we did not believe in dictatorship and we believed that Castro was a satisfactory replacement for a dictatorship.

Senator GURNEY. The chairman touched on this earlier. I would like to go back to it again.

I understand your statement has generally been that you began your business because there was an interest, limited to be sure, but some interest, in your guerrilla warfare publications, and you evidently decided that this would be a good business and one that you were interested in and one that you could probably make some money in.

As you stated, that was really before there was a lot of bombing and terrorism in this country.

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

Senator GURNEY. Now it is quite obvious there is. These hearings have shown, and I am sure you are as much aware of it as any of us on this committee, that there has been a very dramatic increase in the last 2 years and that it is escalating all the time. Also, it is rather obvious that your publications are being used and find their ways into the hands of these extremist revolutionary groups.

I would certainly hope that your company would take a different direction and get into the publication of books or pamphlets or something else other than teaching people how to make it easier to effect revolution on our country.

Mr. BROWN. As I mentioned earlier, we plan on doing precisely that.

Senator GURNEY. Thank you.

Senator PERCY. Does that imply that you are concerned that the business you have been in and the publications you have put out may have been used for purposes whose value to society you now very seriously question?

Mr. BROWN. Once again, I think this is a very difficult thing to define.

Let me expound on that very briefly.

Attention is drawn to our books because of the nature of the contents and because they have been found in the hands of radical groups. At the same time, where do we draw a line? Where do we draw a line? In other words, how do we determine what we disseminate and what we do not disseminate?

You can find information on guerrilla warfare and guerrilla warfare tactics in multiple books in libraries that were published 100 years ago, in the Civil War, Revolutionary War, the Second World War. Where do we determine which books are disseminated and which ones are not?

For instance, there is Che Guevara's book. Here we are getting into the possibility of suppressing political theory in an effort to also suppress material which may be of an adverse nature.

Che Guevara's book once again contains political theory; yet, at the same time, it contains precise instruction in some areas of guerrilla warfare.

Senator PERCY. I have just one question and it may have been asked while I was in another committee hearing,

Do you do any lecturing or private demonstrations?

Mr. BROWN. Negative.

Senator PERCY. You do not, of any kind?

Mr. BROWN. I have lectured before a group of Reserve Officers since I was out of the service, and that is all.

Senator PERCY. You have never appeared before any of the radical groups?

Mr. BROWN. Negative.

Senator PERCY. To demonstrate or lecture or talk on guerrilla tactics?

Mr. BROWN. At no time.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you become a member, if you ever did, of the Minutemen?

Mr. BROWN. I was never a member of the Minutemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Never a member?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. After you came back from Cuba, when you became disillusioned, I believe about the Castro regime, did you not join the Minutemen then?

Mr. BROWN. I did not join the Minutemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attend their meetings?

Mr. BROWN. I had occasion to attend two of their meetings. This was done for the purpose of gathering material for an article. I am a freelance writer. This article was later published in the editorial section of the Denver Post. It was the first article that was ever published concerning the Minutemen and their activities.

The CHAIRMAN. The information that we had here was that, while you may not have joined them, you attended a number of meetings with them in 1963 and 1964 in the Denver area.

Mr. BROWN. Two.

The CHAIRMAN. Only two?

Mr. BROWN. Two.

I attended one in the Denver area. I attended one in Illinois—Collinsville, Ill.—which was also attended by several other members of

the press. From these meetings, I then wrote an article which eventually appeared in the Denver Post.

The CHAIRMAN. I note, too, that the thesis you wrote, "The Impact of Revolutionary Tactics on the Anatomy of Organized Labor in Cuba From 1959 to 1969," was written long after you were in Cuba; is that correct?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That was your thesis for graduation?

Mr. BROWN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not get that in the beginning—the fact that it was written long after you had been there and made these observations.

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you later become also disenchanted with the Minutemen?

Mr. BROWN. I was never enchanted with them in the first place.

The CHAIRMAN. You attended their meetings. Was there any reason for you to stop attending the meetings?

Mr. BROWN. I wrote an article and it was published.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote an article, and what?

Mr. BROWN. I attended their meetings for the purpose—

The CHAIRMAN. To get material for an article?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

And it was published in the Denver Post.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not know whether you had been a member. Are there further questions?

Senator GURNEY. I have one or two other questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to have to go to vote.

I suggest that we recess. We will have to vote in a few minutes. I suggest that we recess until 2 o'clock. If we have other questions, we can have the witness come back here and ask two or three questions.

Senator GURNEY. I don't think it will take very long.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Senator GURNEY. Mr. Brown, do you recall one of the purchasers of your publications was one Tom Sanders of Berkeley, Calif.

Mr. BROWN. Who?

Senator GURNEY. Tom Sanders—S-a-n-d-e-r-s.

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I have negative knowledge.

As I said, I have been away from the business. I have no way of remembering individuals who purchased books from us.

Senator GURNEY. You don't know of your own personal knowledge that he was a purchaser of your publications?

Mr. BROWN. I have no knowledge of that.

(At this point Senator Percy withdrew from the hearing room.)

Senator GURNEY. As a matter of curiosity, when you were in the 26th of July Movement which later turned into the Fair Play for Cuba Movement, did you ever know a Lee Harvey Oswald?

Mr. BROWN. Negative.

Senator GURNEY. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no other questions, the witness is excused, and thank you very much.

The committee will resume at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. of the same day.)

(Members present at time of recess: Senators McClellan and Gurney.)

## AFTERNOON SESSION

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2 p.m., Senator John L. McClellan, chairman of the committee, presiding.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of convening: Senators McClellan and Percy.)

Call your next witness, counsel.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Rev. Curtis E. Burrell and Reverend Barber.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the witnesses be seated in front of the mikes.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Jesse Jackson?

The CHAIRMAN. Is Rev. Jesse Jackson here?

Reverend BURRELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show he is not here. He was invited, was he not?

Mr. ADLERMAN. He was.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you stand and be sworn please.

Reverend BURRELL. I must say, before you do this, Senator, according to my faith, a Mennonite, we don't take an oath, but we will agree to affirm that we will tell the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. Hold up your hands. Do each and all of you solemnly swear or affirm that the testimony you shall give before this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes.

Reverend BARBER. Yes.

Captain KITZART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Beginning on my left and on your right, will you identify yourselves, please?

**TESTIMONY OF REV. CURTIS E. BURRELL, REV. JOHN BARBER,  
AND CHARLES KITZART**

Reverend BARBER. I am the Rev. John Barber, 4421 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

The CHAIRMAN. The next one.

Reverend BURRELL. I am Rev. Curtis E. Burrell, Jr. 4421 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the other witness I don't have your name.

Captain KITZART. I am not a witness. I am Capt. Charles Kitzart.

The CHAIRMAN. You held up your hand and took an oath. I did not know you were not a witness. You are not a witness?

Captain KITZART. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a bodyguard?

Captain KITZART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You are a bodyguard.

Just briefly, Reverend Barber, will you identify yourself with respect to what church you are affiliated with and so forth and how long you have been a minister.

Reverend BARBER. I have been a minister since 1957. I was ordained in the Church of God in Christ in the State of Connecticut and right now I am affiliated in a religious capacity with Operation Breadbasket, which is the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leader-

ship Conference in Chicago, Ill. I am president of an entity within Operation Breadbasket known as the Black Men Moving.

Secondly, I am affiliated with Reverend Burrell's church, Woodlawn Mennonite Church, and due to become the community minister.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a minister now of some denomination?

Reverend BARBER. That's right. I am a Pentecostal minister.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in this neighborhood in Chicago?

Reverend BARBER. I have lived in the Kenwood-Oakland community, which we refer to as the KOCO area, since January 1969, I guess about a year and a half.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you live in Chicago prior to that time?

Reverend BARBER. Prior to that time I lived in New Haven, Conn.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Reverend Burrell, will you tell us now your background, the ministry, and so forth?

Reverend BURRELL. I am a graduate of Mennonite College, at Hesper, Kans., and Goshen, Ind., as well as the associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary at Goshen and Elkhart, Ind., where I got theological and Bible training.

I was ordained a minister in the Mennonite Church approximately 2 years ago. I am at present the pastor of the Woodlawn Mennonite Church, located at 1143 East 46th Street, Chicago, Ill.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been pastor of that church?

Reverend BURRELL. I have been single pastor there for about 2 years now.

The CHAIRMAN. You were ordained in the ministry about 2 years ago?

Reverend BURRELL. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been with that church since you were ordained?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the membership of the church? What size church is it?

Reverend BURRELL. About 35.

The CHAIRMAN. Thirty-five people?

Reverend BURRELL. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Thirty-five members.

The committee called and requested you to come down today to testify at the instance of your Senator, Senator Percy of Illinois. Since you are from his State, the Chair is going to defer to him first for questioning.

My understanding is that you have had some very serious problems out there, but I have read your statement. You do have a prepared statement; do you?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a prepared statement and I have read it and you make no reference to the particular problems that inspired your being invited here to testify.

Reverend BURRELL. I would like to comment on that.

The CHAIRMAN. As I say, I am going to defer now to Senator Percy, since you are from his State. I haven't talked to you, I am not briefed very much on the situation, but I understand there has been some re-

cent violence that has affected you folks, maybe directed toward you or toward your church.

I am going to let Senator Percy take over and take the lead and proceed with the interrogation.

If you want him to read his statement first, that will be all right.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, we have had a series of incidents of violence in Chicago of various types over the period of the last several weeks. They have ranged from young girls whose throats have been slit to policemen who have been shot and churches that have been blown up.

Our witness today, Reverend Burrell, has himself been the subject of a shooting in his home against his person, a shooting in his church against his person, and, of course, a violent fire that occurred within the past week or 10 days at his church. Both Reverend Barber and Reverend Burrell have spoken out against the violence that has plagued the entire South Side of Chicago. They with great courage have identified the sources of some of this violence and they have been threatened because of this.

I would like first to express appreciation for their being here. They have worked with the community. They have been a part of the inside of some of these organizations and know well the ways in which they operate. I think in order for us to better understand the nature of violence in America, in the ghettos and the slums of urban communities, it is best for us to talk with community personnel who have worked closely with these problems, and have been in many instances the victims of the violence. They can tell us firsthand the circumstances that have led up to the attacks against them.

Also I hope these witnesses can provide some insight as to what we might do of the broadest long-range nature and of the narrowest short-term nature to bring a condition of stability and safety to the millions of residents of our communities who live in congested urban areas and have been the subject of the hearings of this committee over a period of time.

It is difficult to be unemotional about recent events in Chicago. It is difficult to inquire objectively into circumstances where a whole community has been intimidated by tactics of terrorism, where thousands of persons are required to ransom their birthright to a safe and secure society under law by the incredibly high stakes in this sort of blackmail which has been going on in our society.

It is difficult to be impartial when churches are burned and men are fired on in battles where in the end no one can be the victor.

The subcommittee has conducted several days of hearings on bombings and terrorisms in the United States. We have had impressed upon us time and time again the hard lesson that violence always results in more violence, that hatred breeds more hatred.

Like every other kind of war, violence in our cities means death to human beings, combatants and noncombatants alike. It means shattered lives, devastated homes, and immeasurable grief and despair. No cause, no people, no society can long survive this kind of anarchy.

Some have argued that the proper response to citizen violence is the new commitment to eradication of the underlying social ills and injustices which lie beneath the violence—poverty, poor housing, lack

of employment opportunities and inferior education and so forth must be given every consideration.

In my judgment we must fight injustice at the same time we are combatting violence. It is both approaches, the one that will bring long-range security to our society as well as the one which promises shorter term safety to society, that we are earnestly seeking to implement.

We must seek to identify the common denominators of the violence which erupts so often across our country and then move to provide the necessary legislation. We are grateful for whatever assistance you provide us.

I think it would be helpful if you could just tell us a little of your own personal history, Reverend Burrell. I inquire of this, not having discussed it at all with you, but it has been the subject of recent newspaper accounts in Chicago. I have in front of me an article appearing in the Chicago Sun-Times, Monday, August 3, yesterday. Have you read this article?

Reverend BURRELL. Would you please refer to it?

Senator PERCY. This is Chicago Sun-Times, Monday, August 3. It is entitled "Burrell-Stones Feud, Violent Power Struggle."

If the facts in that article would not be a source of embarrassment to you, I wonder if you would mind recounting for us some of your personal experiences as an individual. What caused you to drop out of school? Do you feel that that gives you something of a special understanding and rapport with dropouts today?

What efforts have you made to work with Chicago gangs or members of gangs, and what experience have you had with them? Do you see the pattern unfolding for the future? What is life like on the South Side and the West Side of Chicago under gang organization?

What right does the private citizen have for the security and freedom that he should have? What is the relationship you see to exist between the community and the police department? What are the frustrations so we might gain better insight into what we can do about improving life in the urban areas of Chicago and other cities as a result of the experiences you have had?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes, that seems to be a tall order, Senator. However, I welcome the opportunity to speak to those points that you have just raised.

I would like to, however, lay out the mathematics, the social matrix out of which we now see violence coming. I would feel that I would not have done my job correctly if I would only relate the incidents of the past few weeks. We must, as you say, eradicate violence and criminality from our communities. However, I feel we must do a thorough job of this in terms of the long range to see if we cannot stop violence to a greater degree than we have up to this time.

I am Rev. Curtis E. Burrell, Jr., a resident of 4421 South Ellis Street in Chicago, Ill., pastor of the Woodlawn Mennonite Church at the corner of 46th and Woodlawn Avenue in the Kenwood-Oakland area of Chicago, and chairman of the Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization (KOCO), a not-for-profit, civic association incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois and committed to the complete and comprehensive redevelopment of the KOCO area.

Senator PERCY. Can you tell us how KOCO is financed?

Reverend BURRELL. In various sorts of ways—through contributions from different individuals, through contributions of private industry. We have a fund-raising committee which is part of a Community Renewal Society, our funding organization, and greater details on which funds come from whom will have to be gotten from consultation with the Community Renewal Society.

The KOCO area is located on the near South Side of Chicago. The KOCO area is bounded by 35th Street on the north, 48th Street on the south, Cottage Grove on the west and Lake Michigan on the east. It is the last black community on the lakefront in Chicago. The KOCO area consists of 1.1 square miles, with a population conservatively estimated at between 50,000-55,000 persons, 99 percent of whom are black.

The KOCO area evidences all the characteristics of an urban slum ghetto neighborhood, with some 35 percent of the residents on Public Assistance and a usual unemployment rate of between 10-15 percent. The infant mortality rate stands at 45 per 1,000 live births. This mortality rate is comparable only to that of the State of Mississippi and Calcutta, India.

Some 30 percent of housing units are substandard. The median income for the area is estimated at around \$3,900 per year.

Senator PERCY. In what gang territory of Chicago does KOCO's area fall? In other words, what jurisdictional overlaps do you have?

Reverend BURRELL. If we would use the gang boundaries, this would be the area of the Blackstone Rangers.

In such an environment KOCO has committed itself to the task of complete and comprehensive development of the community primarily by and for the residents of the community. Comprehensive development means that every issue, every problem, every need, every reality that impinges upon the lives of people in the community must be dealt with by the community in order for maximum development to take place.

It recognizes that problems and issues often feed upon each other, constituting a vicious cycle of problems. So that poor housing, unemployment and underemployment, poor health and other such problems seem to thrive on each other and require, therefore, a multiproblem or comprehensive approach to solve them. KOCO is committed to—and is at work on—a comprehensive approach to the development of the KOCO area.

KOCO is also committed to the concept of self-determination for the community, whereby residents of the community can be instrumental both in naming the problems and in naming the solutions to the problems. Only in this way can residents be led out of the old bondage of dependence into a new independence and interdependence; from powerlessness into a sense of power; from nonbeing or subbeing into being somebody; from being "out of it," alienated and hostile, into having a stake in it, owning it and running it.

With the support of adequate technical assistance, residents of the KOCO area are naming their problems and developing the plans, the programs, the solutions to those problems. KOCO is committed to—and is at work on—establishing the principle of self-determination for residents of the KOCO area.

KOCO has moved to challenge black adults and particularly black men to assume the initiative, the responsibility and the authority for running the KOCO area and for determining and implementing what is to happen in the community. That includes the task of exposing and eliminating all evil forces and practices from the community, regardless of the perpetrator, even as it means creating and establishing the new programs, the new institutions and the new services which a community needs.

Specifically, it means exposing and correcting:

- (a) The violence of absentee landlords and slum housing conditions;
- (b) The violence of bad education, contributing to the mental genocide of our children and youth;
- (c) The violence of poor and virtually nonexistent city services—from street cleaning to garbage collection;
- (d) The violence of a health delivery system, that deprives a community of 55,000 people of even the semblance of medical care, since only four doctors practice in the KOCO area;
- (e) The violence of landgrabbers, both public and private, who use legal and devious means to force poor black people off the land so that the land may be redeveloped for others, while the poor and the blacks are further crowded into existing housing in the ghetto;
- (f) The violence of crime, intimidation and physical violence which grow day by day;
- (g) The violence of a police department that often patrols but does not protect, that functions more as an occupying army than as the servants of the people;
- (h) The violence of city officials and bureaucrats who play politics with the problems of the community and the needs of the people, rather than supporting efforts of the people in the community to be self-determining and self-sufficient;
- (i) The violence of fear, which residents feel as a result of the accumulative oppression of all these forces—of fear that eats away at the very essence of manhood and personhood.

All of these forms and acts of violence are evident in the KOCO area day by day. They constitute the existential context within which our people must live and function, even as they form the condition within which an organization like KOCO must work.

Yet we feel that too often we see only the petty criminal while the master criminal goes free. We see the retailer, not the wholesaler, of this nexus of violence in the community. Is there in fact a web or a network of forces which combine and converge, whether intentionally or unintentionally, for or without financial gain, to exact upon the black community or, at least, the KOCO area, this pattern of violence?

We believe that this problem deserves careful investigation and that the KOCO area represents a good place to start. Let the investigation explore these kinds of matters, among others:

- (a) The failure of local government to support the efforts to residents to solve basic community problems, thereby contributing to the conditions out of which the violence and antisocial forces emerge;
- (b) The possible implication and involvement of white institutions and white forces in the gang problem in the ghetto;
- (c) The connection of crime, violence, and gang activity to organized criminal forces;

(d) The role of law enforcement agencies and agents in fostering and feeding much violence and warfare between gangs and among groups in the black community;

(e) The elements of indiscriminate police harassment and police brutality in the black community as a negative factor in police-community relations and in the attitude of people toward the police;

(f) The racist practices of the judicial system, especially as it relates to criminal justice, including the systematic exclusion of blacks from juries impaneled to deal with crime in the black community.

In the KOCO area our motto is: "Black people serious about one another." We are also black people, black men, serious about the business. And the business is nothing less than the reclamation, the development, and the liberation of black people, of the black community. We see as evil—as the enemy—all forms of violence and all those who perpetrate the violence—the enslavement, the emasculation, and oppression of black people. To deal with those evils and enemies, the people must have the power and the resources within the community.

But the power and control of the people must also extend to health delivery systems, schools, housing, police, and community services. In short, we believe that the fullness of self-determination and power, which is community control, must be established.

I was born and raised in St. Louis, Mo. I was born and raised in a slum area of St. Louis, Mo., an area which is still there bearing the evidence of the kind of social matrix out of which I came.

I went to the schools of St. Louis, at age 17 I dropped out of high school. About that time I began to use drugs, what they now call the hard stuff, heroin. For about 10 years off and on I was addicted to drugs, going in and out of jails that were supposed to rehabilitate us, going in and out of hospitals for drug addicts which are supposed to rehabilitate us, going before the racist judicial system which I mentioned in my prepared statement.

It wasn't until about 1956 behind the great gray walls of the Missouri State Penitentiary of Jefferson City, State capital of Missouri, that a unique and empowering experience came to me. I could describe it in religious terms or psychological terms, but I choose not to for the sake of time describing it at all, except that this experience meant for me that I gained self-control, I gained internal discipline. I was set free from myself, from my fears, from my own weaknesses, which enabled me to do the things I always wanted to do; to become the person I always wanted to become.

So I began to read and study; even in prison with a flimsy poor excuse of a library, I still pulled some books out of that library from which I learned many things. Upon my release, having had no place to go, the Mennonite Church in St. Louis offered me a place. It was soon after my release that I took the general education test and passed it. I was admitted to one of our schools in Kitchener, Ontario, Canada.

I went there for the winter of 1959. I came back and during that summer I attempted to work at odd jobs—jobs are hard to find in the ghetto. So I worked at odd jobs trying to raise enough money to go back to Kitchener, Ontario, the coming fall term. I was sent to a church camp, at least I went to a church camp as counselor to the other children.

I met a Mennonite man from Coldwater, Kans., who told me the church each year sent a student to school and that if I were interested, he thought that it might be possible to get me as their student for that year. I welcomed this opportunity and that began my experience in Mennonite colleges.

I entered into Hesston Mennonite College in September of 1959, stayed there for 3 years. A number of other kids were sent through the help of the Mennonite Church to that school. I served as counselor during the time I was there. I stayed the next year because it was only a 2-year college. Then I went to Goshen College, which is the largest Mennonite College.

There I graduated from the liberal arts school and entered the seminary. After 3 years in the seminary, I graduated and I came back to Chicago permanently. Between my second and my third year I became the interim associate pastor. Rev. Delbert Francis, in our Washington office here, was at that time the pastor there.

There was a group of ministers made up of ministers from Hyde Park and South Kenwood and North Kenwood-Oakland, who were interested in meeting the needs of the people in an organized way in that neighborhood. The problems have been long in their development in that community.

We then began to seek to try to find funds to pay the rent for an office, to pay the salaries of a staff, and to buy the necessary equipment such as typewriters and other things which you need to run an office.

Probably contrary to what you may think, money is hard to find and it is long and difficult in trying to fund honest efforts at redeveloping low-income communities. My faith, the faith of other colleagues who are ministers and also community-minded residents, is that it is the people in the community who, locked up into our black ghetto minds, locked into many times our sick and crippled bodies, this is where we will, if we have the will to hear and to listen to the concerns of the man of the black community, this is where we feel that we have the answer to the problems which are plaguing the United States as a whole.

I feel that if we are to find the answers to the problems of your children, white children as well as my children, black children, then the only really positive alternative we have, if we are not to sink into our own destruction through a police state, is to listen to what black people, especially black men, are saying.

Listen to that average black man who as yet has not been heard. I am convinced that out of the crisis of the past couple months there is a man, there is a segment of the black community, the broadest segment of the black community which has as yet not been heard.

Probably much of the cliches and ideologies and other things that we have heard do not represent that average black man.

Senator PERCY. Reverend Burrell, I would like to take that microcosm of a city, it is a large segment really, the 55,000 people in your community. As I understand it, you in the KOCO group are intent upon self-determination and providing leadership within that community to solve many of the problems of that community.

I would like to concentrate on how, with that worthy objective, we end up with a condition of violence where your own life is placed in

jeopardy. How did you become chairman of the Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization? Is that an elective post?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes; I was elected chairman in 1967 and then during the period of our reorganizing and restructuring at the time we had help from the Community Renewal Society, the group agreed to choose the same name, Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization, and also agreed to elect me as chairman.

(At this point Senator Gurney entered the hearing room.)

Senator PERCY. Do most of the citizens of that community look to this organization with a very favorable attitude? Do they see it as a positive force for good in the community?

Reverend BURRELL. Especially now I think that would be the case.

Senator PERCY. In other words, it has broadly based support?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes.

Senator PERCY. How many churches participate generally?

Reverend BURRELL. There are some five that participate.

Senator PERCY. And I assume the members of the community have shown through their contributions that they wish this organization to continue.

Now at what point did the Blackstone Rangers take an interest in the work of KOCO?

Reverend BURRELL. Mainly at the time when we received funding for staff and other personnel. That would have been about 1968.

Senator PERCY. In other words, when you got some money, they were interested?

Reverend BURRELL. A lot of people are interested once you get money.

Senator PERCY. How did they first evidence their interest to you?

Reverend BURRELL. By participating.

Senator PERCY. They started to participate?

Reverend BURRELL. By sincere participation.

Senator PERCY. Did they ask for paying jobs in KOCO?

Reverend BURRELL. We made up a community committee and chose to elect officers. We drew up a constitution. This was over a period of a month. We then began to hire staff. Some of their people were recommended to be hired for staff.

Senator PERCY. You did hire some members of the Blackstone Rangers?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes. When they first came around, the appeal was made on the basis that "we represent the youth." Since it seemed that a large segment of the community were in youth gangs and since, as ministers and also as a community organization that is based on the idea of including all elements of the community and as a Mennonite minister especially, we don't usually turn our backs on anyone needing help. We really believe that man can be redeemed and that he can be rehabilitated and that he can be helped.

But over the period of years that initial concern of dealing with youth began to grow as other programs began to develop. So, what we ended up with was an initial interest and appeal on the basis of dealing with youth and then it came out some other way that the end result would have been simply the destruction of the entire organization.

So, to arrest that kind of disease, we in the Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization simply had to put our foot down. One of the problems, the serious problems—you see, this is the only setback that we

had. In spite of all the things we have heard in the press it is usually the negative things that get in the press.

The fact that we have developed along economic lines, the fact that we now have a bid in to the Chicago Department of Urban Renewal for land development at 3900 Cottage Grove for a shopping center, the fact that we now have people in training by which we hope to set up our own plastics plant, they are training at Albert Selinger Plastic Corp., the fact that we are now moving to purchase property for that plastics plant adjacent to which will be a day care center to house and care for the children of possible working mothers, the fact that we are now trying to acquire the land and that we have a partial interest in a construction company which is even now working on rehabilitating a place that will soon be open as a day care center for mentally retarded children located at 219 East 47th Street, the fact that our people did work long and hard over difficult years to develop a comprehensive plan for a medical center and now we are waiting—for some strange reason we have not gotten a sufficient reply from the Chicago Board of Health whom we are asking to come in and take under consideration that proposal, which has been highly praised by doctors around the country and especially some of the highest ranking medical institutions in the city of Chicago that appraised that proposal, that "this is what we would like to see set up."

The fact that our welfare union has had tremendous effect in helping people in the community, giving services to people and also in the area of social services we have a number of jobs for people.

We have relocated numbers of people who have been burned out, who have been set out—these are the kinds of things that we are successful in doing.

Why is it then that we have to suffer the intimidation of what we still call the effects and not the cause of that area of society and life in America we call the ghetto? Because there is no protection in the black community. There is no one to go to for help, for defense.

If you would take it upon yourself, then you are isolated in a sea of indifference. This is sort of characteristic of America as a whole. The reason why we have such rapid flights to the suburbs is, in my mind, because as Americans, black and white, we like to flee conflicts, we like to run from trouble and problems. We don't like to face them head on because it may call for a certain degree of sacrifice on our part.

So, even if one or two individuals may resist the advances of criminal elements in the community, then go on down the line and attempt to extort or intimidate that large mass of people who will simply give in because very few of us want to stand for what we believe in, very few of us want to face the consequences for a decision we have to make, and by simply going to impressing these people who have no backbones, you will have a giant organization and virtually run the community in fear.

I suspect what is happening in Kenwood-Oakland is a microcosm of what is going on all over the Nation. There are few of us who want to stand up and speak out, because we fear the inevitable consequences.

Senator PERCY. That is why I am eager to move into that area, which is really the jurisdiction of this committee, and deal with the problem. As I understand from what Reverend Burrell has said before, there are only two of you who have really stood up. As he said,

out of a million residents of the community only two have really stood up and told it the way it was, indicating the nature of violence and the cause of it. That is what I think we need to bring out with the protection that this forum provides to you.

Reverend BURRELL. I think there are three of us now.

Senator PERCY. When did violence actually begin in the KOCO offices?

Reverend BURRELL. In subtle forms intimidation has been there for some time. I remember back in March or early April of 1968, about 40 of these fellows marched into a meeting that a few of us had. Most of them were women in the meeting.

This, too, was a form of intimidation. They came into our office and printed their Black Keystone in the hall in large 3-foot-high letters. They went upstairs to the apartment of the then-director and began to go through his place and take different things that they wanted. This was a subtle form of intimidation.

In recent days it happened that on one occasion one of the men came into my office. He approached me and wanted to borrow my car, which I turned him down. He wanted to borrow the microbus which we had bought to transport the people down the grove to train at the plastics plants. I did not give consent.

He approached Tony Castaga, who is now in President Nixon's entrepreneurial program. Mr. Castaga told him no. Castaga told him no, he would not allow him to have his car.

Then the man began to curse and kick doors and slam the door in my office and would not allow me to get out. At that time I just packed up my briefcase and forced my way past him and left in a fit of anxiety and in that condition I had a slight accident with my car on my way to see a movie to get my mind off these problems. That was about 9 or 10 months ago.

Following that, about 40 or so fellows marched into the office. One of them went into the basement and shot his gun about two times. We have also had reports especially since we just began to open up and let the chips fall where they may, because regardless of what the consequences may be, we heard there were certain of our clerical help that was also intimidated with guns drawn on them.

Senator PERCY. Whatever they were doing by putting their emblems on your wall, by firing guns in your basement or whatever it may be, you viewed it as an attempt to impose by force their will upon you. You had access to some funds, contributions and so forth. They wanted a part of it.

Reverend BURRELL. It was not so much wanting a part, just wanting us to put people on the staff that they wanted. In some of the cases these people were good workers. In other cases they were not.

Senator PERCY. When they were not, when they did not do their job what did they do about it?

Reverend BURRELL. Then there was a threat that stood behind it.

Senator PERCY. Did you fire them?

Reverend BURRELL. I moved to fire them; yes.

Senator PERCY. Were you intimidated after you fired these people?

Reverend BURRELL. Right after the firing the office was bombed.

Senator PERCY. Do you think there is a direct relationship between the bombing and the firing?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes.

Senator PERCY. In other words, if showing guns, firing a few shots, putting their emblem up on the wall apparently was not enough to scare you or move you, a little dynamite might?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes. Then there are always the words coming through, through scared individuals in the community who were afraid to say anything because they had no protection. They could not say anything. A person locked into a high-rise apartment, he has nowhere to go, or a person locked into those rundown tenement houses, he has nowhere to go.

So they would come to the place where I guess they felt if there was any chance to get help, that is where they would come, that was to KOCO. That was to a minister. So being a minister, I just reached the point where because of my own personal integrity I had to say what the people were whispering to me about.

Words such as a man on one occasion was tortured right next to our office. One of our men who works at Michael Reese Hospital came into the office and asked me what about this man who was tortured. I said I didn't know anything about it.

He said there was a man brought into the hospital. He had skin flayed on one of his sides, four of his ribs broken and a hot knife stuffed up into his testicles also.

They were some of the more gruesome kinds of things you hear about. So you reach the point where you just have to do something. That is why I moved to dismiss most of the staff, to close the office, and to call for a time of reevaluation and an inventory to see that we might not lose all of the hard work and good positive programs that we still had going.

Following the close of that office a fire bomb was laid up against the door. It did minor damage, it broke the front windows out of the door. Those have been replaced and the office has been operating for about 3 weeks now. Our work is in the streets despite the threat of intimidation; although we don't hear the words, they are being intimidated.

Then Monday morning following that fire bombing—no; the fire bombing was on Monday morning about 3:30 a.m. The next Monday morning a week later about the same time nine shots were fired into my house. About 13 were fired at the house. The others hit the bricks on the outside. Some were down the line.

I am not sure of the chronology here, but a trash basket, city trash basket, was thrown into the KOCO window and I was awakened about 5 or 6 o'clock one morning to come around there and try to board that up.

Then the restaurant which we had helped these fellows to try to start, which didn't get off the ground, had something thrown into its window. Then shots were fired into the church which we considered to be an attempted act of murder.

John Barber, to my right, was in the path of the first bullets that came in. The others came in from the opposite direction. There was a shooting in the church. Then there was a burning of the church.

I think it was Wednesday night a week ago tomorrow. So, these were the acts of violence that I am personally acquainted with.

Senator PERCY. In other words, if you had just been a Mennonite pastor, minister of that church, these things probably would not have happened. The actions then are not directed against your church. They are directed against you as a person because of your leadership position in the community organization?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes; I think so. You see, in a community such as this most of the people, who can, leave. The place becomes a kind of urban wilderness, a desolate place where very little attention is given, a jungle kind of place where most of the time the law of the jungle is what dominates and what rules.

But I am in the habit of throwing the monkey off my back. The reason why I quit dope—people ask me how did you do it? I just quit. I got tired of being a slave. I guess it is in that personal tradition that I have, after assessing the situation, coming to my own convictions, then I make my own acts.

Out of that kind of thing I simply did what I had to do. I imagine something similar to that on the part of Rev. John Barber, he was a little reluctant, too, until the time when the bullets came into the window and he saw the church burning and then he shifted gears.

Senator PERCY. Could I ask this question? Is it safe to assume that the gangs in the area would like to have a condition of total lawlessness so that they can really run the community, and that if when an organization such as yours comes along, they can have a controlling voice in or a very strong voice, they would go along with it? However, when such an organization is headed by a strong personality who won't cave in and won't be bought off by their intimidation or threats or whatever it may be, a threat is posed by the organization to the gang's leadership, influence, and their ability to control things through intimidation.

Is that a correct analysis?

Reverend BURRELL. I think any person's—largely what you have said is true. However, I don't think it is a conscious strategic effort on their part just to take over community organization. They know that they could not run a community organization, that they don't have the sophistication. They don't know what HEW or HUD on the part of the city, DDP or DUR, what they mean, where to organize, what to look for. I think they would have preferred—

The CHAIRMAN. Who do you mean by "they"?

Reverend BURRELL. Gang members.

The CHAIRMAN. Blackstone Rangers?

Reverend BURRELL. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. They would not know?

Reverend BURRELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. They were given \$900,000—some-odd by the Federal Government to run such an institution. You remember that, don't you?

Reverend BURRELL. I had just come to Chicago when I saw the televised hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad to hear you say that. I thought it was a scandal of the worst sort to ever give them that money and let them use it and throw it away.

Reverend BURRELL. We were not about to give anybody anything in terms of turning money over to them.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about the people you are talking about. The Government gave them some \$900,000.

Reverend BURRELL. The Government has not given us any money. The CHAIRMAN. I am not saying the Government gave you any money. I am trying to identify the people you are talking about.

Reverend BURRELL. We are talking about the same people.

Senator PERCY. If I might, for the record. As I understand, the grant was to the Woodlawn organization, and you are talking about the Blackstone Rangers.

The purpose of the grant was to have the Woodlawn organization see what it could do about reforming some of the activities of the Blackstone Rangers.

You were talking about the Blackstone Rangers directly as having a control and a voice in the running of that community. You are saying they are not interested in sophisticated urban development programs and so forth. They are interested only in their particular element of control such as it may be. It may take many different forms.

Reverend BURRELL. Yes.

I think the level of destruction that I see in some of our black youth is such that, having not had a chance at education, reading and thinking and planning is the thing that escapes them.

I think that in the Kenwood-Oakland community organization they would really have preferred us to have settled this; they would have agreed, I believe, to anything we would have agreed to do.

However, our concern is more than keeping an office open and keeping people on the payroll. Our concern is about the community. Therefore, we had to address ourselves to the problems the people in the community are facing day by day and we could not make a compromise by just releasing certain people from the staff who were not making contributions. We had to talk about the whole problem, participating with Oakland as well as participating with others who had similar problems throughout the city.

Senator PERCY. As I see it, the violence escalated when you not only resisted their efforts but when you fired some of the people you had hired who were members of the gang organizations, and you also publicly spoke out against their activities. As you did so, violence continued and escalated.

Reverend BURRELL. Yes.

Senator PERCY. Could you comment on the living conditions of the 55,000 people who live in what is roughly a square mile area of the city of Chicago.

Are they subject to intimidation? Are businessmen required to pay protection money to organizations, to gangs, whatever it may be, in the community, that you know of?

Reverend BURRELL. These are things that you hear. No businessman has ever told me.

Senator PERCY. In other words, you have no firsthand knowledge of it?

Reverend BURRELL. I could not prove it, but I wouldn't doubt it.

The nature of the businesses, however, in that community are very small. Blacks own very few businesses except shoeshine stands and barbecue stands, barber shops, beauty shops.

The bigger businesses such as banks, car dealer shops, are owned by whites.

There is very little business community as it is now in the area.

One reason why it is difficult for people to open new businesses is because they are afraid; they are afraid of gangs. Evidently they must believe or maybe they, themselves, have someone who has told them personally that extortion does happen.

Senator PERCY. I would like to go back to your own testimony where you say on page 3, "That includes the task of exposing and eliminating all forces and practices from the community regardless of the perpetrator."

You have listed a number of forces that you consider evil forces.

On page 4, paragraph (f), you say: "The violence of crime, intimidation and physical violence which grow day by day" in the community.

Is there a very high incidence of crime in the community served by KOCO?

Reverend BURRELL. If you will look at the police report on the level of crime in the Kenwood-Oakland area, whereas crime, nationwide, last year, 1969, was up, I forget the exact percentage and in Chicago it was supposed to have been down compared to the national scale, but in Kenwood-Oakland it is supposed to be the lowest in the city. I think that is a reflection because a lot of crimes are not reported. People are scared to do that.

Senator PERCY. But crime is frequent and you indicate that violence and intimidation is going up in the community.

Reverend BURRELL. Yes.

Senator PERCY. First, will you comment on your reliance upon the Chicago Police, a well-organized, modern, efficient force, and its problems as you see them in keeping down crime in the community? Then, secondly, I would like to turn to Reverend Barber and ask him to tell us about the Black Men Moving organization which, I understand, is an organization of armed black men whose purpose it is to perform police functions in the community.

I would like you to develop this relationship.

Reverend BURRELL. I think as a nation of people we are challenged now to listen to one another, listen honestly, even though any pre-suppositions we may have held may be challenged.

I think the Chicago Police Department, like all police departments, do the best they can. However, I think a sad thing has happened in a nation of people who like to run from problems rather than be willing to be courageous enough to face problems. We put too many problems on the shoulders of the police who probably in their egotistical way don't deny it that the police are the ones to solve the problems.

I think the criminal part of our problem we face we must have police protection, and especially the black men; we have to have police protection. However, a lot of these problems are not police problems and cannot be solved by the police.

Now, I feel that, in saying that, that that is reflective of what you will get black community leaders and residents feeling or saying in one form or another clear across the board. That is, the people feel that we have a right to participate, to suggest what we need in our community for our own protection.

Then the program they call model cities, nationwide program. Chicago last year was the recipient of some \$38 million in its first year action plan. I served on model cities for the near South Side which includes Grant Boulevard and Kenwood-Oakland area. I was one of the cochairmen of that body, Model Planning Council, for 7 or 8 months. I read the guidelines; I read the legislation.

I saw how the people sitting in those committees were not given the right to participate. Out of the 10 problem areas that came to us—we were told that we had 10 problem areas. We may have had more. We weren't given a chance to say. We were not given a chance. We were told we had a problem in what was called law and order.

The police department of Chicago submitted a proposal for a plan for community action, for community service and police action. The community residents had very little chance to participate in that.

A similar kind of program perhaps was the "Walk and Talk" thing that came under close scrutiny as the result of the vicious slaying of two policemen in the Cabrini-Greens area several weeks ago. What the black community said is that we need protection. We know a little more about our problems than you who sit in city hall and who sit in Washington and you who sit in the State government seats.

We want, like all people, to give some inputs, to be recognized as people. Stop holding us in contempt as to how we can answer our problems.

Now, it is simply a fact that a lot of information is not gathered by the police. I am speaking of the Kenwood-Oakland area. I would think that is true in many other areas.

We just can't bring ourselves to understand why it is the people don't come and help us in this program which we have prepared to defend them and to protect them. I feel sad to say this but on many occasions people would prefer to just stay as they are, facing one enemy, than to go over to the police whom they see as another kind of enemy.

I think this feeling of enmity is out of contempt for those who are responsible for police protection and not listening to what the people have to say and the suggestions that the people have to make. I think that the atmosphere, even when they do come to serve and protect as the Chicago police slogan is, that they are too slow, that they are too late. I feel that even the police, themselves, are afraid because they, too, sense this feeling of distrust on the part of the people.

Senator PERCY. There is an old saying, "Better later than never."

What we are looking for now is what can we do now? We cannot go back in history and always excuse every present excess simply because of something that happened in the past.

The walk-and-talk program that you mentioned, is abandoned now. Three out of 40 policemen in that program, who volunteered to reach out, were shot and killed. When the police are in a position of reaching out, of recognizing they have not had communications, recognizing in the past they have not been able to talk, recognizing they didn't have enough black policemen to work in black communities, I think it is clear they are now desperately trying to catch up. But in the midst of the effort they are struck down.

I first want to commend the black community, itself, for helping the police in finding these suspects and turning them in. But I keep wondering, what can we do now?

Reverend BURRELL. I think maybe it is time now to move on to Reverend Barber.

Senator PERCY. It might be a good idea to move on then, to the question of why it is, Reverend Barber, that you have found it necessary to organize "Black Men Moving" that is being set up under Breadbasket? What are its goals, what are its mechanics, what are you trying to provide for in your community that you don't find the public sector providing?

Reverend BARBER. First of all, I think I ought to indicate something of my past as Curtis did, but for a different reason. That is because in large part I come to condemn crime very explicitly and I will welcome all questions.

I come to condemn specifically black crime upon black people, which I think has reached epidemic proportions, almost murderous proportions, especially in Chicago, and generally white crime.

One reason I want to state my credentials at the outset is because I am opening myself up to a lot of criticism from a more conservative wing of the black community that, you know, just does not appreciate white interference, especially police and judicial interference.

Personally, I tend to come out of that position, myself, having been in the past couple of years one of the strongest black power advocates in the State of Connecticut, and, lastly, because I am against racism, especially white racism, and I think white racism historically is guilty of fomenting and perpetrating black powerlessness which, in large part, has led to the impotence, the powerlessness of the black man to take care of his community, specifically to deal with his children, especially his sons.

My commitment to racism has led me across the country and caused me to commit my ministry to racial justice, so it has been a peculiar kind of ministry. It has been a ministry dedicated, in large part, to be against that kind of ordering of society that I think the chairman represents, Senator McClellan.

I want to state that especially at the outset because I committed my life to things which fellows like Senator McClellan have stood for.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not quite understand you.

Reverend BARBER. I will get back to that.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to hear it now.

Reverend BARBER. Well, I am opposed to what the State of Arkansas has represented historically.

The CHAIRMAN. I am opposed, and Arkansas is opposed, to your gangsterism in Chicago.

Is that what you are here to talk about?

Reverend BARBER. I am opposed to the development of black gangs in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. We agree on that. Let us talk about that.

Reverend BARBER. We start off together.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute now. You are here to testify. If you want to testify about these things, all right, but if you want to slander my State, you are not going to do it, in public, I will tell you that—not at this hearing, if that is your purpose.

If you want to testify about the issue—

Reverend BARBER. I want to testify. I want it clearly understood the prospectives out of which my perceptions are derived.

The CHAIRMAN. You can have your perceptions and those things, but to come in now and deliberately start something, to try to inject my State in it—

Reverend BARBER. I want to talk about black crime.

The CHAIRMAN. Start talking about black crime then. I don't mind your testifying now about anything that is relevant but I don't propose to sit here and let you or anyone else deliberately try to slander my State.

Reverend BARBER. I think that black crime is rooted especially in the failures and infirmities of the Chicago police system and the Chicago judicial system and the way certain economic forces impinge upon the average black man.

It was out of this combination of circumstances and that social milieu that Black Men Moving started, the notion that the average black man, especially the black father in Chicago, in the age range of from 25 to 40 was powerless, powerless because he was jobless, powerless because he could not be a member of the jury, powerless because, despite the fact that 90 percent of the men we are now working with were veterans and stable fathers and many of them homeowners, only 5 to 10 percent of them were on juries.

As a result, in a city which is 47 percent black, we have situations where all jurors in a criminal case, including the murder cases, are white, or there is one token black.

In this kind of situation, white caprice leads to two results, basically: No. 1, the black innocent tend to go to jail and, secondly, the black guilty tend to go free. As a result, people are afraid even to testify in court.

Now I want to comment on the Chicago police and their infirmities which brought racism in large part in the Chicago court system, before I move into Black Men Moving, before I get to the Stones. I have a long statement about the Stones because I am opposed to them.

I really want to comment on the characterization of Black Men Moving because it is unfair, because I understand out of which that came.

First of all, the Chicago black community. The Chicago black community really is ambivalent about the way law enforcement impinges on even its guilty. We have to recognize that.

Jeff Fort became a hero not only to Chicago but to me in Connecticut long before I knew him because of the fact that he defied this committee. You see, this committee represented in large part to black perception just one more oppressive or repressive agency.

Rather than to see justice come to Jeff Fort when he came here and refused to testify and was cited for contempt by your committee, he went back to Chicago and became bigger. In other words, in large part what happened here a couple of years ago was counterproductive. It is out of that, Senator McClellan, that I want you to clearly understand that now the Rangers have grown and it becomes a serious problem. I regard it serious in large part because the bullets flew through that window.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you yield?

Reverend BARBER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think this committee was responsible for the crimes that the Blackstone Rangers were committing out there before this committee ever got into it?

Reverend BARBER. I agree. You see, we tried to consider—

The CHAIRMAN. What you are trying to do is try to indict everybody else but not take responsibility yourselves for conditions that prevail there.

Reverend BARBER. Now, the Chicago papers tend to say that I have taken the most courageous stand against gangs in the history of that city.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the last year. You say now you think Fort was right in defying the committee?

Reverend BARBER. Senator McClellan, I have been in Chicago only a year and a half.

The CHAIRMAN. Whatever time you have been there.

Now you are saying Fort was right in defying this committee.

Reverend BARBER. Why can't we go to the police then?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know. Tell us why.

Reverend BARBER. Very good.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee is not keeping you from going and I don't want to hear any more about your blaming the committee.

Reverend BARBER. The most famous incident other than the Cabrini incident which just happened 2 weeks ago in which Jesse Jackson and I played a major role in getting the black suspect to turn himself in which led in addition to reconciling and uniting the mothers, black and white, who had lost sons in that case, but other than that Cabrini incident the most famous case in Chicago, of course, was the Fred Hampton case in which the Chicago police virtually bloodied their hands in a way that is almost nonredeemable, in a case which now investigating panels, grand juries, and everybody else have condemned the way the State's attorney, Mr. Hanrahan, and the police operated, which led to the predawn raid and a shooting in the head of a boy who was apparently sleeping.

Now, given that kind of circumstance, black people just don't look upon the Chicago Police as fair or the prosecuting attorney as adequate or concerned about law. The way it comes out over and over again people refuse to be witnesses, refuse to file complaints with the police and the State's attorney.

Then, even when they do, they change their testimony in court according to an editorial by Mr. Hanrahan, himself, with reference to one of the Stones who, I think, was involved in that shooting through the church window who was recently acquitted on a murder rap because apparently witnesses changed their testimony out of fear.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Barber, we have had a pretty good preamble. Could we get back to my original question?

What caused you to reorganize the Black Men Moving? Please tell us what it is, what kind of an armed organization it is.

Reverend BARBER. It is not an armed organization.

If you will, rephrase your question and ask what kind of organization it is.

Senator PERCY. Armed individuals are in this organization.

Reverend BARBER. There are no armed individuals in the organization.

I refuse to move toward that question because no member has ever bore arms.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you refuse to answer that question?

Reverend BARBER. Let me answer the question. I will answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Reverend BARBER. There are no armed individuals in that organization, according to my knowledge.

Now, because black men could not turn to the Chicago police; a police force in a city which is 47 percent black only has about 16 percent to start with. Because one of the ranking black commanders had recently been demoted in Chicago about 2 to 3 weeks ago in an all-black district, Inglewood, and only 1 out of 25 of the commanders are black, because Commander Miles had been demoted there is almost a total absence of decisionmaking power in the police force, which was another reason we could not turn to them.

Because programs which came out of the police department reflected traditional, archaic policies of, say, basically white people as, for example, the walk-and-talk program in Cabrini which was designed by the police people and not by the residents which in large part led to that frustration and led to the murders of two fine gentlemen, in my opinion, Brother Severin and Brother Rosado. I met Brother Severin's twin sister and his mother.

Out of the seething resentment in that area in which 17,000 people live in antiquated high-rise housing, in which the need is not for more security as Secretary Romney just found last week, out of these kinds of events black men saw they could not turn to the police. They saw they could not turn to the judicial system.

You know in terms of judges that is typified by the Judge Hoffman and Bobbie Seale incident in which that black man was gagged in court simply for asking for a lawyer. They knew they could not turn to juries because juries are virtually all white all the time and sometimes have one token black.

So, then, black men perceive now, especially in the light of black murder; that is, black upon black crime, I understand some 300 individuals have been killed in gang-related murders in the South and West Sides of Chicago in the past 2 years, black men with no other recourse, black men who had served their country as veterans and who are voters and who are just average black men, you know, begin to do things, you know, to move to meet these problems.

Now, the first need was to provide a male image for the black boys who had gone astray. Because, in large part, they think the only way you can make it in this society is to be a pimp or hustler or criminal. The black gangs really style themselves after the Mafia which apparently is untouchable.

Based upon the way these boys have beaten the judicial system in Chicago, as discriminatory as it is and as capricious as it is, the feeling was that what had to finally occur was that black men had not only to be, you know, new images, but they had to begin to regulate conduct in what you might call an extra legal kind of way.

Senator PERCY. Can you now describe Black Men Moving?

Reverend BARBER. Black Men Moving started by going over to Cabrini, Cabrini right after the police were shot, and organizing that area, organizing the few black men who were over there. Sixty percent of the families over there are female heads. The police had gone over there and we have the affidavits, in fact a legal suit is on the way in connection with the women who were beaten and snatched out of bed and the children who are intimidated by Chicago police, et cetera.

Now, we went over there and became a buffer between the white police and the women and children over there, knowing full well that the police wanted blood. You know, there were all kinds of indications. We went over there, among other things, to make it easy to turn the suspect over because the suspect had volunteered to turn himself over to Reverend Jackson if we could just get him a day in court. He did not want to be lynched, in other words, before he was tried.

Senator GURNEY. Why would he turn himself over voluntarily?

Reverend BARBER. After Fred Hampton was killed, Bobby Rush did that. Bob Rush turned himself over to Jesse Jackson. He was the No. 1 Panther after Fred Hampton.

The feeling in the community was that both Fred and Bobby were sought that night. Because we didn't want Bobby killed, Bobby turned himself in to Jesse Jackson in Breadbasket, a situation I was involved in. Already that kind of extra legal pattern was beginning to form.

Senator PERCY. Was this because it was generally known in the community that he was guilty?

Reverend BARBER. No. Bobby Rush is the No. 1 Black Panther.

When the police—the police did that predawn raid and Bobby was in an apartment which is probably why he wasn't dead. He wanted to be turned in without getting shot, without having the door kicked down and police bullets flying all around. So, he offered to turn himself in to Reverend Jackson and a ranking black policeman. One was Commander Miles who, incidentally, was demoted in Inglewood, you see.

So, we turned Bobby Rush in before 5,000 people so that if anything had happened and he ended up dead later we could properly indict the Chicago police.

Similarly, Johnny Vale who was a suspect in the Cabrini case wanted to be turned over. Reverend Jackson and I went to work to assure he got his day in court and we nearly got shot by the Chicago police in the course of all of that. But that is another story.

All I am trying to point to is the feeling of disaffection that people have toward white policemen in a city that is 47-percent black.

Senator PERCY. Isn't it true that every newspaper in Chicago commended the Chicago police for their restraint, for the intelligent way they went about this? I think part of it was attributable, of course, to their working with Reverend Jackson and yourself. But, regardless of who gets the credit, they have been lauded for the restraint they displayed when two police officers were shot in the back in coldblood.

Reverend BARBER. I agree. But I have no doubt that the black suspects would have been shot without a day in court.

You know, based in part on Superintendent Conners' comment that whoever did it were animals. They created a whole psychological climate that would have allowed almost anything to occur.

All we are moving toward, all we are asking is for justice and fairness. We are saying that black guilty ought to be punished. I went on record, in fact, in Chicago—papers quoted me—that if black terrorism continues these kinds are going to wind up dead or in prison, whatever they choose.

Senator PERCY. All of this still serves as a preamble to Black Men Moving.

Reverend BARBER. A positive preamble.

Senator GURNEY. Could he talk a little bit about the police? This is certainly important testimony. I am interested in what you are saying.

You have black patrolmen in the KOCO area, don't you?

Reverend BARBER. Only 16 percent of the Chicago policemen are black.

Senator GURNEY. I realize that.

Reverend BARBER. This means in every area of the city we are under-represented. Even in all-black areas then you have a majority, a heavy majority, of white policemen.

Senator GURNEY. I understand. But let us see if we can pursue this a little bit so that we can perhaps find more specifics which are important to the committee.

You do have some black patrolmen, say, in an area like KOCO?

Reverend BARBER. That is true; roughly about 20 percent. In a 100-percent area, you get about 20-percent black officers. That is true of KOCO.

Senator GURNEY. My question is this: So far as these black officers are concerned, the 20 percent, say, in the KOCO area, do they enjoy the confidence of the black community?

For example, if there were mugging and people know who did the mugging, would they go to the black patrolmen and say it was done by so-and-so?

Reverend BARBER. I would say no.

One reason is because up to now there has been no indication that black policemen are even respected by the police hierarchy. And Commander Miles' demotion. One of the five black commanders was demoted recently, allegedly because he did not have a tie on and he put his hand on a white woman. This is one of the five black commanders out of 25.

Senator GURNEY. But the patrolmen, themselves. Are they able to establish a confidence and identify with the people?

Reverend BARBER. I would doubt it. I would say that black people tend to aspire to have more black policemen.

One of the new developments in Cabrini, as recent as Secretary Romney's coming this Saturday, which is 3 days ago, was for the first time a black sergeant in that area. In other words, in Cabrini where our Black Men Moving constituted a patrol to protect Secretary Romney, together with Chicago policemen, for the first time in that all-black area we had a black sergeant and a black police officer.

The whole incident went down with peace and dignity and honor in the same place where 3 weeks before the white policemen had been killed in a vicious sniping which I am even prepared to call that.

Senator GURNEY. Why would the black patrolman make an effort to communicate with the residents of an area?

Reverend BARBER. Very definitely because they are indigenous to the area.

Senator GURNEY. Why can't they, then? Your testimony seems to indicate that they can't reach them, either. That is what I want to find out.

Reverend BARBER. What I am saying is that in these 10 areas you need to assign them. You need more to start with.

Chicago, for example, is getting ready to hire 500 new policemen. The Chicago Daily News editorial went on record, I think 2 days ago, calling for a fair and equitable share of those 500 policemen. That means—you know, since we are so underrepresented we really ought to get nearly all 500 of those jobs.

If we come up with 16 percent again, that is about 80 jobs out of 500; all we are really going to do is have more Cabrini; all you are going to do is make for the production of more Jeff Forts and more Rangers.

All we are really saying is that we need black empowerment; the black man needs a chance to become a man even in the police force. And that is being denied.

Black veterans who have gone to Vietnam, and fought in the Second World War, are denied a chance to sit on the jury. This is an indictment of the way the judicial system works.

What we are saying is that we are prepared to send that black juvenile or that black murderer where he ought to go. The white juror really does not care because he knows that black guilty child, if he is guilty, is not going to be in Cicero and come back to the white community.

I am indicting the way the police system works and the way the jury system works and the way the judges have worked.

Senator GURNEY. Why can't blacks get on juries in Chicago?

Reverend BARBER. That is very complicated. That goes to the machinations of the way the legal system works which I am sure you know better than I as a lawmaker.

Senator GURNEY. I don't know anything about Chicago.

Reverend BARBER. Juries are made up of so-called blue-ribbon panels which start with recommendations of people who are considered part of the elite and, secondly, they come from voter registration lists. Everybody knows the Chicago political process is quite faulty as to the registering of black people, as to people voting on the graveyard list.

One editorial the other day indicated in Cabrini that the return showed 421 votes for the Democrats, four for the Republicans, in a situation in which the poll watchers were so intimidated they did not even stick around to make the count.

Now, this kind of thing goes on in Chicago.

You see, what I am really saying, Senator McClellan, you know, is that I respect law and order but the judicial system is failing; the police system is failing. The lawmaking system is failing. Black people cannot be policemen and jurors.

In the light of that, you see the final result is a jungle situation, a situation where the black juvenile can do whatever he wants to with impunity, and this is what I have come to stop, especially because I saw the bullets fly through the window and I watched the church burn.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the Senator yield for a moment?

Senator GURNEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are talking about Chicago, aren't you?

Reverend BARBER. Positively.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

I want to tell you that what you are saying is a very sad commentary, indeed, on the white people of Chicago and on the officials of Chicago and on the people of Chicago. The contention is that nobody gets on juries, nobody gets anything up there, yet you want to hold up the South as an example.

Here you are describing conditions up there that have been there for years and years and years, and you are saying now that you can't get justice, you can't get police to do right, you can't get anything right in Chicago.

Is that a true statement?

Reverend BARBER. That is true, Senator McClellan.

You see, there is similarity. The Democratic Party runs not only Arkansas but Cook County.

The CHAIRMAN. I wouldn't say that. We have a Republican Governor in Arkansas. You ought to read up and get informed before you make those statements.

Reverend BARBER. I know Rockefeller is in office now, just like Senator Percy is in office.

The CHAIRMAN. Why don't you deal with Chicago now? You have given illustrations of conditions there. What do you propose should be done about it?

Reverend BARBER. I am trying to wrestle with the way your interests and mine coincide. I think we are both on the side of law and order.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for that.

A jury of your people in Washington convicted Fort; yet, you take up for him and make a hero out of him.

Reverend BARBER. Why isn't he in jail?

The CHAIRMAN. Because he is on appeal. We do have rights of appeal in this country.

Reverend BARBER. I want to really move into the necessity for Black Men Moving. I want to illustrate it with a very recent case.

Senator GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, I think there is a vote on the conference report.

Senator PERCY. If we want to get this question answered, you are going to have to answer it concisely and right to the point now because we have to leave for a vote.

May I repeat the question again?

What is the Black Men Moving, how is it constituted, and what was it set up for?

I think you have already adequately laid the framework.

Reverend BARBER. It is a group of average black men. Right now, we are 1,000 strong. What we have done, we have participated in about three marches up to now, two marches in support of Reverend Burrell against fear and violence in the KOCO area, one march in support of the black protest effort to get Commander Miles reinstated.

Then we did two other marches in Cabrini in cooperation with the people over there and pressing for their programs which are much like Reverend Burrell's programs for community change.

What we have done is try to support viable community organizations and eliminate fear, you know, the fear that black people have for white police, or the fear that white people have for black juvenile gangs.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will have to recess. We have a roll call vote. So, we will be back in about 15 minutes.

We stand in recess for about 15 minutes.

(A brief recess was taken.)

(Members present at time of recess: Senators McClellan, Percy, and Gurney.)

(Members present after recess: Senators McClellan, Percy, and Gurney.)

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, the committee will resume.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, I think it will be more productive—I must leave here in 20 minutes for another meeting—if we could confine our remarks for the remainder of this period to statements with respect to the conditions that you know first-hand in the country in which you live.

For instance, I would like your comment on a statement made by Reverend Barber:

If Curtis dies, I will die with him. This country is being terrorized by 200 to 300 little boys. These kids are fed dope, given pistols and gasoline, and the end result is firebombs. I am indicting this community. There are 1 million black men here, and only two men are speaking out.

This is an opportunity for you to speak out to the U.S. Senate.

I know there are injustices that exist in society, but the unique contribution I think you can make is that you have the courage to speak out about conditions that are going on right in your own community.

Did you make that statement, and if so, could you expand on it? Is that one of the reasons you have seen fit to set up an organization of black men for the protection of black citizens in that community?

Reverend BARBER. Positively.

I did make the statement, and the statement indicates my position on violence. I am opposed to violence. I was speech writer for Martin Luther King, and of course he was the country's great prophet of nonviolence.

In my statement I said in the face of having been present when the bullets flew, and almost getting killed, myself, I said that if Curtis died, I will, too, which indicated that I thought my life ought to be a witness just like Martin's was, and just like Curtis' might have to be.

And I moved that way out of a Christian perspective, the Bible saying that "Greater love hath no man than this, than to lay down his life for a friend."

As an organizer, I knew it was incumbent for me to do more than just die with Curtis, but to try to organize the community so that it would have more standing with me. The mere fact of the black men standing would be the additional input we thought to begin to make the kind of changes that are needed in Chicago, so that we organized.

I indicated in one statement we were coming 400 to 500 strong to march behind Curtis, and the next march to let the Stones know they don't run it, but the black men run it.

It was out of that, plus the firing back, that led to the notion, Senator Percy, that I was leading an army of 500 armed men to deal with the Stones.

The white papers even said, you know, "Civil war on the way, blacks prepare to battle," and then Jeff Fort and the other so-called Black keystones called me Goliath, and said they were little Davids, and they would be ready, if my men wore white hats, they would gun us down.

Not only did we march Saturday with Curtis Burrell, but we marched in Cabrini the same time with Governor Romney. We deployed our men, we sent 500 with Romney, and only 25 with Curtis, because we came in a nonmartial spirit, in peace and honor and dignity.

The point was—our 25 men coming intimidated the Stone army, just as when the shooting occurred, when 30 armed Stones fired upon the church, we had only two men firing back, and those 30 Stones ran, and the two men firing were licensed, and weren't part of Black Men Moving, but part of a licensed guard.

So what we are saying is that it already appears now that we begin to get a new and beautiful element in the picture, that is, to refuse Jesse Jackson's leadership, and the work that some of the others of us have done in organizing, that is, the black average man, not the civil right super star, movie star, or, at least, is starting to assert himself. He is going to say, "David is home now, David is home to stay. He is going to provide for his family, he is going to fight for jobs, he is going to fight for a jury. He is going to be a policeman."

Senator PERCY. Reverend Burrell, may I address a question to you? Will you tell us about the Main 21, that is, the 21 adult leaders of the Black Stone Nation? To what extent do they coordinate and dictate gang activity? Do you have any first-hand knowledge of this, or can you tell us a little how they are organized?

Reverend BURRELL. I can't. If I told you anything, it would have to be little, because I am not too aware of how the structure is put together. I can relate to you the bits and pieces that I have gathered over the past year or so.

They are supposed to be a hierarchy of Main 21, and Jeff Fort is to be the leader. I understand in recent months a lot of these guys are beginning to get restless.

It is not certain how many are on the streets. However, in the KOCO area, there is one fellow who is supposed to be a Main 21. Because that is such a "prestigious" kind of title to have, you find a lot of guys who go around saying they are one of the Main.

However, there was one, I believe, who was one of the Main 21 who was supposed to have leadership over the guys in the KOCO area.

From time to time you see fellows coming around like this, that others in the community are supposed to recognize as that man who is supposed to be over a force of, and I think there is only a small handful of guys, 10, or even less, just in that KOCO area.

I imagine they do the same thing in other areas that they are supposed to control.

Senator PERCY. Are you at all concerned about your appearance here today, as to whether it will result in gang-sponsored repercussions, further threats on your life, or damage to the organization that you head,

or the community, or the church? Do you have to be concerned about what you say here, as to what effect it might have?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes. From doing things of less significance than this, I have gotten the kind of violence that we have witnessed being apprised of through the newspapers.

I would not put it past those guys to do something in retaliation for my being here. However, I think it is right that I should be here, and talk to the whole Nation on every occasion I can about the problems as we see it in our KOCO area, and throughout Chicago.

I think that there are similar social problems which lead up to violence that is typical or that can be related to problem areas throughout the Nation.

So I feel that I am doing what is right, and for that, as I have indicated in my testimony earlier, I am willing to face whatever comes, may come.

Senator PERCY. Do you have any knowledge as to how the gangs gain their information concerning the use and construction of explosives and the knowledge of any other mechanisms of violence that they perpetrate upon society? Can you give us any insight as to how they train themselves for intimidation, for instance?

Reverend BURRELL. No, I can't. I suspect there are adults who give constant advice to these guys. I have not heard them say they have explosives, or that they use explosives. The impression that I get of the gangs is that they are not what you might call the revolutionary kind. They don't have any ideology or doctrine.

What they want is a piece of the action, in a sense. The bad thing about this is that so few of the guys want to work for a piece of the action. I think that they represent a force—they like America, they are not trying to get out and go anywhere else.

Senator PERCY. In other words, you differentiate them from the radical groups that are trying to tear society down. They are just trying to control their piece of it, and get a piece of the action for themselves.

Reverend BURRELL. The only way they know how, and that is through the old jungle law of just take.

Senator PERCY. So that this is one aspect of violence that we have in society, and particularly urban communities, now, differentiated from those who are ideologically oriented against society. They are not interested in ideology, they use violence where it serves their own purpose and their own end?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes. They will palm themselves off like whatever you are saying, that becomes theirs. If you have an organization, that is what we are about, too. If you are revolutionary, whatever it may be, we are for that, too. Whatever it is, they will eventually co-opt it, and pull it in, and eventually all the guys will come out looking the same way, which is simply a gang.

Senator PERCY. Then my summary question is simply to get back to the real reason they were trying to shoot you, or blow you up, or intimidate you by the use of force. What were they really trying to get you to do, I presume within the structure of KOCO?

Reverend BURRELL. I think, leave. Doing the kind of walking, the first walk, we had about eight people with us, and a stream of policemen down the middle of the side. On the other side, we had between a hundred and 150 young gangmen marching in protest, "Burrell is on

dope, Burrell is crazy," a lot of things they were saying. They were simply trying to frighten me off, people to leave town.

Usually, people do. When you do something in the face of Blackstone Rangers, people leave town. They were trying to get me for being so bold. When you do that, you begin to create another alternative. You begin to create an option of fear and violence, and you present an alternative of being courageous and standing up and speaking your mind. They can't stand that kind of openness, and that kind of honesty.

I, too, have found that we have conditions in our community, in the KOCO area, and I would think typical throughout gang-dominated areas in the city, which border on fascism. That is, you don't have the right to speak, you don't have the right to speak your opinion, your mind.

Just for speaking your opinion, if you disagree, that is a threat to them, and they will retaliate in some form or another. Obviously, speaking as I and John Barber and a few others are doing, then you become a greater threat to them, and so they will respond accordingly.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, I think in the last 5 minutes we have really a summary of a very important aspect of these hearings that would not have been complete unless we had this testimony.

Reverend BARBER. Senator, we would like to invite you into the KOCO area for a full-scale investigation, and even working on some sites where you might think to house the hearing, as, for example, the Southmoor Hotel, which has recently been seized by this group and taken over from the owners, and so that even rents are not collected by the owners, but rather by the Stones.

Apparently the courts appointed the receiver. The first receiver I understand was thrown in the garbage can. The second receiver is scared to go up on the second floor to find out who the tenants are.

Senator PERCY. They have seized the building?  
Reverend BARBER. They have infiltrated. They become roomers, first of all, bellhops and elevator operators. Gradually, as other roomers ran away, they refused to pay rent. Pretty soon, the owner found himself going bankrupt and gave it up.

It seems to me that that constitutes a challenge to the whole way the legal system works, if a receiver is thrown in the garbage can, and the second receiver can't even go up on the second floor.

The reason I cite this is because a particularly atrocious murder was committed there 2 weeks ago in which one of the Rangers I understand the rest of them were mad at was told to get on his knees and pray, and he was shot between the eyes while he was praying.

So we invite you to take over in the Southmoor, because it is in legal control, anyway, supposedly in the hands of the State, and conduct your investigation, because we want a full-scale investigation as to where the guns come from, who is doing the murders, where the dope comes from, who funds the Stones, including the white interests involved, and their relationship to the Mafia.

We want more than publicity, this time. Otherwise, we won't be around for the next time.

Senator GURNEY. How many are there?

Reverend BURRELL. They claim to have 10,000.

Senator GURNEY. Do you think they have that many?

Reverend BURRELL. No. Even if they did, that is a small percentage of black youth in Chicago.

Most of these guys are not youth. They range up to the age of 40 years.

Senator GURNEY. Are there any other gangs besides them?

Reverend BURRELL. There are other gangs. I guess the dominant gangs, the ones you hear most about, are the Disciples, the Vice Lords. Even they don't have the kind of fear and mystique about themselves as the Stones do. I don't think that they have a kind—

The Stones have almost a kind of manifest destiny. They keep pushing out, keep pushing out, taking over what they call more territory. I don't think any other gang has that kind of zeal.

Senator PERCY. I think we see, Mr. Chairman, a very interesting and an ominous pattern developing for the future.

I know it has been suggested we not use the term "Mafia." I will use the term "adult organized crime" or "syndicate." We have seen and studied and understand and full well know the techniques used by these people to muscle into legitimate business, through terrorist action, through intimidation, to take over and control an increasing amount of the commerce of America, you might say, and many other areas of the world.

A well-organized, militant young group of people, using the same techniques, the same tactics, the same methods, thousands of them, seem prepared just to move right up from their present activities and take over. I have watched the progress of this one hotel very closely, because they have muscled in and have literally physically taken over with these tactics.

I will be very happy to visit the KOCO area on a future trip to Chicago. It is a community with which I am very familiar indeed, having lived in the community for 4 years. But I will update myself as to what is happening.

I appreciate very much the insight you have given this committee as to some of these techniques and tactics that are being used, which are developing into a pattern not just in Chicago but in other urban communities. It is making the quality of life in American cities unbearable for people, whether they be young or old, black or white.

Thank you very much.

Reverend BURRELL. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, 2 years ago, in 1968, we had hearings here on the Blackstone Rangers, for which some now want to condemn this committee, and criticize.

I would just like to point out that at that time full information about the Blackstone Rangers, their tactics, what their goals were, what their practices were, was placed on record here. Everybody knew it from this record. It was known to the people in that area, particularly, of Chicago.

It was at that time that a number of people in that area defended them. It is not a case of their not knowing and not having been warned.

I point out some facts about this Woodlawn organization. There were some \$900-some odd thousand, \$927,000, given to this organization. But they did not supervise the money. They turned it over to the gang people, who have been referred to as "they" and "them," and about whom the testimony has included the word "intimidation." The

money was turned over to them without any supervision, and as a result, according to experts who testified, 89 percent of the documents that were examined, the checks, the timesheets, and weekly reports, gave clear evidence of forgery.

That is a condition that is not new. The people there knew about it in those communities.

My own thought is that you must cooperate with the law, and work with the law. I don't know whether you want the police force all black or white or mixed. However, the community must start working with the law. It is up to you leaders to do that. I am sure the policemen are not perfect, the courts are not perfect—they are not that anywhere—but I don't think you are going to conquer this situation, or improve it, by failing to cooperate to take action against those who are permitting these depredations.

As long as they are defended and condoned and protected, I don't think you are going to correct the situation.

Let me ask you, has either of you ever been a member of the Blackstone Rangers?

Reverend BARBER. No, I haven't Senator McClellan. I have been a militant civil rights person.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand, you said that, but were you ever a member of this group?

Reverend BARBER. No, I never was.

To indicate my readiness to cooperate, we have invited this committee to come into our neighborhood.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't need to come there. We brought you here to tell us about it.

Why do I want to come there to risk my life? You say it is not safe for you. I don't want to go out to be shot at if you can't give us protection.

Reverend BARBER. Are you suggesting that the Blackstone Rangers are more powerful than the Federal Government?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know. In that particular community apparently they are more powerful than the law.

The Federal Government has certain limitations as to what it can do, and what it cannot do, under the Constitution.

Obviously, from you, your own testimony, they have more power there than does the State government, the city government, and the community. Obviously, from your statement. Isn't that correct?

Reverend BARBER. I did not mean to intimate that.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not mean to intimate that?

Reverend BARBER. If I thought they were that powerful, I would not be here. I would have taken flight.

The CHAIRMAN. If they are not that powerful, why do they continue to make these depredations? Why can't you stop it?

Reverend BARBER. We are calling for law enforcement to do their job.

The CHAIRMAN. I know. They have not been able to do it up to now.

Reverend BARBER. The Mafia did what they wanted to.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about the Mafia. I am talking about this gang in Chicago.

Reverend BARBER. Maybe they are black Mafia.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know whether they are or not. It is a gang that is there, whether they are black Mafia, white Mafia, yellow Mafia, or no Mafia at all, they are a gang that is preying on your people. Is that true?

Reverend BARBER. That is true.

A lot of people are praying. I am prepared to fight against it, to organize against it.

The CHAIRMAN. There are a lot of people ready to help you, if you will do that.

Reverend BARBER. What is the next step?

The CHAIRMAN. I think you will find the authorities in Chicago—I can't believe that the State of Illinois won't cooperate, that the law enforcement officials of Chicago won't cooperate, if you will cooperate with them.

They sent some men down there in a program of walk-and-talk, and trying to get acquainted with the community.

Reverend BARBER. That is a different area.

The CHAIRMAN. You brought it up. You said the community was not consulted, and therefore they killed them. That does not make any sense.

You folks have to make up your mind to live under law and order, and help maintain it and sustain it, or you are going to live in a jungle, just as you are living now. I have come to that conclusion.

Reverend BARBER. We want law, order, and justice.

The CHAIRMAN. You won't get law and order or justice unless you cooperate with the law. Now, it is not perfect, and you won't always get justice, but there is no other way except the route through the jungle. If you want to travel that in preference to law and order, you can do it.

Reverend BARBER. Would you support our stand for more black policemen, and more black jurors?

The CHAIRMAN. That is a community problem. Ordinarily, generally overall, yes. I don't know. That is a local community problem, but your indictment is against the State, the city, and your community, and the people thereof.

Reverend BARBER. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. That is whom you have indicted.

Reverend BARBER. I agree.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you about this bombing. That is what I thought you came down here for.

You came down here at the request of Senator Percy, as I said this morning. He asked that you be invited. We invited you down here so that you could tell what the conditions are there with respect to this bombing, to see if it would throw light upon the situation overall, if there was anything that came out of it that might be of interest or information to this committee that would help it to meet its responsibility with respect to legislation.

I am glad you came, and I am glad to have your statement, but I would like you to place a little more emphasis on the violence that you are experiencing there.

How many times have you been shot at lately?

Reverend BARBER. OK. I want Reverend Burrell to comment on the bombing, since it was his church. It was apparent arson.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Reverend BARBER. I was present in the morning meeting of KOCO officials, in which one of the ranking members of the Blackstone Nation hit one of the KOCO community organizers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know him?

Reverend BARBER. Leonard B. Sengale.

I have stated in Chicago I am prepared to testify against him in a court, which means that my life is on the line, you see, because witnesses have a habit of copping out.

The CHAIRMAN. It is commendable that you are willing to testify.

Reverend BARBER. Now, Sengale had just beaten a murder rap 2 weeks before, because the witnesses had changed their testimony, according to the prosecuting attorney, Hanrahan, but I saw him hit that man, and if my testimony would just get him in jail for 2 or 3 months, I would feel that we have a beginning, you see, of a civilized process moving toward justice.

In other words, I want to prove that it is legitimate for a person to be a complainant. However, the problem with that situation is that the man he hit apparently is afraid to testify, and he is a community organizer.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure that is true. You have testified about how the whole community is intimidated. You told me how they undertook to intimidate Reverend Burrell, and how, if they undertake to do that, they are going around intimidating everybody they don't agree with.

Reverend BARBER. Now, the afternoon meeting, in which Sengale as spokesman for the Stone Nation was present, he got frustrated and disturbed. I was surprised he was even in the meeting after he had punched this guy out, but he walked out of that meeting in the church.

There were five ministers present in the church, and a couple of the guards. Five minutes after he left, and after Curtis Burrell saw him talking to a group of Stones, the bullets started to fly in the church windows.

Now, what I am saying here is apparently he ordered the firing. I really believe that. It was in the light of that that I took a strong press stand against Sengale and the Stones, and that very night was the night that the church was burned.

Senator McClellan, I think you missed that. That very night the church was burned, after we took our strong stand against Sengale's apparent involvement in both the ordering of the shooting, after he left the meeting, and after the morning meeting in which he had punched one of our organizers.

The clear implication is that he ordered the shooting of the church, and that the Stones ordered the burning of the church.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you said a while ago people left town because they are afraid of the Blackstone Rangers. Is that correct?

Reverend BURRELL. I said that; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You said, I believe, also, that they will retaliate if you disagree with them. In other words, if you disagree with them on what they want to do, and so forth, they will retaliate against you.

Reverend BURRELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say they are how strong in that community?

Reverend BURRELL. I said they claimed to have 10,000.

The CHAIRMAN. They claim to have?

Reverend BURRELL. They claim to have.

The CHAIRMAN. You can't verify those statements?

Reverend BURRELL. Reverend Barber made a statement of some 300 little boys. There may be that, or even more, but I think a hard core would have to be less than 10.

The CHAIRMAN. According to testimony we had here when we investigated them, they had these little boys and they made them go out and steal and do things like that. Do you say that is true?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It was also claimed that they took their wages away from them, they would put them on the payroll and then take their money, probably giving them some little part of it. Would you say that is true?

Reverend BURRELL. We didn't have little boys in our jobs.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about the Blackstone Rangers.

Reverend BURRELL. In reference to wages as relates to KOCO, we would not be talking about little boys. We would be talking about men who had jobs.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about KOCO. I am talking about the Blackstone Rangers. I thought you said they had 300 boys.

Reverend BURRELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought we were talking about those boys. I wasn't talking about the KOCO boys.

Reverend BARBER. The Main 21 are men.

The CHAIRMAN. I know that. We had that information here. It was published all over the country. The people up there knew it, they knew it then, they knew they were a gang of thieves, crooks, robbers, and murderers. They knew it then. It was publicized.

So it does not come as any surprise to me some 2 or 3 years later, with nothing being done about it, that you have substantially the same or worse conditions today. It does not come as any surprise at all.

Do they still use the First Presbyterian Church as their headquarters, under the supervision of Reverend Fry?

Reverend BARBER. I think they use the Southmoor Hotel I mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when they moved out of the Presbyterian Church?

Reverend BARBER. I am not sure, but they have recently seized the hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. They seized it, took it over?

Reverend BARBER. Positively.

The CHAIRMAN. By force and violence?

Reverend BARBER. Just subtle, you know, subtle taking over, just by becoming jobholders and renters, and refusing to pay rent and running the other renters away, so that management went bankrupt. When the first receiver went there with police and the sheriff, they welcomed him in. He told the police and the sheriff that he did not need them any more. Then they threw him in the garbage can. He has not returned.

The second receiver is afraid to find out how many are in the hotel.  
The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the law can't function in that community. Is that correct?

Reverend BARBER. You draw your conclusions. I invite you to the Southmoor Hotel, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I tell you I am not coming. They have created a condition I don't have to live in. I don't want to come to a place where there is no law and order. I am sorry for people who have to live there.

Reverend BURRELL. We don't have to live there, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you don't.

Reverend BARBER. We ask for a display of courage on the part of this committee. We have tried to be courageous, ourselves, Reverend Jackson, Reverend Burrell, and myself.

Are you saying that this committee is powerless, we have no place of refuge, no place to turn to, no place where civilization can find a bastion?

The CHAIRMAN. This committee has no power to go out there and arrest anybody.

Reverend BARBER. Can you investigate the situation?

The CHAIRMAN. We are investigating. We are talking to you, trying to get you to tell us what you know about it, right now.

What else do you want us to do? Do you want us to go out there in the place and get shot? Is that what you say will happen to us? That seems to me what you are trying to get. It is not safe.

Reverend BARBER. I would ask you to have more courage that you think we possess.

The CHAIRMAN. I have courage when it is necessary, I think, but I don't go out to a jungle just for the sake of appeasing somebody like you, who says, "Come out here."

Reverend BARBER. We send men to the jungles of Vietnam to appease Ky and them, to bring democracy. Can you bring law and order and justice to the South Side of Chicago, as we are trying to do in Vietnam?

You say we owe that much to the black fathers who now want to protect their children, and who have been veterans.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you wanted self-independence. Now we give it to you, and you try to run it, out there, and what kind of mess do you have?

Reverend BARBER. Daley runs Chicago. We don't have independence. You know Daley runs that town.

The CHAIRMAN. There are two or three other questions.

You said something about—I believe this was you, Reverend Burrell—

Reverend BARBER. Would you support a new mayor in Chicago? If we built up a valid political force with Black Men Moving and other groups, would you support a new mayor to institute changes?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't vote in Chicago.

Reverend BARBER. But you are a Democrat.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't vote in Chicago, and I don't try to run Chicago's business. I don't want you to try to run the business of my community unless you live there as a citizen. I am not going to try to do things like that.

We are trying to get information here that will be helpful to try to deal with this problem all over the country.

According to the press, in speeches you have urged strong opposition to the Blackstone Rangers. Is that true?

Reverend BARBER. Yes; strong opposition to their delinquent practices. I am not opposed to them per se. I marched with them last year for jobs.

The CHAIRMAN. You would be opposed to them if their objectives were nothing but lawlessness?

Reverend BARBER. To that extent, I am opposed, but I did march with them when they tried to get jobs.

The trade unions and Mayor Daley agreed to get them 4,000 jobs for this summer. To this date not one job has been given.

The CHAIRMAN. You said, according to the press, both you and Burrell are in danger of death because you oppose these gangs.

Would that be correct?

Reverend BARBER. That is true. That is why I am here today. I don't want you to have to come to my funeral and say I was courageous, Senator. I want you to move now, while I am alive.

The CHAIRMAN. I am probably not coming, whether you are courageous or not courageous.

Reverend BARBER. I came to Arkansas to help Daisey Bates.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to get this record made here, and help you to make it from whatever facts you have.

Another statement in the press was, quoting you:

This community is being terrorized by 200 to 300 little boys. These kids are fed dope, given pistols and gasoline, and the end results are firebombs.

Did you make that statement?

Reverend BARBER. That is right.

Dope is a violation of a Federal law, that whole traffic.

Once again, we call for Federal action. That heroin and stuff comes from Turkey and places, Lebanon. If the Federal Government and Narcotics Bureau don't move, how do you expect us to move?

The CHAIRMAN. In your community, have you ever reported anybody to the police for selling dope?

No, of course not.

Let me ask you, did you make this statement: "This community is being terrorized by 200 or 300 little boys." Did you make that statement which I just read to you?

Reverend BARBER. I agree I made that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you further say: "I am indicting this community. There are 1 million black men here, and only two men are speaking out"?

Reverend BARBER. I want to amend that. Reverend Jackson has done a beautiful job in dealing with both the causes and effects. That makes three men, plus our Black Men Moving. We have about 500 who are standing up now.

The CHAIRMAN. You say now about 500?

Reverend BARBER. That is what I would say now.

The CHAIRMAN. Out of about 55,000. Is that the number in your community?

Reverend BARBER. The 500 out of a total black city, out of a population that exceeds a million. That community has 55,000 people. Not

that many are standing up in that community yet, but we want to try to get as many more as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to relate it to what you are trying to say.

Reverend BARBER. 500 men come from all over Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. You have 500 from all over Chicago that are standing up?

Reverend BARBER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Not 500 in that community, but all over Chicago?

Reverend BARBER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have more than three in that community that are standing up?

You referred to two that day, and now you say Reverend Jackson is standing up.

Reverend BARBER. There are a number of local people who are now beginning to work with Curtis, walk against fear and violence.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you said, if you are quoted correctly, "This is really a pitiful community." Do you so regard it?

Reverend BARBER. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. You say, "I am doing all I can do to support Reverend Burrell, but a certain civil rights leader does nothing." Who is he?

Reverend BARBER. That is not really relevant. I already indicated that more than two are now standing up.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody else is doing anything. You won't tell us who is doing nothing. How do you expect people to enforce the law?

Reverend BARBER. Suppose I say whoever I referred to is part of the 500 who is standing up now, so that is no more a problem.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know whether it is or not. When you try to get facts and information, and you folks are doing more than most of them, you two today, when we get down to try to get facts and information, they run out, they won't stand up, as you say.

Reverend BARBER. You see, I am more concerned about the guns and the dope and money than the name of somebody who does not have courage to stand up.

I am calling for your help, because the Federal Government is vested with control over the traffic and guns and international narcotics.

You know that is the truth. Do you admit I am right?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't say the Federal Government can do everything, or has done everything it should. I am trying to get the facts to see if there are any more laws that we can enact that will be helpful, that will reinforce the Federal Government wherever reinforcement is needed.

We have crime all over the country, in Chicago, in Arkansas, everywhere—far, far more than we should have, and law enforcement is not standing up. It is more or less breaking down in some sections of the country, in many sections of the country, as we observe.

That is one of our purposes here, to try to ascertain what laws are needed, what further laws we can enact. We don't execute the laws of Congress, but we have the duty to enact them.

What laws should be enacted, if any, to strengthen the power of law enforcement to deal with these problems?

Reverend BARBER. I think we need technical experts in jury reform, and police reform.

On your own committee, I would recommend Senator Brooke. He played a big part in fighting crime in Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. We have your Senator on the committee.

Reverend BARBER. Senator Brooke is on this committee?

The CHAIRMAN. We have your Senator, Senator Percy of Illinois.

Reverend BARBER. He is absent right now. What I am saying, Senator Brooke ought to understand this kind of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Go talk to him. Maybe he will.

I am trying to make a record here so that he can read it, if he will.

Reverend BARBER. I am in favor of this committee, with Senator Brooke, coming on to Chicago and looking at our situation.

The CHAIRMAN. You get Senator Brooke to come out there. I have told you I am not coming. I don't think I need to tell you that any more.

Reverend BARBER. We invite you, Senator McClellan, and all the distinguished members.

The CHAIRMAN. The invitation is declined.

Do you know who these Main 21 of the Blackstone Rangers are? Do you know them now? I suppose they have changed some since they testified here before.

Reverend BARBER. I believe the gang intelligence unit of the police know. We know some of the names only by reputation, but the names have been thrown out. Jeff Fort is surely one. Mickey Cogswell is surely one. A brother named Bay is surely one.

These are the men who have proved to be immune from judicial process time after time.

The CHAIRMAN. Fort was not immune here, when he got in contempt of this committee. We had him prosecuted.

You praised him for defying the committee.

Reverend BARBER. I thought he was a hero then. I don't think he is a hero now. I know more about what he is doing.

The CHAIRMAN. You know more about him?

Reverend BARBER. Positively.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we had that information at the time.

Because he defied the committee, you thought he was a hero. That is the kind of attitude—

Reverend BARBER. In part because you used a paid informant against him, George Watusi Rose.

I have come here as a person who has fought white racism all my life.

The CHAIRMAN. We had a woman here who was not a paid informer. Her sons were members of the Blackstone Rangers, who had been forced to join.

Reverend BARBER. And the police helped her out of the State and found jobs for her sons.

I am not asking the police to do anything for me but to serve and protect. That is the model of the police department. The police helped her to get out of the State, found jobs for her sons.

What I am saying, all I am asking the police to do is to serve and protect. Don't find me no job. I am already employed. I don't want one. I just want to be a citizen who can live in security.

The CHAIRMAN. The police can't do it all. You are going to have to cooperate with them. As long as you let this gang run over you and won't testify against them, and things like that.

Reverend BARBER. You say I won't testify against them?

The CHAIRMAN. That is why you say they run people off.

Reverend BARBER. I am ready to testify. Who is going to hear me? What jury is ready to convict? That is the question.

The CHAIRMAN. You have law enforcement officials there. Are you indicting them again, saying you can't go to the law enforcement officials and report the crime?

Reverend BARBER. We need black people on the Chicago juries.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't care about black or white. Can you go to the black people who are on the police force and make a charge against someone committing a crime in your community? Can you do that? Or do you not trust them?

Reverend BARBER. I trust policemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you go to them and give them this information, and make the charge?

Reverend BARBER. Where the Stones beat it is in court before judges.

The CHAIRMAN. They may beat you there. I don't know. I can't answer that.

I do know this is our system. We have to stay with this system and try to improve it, or the alternatives are just the conditions you have there today.

Reverend BARBER. Will you support jury reform in Arkansas?

The CHAIRMAN. We have it.

Reverend BARBER. Do you have black people on the jury in Arkansas?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, for years.

Reverend BARBER. In proportion to what they represent in the State?

The CHAIRMAN. You can't always make it proportional. Sometimes more, sometimes less.

Reverend BARBER. More than two out of 12?

The CHAIRMAN. The jury that tried Fort had nine black people on it, and three white. That is out of proportion, a little bit.

They have the right to excuse people from the jury. They exercise peremptory challenges. You can't always regulate it.

But in Arkansas today, and I assume in Chicago, where they complain about the South all the time—I assume you have a jury system whereby your people are represented.

Reverend BARBER. Chicago's jury system is worse than the jury system of Arkansas and Mississippi because it is tokenism in a community where there are 47 percent black. We are lucky to get one juror out of 12.

I am asking you, would you support jury reform so that we can change that system and give four and five and six black jurors on a panel of 12?

The CHAIRMAN. We have jury reform. You have the Federal law now, supposedly, to protect you. All you have to do is enforce it. You have the law.

Reverend BARBER. Would you ask Brother Mitchell to look into the jury empanelling situation in Chicago? That is my request.

The CHAIRMAN. I suggest you take it to your Senator and let him represent you. I represent my State. If anybody in my State made that request to me, I would give it attention.

Reverend BARBER. I think, sir, when you want something done for your State as such, primarily, something like that, you should go to your representatives in Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. I am right here. I ask you to ask Senator Percy. I am not going to ask him. He is your Senator, you know where his office is. If you want to ask him, ask him.

You talk about narcotics. Will you give information to a member of the Narcotics Bureau here that you have about narcotics sales in your community?

Reverend BARBER. I would, but I don't know anything about narcotics. I don't deal with anything stronger than Pepsi-Cola.

The CHAIRMAN. You know nothing about it?

Reverend BARBER. I know nothing about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke about them giving children drugs. You said that.

Reverend BARBER. Yes, they commit murder. Everybody knows they are high off cocaine, horse, and stuff.

Reverend Burrell begs leave to leave, but I can stay.

Would you excuse Reverend Burrell?

The CHAIRMAN. Somebody was testifying about Fort. Is he still there dominating the situation?

Reverend BURRELL. He is still in Chicago walking the streets.

The CHAIRMAN. According to the press—I think this was right after the burning of your church—wasn't it Jeff Fort, leader of the Black P-Stone Nation, who called a press conference at the First Presbyterian Church?

That was their headquarters when they were here before. I can't understand a church harboring such people. But he still has the use of the church, First Presbyterian Church, according to this, to hold a press conference.

He called a press conference at the Presbyterian Church to denounce Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of SCLC.

Do you know anything about the press conference?

Reverend BARBER. That is true. He said he was scared we were going to kill him. He said with the 18-year-old vote coming in, the reason we were opposed to him and the Stones was because he was going to be elected mayor, or President.

I want to seriously throw out the notion, Senator McClellan, you may be dealing with a future President of the United States. When he becomes President of the United States and has the Pentagon, I want him to know that the Pentagon don't run it, but rather the KOCO area is run by KOCO and Reverend Burrell. That is why I am here today.

The CHAIRMAN. I will release you of any distress. I am prepared to take that risk, that he won't be President of the United States, so don't worry about it.

It was further said at that time—"Barber said," that is you, "that he was supposed to get some type of bullet in his head."

Did you make that statement, or was that something Fort manufactured?

Reverend BARBER. He manufactured that. What I did say was that, if harm came to Reverend Burrell, if a hair on his head was singed, that we are praying for the Main 21 that they don't go to hell. He interpreted my religious language in terms of that violent vernacular.

The CHAIRMAN. He made a further statement. I will read what he said at the press conference. Were you present, and did you hear it?

Reverend BARBER. No, I just read it in the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. He said:

"Our organization is a nonviolent organization," meaning the Rangers. He says, "We fight to protect ourselves. The way things are going now, it seems like there is going to have to be a whole lot of shooting," Fort said. He said, "Mr. Barber had an army of Philistines."

Reverend BARBER. That is in the Bible, you know, the Philistines.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barber as Goliath, and Fort as David.

Reverend BARBER. That is what he said.

The CHAIRMAN. Then he says, "I am holding this press conference to talk to the Philistines." That is you and your Black Men Moving. He termed you Philistines.

Reverend BARBER. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. "We are asking these Philistines to identify themselves by wearing white hats to keep innocent people from getting killed."

You are not wearing white hats?

Reverend BARBER. No. I am not going to do anything he wants. I am not going to vote for him for President. You can.

The CHAIRMAN. I think I never claimed him as a hero. You are the one who claimed him as a hero. I don't have to. I never claimed him.

Reverend BARBER. It was your committee contempt citation that he beat.

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't beat it.

Reverend BARBER. He is out on the street.

The CHAIRMAN. Anybody can get out on bond. But he is under conviction. Your people, nine of them, convicted him.

Reverend BARBER. How long will he be out on bond?

The CHAIRMAN. Under the system, he might be out for some time. No one can determine that. I can't determine that.

Reverend BARBER. Just like Lucky Luciano and them.

The CHAIRMAN. He is operating under the civil rights laws. People who are charged with crime have rights under laws that are made to protect them.

Reverend BARBER. You are in favor of civil rights now.

The CHAIRMAN. "The first army they formed"—he is talking about your people—"was to destroy black people." He said that he thought that was terrible.

Was he talking about your Philistines?

Reverend BARBER. I imagine that is what he is talking about. His group has that murder record, those 300 boys killed in the past 3 years.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is true, and I never could understand why they take him into a church out there. They give him a church for a headquarters, and harbor him, the pastor harbors him, and they

keep him there, let him hold a press conference there. That is difficult for me to understand.

I think as long as that goes on, as long as that condition—

Reverend BARBER. That is Reverend Fry. He does not understand the problem. We need black people to take over.

The CHAIRMAN. I said the same thing at the hearings, but the problem will be with us as long as these things go on, churches protect them. It seems to me you are going to continue to have the problem.

It is up to the well-meaning people, you and me, white, black, all of us, to try to combat this evil, working in harmony or in cooperation with constituted authority.

If it is not done that way, my belief is that this will probably continue to get worse instead of better.

Reverend Burrell, how much was the damage to your church?

Reverend BURRELL. In the dark, someone made estimation of \$25,000, but the stained glass windows I think cost that much. I know it was in the neighborhood of a hundred thousand dollars, at least.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have that march in the streets, some 400 or 500 of you?

Reverend BARBER. We marched Saturday. We only had 25 men there. We sent 500 to be with Governor Romney in the Cabrini situation.

Reverend BURRELL. At the time before that, there were 600.

The CHAIRMAN. I was wondering if the people would actually go out and march.

Reverend BARBER. Yes. We did march. A number of people from the neighborhood followed behind us. So we must have had 200 marchers.

But we need more support. We call upon churches, black and white, all over America, to help Reverend Burrell build his church. One thing they can do is contribute money. We want to build that church, Senator McClellan.

We welcome your money, too.

The CHAIRMAN. I make my contribution to my church, which I am obligated to support. If somebody burned down my church, I would not be coming and asking you for a donation.

How many churches are in that community?

Reverend BURRELL. I don't know. I never counted them.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give us some idea? You have your church. I thought there were quite a number of churches in that general community.

Reverend BURRELL. There are not many.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no idea? You gave us the other statistics about it.

Reverend BARBER. Probably between 25 to 50. I would say 10 major churches, and 30 to 40 storefronts, small churches.

The CHAIRMAN. We are trying to find some way here to do something about this, with respect to the bombing and these threats of violence. How can your people and the police work together?

What would you suggest?

Reverend BARBER. I suggest that the Chicago Police Department open up those 500 jobs to a majority of the black men. I support the Chicago Daily News in calling for that in their editorial.

There are 500 jobs now. We need black policemen, if we are going to have peace.

The CHAIRMAN. You think having black policemen would give peace?

Reverend BARBER. It is a beginning. It is a beginning in Cabrini.

The CHAIRMAN. Why is it that the Blackstone Rangers are fighting you folks? Why are they fighting you and have you intimidated?

Reverend BARBER. Because there are no policemen to be a buffer between us and them.

The CHAIRMAN. Because there are no black policemen?

Reverend BARBER. Absolutely, so few.

The CHAIRMAN. Because there are so few black policemen, they are getting by with it?

Reverend BARBER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the black policemen doing anything—

Reverend BARBER. I would say the black policemen are beginning to become more assertive. There are a number of groups within the police force, especially the Afro-American patrolmen headed by Brother Robinson. They are fighting for change and reform, programs like walk-and-listen—rather than just walk-and-talk programs—that the people want, not just programs which come from downtown higher ups, from senile Irish policemen.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is a good one, why be against it, if they are trying to help you? Why be against it because it came from downtown?

Reverend BARBER. Senator, it is just too late in American history for white people to be defining programs for black people. The Chicago Police Department is run by the Irish hierarchy, just like the Chicago Democrat Party.

What we are fighting for is change, fair, proportionate representation.

The CHAIRMAN. I take it from that you simply don't intend to propose to cooperate with the police to the end that you secure law and order.

Reverend BARBER. We want our proportionate share, first of all, of these 500 jobs.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that your alibi or excuse, now, for not cooperating with the police?

Reverend BARBER. I have no alibi or excuse. I am not afraid of going anywhere, including the Southmoor Hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. We are talking about cooperating to the end of bringing about law enforcement, law and order, and protecting the lives of your people.

Are you unwilling to cooperate with white police to the end that you might restore law and order there?

Reverend BARBER. I am willing to cooperate with the police and the court.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you one other question. I did not understand—you probably answered this a while ago.

I note you have a bodyguard. Do you have to have him with you all the time, or is it just for this occasion that you have him?

Reverend BURRELL. For which occasion, being here in Washington?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have your bodyguard, which is all right. Nobody is complaining. I wonder, do you have to have this bodyguard with you all the time, in your own community?

Reverend BURRELL. Yes; he is there all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he employed by the police department? Are you?

Mr. KITZART. No; private detective.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is paying you, the police department?

Mr. KITZART. No; a private detective agency, W. L. Lillard.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Senator GURNEY. No questions.

Reverend BARBER. Senator, I am nonviolent. I walk the streets without a bodyguard. I refuse to subscribe to the notion that I have to be protected by guns. That is why I work for jury reform, judicial reform, police reform.

The CHAIRMAN. I hope you folks out there are working through due process. You have the vote, and you have your State laws, and you have your city laws. I hope you are working through due process of our system. I hope that you are able to get better protection than you have, and get this deplorable condition—and that is a very mild word for it—to get it alleviated so that you will feel safe among your own people to walk the streets, and that your churches will be safe from bombing and from all of the terror and violence that they are now perpetrating.

I hope you will succeed.

Do you have anything, Senator?

Senator GURNEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess until in the morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 4:55 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, August 5, 1970.)

(Members present at time of recess: Senators McClellan and Gurney.)

## RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1970

U.S. SENATE,  
PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,  
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10:20 a.m., in room 3302, New Senate Office Building, pursuant to Senate Resolution 308, agreed to February 16, 1970, Senator John L. McClellan (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Members of the subcommittee present: Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas; Senator Charles H. Percy, Republican, Illinois; and Senator Edward J. Gurney, Republican, Florida.

Members of the professional staff present: Jerome S. Adlerman, general counsel; Philip W. Morgan, chief counsel to the minority; Philip R. Manuel, investigator; John Brick, investigator; Walter S. Fialkewicz, Department of Justice; and Ruth Y. Watt, chief clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of convening: Senators McClellan and Gurney.)

The CHAIRMAN. Call your first witness, Counsel.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Donald Sisco.

The CHAIRMAN. You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SISCO. Yes, sir.

### TESTIMONY OF DONALD E. SISCO

The CHAIRMAN. Be seated.

Mr. SISCO, will you identify yourself for the record?

Mr. SISCO. Donald Eugene Sisco.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. SISCO. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. SISCO. Eureka, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. In what business are you engaged?

Mr. SISCO. Well, I am unemployed right now.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your last employment?

Mr. SISCO. My last regular employment was as a proofreader at the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you operating any kind of business?

Mr. SISCO. Well, I hoped to but it did not quite get off the ground.

The CHAIRMAN. I beg your pardon?

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Mr. SISCO. I hoped to but it did not quite get off the ground. But I put out a "Militants' Formulary" and I have several copies, if you would like to have them.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; we will accept one of them. Let it be received. Let us see a copy of it.

Mr. SISCO. This publication, the "Militants' Formulary," is a publication put out by you?

Mr. SISCO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a company name for your publishing enterprise?

Mr. SISCO. It is not really a publishing enterprise. I just published one book. But I started the formula business and I called it the Atlan Formularies. It is described in the back of the book after page 22.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you also publish another book entitled "Explosives Like Grandad Used to Make"?

Mr. SISCO. Yes; I did. I have it right here. It is a compilation of old formulas and processes for making explosives.

Well, it is taken out of three different formula books. The first one is Dixon's "Encyclopedia of Practical Recipes and Processes," put out in 1872.

The second is a British edition put out in 1922.

The third is another British edition, "The Techno-Chemical Recipe Book" by H. R. Bayer, London, 1896. This, of course, is a novelty item. It is hardly applicable because most of the terminology is too outdated although in the few books I had left I mimeographed an update of the terms.

The CHAIRMAN. The "Militants' Formulary," the first pamphlet you handed us, is already a part of the committee's record as exhibit 832. So, it will not be necessary to receive it again.

The second one that you now present is "Explosives Like Grandad Used to Make."

Do we have this as an exhibit here?

It will be received as exhibit No. 841.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 841" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. These are the two publications you have put out so far?

Mr. SISCO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you begin this enterprise?

Mr. SISCO. I think I put out the first one in 1968; I think the first part of 1968 or the latter part of 1967. I am not completely sure.

The CHAIRMAN. You say the business did not get off the ground; that was your expression, I believe.

Mr. SISCO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of the first one would you say you have sold or distributed?

Mr. SISCO. I think about 320. I advertised first in the Shotgun News. They run the ad for five insertions at biweekly intervals. I was doing pretty good, selling about 280 through them.

The CHAIRMAN. About 280?

Mr. SISCO. About 280.

Then I wrote them back and sent them a check and they sent the check back. They said they had too many complaints because—well, I will find the publication that advertised it.

The CHAIRMAN. They had too many complaints about what?

Mr. SISCO. Well, this is the Shotgun News, and the ad read, it was on the front page, the most prominent ad:

"The Militants' Formulary, how they make their tear gas, bombs, delayed fuse, fire bombs," their source of supply, et cetera. "Of interest to lawmen and concerned citizens, two dollars", and the address.

Evidently they got a great many complaints from the gun dealers who didn't want their gun hobby misconstrued with militancy.

The CHAIRMAN. The people who support the Shotgun News, or whatever it is, that publication, objected to running the kind of ad that you published about these militants' weapons. They objected to its being published and the publication refused thereafter to take further advertising from you?

Mr. SISCO. Yes, they did.

The CHAIRMAN. What did these pamphlets sell for?

Mr. SISCO. Two dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. Two dollars for this?

Mr. SISCO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did the other one sell for, the larger one that you presented here, "Explosives Like Grandad Used to Make"?

Mr. SISCO. Two dollars, also.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of these would you say you have distributed?

Mr. SISCO. I put an ad in the Free Press; I sold about 12. I figured they are not selling at all so I dribbled them away; I just gave them away by dozens.

Since I put out that book, I have gotten several sales from people who bought the Formulary. I would say about 20.

The CHAIRMAN. Altogether, about 300 have been sold of one, the first one here, and about 20 of the other?

Mr. SISCO. Yes, I would say—by me.

The Adobe Hacienda ordered 25 at a dollar apiece. They were ordering them from Angriff Press, before the Angriff Press ran out of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Since you are the author, I assume you would know about how many have been sold and distributed together.

Mr. SISCO. You see, sir, there were 1,350 printed. I got 300. There was a little mix-up deal whereby I did not get any more than 350. So, that is what I was left with.

Whatever happened to the other thousand or who they were sold to or how they were distributed is something I don't have a way of knowing. I do know that the Adobe Hacienda sold several.

The CHAIRMAN. There were 1,350 printed?

Mr. SISCO. Yes, Well, 1,350.

The CHAIRMAN. Now the larger book. How many were printed?

Mr. SISCO. That is what I am talking about.

The CHAIRMAN. 1,350 of this exhibit No. 841 were printed and you got 300 of them?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You sold about 20 altogether?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now the first pamphlet, the Militants' Formulary, how many of those were printed?

Mr. SISCO. 500 were printed. Here is the letter from the individual who printed them. He printed 531. He sent me 500. Here is his bill for the job.

The CHAIRMAN. So, altogether there are something around 2,000 or a little less of all your publications that have been published. That includes both; is that correct?

Mr. SISCO. Yes. I have no way of knowing what happened to the first thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no way of knowing how many were distributed?

Mr. SISCO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. This small pamphlet, the Militants' Formulary, is identified, I believe, as published by the Sturmstrup Press, Post Office Box 9011, Phoenix, Ariz.

Mr. SISCO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the mailing address of the Arizona branch of the American Nazi Party?

Mr. SISCO. Yes; it is, but this was not party business. This was simply a printing job.

The CHAIRMAN. This is just a printing job?

Mr. SISCO. Yes. If you will look at that letter, you will see. It had nothing to do with the party.

The CHAIRMAN. The Nazi Party maintains a printing shop at that address?

Mr. SISCO. Not the party. It is a separate place.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would it have this mailing address there?

Mr. SISCO. That is evidently the mailing address he uses for all of his little deals he's got going.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe the Nazi Party's publication is "Attack," is it not?

Mr. SISCO. Yes. Well, the Arizona one is. The Arlington one is "White Power."

The CHAIRMAN. I have a copy of "Attack." It shows the official newsletter of American Nazi Party, P.O. Box 9011, Phoenix, Ariz.

You recognize that?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So, the fact that it is published there—the printing is there—is in no way connected, you say, or related in any way to the Nazi Party?

Mr. SISCO. No, sir. It was a cash deal.

The CHAIRMAN. It is purely your own product, your own enterprise?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You just had it—

Mr. SISCO. Well, he was a cheaper printer and he would do it on credit.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is some advantage.

Mr. SISCO. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. That was some advantage.

Mr. SISCO. Definitely; yes. I am not prejudiced by a man's race, creed, or color. I don't care as long as he does a cheap printing job.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the way you felt about publishing this information on how to make bombs?

Mr. SISCO. Well, I took the information from more prominent publications. I have several examples of that that I will be glad to show you.

Have you ever seen this one, "Explosives and Bomb Disposal Guide"?

The CHAIRMAN. I am not sure.

Mr. SISCO. Now, that is a beauty. It leaves absolutely nothing to the imagination. In fact, I have the pages flipped over there and you can rifle through it; you can see how to wire a car so that it will explode.

I first got that book out of the San Francisco Library in 1967. Since then, I found that it is sold in every bookstore that sells law books or books on police science.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that the information contained in your pamphlets, either of them, is no more thorough and complete than the information contained—

Mr. SISCO. Hardly, sir. You just have to rifle through to see.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but I am asking you.

Mr. SISCO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You would say that this book emphasizes it as thoroughly and as accurately or more so than the pamphlets that you have put out?

Mr. SISCO. Well, I like to say mine is a better job.

The CHAIRMAN. Yours is a little better?

Mr. SISCO. I think so; yes. That is easier to market and you can order it through any retail bookstore.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just questioning you about the availability. That is one of the purposes we have—to show how available they are.

Mr. SISCO. Yes, sir; that was one of my purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who runs the print shop there at the Nazi address where you had this printed?

Mr. SISCO. Mike Murray.

The CHAIRMAN. Mike who?

Mr. SISCO. Mike Murray. His name is on the letter there.

The CHAIRMAN. Mike Murray?

Mr. SISCO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you an official or member of the American Nazi Party?

Mr. SISCO. No; not in any way.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what position Murray holds in the party? M. J. Murray, I believe is his name.

Mr. SISCO. He says he is the leader of the American Nazi Party which, of course, is in competition with the Arlington party.

The CHAIRMAN. The American Nazi Party has two wings?

Mr. SISCO. I don't know what they would call them. They call each other a lot of names.

The CHAIRMAN. Wing would be a very charitable terminology, would it?

Mr. SISCO. That is charitable; yes.

Senator GURNEY. Is one of these wings the left wing?

Mr. SISCO. No; they are definitely far right. In fact, they are fanatics about being as far right as they can. It is class.

(At this point Senator Percy entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything further?

Mr. ADLERMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I will let counsel interrogate you briefly.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Sisco, this book, the Militants' Formulary is a book on bombing; is that right?

Mr. SISCO. Well, all sorts of terrorist tactics.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Among the things you have is a list of additional books on bombmaking.

Mr. SISCO. Definitely; yes. I have most of them here.

Mr. ADLERMAN. You also list sources of chemical supplies. You tell where to buy them.

Mr. SISCO. Yes; I have a whole bunch of catalogs for that.

Mr. ADLERMAN. At the same time, you also give detailed information on how to order from the chemical companies.

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

Mr. ADLERMAN. And how to avoid detection in doing so?

Mr. SISCO. Yes; definitely.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Why is that necessary?

Mr. SISCO. Well, a lot of people like to know how these people get the stuff and this is the way a lot of people do make their orders.

Mr. ADLERMAN. You tell them how to avoid detection when they buy the materials to make explosives?

Mr. SISCO. Well, you can say it that way. I just wrote the book as objective as I could make it.

Mr. ADLERMAN. You also give diagrams and detailed instructions on the laboratory equipment and home chemistry and so forth?

Mr. SISCO. Yes. Well, any college person could put up just as nice a thing, and they do on the left.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Among the things you describe how to make are bombs of various types, explosives of various types.

Mr. SISCO. Definitely; yes.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Including igniters, matchhead bombs, pipe bombs, gas tanks, fire igniters, incendiary bombs, use of dynamite, and so forth?

Mr. SISCO. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Did you experiment yourself in the use of these explosives?

Mr. SISCO. Well, not too much because most of them, the way they are written down are so obvious that they don't need experimentation.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Did any of these booklets get in the hands of teenagers?

Mr. SISCO. Not that I know of.

Mr. ADLERMAN. You, yourself, did experiment a little with explosives?

Mr. SISCO. I certainly did, and I blew the fingers off my left hand. It had nothing to do with the book or anything that would have gone in the book.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that before you started publishing the book?

Mr. SISCO. Yes; it was before I started publishing the book.

The CHAIRMAN. After you had your hand blown off, then you started publishing the books?

Mr. SISCO. Well, I was sitting around; I had nothing to do.

The CHAIRMAN. It was just a good idea?

Mr. SISCO. It was something to occupy my time.

The CHAIRMAN. It has not been profitable?

Mr. SISCO. Not yet.

The CHAIRMAN. You anticipate it will be?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

Well, you see, I have been selling it to the wrong sources. They don't buy. From now on, I am going to send my fliers to, like, district attorneys, sheriff's departments, marshals, people like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they will buy it?

Mr. SISCO. I think they will because the idea of the book is to show what an individual can do if he decides to take the law in his own hands.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the book also show him how to take the law into his own hands?

Mr. SISCO. Well, it does definitely, but, really, he does not need my book. That is one of the points I would like to make.

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe your book is not needed; maybe that is why it is not selling so well. They already have the information.

Mr. SISCO. No; I think they are afraid of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Afraid of it?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

For instance, this Adobe Hacienda—

The CHAIRMAN. Do they know that in the experimentation you could blow off your hand?

Mr. SISCO. Well, if they read the book, they would know that. Well, it did not blow off my hand. It just blew off the fingers.

The CHAIRMAN. I wondered why they would be afraid of your book. I don't understand that terminology.

Mr. SISCO. Well, a certain type, a militant, seems to think that his name is going to be distributed to every FBI office if he orders anything through the mail. The book publishers. For instance, the Adobe Hacienda won't handle it because if they have my book, then no one would buy theirs.

The CHAIRMAN. You have competition, do you?

Mr. SISCO. Definitely; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Very strong competition?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Sisco, do you anticipate that the book will sell better as a result of these hearings?

Mr. SISCO. I don't know.

Senator PERCY. Would you mind reporting back to us in the next few months so we can see if there is any perceptible change?

Mr. SISCO. Certainly. That will be my revised and enlarged version. I will send you a copy. It has not come off the press.

Senator PERCY. Have any publishers refused to publish any of your work for reasons of public policy?

Mr. SISCO. No, sir. Many advertisers have refused to advertise it.

Senator PERCY. Is your business, Atlan Formularies, incorporated?

Mr. SISCO. Atlan Formularies.

Senator PERCY. Where is it incorporated?

Mr. SISCO. Not incorporated. I don't know what that means.

Senator PERCY. Have you filed papers with the secretary of state of any particular State?

Mr. Sisco. No; no. I just put one ad or two in little magazines saying any formula or process, \$2. I don't think I made enough to pay for the ad.

Senator Percy. Your business, as such, is not sanctioned at all by any State?

Mr. Sisco. No.

Senator Percy. You do not have a charter from any State?

Mr. Sisco. No. But I really didn't have a business, either.

Senator Percy. You went into this activity looking like a business and acting like a business but you have not formally organized it as a business?

Mr. Sisco. No. I don't even run it any more. I suppose if it had really worked out I would have looked into legal aspects and gotten a charter if I needed one, but I did not even make enough to pay for the ads so I dropped it. But I still have the stationery and I use it.

Senator Percy. Do you have any copyrights on your writings?

Mr. Sisco. Yes; I do. I have a copyright on the "Militant Formulary." Here it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sisco, have you intimated or made a statement to the effect that the reason you have published these pamphlets and you went into this business is because of vindictiveness or hatred toward society in any way or toward the general establishment? Did you do so?

Mr. Sisco. Well, if I made a statement like that it is because I was vindictive and hateful, myself. I don't remember making such a statement. Of course, I run off at the mouth quite a bit. I could have said it. But it is not my general attitude.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice another thing here that is interesting.

This "Militants' Formulary"—you dedicated it when you had it copyrighted and published. On the first page it says:

Affectionately dedicated to Lee Harvey Oswald, James Earl Ray, Sirhan Sirhan, and Senator Thomas Dodd, without whose efforts this work would be irrelevant.

What do you mean by that?

Mr. Sisco. Well, I simply mean that, here, take three nuts and they kill three prominent people with guns. So, Senator Dodd makes a Federal case of it. I think when he started there were about 35 million guns in private hands and now there are over 90 million guns in private hands; at least 25 million are pistols.

It was only after his investigations and threats of registration and possible confiscation of firearms that people turned to bombs and things like that. They figured, well, if we get up tight we want to destroy someone; we can't shoot them. The next thing to do is blow them up.

The bombing started shortly after Senator Dodd started with his gun bills. Also, gunrunning started. In fact, I have that explained in the introduction to my book.

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe so; I have not read all of it.

Did you get permission of Senator Dodd to dedicate this pamphlet to him?

Mr. Sisco. No. I didn't think you had to.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not consult him on that?

Mr. Sisco. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You used his name just because he favored gun control legislation; you dedicate a pamphlet teaching how to make bombs and revolutionary weapons, weapons of subversion primarily—dedicated it to him because he made a conscientious fight? I don't know that I agree with his position on firearms. Is that the reason?

Mr. Sisco. Yes; it was in the manner of a joke.

The CHAIRMAN. You said, "With deep affection."

Mr. Sisco. Well, that was being sarcastic.

The CHAIRMAN. Not "deep affection"—I am sorry—"affectionately dedicate."

Do you have some affection for Oswald, Ray, and Sirhan who assassinated Bobby Kennedy?

Do you have some affection for them?

Mr. Sisco. Well, that was sarcasm.

The CHAIRMAN. That is sarcasm?

Mr. Sisco. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further?

Senator Percy. Mr. Sisco, following up on the chairman's questions, you not only dedicated this book in an unusual way and you now say with sarcasm, but you go on to explain in your publications the various organizations selling pyrotechnic supplies and chemicals and the identity of books which deal with this subject.

You list "Hi-Lo-Boom" by Phillip Danisevich, selling for \$5.50. We have had some reference to "Hi-Lo-Boom" previously.

Mr. Siragusa testified before this committee from the Illinois Crime Investigating Commission. He said:

A particularly senseless, tragic event occurred in Chicago on April 14, 1969, resulting in the death of two Chicago police officers and serious gunshot injuries to six other officers.

Frank J. Kulak, aged 43, barricaded himself in his home at 9521 South Exchange Avenue against police who responded to a citizen's call that Kulak was sniping at his neighbors.

Kulak lobbed about 25 hand grenades and black powder bombs and fired several hundred rounds of ammunition from automatic rifles and shotguns at police attempting to gain entry to his residence. Inside his home Kulak had set eight booby traps wired to grenades and other explosive devices.

Kulak was arrested, unharmed. On February 27, 1970, he was declared mentally incompetent, and the murder charge was dismissed.

Seized in Kulak's apartment were 52 unexploded manufactured bombs and hand grenades, and various paraphernalia for the manufacture of explosives including gun powder, pipes, cylinders, tape, and military-type fuses. Also seized were two carbine rifles, two shotguns and two pistols.

Of interest to us was the seizure by the police authorities in his apartment of a document called "Hi-Lo Boom Modern Explosives," written by Philip J. Danisevich and William G. Mucci, and copyrighted in 1966. The authors synthesized their book as follows:

"We have done our best to provide a first-hand view of explosives. Organizing the data and diagrams, et cetera, along the chemistry guideline, we have presented some of the latest material available."

Has the thought occurred to you that the publications that you are distributing and making available could fall in the hands of people such as these encouraging the kind of events, the tragic events, that follow; and has that ever caused you wonder whether this pastime of yours is a useful pastime?

Mr. Sisco. I hope it hasn't, but there are so many other people doing that and that orange book I gave you which can be bought at any legal

bookstore, maybe the person who put that out may think some militant nut can go in the law store and buy from them.

Senator PERCY. I know, but the rationale for your activities is not made fully valid by pointing out that someone else also does it. You can point out almost anything that someone else is doing and that does not justify your doing it.

I am trying to determine what your motivation is. I take it you have had time on your hands. How long has it been since you have been employed by someone else?

Mr. SISCO. About April of last year.

Senator PERCY. You have not been employed since then other than this activity?

Mr. SISCO. That is right.

Senator PERCY. What are your intentions for the future, if I might ask?

Mr. SISCO. Well, I might get a job with the welfare department.

Senator PERCY. You what?

Mr. SISCO. Probably after this, no. But at least I am in with them. I took the examination.

Senator PERCY. Are you doing anything else now besides engaging in the distribution of these publications?

Mr. SISCO. Well, I am not even doing that. I don't have them advertised anywhere.

Senator PERCY. You don't have them advertised anywhere?

Mr. SISCO. No.

Senator PERCY. In the March 15, 1970, edition of Shotgun News, did you advertise the "Militant Formulary"?

Mr. SISCO. Yes. But they canceled any further advertisements.

Senator PERCY. Going back to Mr. Kulak, Mr. Kulak is presumably responsible also for several explosives in South Chicago, including Goldblatt's Department Store, in which several persons were killed. Knowing that now the material you are distributing gets into these kinds of hands, has it caused you to reassess whether or not you should continue in this activity?

Mr. SISCO. It has made me more determined, I think, that more officials should know how easy it is for an individual to cause all sorts of destruction around himself. Unless it is pointed out plainly so that you can understand.

For instance, I write a book and say such-and-such a thing can be done and you being an intelligent person, maybe it does not occur to you exactly how it can be done. So, you don't figure your enemy can do it. But if I make it so clear that you can imagine yourself making a bomb, then you can imagine your enemy making a bomb and you might do something then to stop it.

Senator PERCY. In other words, if you give an instruction booklet on how easy it is to kill a person through arson, your purpose, as you would interpret it then, would be to show police officers how easy it would be, not how to instruct someone to carry out that act?

Mr. SISCO. That is the long-range idea.

Senator PERCY. Isn't that comparable? Isn't that the same rationale you are using?

Mr. SISCO. It might be but I maintain that these bomb books and the information on making bombs are so prevalent that you can't stop it. You can't even begin to stop it.

For instance, in the Monday, March 16, 1970, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle, which has about a million distributorship, they have here the "Jar of Death," showing exactly how to make a bomb. They have an article telling exactly how to get the stuff for it.

Here they have a "people's grenade," telling how to put black powder in test tubes and put ceramic clay around it and put stones in it and insert the fuse. It leaves nothing to the imagination.

Here is a newspaper, and here it is. So, I put out my book and everybody jumps all over me but these people here can do it, and it does not seem too reasonable to me. I maintain if you have a certain class of people in the country like this Kulak who was a former mental patient, I would never have let the guy out. In fact, I might have put him to sleep but that is beside the point.

Anyway, you have all these grizzled mediocrities all over the country telling how they are going to destroy the country; they are the ones you should pick up and put under preventive custody, if not worse.

Now, I have several publications that they put out that leaves—here is one, the Berkeley Barb; it shows the Capitol Building toppling.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will submit those publications to the committee, I will be glad to receive them and have them marked as exhibits, if you don't want to keep them.

Mr. SISCO. You could not send them back to me?

Oh, well, I can get other copies.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them be received and marked exhibit 842.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 842A-842C" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. SISCO. As I repeat, I think it is too late to stop the bomb books. This one put out by the Army which has basically the same stuff that is in my "Formulary." It is time now that you start getting rid of these people who are openly boasting about how they are going to pull the Government down.

Senator PERCY. Mr. SISCO, have you or your organization supplied Dr. James Warner, also known as the Sons of Liberty, Hollywood, Calif., with the U.S. training manual, TM-31-200-1?

Mr. SISCO. No; I haven't. This is the one you are talking about. This was sent to me by a bookshop.

Senator PERCY. Where did you get that book?

Mr. SISCO. It was sent to me by a bookshop in Oakland. She sold 20 copies of my "Formulary."

Senator PERCY. Do you know James Warner?

Mr. SISCO. I certainly do. I have known him for years.

Senator PERCY. What is your relationship with him?

Mr. SISCO. None whatever.

Senator PERCY. Could you describe in what way you know him, how you met him, and what your relationship is with him?

Mr. SISCO. I am a rightwinger by politics. So is he. We have known each other for years. I haven't seen him for over a year.

Senator PERCY. Do you pay any attention as to who may write in requesting your publications?

Mr. Sisco. Not really, because they come in—well, the great bulk of them came through the Shotgun News. They are simply gun buffs. A lot of officers did write in.

Senator PERCY. Do you have a list of your customers?

Mr. Sisco. Yes. There are no organizations. It is not like a klan or something like that list.

The CHAIRMAN. You may submit a list of them.

Let the list be received as exhibit 843.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 843" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Senator PERCY. What is your relationship to the Sturmstrup Press, Post Office Box 9011, Phoenix, Ariz.?

Mr. Sisco. Purely business.

Senator PERCY. They print for you, do they?

Mr. Sisco. Yes.

Senator PERCY. How did you get acquainted with them?

Mr. Sisco. Well, just through the rightwing. Murray is a Nazi and I know lots of Nazis and Minutemen.

Senator PERCY. Do they do a lot of printing for the militant rightwing?

Mr. Sisco. I don't think so. He doesn't have that big an operation.

Senator PERCY. You maintain that you, yourself, have never been associated as a member of a militant rightwing?

Mr. Sisco. Oh, I was a storm trooper about a year. I was also in the Minutemen and the Birch Society. But I haven't been in politics for the last 3 years.

Senator PERCY. Are you maintaining before this committee, then, that your interest in what you are now doing is strictly a commercial interest and a pastime?

Mr. Sisco. Yes; definitely.

Senator PERCY. It has no ideological—

Mr. Sisco. That is right.

Senator PERCY (continuing). Interest whatsoever?

Mr. Sisco. That is right.

Senator PERCY. You have no concern but you maintain neutrality as to whether or not your information gets into the hands of people who will try to wreck society by bringing lawlessness and anarchy?

Mr. Sisco. I wouldn't go so far as to say that. I wouldn't mind whether every rightwinger in the country had a book of mine. I would not want the left to have it.

Senator PERCY. In other words, you are interested in making certain, you try to get them into what you might call the right hands?

Mr. Sisco. Yes. I wanted first—now, people can make a lot of what you said and it is not quite accurate, but I wanted to see who is buying them.

Senator PERCY. I was paraphrasing what you said.

You would like to get your publications in the hands of every rightwing organization?

Mr. Sisco. Yes; but liking to and being able to is another matter. So, I am just stopping it. It is not worth the trouble. I wanted to see who would advertise and if I got an advertisement in their publication, who would buy.

I tried the Free Press. That is a completely vile place. They sent me a love letter saying they didn't advertise bombs and killing stuff but they advocate it through all of their articles.

Then I put an ad in the Berkeley Barb for 4 weeks. The first week it was advertised for \$2.50. I did not get one order. The next 3 weeks I don't think—well, I didn't have it coded in any way so it could have been—but I don't think I got more than five orders from the Berkeley Barb.

I was told by militants I know, on the left, that I should have put it in the Berkeley Trib because they do buy things like that. Since I don't care to have it in the left anyway, I did not advertise in the Trib. I just wanted to make a spot sampling of who did what.

Senator PERCY. So, you do have quite an ideological interest, then, into where this goes?

Mr. Sisco. The thing is that the leftists are trying to pull down the country. If they succeed then the rightists will destroy the leftists. But the rightists aren't going to do anything until the leftists have the Government down. By that time, there won't be any laws to violate.

Senator PERCY. We have testimony before this committee that the initial bombings and the wave of bombings that have been going on are really started by the Minutemen on the right.

What was the intention and purpose of the Minutemen in starting bombings? What were they trying to accomplish by those bombings?

Mr. Sisco. I was a member about 1965. I only knew a few Minutemen and I dropped out after about 6 months paying dues and getting nothing for it. Since then—well, I take just about anything about the Minutemen with a grain of salt because I think they are, well, a paper organization. All these stories about Minutemen. I think they put the label "Minutemen" to give it a sensational thing and sell more papers. But my experience with Minutemen has been they are sort of lonely types, psychotic.

Senator PERCY. If you would like to see this information on how to make explosives get into the rightwing, what is it you would like to see them explode? What are they trying to blow up and what are they trying to prove by doing this? What are they trying to accomplish?

Mr. Sisco. Actually, the rightists do more sitting and waiting because the police get between us and the leftists. So, until the leftists get rid of the police, we can't effectively get at the leftists, so we are just waiting and twirling away things. Of course, most of the rightists twirl away guns.

Senator PERCY. Of course, the purpose is to try to terrorize and, you might say, intimidate, but maybe you would say reform, the far left?

Mr. Sisco. No, sir; destroy it.

Senator PERCY. You think the far left is a dangerous element in American society?

Mr. Sisco. Yes.

Senator PERCY. You feel that law enforcement is not effective in dealing with it; is that right?

Mr. Sisco. I feel that it is not effective. In fact, an article in this latest magazine shows that it is not effective. It shows how—now, this is the August 3 edition of U.S. News and World Report. It tells how during these 15½ months Mr. Hickel noted so-and-so, 4,330 explosives

and incendiary bombs which killed 40 and injured 384 citizens and which caused property damage estimated at almost \$23 million. Evidently the police weren't able to do much about that.

Senator PERCY. You are assuming that all of those bombings were on the left?

Mr. Sisco. Well, I would say about 90 percent. In fact, it gives the breakdown here: Black extremists, 19 percent; white extremists, 14 percent. I should suppose they would be rightists.

Activities in aid of criminal pursuit, 8 percent; labor dispute, 2 percent; religious difficulties, 1 percent. And campus disturbances and student unrest, 56 percent.

That is more or less a breakdown.

So, I don't think 14 percent of white fanatics is enough to divert your attention from this 56 percent of scum on your campuses.

Senator PERCY. So, the purpose really of their putting explosives and instruments of destruction in the hands of the right would be either to protect itself against the left or, because of the ineffectiveness of law enforcement officials, to find a way to deal with the left in an effective, explosive manner, you might say.

Mr. Sisco. Yes. The idea is to utterly destroy the left after they destroy the Government. I don't much like that prospect because when the Government goes my way of life goes and I am sort of used to getting around. Let me take you back a while.

During the President's inauguration, I watched it on TV, and across the street from the box—well, across the street from one point, there was this mob of scum and a bunch of them were up in a tree and they had this American flag with the so-called peace symbol written where the stars are, which is a desecration.

They had—it must have been 150 of them—and they were there to protest President Nixon.

So, well, they put a lot of soldiers around them but before that there were some policemen around them and one rightist man, he went in there and clubbed several of them. Evidently they ordered him to stop.

Then they put soldiers around them and then as the President moved up in his limousine the scum started throwing things and they could have just as easily thrown hand grenades. One of the missiles knocked a soldier to the ground and they still did not attack those idiots. They should have machined them off.

The President's limousine came. It not only had to speed up but it had to swerve out of its path because of all the missiles.

Now, if the Government is so weak that it is going to let the President be physically endangered by some scum you would not have imagined 20 years ago, they would have drugged them all in for vagrancy and probably killed them for trying to escape, or something.

Senator PERCY. How do you feel about the Kent College shooting? Do you feel that a trial should be held as is called for now, the soldiers who fired the shots?

Mr. Sisco. I think they should all be given medals and a lot more target practice.

Now, the thing with that is the soldiers were no older than the students and these were National Guardsmen and I think they got 2 days a month to train and why you are going to put one bunch of

young men armed and another bunch of young creeps spitting at them and throwing things and not expect any violence, that is beyond me.

I don't think their commander could have done a thing. I think they were perfectly justified and I am sorry they only killed four.

Now, in Mexico, when the Mexican students were rioting and causing or threatening to disrupt the Olympics, the Mexican police mounted machineguns on the streets and wiped out about a hundred of them. After that, there was no more college troubles.

If you are interested in saving the lives of these morons, the best thing to do would be to make a good example of a couple of hundred and that would stop the whole thing from then on. They might be more interested in education after that.

Senator PERCY. Obviously you feel that the far left is wrecking the country.

Are your feelings so strong and your feelings of the ineffectiveness of law enforcement officials so great that you would really advocate in your own terms for the good of the country taking the law in your own hands to advance the interests of the right?

Mr. Sisco. No; not at all.

I contend that the left wing are so subverting the Nation's strength that—well, for instance, my brother is a deputy sheriff. He told me in his department alone they were lacking 72 men and less people signing up to be police. The law enforcement agencies of the country are being so eroded and emasculated by the liberal courts that people are just giving up.

So, by the time the police aren't able to control the situation at all, then there will be no law. At that time, I think taking the law into one's own hands will be perfectly justifiable in the same sense as the frontier and the Indians; when you had no troopers, you had to defend yourself. Finally it wound up almost exterminating the Indians, and I think the leftist will in turn be treated like the Indians.

Senator PERCY. It is very interesting that we had such condemnation yesterday in testimony here of the police in Chicago for being ineffective and I would presume the person testifying would be considered somewhat to the left of center. You, of course, would be considered somewhat to the right of center and are testifying that you feel that law enforcement measures are ineffective in this country now and you feel just as they do about it.

Mr. Sisco. I don't say now. I say they are becoming less effective all the time.

If the soldiers and the police and the National Guard could not keep the President from having to swerve and speed up, then how is the average person protected? I think this promotes anxieties in any person.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, do you feel if this trend continues that groups on the right are going to have to be prepared to take the law in their own hands?

Mr. Sisco. Yes; definitely.

Senator PERCY. To keep the law in their own hands.

Mr. Sisco. You keep saying that.

I say, when there is no law, then the man with the gun and bomb will be the law.

Senator PERCY. We have laws. It is a question of enforcement, of course.

Mr. SISCO. If you don't have the people to enforce it, then you can forget the laws.

Senator PERCY. Do you feel that law enforcement officials are so ineffective now that even though we have laws that they simply can't carry them out?

Mr. SISCO. They can jail the idiot but if he can walk out the next day what good is it?

Senator PERCY. Do you look upon your mission in life as one to help prepare the rightwing organizations for the eventuality that some day they may have to be prepared?

Mr. SISCO. That was the hope but it bombed out. It just did not work. I guess that is a Freudian slip. I just couldn't reach them.

So, now, I am going to concentrate on the district attorneys and sheriffs, marshals, and police. Maybe if I can beef up the police enough so that they know how to make bombs, they will patrol the campuses.

Senator PERCY. You will help the police to make their own bombs?

Mr. SISCO. I hope so.

Senator PERCY. You hope so?

Mr. SISCO. Well, the police are good, decent types. I never have had trouble with police.

Senator GURNEY. What would the police use bombs for?

Mr. SISCO. They would probably bomb the left and blame it on the right, which would not bother me a bit.

One of the district attorneys from San Francisco, when he was investigating my bomb book, he said that if I—well, I had about 800 of my original, the mimeographed copy of the "Militants Formulary"—you see, when I put this out, I did not like it because it was too sloppily done. Then I had the other one printed, the one you have up there. So, then, everyone who bought this got a copy of the better issue.

I had about 800 of these left. So, I offered all of these to the police department in San Francisco and they wouldn't take it because they said if certain of their police—well, they said something to the effect that maybe certain of their police would use it or if their police had it and something happened, some of the leftists were bombed by rightwingers, then everyone would blame the police for doing it.

So, evidently the police officials don't trust the men on the street.

Senator GURNEY. Is it your thought that instead of using the present methods the police have for riot control, tear gas, things like this, that they should use bombs if they want to disperse a crowd; is that it?

Mr. SISCO. Let us make it a simpler way.

If someone wants to destroy my environment, I think the best thing to do is to destroy him. I see no reason to play with him, pat him on the head, blame it on Dr. Spock. Bring in the machineguns and bombs, whatever it takes.

Senator GURNEY. Sort of an eye-for-eye and tooth-for-tooth idea?

Mr. SISCO. Not exactly that, either. Just get rid of cancer. If you want to say cancer cells have a right to live—

Senator GURNEY. Let me ask you this, Mr. Sisco, and this is of considerable interest to the committee to try to find out what motivates this bombing and terrorism in this country which has increased to very substantial proportions in the last 2 years.

I think you could help the committee a great deal if you could give us extensively your background. When did you get interested in this business of bombing and explosives?

Mr. SISCO. I think I was interested in it even when I was a little kid. I had the idea that the Japanese were going to invade.

Senator GURNEY. This is when you were growing up?

Mr. SISCO. Yes. Well, I was not really growing up. It was in 1941—I remember we lived in Chicago and we could look out and we could see the Wrigley Building from our apartment. It was me and my brother and my sister, and they put on the paper; the Chicago skyline showed the places that the Japanese would bomb. I think this was about December 7th, the first thing that came on about Pearl Harbor. So, we sat for hour after hour, waiting for this, to watch the Japanese bomb the Wrigley Building. We were quite disappointed it did not happen. We had nothing against the Wrigley Building. You know, it would be colorful.

Senator GURNEY. How old were you then?

Mr. SISCO. Ten.

Senator GURNEY. When was your next interest in bombing?

Mr. SISCO. I was thinking if the Japanese invaded I should know how to protect myself. So, I started in my own small way researching this. I found a lot of things in the library then.

Senator GURNEY. This is when you were 10 and 11 years old?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

Senator GURNEY. You went to the public library?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

As I remember, the first book I got on the subject was "The Blasters Handbook," an early edition, of course. It tells you all about how to use dynamite. In fact, anyone can get it and learn exactly what he needs. Most of the bombings are done by dynamite.

Did you read this issue of Life, "The Bomb Radicals"?

Senator GURNEY. I think I glanced at it.

Mr. SISCO. This here tells you exactly how you go about buying dynamite. I can buy it in Oregon for about \$20 for 100 sticks, and you don't have to give any kind of identification, or anything like that. They are trying to make it so that you do have to give identification, but that would be a very bad thing because if you put real stringent laws on dynamite it will sell just like dope.

Senator GURNEY. Your theory is that the forbidden fruit is always the most attractive.

Mr. SISCO. Oh, it is the greatest.

For instance, it says dynamite is easy to buy and use and it shows here the man going in and purchasing it, no name or anything like that. He pays \$21.69 for 100 dynamite sticks.

Now, say, you make it a law so that the individual buying dynamite has to prove that he has a legitimate use. Say, I was a fanatic and—

[Laughter.]

Mr. SISCO. OK.

All you have to do—

Senator GURNEY. I think you have a fair amount of support here. Mr. SISCO. Anyway, all you have to do is go out in the boondocks and stake a claim for any kind of mineral. There you have a legitimate use for dynamite. So, you buy a box of dynamite; you blow holes in all your claim and you go back and buy another box of dynamite or several boxes, and then you sell it to all your creep friends for, say, \$2 a stick. You pay \$21.69 for 100 dynamite sticks and you sell them to friends at \$2 a stick and you turn over a tidy profit and you will be completely legitimate. It will be just as hard for the Treasury men to find who it was selling stuff like that as it is to find those who are pushing hard heroin.

Senator GURNEY. Have you ever bought dynamite in San Francisco?

Mr. SISCO. No; I am afraid of it.

Senator GURNEY. After starting at the age of 10 or 11, did you put your knowledge to use at all?

Mr. SISCO. No.

Senator PERCY. Have you ever blown anything up?

Mr. SISCO. Just my hand.

Senator PERCY. Any physical object, any buildings, structure?

Mr. SISCO. No.

Senator PERCY. Never exploded a piece of dynamite?

Mr. SISCO. No.

Senator PERCY. Under any physical structure?

Mr. SISCO. No; the only explosion was an accident. I did not even know it would explode.

Senator GURNEY. What was the next interest you had in bombing explosives?

Mr. SISCO. I found several books when I got into the right wing, when I passed this around.

Senator GURNEY. When was this?

Mr. SISCO. About 1965.

Senator GURNEY. Is this when you belonged to the Minutemen?

Mr. SISCO. Well, I first joined the Birchers. I was there about 2 years, bunch of old ladies, but that is beside the point.

Senator GURNEY. Did the Birchers have any interest in bombing?

Mr. SISCO. No; no. They get some person and they tell them all about the Communists and they get them real wide-eyed and upset and he wants to go out and do something and they say, write another letter.

Senator GURNEY. When did you have your next interest in explosives?

Mr. SISCO. That was about the time when things like this were passed around. This is "150 Questions for a Guerrilla." It tells all about how to make bombs and things like that.

Senator GURNEY. Where did you get that publication? Do you recall?

Mr. SISCO. No; I don't recall where I got it. I know that it was put out originally by Panther publications but they don't publish it any more because I think you dragged them before a committee like this. I sent the individual one of my books in Panther publications. He writes back.

DEAR MR. SISCO: Thanks for your note and form. Before I went to NAM, we would have been happy to feature your publication. As we have been investigated by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, we are treading lightly. Sorry. But the book list you have requested is enclosed.

He stopped selling things like this. What he is selling now is this one here which is basically like mine, and the Army is putting it out and anyone can buy it. It wholesales for \$1.

Senator GURNEY. What manual is that?

Mr. SISCO. TM-31-200-1.

He has "Attention: Police bomb disposal squads."

He tells all about this.

He is charging \$10 for it; would you imagine?

It says:

Warning, restricted, union conventional warfare devices and techniques and special forces demolition techniques. Sold only to the law enforcement agencies, government agencies, firemen, or military personnel. Order on your letterhead.

Yet you can get that book any place.

Senator GURNEY. I suppose you are referring to Robert Brown who was before the committee yesterday.

Mr. SISCO. Yes; Robert Brown.

Senator GURNEY. Tell me, when did you develop an interest in disseminating this material, yourself?

Mr. SISCO. That was when I was pretty heavy on the right. Then it just got to be an interest.

Senator GURNEY. Four or 5 years ago?

Mr. SISCO. No; I would say about 1967, when I took that book, "Explosives and Bomb Disposal Guide," when I first saw that.

Senator GURNEY. Exactly what motivated you to distribute the information? You must have been highly motivated for some reason.

Mr. SISCO. Well, if he could get \$10 for his, I figured I could sell them to everyone I knew for \$2 and make a modest living. It was primarily profit. That is always a good motive.

Senator GURNEY. Did you have any other motive other than profit?

Mr. SISCO. Actually, no. I got pretty greedy about that time.

Senator GURNEY. Did you ever have any training at all in explosives?

Mr. SISCO. No; no.

Senator GURNEY. Only what you have read in publications that you managed to acquire?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

Senator GURNEY. What useful purpose do you think the dissemination of this information could have?

Mr. SISCO. Well, when I finally give it to the authorities, I think they can better understand what the leftists have in mind for them. I don't think there is anything in my book now or the one that I have being printed that the leftists don't have.

Senator GURNEY. Of course, wouldn't you think that the police would have a pretty good idea of how bombs are made?

Mr. SISCO. Actually, they don't I found that out. They are very ignorant of the subject. Some of them are very good on it, definitely, if they major in it. But the average—well, when I first started getting investigated by all the different departments, I found that they were phenomenally ignorant of this whole thing. In fact, especially the people in Eureka. They don't know the difference between the right wing and the left wing.

When Governor Reagan made a trip to Eureka, the district attorney's man came around and got me and drove me all around the

country all day so I would not assassinate Reagan. I voted for the man; I don't want to kill him. They don't understand these things.

But they had all kinds of hippies running loose in Eureka. They should have collared them because they hate Reagan.

Senator GURNEY. How do you propose to train the police in bombs and explosives?

Mr. SISCO. I am not going to train them. I will put the book up for sale. If they want to buy it, fine.

Senator GURNEY. Have you had any substantial sales to police departments yet?

Mr. SISCO. I don't have a name list. Of course, I can send a flier to the big towns, their chief of police.

Senator GURNEY. Have you found any pickup of interest?

Mr. SISCO. No; I haven't sent out the fliers. You see, I am new at this. I put the ad in the Shotgun News and that was it. The ad petered out. Since then, I have been just fooling around.

Senator GURNEY. Have you had any dealings with any of the Klans, Mr. Sisco, in your work?

Mr. SISCO. I think I knew one person who said he was a Klansman. I have seen a few Klansmen in robes around Hollywood but as far as being closely tied with them or knowing anything about them, I don't have too much of a good opinion about them. I don't like their uniforms. I think they look real sloppy.

Senator GURNEY. You haven't discovered that they have any great interest in your publications yet?

Mr. SISCO. They haven't shown any. They don't write me letters, "I am a Klansman. I want to kill; send me your book."

Senator GURNEY. In the foreword to the "Militant Formulary," you have a quotation from a Col. Rex Applegate.

Mr. SISCO. I have a letter from him; yes.

Senator GURNEY. I am curious about this portion of the statement and I read from his quotation in the foreword:

"He does not consider radical groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society as a real threat in comparison with the new element he is probing," new element, I guess, being these pyrotechniques.

Is that your opinion, that the Students for a Democratic Society are harmless?

Mr. SISCO. That is not my opinion. That is his. They should be destroyed to the last.

Senator GURNEY. You differ from him on that?

Mr. SISCO. Oh, definitely; absolutely. I even brought the magazine that I took that quote from. I corresponded with Colonel Applegate; in fact, he sent me an order for my book.

Senator GURNEY. Have you had any experience with the SDS?

Mr. SISCO. Well, I think I poked one of them in the mouth at a demonstration once. But, as far as cooperating with them, no.

Senator GURNEY. You have never been a member of this organization?

Mr. SISCO. No; that is on the left.

Senator GURNEY. Have you ever tried to infiltrate it?

Mr. SISCO. No; I am not concerned with infiltrating.

Senator GURNEY. Why do you think they are a real threat to society?

Mr. SISCO. Well, they look putrid; they smell bad; they hate me and they burn American flags. I could give you three or four reasons. They are generally obnoxious. I see no reasons for their existence.

Senator GURNEY. How about bombing and terrorism? Have they engaged in that at all?

Mr. SISCO. I am sure of it; definitely. There is no doubt about it. That article tells about the SDS—well, it does not tell too much about the SDS.

I got one good article on them. Here it is: "Americans in Cuba are being trained as human missiles to destroy the United States", and this concerns the Weatherman faction of the SDS. It has Jerry Rubin, a complete creep, and tells about all of these people, you know, the people who had that, they blew out that building; they had all gone to Cuba and most of the Weathermen and most of the bombing types have been to Cuba cutting sugarcane, so they say.

I know it is a little harder for creeps like that to cut sugarcane. I doubt if they cut anything but fuses and stuff in their training.

Senator GURNEY. Again referring to Colonel Applegate here, he says the present threat he believes comes from dangerous pyrotechnicians.

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

Senator GURNEY (reading): "A little known and almost entirely unpublicized group of fanatics who are capable of flooding the country with explosives and incendiaries."

Could you go into more detail who these dangerous pyrotechnicians are?

Mr. SISCO. They are not dangerous pyrotechnicians.

A pyrotechnician is a person who is interested in display fireworks for Fourth of July and things like that.

Senator GURNEY. Is that who he is referring to?

Mr. SISCO. Yes; that is who he is referring to.

He is dead wrong. He sent me a letter concerning that. He clarified and he said that the article misquoted him in certain ways. In fact, the letter is right in front of you. Evidently he was off on the wrong track.

In my book, I explained that putting light on these different pyrotechnic organizations, militants of both sides would infiltrate their ranks and get their information where they could not get it at other places.

Senator GURNEY. Would you say your publication was more dangerous than the pyrotechnicians?

Mr. SISCO. Definitely. Yes; in that context.

Senator GURNEY. I don't have any further questions.

Senator PERCY. I have one further question, Mr. Chairman, and that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator PERCY. Have you given any lectures or demonstrations pursuant to your publications and the information that they contain?

Mr. SISCO. No.

Senator PERCY. You have never lectured to any groups?

Mr. SISCO. No; never.

Senator PERCY. Met with any groups to demonstrate at all?

Mr. SISCO. No.

Senator PERCY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke a while ago about law enforcement becoming less effective all the time.

Since you are close to some elements of these minority groups and minority organizations, since you are engaged in the business of disseminating information about how to make weapons for sabotage, guerrilla warfare and so forth, what is your idea about the criminal today, those who are engaged in those activities? Are they more emboldened today to commit crime than they would be if the law were enforced?

Mr. SISCO. They certainly are.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the way the law enforced today, is it becoming a less deterrent all the time to criminals?

Mr. SISCO. That is my feeling.

The CHAIRMAN. These people who are bombing and threatening to destroy the Government and so forth?

Mr. SISCO. Yes. When you get a group of leftists together and they know who has been setting bombs and they see the person running around, or like one policeman said, he said, "You can take a punk who robs a liquor store and his friend will see him come out of the liquor store with a gun in his hands. The police will catch him. Three days later, he will be out on bail and he will be out a year, and this gives his friends encouragement that they can do it themselves."

I have seen it so often. As long as you don't have any way to take these absolutely dangerous characters and restrain them, this is going to encourage the more timid to the point where just before everyone and his brother who has any gripes about the Government will start throwing bombs, fire bombs or otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. They feel they can do it with impunity; they can get by with it; the law enforcement is so weak that there is not any danger of legal reprisals against them?

Mr. SISCO. Well, the statistics show that.

The CHAIRMAN. Another thing you speak of, that their friends know they committed a crime and 3 days later they are out on bail, it may be a year or two before they are tried.

That also tends to encourage the criminal; there is no real penalty or any likelihood of penalty or punishment for his violating the law.

Mr. SISCO. Not so much that there is no penalty but the penalty is so far in the future. If you get out on bail for a year, then you can do all kinds of things in that time. In the meantime, you march around your friends telling them what a great guy you are. The younger ones get impressed.

If you happen to go to jail a year later for 10 years even, you have still inculcated these people with the idea that you have done something that shows class and before you are put in jail they are doing the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. That makes them heroes among certain classes of people.

Mr. SISCO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And others who want to emulate this kind of person and become a hero follow the example he set.

Mr. SISCO. That is right. If Huey Newton in California does get out on bail, you will have a Black Panther organization that you will have to go in with machineguns. That will give them such a spurt of pride and arrogance that the only way to stop them will be for total violence against them.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know how valuable your opinion is—this laxity in the law enforcement, the inability of government to enforce the law, do you have any opinion about it as to whether this condition can continue without improvement? I mean that if crime continues to increase as it has in the last few years; if it continues at that rate, do you have any idea what is going to happen in this country?

Mr. SISCO. I would say in about 10 years you won't be sitting there. You will be out fighting in the streets if you are armed, and if you are lucky.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, we are moving, due to the inability or unwillingness of government at all levels to enforce its laws, in view of our inability or unwillingness to effectively enforce the laws against crime and protect society from the ravages of the criminal, we are moving toward a state of anarchy?

Mr. SISCO. Definitely, sir. Take the Manson case. I am pretty sure that Manson is going to get off scot free, or the trial will be delayed indefinitely.

The CHAIRMAN. I would rather you would not discuss that. I don't want to prejudice that trial. We have a ruling here that when cases are being tried, we don't make references to them, not only the Manson case.

Mr. SISCO. It is legally so hard for society to repress or get rid of its dangerous undesirables that becoming a dangerous undesirable is almost a status symbol now.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a status symbol now.

Mr. SISCO. Definitely. The dirtiest and the hairiest and the meanest have the most friends.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know William Thoreson, 2801 Broadway, San Francisco, before he was killed?

Mr. SISCO. Yes. He bought one of my books. His letter is in here some place. I was waiting for a followup on that and his wife killed him. That was a disappointment.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know if his wife did it.

Mr. SISCO. She said she did. Besides, he was on marihuana, and he was messed up in his mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know Don McLean of Forest Grove, Oreg.?

Mr. SISCO. Yes. He bought one.

The CHAIRMAN. As another one of your customers?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He is another one of your customers?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He is now under arrest, I believe, charged with the illegal possession of automatic rifles and explosives.

Mr. SISCO. Yes. That is nonsense. I mean, it is nonsense that he should mess with things like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Probably so.

Do you know Sam Napier?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This Sam Napier bought from you, too?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he the Sam Napier that is circulation manager for the Black Panther Publications?

Mr. SISCO. Oh, no. Sam Napier is an old vigilante in southern California.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a Sam Napier.

Mr. SISCO. It is not the same one. I think both would be insulted.

Senator GURNEY. I have one or two final questions.

Mr. SISCO, you testified that you at one time were a member of the Minutemen and also the American Nazi Party.

What motivated you to join the rightwing organization?

Mr. SISCO. I was painting a house. The phone rang inside. The lady went in to answer it. She came out and she said President Kennedy had been shot. That shook me up because he was a personable man. I disagreed with his politics but he was personable and a good symbol and all that.

Then I learned that it was a Communist that had done it. I figured if they got so bold that they are killing our officials now, it is best I should get into action. I thought, big deal; I will join the Birch Society.

I was on a letter-writing kick for a while, like writing to Xerox and telling them they were left wing, and writing to Fulbright and telling him. These people all know their own political ideologies so why should I write them and tell them about it?

So, the Minutemen had put out some of their literature on the Minutemen. Well, in the American Opinion Bookstore, they had slipped it between the covers of certain books. So, I read one of them. I liked the idea. I joined and nothing really happened.

Then I was at this friend's house. Then there was this American Nazi visiting him. The guy seemed like a clean-cut guy. So, I decided I would check on the party. I went out to headquarters on a Sunday morning. They were all getting ready for church.

There were about three babies and it smelled miserable in the place. They had one guy guarding the place while they were at church. I sat around talking to him. He told me of an elaborate plan he had that when the riots and the war came they were going to close off Glendale and, of course, there would be too little food to eat, so they were going to use the blacks as human meat for the whites. I figured this was such a nutty idea that I could not resist joining just to see what this bunch of people were all about.

Of course, fortunately they weren't all that bad. A lot of them were real nice, clean-cut guys, a little idealistic, a little fanatic.

Senator GURNEY. The rest weren't cannibals?

Mr. SISCO. There are some that were not cannibals; I would have to say that. Generally, the party type were pretty nice fellows.

Senator GURNEY. This is really what I am interested in.

Is it fair to say that your motivation to join these well-known rightwing organizations was the activities of the left that you were suspicious of and distrusted and felt that there should be some counter-acting force on the right?

Mr. SISCO. Yes; that is right. Maybe very anxious.

(At this point Senator Percy withdrew from the hearing room.)

Senator GURNEY. Would you also say from your knowledge of the membership of these rightist organizations and their purposes and you have been, of course, a member of them, that that would be the motivating force of many people who joined them?

Mr. SISCO. Definitely; yes. It seems that in every society there is a counterbalance. If you have a violent left, you are going to have a violent right. Unfortunately, there are too few violent rights to do any good.

Senator GURNEY. Your opinion is the extreme left greatly outnumber the extreme right:

Mr. SISCO. Yes; extremely.

Senator GURNEY. One final question here for the record.

You mentioned some publications that you advertised in.

Did you advertise in a publication known as Statecraft of May-June 1970 for your "Militant Formulary?"

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

Senator GURNEY. What publication is that?

Mr. SISCO. I am looking for it. Here it is.

It is sort of a comic magazine on the right.

Senator GURNEY. Who publishes it?

Mr. SISCO. A person by the name of C. B. Baker.

Senator GURNEY. Who is he?

Mr. SISCO. I don't know. I have never met the man.

Senator GURNEY. Is he connected with any organization you know of?

Mr. SISCO. No; I am sure he is independent. He simply puts out a newspaper.

Senator GURNEY. But it is what you would call a far right publication; is that right?

Mr. SISCO. Yes.

Do you have my ad there?

Senator GURNEY. Yes; I do.

Mr. SISCO. If you will read it, you will see that it has a provisional statement there that when the police call it quits, you will need the "Militant Formulary," which means that you don't do anything while you still have the police in a functional situation in the country.

Senator GURNEY. Is it the belief of the people who publish the Statecraft that our police are ineffective? Is that it?

Mr. SISCO. I don't really know. I should suppose so.

Senator GURNEY. That is your belief?

Mr. SISCO. For instance, I was riding around on the bus this morning and about three-quarters of the windows were smashed. It seems that the bus driver said they had been smashed for several weeks and never gotten around to be repaired.

I go around Washington and I see it is just crumbling from vandalism and degeneracy. I don't think that the police, however hard they try, are up to the job.

Senator GURNEY. I don't have any more questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Thank you, sir.

You may stand aside.

Mr. SISCO. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ADLERMAN. James K. Warner.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WARNER. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF JAMES K. WARNER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL  
J. B. STONER**

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify yourself for the record, please?

Mr. WARNER. James K. Warner, Hollywood, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. You have counsel, do you?

Mr. WARNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, identify yourself for the record.

Mr. STONER. I am J. B. Stoner, attorney-at-law, from Savannah, Ga., Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Warner, where were you born?

Mr. WARNER. Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Did you serve in the Army in 1957 to 1959?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully refuse to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you want to modify that and make it "respectfully decline" instead of "refuse"?

Mr. WARNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Are you at the present time an officer of the American Nazi Party and the National States Rights Party?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Is it the policy of your organization to disseminate to their members and sympathizers information such as the U.S. Army Technical Manual 31-200-1?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer in evidence Department of the Army Technical Manual TM-31-200-1 entitled "Unconventional War Devices and Techniques."

The CHAIRMAN. Don't we already have that in the record?

Mr. ADLERMAN. No.

This is a publication of the U.S. Army. I think we can take official notice of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be made exhibit 844.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 844" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Warner, can you tell us how you get your supply of U.S. Army technical manuals for bomb manufacturing?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully refuse to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Warner, apparently you intend to pursue the fifth amendment in answer to every question. In order to be fair to you, however, I am going to let you know the information the committee has and see if you want to deny any of it.

According to our information, you were born February 2, 1939, in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. I believe you stated that a while ago. Is that right?

Mr. WARNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That you are a high school graduate, that you served on active duty in the U.S. Air Force from July 3, 1957, to November 3, 1959, at which time you were issued a general discharge under honorable conditions as an airman third class by reason of unsuitability.

Do you want to deny that?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

I want to give you an opportunity to deny these things. If you think it would incriminate you to testify to them, of course you can take that position. But I do feel that you should be given the opportunity.

From 1958 to 1969, according to our information, you served first as a member, then as the National Secretary of the National Socialist White Peoples Party, also known as the American Nazi Party, which was organized by George Lincoln Rockwell, and which follows a line of hatred against Negroes, Jews and Communists.

Do you want to deny that or comment on it?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. We have here exhibit No. 830 that has been introduced at these hearings, which is a letter, purported to be a letter, signed by you, James Warner, on the letterhead of the American Nazi Party, in which you identify your self as National Secretary of the American Nazi Party.

I am handing you that exhibit and asking you to examine it and state if you wish to deny your signature or your connection with the party, or make any comment thereon.

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. We don't want to put anything in the record here that will reflect on you as false or untrue about you, so, for that reason, I wish to give you the opportunity to make a denial here in public about it.

During 1963 and 1964, according to our information, you were a member of the National States Rights Party, a so-called hate type organization composed of past members of the Ku Klux Klan organization, Minutemen, and other notorious anti-Semites.

Do you want to make any comment about that, or deny it?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. We have further information you served as the associate editor of "The Thunderbolt," the official publication of the NSRP.

Do you wish to deny that, or comment on it?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think there could be any misunderstanding. You have counsel to advise you. We say we have this information. Most of it that I am referring to is already in the record and it will be a public record. I think in all fairness I should point out most of it to you and give you the opportunity to deny it, if you wish.

We further are advised that you have been Director of the Sons of Liberty, Hollywood, Calif.—this is in 1966—an organization which you formed or helped form as an adjunct of the American Nazi Party in 1962 to fight the forces which were "trying to destroy the white race and western civilization."

It is contended that apparently the aims of this organization were to help unite the white people of America in an effective fighting force, to help anti-Jewish, anti-Negro authors and publishers to get their material into circulation, and to expose the "Communist Jewish conspiracy," and to publish material proving white men were superior to all other races.

Is that information correct or any part of it?

Do you wish to deny any of it or any part of it?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. During 1966, we are advised that you served as the editor and publisher of "Action," the official publication of the Sons of Liberty. Is that true?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. The material published by this publication and by you as editor, according to our information, was favorable to the Minutemen, a military, violence-prone, hate-type group, headed by Robert B. DePugh.

Do you want to comment on that or deny it?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. During 1969 and 1970, we are advised that you have been involved in the "White Power Message Service," operating in the Los Angeles area.

According to our information, the "White Power Message Service" is an operation of the American Nazi Party whereby a caller places a call to a preadvertised telephone number and hears a recorded message which is actually strongly anti-Jewish and anti-Negro in character, and some of these messages have openly called for violence and assassinations against Jews and pro-Communist government officials whom the speaker associates with helping the "Jewish Conspiracy."

Do you know anything about that or do you want to comment on it or deny it?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. We are also advised that as a member of the American Nazi Party and the National States Rights Party, you have been arrested and convicted on eight separate occasions, between July 1960 and June 1964, for your activities in Nazi-type demonstrations.

These arrests, according to our information, and convictions, have taken place in Washington, D.C.; Tuscaloosa, Montgomery, and Birmingham, Ala.; and Sidney and Kingston, N.Y. Of course, we can get those records.

Do you want to make a comment about that?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Do we have this record here?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I present this information so that you can examine it, if you like, and make any corrections or comment about it.

We have an arrest record sheet here that has been provided the committee, which we think is authentic. If it is not, you may correct it. (Witness examining document.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do you wish to make any comment on the document just presented to you?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Let this document be made an exhibit, and let the record reflect that the witness was given an opportunity to examine it and comment on it.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 845 for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Warner, what is your current relationship or affiliation with the American Nazi Party and the National States Rights Party?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it the policy of these organizations to disseminate to their members and sympathizers information such as the U.S. Army Technical Manual No. 31-200-1?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us where you get your supply of the U.S. Army technical manuals on bomb manufacturing that you offer for sale?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you get advice or technical material, information of that character, regarding bombmaking, from other associates of the American Nazi Party such as Donald E. Sisco of Atlan Formularies, or Michael Murray of Sturmstrup Press, or William Morrison of the Angriff Press?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and tenth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. We have here what has been identified for the record, and is an exhibit, a pamphlet, "Headquarters, Department of the Army, Washington, D.C., Unconventional Warfare Devices and Techniques," which apparently you used for the solicitation of orders for your publications.

On the back of this pamphlet I find the following:

DEAR PATRIOT: What would you do if the Communist anarchists seized the Government tomorrow and set up a Marxist dictatorship?

With foreign troops in America and police, communications and government under enemy control, how would you fight back? How would you liberate your country from the invaders?

With the secret police working for the Marxists all resistance groups of over five people would be infiltrated and patriots would be rounded up and imprisoned or executed.

The only way of fighting back would be to work with loyal friends, relatives and, if need be, by yourself. By eliminating paid pimps and government spies, the invaders could be defeated. Small bands of guerrillas could harass the enemy and rally the people to their side.

However, to fight back you would need an instruction manual giving you vital information.

One of the most valuable manuals of this type is Technical Manual No. 31-200-1. This book is well illustrated and gives you easy to understand instructions. We have been able to obtain a limited number of these books and are making them available to patriots.

Please order your copies today as the supply is limited.

Price: \$3.00 or 10 copies for \$25.00.

Order from: Sons of Liberty, P.O. Box 1896, Hollywood, California, 90028.

Is that one of your pamphlets that you put out or that the Sons of Liberty puts out under your direction or leadership?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. We know that the extreme left, the Communist-inspired organizations in this country, when we speak of the extreme left, according to their own literature and their own admissions have in mind a violent overthrow of this Government if they can ever become strong enough to do so. They propose to do it, as I say, by violence, if they can.

There is also testimony that indicates and I think we generally know that these extreme elements in the country are possibly much stronger than the so-called extreme right elements.

Is it your idea or those organizations to which you belong that may be on the extreme right—and I ask this for information; maybe you can give us some help on it—is it also their belief or purpose also that they become strong enough to destroy the Government or overthrow it by force and violence?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Constitution, isn't it, that protects you so well?

I wonder if you could have that under the Nazi form of government or under the extreme left form.

I wonder what you folks think you are trying to destroy. You are probably destroying your own lives when you do these things. For what?

Are there any questions?

Senator GURNEY. You were present, Mr. Warner, when Donald Sisco testified earlier this morning that he knew you.

Do you know him?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

Senator GURNEY. Have you ever been a member of any left-wing organization such as SDS or the Weathermen?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

Senator GURNEY. You don't even want to deny that you were never a member of the Weathermen?

Mr. WARNER. In accordance with the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds that

to do so might tend to incriminate me. I also decline to answer in accordance with my rights and privileges under the first, fourth, fifth, ninth, and 10th amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

Senator GURNEY. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

That will be all for the committee session this morning.

The hearings will not close. The hearings will remain open. There may be some material that is needed for the record that we will have the staff put in tomorrow or the next day or next week. There may be other testimony. For the present, the hearings will have to recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

Mr. STONER. Mr. Chairman, is the witness excused so that he may return home now?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the witness is excused.

Very well. The committee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

(Members present at time of recess: Senators McClellan and Gurney.)

## RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1970

U.S. SENATE,  
PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS OF  
THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,  
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 11 a.m., in room 3302, New Senate Office Building, pursuant to Senate Resolution 308, agreed to February 16, 1970, Senator John L. McClellan (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Members of the subcommittee present: Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas; and Senator Edward J. Gurney, Republican, Florida.

Members of the professional staff present: Jerome S. Adlerman, general counsel; Philip W. Morgan, chief counsel to the minority; Philip R. Manuel, investigator; John Brick, investigator; and Ruth Y. Watt, chief clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of convening: Senators McClellan and Gurney.)

Mr. Manuel, you have been previously sworn and so have you, have you not, Mr. Brick, in this particular hearing?

Mr. BRICK. Not in this particular hearing, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear the evidence you shall give before this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BRICK. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Identify yourself for the record.

### TESTIMONY OF JOHN BRICK AND PHILIP R. MANUEL—Resumed

Mr. BRICK. My name is John Brick. I have been an investigator for the subcommittee since June 7, 1963. I live in Alexandria, Va.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Manuel, I know you have been previously sworn. Do you have a further statement this morning?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, in this investigation and series of hearings on bombing and terrorism in the United States, we have received testimony from many high-level and responsible officials of

Federal, State, and municipal governments and from other witnesses that there have been a tremendous number of bombings in the United States since January 1, 1969. These witnesses have testified that it is almost impossible under existing statutes to control, deter, and eliminate this wave of bombings and attempted bombings and all of them have recommended that the Federal Government move now to enact legislation which will enable the Federal and local governments to more effectively cope with this menace.

These same witnesses have testified that printed material of various kinds and from various sources containing instructions on how to make and use explosives and incendiary devices, and at the same time extolling the virtue of such action, is easily available to bombers and terrorists throughout the country.

In this aspect of its investigation into this extremely serious national problem, the subcommittee has sought to determine who are the principal purveyors of such printed matter containing instructions on bomb manufacture and bomb use and to determine, if possible, their motive in promoting this activity.

In my testimony on July 31, I revealed the more pertinent facts on this distribution as gathered by our staff investigation. Among the publications which I discussed was a publication from Berkeley, Calif., called "Black Politics" and I introduced as exhibits five separate copies of this publication, all of which contained articles written by a person using the name George Prosser. These separate issues of the publication "Black Politics" were identified as follows:

1. Volume 1, No. 1, dated January 1968—page 13, an article entitled, "Weapons for Self-Defense."
2. Volume 1, No. 3, dated March 1968—page 4, an article entitled, "How To Acquire the Rifle."
3. Volume 1, No. 9-10, dated September-October 1968—page 18, an article entitled "Handguns."
4. Volume 2, Nos. 11 and 12, dated January-February 1969—page 18, an article entitled "An Introduction to Elementary Tactics" (involved in urban guerrilla warfare). In this article Prosser recommends reading material as follows:
  - (a) "We Shall Fight in the Streets," by Capt. S. J. Cuthbert.
  - (b) "Guerrilla Warfare," by "Yank" Bert Levy.
  - (c) "Total Resistance," by Maj. H. von Dach Bern.
  - (d) "150 Questions for a Guerrilla," by Gen. Alberto Bayo.
  - (e) "The War of the Flea," by Robert Taber.
  - (f) "Guerrilla Warfare," by Che Guevara.

Prosser states in the article that all these books can be bought from Panther Publications, Post Office Box 369, Boulder, Colo., or "The Combat Bookshelf," Post Office Box 211-L, Forest Grove, Oreg. 97116.

5. Volume 2, Nos. 13 and 14, undated—page 42, an article entitled "Terrorism and Sabotage" with an advertisement for Panther Publications.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these all received as exhibits and are they now a part of the record?

Mr. MANUEL. These were received as exhibits and marked exhibits 836A, B, C, D, and E, five separate exhibits.

At this point I would like to add parenthetically that the subcommittee did subpoena Robert K. Brown, the president of Panther Pub-

lications, Inc., and we did receive from Mr. Brown testimony concerning his intentions and motivations in distributing books and other printed matter which teaches individuals how to manufacture bombs and incendiaries. His testimony materially aided this subcommittee and the Congress in making legislative recommendations.

Only yesterday, Mr. Chairman, we heard the testimony of two individuals, both of whom have been connected with the activities of the American Nazi Party and other extremist groups, and who were also involved in the distribution of literature which instructs individuals in the making of explosives and incendiaries.

These two individuals—namely, Donald E. Sisco and James K. Warner—appeared before this subcommittee as a result of having been subpoenaed to testify. While Mr. Warner chose to invoke the constitutional protection of the fifth amendment in response to pertinent questions, Mr. Sisco did, in fact, give testimony regarding his motives and the pattern of distribution of bomb-making literature, which materially aided this subcommittee in its legislative deliberations.

During our investigation we sought to determine pertinent facts regarding the background of this publication and the activities of persons involved in its distribution. During the course of the investigation, from confidential sources which are deemed reliable, we received information that Tom Sanders, who is also the business manager and an editorial board member of "Black Politics," uses the name George Prosser to write articles in "Black Politics." Under this name, according to our source, Sanders wrote the articles referred to above. This information, obtained from confidential law enforcement sources on the west coast, was confirmed by other law enforcement sources at the Federal level.

The CHAIRMAN. We are talking about "Black Politics," but Sanders is a white man, isn't he?

Mr. MANUEL. That's right.

During our investigation in Berkeley, Calif., members of the subcommittee staff, including myself, attempted to interview Tom Sanders on May 2, 1970, at his home in Berkeley. After we had identified ourselves and stated the purpose of our visit, Mr. Sanders refused to cooperate and would not answer any of our questions.

On the 8th of July 1970, a subcommittee subpoena was served on Thomas Sanders by Stanley W. Fogler, deputy U.S. marshal from the northern district of California. This subpoena called for the appearance of Thomas W. Sanders before this subcommittee on a specified date and also called for Sanders, in his capacity as business manager of the publication "Black Politics," to produce material which was set forth in schedule A of the subpoena as follows:

3. All records and documents, in your possession, custody or control, including but not limited to, correspondence, cancelled checks, interoffice memoranda, and payroll records concerning payments and/or commissions from Black Politics to George Prosser or his agents, and also concerning his identity and last known address either business or personal or both since 1 January 1967."

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will direct that a copy of that subpoena be made exhibit No. 846.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 846" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANUEL. In issuing this subpoena to Mr. Sanders, the subcommittee sought to require his appearance so that he could be asked to comment, affirm, refute, deny, or otherwise explain whether he, in fact, used the name George Prosser and if under that name he wrote the articles which appeared in "Black Politics" which clearly advocated and demonstrated the strategy and tactics, necessity and desirability of the use of sabotage and guerrilla warfare in this country. We also sought to determine the motives and reasons of Mr. Sanders in writing these articles if indeed he was the author.

At this time, to more clearly demonstrate the type of article which was written under the name of George Prosser, I would like to quote from some of the more pertinent passages from the following articles.

In the article "An Introduction to Elementary Tactics," which is contained in exhibit 836D, Prosser states, among other things:

The time has come for us to consider some of the elementary tactical principles involved in urban guerrilla warfare, but it should be understood at the outset that we do not advise action now to carry out these principles. A certain period of preparation is necessary before armed actions can seriously be considered. Weapons, ammunition, explosives, and much related equipment must be obtained and stockpiled; the terrain must be thoroughly and minutely scrutinized; suitable recruits having the desired revolutionary orientation must be selected and trained; leadership cadres must be formed and given intensive indoctrination and training in revolutionary objectives and methods of struggle; the exceedingly delicate task of building an underground fighting organization must be undertaken at the same time that practical political work is carried out in the ghetto to prepare the masses for resistance. Premature action, whether induced by agents provocateurs in the hire of the police or by well-intended but rash and immature individuals, can have but one and the same result—disaster. The period when the forces of resistance are forming and activating their organization is the time of greatest danger. Never again will the organization be so vulnerable to penetration and disruption.

Preparation for armed action without correct political education will only lead to a series of uncoordinated, dispersed and risky actions in which vital cadres will be wasted; political education without preparations for armed action only leads to the futility of endless meetings, demonstrations, attempts at "pressure" tactics on the existing power structure and the enervating impotence of the prolonged debating society. Today, revolutionary action means ultimately armed action, but before we are ready for that, we must become serious students of arms and tactics.

In previous articles in this journal we have sought to alert our devoted readers to the necessity of acquiring good rifles and ammunition while it was still possible to do so. Now a Federal law has been passed which greatly restricts our access to these vital tools (as was predicted by this journal). They are still obtainable, but now only at greater trouble and expense. It is hoped that many of our readers paid heed to our timely advice and have already acquired their weapons and ammunition.

\* \* \* \* \*

After mastering the techniques of aimed fire both in daylight and darkness, we must study the fundamentals of tactics so that we shall learn how to apply these principles in actual battle situations. Correct tactics are difficult to learn, and a certain theoretical knowledge is necessary. The trouble with learning tactics through actual experience, i.e., "learning by doing," is that mistakes can have serious, even fatal, consequences. We must start thinking about these problems, asking questions and seeking answers, and we must carefully study and analyze every action that has taken place so far, especially those that had unforeseen and undesired results, in order that we might learn from these experiences.

Then Prosser explains the correct tactics that a guerrilla fighter must learn with respect to warfare in cities, including exposure and cover, knowledge of terrain, mobility, fighting at night, and counter-

maneuvers. He also inserts his recommended readings to implement this information and gives a final note to this article as follows:

Recommended reading:	
"We Shall Fight in the Streets," Cap. S. J. Cuthbert.....	\$2.00
"Guerrilla Warfare," "Yank" Bert Levy.....	2.00
"Total Resistance," Major H. von Dach Bern.....	6.50
"150 Questions for a Guerrilla," General Alberto Bayo.....	2.00
"The War of the Flea," Robert Taber (Lyle Stuart).....	4.95
"Guerrilla Warfare," Che Guevara.....	3.95

All of the above books are available from "Panther Publications," P.O. Box 396, Boulder, Colorado 80302. Although this publishing house is distinctly right-wing in its orientation, and definitely not sympathetic to the aspirations of the oppressed of this earth, it nevertheless constitutes a very important source of study material, of which we should avail ourselves. All sales are by mail order, and the price of postage is included in the price of the book. These same remarks apply to "The Combat Bookshelf," a somewhat smaller publisher whose address is: P.O. Box 211-L, Forest Grove, Oregon 97116. A simple written request, accompanied by 25 cents to cover the cost of postage, will bring complete catalogs of all available material from either of these sources.

#### FINAL NOTE

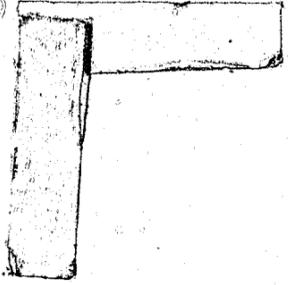
There is one kind of "armed" activity in addition to resistance to police brutality which is distinctly appropriate now and could be effectively organized if sufficient individuals put their minds to it. That activity is SABOTAGE. It is precisely because the American industrial economy is so complex and interrelated among its parts that it is so vulnerable to sabotage. It is astonishing to me that in the entire course of the opposition to the war in Vietnam, no group has organized and carried out effective attacks in this area where the economy and the military power is so vulnerable to severe disruption. This is an area where quite small groups of individuals, appropriately armed and trained, could cause massive disruption of the industrial and military machine and create chaos and destruction all out of proportion to their numbers. If we are going to attack the enemy, we should attack him where he is *weakest*, not where he is strongest. Later in this series we shall devote an entire article to this most important subject.

Prosser did indeed follow up on an article devoted exclusively to the subjects of terrorism and sabotage in volume 2, Nos. 13 and 14, of "Black Politics." This article on terrorism and sabotage, "Some Questions on Tactics" by George Prosser, is preceded by an editor's note. "This article is printed because of its relevancy. It does not represent the views of the editorial board" (one of whom is Tom Sanders).

In the section dealing with terrorism Prosser makes the argument that unorganized, indiscriminate acts of terrorism on the part of groups and individuals is actually counterproductive and does not represent correct revolutionary practice. In introducing this subject of terrorism and sabotage, under the heading "What Is to Be Done," Prosser states:

\*\*\* Since electoral politics has failed, since peace marching has failed, since writing letters to Congressmen has failed, since the whole apparatus of bourgeois parliamentary democracy has failed, what, then, is to be done? I am sure that a great many people are thinking in terms of direct action. They are thinking of how to derail the train.

A discussion of this question is of great importance to anyone interested in doing something to force our criminal government to bring its war of atrocity to an end. And force is what will have to be used, because you do not appeal to the sentiments of an international gangster. A great many people have already recognized this fact, and are groping toward a solution. It is a safe prediction, therefore, that such actions will take place with increasing frequency as the endless war in Asia continues to take its toll and as the bitterness and frustrations



**CONTINUED**

**2 OF 3**

of the impoverished millions at home, in particular the ghetto dwellers vents itself in outbursts of violence. As serious students of the military and political trends of our time, our only question is, what form will this direct action take? The question is not entirely academic. The answers may have an important bearing on our lives.

My prediction is that direct action will take two forms, terrorism and sabotage. Without in any sense advocating either of these forms of action, it nevertheless seems useful to examine them, to attempt at least a rough projection of what they will look like, and to assess the probable results.

On page 59, of exhibit 836E, Prosser directs the attention to a second form that direct action might take in this country; namely, sabotage. He goes on to state how vulnerable the United States and its supply line is to organized acts of sabotage.

The United States certainly presents a picture of formidable power, both military and economic. It is the most powerful beast in the jungle. On the surface, it appears invincible. Yet this appearance may be illusory. The world's mightiest war machine, employed with a complete disregard for all of the civilized norms, carrying on virtually unrestricted and indiscriminate warfare without regard for any distinction between soldier and civilian, has been unable to defeat the Vietnamese people. That is certainly a tribute to the brave Vietnamese, but it also suggests that there are limits to the application of the kind of military power that the United States has at its disposal. The significant question for us is, Is this military machine vulnerable at home?

Any serious consideration of this question must commence with another, namely, *why should the U.S. military be allowed the privilege, unprecedented in the history of warfare, of a long, vulnerable and virtually unprotected supply line?* It is a question to ponder. Just think of what it would mean if the government had to deploy troops to guard that supply line? Where would they get them? Either they would have to increase the draft calls, at a time when resistance to the draft is increasing at a geometric rate or they would have to call up the Reserves, which would be politically very unpopular. The only other alternative would be to withdraw troops from Vietnam, at a time when the U.S. Command in Vietnam can barely hold onto its bases and infrastructure under continuing offensives by the N.L.F. Forcing the government to withdraw troops from Vietnam would be a victory, of course.

We here are sitting right next to that vital supply line, because it passes through the San Francisco Bay area. So are the people sitting in Chicago, because all of the country's major railroad lines converge there. It is a potential bottleneck, a narrow isthmus of transport which, if pinched off, would bring the whole system to a halt. Even without organized sabotage, there have already occurred severe difficulties and bottlenecks, resulting in serious shortages of munitions and supplies in the fighting zone. It must be remembered that to fight the kind of war the U.S. is fighting in Vietnam requires astronomical quantities of ammunition. It has only been through the expenditure of an enormous quantity of firepower that the U.S. has held the N.L.F. at bay. Only a vastly wealthy country could afford such a prodigal waste. The ammunition cannot be expended of course, if it does not reach its destination, and reach it on time to be of tactical value. In general, it is quite proper to point out that the powerful American military industrial machine precisely because it is so sophisticated and because its many complex parts are so interrelated, is extremely vulnerable to disruption. I do not think that the domestic opposition to the war has thought very seriously about this; I know that the planners in Washington have thought about it. Indeed, I am quite sure that the prospects are giving some of them nightmares. Sometimes paranoids do have real enemies.

The second proposition to be pondered is that munitions are highly explosive. Continuing our scenario, we should ask ourselves why those munitions should wait until they get all the way to Vietnam before they are exploded. They are laying about here in immense dumps which constitute unprecedented concentrations of explosive power. If they were set off, the havoc wrought would be considerable, and very little would be required to set them off. An entire ammunition dump can be set off by one 81-millimeter mortar shell dropped into the right place. A mortar is a very simple, cheap weapon, and it can be operated by a crew of three men. Allow another half dozen, armed with rifles, as guards for the mortar teams, and you have less than a standard Army squad, a tactical

unit capable of destroying Port Chicago entirely and leveling most of the adjacent countryside. Surely that is a degree of military efficiency not contemplated in the textbooks. Just reflect upon what one N.L.F. mortar team did to the great American airbase at Pleiku. They wrought about five billion dollars worth of damage. And they did it after successfully penetrating an elaborate network of defense facilities. There are no elaborate defensive networks surrounding American supply dumps and port facilities in the continental U.S.A. The military authorities are aware of the passivity and docility of the American people, and the self-inflicted castration of the pacifists who have attempted feebly to disrupt the supply lines with ineffectual nonviolent demonstrations. The authorities have not deployed the troops to set up secure defense perimeters. They don't want to do so, either; it would remove too many combat troops from the frontlines in Vietnam, where they are desperately needed.

The Navy has long been aware of the extreme vulnerability of their gigantic weapons depot at Port Chicago; for this reason they have clamored for legislation to enable them to buy up the whole town of Port Chicago. This is now being done. The alleged reason, given out in the form of soothing public relations syrup, is to "protect" all of those innocent civilians in the event of an accidental explosion. This sudden conversion to humanitarianism on the part of professional killers would be amusing if it were not ludicrous. The real reason, of course, is to enable them to extend the defense perimeter. Thus far they have shown more imagination than their opponents in the antiwar movement.

Not only is Port Chicago laden with an enormous concentration of explosives. (80 percent of the munitions used in Vietnam pass through there.) But it is also laden with inflammables. A great explosion would be likely to result in a great fire. Such an event would certainly impede the flow of munitions to Vietnam for a long time. There is no question that it would severely impair the American war effort there.

#### SUPPOSE THE UNEXPECTED SHOULD HAPPEN

Think of the impact one such event would have on the planners in Washington. Think of what it would do to them if they knew that they had to cope with a *serious* domestic opposition, and not a theatrical one. For that matter, think of what it would mean to the longshoremen who load those munitions onto ships bound for Vietnam. Thus far those noble proletarians have been quite content to draw their not insubstantial wages, \$15,000-\$20,000 a year in most cases, for loading cargoes of death for Vietnamese with very little trouble from their consciences. After all, as everyone knows, all that really counts is the dollar. They are as sunken in degeneracy and vice as the majority of their fellow-countrymen; they are as ready to swill greedily at the bloody trough as any swollen bourgeois. The only complaint heard out of them for a long time is that they aren't getting enough. I say that it would make quite a difference if they were suddenly made to realize that theirs is a dangerous trade. The prospect of a Vietnamese mother or child being incinerated alive by napalm or white phosphorous may not touch them very deeply; but the prospect of their own precious hides being roasted would surely cause them to pause and reflect. Suddenly they might begin to remember their consciences, perhaps."

\* \* \* \* \*

According to the most recent information I have all of the napalm being used in Vietnam is being manufactured in Torrance, California, a town just outside of Long Beach. That must be a very inflammable place. Also, it is fairly close to a lot of oil wells. That is natural enough, since napalm is made from refined petroleum. That one plant is efficient enough to produce all of the napalm needed to roast Vietnamese. It would burn just as efficiently in Torrance as in Vietnam, it goes without saying.

In one small town in the East, in Connecticut or New Hampshire, I believe, is a factory which is manufacturing all of the helicopters being used in Vietnam. Helicopters are vitally necessary to the kind of war the United States is waging.

The communications network is vulnerable to disruption. So is the power grid. So are roads and bridges. Modern aircraft, with their complex electronic equipment, are easily destroyed. There are great airfields, jammed with expensive military aircraft, lying unprotected all over the country. The techniques of sabotage are simple. Let me cite just a few examples.

\* \* \* \* \*

Let us cite a few more examples of the simplicity and effectiveness of techniques of sabotage. One man crawling into the cab of a diesel locomotive, with no weapon other than a sledge hammer, can wreak havoc with a multi-billion dollar piece of machinery in five minutes by destroying the instrument panel.

To sabotage railroad lines requires only the simplest equipment, crowbars and sledge hammers. To derail a train all that is necessary is to loosen the tie mounting on eight successive ties. Remove the fish-plate and apply leverage with a crowbar so as to move one rail toward the inside. Jam the fish-plate in between.

In all likelihood that is the technique that was used by the enterprising saboteurs who derailed the 40-car S. P. freight train near Fairfield on the 20th of March. Six of the cars caught fire. According to another newspaper report, they also loosened enough ties so that the tracks simply spread apart under the weight of the locomotive.

Tossing a hand grenade or a charge of explosive into the air intake of a jet engine will destroy the aircraft.

Throwing a handful of sand, abrasive powder or metal shavings into the grease boxes on rolling stock will ruin the bearings. Grease boxes on freight cars can easily be opened. No immediate results will be seen, but the eventual damage will be considerable.

Greasing railroad tracks on inclines with heavy grease, oil, soft soap, et cetera, will block the stretch.

Merely knocking off the screw heads holding the rails to the track is effective. If this sabotage does not derail a train, it will at least keep the maintenance engineers busy.

Shooting out the insulators on high tension power lines with a small bore rifle fitted with a telescopic sight will seriously damage the line. If the insulators are shot so that the power line falls down onto the support structure, it will short circuit and melt the line. Indeed, the principal aim of all sabotage of electrical power grids should be to short circuit the system.

To severely damage high tension lines, if no explosives with which to destroy the tower are available, it is only necessary to establish connection with the ground. Attach a heavy wire or light cable to a metal fence post or a metal stake driven about five feet into the ground. Attach a heavy piece of metal to the other end of the cable, and throw it over the line. If the saboteur does not release the cable as soon as it is thrown, he may be electrocuted.

In the past few years giant computers have become vital to every large industrial corporation, research center, university, military and police headquarters and many government operations. Computers are expensive, delicate mechanisms. They are vulnerable to sabotage. If a five gallon can of gasoline with a small explosive charge taped to it is placed in a room close to a computer, the resulting explosion and fire will destroy not only the computer but all the tapes and records as well. For such operations a standard blasting cap and length of fuse should always be used. Timing devices are notoriously unreliable and dangerous to the user.

All modern institutions depend heavily upon records. Pay records, scholastic records, research papers, priceless blueprints, industrial secrets—all are printed on paper. (Not all these records are duplicated on microfilm and stored in vaults.) Documents are easily incinerated.

If sugar is put into the gas tanks of motor vehicles, the sabotage cannot be detected, and as soon as the vehicle is driven the engine will be totally ruined. Another method of sabotage is simply to cut part way through a hydraulic brake line with an ordinary wire cutter until a slow leak starts, then loosen the emergency brake cable if there is time.

These are just a few examples of some very simple techniques. If you use your imagination, no doubt you could think of many more. Such techniques are not to be despised. If practiced by a great number of individuals, in a great number of places, they could effectively hamper the industrial war effort and drive the authorities wild. Their principal advantage is that no great skill is required, nor hard-to-get weapons. They can be accomplished by relatively small, tightly knit groups; or even in some cases by lone individuals. Human casualties are avoided, except as a result of accident. There is a plethora of targets.

It is only necessary for an attacking force, small in number, to strike at a railroad network a few times in separate places, and the authorities will be forced to defend all of it, at great cost. Such is the efficiency of guerrilla methods

of warfare. Consider one well-known example of this method in the Balkans during World War II. Tito's partisans never numbered more than about 3,000 men at their peak; the average was about 1,000. Yet this relatively small force held down twelve German divisions which were badly needed elsewhere.

More effective sabotage can be done if explosives are available. With them high tension towers can be knocked down, preferably in such a manner that the tower carrying the lines falls into a relay station or into other lines. Bridges can be blasted, blocking waterways and impeding road or rail traffic. Water mains and pumping stations can be attacked, so that water pressure is reduced, preventing the suppression of fires. With still heavier weapons, such as mortars and machine guns, ammo depots and napalm storage dumps can be attacked.

As its Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah for chemical and biological weapons the Army maintains huge storage tanks filled with lethal nerve gas above ground and unprotected except for a handful of security guards. (The gas is not being transported to a site near Salt Lake City.) To adequately guard those tanks would require a regiment of Marines; the Government does not have regiments of Marines to guard every vulnerable storage depot in the country. Nerve gas is transported in tank trucks over lonely roads. In the event of an accident, prevailing winds would carry that gas to population centers.

The Government has been spending huge sums of money in its program to put a man on the moon, while neglecting important areas of social need affecting millions of our citizens. Even now, desperately needed social programs are being ruthlessly cut back as an economy measure. A moon rocket is a flying bomb, loaded with highly explosive fuel. It is a huge target. A single .30 caliber machine gun, with tracer ammunition, placed a thousand yards away with a competent gunner behind it, can blow up the Saturn lunar rocket on its pad. How would that look on TV? Who knows, perhaps someone has already thought of it.

The possibilities are infinite. A comprehensive text on this subject is "Total Resistance," written by a Major in the Swiss Army named H. von Dach Bern. It is available by mail order, no questions asked, from Panther Publications, P.O. Box 369, Boulder, Colorado 80302. It is worth much more than its nominal cost. This book is packed with detailed information on two general subjects of great importance, the "Organization and Conduct of Guerrilla Warfare," and "Organization and Operation Resistance Movement." The author intended the book as a manual for the Swiss resistance forces in case of invasion.

Just to give the reader an idea as to what this volume contains, I shall render only a part of the Table of Contents. "Chapter III. Tactic of Guerrilla Units. First Guerrilla Operations. Security of Guerrilla Units. General Behavior. March. Rest. Communication. Road Blocks. Mining Roads Sabotage Road Net. Sabotage Vehicles. Ambush Vehicles. Surprise Attacks. Attack on Communications Net. Attacking a Railroad Net. Attacking a Power Net. Surprise Attack on a Fuel Depot. Raid on an Airfield. Destroying a Bridge." and so on. This book is an invaluable source for any serious student on this subject.

A most important aspect of any campaign of sabotage is psychological warfare. It is essential that the people know that sabotage is being done, and why. Every act of sabotage, therefore, should be immediately followed by a communique from the underground headquarters, distributed by handbills, leaflets, underground press or radio, describing the act of sabotage and relating it to the struggle against the war, against imperialist intervention, against racism, and so forth. This also prevents the authorities from covering up events, from depicting sabotage as accidents or the work of disturbed persons, et cetera. This psychological impact of sabotage is so important that it can be said that any group which neglects it is throwing away half the battle.

#### COULD SABOTAGE AFFECT THE WAR?

We are now ready to approach the question, Could a campaign of sabotage effectively impair the conduct of the criminal war our government is waging against the people of Southeast Asia? Without advocating such a campaign, the answer, I think, is yes. Could it actually force the Government to abandon the war and withdraw its forces from the Asian mainland? Again, I think, the answer is yes. Furthermore, unless drastic steps are taken soon to reverse this country's role in Asia, I think that the eventuality of such a campaign can be predicted.

The answer is yes because the military-industrial establishment, with all of its complicated communications systems and interrelated economic network, is physically vulnerable. Similarly, the transportation system, carrying the huge

amounts of essential supplies across the country, is vulnerable. All that has protected it so far is the irrational mystique of its invulnerability, the crippling prejudices of an opposition drugged as it is by the stifling vapours of a bourgeois ideology called pacifism or nonviolence, and the mindless passivity of the majority of Americans. Organized sabotage could seriously damage the sector of the economy upon which the military is most dependent, severely impair the vital supply line to Vietnam, and, most important of all, bring the war home to the American people.

Lenin's great slogan, "Transform the imperialist war into a civil war!" could be made a reality.

## CONCLUSION

The American people are on dope. Relative material affluence and a phony standard of living; an abundance of cheap consumer goods; radio, TV, movies, newspapers—all these are the opium of the people. They need to be shocked out of their fatal stupor. The hogs must be called from the trough. Is it not a thing of bitterness, a thing of shame, to live in this dishonored country? There was more serious resistance to the Hitler government among the German people than we have had here! Many honorable Germans risked their lives to defy Hitler; many were sent to concentration camps; many went to their deaths for resistance. We have yet to equal their record. We are willing to risk the mild penalties for *symbolic* resistance; we are not willing to risk the penalties for *real* resistance. It is curious how human beings will deceive themselves, will avoid making hard choices that involve an element of deliberate risk, but yet will allow themselves to be pushed, willy-nilly, like a flock of bleating sheep, into the passive acceptance of risks and dangers of an infinitely greater magnitude. When the war has been brought home to Americans, when they realize that it will be fought on their own soil, in their own towns and cities, they will take a different attitude toward it than they do now, sitting in front of their TV watching the horrible flower of napalm erupting over some Vietnamese village, watching people die. When they can smell the stench of burning flesh in their nostrils, when they realize that it could be *them*, and not some other people, doing the dying, they will think about the war differently, I believe.

Throughout the article passages from official manuals on demolitions and explosives are reproduced. There are also instructions and diagrams for making Molotov cocktails, for firing mortar shells, and advertisements for other handbooks on explosives, small arms and ammunition.

With further regard to the background of Tom Sanders, whom we believe to be the same individual who uses the pen name George Prosser, it should be noted that our investigation also turned up information that Sanders was at one time during the early 1960's the executive secretary of the Bay Area Fair Play for Cuba Committee and we also sought to question him about his possible connection with the activities of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyist Communist organization.

"Black Politics" identifies other officials of the publication and other members of the editorial board. Some of these are identified as Richard Assegai, Mara Kiana, and Onij Nejjih. Confidential information from law enforcement sources deemed reliable indicates that Richard Assegai is also known by the name of Richard Aoki, whom we have identified as the first Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Aoki was replaced as Minister of Information by Eldridge Cleaver.

Mara Kiana's real name is Betty and Onij Nejjih's real name is James Nabors, who has been active in the Bay Area as chairman of the Pasadena Students for a Democratic Society during July 1965. During January 1968 Nabors was alleged to be the vice chairman of the Afro-American Student Union and the regional chairman for the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union and he also was active

in the affairs of the Third World Liberation Front at the University of California at Berkeley during February 1969.

As a result of his acts during the Third World Liberation Front strike at the University of California at Berkeley, Nabors was arrested and charged with "felony assault" by Alameda County law enforcement officers. Disposition of these charges is currently pending.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

The Chair wishes to comment upon the matters referred to in Mr. Manuel's testimony.

The investigation in which we are engaged is a part of the subcommittee's inquiry into riots and civil and criminal disorders. The Committee on Government Operations was authorized and directed by the Senate to make a full and complete study and investigation of riots, and that authority was delegated to this subcommittee.

The increased incidence of bombings and arson are a phenomenon unparalleled in our history, and in these hearings we have heard testimony about the bitter toll which has been paid by the Nation during the past year and a half in the form of terrible explosions which have caused deaths, injuries and extensive property damage. This wave of terrorism portends a very grave danger to our internal security and our peaceful way of life.

One of the principal aspects of these hearings has been to show that members of groups dedicated to violence as a means of achieving their objectives have distributed newspapers, books and pamphlets containing details on making incendiary and explosive bombs. In compiling the huge amount of factual information and statistics which have been introduced in the hearings, and in seeking the testimony of witnesses who are knowledgeable about this serious problem, the subcommittee has given particular attention to the sources of information available to those who are impelled, for whatever reasons, to commit the heinous crimes which have plagued the Nation.

We have a duty and an obligation to do so, because the factual information and disclosures which we have been able to present during this inquiry will be very important to the Congress and the public. All of us know that the Congress must be made keenly aware of the danger and must have the most complete information available in order to consider the legislative proposals, already introduced or being prepared, which will be needed in order to deal effectively and adequately with this critical problem.

The subcommittee believes that information possessed by Thomas W. Sanders, as indicated in Mr. Manuel's testimony, would be very helpful to us in our deliberations, and we sought to obtain it by the traditional means of congressional subpoena.

The subpoena served upon Mr. Sanders required him to appear as a witness on a date specified and to produce documents, including all back issues of the magazine "Black Politics" which contain articles written by a person known as George Prosser, copies of issues of that magazine containing advertisements from certain firms which sell publications on the manufacture and use of explosive and incendiary devices, and certain office records relating to the person known as George Prosser.

Those are the basic facts about the subpoena served on Thomas Sanders, including the background of our investigation as testified to

by Mr. Manuel. There are no unusual or extraordinary facets in this process, and such subpoenas duces tecum have been issued and served literally hundreds of times by the subcommittee through the years.

On Monday, August 3, attorneys for Thomas W. Sanders, in the person of Gerald M. Stern, of the law firm of Arnold & Porter, and attorneys representing the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington, D.C., filed a motion in the U.S. Court for the District of Columbia calling for a temporary order restraining the subcommittee from enforcing its subpoena.

Also filed was a civil suit in the U.S. District Court for Thomas W. Sanders, plaintiff, versus John D. McClellan [sic], et al., defendants. The other defendants are all members of the subcommittee—Senators Jackson, Ervin, Ribicoff, Metcalf, Mundt, Javits, Percy, and Gurney, and General Counsel Jerome S. Adlerman. The suit asks for a permanent injunction against enforcement of the subpoena, and a declaratory judgment that the subpoena is void and illegal under the U.S. Constitution and that Senate Resolution 308 is void and illegal under the Constitution.

U.S. District Judge William B. Jones denied the motion on August 3, 1970, at 3 p.m. On the morning of August 4, 1970, the plaintiff appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, which court reversed the decision of Judge Jones and ordered that the enforcement of the subpoena be stayed pending further order of the circuit court. The circuit court, in this instance composed of Judges Charles Fahy, J. Skelly Wright, and Edward A. Tamm, with Judge Tamm not participating, stated that its order was granted in order to afford an opportunity for the court to consider the appellant's motion more fully.

For the first time in the subcommittee's long history of investigations, covering almost 30 years since the inception of the War Investigating Committee under then Senator Harry S. Truman, a Federal court has seen fit to enjoin the subcommittee from enforcing a subpoena duly and properly served. We cannot, under the court order, now call Mr. Sanders to testify to what he may know about the writing and distribution of articles advising and counseling disaffected persons to resort to explosive and incendiary devices as means to reach their goals.

The court order, in my opinion as an attorney and in my experience as chairman of a Senate committee for more than 15 years, represents an unwarranted and likely unconstitutional abridgement of one of the principles of our governmental system—the separation of powers among the three branches of the Federal Government.

The right of the Congress to investigate for legislative purposes has always been upheld by the Nation's courts, and, in fact, the Supreme Court ruled, in *McGrain v. Daugherty* (273 U.S. 135) that:

\*\*\* the power of inquiry with process to enforce it is an essential and appropriate auxiliary to the legislative function. \*\*\* Plainly the subject was one on which legislation could be had and would be materially aided by the information which the investigation was calculated to elicit.

On the right of Congress to compel witnesses to appear and testify, the Supreme Court said further in *McGrain v. Daugherty*:

In actual legislative practice, power to secure needed information by such means has long been treated as an attribute of power to legislate. It was so re-

garded in the British Parliament and in the Colonial Legislature before the American Revolution and a like view has prevailed and has been carried into effect in both Houses of Congress and in most state legislatures.

How is the Congress expected to obtain needed information from persons who may be reluctant to offer it willingly, if not by the power of subpoena? In this instance, how will the Congress be able to consider properly legislative proposals, some of which already have been introduced, if it cannot have the direct testimony of persons primarily involved in the acceleration of the wave of bombings and terroristic acts which has swept across the country?

In view of the history and tradition of effective use of the subpoena power by the Congress as a means of bolstering and strengthening its legislative considerations, I sincerely hope that the temporary injunction issued by the circuit court will not result in a confrontation between the legislative and judiciary branches of the Government. I believe that the testimony of the witness to whom the court has given a stay from compliance with the subpoena served upon him would be of value to the subcommittee.

I trust that the testimony of this important witness will not finally be prohibited to the committee.

I think this statement is pertinent and it will help keep the record clear with respect to the issues that are involved. It is hoped certainly that the court, which has apparently retained jurisdiction and wants further time to study the matter and the issues that are involved in the court proceeding involving this subpoena, will not procrastinate, that it will move, and make a decision one way or the other.

A procrastination on this matter is not conducive to the expedition of due process. I am confident that the court can, and I hope it will, make a prompt determination after having duly deliberated and considered the issues involved.

The Chair also has prepared an interim statement regarding the whole series of hearings. We are not going to close the hearings at this time. This is an interim statement.

We are at a point in these hearings where we have reached the somber realization that the country faces a very dangerous and critical threat from the forces of subversion and revolution that are now committing repeated acts of bombing, arson, and sabotage. The magnitude and frequency of such acts of terrorism and destruction directed against the sovereignty of government and the lives and property of our citizens furnish ample warning that we are fighting for the survival of our free society.

Responsible officials in many fields of government have testified that the stated objectives of the revolutionaries and anarchistic criminals, who are responsible for the atrocities we have heard described in these sessions, are the destruction of our traditional institutions and the overthrow of our governmental system.

Documentary evidence in the record shows clearly that a large proportion of the fanatical and malicious bombings and assaults have been the work of groups which were organized to conduct and proliferate a reign of terror. Their own words, printed in their publications, specify their criminal intentions, exhort others to violence, and give explicit instructions on how to make and use explosive and incendiary devices. They urge warfare in the streets; they call for deadly attacks

upon police; they extol murder, arson, and terrorism as weapons of revolution.

None of our witnesses thus far have been optimistic about the future with respect to any anticipated diminution of this campaign of fear and terror. The record shows that they believe without exception that the bombings will continue and probably will accelerate, that the challenge to our society will become more severe and intensified, and that the dangers of revolution, anarchy, and chaos are real and present and will not dissipate without strong and effective measures in opposition. Almost all of the public officials who testified stated their beliefs that terroristic tactics could be suppressed only by vigorous prosecution and enforcement of the law and by appropriate punishment of those who are guilty of these acts of terrorism.

I fully agree with them. If we are to have a safe and free Nation, revolutionaries and criminals must not be permitted to resort to violence to impose their wills upon the peaceful and law-abiding majority.

Summarizing the crisis with which we must deal, we find in the record the appalling total of more than 5,000 bombings in the United States during the past 18 months. More than 1,200 of them were of the high explosive type; the rest were committed with incendiary devices. According to a U.S. Treasury Department survey there were, from January 1, 1969, through April 15, 1970, more than 40,000 bombings, attempted bombings, and threats of bombings. At least 43 persons have been killed and about 400 others injured. Property damage has exceeded \$25 million.

Testimony has established that during 1968, 1969, and the first half of 1970, 23 law enforcement officers have been killed by terroristic attacks, and 326 have been injured. As indicators of the magnitude of the crisis we face, those statistics call upon us to act swiftly and forcefully to bring abruptly to a halt the savage assaults upon our system of law and order. We must act, or we will fall victims to the mob.

I believe that we must use all constitutional power and all legal weapons to assure ourselves safe streets, safe homes, and free and enduring institutions.

To that end, the legislative recommendations which have been made thus far by public officials and other witnesses in these hearings are deserving of our close attention. The national administration already has proposed certain measures which are intended to, and which likely would, if enacted by the Congress, inhibit, deter, and prohibit the proliferation of bombings and the relatively easy accessibility of materials to make destructive devices.

The record clearly establishes the inadequacy of existing statutes in the field and the pressing need for strengthening them in a number of appropriate aspects. The Congress must consider carefully the recommendations of the executive department, but I feel strongly that it also must give close attention to the numerous additional suggestions for legislative action that have been made by responsible and concerned public officials in these hearings.

In its report the subcommittee will seek to call to the attention of the Congress the suggestions for new laws that have been made in these hearings thus far, and will make recommendations thereon, in the fervent hope that the Nation's response to those who advocate and are

practicing violence and terror will be strong and adequate legislative measures to deal more effectively with the perpetration of malicious and senseless bombings and the current reign of terror in our society.

We will continue these hearings at the call of the Chair to hear testimony from witnesses who may be able to furnish valuable information for our further deliberations, and that includes the witness Sanders.

I trust the court will take note that these hearings are held open awaiting its final decision and action in that case.

Senator Gurney?

Senator GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement which I would like to make.

I wish to associate myself firmly with the remarks you have made about the importance and significance of these hearings. The record we have made has been remarkably instructive and will be extremely effective in charting our responsibilities in this grave situation currently threatening the Nation.

The crisis which has been detailed in these sessions is cause for grave concern, close attention and swift and positive action upon the part of the Federal Government in all its branches. Perhaps the greatest immediate responsibility lies with the Congress. I believe we should take the lead, because it is clear that existing statutes relating to sanctions against bombing and terrorism are inadequate and tie the hands of law enforcement agencies. The laws must be strengthened by amendment or replaced by new laws which will enable us to deal swiftly and surely with the perpetrators of these outrages who may be apprehended and provide appropriate punishment for their crimes.

It is also clear that we will need legislation which, when enacted, will furnish much better security for the dangerous explosive and volatile materials that are now being purchased, stolen or otherwise obtained in wholesale lots by extremists who seek to achieve their objectives through violence, death and senseless destruction.

We have been shown that the country needs rigorous law enforcement at all levels of government—Federal, State and municipal—in order to put a brake on the fanatics and their terroristic activities. There is no sign that the wave of atrocities is about to recede. Indeed, the evidence all points the other way.

The record contains ample warning, printed in the widely distributed publications of the extremists, that they believe the swift way to revolution and to the overthrow of our Government is through terrorism and guerrilla warfare. That is not my judgment, nor that of other members of the subcommittee, but rather it is found in the proclamations of the bombers themselves—the Weatherman group and others like them. They intend to destroy our free society and bring our governmental structure down by the acceleration of ferocity, cruelty, and savagery completely alien to this civilization. I do not for one minute believe that they ever will succeed, but I know that the threat is real.

We have had testimony that from January 1969 to April of this year—a scant 15-month period—this country suffered a total of 4,330 bombings, an additional 1,475 attempted bombings, and a reported 35,129 threatened bombings.

The toll has been bitter—43 deaths and approximately 400 injuries in the same period. I am especially appalled by the casualties among law enforcement officers, 23 dead and 326 injured. All of us should salute the men in police uniforms who continue to do their jobs, never knowing when they might become the targets of despicable assassins.

We were given a very thorough course in the vicious philosophy of the extremists when we examined the printed material they distribute.

I recall particularly the underground newspaper published here in the District of Columbia which told its readers in a recent issue that they should kill policemen, told them how to make the bombs with which to commit the murders, and then printed a two-page spread showing the District of Columbia with the location of every police precinct clearly marked.

These fanatical plans must be thwarted. It is not and can never be "repression" to furnish law enforcement agencies the legal weapons with which to stop them.

I found it significant that almost every witness who appeared before us had sound and constructive recommendations for legislation. The point was made a number of times by witnesses, by the chairman, and by subcommittee members, that the primary responsibility for curbing and ending the wave of bombings and terrorism lies necessarily with local communities themselves.

While I hope that the Congress acts swiftly and effectively in considering the legislative recommendations which were made to us, I strongly suggest that the States and municipalities all across the country study the record which we have made, in order to formulate, within their jurisdictions, the laws which will help them to carry out their primary role.

It has been a privilege to serve in these hearings under your distinguished leadership, Mr. Chairman, and I share your hope that our work will have positive and productive results.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

I think we have made a record here that Congress can examine to obtain all the information that it needs with respect to the conditions that obtain today in this field of bombing, of violence, of revolutionary activities, of sabotage, and destruction.

I think we have the information as to the nature of legislation that is needed and that can be enacted within the framework of the Constitution to aid the law enforcement officials in strengthening their ability to deal with the problem.

Thank you. The committee will stand in adjournment subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 11:30 a.m. the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

(Members present at adjournment. Senators McClellan and Gurney.)

## APPENDIX

EXHIBIT No. 825

(Staff study of bombings, both explosive and incendiary, and attempted bombings in the United States, January 1, 1969, through July 9, 1970)

## INTRODUCTION

The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations has been engaged since August 1967 in the investigation of riots and civil and criminal disorders in the United States and the commission of crimes in connection therewith, and is to report to the Congress measures necessary for the prevention of such disorders.

In the performance of this obligation, under the resolution authorizing this investigation, the Subcommittee staff has compiled a chronological study of bombings, both explosive and incendiary, and attempted bombings in the United States which occurred during the period January 1, 1969 to July 9, 1970.

The study was compiled, for the most part, from available public source material, news clips, and also limited contact with major law enforcement agencies. The study should not be construed, therefore, to be a complete listing of every bombing or bombing attempt that has occurred in the United States during the period covered.

This study was prepared under the direction of Philip R. Manuel, Staff Investigator, assisted by Daniel C. Harris, Jerry J. Perry, and John J. Klotz of the U.S. General Accounting Office.

JAMES S. ADLERMAN, *General Counsel*.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF BOMBINGS AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE PERIOD JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970

SCHEDULE A: TOTAL BOMBINGS AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS FOR CALENDAR YEARS 1969 AND 1970 (TO JULY 9) BY MONTH AND TYPE OF BOMB USED

Calendar year	Explosive bombing incidents	Incendiary bombing incidents	Total bombing incidents	Total bombing attempts	Total bombing incidents and attempts
1969					
January.....	24	15	39	6	45
February.....	34	10	44	4	48
March.....	28	12	40	4	44
April.....	31	25	56	7	63
May.....	30	42	72	7	79
June.....	28	27	55	2	57
July.....	26	45	71	2	73
August.....	15	14	29	3	32
September.....	20	12	32	9	41
October.....	22	28	50	3	53
November.....	24	8	32	9	41
December.....	16	5	21	5	26
1969 total.....	298	243	541	61	1,602
1970					
January.....	40	11	51	5	56
February.....	37	15	52	8	60
March.....	53	20	73	11	84
April.....	66	30	96	22	118
May.....	69	80	149	17	166
June.....	24	39	63	6	69
July.....	12	15	27	6	33
1970 total.....	301	210	511	75	586
1969-70 total.....	599	453	1,052	136	1,188

<sup>1</sup> Average bombings and attempted bombings per day in calendar year 1969—1.6.

<sup>2</sup> Average bombings and attempted bombings per day in calendar year 1970—3.1.

<sup>3</sup> Average bombings and attempted bombings per day for calendar years 1969-70—2.1.

SCHEDULE B: TOTAL BOMBINGS AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS FOR CALENDAR YEARS 1969 AND 1970 TO JULY 9—  
BY CATEGORIES OF PROPERTY

Calendar year	Total bombing incidents and attempts	Foreign embassies and consulates	Federal Government property	State and municipal Government property	Industrial, public utilities, and railroads	Local small business	Homes and personal property	Schools and colleges	Churches and synagogues
1969	602	7	35	56	92	114	162	124	19
1970	586	7	71	70	59	139	123	104	13
1969-70 total	1,188	7	106	126	151	253	285	228	32

<sup>1</sup> Federal Government property includes Selective Service offices and ROTC buildings.  
<sup>2</sup> Of the 285 explosions involving personal property, 16 were attributed to teenagers injured in the act of constructing homemade bombs in their homes.  
<sup>3</sup> Of the 228 explosions involving schools and colleges, 145 occurred at colleges, 71 at high schools, 7 at junior high schools, and 5 at elementary schools.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
JANUARY 1969		
Jan. 1, Jersey City, N.J.	EBI <sup>1</sup>	An explosive device detonated at the Greenville Police Station. No injuries reported.
Jan. 2, Jersey City, N.J.	EBI	An explosive device was thrown through the window of the 5th precinct of the Jersey City Police Department. No injuries were reported and property damage was minor.
Jan. 2, San Francisco, Calif.	BA <sup>2</sup>	A time bomb was found in the men's lavatory of Blums Restaurant, Union Square and was dismantled prior to detonation time.
Jan. 3, Mobile, Ala.	EBI	6 firebombs were thrown at Butlers Food Store. Minor damage; no injuries.
Jan. 5, Mount Carroll, Ill.	EBI	A dynamite explosion damaged the chimney of an old schoolhouse.
Jan. 5, Santa Barbara, Calif.	IBI <sup>3</sup>	2 molotov cocktails were thrown into the administrative offices of the ROTC building on the University of California campus. Minor damage.
Do.	BA	A homemade bomb planted in the lobby of the San Francisco State College administration building failed to explode.
Jan. 7, San Mateo, Calif.	EBI	An explosive device was thrown into the garage of the dean of instruction, College of San Mateo. Damage to garage, master bedroom, and 2 cars estimated at \$15,000 to \$20,000.
Jan. 7, Santa Barbara, Calif.	IBI	Several gasoline bombs caused \$1,200 damage at ROTC headquarters on University of California campus.
Jan. 9, Vallejo, Calif.	IBI	A fire caused by a firebomb destroyed a building on the campus of Solano Junior College. The building was valued at \$50,000 to \$60,000. Several minor fires had been started 2 days earlier by members of the Black Student Union.
Jan. 10, San Francisco, Calif.	BA	A firebomb tossed into home of San Francisco State College official failed to explode.
Jan. 11, Washington, D.C.	EBI	A bomb explosion heavily damaged the Shaare Tikvah Synagogue in Prince Georges County. Damage estimated to be at least \$150,000.
Jan. 13, San Francisco, Calif.	BA	A time bomb was found behind provost marshal's office, Presidio of San Francisco. Telephone operator had received a bomb threat.
Jan. 14, Chicago, Ill.	IBI	A molotov cocktail was thrown at a Selective Service Board office. Minor damage; no injuries.
Jan. 16, San Francisco, Calif.	BA	An explosive device found near a telephone booth in foyer of administration building at San Francisco State College failed to detonate.
Jan. 17, New York, N.Y.	EBI	The 44th Precinct police station in the Highbridge section was shaken by a dynamite blast.
Jan. 18, Commerce City, Colo.	EBI	2 bombings at 1 location destroyed a propane storage shed and 2 25,000 gallon gasoline storage tanks. An undetermined amount of gasoline was lost, but no fire resulted.
Jan. 19, New York, N.Y.	EBI	District superintendent's office in Queens was damaged by an explosive device.
Jan. 19, Chicago, Ill.	BA	Chicago police discovered a timing device and other explosive material in the rubble of a trash can fire in Grant Park.
Jan. 19, Walnut Creek, Calif.	EBI	An explosive device detonated near rear of local police station.
Jan. 20, Berkeley, Calif.	IBI	2 firebombs caused minor damage to (1) Wheeler Auditorium and (2) the interview room of placement center on the University of California campus.
Jan. 20-28, Colorado	EBI	During a 9-day period, 4 electric transmission towers of the Public Service Co. of Colorado were damaged by dynamite explosions.
Jan. 21, Wilkesboro, N.C.	EBI	A bomb exploded shattering a classroom at West Wilkes High School. Damage estimated at \$6,800.
Jan. 22, Portland, Oreg.	EBI	A bomb explosion tore apart a telephone booth and did more than \$500 damage to a service station at the corner of NE 181 1st Ave. and Halsey St.

Footnotes on page 5788.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
JANUARY 1969—Continued		
Jan. 22, Berkeley, Calif.	IBI	A fire caused by a firebomb destroyed Wheeler Auditorium on the University of California campus. Arson suspected. Estimated damages, \$500,000.
Jan. 25, Mobile, Ala.	IBI	2 firebombs were thrown at a private residence causing minor damage.
Jan. 26, Hazard, Ky.	EBI	A dynamite blast completely destroyed a car.
Jan. 26, Jefferson City, Tenn.	EBI	A dynamite explosion near a tree shattered windows in 5 nearby homes.
Jan. 26, Palo Alto, Calif.	EBI	The front door and all front windows of the home of a city councilman were blown out by a pipebomb filled with gunpowder, nails, and BB shot.
Jan. 27, Freeport, N.Y.	IBI	2 firebombs detonated at Freeport H.S.
Jan. 27, Redwood City, Calif.	EBI	A pipe bomb loaded with gunpowder and tiny metal balls blew a 12-foot hole in the ceiling of a machine shop and damaged furniture and machinery at the Swiss Craft Co.
Jan. 28, Berkeley, Calif.	IBI	3 separate gas firebombs were thrown into Dwinelle Hall, Sproul Hall, and a crowd at Sather Gate on the University of California campus.
Jan. 28, Denver, Colo.	EBI	A dynamite blast knocked a chunk of concrete out of a main support pillar on the 15th St. viaduct.
Jan. 30, Palo Alto, Calif.	EBI	A gas cartridge bomb shattered the windshield of a station wagon belonging to a Palo Alto school official.
Jan. 30, Kalamazoo, Mich.	IBI	A firebomb was thrown into classroom of ROTC Building on the Western Michigan Univ. campus. Minor damage.
Do.	IBI	A firebomb was thrown through the window of a building used by the Michigan National Guard causing minor damage to 3 jeeps and extensive damage to 2 jeeps and the building.
Jan. 31, Denver, Colo.	IBI	A firebomb exploded at 1845 S. Linden Way damaging the shrubbery and private home. Damage estimated at \$150.
Do.	EBI	An explosion caused by a military grenade damaged an auto in the 1200 block of 15th St.
FEBRUARY 1969		
Feb. 1, Youngstown, Ohio	EBI	A bomb explosion damaged a house at 45 Sarnac Ave.
Feb. 3, Morgan City, La.	EBI	A bomb explosion extensively damaged a home and beauty shop.
Feb. 3, San Rafael, Calif.	EBI	An explosive device detonated on stairway leading to Selective Service Office and Army Recruiting Station causing some damage to building and breaking all windows.
Feb. 4, Bonita, Calif.	EBI	A bomb explosion damaged the San Plant Bldg. Damage estimated at \$700.
Feb. 5, Palo Alto, Calif.	EBI	A small homemade bomb exploded in the dining room of the Tangent Restaurant breaking one window.
Feb. 7, Fort Ord, Calif.	EBI	A pipe bomb placed under seat in a crowded (400 people) theater exploded injuring 1 person seriously and causing minor injuries to 5 others.
Feb. 10, McCormick, S.C.	EBI	An explosive device made of 2 sticks of dynamite buried in the dirt of a driveway exploded when a man drove a car over it. The explosion damaged the car and injured the driver.
Feb. 11, Minneapolis, Minn.	EBI	An explosive device was set off near a U.S.A.F. Recruiting Office.
Feb. 11, Palo Alto, Calif.	EBI	A hand grenade blasted out some front windows and blew a hole in the porch of the headquarters of the Concerned Citizens for Peace.
Feb. 11, San Jose, Calif.	EBI	A pipe bomb exploded at the San Jose Peace Center. Minor damage.
Feb. 13, Seattle, Wash.	BA	An explosive device was found in the cafeteria at Rainier Beach High School prior to detonation.
Feb. 13, San Francisco, Calif.	EBI	A pipe bomb exploded beside the deserted Gallery Lounge on the campus on San Francisco State College shattering windows and causing several hundred dollars damage.
Feb. 14, Palo Alto, Calif.	BA	A pipe bomb was found in the car of a Stanford University student.
Feb. 14, Oakland, Calif.	EBI	A 1968 model pick-up truck was blown apart by a dynamite blast in the area of Claremont Country Club.
Feb. 17, Muskogee, Okla.	EBI	A dynamite explosion damaged a private residence at 3310 Oklahoma St.
Feb. 17, Columbus, Ohio	EBI	A pipe bomb exploded in a locker at Eastmoor High School.
Feb. 17, Marshall, Tex.	IBI	A molotov cocktail was thrown at a football ticket booth on the Wiley College Campus.
Feb. 17, San Francisco, Calif.	EBI	A homemade time bomb shattered 18 windows of administrative building at San Francisco State College. Campus security officer suffered severe ear damage.
Do.	EBI	A homemade bomb made from a roll of paper wadded with gunpowder blew out several windows and scorched woodwork of building at 1427-29 25th Ave. in the Sunset district.
Feb. 18-19, San Francisco, Calif.	IBI	4 fires caused by incendiary devices occurred in 3 downtown department stores: (1) 6th floor of Macy's, 9:30 p.m.; (2) basement of the Emporium, 12:10 a.m.; (3) basement of Woolworth's, 1:11 a.m.; (4) 6th floor of Macy's, 9:15 a.m. The fires caused minor damage.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS, IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
FEBRUARY 1969—Continued		
Feb. 19, San Diego, Calif.	EBI	A bomb explosion in the offices of 2 dentists and an attorney caused an estimated \$800 damage.
Feb. 20, Berkeley, Calif.	BA	A firebomb was thrown into Dwinelle Hall on the University of California campus but did not ignite.
Feb. 21, Annandale, Va.	EBI	Explosive device detonated at front door of a high school in Annandale. Minor damage.
Feb. 21, East St. Louis, Ill.	EBI	A dynamite explosion shattered the front of a liquor store at 512 N. 27th St.
Feb. 20, Lawrence, Kans.	IBI	Four Molotov cocktail firebombs were thrown in and around the Military Science Bldg., University of Kansas. Minor damage.
Feb. 21, San Francisco, Calif.	IBI	A firebomb ignited on the 6th floor of Penny's department store causing minor damage.
Feb. 22, Seattle, Wash.	EBI	The front door of the armed forces entrance and examining station was blown open with a small explosive device.
Feb. 22, St. Louis, Mo.	IBI	2 firebombs were thrown through the window of a police station.
Feb. 22, Dallas, Tex.	EBI	A homemade mortar containing Minuteman pamphlets was fired in a parking lot. 1 car was damaged.
Feb. 22, Carthage, Tex.	EBI	A homemade mortar containing Minuteman pamphlets exploded on the lot of an automobile dealer. Estimated damage \$2,000.
Feb. 22, Kilgore, Tex.	EBI	A homemade mortar exploded near Kilgore Junior College.
Feb. 22, Lewistown, Ill.	EBI	A bomb explosion damaged a station wagon at 906 North Broadway.
Feb. 23, Middlesboro, Ky.	EBI	Two police officers' private homes were rocked by bomb explosions.
Feb. 24, Elkhart, Ind.	EBI	Dynamite placed under the rear of an auto parked in front of the Grace Motel, exploded causing an estimated \$5,000 damage to the auto and \$1,000 to the motel.
Feb. 24, Lone Star, Tex.	EBI	An explosion occurred outside one of the many tents housing new employees of the Lone Star Steel Co.
Feb. 25, Boardman, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite blast caused about \$500 damage to a private home at 328 Mathews Rd.
Feb. 25, San Francisco, Calif.	IBI	A beer bottle containing burning kerosene, splattered near rear exit of Balboa High School auditorium causing minor damage.
Feb. 25, Berkeley, Calif.	IBI	A firebomb caused an estimated \$700 damage to the athletic department on the University of California campus.
Feb. 25, Contra Costa County, Calif.	EBI	Several explosions damaged 3 pipelines and ruptured 1 owned by the Phillips Oil Co. Some diesel fuel was lost.
Feb. 25, Claremont, Calif.	EBI	A pipe bomb exploded in a rest room at Scripps College.
Do.	EBI	A bomb exploded in a mail distribution box at Pomona College. A secretary suffered the loss of sight in 1 eye and possible loss of a hand.
Feb. 26, Cohoes, N.Y.	BA	An incendiary device was found at an exit door of Cohoes High School before it could explode.
Feb. 26, Los Angeles, Calif.	EBI	A pipe bomb exploded in a classroom building at Southwest College causing extensive damage to the building.
Feb. 27, San Francisco, Calif.	EBI	A bomb exploded in a locker at Galileo High School.
MARCH 1969		
Mar. 3, Martinez, Calif.	EBI	15 pounds of Flo-Gel (equal to 1 case of dynamite) was planted near an 80,000-bbl. storage tank of fuel owned by the Shell Oil Co. but did not detonate completely. A low order detonation caused minor damage.
Mar. 3, Chicago, Ill.	EBI	A bomb exploded in the building housing the Chicago Board of Education. Minor damage; no injuries.
Mar. 3, Cohoes, N.Y.	IBI	An incendiary device exploded at Cohoes High School causing damage to the ceiling and walls.
Mar. 5, San Francisco, Calif.	EBI	A pipe bomb exploded in the hands of 1 of 2 individuals attempting to bomb a building on the San Francisco State College campus, causing the loss of both hands.
Mar. 5, Beloit, Wis.	IBI	3 firebombs were thrown through the window of the infirmary at Beloit College causing an estimated \$3,000 damage.
Mar. 6, Kent, Ohio.	IBI	A fire caused by a firebomb broke out in the Art Building on the Kent State University campus, destroying 1/2 of the building. Damage estimated at \$25,000 to \$30,000.
Mar. 6, Martinez, Calif.	EBI	A bomb blew a 4-ft. hole in Alhambra Ave. and shattered a 12-in. pipeline belonging to Standard Oil. Estimated 4,000 gals. of oil were lost.
Mar. 6, Berkeley, Calif.	BA	An explosive device was found on top of a washing machine at Bishops' coin-op laundry.
Mar. 7, Columbus, Ohio.	BA	An explosive device was found in the 2d floor boys restroom of Eastmoor High School.
Mar. 7, Washington Park, Ill.	EBI	A gunpowder bomb exploded and damaged the Red Feather Tavern at 5021 Bunkum Rd.
Mar. 7, Los Angeles, Calif.	EBI	A bomb exploded under the Computer center at Lovola University.
Mar. 7, San Francisco, Calif.	EBI	A bomb exploded at the Creative Arts Bldg. on the San Francisco State College campus.
Mar. 9, San Jose, Calif.	EBI	A bomb blast destroyed a college newspaper vending stand at San Jose State College.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS, IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
MARCH 1969—Continued		
Mar. 9, Indianapolis, Ind.	EBI	3 pieces of heavy construction equipment were heavily damaged by explosives at a residential housing project in Southern Marion County. Damage estimate at \$50,000.
Mar. 11, Alexandria, Va.	EBI	A 16-year-old youth was injured when a makeshift bomb containing 2 small sticks of dynamite exploded at his home at 912 Wayne-wood Blvd. Estimated damage to home \$2,500.
Mar. 12, Los Angeles, Calif.	IBI	A molotov cocktail thrown into an office in the administration building at Los Angeles Valley College caused an estimated \$2,000 damage.
Mar. 12, Detroit, Mich.	IBI	4 firebombs were thrown into an administration building at a high school. Minor damage; no injuries.
Mar. 12, Bronx, N.Y.	EBI	An explosive device detonated at Columbus Junior High School. 2 buildings on the campus of Stillman College were destroyed by fires caused by firebombs. No injuries reported.
Mar. 13, Tuscaloosa, Ala.	IBI	2 separate firebombings occurred on the Duke University campus.
Mar. 13, Durham, N.C.	IBI	A gas bomb exploded at Central Commercial High School. No injuries reported.
Mar. 14, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A dynamite blast demolished a truck parked in a driveway at 10 Overdale Dr. in the Preston Highway area. No injuries reported.
Mar. 14, Louisville, Ky.	EBI	A bomb explosion damaged a private home at 310 North 4th St. No injuries reported.
Mar. 14, Smithfield, N.C.	EBI	A bomb exploded at the headquarters of the AFDM damaging private home of an AFDM member. No injuries reported.
Mar. 15, Albuquerque, N. Mex.	EBI	A fire damaged the Hebrew Day School and Institute. Deputy fire chief said that gasoline or some other flammable liquid had been poured on a classroom floor through a window and set afire. 3 firebombs were hurled against the residence of former president of the NAACP.
Mar. 15, Plainfield, N.J.	IBI	A firebomb was thrown against a building occupied by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
Do.	IBI	A pipe bomb exploded at the U.S. Naval and Marine Corps Training Center.
Do.	IBI	The personal automobile of UCLA campus police officer was destroyed on the campus by an explosive device.
Mar. 15, Compton, Calif.	EBI	A Shell Oil Co. pipeline carrying aviation gasoline was ruptured by bomb explosions. A fire, 50 feet high and 3 miles long, swept through the town of Canyon. 1 man died; 5 were injured. 11 vehicles, a post office, and a general store were destroyed.
Mar. 17, Los Angeles, Calif.	EBI	A dynamite bomb demolished 1 car, damaged 2 others, and smashed windows in a youth center.
Mar. 17, Canyon, Calif.	EBI	A 14-year-old boy lost 2 fingers and suffered other injuries when a small bomb he was making exploded in his hands. The victim was reported to have been stuffing matchheads into a carbon dioxide cartridge to use as a minibomb.
Mar. 17, Denver, Colo.	EBI	A student was critically injured when a bomb he was planning to set off at San Francisco State College exploded.
Mar. 18, Portola Valley, Calif.	EBI	A fire caused by a firebomb destroyed the science building at Lane College. No injuries reported.
Mar. 19, San Francisco, Calif.	EBI	A police panel truck was demolished by a bomb at 23d and Myrtle Sts.
Mar. 20, Jackson, Tenn.	IBI	A firebomb thrown against the wall of the World Wide Packaging and Crating Co. failed to ignite.
Mar. 22, Long Beach, Calif.	EBI	A bomb exploded under a patrol car seconds after 2 patrolmen had left the car to make a routine check of a bar.
Mar. 24, Mobile, Ala.	BA	A steakhouse damaged a supermarket at 1201 Piggott Ave.
Mar. 25, Long Beach, Calif.	EBI	A supermarket manager was injured when a bomb demolished his automobile in a parking lot at 2408 North High St.
Mar. 26, East St. Louis, Ill.	EBI	A supermarket was damaged by a dynamite explosion.
Mar. 26, Columbus, Ohio.	EBI	An arsonist planted about 15 sticks of dynamite throughout the Venezia Bakery and then set the bakery afire. Investigators believe that 2 sticks exploded. The bakery was gutted by the fire which caused an estimated \$50,000 damage. The bomb squad removed the rest of the dynamite.
Mar. 26, East St. Louis, Mo.	EBI	A firebomb thrown into the Dunbar Substation of the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. burned out on the ground without striking any equipment.
Mar. 29, San Pedro, Calif.	EBI	
Mar. 31, San Francisco, Calif.	BA	
APRIL 1969		
Apr. 1, Palos Verde Estates, Calif.	EBI	A bomb was thrown into a front bathroom of a home. The explosion tore off part of the house and destroyed the bath room. 1 person was injured.
Apr. 1, Tucson, Ariz.	EBI	An explosion damaged a dumpster—a huge steel container which is attached to a rubbish truck and lifted for emptying.
Apr. 3, Kalamazoo, Mich.	IBI	A firebomb exploded at the Western Michigan University Housing Office causing extensive damage to records and to the building.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
APRIL 1969—Continued		
Apr. 3, Renton, Wash.....	EBI	An explosion, probably caused by TNT, extensively damaged the Jolly 7 Club at 13360 Empire Way South.
Apr. 3, Des Moines, Iowa.....	EBI	Soul Village, meeting and recreation hall for black youths at 1409 Forest Ave., was rocked by an explosion. Damage was estimated at upwards of \$20,000.
Apr. 4, Kansas City, Kans.....	EBI	A homemade time bomb exploded in the yard at 833 N. 113th hurling metal fragments that caused minor damage to 2 nearby homes.
Apr. 5, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	A firebomb attack on Community Church in Queens caused minor damage.
Apr. 5, Darrington, Wash.....	EBI	Explosion in an automobile killed 1 and injured 2 others. The man who was killed apparently was holding a lighted stick of dynamite in his hand when the blast occurred.
Apr. 6, Cleveland, Ohio.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb extensively damaged a new \$60,000 home at 1938 Winchester Rd.
Apr. 6, Chicago, Ill.....	EBI	Pipe bombs exploded near a barber shop in South Chicago.
Apr. 7, Chicago, Ill.....	EBI	Homemade bomb exploded in the toy department of Goldblatt Bros. Department Store while thronged with noonday crowds. 1 person killed; 8 injured. Chicago man, Frank Kulak later confessed to the bombing.
Apr. 8, Dearborn, Mich.....	EBI	A dynamite blast shattered 1 window at Carol's Restaurant, 7333 Wyoming, and 2 windows in a home. A 15-in. hole was blasted in the restaurant wall from a stick of dynamite placed near the building foundation.
Apr. 9, Redwood City, Calif.....	EBI	Small explosions from homemade bombs occurred at Woodside High School. No injuries and minor damage.
Apr. 9, Chicago, Ill.....	BA	9 Molotov cocktails found in vicinity of Pulaski Elementary School. Spent matches indicating unsuccessful attempts to ignite were also found.
Apr. 11, Santa Barbara, Calif.....	EBI	Bomb detonated on the patio of the Faculty Club, University of California, Santa Barbara. Custodian died as a result of the bombing. Patio door was blown out and several walls were blackened.
Apr. 12, Chicago, Ill.....	BA	Pipe bomb found in the lower level of the east Tower of Marina Towers Apartments.
Apr. 13, Kansas City, Mo.....	EBI	Dynamite blast at Accursos Tap Room. About \$3,000 damage.
Apr. 14, Woodside, Calif.....	EBI	Bomb exploded when a teacher opened a booby-trapped storage room door. No injuries resulted.
Apr. 14, Mt. Orab, Ohio.....	EBI	An estimated 20 sticks of dynamite exploded in an alleyway between an apartment and a grocery store. Both heavily damaged as well as several other buildings.
Apr. 14, Des Moines, Iowa.....	EBI	An explosion caused by a heavy explosive charge laid at the base of a utility pole adjacent to an electrical substation, shattered windows in the area.
Apr. 14, Cleveland, Ohio.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb explosion did more than \$2,000 damage to 3 business places in the St. Clair Ave.-E. 138th St. Area: (1) Villa Buffet, 13815 St. Clair; (2) Tower Furniture & Appliance Co., 13811 St. Clair; (3) A storeroom at 13817 St. Clair.
Apr. 15, Newport, Ky.....	EBI	An explosion damaged the roof, blew out a window and demolished the interior of a pick up truck at 225 East 6th St., \$700 damage.
Apr. 15, Mount Pleasant, Tex.....	EBI	The tractor units of 2 trucks were completely destroyed at a motel parking area by a bomb blast. They were loaded with pipe from Lone Star Steel Co.
Apr. 16, Oakland, Calif.....	BA	A water-soaked bomb containing a TNT charge was found in the Regional Park area.
Apr. 17, Emeryville, Calif.....	BA	A homemade pipe bomb was found outside the building owned by a large automobile repair firm.
Apr. 17, Coral Gables, Fla.....	EBI	Homemade bomb exploded in the office of the Dean of Men, University of Miami.
Apr. 17, Tulsa, Okla.....	EBI	Bomb exploded at the residence of National Tank Co.'s executive vice president shattering windows.
Apr. 18, El Segundo, Calif.....	EBI	A homemade bomb exploded in a locker at the Imperial Bowling Alley.
Apr. 18, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	Firebomb causes extensive damage to Gould Memorial Library, Bronx campus.
Apr. 19, Buffalo, N.Y.....	IBI	2 firebombs thrown at building, University of Buffalo, where U.S. Navy-sponsored research project is located.
Apr. 21, Denver, Colo.....	IBI	The firebombing of Dur-Tracy Delicatessen caused \$500 damages.
Apr. 21, Menlo Park, Calif.....	EBI	A pipe bomb destroyed a rural mail box at the home of a Covington Junior High School teacher and shattered a window in the teacher's home.
Apr. 22, Denver, Colo.....	IBI	4 Denver high schools hit with Molotov cocktails.
Do.....	IBI	Lake Junior High School 1820 Lowell Blvd. was firebombed. Damage estimated at \$500.
Do.....	EBI	A dynamite and pipe bomb was set off under a car at W. 9th Ave. and Lipan St., the car was destroyed. Burning gasoline ran down the gutter setting fire to a neighbor's car. It was also destroyed.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
APRIL 1969—Continued		
Apr. 22, Denver, Colo.....	EBI	A dynamite and pipe bomb blew up the gasoline tank of a car at 2216 Vine St. Damage estimated \$400.
Do.....	IBI	A firebomb was thrown through a basement window at 2512 California St. It caused minor damage.
Apr. 23, Denver, Colo.....	EBI	A pipe-type bomb was set off under a car parked at 2352 Clarkson St., blew up the car and scattered shrapnel.
Apr. 24, Columbus, Ohio.....	EBI	A bomb exploded and caused approximately \$300 damage to a motel under construction on State Rt. 161.
Apr. 25, New Haven, Conn.....	EBI	A 44-year-old man was severely injured when a bomb inside his car exploded as he turned on the ignition.
Apr. 25, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	Bombings and fires broke out at a Lincoln High School in Brooklyn, and Morris High School in the Bronx.
Apr. 26, Des Moines, Iowa.....	EBI	Black Panther Party headquarters destroyed by a dynamite explosion. Several nearby buildings were damaged and several people sustained minor injuries.
Apr. 26, New York, N.Y.....	BA	A firebomb was found on the New York University campus in the Bronx.
Apr. 27, Des Moines, Iowa.....	IBI BA	2 firebombings at an apartment house caused \$300 damages and no injuries. 3 firebombs detonated at used car lot heavily damaging 3 cars. 1 firebombing in private garage, minor damage. 1 firebombing in barbershop resulted in \$600 damage. 2 more thrown but no damage.
Apr. 28, Cairo, Ill.....	IBI	4 bombings occurred in the city.
Apr. 29, Plainfield, N.J.....	IBI	A local tavern was firebombed.
Apr. 29, Columbus, Ohio.....	EBI	A homemade bomb exploded in an empty locker at Walnut Ridge High School.
Apr. 30, Roy, Utah.....	EBI	A bomb exploded outside theater causing slight damage to neighboring building.
MAY 1969		
May 1, Pittsburgh, Tex.....	IBI	Service station and cafe were fire bombed. Damage estimated at \$4,000.
May 1, Pasadena, Calif.....	IBI	2 fires caused by fire bombs broke out at John Muir High School. 2 bungalows adjacent to the main school building damaged.
May 2, Altadena, Calif.....	IBI	2 fires of unknown origin broke out in classrooms at Eliot Junior High School causing early closing of the school.
May 3, Mingo County, W. Va.....	EBI	Dynamite put near gear shift lever of a Mingo County school bus detonated. Extensive damage to vehicle.
May 3, Meta, Ky.....	BA	Discovery of 116 sticks of dynamite planted across the C. & O. tracks on Upper John's Creek.
May 4, Tucson, Ariz.....	EBI	A bomb exploded and did \$5,000 damage to a beauty salon at 2739 East Speedway Blvd.
Do.....	EBI	A bomb exploded and did \$500 damage to a muffler shop at 4646 East Speedway.
May 5, Chicago, Ill.....	BA	Security guard at Illinois Institute of Technology found a green plastic bag containing black powder charge a few feet from atomic reactor.
May 5, Kalamazoo, Mich.....	IBI	Arsonists set fire to an ROTC office, Western Michigan University. Damage estimated at \$3,000.
May 5, Berkeley, Calif.....	EBI	Dynamite blast at the Pacific School of Religion chapel entrance caused an estimated \$2,000 damage.
May 5, Cambridge, Mass.....	IBI	Fire bomb caused minor smoke and fire damage to 1 classroom of NROTC building on Harvard University campus. Minimal damage to Federal property.
May 5, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	A Molotov cocktail was hurled through a window of a Brooklyn synagogue crowded with hundreds of Orthodox Jews attending a holiday celebration.
May 6, Tucson, Ariz.....	EBI	The front end of a small foreign sports car was demolished by an apparent nitroglycerin blast. Windows in nearby homes were shattered.
May 6, Camden, N.J.....	IBI	7 incidents of Molotov cocktail bombings were reported in the Negro section of Camden.
May 6, Mobile, Ala.....	IBI	2 vacant houses, a laundry, a grocery store and an automobile were the targets of a series of firebombings.
May 7, Palo Alto, Calif.....	IBI	Fire caused by incendiary device destroyed NROTC building (in process of being rebuilt from previous fire).
May 7, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	Series of blazes were set off by Molotov cocktails at Brooklyn College.
May 8, Washington, D.C.....	IBI	2 buildings at Howard University set afire by firebombs.
May 8, Mobile, Ala.....	IBI	Junior high school firebombed.
May 10, Denton, Tex.....	IBI	The ROTC office at North Texas State University was damaged by fire, started by Molotov cocktails. Damage estimated at \$8,000.
May 11, Chattanooga, Tenn.....	EBI	A car was destroyed by a dynamite blast, while parked in a garage at 2110 Foust Street. Minor damage to the garage also resulted.
May 12, Fresno, Calif.....	IBI	2 firebombs thrown into zoology laboratory at Fresno City College caused minor damage.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
MAY 1969—Continued		
May 12, Chicago, Ill.....	IBI	A firebomb was tossed through window of ROTC building at Loyola University.
Do.....	IBI	Bottle of flammable liquid thrown into a dining room. Woman slightly injured.
May 13, Atlanta, Ga.....	BA	An explosive device was discovered at Sales Hall annex on Morehouse College campus.
May 15, Newark, N.J.....	IBI	A fire caused by a firebomb damaged Temple B'nai Abraham.
May 15, Stockton, Calif.....	EBI	2 explosions, 1 linked to dynamite, rocked a private residence.
May 15, Quincy, Ill.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion occurred in front of a residence at 610 North 6th St.
May 15, Eugene, Oreg.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion ripped the doors off the Central Presbyterian Church and shattered windows in nearby homes. Damage estimated at \$3,000.
May 15, East St. Louis, Ill.....	EBI	A tractor was blown apart and 3 homes damaged in an explosion on Estates View Drive in Fairview Heights. The machine, valued at \$7,000, was a total loss.
May 16, Elko, Nev.....	EBI	A homemade bomb exploded after being placed against a large window of a home at 772 Cedar Street.
May 16, Denton, Tex.....	IBI	Molotov cocktail was thrown against the wall of the Student Union Building on the North Texas State University campus.
May 17, La Mirada, Calif.....	EBI	A truck parked outside a home at 12826 Corley Dr. was damaged by a bomb thrown from a speeding car.
May 17, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A time bomb exploded in a planter box next to a window of the Seattle Center Coliseum where there was a military display for Armed Forces Week. Damage estimated at \$500.
May 18, Ford, Kans.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion wrecked 4 large pieces of construction equipment valued at \$150,000 to \$175,000.
May 19, Eugene, Oreg.....	EBI	2 explosions occurred at the State highway maintenance office; 1 underneath a 275-gallon diesel fuel tank and the other against a doorway at the rear of the building. The 1st explosion severely damaged 2 highway department cars.
Do.....	EBI	An explosion blasted the newspaper plant of the Eugene Register-Guard and shattered 6 wire reinforced safety windows.
Do.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded atop the Eugene Medical Center.
May 19, Kansas City, Mo.....	IBI	4 Molotov cocktails thrown at 3 buildings caused minor damage and no injuries.
May 20, Coquille, Oreg.....	EBI	A powerful explosion ripped a 4 foot by 6 foot crater in the Coos Bay County Courthouse lawn, shattered window as far as 4 blocks away, and left ceiling tile hanging in fragments, 6 other buildings received broken windows.
May 20, Eugene, Oreg.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded underneath the floor of the registrar's office in University of Oregon's administration building.
Do.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion at the Methodist church destroyed a hand-carved wooden door, damaged another, and blew a 1-foot hole in the concrete porch.
Do.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded at the University Branch of the First National Bank blowing out part of the fence and 9 huge plate glass windows.
May 20, Tucson, Ariz.....	EBI	A dynamite blast wrecked an automobile in the driveway of a home at 2653 West Violet Street, and shattered windows in the house. The vehicle was a total loss.
May 20, Miami, Fla.....	IBI	6 firebombs were thrown at Dorsey High School.
May 20, Oakland, Calif.....	EBI	A dynamite blast partially damaged the leg of a Pacific Gas & Electric Co. transmission tower.
May 21, Rock Island, Ill.....	EBI	Basement boiler room in the Turnkey low-rent housing project was damaged by a dynamite bomb. Estimated \$22,000 to \$25,000 in damages.
May 22, Los Angeles, Calif.....	EBI	A homemade bomb blew a 6-inch hole in roof of the 77th division police headquarters in the Watts district.
May 24, Rock Island, Ill.....	EBI	A stick of dynamite exploded under an old truck in the rear of the People's Recreation Center, 1030 7th St, damaging the truck and shattering windows in the building.
May 24, Reading, Pa.....	EBI	A bomb blast set off at the rear of Temple Oheb Shalom, blew out rear windows of the synagogue, extensively damaged an adjacent house, and shattered most of the windows in 20 homes within a quarter block radius.
May 24, Berkeley, Calif.....	IBI	A firebomb was dropped into a mailbox near the home of the mayor of Berkeley.
May 24, Portland, Oreg.....	BA	2 separate packages of dynamite found wired to doors of National Bank of Oregon and to U.S. Navy Recruiting Station failed to explode.
May 25, Redding, Calif.....	IBI	Separate firebombs caused minor damage to 2 homes, a liquor store, and a grass field.
May 26, Cairo, Ill.....	IBI	A firebomb thrown at an abandoned building caused minor damage.
May 27, Chicago, Ill.....	IBI	2 Molotov cocktails thrown into Hearst Elementary School caused minor damage.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
MAY 1969—Continued		
May 27, Tempe, Ariz.....	BA	A homemade firebomb was found beneath a reviewing stand at Arizona State University that had been occupied minutes earlier by Governor Williams and other dignitaries.
May 27, Denton, Tex.....	IBI	A Molotov cocktail caused minor damage at the Air Conditioning Co.
May 28, Los Angeles, Calif.....	BA	An unknown individual or individuals placed 2 half-pound blocks of TNT at the front entrance of a Safeway market in Los Angeles and lit the fuse. No explosion occurred as no blasting cap was on the end of the fuse. Markings indicated explosives came from the Government arsenal at Joliet, Ill.
Do.....	EBI	A pipe bomb filled with various caliber ammunition exploded at the corner of the administration building of Los Angeles City College. Minor damage occurred but no injuries were reported.
May 29, Evanston, Ill.....	IBI	A small fire, caused by an incendiary device, was discovered in the building which houses the NROTC offices at Northwestern University. Minor damage.
May 30, Youngstown, Ohio.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion damaged a private home at 262 Hilton Ave.
May 31, Kimper, Ky.....	EBI	A dynamite blast damaged the United Mine Workers of America Hall.
JUNE 1969		
June 1, East St. Louis, Mo.....	EBI	3 separate dynamite bombs, were ignited in the cabs of 3 diesel trucks. The truck bodies were damaged extensively.
June 1, Ann Arbor, Mich.....	EBI	A fire occurred at the NROTC building on the campus of the University of Michigan. The fire was the result of a bomb explosion under an Army sedan parked next to the building. Damage estimated at \$25,000-\$30,000. No injuries reported.
June 3, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	Police seized 11 Molotov cocktails from 4 youths in the Bronx.
June 3, Louisville, Ky.....	EBI	At least 2 bomb explosions occurred at the Du Pont Co. No serious injuries reported.
June 5, Tucson, Ariz.....	EBI	A beauty shop was rocked by dynamite blast. The bombing was the 3d in Tucson in the last 24 hours. Earlier a vacant shed and an automobile were bombed.
June 5, Philadelphia, Pa.....	EBI	2 separate homemade bombs damaged a mailbox and a jeep vehicle.
June 7, Indianapolis, Ind.....	IBI	A church at 788 Indiana Ave. was firebombed.
June 9, Indianapolis, Ind.....	EBI	2 separate time bombs exploded damaging a pharmacy and a clothing store. Damage estimated at \$13,000.
June 9, Cleveland, Ohio.....	EBI	The Slovak Civic Club and a private residence were dynamited.
June 9, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	A handgrenade exploded in front of Loew's Theater Complex, injuring 3 persons in a passing taxi.
June 9, Manning, Iowa.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion derailed the engine of a passenger train.
June 10, Chicago, Ill.....	IBI	A Molotov cocktail was thrown into the McCosh Intermediate and Upper Grade Center.
June 10, Vancouver, Wash.....	EBI	A man and a 16-month-old boy were killed when a package the man received in the mail exploded as he was opening it. A woman was seriously injured.
June 10, Denver, Colo.....	EBI	A stick of dynamite exploded at the Denver police station. No injuries; damage was minor.
June 12, New Brunswick, N.J.....	IBI	A Molotov cocktail was tossed in front of the Sacred Heart School on Suydam St.
June 12, Van Nuys, Calif.....	IBI	An airplane dropped an incendiary device outside a military installation.
June 12, Palo Alto, Calif.....	EBI	A blast demolished a phone booth outside the Frost Memorial Amphitheater on the Stanford University campus. Damage estimated at \$1,500.
June 13-15, Cairo, Ill.....	IBI	Firebombs damaged 2 homes and destroyed a warehouse. No injuries reported.
June 14, Vancouver, Wash.....	BA	A bomb consisting of 5 sticks of dynamite, taped together with a dummy fuse was found at the Bonneville Power Adm. Substation after an anonymous call to police.
June 16, Tahlequah, Okla.....	EBI	The assistant district attorney for Cherokee County was reported in satisfactory condition after a bomb exploded as he started his pickup truck.
June 16, Compton, Calif.....	BA	Compton police surprised saboteurs in the act of placing a pipe bomb in the restroom of a special services center.
June 18, Seattle, Wash.....	IBI	A metal pipe containing 2 sticks of dynamite, detonated at the State Multiservice Center causing \$1,500 damage.
June 19, Danbury, Conn.....	IBI	6 firebombs thrown at 3 buildings resulted in a general alarm fire.
June 19, Englewood, Colo.....	EBI	An Englewood City Street Department maintenance man was killed when a homemade bomb exploded in his hands. The man had found the bomb along side the road and was placing it in the rear of a truck when it exploded.
June 20, Tucson, Ariz.....	EBI	Dynamite exploded on the roof of the Old Heidelberg Restaurant. No injuries reported and damage was estimated at \$500.
June 23, Denver, Colo.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded at a private residence on Marion St. No injuries reported.
June 24, Venice, Ill.....	IBI	During a racial disturbance 6 firebombs were thrown, 1 of which ignited a small fire in a store. As firemen arrived to extinguish the fire, a firebomb was thrown at the fire truck. 3 firebombs were also thrown at 2 police cars that arrived at the scene. No injuries were reported.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
JUNE 1969—Continued		
June 25, New York, N.Y.	IBI	The Mount Zion Church in Manhattan, a Harlem Episcopal Church, and a Bronx Roman Catholic Church were firebombed within a 2-hour period.
June 26-27, Dallas, Tex.	IBI	5 firebombs ignited 2 fires. One fire caused \$2,800 damage to elementary school. A second fire caused minor damage to store.
June 27, Powers, Oreg.	EBI	A dynamite blast shook the ranger station and nearby homes causing minor damage. No injuries were reported.
June 27-28, Kokomo, Ind.	IBI	During a racial disturbance a lumber yard, a grocery store, and 2 cleaning establishments were ignited by Molotov cocktails.
June 28, Denver, Colo.	EBI	A pipe bomb exploded damaging the East Side Neighborhood Health Center. 1 security guard was seriously injured.
June 28, Marion, Ind.	IBI	4 Molotov cocktails thrown damaging a country club and lumber company.
June 29, Waterbury, Conn.	IBI	A Molotov cocktail heavily damaged a police vehicle during a racial disturbance.
June 29, Seattle, Wash.	EBI	A bomb ripped through the administration building of the University of Washington causing an estimated \$300,000 to the 3-story building. Windows shattered in 3 other campus buildings. No injuries reported.
June 30, Seattle, Wash.	EBI	An explosive packed inside an auto tailpipe detonated causing an estimated \$800 damage to the Madrona Paint & Decorating Co.
June 30, Chattanooga, Tenn.	EBI	A dynamite blast shook the Glenwood area late Saturday night causing damages to an East 4th St. home. No injuries reported.
JULY 1969		
July 1, Wichita, Kans.	EBI	3 bundles of dynamite tossed on the roof of Razooks Thrift Market exploded causing several thousand dollars damage.
July 2, Fairfax City, Va.	EBI	A homemade bomb exploded at a private residence causing minor damage.
July 2, San Rafael, Calif.	IBI	The sheriff's office was the target of homemade firebombs made with soda pop bottles.
July 2, Lancaster, Pa.	IBI	During a racial disturbance, 8 business establishments and 1 home were firebombed in a predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican section of the city. A firetruck responding to 1 of the alarms was also firebombed.
July 4, San Francisco, Calif.	EBI	A bomb exploded in front of the Mission District Police precinct station causing minor damage to the building. No injuries were reported.
July 4, Aspen, Colo.	EBI	A tavern, a clothing store, a realty company, and a garbage truck were dynamited within a 24-hour period. No injuries reported.
July 6, Waycross, Ga.	IBI	During a racial disturbance, 4 businesses were firebombed.
July 8, Manchester, N.H.	IBI	Fire set by an arsonist caused considerable damage to Temple Adath Yeshurun on Prospect St.
July 8, Englewood, Colo.	EBI	An explosive device detonated at 2730 South Tejon St. causing \$500 damage.
July 8, Cleveland, Ohio.	EBI	Dynamite detonated at the Manor Supermarket, extensively damaging the interior of the building. No injuries.
July 11, Quincy, Ill.	EBI	2 separate bomb explosions damaged private residences at 2424 Lind and 2535 Maine.
July 11, Evansville, Ind.	IBI	3 fires resulted from 3 separate firebombings during a racial disturbance.
July 12-14, Lovelock, Nev.	EBI	During a 3-day period 2 flumes on the Humboldt River and 2 utility poles were dynamited.
July 13, Youngstown, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite blast caused \$3,000 damage to a home.
July 14, Youngstown, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite blast caused damage at Pete's Music Center, 546 Market St.
July 14, New York, N.Y.	IBI	A deliberately set fire broke out today at a Brooklyn Yeshiva on East 10th St., badly damaging a room on the 1st floor.
July 15, Seattle, Wash.	IBI	A firebomb was thrown at the Holy Name Academy causing an estimated \$12,000 damage and no injuries. Also 8 firebombs were thrown at the Compers Branch of Seattle Community College.
July 15, Pittsburgh, Pa.	IBI	A firebomb was thrown at tower B on the University of Pittsburgh campus causing a fire and \$500 in damages.
July 15-16, San Diego, Calif.	IBI	3 separate firebombs were thrown during a racial disturbance causing minor damage.
July 16, Bridgeport, Conn.	IBI	1 police car and 5 civilian automobiles were firebombed during a racial disturbance.
July 18, Tucson, Ariz.	EBI	A bomb explosion destroyed a private car at 620 North Venice Ave.
July 18, Berkeley, Calif.	IBI	University of California campus police reported 3 arson attempts in 3 campus buildings: (1) A fire was started in a carton of papers; (2) A lectern stuffed with paper was burned; and (3) A fire destroyed posters, easels, tables, and handbills used by student organizations.
July 20, New York, N.Y.	BA	An attempt to bomb the Youth in Action Center failed when a child discovered the planted dynamite.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
JULY 1969—Continued		
July 21, Richmond, Calif.	IBI	A fire fed by creosote-soaked pilings destroyed the Santa Fe railway. Damage estimated at \$1 million.
July 21, Columbus, Ohio.	IBI	8 separate firebombings were reported in a 200 square block area during a racial disturbance.
July 22, Monterey, Calif.	BA	A firebomb thrown into the motor pool area of the National Guard Armory failed to ignite.
July 25, Dallas, Tex.	EBI	A dynamite explosion at the Hollow Road Drive-In Cafe caused extensive damage to the building.
July 26, Los Angeles, Calif.	EBI	An explosive device destroyed a fire hydrant in the San Fernando Valley section of Los Angeles and broke windows in a nearby apartment building. No injuries.
July 26, Van Nuys, Calif.	EBI	A homemade explosive device exploded between a block wall and a residence in Van Nuys destroying 15 feet of the block wall and damaging part of the house. No injuries.
July 26, Prichard, Ala.	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded on the steps of city hall.
July 27, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A bomb explosion at the United Fruit Co. pier in the Hudson River caused no injuries.
July 28, Modesto, Calif.	IBI	A firebomb was thrown into a market in the western section of the city during a racial disturbance.
July 30, Cleveland, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite explosion damaged a panel truck and shattered windows in nearby homes. Damage to the truck was estimated at \$1,000.
July 31, Youngstown, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite explosion damaged several autos in the auto plaza at 706 Market St., and 8 windows in 2 nearby homes.
July 31, Seattle, Wash.	EBI	The State Multiservice Center was damaged by a small bomb.
AUGUST 1969		
Aug. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa.	EBI	A dynamite blast rocked a wooded section in the Hazelwood area overlooking Alluvian St. Police recovered 2 sticks of dynamite and 132 blasting caps in the area. (The dynamite was believed to be part of a cache stolen in the area on July 16.)
Aug. 5, Pittsburgh, Pa.	EBI	A dynamite blast (2d in 2 days) rocked a wooded section in the Hazelwood area overlooking Alluvian St. The blast cleared a 30-ft. section of trees and brush. (The dynamite was believed to be part of a cache stolen in the area on July 16.)
Aug. 6, Denver, Colo.	EBI	A dynamite explosion at the Five Points substation destroyed a door and broke windows in the nearby area.
Aug. 6-7, Passaic, N.J.	IBI	Large groups of individuals roamed through the streets during a racial disturbance carrying shopping bags containing Molotov cocktails. A firebomb was thrown into a school building.
Aug. 10, Hammond, Ind.	EBI	The Woodmar Church of God was damaged by a dynamite explosion.
Aug. 10, Denver, Colo.	EBI	A dynamite explosion occurred at a grocery store.
Aug. 10, St. Louis, Mo.	EBI	A Kroger store was damaged by a bomb explosion.
Aug. 11, New York, N.Y.	BA	An anonymous telephone call led police to a makeshift bomb in the Sloane House (YMCA).
Aug. 11, Atlanta, Ga.	IBI	A Molotov cocktail thrown at a Federal building.
Aug. 11, Buffalo, N.Y.	EBI	2 dynamite blasts rocked the East Side of Buffalo: (1) 107 Stanton St., (2) 49 Kirkover St.
Aug. 12, Kimber, Ky.	EBI	A dynamite explosion caused an estimated \$2,500 damage to a coal loading tippie and a dock.
Aug. 12-13, Freehold, N.J.	IBI	During a racial disturbance 2 schools, a business establishment, and 2 other buildings were firebombed. The business establishment was completely gutted, but the other fires caused only minor damage.
Aug. 13-14, Red Bank, N.J.	IBI	Railroad flares stolen from a local railroad yard were used in 2 attempted firebombings. 3 flares were thrown through a second-story window of the Red Bank High School causing minor damage, and several railroad flares and gasoline were thrown into a fish market, causing an estimated \$20,000 damage.
Aug. 15-16, Stroudsburg, Pa.	IBI	Approximately 9,000 selective service records were destroyed by a fire in the office of local draft board No. 105.
Aug. 16, Chicago, Ill.	BA	Police arrested 4 youths in the act of throwing a black-powder bomb under a police car. A search of the youths' homes uncovered 3 similar bombs and 3 lbs. of black powder.
Aug. 17, Sherrodsville, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite explosion damaged machinery at the Puskarich Mining, Inc., mine. Damage estimated between \$30,000 and \$40,000.
Aug. 19, Springfield, Mass.	EBI	A bomb shattered the interior of the Duris Realty Co. at 110 Lowell St.
Aug. 20, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded at the Marine Midland Bldg. causing extensive damage and injuring 19 persons.
Aug. 20, Montgomery, Ala.	EBI	The D & B Curb Market was firebombed.
Aug. 22, Montgomery, Ala.	BA	A firebomb thrown through grocery window failed to ignite.
Aug. 23, Seattle, Wash.	IBI	A homemade bomb, consisting of gasoline and gunpowder, detonated near the main lobby stairway of Ballard High School causing an estimated \$5,000 damage.
Aug. 24, New York, N.Y.	IBI	A molotov cocktail thrown through window of St. Clement's Church in Manhattan caused minor damage.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS, IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
AUGUST 1969—Continued		
Aug. 24, Modesto, Calif.	IBI	2 firebombs were thrown at the National Guard Armory. 1 struck the front door of the Armory causing minor damage and the other damaged a truck in the motor pool.
Aug. 24-25, Denver, Colo.	IBI	A firebomb was thrown at a District Police Station.
Aug. 26, Denver, Colo.	EBI	An explosive device blew a hole in the porch at the Methodist Church at 1630 East 14th Ave. Damage estimated at \$1,000.
Aug. 31, San Diego, Calif.	EBI	The United Slaves (US) Headquarters were bombed by unknown individuals. No injuries.
SEPTEMBER 1969		
Sept. 1, Lexington, Miss.	BA	3 local businesses were the targets of attempted firebombings.
Sept. 2, Richmond, Calif.	IBI	The Standard Oil Co. refinery burst into flames seriously injuring 1 person.
Sept. 2, Oakland, Calif.	IBI	Fire at the Rig B Lumberteria caused an estimated \$250,000 damage.
Sept. 2-3, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	IBI	A market was firebombed during a racial disturbance.
Sept. 3, East Ridge, Tenn.	EBI	A pipe bomb stuffed with gunpowder exploded on the front lawn of 5330 Connell Street leaving a 2-foot square hole.
Sept. 3, Lexington, Miss.	IBI	A firebomb completely destroyed the residence of a Negro male.
Sept. 3, Coatesville, Pa.	BA	A furniture store and an apartment house were the targets of attempted firebombings.
Sept. 3, Parkersburg, Pa.	BA	A Molotov cocktail thrown into a cleaning establishment failed to explode.
Sept. 4, Cleveland, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite bomb destroyed a car and damaged a frame garage at 21930 South Lake Shore Blvd.
Sept. 4, Milwaukee, Wis.	EBI	A bomb exploded in a parking lot at 1630 North Farwell.
Do.	EBI	An explosion ripped a city truck collecting rubbish at the rear of 2221 East Newberry Blvd. The blast seriously injured 1 person.
Sept. 4, Lakeland, Fla.	IBI	A firebomb was thrown at Kaufmans Slacks & Shirts Store.
Sept. 9, Lakeland, Fla.	IBI	A florist shop was firebombed.
Sept. 10, Lakeland, Fla.	IBI	Firebombs were thrown into Thompson's Dry Cleaning and Murray's Laundry.
Sept. 11, Detroit, Mich.	BA	An explosive device was found in the fuel area of the Detroit Metropolitan Airport.
Sept. 11, New York, N.Y.	IBI	2 firebombs were hurled through the window of a synagogue at 636 Bedford Ave.
Sept. 14, Pittsburgh, Pa.	EBI	A dynamite explosion shattered 16 windows on Alluvian and Renova Sts. in Hazelwood. The explosion occurred in an open field.
Sept. 15, Los Angeles, Calif.	IBI	Fires started simultaneously at 3 locations in the Carver Junior High School.
Sept. 17, Mount Pleasant, Tex.	EBI	A dynamite bomb shattered a door and several windows in a local service station.
Sept. 18, Portland, Oreg.	EBI	A bomb exploded rocking nearby homes and damaging the back door of the Dunway School.
Sept. 19, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A bomb exploded causing extensive damage to the office of the Department of Commerce and the office of the Army Inspector General located in the Federal Building. No injuries reported.
Sept. 19, New Philadelphia, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite explosion destroyed a \$90,000 dragline at Daron Coal Co.
Sept. 24, Mount Sterling, Ky.	EBI	The private automobile of a State detective was damaged by a dynamite blast.
Sept. 24, Morehead, Ky.	BA	A stick of dynamite failed to go off after being placed on the lawn of the Rowan County attorney's home.
Sept. 24, Milwaukee, Wis.	IBI	Firebomb was thrown through the window of the ROTC office at the University of Wisconsin; caused minor damage.
Sept. 25, Sobrante, Calif.	BA	An explosive device was found on a Pacific Gas & Electric Co. tower leg.
Sept. 26, Akron, Ohio.	IBI	A fire in the Selective Service Building destroyed records. Damage estimated at \$15,000.
Sept. 26, Madison, Wis.	EBI	An explosive device demolished a door of the Wisconsin National Guard Armory, and destroyed voting machines and police riot equipment. Damage estimated at \$25,000.
Sept. 26, Milwaukee, Wis.	EBI	A bomb explosion occurred in the Federal Building, causing extensive damage to the 1st and 2d floors. The 2d floor houses the Selective Service offices. Damage estimated at \$75,000 to \$100,000.
Sept. 26, Bowling Green, Ky.	EBI	A 623-foot television transmitting tower was left in rubble by a dynamite blast. The explosion knocked the station off the air indefinitely.
Sept. 26, Milwaukee, Wis.	EBI	A dynamite explosion caused an estimated \$100,000 damages to the U.S. Courthouse Building. No injuries.
Sept. 27, Gary, Ind.	EBI	An explosion tore the front off of a private home at 2270 Vanderburg St.
Sept. 27, Syracuse, N.Y.	EBI	A bomb exploded on the campus of Syracuse University causing minor damage.
Sept. 28, Pontiac, Mich.	EBI	During a racial disturbance dynamite bombs caused minor damage to a store, a vacant garage and a food market.
Sept. 29, Portsmouth, Ohio.	EBI	A plastic explosive detonated destroying a \$28,000 earth trencher.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS, IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
OCTOBER 1969		
Oct. 1, New York, N.Y.	BA	Police and firemen dismantled a homemade bomb left on the steps of Midwood High School.
Oct. 2, Walkerton, Ind.	EBI	A dynamite blast destroyed an automobile and smashed several windows at 1007 Harrison St.
Oct. 3-4-5, Alton, Ill.	IBI	4 firebombings during a racial disturbance damaged a scrap yard, a market, and the old and new high school gymnasiums.
Oct. 4, Chicago, Ill.	IBI	A firebomb thrown at a private residence caused extensive damage to the garage and a car.
Oct. 4, New York, N.Y.	IBI	A firebomb, consisting of a soda bottle filled with gasoline, was thrown into the Navy ROTC offices in Hartley Hall on the Columbia University campus. Considerable damage was reported.
Oct. 5, San Diego, Calif.	IBI	Following a dance, a Marine's automobile was firebombed by unknown individuals.
Oct. 5, White Haven, Pa.	EBI	A dynamite explosion ripped a trailer in half and blew a car off the road at LeChateau's Golf Course. Damage estimated at \$6,500.
Oct. 6, Los Angeles, Calif.	IBI	The B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation on West 36th St. was struck by a suspicious fire that did an estimated \$10,000 damage.
Oct. 6, Chicago, Ill.	EBI	A dynamite explosion rocked the Haymarket Square area of Chicago damaging a statue which commemorated the 78 Chicago policemen who lost their lives in the 1886 Haymarket Square riots.
Oct. 6, Philadelphia, Pa.	IBI	2 handgrenades exploded in the parking lot outside the police department radio repair shop damaging 14 police cars. No injuries were reported.
Oct. 7, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A bomb explosion occurred on the 5th floor of the Armed Forces Entrance Examining Station. Extensive damage centered on the 5th floor and water damaged the 1st through 4th floors.
Oct. 8-9, Las Vegas, Nev.	IBI	2 firebombs were thrown at a private home during a racial disturbance. No injuries reported.
Oct. 9, Chicago, Ill.	IBI	An incendiary device was thrown into the office of Chicago Alderman George McCutcheon.
Oct. 9, West Point, Nebr.	EBI	A dynamite explosion occurred at a power transformer plant causing an estimated \$8,000 damage.
Oct. 9, Pittsburgh, Pa.	EBI	A lighted stick of dynamite thrown onto a busy street corner in the Larimer Ave. area exploded injuring 5 persons.
Oct. 10, Cleveland, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite bomb damaged the vestibule of a house at 14912 Adler Ave.
Oct. 10, Muldraugh, Ky.	EBI	2 bombs thrown through window of a coffeehouse caused minor damage.
Oct. 10-14, New York, N.Y.	IBI	6 explosions of incendiary devices in 4 days at Macy's Herald Square caused minor damage from the explosions but major damage estimated at "thousands of dollars" due to activation of sprinkler systems. The last explosion injured 2 police bomb squad members.
Oct. 11, Chicago, Ill.	IBI	2 separate firebombs were thrown into the Naval recruiting office and the Air Force recruiting office. Minor damage.
Oct. 14, Indiana, Pa.	IBI	A firebomb was thrown at the ROTC building on the campus of Indiana University in Pennsylvania. No damage.
Oct. 14, Springfield, Mo.	EBI BA	A dynamite bomb failed to explode when tossed thru a service station window. However, a dynamite cap did explode causing minor damage.
Oct. 15, Philadelphia, Pa.	IBI	A Molotov cocktail thrown through the window of a research lab on the campus of Pennsylvania State University caused minor damage.
Oct. 16, Chattanooga, Tenn.	IBI	A Molotov cocktail thrown into the Massengill Auto Sales building caused minor damage.
Oct. 16, Oakland, Calif.	EBI	A homemade bomb exploded in a local market causing an estimated \$5,000 damage to buildings and equipment.
Oct. 17, Labadie, Mo.	EBI	A bomb explosion damaged a 70-ton drag and dredge boat. Estimated damage \$2,000 to \$5,000.
Oct. 17, Mount Vernon, N.Y.	IBI	2 firebombs were thrown into the cafeteria of Mount Vernon High School.
Oct. 18, Allen, Nebr.	EBI	A bomb exploded damaging the gas tank and the trunk door of a car.
Oct. 18, Clarksdale, Miss.	IBI	A warehouse was firebombed during a racial disturbance resulting in the loss of a substantial amount of baled cotton.
Oct. 19, Los Angeles, Calif.	IBI	A firebomb was thrown into a private residence during a racial disturbance causing an estimated \$400 damage.
Oct. 20, Winston-Salem, N.C.	IBI	A Molotov cocktail was thrown into a tire company building during a racial disturbance. Minor damage.
Oct. 21, Erie, Pa.	EBI	A homemade bomb exploded after being thrown into a back yard at 43d and Briggs Ave. by some youths. A private automobile was damaged.
Oct. 23, Seattle, Wash.	EBI	4 explosive devices, 2 inside and 4 outside, exploded at Franklin High School.
Oct. 23, Portland, Oreg.	EBI	An explosion demolished a fire hydrant at NE. 59th Ave. and Hassalo St. and broke windows in approximately 7 nearby residences.
Oct. 29, Fairmont, W. Va.	IBI	Firebombs caused damage to a public school and grocery store during a racial disturbance.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
OCTOBER 1969—Continued		
Oct. 30, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	2 bombs exploded at Franklin High School.
Oct. 30, Palo Alto, Calif.....	BA	A bomb was found under Willow Road Bridge on Stanford University property.
Oct. 31, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A bomb exploded at Franklin High School causing minor damage.
Oct. 31, Columbus, Ohio.....	EBI	A high school senior set off a homemade explosive device that broke windows and cracked plaster in homes in the 1200 block of Carbone Dr. The device was made from a piece of sewer pipe 6 inches in diameter and 3 feet long and was packed with 12 pounds of gumpowder.
Oct. 31, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion rocked homes in the North Empire and Wilkes Lane section.
NOVEMBER 1969		
Nov. 2, Beverly, Mass.....	EBI	A bomb explosion occurred in the rear of the local police station.
Nov. 2, Salem, Mass.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded under a car parked near 151 Bridge St. demolishing the car.
Nov. 3, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	An explosive device detonated at Rainier Beach High School breaking 9 windows. Estimated damage \$120.
Nov. 6, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	An incendiary device was thrown into the cafeteria at Lane High School.
Nov. 7, New York, N.Y.....	BA	2 firebombs were found in a locker at Wingate High School.
Nov. 8, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A small bomb was thrown into the bleachers at Memorial Stadium during a football game injuring a 12-year-old boy.
Nov. 8, New York, N.Y.....	IBI, BA	2 small firebombs were found in Alexander's Department Store on 3d Ave. A third bomb exploded in a nearby store.
Nov. 9, Chester, Pa.....	EBI	2 dynamite blasts damaged a 27-story apartment complex at 25th and Chestnut Sts. and shattered windows in several nearby apartment houses.
Nov. 10, Seattle, Wash.....	BA	A dynamite bomb was found in the carport of an abandoned residence at 3518 NE, 134th St.
Nov. 11, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	3 closely-timed explosions occurred at the (1) Chase Manhattan Bank headquarters causing extensive damage, (2) RCA building in Rockefeller Center causing extensive damage, and (3) General Motors building causing less severe damage. 1 person was injured in the triple bombing.
Nov. 11, Washington, D.C.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded at SDS headquarters.
Nov. 12, St. Louis, Mo.....	EBI	An explosive device detonated damaging the windows of 7 shops in the Mosley Square Shopping Center in Greve Cosur.
Nov. 12, Seattle, Wash.....	BA	2 bombs were found at the telephone company equipment building. The fuses of both bombs, containing about 5 sticks of dynamite, were lit but had gone out.
Nov. 12, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	The Brooklyn Branch of the Hanover Trust Co. was firebombed by a group of youths. Damage was limited to building exterior.
Do.....	BA	A small incendiary device was dismantled at the Save-A-Thon Shoe Store on 3d Ave. in the Bronx.
Nov. 12, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A bomb exploded on the pavement in the yard of the city of Seattle municipal electric power facility causing minor damage.
Do.....	BA	A bomb was found in the First National Bank Bldg.
Nov. 12-13, New York, N.Y.....	BA	1 individual was seized by Federal agents as he tossed a bomb into a National Guard truck parked outside the 69th Regiment Armory. 2 others were arrested and 1 fled. On Nov. 18 an indictment handed up by a Federal grand jury charged all 4 with plotting to bomb the Federal Office Building, the Armed Forces Examining Center, and the military truck. On Jan. 14, 1970, a 23-count superseding indictment was returned by a Federal grand jury charging all 4 with conspiracy. 1 of the 4 is still at large.
Nov. 13, Franklin County, Mo.....	EBI	The Franklin County Courthouse was bombed causing an estimated \$173,000 damage. 10 persons were injured.
Nov. 13, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	An M-80 grenade simulator exploded at Rainier Beach High School causing minor damage to the boy's lavatory. Damage estimated at \$150.
Nov. 17, South Sioux City, Nebr.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion occurred in the front yard of the county sheriff.
Nov. 17, Lafayette, Ind.....	IBI	A firebomb was thrown into the Selective Service Office.
Nov. 18, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A Safeway store was bombed, slightly injuring 2 employees.
Do.....	EBI	A bomb exploded in an old warehouse-type building at Seattle Community College.
Nov. 18, Buffalo, N.Y.....		Police found 328 sticks of dynamite in an automobile abandoned by 2 men whom they were chasing for speeding through a traffic check. 1 man was arrested, but the other fled.
Nov. 18, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A bomb exploded in the school yard at the Garfield School.
Nov. 18-19, Buffalo, N.Y.....	IBI	A building at Buffalo State University College was damaged by Molotov cocktails during a racial disturbance. Damage estimated at \$200.
Nov. 19, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	An explosive device detonated at the Medgar Evers Memorial Swimming Pool causing minor damage.
Nov. 19, St. Paul, Minn.....	EBI	A bomb explosion tore a door loose and damaged a 1st floor hallway at North High School.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
NOVEMBER 1969—Continued		
Nov. 20, Cleveland, Ohio.....	EBI	A bomb placed in a parked car exploded prematurely injuring 1 of the 2 saboteurs.
Nov. 21, Oregon City, Oreg.....	EBI	A bomb explosion demolished a pickup truck and killed a man about 3½ miles east of Gladstone.
Nov. 21, Vero Beach, Fla.....	IBI	3 Molotov cocktails were thrown at local grocery store.
Nov. 23, Akron, Ohio.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion ripped a 20-inch hole in the roof of the Rogers Manufacturing Co. plant at 275 North Arlington St. Police believe dynamite was used.
Nov. 26, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	Firebomb exploded in the Lane High School courtyard.
Nov. 27, Seattle, Wash.....	BA	2 dynamite bombs were found next to building on 21st Ave. between East Pine and East Union Sts.
Nov. 29, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A small bomb thrown into a tour group at First Ave. and Yesler Way. 1 person was injured.
Nov. 30, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A car in University of Washington parking lot on Montlake Blvd. was destroyed by a bomb.
DECEMBER 1969		
Dec. 1, Seattle, Wash.....	BA	An incendiary device was discovered prior to detonation on the steps leading to NROTC spaces on the University of Washington campus.
Dec. 1, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A dynamite blast caused more than \$20,000 damage to an apartment at 135 17th Ave.
Dec. 3, South Sioux City, Nebr.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion shattered windows in 2 bedrooms at a private home on West 9th St.
Dec. 3, Chattanooga, Tenn.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded on the roof of a building at the Cavalier Corp. plant.
Dec. 5, Mobile, Ala.....	IBI	2 separate firebombs were thrown at the Ideal Lounge and a local fruit store.
Dec. 6, Detroit, Mich.....	EBI	A dynamite blast damaged the Drifters Motorcycle Club on Detroit's West Side. 2 men were injured.
Dec. 7, Minneapolis, Minn.....	EBI	A suburban youth was killed when a homemade bomb which he was making exploded.
Dec. 8, Louisville, Ky.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion extensively damaged the Derbytown Motorcycle Club.
Dec. 9, Huntsville, Tex.....	EBI	A bomb exploded on campus of Sam Houston State University. No injuries. About 40 windows were broken.
Dec. 9, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	2 incendiary devices ignited in the main reading room of the library on 42d St. and 5th Ave.
Dec. 10, New Brunswick, N.J.....	IBI	2 firebombs damaged Rutgers University Headquarters Building.
Dec. 11, Springfield, Mass.....	EBI	A bomb explosion demolished the Cosimo's Hair Stylists Shop at 1759 Boston Rd.
Dec. 12, Denver, Colo.....	BA	A stick of dynamite, thrown at an occupied police car from a passing vehicle, failed to explode.
Dec. 14, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded at the Cherry Hill Medical Bldg., Cherry St., damaging a model city office on the 2d floor. Total damage estimated at \$3,000.
Dec. 15, Denver, Colo.....	BA	2 sticks of dynamite, thrown through a broken overhead window into the garage area of the K-Mart Store, failed to go off.
Dec. 20, Dakota City, Nebr.....	EBI	A dynamite blast broke 3 windows and cracked the foundation of the private home of an employee of Iowa Beef Packers, Inc.
Dec. 20, Chicago, Ill.....	BA	2 molotov cocktails thrown through a window of the 6th Ward Democratic Party Headquarters failed to ignite.
Dec. 22, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	3 small bombs exploded in (1) the doorways of the Banco de Credito at 1 Union Sq., (2) a Woolworth store at 14th St. and 5th Ave., and (3) the offices of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. No injuries; minor damages.
Dec. 26, Chicago, Ill.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion at Washington High School critically injured 1 boy.
Dec. 28, Chattanooga, Tenn.....	EBI	An explosive device destroyed a mailbox at 4927 Swan Rd.
Dec. 28, Kansas City, Mo.....	EBI	A dynamite blast damaged the Folly Beriesek Theater at 12th and Central Sts.
Dec. 28, Sandersville, Ga.....	BA	A civil rights worker extinguished 3 lighted sticks of dynamite outside his home.
Dec. 29, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	A fire that swept the interior of a Bronx synagogue and destroyed 5 Torah scrolls and other religious objects was called arson by the city fire marshals' office.
JANUARY 1970		
Jan. 2, Oakland, Calif.....	EBI	Explosives damaged 3 transformers at the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. Edes substation causing an estimated \$20,000 to \$25,000 damage. No injuries reported.
Jan. 2, Morgantown, W. Va.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb blew apart the car of Monongalia County Prosecuting Attorney Joseph Laurita, Jr., when he turned on the ignition. The explosion shattered windows for a block around his apartment. Laurita seriously injured.
Jan. 2, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb caused minor damage to the Medgar Evers Memorial Swimming Pool. No injuries.
Jan. 2, Los Banos, Calif.....	BA	Dynamite cap with wires attached to firecracker (powerful enough to blow off a person's hand) found in desk at supermarket office.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
JANUARY 1970—Continued		
Jan. 2, Portland, Ore.....	EBI	A restroom and tool shed in the Creston Park area were heavily damaged in a dynamite blast that also broke windows in at least 7 nearby homes. No injuries.
Jan. 3, Wales, Wis.....	EBI	A telephone booth in a restaurant parking lot near Wales was blasted apart by a homemade bomb. No injuries reported.
Jan. 3, South Bend, Ind.....	EBI	2 explosive devices were thrown by 3 youths: (1) at a 3/4-ton truck at 1117 E. Cedar St., causing minor damage, no injuries; (2) in 700 block of N. Joseph St., no injuries reported.
Jan. 4, Madison, Wis.....	IBI	Firebomb damaged a Federal building. No injuries.
Jan. 5, Cleveland, Ohio.....	EBI	Dynamite bomb explosion severely damaged 2 cars at 1879 Grant-ham Ave. No injuries.
Jan. 6, Denver, Colo.....	IBI	Army recruiting station was hit by Molotov cocktail. No injuries. Damages estimated at \$305.
Jan. 8, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	Small bomb caused minor damage to front door of Christ Church in Manhattan. No injuries.
Jan. 8, Detroit, Mich.....	EBI	4 small windows and a door lock were shattered by explosion, probably dynamite, at the New Generation Boutique, 8922 2nd near Hazelwood. No injuries.
Jan. 9, Detroit, Mich.....	IBI	Firebomb damaged the Packard properties building which houses Federal employees. No injuries.
Jan. 11, Emory, Va.....	EBI	Explosive device placed under unoccupied car of a dean at Emory and Henry College exploded causing minor damage. No injuries.
Jan. 12, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	A crudely made bomb exploded in the vacant office of the dean of boys at James Madison High School in Brooklyn causing minor damage. No injuries.
Jan. 12, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A powerful bomb, probably dynamite, caused up to \$15,000 damage to Fuson's Fabrics at 2208 South Jackson St. and about \$2,500 damage to other businesses in the block. No injuries.
Jan. 13, Philadelphia, Pa.....	EBI	Burglars attempting to enter bank used some type of explosive, probably dynamite, to blow a hole through the inner wall. \$250 damage. No injuries.
Jan. 14, Champaign, Ill.....	IBI	2 firebombs thrown through the windows of the Champaign Police Department. 1 patrolman was severely burned.
Jan. 16, West, Tex.....	EBI	A West man was killed when he apparently stepped on an explosive, type unknown, while hunting near his home.
Jan. 16, Coffeyville, Kans.....	EBI	3 closely timed explosions occurred in the Coffeyville area: (1) Stapleton Products, 801 West 8th damaged trailer; (2) 1 mile north of Coffeyville near city pumping station on the Verdigris; (3) 7 miles northeast of Dearing. Slight damage to post. No injuries reported.
Jan. 16, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	Police found 71 sticks of dynamite, blasting equipment, and a rifle in the Brooklyn apartment of an official of the Black Panther Party. She was arrested for illegal possession of explosives.
Jan. 17, Sioux City, Iowa.....	EBI	Dynamite blast blew a hole in the side of a garage and damaged a car. No injuries reported.
Jan. 17, New York, N.Y.....	BA	Dynamite was found at the West 100th Police Station prior to detonation.
Jan. 19, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	An explosion rocked the Seattle University campus, shattering windows in the Liberal Arts and Garrand Bldgs.
Do.....	BA	An explosive device was found under the steps of the Air Force ROTC Bldg. on the University of Washington campus.
Jan. 19, Tampa, Fla.....	EBI	5 separate bombs were thrown into 3 occupied residences, 1 vacant apartment, and 1 laundromat. No injuries reported.
Jan. 19, Ellington, Mo.....	BA	A mine employee of the Ozark Lead Co., found several hundred cases of dynamite wired to explode and disconnected the explosive device. The dynamite was part of the company's regular supply.
Jan. 20, Jersey City, N.J.....	IBI	Black Panther party headquarters firebombed. No injuries reported.
Jan. 20, Tucson, Ariz.....	EBI	Dynamite explosion set off 2 burglar alarms and shattered windows in at least 5 residences.
Jan. 20, Los Angeles, Calif.....	EBI	2 Los Angeles policemen lost a hand while attempting to open a booby-trapped package left in the office of an accountant at 740 South Western Ave. Damage was estimated at \$10,000.
Jan. 21, Denver, Colo.....	BA	A district judge put out the fuse leading to 2 dynamite caps in a half gallon of gasoline outside his apartment door.
Jan. 21, Alexandria, Ky.....	EBI	An explosion under an auto parked at the residence of a General Electric official. It caused minor damage and no injuries.
Jan. 22, Bloomington, Ind.....	EBI	2 explosions, 15 minutes apart, damaged the Coca Cola Co. plant and the Moon Freight Lines. No injuries reported. Damage estimated \$10,000 to \$20,000.
Jan. 22, South Sioux City, Nebr.....	EBI	Dynamite was thrown near the foundation of a private residence. Blast left a sizable hole and broken window. (The 3d dynamite blast in South Sioux City since the start of the Iowa Beef Packers strike.) No injuries reported.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
JANUARY 1970—Continued		
Jan. 23, St. Louis, Mo.....	EBI	Extensive damage at a local liquor store on Kings Highway caused by a bomb explosion. The bomb was made with 3 sticks of dynamite wrapped in rubberized cloth. (Store was also bombed on Dec. 19, 1969.)
Do.....	IBI	A tavern at 1338 Hodiadmont Ave. was damaged by a firebomb.
Do.....	IBI	Firebomb caused extensive damage at a cleaning establishment at 5920 Delmar Blvd.
Jan. 23, Burlington, Wyo.....	EBI	A vacant home was blown apart by a dynamite blast. The dynamite had been reported stolen some time before Christmas. No injuries reported.
Jan. 26, West Point, Miss.....	EBI	A dynamite blast at the north end of the Clay County Courthouse shattered windows in the building.
Jan. 28, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	An explosion blew a small hole in a door of Temple De Hirsch at 1511 East Pike St. causing minor damage.
Jan. 28, Columbus, Ohio.....	EBI	Blast ripped through walls and heavily damaged the front portion of the Columbus Kenworth Truck dealership 6250 Huntley Rd., and also damaged new truck in display room. Damaged estimated at \$30,000 to building and \$4,000 to \$5,000 on the truck.
Jan. 28, Gainesville, Fla.....	IBI	Firebomb thrown through the window of the United Truck Rental Co.
Jan. 28, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	A synagogue in the South Bronx was smeared with swastikas and set afire.
Jan. 28, Sacramento, Calif.....	EBI	Half a stick of dynamite was thrown through a window of classroom in the Placer Elementary School.
Jan. 29, Coral Gables, Fla.....	IBI	2 firebombs were thrown at the University of Miami, 1 at a campus security building and another at a truck near the armory.
Jan. 30, South Sioux City, Nebr.....	EBI	Dynamite blast at 210 East 10th St. damaged building foundation.
Do.....	EBI	Dynamite blast struck the A&B Boat Shop, 2503 Dakota Ave. \$2,500 damage. Blast was blamed on the labor strike in the area.
Jan. 31, Denver, Colo.....	EBI	Bomb made of dynamite damaged Police Band Bldg. at 2105 De-catur St.
FEBRUARY 1970		
Feb. 2, Kent, Wash.....	EBI	A 16-year-old boy was fatally injured while packing lengths of pipe with gunpowder near Star Lake. The victim and 2 other youths were lighting the homemade bombs and throwing them into the lake.
Feb. 2, Cleveland, Ohio.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb explosion destroyed most of an \$800,000 municipal building containing a police department, jail, municipal court, and law department offices. The blast injured 15 persons including a judge and several policemen. On Feb. 4 police announced that the building was bombed by a mental patient whose body was found in the rubble and whose abandoned car was found nearby with several weapons and grenade.
Feb. 3, New York, N.Y.....	BA	A guard disarmed an incendiary device which had been set in the housewares department of the Alexander's store at 58th St. and Lexington Ave.
Feb. 4, Akron, Iowa.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb detonated near a parked car outside an apartment house causing minor damage. The incident was believed connected with the Iowa Beef Packer's strike.
Feb. 4, Castletown, Mo.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded at Pahl's Lone Wolf Ranch demolishing 1 truck and damaging another truck and station wagon. Damage estimated from \$2,000 to \$5,000.
Feb. 5, Fort Collins, Colo.....	BA	During halftime of a basketball game between Brigham Young University and Colorado State University, a Molotov cocktail was thrown on the court but did not explode.
Feb. 5, Denver, Colo.....	EBI	2 explosions, probably dynamite, destroyed 23 school buses, 3 service-type vehicles and damaged 15 other school buses and 5 service vehicles of the city. Replacement cost is estimated at \$1,000,000.
Feb. 6, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	The doors of a synagogue were splintered by a dynamite blast. Windows in nearby residences were shattered.
Feb. 6, Dorado, Rio Piedras, and Isla-verde, P.R.	IBI	Within 30 minutes of each other, firebombs exploded at a selective service office, Dorado; General Electric facility, Rio Piedras; and Hotel San Juan, Isla-verde.
Feb. 6, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded at the residence of Fred H. Dore, State senator, causing \$1,000 damage.
Feb. 6-9, Boston, Mass.....	IBI	A fire caused by a Molotov cocktail occurred in a Boston University ROTC office.
Feb. 7, Whitewater, Wis.....	IBI	During the evening Old Mail Hall of Wisconsin State College was partially destroyed by fire. Damage estimated at \$1,000,000.
Feb. 7, Swanton, Ohio.....	EBI	A 16-year-old boy was fatally injured when a gun-laden rocket which he constructed exploded in his home when he tried to light it with a blow torch. The gunpowder was obtained from shells picked up in Maumee State Forest where several Reserve units train.
Feb. 9, Summerside, Ohio.....	EBI	3 blasts probably caused by dynamite demolished 2 cars, damaged a third, and wrecked part of the Clermont County home of a General Electric employee. Damage estimated at \$4,000.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
FEBRUARY 1970—Continued		
Feb. 9, Swanton, Ohio.....	BA	A homemade bomb, consisting of gunpowder and other chemicals stuffed into a bottle, was found in a restroom at Swanton High School.
Feb. 9, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	Bombs were detonated at General Electric service centers in (1) Woodside, (2) Queens, and, (3) the Atlantic Terminal section of Brooklyn. No injuries reported.
Feb. 11-14, Ypsilanti, Mich.....	IBI	Firebomb thrown into building of Washtonhaw Community College caused an estimated \$2,500 damage.
Feb. 12, Oakland, Calif.....	BA	A Navy demolitions expert dismantled a series of bombs left outside a North Oakland paint company.
Feb. 13, Berkeley, Calif.....	EBI	2 dynamite bombs exploded in parking lot of Berkeley Police Department, injuring 6 officers, wrecking 3 automobiles, slightly damaging numerous other automobiles, and breaking windows in adjacent buildings.
Feb. 13, Port Angeles, Wash.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion damaged Katy's Gun Shop and adjoining buildings. No injuries reported.
Feb. 13, Danbury, Conn.....	EBI	2 gunmen set off 3 separate bombs in a police station, a bank, and a parking lot and made off with over \$40,000. The blast in the main corridor of the police station injured 23 persons. The blast in the parking lot occurred when the men blew up their getaway car and drove off in another.
Feb. 15, West Covina, Calif.....	EBI	A pipe bomb, filled with black powder, exploded in the South Hills High School, damaging 32 lockers and blowing a hole 2 feet in diameter in a wall behind the lockers.
Feb. 16, San Francisco, Calif.....	EBI	A dynamite bomb loaded with staples blew a hole in the side of the San Francisco Park Police Station fatally injuring 1 police officer and injuring 8 other officers.
Feb. 16, Berkeley, Calif.....	IBI	Incendiary bombs exploded without major damage at 2 department stores during a demonstration against contempt sentences in the "Chicago Seven" riot conspiracy trial.
Feb. 17, Oakland, Calif.....	BA	A bomb with 24 pieces of dynamite in short sections was found against a wall bordering the Walter Boysen Paint Co. building in West Oakland.
Feb. 17, Buckeysville, Md.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion at a power pole in the Tuscarora area destroyed a 5-foot section of a 45-foot wooden power pole, caused a blackout in more than 500 homes, interrupted service at Todd Steel and East Alco Aluminum plant, and shattered windows a quarter of a mile away. No injuries reported.
Feb. 17, Jacksonville, Oreg.....	EBI	A series of dynamite blasts destroyed 8 log trucks owned by R. W. Jacks, a logging contractor. The blasts caused an estimated \$360,000 damage to the trucks, shattered windows in nearby flat-bed trucks.
Feb. 17, Covington, La.....	EBI	A bomb exploded in a men's restroom at Covington High School, blowing a 4-foot hole in the wall, destroying a hand basin, blowing out windows, and damaging the stall partitions. No injuries were reported.
Feb. 18, Cleveland, Ohio.....	EBI	A bomb damaged the automobile of a Cleveland policeman who was working part time as a security guard at Cuyanoga Community College.
Feb. 18, Vallejo, Calif.....	BA	A boobytrap made with a military handgrenade was found wired to a car in the Vallejo Police Department parking lot and was deactivated by a police officer.
Feb. 18, Berkeley, Calif.....	BA	An incendiary device was thrown through the window of a local automobile agency, but failed to explode.
Feb. 20, Seattle, Wash.....	BA	A bomb made of 4 sticks of dynamite was discovered at a construction site at the University of Washington. Fire department inspectors said the bomb failed to explode because the fuse was damp.
Do.....	EBI	2 dynamite explosions rocked the university district: (1) Explosion set off in foundation pit of the site for the new University of Washington Architecture Bldg. at 15th Ave. and 40th St. NE. (2) Explosion set off at 5th Ave. and 44th St. NE.
Feb. 20, Hartford, Conn.....	IBI	Molotov cocktail hit a Federal building housing the U.S. courthouse. No injuries. Estimated \$450 damage.
Feb. 21, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	3 gasoline bombs exploded outside the Manhattan home of State Supreme Court Justice John M. Murtaugh, who was presiding at a pretrial hearing of Black Panthers accused of conspiracy to bomb public places. There was minor damage and no injuries.
Feb. 21, Denver, Colo.....	IBI	A firebomb was tossed into the home of a Denver School Board member.
Feb. 22, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	Firebomb at Columbia University Law School caused minor damage to international law library.
Feb. 22, Joplin, Mo.....	EBI	A homemade bomb exploded outside the Lafayette Elementary School, damaging a number of windows on the 1st, 2d, and 3d floors. A 16-year-old youth admitted to the bombing.
Feb. 23, Dakota City, Nebr.....	EBI	4 dynamite blasts damaged 4 separate power transmission poles in the Dakota City and Sioux City areas. However, the blasts were not sufficient to break off any of the poles.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
FEBRUARY 1970—Continued		
Feb. 23, Tucson, Ariz.....	EBI	Dynamite set off at selective service headquarters. No injuries.
Feb. 24, Champaign, Ill.....	IBI	Molotov cocktail thrown through the window of the army at the University of Illinois. Building houses ROTC office.
Feb. 24, Denver, Colo.....	EBI	A bomb blew off the front porch of the home of a Negro who instituted a school integration suit.
Feb. 24-25, Santa Barbara, Calif.....	IBI	A firebomb was thrown under a patrol car heavily damaging it.
Feb. 25, Corona, Calif.....	EBI	A bomb explosion damaged an auto parked in a public lot. No injuries reported.
Feb. 26, St. Louis, Mo.....	IBI	A firebomb caused heavy damage to an ROTC building at Washington University.
Feb. 27, Muir Beach, Calif.....	IBI	60 sticks of dynamite in a suitcase with a 100-ft. length of primer cord was found on shoreline highway near Muir Beach. Also found nearby was a flight bag containing 2 9-inch pipes and 2 cans of black powder and 3 pairs of rubber gloves.
Feb. 27, Boulder, Colo.....	EBI	Explosive device detonated in the Institute of Behavioral Sciences at the University of Colorado.
Feb. 28, Marshville, N.C.....	EBI	An explosion at the Sun Valley High School caused extensive damage to the walls and ceiling of the principal's office.
MARCH 1970		
Mar. 1, Boulder, Colo.....	IBI	A University of Colorado campus police car was firebombed.
Mar. 1, Colorado Springs, Colo.....	IBI	Selective service headquarters firebombed.
Mar. 2, Boulder, Colo.....	EBI	A city police car was dynamited.
Mar. 3, Denver, Colo.....	EBI	Lead pipe bomb damaged car at 328 East 23d St.
Mar. 3, Boulder, Colo.....	EBI	A bomb explosion consisting of at least 4 sticks of dynamite rocked the homes in the area west of Boulder.
Mar. 3, Normal, Ill.....	BA	A Molotov cocktail which was thrown through window of bank, failed to ignite.
Mar. 3, Neptune, N.J.....	IBI	3 firebombs thrown at high school buses caused minor damage to 3 buses.
Mar. 4, Denver, Colo.....	EBI	A lead pipe bomb explosion damaged an automobile at 1155 Sherman St.
Mar. 4, Council Bluffs, Iowa.....	EBI	The detonation of an explosive device did an estimated \$10,000 damage to an excavating machine and shattered glass in a 2-block area. This was the 5th such incident since Jan. 7, 1967.
Mar. 4, Martinez, Calif.....	BA	An explosive device consisting of 4 sticks of dynamite was found on a railroad car which was utilized for transporting acid.
Mar. 4, Oakland, Calif.....	BA	An explosive device, consisting of a 2½-pound block of C-4 explosive and a timer was discovered on the window ledge of a transient barracks at Oakland Army Terminal.
Mar. 5, Denver, Colo.....	EBI	Lead pipe bomb heavily damaged an automobile in the 1300 block of Pennsylvania St.
Mar. 5, Seattle, Wash.....	EBI	2 sticks of dynamite exploded damaging the side of the University District Post Office.
Mar. 5, Granite City, Ill.....	EBI	Explosion wrecked a construction trailer owned by the LaDue Building & Engineering Corp. of St. Louis. No injuries.
Mar. 5, Rock Springs, Wyo.....	EBI	Explosion caused considerable damage to gas station on Dewar Drive in Rock Springs. Damage estimated at about \$4,000.
Mar. 6, Detroit, Mich.....	BA	34 sticks of dynamite found in the women's toilet in the north wing of the Detroit Police Department, Precinct No. 13. Also a bomb employing same type of dynamite located and disarmed in building which houses a Detroit policemen's association.
Mar. 6, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	3 dynamite blasts demolished a \$275,000 townhouse at 18 West 11th St., Greenwich Village. The blast killed 3 persons—Theodore Gold, active member of the Weatherman faction of SDS, Diana Oughton, a Weatherman activist, and an unidentified male believed to be Terry Robbins also with the Weatherman. The apartment that was to be used as a "Bomb Factory" contained 57 sticks of dynamite, 4 12-inch pipes crudely packed with explosives, 30 blasting caps and other bomb making tools. In addition, police found numerous SDS leaflets and pamphlets and various stolen ID and credit cards. Police also established that the dynamite and blasting caps were purchased from a store in Keene, N.H. 2 females, Cathlyn Wilkerson and possibly Kathy Boudin, were seen running from the building following the explosion. Both girls who had been active in the affairs of the SDS are still at large.
Mar. 6, East St. Louis, Ill.....	EBI	The explosion of 2 sticks of dynamite demolished an automobile.
Mar. 9, Bridgeport, Conn.....	IBI	Shiloh Baptist Church firebombed causing minor damage.
Mar. 9, Champaign, Ill.....	IBI	Firebomb damaged Federal building. No injuries; Estimated \$2,500 damages.
Mar. 9, BelAir, Md.....	EBI	An explosive detonated in a car killing 2 Negro males later identified as Ralph Featherstone, and William Payne. FBI report indicated that the 2 had been transporting the device when it exploded.
Mar. 9, Berkeley, Calif.....	IBI	A 3-alarm fire destroyed a portion of the main library on the University of California campus. Investigators stated that the fire was deliberately set.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
MARCH 1970—Continued		
Mar. 9, Albuquerque, N. Mex.	BA	Incendiary device found by police beneath floor ROTC building 15 minutes before timed to ignite.
Mar. 10, Doniphan, Md.	EBI	3 dynamite blasts damaged home at 407 Cherry St. No injuries reported.
Mar. 10, San Francisco, Calif.	BA	A firebomb was thrown into the office of Dr. S. I. Hayakawa, San Francisco State College, but did not ignite.
Mar. 10, Cambridge, Md.	EBI	An explosion occurred in the Dorchester County Courthouse where trial of H. Rap Brown was first scheduled to be held. No injuries were reported, but extensive damage was done to the building.
Mar. 11, Normal, Ill.	BA	3 Molotov cocktails thrown at Central School Bldg., Illinois State University. Bombs fell short and caused no damage.
Mar. 11, Arlington, Tex.	EBI	Man arrested after Arlington police found a cache of home made bombs in his home. The bombs were of the shrapnel type.
Mar. 11, Urbana, Ill.	IBI	A U.S. Army and Air Force Recruiting Office was destroyed by a firebomb.
Mar. 12, Chicago, Ill.	EBI	An explosion wrecked a police car at an intersection immediately after 2 policemen left the car to respond to a call for help.
Mar. 12, Chicago, Ill.	EBI	An explosion ripped up the floor boards of an empty police patrol car parked in front of a detective headquarters.
Mar. 12, Pottstown, Pa.	EBI	Explosions ripped apart 2 mail boxes 1 1/2 miles apart in West Vincent Township.
Mar. 12, New York, N.Y.	EBI	Dynamite explosions preceded by a telephone warning detonated (1) at 1:40 a.m. on the 34th floor of the Mobil Oil Co. Bldg. causing extensive structural damage; (2) at 1:55 a.m. on the 12th floor of the IBM Bldg., blasting a 25-foot hole in the floor; and (3) at 2 a.m. in the Sylvania Electric Division of the General Telephone Bldg. demolishing the 21st floor and knocking out telephone service on 31 floors. Responsibility for the bombing was claimed in a letter sent to the New York offices of UPI. The letter signed by the "Revolutionary Force 9," declared that "IBM, Mobil and GTE are enemies of all human life," because of profits made on the Vietnam war.
Mar. 13, Appleton, Wis.	IBI	2 separate incendiary devices were thrown through the windows of a classroom and faculty room at Appleton West High School.
Mar. 13, Appleton, Wis.	IBI	Fire damaged the wall of the ROTC building at Lawrence University.
Mar. 13, Pittsburgh, Pa.	EBI	An explosion destroyed a jewelry store, broke windows and damaged more than 20 other shops in a shopping mall.
Mar. 13, New York, N.Y.	EBI	Several explosive devices exploded in a New York City high school. No injuries.
Mar. 13, Washington, D.C.	EBI	A powerful explosion severely damaged the rear portion of the Celebrity Room Night Club and the 1st floor kitchen of the Am Chi Restaurant. Plate glass windows in the front of both the restaurant and night-club were blown out. The blast followed a rash of bomb scares in the area. No injuries.
Mar. 14, Brooklyn, N.Y.	BA	Explosive device discovered outside U.S. Army Reserve Bldg., Fort Hamilton, N.Y.
Mar. 14, Wurtland, Ky.	EBI	A dynamite explosion destroyed a home near Wurtland.
Mar. 15, Los Angeles, Calif.	EBI	Bomb explosion damaged the front of a bar located at 1544 West Anaheim St.
Mar. 15, Akron, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite blast blew a 4-foot hole in the roof of the kitchen of the Tangier Restaurant, 532 West Market St.
Mar. 16, Mystic, Conn.	EBI	Explosion demolished a telephone booth.
Mar. 16, Council Bluffs, Iowa.	EBI	Dynamite explosion shattered the roof of a 1-story extension of the Labor Temple where a union meeting had been held 20 minutes earlier.
Mar. 16, St. Louis, Mo.	EBI	Bomb attached to the ignition wiring of an automobile killed the driver when he attempted to start the vehicle.
Mar. 16, Billings, Mont.	EBI	Bomb explosion demolished a parked police car.
Mar. 16-17, San Bernardino, Calif.	IBI	The city's only Negro city councilman suffered minor burns when firebombs were thrown into his home. Damage to home was estimated at \$5,000.
Mar. 17, Greenville, N.C.	EBI	Explosion occurred in vacant hallway at Rose High School.
Mar. 17, Buffalo, N.Y.	BA	Police arrest 3 young men who were transporting 18 firebombs to campus of New York State University. Police also report earlier incident in which 2 policemen were allegedly shot at while investigating report that Molotov cocktails were being made near dormitory.
Mar. 17, Orlando, Fla.	EBI	Explosion killed a man and destroyed the Post Time Bar at Highway 17-92 and State Road 427.
Mar. 18, Cincinnati, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite explosion at a Cincinnati Gas & Elec. Co. booster station in Lockland caused extensive damage to a transformer.
Mar. 18, Compton, Calif.	EBI	Bombing explosion of unknown origin at a high school damaged school bell system.
Mar. 18, Buffalo, N.Y.	EBI	An explosion possibly a time bomb caused extensive damage to the 3d, 4th and 5th floor of the Lafayette Bldg. The blast caused no injuries but shattered interior walls stairway; and fixtures and blew out windows.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
MARCH 1970—Continued		
Mar. 20, Homestead, Pa.	EBI	A report of a junior high school girl with a bomb in her purse led to the arrest of her boyfriend who had given it to her. In his room, police found a quantity of explosive material and other related items. The youth said his hobby was manufacturing explosive devices.
Mar. 20, Portland, Ore.	IBI	firebombs were found at the U.S. Army Reserve Training Center. The firebombs were placed near 2 2 1/2-ton trucks. 1 of the bombs had exploded and burned itself out and the other was intact.
Mar. 21, New York, N.Y.	IBI	Incendiary devices started fires at Alexander's Department Store—midtown Manhattan. The devices were cigarette packages with flip tops containing flammable material pen light batteries and wristwatch mechanisms.
Do.	IBI	Incendiary devices started fires at Bloomingdale's Department Store—midtown Manhattan. The devices were packages with flip tops containing flammable material pen light batteries and wristwatch mechanisms.
Mar. 21, Two Rivers, Wis.	EBI	A homemade bomb exploded, doing damage to a mailbox and nearby home on Memorial Dr. Explosion sent parts of the mail box sailing through a window of the home located some 65 ft. away.
Mar. 22, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A pipe time bomb shattered the front door and blue-glass windows of the Nagler, Weissman & Co., Inc., a stock-brokerage office located in the North Bronx. There were no injuries, but windows in neighboring buildings were broken by bomb fragments.
Do.	EBI	A pipe time bomb filled with dynamite and small-caliber ammunition exploded at the Electric Circus, an East Village discotheque injuring 17 persons.
Do.	BA	A pipe time bomb was found on the window ledge of the Chase-Manhattan Bank, Bronx Branch, and was disarmed by police. The bomb was found 1/2-hour after the bombing of a nearby brokerage firm.
Mar. 23, Cleveland, Ohio.	EBI	Explosion demolished car near 8101 Simon Ave. Someone placed explosives equivalent to 2 or 3 sticks of dynamite under hood of car.
Mar. 23, New York, N.Y.	EBI	Pipe bomb exploded at Manhattan's East Village injuring 15 persons.
Mar. 24, Cleveland, Ohio.	EBI	A 2,000-lb. bronze statue was blasted from its pedestal in front of the Cleveland Museum of Art. Authorities indicated that the statue had been heavily damaged by a pipe bomb filled with the equivalent of 2 sticks of dynamite.
Mar. 24, New York, N.Y.	EBI	Bomb explosion in Greenwich Village restaurant after closing. No injuries reported.
Mar. 24, Boston, Mass.	IBI	3 firebombs resulted in fires in the Jamaica Plain Area. The sites were an outlet store, insurance company, and a parked car.
Mar. 24, Richmond, Calif.	EBI	A homemade bomb planted outside a Richmond police officer's home blew out the living room window and damaged the walls and furnishings.
Mar. 25, Provo, Utah.	EBI	The detonation of an explosive device blew up the caretaker's shack at the Provo City dump.
Mar. 26, Denver, Colo.	EBI	3 minor explosions were reported at East Dakota Ave., and South Pearl St. The explosives were thrown from passing car: (1) 1 went off against a fence; (2) 1 behind a car parked at the curb; (3) 1 in the street.
Mar. 26, Pine Castle, Fla.	EBI	An explosive device consisting of many sticks of dynamite ripped apart the Central Florida Headquarters of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners, Local 1765, 333 East Oak Ridge Rd.
Mar. 27, Kansas City, Mo.	EBI	An explosion caused by the detonation of a dynamite bomb at the rear loading door of Rocky's Furniture Store, 2501 Truman Rd., shattered windows in the store and in several nearby buildings.
Mar. 28, New York, N.Y.	EBI	Following an explosion in an apartment at 707 E. 5th St., police announced the discovery of a bomb factory in which they found material to make at least a dozen bombs. The explosion involved 2 Negroes, 1 was killed and the other seriously wounded. On Mar. 31, police stated that the individual killed in the explosion was responsible for taking a bomb into a Greenwich Village discotheque in the East Village.
Do.	IBI	Molotov cocktail hurled against bar and hardware stores, 2990 and 2992 Richmond Ter., Staten Island.
Mar. 30, Williston Park, N.Y.	EBI	14-year-old youth injured in accidental explosion of pipe bomb he and 3 friends were making in basement of his home.
Mar. 30, Chicago, Ill.	EBI	FBI agents and police found bomb factory in a North Side apartment filled with enough explosives to blow a city block. Experts worked for several hours dismantling bombs, blasting caps, explosive liquids, plastic explosives, and hydrochloric and sulphuric acid. Police also found an army carbine, 2 12-gauge shotguns, a .22-caliber rifle, a revolver, Communist literature and instructions for making bombs and waging guerrilla warfare. This apartment was rented and occupied by officials of the Weatherman faction of SDS.
Mar. 31, Seattle, Wash.	EBI	2 jeeps owned by the University of Washington bombed while parked on campus. Vehicles extensively damaged.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
APRIL 1970		
Apr. 1, Lansing, Ill.....	EBI	2 bombs exploded in early April 1970 in Lester Cram Elementary School, causing \$4,000 damage.
Apr. 1, Houston, Tex.....	IBI	Kerosene used to set fire to NROTC building. Outer wall of building damaged.
Apr. 2, St. Louis, Mo.....	BA	2 firebombs tossed into a residence at 3937 Page Block but were extinguished before they could cause major damage.
Apr. 2, St. Louis, Mo.....	EBI	An explosive device placed in a station wagon parked in the owner's driveway in suburban Cool Valley went off demolishing the car and damaging the rear of the house.
Apr. 2, New York, N.Y.....	BA	A homemade bomb found in the vestibule of a Chase Manhattan Bank in the South Bronx was dismantled by detectives prior to detonation.
Apr. 4, New York, N.Y.....	BA	Homemade pipe bomb found atop night depository of Banco de Ponce and at busy street intersection in South Bronx; both devices are of same type that was found at the Chase Manhattan bank.
Apr. 5, Fresno, Calif.....	BA	During the morning, single sticks of dynamite were found at various locations throughout the city, including a supermarket, railroad station, shoe store and an automobile agency. The explosives were not fitted with arming devices. Investigators indicated that the dynamite was labeled Pacific Power Co., Penino, Wash.
Apr. 5, Trona, Calif.....	IBI	Barracks belonging to the American Potash and Chemical Co. were damaged by a fire caused by arsonists using a flammable liquid.
Apr. 5, Trona, Calif.....	EBI	A dynamite blast shattered a powerline pole supplying electrical power to a pumping station.
Apr. 6, New York, N.Y.....	BA	Small incendiary device found taped under table in auditorium of West Side branch of YWCA.
Apr. 7, Bonita, Calif.....	EBI	2 14-year-old boys were injured after a homemade bomb which they were sawing in two exploded. The youths were part of a group of about 15 youths who were experimenting with bombs.
Apr. 7, Tucson, Ariz.....	EBI	An explosion, probably a military artillery simulator, rocked the home of a Tucson radio newsman damaging a couch and 8 windows.
Apr. 8, Detroit, Mich.....	EBI	4 rooms of Astor Motel damaged in a dynamite explosion. No injuries.
Apr. 8, Lawrence, Kans.....	EBI	Pipe bomb explosion blows out 2 windows of Anchor Savings & Loan Co. No injuries.
Apr. 8, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	EBI	An explosive device made of dynamite wired to the ignition of an off-duty Cincinnati fireman's car, injured the fireman and destroyed the car near the Lunken Airport. Windows in an adjacent car and in the Airport Inn were also damaged. Estimated damage \$1,500.
Apr. 8, Baxter, Kans.....	EBI	A blast caused by the detonation of a homemade bomb, damaged a 1967 model car parked on Texas Ave. The car belonged to an individual working at a strike bound plant.
Apr. 9, Bridgeport, Conn.....	EBI	Explosion at Father Panik Village caused wall damage and a collapsed ceiling.
Apr. 9, Wilmington, Del.....	EBI	4 men experimenting in the manufacture of explosives were injured when an explosion occurred at a northeast dwelling at 2802 North Claymont St. Police found gunpowder and a railroad flare.
Apr. 9, East St. Louis, Ill.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion at a Fairview Heights construction site damaged a large shovel crane owned by the Waggoner Equipment Rental & Excavating Co. of Madison, Ill. The owner of the firm, blamed the explosion on competitors who don't want outsiders working on jobs in the East St. Louis area. He said that he had been warned by telephone and that this was the fourth explosion in as many years involving his equipment or buildings. Damage to the crane was estimated at \$30,000. The blast also damaged windows at a nearby meat market and 2 homes.
Apr. 9, Kansas City, Mo.....	EBI	A pipe bomb was thrown through the window of the Mission Hill's home of the president of the J. C. Nichols Co., damaging a rug, a table, and a wall.
Apr. 11, San Diego, Calif.....	EBI	An explosive device detonated in building at the Imperial Beach Naval Air Station damaging the wooden type barracks building. No injuries.
Apr. 12, Buffalo, N.Y.....	BA	7 sticks of crystallized dynamite in a badly deteriorated and extremely dangerous state were found in a cardboard box at the entrance to the Crawford Door Sales Co.
Apr. 12, Ithaca, N.Y.....	IBI	Molotov cocktail started a fire at Olin Library of Cornell University. Several other Molotov cocktails discovered in other buildings.
Apr. 12, Basalt, Colo.....	EBI	5 story apartment structure severely damaged by explosion of a dynamite bomb.
Apr. 12, Winder, Ga.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion demolished a vacated grocery and service station building on Georgia State Route 81. No injuries.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
APRIL 1970—Continued		
Apr. 12, Atlanta, Ga.....	EBI	A bomb exploded at a branch of the Citizens and Southern National Bank at 1088 Peachtree St., NE, damaging window panes, curtains, and light fixtures. The bomb was identified as a hand grenade simulator.
Apr. 13, Kansas City, Mo.....	EBI	3 simultaneous bombings occurred about midnight at (1) East High School damaging the outside doors and screen doors, about a dozen windows, and causing other minor damage; (2) Linwood Methodist Church destroying a natural gas regulator and smashing windows in the church and surrounding homes and buildings; and (3) the Police Academy breaking windows in the Academy and in several other homes and businesses.
Apr. 13, Spanish Fork, Nev.....	EBI	Dynamite and blasting materials left in a length of 2-inch pipe brought to the Frank O'Brien Salvage Co. exploded when 2 workmen at the Salvage Co. were cutting the pipe with a blow torch. The 2 men were injured.
Apr. 13, Berkeley, Calif.....	EBI	A bomb explosion toppled an 80-ft. utility tower carrying power to the University of California campus and the nearby Lawrence Radiation Lab.
Apr. 13, Boulder, Colo.....	EBI	An explosive device, probably dynamite, blew out a gas meter and knocked out several windows of the Security National Bank Bldg.
Apr. 14, Trona, Calif.....	EBI	Dynamite placed in a sewer leading from the American Potash Plant, exploded destroying a 250-foot section of the sewer. The plant had been the scene of a strike by 650 employees.
Apr. 14, Sacramento, Calif.....	EBI	3 McClatchy High School students were burned when gunpowder exploded, razing the ceiling of a private home at 2428 38th Ave. The students were removing gunpowder from several types of cartridges.
Apr. 14, Long Beach, Calif.....	BA	Unexploded pipe bomb found in Science Bldg. at California State College.
Apr. 14, Los Angeles, Calif.....	BA	Security officers at May Co. Department Store discovered stick of dynamite, kerosene, cloth rag, matches, and cigarette explosive device.
Apr. 14, Berkeley, Calif.....	IBI	3 fires caused by fire bombs broke out on campus in quick succession in (1) Stephens Hall, (2) Wheeler Hall, (3) Krober Hall.
Apr. 15, Fresno, Calif.....	IBI	2 Molotov cocktails were thrown at windows in the Armed Forces Entrance Exam Station. No injuries; estimated \$500 in damages.
Apr. 15, Harlan, Ky.....	EBI	4 or 5 sticks of dynamite exploded at the front door of the County Health Department Bldg. No injuries.
Apr. 15, Los Angeles, Calif.....	IBI	4 Cuban refugees using chemical-type fire bombs, caused damage to a building occupied by persons considered by them to be pro-Castro.
Apr. 15, Santa Barbara, Calif.....	EBI	Explosives, cache of munitions, and 14 marijuana plants found in a raid.
Apr. 15, Half Moon Bay, Calif.....	EBI	A military explosive was used to damage the boy's lavatory at Half Moon Bay High School.
Apr. 15, Kansas City, Mo.....	EBI	The detonation of explosive device damaged the roof of the End Zone cocktail lounge.
Apr. 16, Kansas City, Mo.....	EBI	3 explosions within a 4-minute timespan occurred at (1) the Plaza III Restaurant—the bomb, placed in an air-conditioning unit on the second tier parking lot serving the restaurant, blew a hole through the ceiling of the restaurant, shattered 2 doors, and damaged 2 windows of a nearby rug company; (2) the Waltham Bldg.—the bomb destroyed 2 restrooms, damaged elevator doors, and damaged 6 floors of ventilating shafts; and (3) the Argyle Bldg.—the bomb damaged restrooms and lobby shattering glass in the entrance doors, display cases, and a nearby coin shop. Sophisticated time devices were used in all bombings. No injuries reported.
Apr. 16, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	Molotov cocktails caused damage to Brooklyn Technical High School Auditorium.
Apr. 16, Crutchfield, N.C.....	EBI	A bomb completely destroyed a local liquor store located on U.S. 601. Estimated damage \$20,000.
Apr. 16, Philadelphia, Pa.....	IBI	A Molotov cocktail exploded damaging a 1969 Dodge Dart parked in front of the owner's home at 1317 Deveraux St., Northeast Philadelphia.
Apr. 16, Trona, Calif.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion partially damaged railroad tracks leading to the American Potash & Chemical Corp. The corporation was the scene of a 2-month strike by employees.
Apr. 16, Portland, Oreg.....	EBI	A bomb, fashioned from a metal canister, wrecked a mailbox and blew out 4 windows in the Lake Oswego Kain Medical Center.
Apr. 17, San Jose, Calif.....	EBI	A San Jose State College senior died after taping a homemade bomb to his chest and exploding it in front of his girlfriend's dormitory.
Apr. 18, Paducah, Ky.....	EBI	An explosion did minor damage to a city-owned bulldozer and its storage shed, at 1375 North 6th St.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
APRIL 1970—Continued		
Apr. 19, New York, N.Y.	BA	A pipe bomb, placed under a correction officer's car parked in front of the Queens House of Detention failed to detonate.
Apr. 19, New York, N.Y.	BA	9 sticks of dynamite were found in a trash basket on Park Ave. across from the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The explosives were removed by the police department bomb squad.
Apr. 19, Seattle, Wash.	EBI	4 separate bomb explosions hit a church, realty office, hamburger stand, and the home of Democratic State Rep. David Sprague in the Capitol Hill area of Seattle. The bomb at the Sprague residence did little structural damage but blew out 16 windows. There were no injuries in any of the bombings.
Apr. 19, St. Louis, Mo.	EBI	Explosion wrecked the Wonder Novelty Co. 7 or more sticks of dynamite were used in the blast. No injuries, but extensive damage.
Apr. 20, Garden City, N.Y.	EBI	The detonation of some explosive devices caused several hundred dollars damage to the east wing of the Garden City Senior High School.
Apr. 20, Lawrence, Kans.	IBI	2 separate explosions caused the Student Union Bldg. at the University of Kansas to burst into flames. Damage estimated at \$1,000,000.
Apr. 20, New York, N.Y.	EBI	2 pipe bombs exploded in an unoccupied night club at 9405 Queens Blvd., Elmhurst.
Apr. 20, Los Angeles, Calif.	IBI	2 fire bombs were hurled through the window of the Bank of America branch near downtown Los Angeles starting a fire which caused an estimated \$25,000 in damage.
Apr. 20-21, Santa Barbara, Calif.	BA	Incendiary device found near a building in Isla Vista.
Apr. 21, University Park, Pa.	IBI	During a student demonstration, separate firebombs damaged 5 girls' dormitories, a cottage, a classroom building, and an office building on the Penn State University campus.
Apr. 22, Trona, Calif.	EBI	The detonation of an explosive device destroyed a salt-water pipeline supplying brine to the American Potash & Chemical Co. and dried up all of the community's fire hydrants for approximately 8 hr.
Apr. 22, Chinook, Wash.	EBI	Explosion of a bomb sank a 36-foot fishing vessel where it was tied in Chinook Harbor. The boat, new last year, was valued at \$35,000 to \$40,000.
Apr. 22, Tucson, Ariz.	EBI	A dynamite blast blew a hole in the wall of a baseball dugout at Sunnyside High School.
Apr. 22, Berkeley, Calif.	IBI BA	A firebomb exploded in a restroom on the 2d floor of building T-9 on the University of California campus. A second such bomb was discovered shortly afterward in building T-7. Both buildings are old, temporary, wooden structures. The upper floor of T-9 was badly damaged.
Apr. 22, Milwaukee, Wis.	IBI	A firebomb damaged the Schmidt Bldg. which houses Federal Government offices. No injuries.
Apr. 23, Kansas City, Mo.	BA	Explosive bomb device found in the Federal Bldg.
Apr. 23, Edmonds, Okla.	EBI	A bombing at the V. O. Club on South Broadway demolished the interior of the building.
Apr. 23-24, Stanford, Calif.	IBI	A fire erupted in the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioria Sciences Building, Stanford University. Authorities indicated that the fire was started by firebombs thrown into the building. Estimated damage, \$100,000.
Apr. 24, New York, N.Y.	IBI	Officials closed Grover Cleveland High School in Queens following firebombing in cafeteria.
Apr. 24, Alton Park, Tenn.	IBI	2 firebombs thrown on the roof and at the front entrance damaged a local food market.
Apr. 24, Garrett County, Md.	EBI	The Cherry Creek bridge, located at the western end of Deep Creek State park, was damaged by a dynamite explosion, causing officials to close the bridge.
Apr. 24, Dayton, Ohio.	EBI	A dynamite blast blew a hole in the basement wall of the McLean Trucking Co. office building and damaged water pipes.
Apr. 25, Washington, D.C.	BA	Bomb mailed from Seattle, Wash., to White House detected and deactivated in Washington, D.C.
Apr. 25, St. James, Mo.	EBI	An explosive device was thrown on the porch of a home. The home and 2 cars were destroyed. Windows were broken at nearby houses. Injured 1 person.
Apr. 25, Philadelphia, Pa.	IBI	2 Molotov cocktails were thrown into College Hall at the University of Pennsylvania.
Apr. 25, Collinsville, Ill.	EBI	Explosion of a dynamite bomb did an estimated \$6,000 damage to a local restaurant.
Apr. 25, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A dynamite explosion damaged an Army and Air Force recruiting office on the 2d floor of a Harlem office building.
Apr. 25, E. Lansing, Mich.	EBI	3 separate explosions shattered plate glass doors of 3 East Lansing banks. Damage was estimated at \$1,000.
Apr. 26, Alton Park, Tenn.	IBI	Firebombs caused damage to the Project Super Market.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
APRIL 1970—Continued		
Apr. 26, Baton Rouge, La.	EBI	A bomb explosion caused heavy damage at the Baton Rouge Country Club on the outskirts of town moments before another explosion at the Louisiana Senate Building.
Do.	EBI	A bomb exploded in the senate chambers of the Louisiana State Capitol. The entire front area of the Senate chamber was in shambles from the explosion, marble having been ripped from the walls, a hole knocked in the ceiling and another in the floor and electronic gear was demolished. An estimated 20 to 30 sticks of dynamite was placed in the speaker's alcove at the front of the chamber. Estimates of damage range from \$250,000 to \$500,000.
Apr. 26, Robbinsdale, Minn.	EBI	Bomb explosion occurred outside the front door of Local Board No. 51.
Apr. 27, Fullerton, Calif.	BA	7 sticks of dynamite were found in a men's restroom in the Science Bldg. at Cal State, Fullerton.
Apr. 27, Philadelphia, Pa.	EBI	Police found 2½ pounds of TNT in an apartment at 22d and Walnut Sts.
Apr. 27, New York, N.Y.	EBI	Police raided the basement of 517 West 136th St., and arrested 19 members of a Harlem gang who were constructing pipe bombs and firebombs. Police found a 5-gallon drum of gasoline, 29 firebombs, 13 pipe bombs, and a death list with nicknames of a rival gang.
Apr. 27, Tucson, Ariz.	BI	A bridge on South Park near Valencia Rd., was damaged by the explosion of a dynamite bomb.
Apr. 27, Cincinnati, Ohio.	EBI	Dynamite explosion occurred at Local 100, Teamsters Headquarters Bldg. No injuries, \$1,000 damage.
Apr. 27, Philadelphia, Pa.	EBI	A former associate dean at the University of Pennsylvania was held without bail in connection with a series of fires at the school. He was charged with arson, carrying bombs, and explosives, conspiracy and possession of incendiary devices.
Apr. 27, Ames, Iowa.	BA	Explosive device found in the garage of State Judge John McKinney.
Apr. 27, St. Charles, Mo.	EBI	A dynamite explosion damaged a car owned by the chairman of a group proposing "river-saving" legislation and slightly damaged his home.
Apr. 27-29, River Rouge, Mich.	IBI	The city was placed under curfew following a series of firebombings and looting incidents.
Apr. 28, Iowa City, Iowa.	EBI	An explosive device detonated on a street causing an estimated \$20,000 damage to 12 business establishments.
Apr. 29, Upland, Calif.	EBI	A 15-year old youth was injured while experimenting with 1 of a number of explosive devices found in his home.
Apr. 29, Seattle, Wash.	IBI	Xavier Hall on the Seattle University campus was firebombed causing an estimated \$1,000 damage.
Apr. 29, Kansas City, Mo.	EBI	A bomb consisting of 1 or 2 sticks of dynamite detonated on or near roof of an auto repair shop.
Apr. 30, Baton Rouge, La.	BA	A dynamite bomb containing 14 sticks of dynamite and a tiny clock was found outside the Baton Rouge Country Club which had been bombed on April 26. The device was deactivated by an Army demolition team.
Apr. 30, New York, N.Y.	BA	Homemade pipe bomb found in brown canvas bag in front of Harlem police station.
Apr. 30, Akron, Ohio.	EBI	A bomb explosion did extensive damage to an office in the south end of the Wyant Bldg's 1st floor at 2858 West Market St.
Apr. 30, Azusa, Calif.	EBI	An explosive device made of several sticks of dynamite exploded at a local bar causing an estimated \$1,000 damage.
Apr. 30, East Lansing, Mich.	IBI	A firebomb exploded on window ledge of First National Bank.
MAY 1970		
May 1, Corvallis, Oreg.	IBI	2 firebombs were thrown at the Oregon State University ROTC Bldg. damaging the interior of the building.
May 1, Champaign, Ill.	IBI	Many incidents of firebombing were reported in the predominantly Negro section of the city during a disturbance.
May 1, New Haven, Conn.	EBI	A bomb explosion occurred in ROTC building on the Yale campus. No serious injuries were reported.
May 1, Greencastle, Ind.	EBI	Explosion and fire damaged the ROTC office and library at DePauw University.
May 1, Geneva, N.Y.	EBI	Firebomb destroyed the ROTC office at Hobart College.
May 1, College Park, Md.	IBI	Extensive fire damage caused by firebombs to ROTC building and related equipment at the University of Maryland.
May 1, East Lansing, Mich.	IBI	ROTC building firebombed and damaged at Michigan State University.
May 1, Kansas City, Mo.	EBI	Dynamite bomb caused heavy damage at the Butcher Boy Meat Market on Kansas City's East Side. Total damage estimated between \$3,500 and \$4,000.
May 1, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A bomb explosion in the Paradise Theater at 188th St., and Grand Concourse injured 1 patron.
Do.	EBI	A bomb exploded in the Dale Theater at 189 West 231st St. 10 persons were injured.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS, IN THE UNITED STATES JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of Incident	Legend
MAY 1970—Continued		
May 2, Princeton, N.J.	IBI	The armory at Princeton University which houses ROTC facilities firebombed.
May 2, West DePere, Wis.	IBI	Firebombs were thrown at the indoor ROTC rifle range at St. Norbert College.
May 2, Kent, Ohio	IBI	Firebombs were thrown at the Army ROTC building on the Kent State University campus, destroying the building. Other buildings on the campus suffered fire damage.
May 2, New York, N.Y.	IBI	U.S. Armed Forces recruiting booth at 600 West 168th Street was heavily damaged by firebomb.
May 2, Buhl, Idaho	EBI	3 youths were injured when an explosive device which they were constructing exploded at a machine shop.
May 2, New Haven, Conn.	EBI	Explosion occurred at Ingalls Rink, Yale University. 3 injuries, 2 minor and 1 serious. Black powder was used for explosive.
May 2, Tucson, Ariz.	EBI	An explosion, probably dynamite, went off at the main entrance to Sunnyside High School. It damaged the administrative area, counselor offices, library, and foyer. Estimated damage \$5,000. No injuries.
May 2, Seattle, Wash.	IBI	A firebomb consisting of a gallon jug of gasoline caused an estimated \$750 damage to the second floor classrooms of Thompson Hall on the University of Washington campus.
May 3, Seattle, Wash.	EBI	2 explosions, 1/2 hour apart, completely destroyed 2 telephone booths located (1) in front of a local tavern, 9106 Empire Way South; and (2) in front of a supermarket at 5041 Wilson Ave. South.
May 3, Tacoma, Wash.	EBI	The detonation of an explosive device started a fire which completely destroyed a condemned house at 3121 Portland Ave.
May 3, Seattle, Wash.	IBI	5 fires started by Molotov cocktails were set in the two-building Burton Apts. causing an estimated \$1,100 damage.
May 3, New Brunswick, N.J.	IBI	A firebomb damaged the ROTC building at Rutgers University.
May 4, Granite City, Ill.	EBI	A homemade bomb exploded in a local grocery store causing minor damage.
May 4, Jennings, Md.	IBI	A firebomb damaged a local barber shop. This was the second fire since October 1969. The one-man nonunion shop had been continuously picketed by the local barber's union.
May 4, Chester, Pa.	EBI	Explosion wrecked the Manor Theater which closed for renovations, and shattered windows in homes and stores a couple of blocks away.
May 4, Seattle, Wash.	IBI	An explosion and fire destroyed the offices of a west Seattle physician located at 2617 California Ave. SW.; estimated damage at \$30,000.
May 4, Berkeley, Calif.	IBI	The firebombs were thrown at a heating plant adjacent to ROTC building, University of California, Berkeley. Minor damage to the building and a ROTC vehicle burned.
May 4, Chapel Hill, N.C.	EBI	Plastic bomb damaged the ROTC office at the University of North Carolina.
May 4, Madison, Wis.	IBI	ROTC building and home of military instructor was firebombed at the University of Wisconsin.
May 4, Norman, Okla.	IBI	Bricks were thrown at the window of the Selective Service office and the building was then firebombed.
May 4, Maryville, Mo.	IBI	2 Molotov cocktails were thrown into the motor vehicle compound of the Missouri National Guard.
May 5, Hazard, Ky.	EBI	State police cruiser was damaged by a dynamite bomb causing \$500 damage.
May 5, Lexington, Ky.	IBI	Firebombs destroyed the ROTC building at the University of Kentucky.
May 5, Lewiston, Idaho	IBI	A firebomb thrown in a National Guard Armory caused damage estimated at \$250,000.
May 5, Moscow, Idaho	IBI	Firebomb did severe damage to the ROTC building at the University of Idaho.
May 5, Orlando, Fla.	IBI	A firebomb was hurled through the window of the Federal Office Building. Damage was done to the Social Security Department, Veterans' Administration and Selective Service Offices.
May 5, Evanston, Ill.	BA	An attempt was made to firebomb the joint services recruiting station.
May 5, St. Louis, Mo.	IBI	A fire caused by a firebomb destroyed 50 percent of the Air Force ROTC building on the Washington University campus.
May 6, San Pedro, Calif.	BA	2 white male Caucasians were arrested in the late evening hours of May 6, after being apprehended in the process of attempting to firebomb National Guard vehicles inside the fence of the San Pedro National Guard Armory.
May 6, Kent, Ohio	IBI	3 firebombs were thrown at the Army reserve center at 12th and Bern Sts. The bombs were described as wine bottles filled with kerosene with a paper wick. Damage was estimated at \$5,000.
May 6, Longview, Wash.	EBI	2 explosive charges, probably dynamite were set off inside a fence at the rear of the Longview National Guard Armory.
May 6, Paducah, Ky.	EBI	A produce truck, owned by the Jackson Produce Co. and used to haul refuse from a local supermarket, was demolished by an explosive device while parked on Washington Street.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS, IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of Incident	Legend
MAY 1970—Continued		
May 6, New York, N.Y.	EBI	2 women were slightly injured when an explosive device detonated in the Sears Roebuck & Co. store in Brooklyn.
May 6, Columbia, Mo.	IBI	2 Molotov cocktails thrown through window of Naval ROTC building causing \$150 damage.
May 6, Reading, Pa.	IBI	A fire at the U.S. Army reserve center was caused by an incendiary device.
May 6, Portland, Ore.	IBI	A firebomb was set off in a Federal Government building. No injuries; estimated \$1,000 in damage.
May 6, Oakland, Calif.	IBI	The Selective Service Office was firebombed. No injuries; estimated \$200 in damages.
May 7, New York, N.Y.	BA	Police seized 3 people at 54 East 8th Street as they were planting 5 Molotov cocktails.
May 7, Cleveland, Ohio	IBI	Firebombs damaged 3 buildings housing ROTC facilities at Case Western Reserve in Cleveland, Ohio.
May 7, Nevada, Colorado, Ohio	IBI	Separate incidents of firebombings were directed at ROTC facilities on the campuses of the University of Nevada, College of Colorado, and Ohio University.
May 7, South Dade City, Fla.	IBI	3 separate firebombings of local stores.
May 7, New York, N.Y.	IBI	A 3 alarm fire brought under control at Fordham University. 2 molotov cocktails were found in bushes near administration building. Damage to campus center could run as high as \$1,000,000. There was an attempt to bomb a \$3,000,000 computer at New York University. The computer owned by the Atomic Energy Commission sustained \$100,000 damage.
May 8, New York, N.Y.	EBI	3 molotov cocktails were tossed through the rear door of the Randall County Abstract Co. destroying records dating back to 1902.
May 8, Canyon, Tex.	IBI	3 firebombs were thrown at the National Guard Armory.
May 8, New London, Conn.	IBI	8-inch pipe bomb exploded in a storefront social club.
May 8, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A youth was injured while experimenting with a homemade bomb made from dynamite he had taken from the Jamestown Golf and Country Club.
May 9, Vernon, Tex.	EBI BA	A homemade booby trap attached to a fence near a 4-H rifle range exploded when triggered by a youth attempting to cross the fence. The youth was injured. Another bomb was found nearby and disarmed by an Army demolition team.
May 9, Hollywood, Calif.	EBI	A time bomb was set off at the selective service office. No injuries; estimated \$10,000 in damages.
May 9, Fort Collins, Colo.	IBI	During the early morning hours, Colorado State University's historic original administration building was destroyed by fire. Police report indicates 2 explosions rocked the structure prior to the fire.
May 10, Washington, D.C.	BI	A bomb exploded outside a National Guard building; 70 windows blown out with minor structural damage.
May 10, San Diego, Calif.	BA	A police vehicle furnishing cover for fire department was the target of Molotov cocktail thrown by a group of youths. The fire bomb missed the car; no injuries reported.
May 11, Hazard, Ky.	EBI	A dynamite blast damaged the mobile home of a Kentucky State Policeman and slightly damaged his police cruiser. No injuries.
May 11, Unity, Ore.	EBI	2 14-year-old boys were seriously injured when a homemade pipe bomb exploded prematurely.
May 12, Newark, N.J.	EBI	An automobile owned by a candidate for commissioner was damaged by a bomb thrown into the car. The windshield and body of the car were damaged. No injuries.
May 12, San Jose, Calif.	BA	Several Molotov cocktails were thrown in the vicinity of the journalism building, San Jose State College, but caused no damage.
May 13, Syracuse, N.Y.	IBI	A predominantly Negro area of Syracuse was the scene of fire-bombing and window breaking during the evening.
May 13, Princeton, N.J.	IBI-BA	A firebomb damaged Nannaul Hall on the Princeton University campus, just 1 hour after a makeshift firebomb failed to ignite at the Institute for Defense Analysis Building.
May 13, Des Moines, Iowa	EBI	A dynamite explosion ripped through the Des Moines Police Station injuring 1 person and causing an estimated \$200,000 damage. The building was the target of a bomb threat a week earlier. The bomb, placed against the south wall adjacent to a transformer and several fuel drums, knocked out all primary and secondary power and telephone facilities, blew holes through the outer and inner brick walls, shattered about 280 windows, damaged about a dozen parked cars, and broke windows in several surrounding buildings. The police chief linked the explosion with the theft of 285 sticks of dynamite from the Quick Supply Co. on May 5.
May 13, Livingston, Ala.	IBI	The police science building at Livingston College was firebombed.
May 13, Lincoln, Nebr.	IBI	2 firebombs were thrown into the University of Nebraska Student Union.
May 13, Peoria, Ill.	IBI BA	A Molotov cocktail was thrown through the window at Holmes Hall, Bradley University. Another Molotov cocktail was found burning harmlessly outside the administration building.
May 13, Macomb, Ill.	IBI	A Molotov cocktail was thrown through the window of the public services building, Western Illinois University.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
MAY 1970—Continued		
May 13, State College, Pa.....	IBI	A firebomb was thrown at North Wall of Wagner Bldg. at Pennsylvania State University.
May 13, Salt Lake City, Utah.....	EBI	A bomb detonated at the entrance to the supply building of Utah National Guard. No injuries. Damage listed at \$8,000 to \$10,000.
May 14, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	A bomb exploded on the campus of Columbia University. It went off on the alma mater statue in the center of the campus. The explosion blasted a 1-foot hole in the statue and shifted it 5 inches off its base.
May 14, Long Beach, Calif.....	BA	At California State, Long Beach, a live pipe bomb was found in the basement of the science building, No. 2.
May 14, Melrose, Mass.....	IBI	Several firebombs exploded outside the National Guard Armory. Police found a jug of gasoline and several beer bottles used to make Molotov cocktails. No injuries were reported.
May 14, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.....	BA	5 sticks of dynamite were found attached to the steering column of a station wagon at a nearby Holiday Inn. The owner a horse trainer at the Pocono Downs Race Track, had been receiving bomb threats and found the bomb during a routine check.
May 14, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	A firebomb attack did an estimated \$50,000 damage to ROTC headquarters at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute.
May 14, Lawrence, Kans.....	EBI	Pipe bomb was thrown at the residence of the county attorney. The bomb was deflected by window screen and exploded on ground.
May 14, Lancaster, Calif.....	EBI	A blast caused by balloons filled with oxygen and acetylene did extensive damage to a late model car occupied by 4 youths. 2 of the youths were injured. All 4 were arrested for possession of explosives.
May 14, Croton, N.Y.....	EBI	A homemade explosive device went off in an automobile in front of the owner's home. No injuries were reported.
May 15, Carbondale, Ill.....	EBI	3 Southern Illinois University students were injured when an explosive device inside a brown suitcase shattered partitions and windows in a 4-room house. Police found a timing device, a quantity of unexploded dynamite caps, several guns, a large quantity of ammunition and several items of Black Panther Party literature.
May 15, Springfield, Mo.....	IBI	Molotov cocktails were thrown into Industrial Education Bldg. Southwest Missouri State College causing damage estimated at \$5,000 to \$10,000.
May 15, Greenville, S.C.....	EBI	Dynamite was thrown through the rear window of a warehouse owned by the Greenville Terrazzo Co.
May 15, St. James, Mo.....	EBI	An explosive device, probably dynamite, caused extensive damage to a 15-ft. camping trailer.
May 15, Tucson, Ariz.....	EBI	A bomb explosion occurred at a Southern Pacific Railroad trestle bridge on the Nogales train spur north of Valencia Rd.
May 16, St. Louis, Mo.....	EBI	An explosive device was detonated at a Shell service station.
May 16, Granite City, Ill.....	IBI	2 youths were arrested after firebombing a pickup truck owned by the R. Dron Electrical Co. Estimated damage \$1,000.
May 16, Pontiac, Mich.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion caused extensive damage to a local grocery store and damaged 3 nearby homes. No injuries.
May 17, Nashville, Tenn.....	IBI	A firebomb destroyed a 4-story classroom building at Fisk University.
May 17, Bellingham, Mass.....	EBI	A gas station, located beside the local police station, suffered an estimated \$2,000 damage when dynamite placed on the front steps exploded.
May 17, Scranton, Pa.....	IBI	3 firebombs were thrown against 3 student halls at the University of Scranton.
May 18, New York, N.Y.....	BA	A 14-in. pipe bomb containing 5 lbs. of gunpowder concealed in a brown paper bag was placed in the doorway of the Army Recruiting Station at 163d St. and Southern Blvd., Bronx, by a man being watched by police. The man was arrested and the bomb was dismantled by police. The man, Carlos Felciano, was a member of MIRA, a group blamed for 40 to 50 bombings in the United States and Puerto Rico.
May 18, Chino, Calif.....		Police uncovered a cache of 100 lbs. of nitrocarbonitrate (Pellite) and a spool of cord behind a garage at 12580 Catalpa St. The explosives were identified as stolen from the Victorville magazines of the Atlas Chemical Industry.
May 18, Bakersfield, Calif.....	EBI	A 15-year-old youth was killed in an explosion at his home when some dynamite exploded while he was making a bomb.
May 18, Peoria, Ill.....	IBI	A Molotov cocktail was thrown through the window of Dean of Admissions Office, Bradley University, \$1,000 damage.
May 19, Jackson, Miss.....	IBI	2 business establishments near Jackson State College were firebombed.
May 19, Chester, Pa.....	IBI	A Molotov cocktail thrown through window of residence, killing a nine-year-old girl. Molotov cocktails were also found burning at a junior high school and church.
May 19, Delhi, N.Y.....	IBI	A Molotov cocktail was thrown through a window in the alumni office of the administration building at Delhi Tech.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
MAY 1970—Continued		
May 19, Alton, Ohio.....	IBI	The Selective Service offices were firebombed. No injuries; estimated \$1,600 in damages.
May 19-20, Fresno, Calif.....	IBI	A firebombing caused \$1,000,000 damage to the computer center of Fresno State College.
May 20, Charleston, Ind.....	EBI	An explosion of unknown origin occurred at the Indiana Ammunition Depot; 20 persons injured.
May 20, Norfolk, Va.....	EBI	An explosion occurred at Booker T. Washington High School.
May 20, Carlisle, Pa.....	BA	5 bombs (Molotov cocktails) failed to ignite at the Selective Service Building.
May 20, Houston, Tex.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion completely destroyed a \$50,000 radio transmitter belonging to station KPFT-FM.
May 20, Quincy, Fla.....	EBI	A dynamite explosion and fire that followed left a mass of smoking, twisted steel at the Quincy Substation of the Florida Power Co. The main transformer estimated to have cost \$600,000 was completely destroyed.
May 20, Fresno, Calif.....	IBI	The Fresno City College Library was firebombed.
May 21, Trona, Calif.....	EBI	An explosion and fire did major damage to the home and furnishings of a foreman employed by the strike-bound American Potash & Chemical Corp. The home was located at 82436 Third St. No injuries reported.
May 21, Rahway, N.J.....	BA	Molotov cocktails were thrown at the fire trucks and police cars, but missed and no damage resulted.
May 22, Ilwaco, Wash.....	EBI	An explosion destroyed a fishing boat. Estimated loss at \$34,000. 1 or 2 dynamite charges were placed in the boat and set off by a car battery. About 100 ft. of wire similar to that found on the dock had been stolen from the Chinook rock quarry the same night.
May 22, Corvallis, Oreg.....	IBI	A Molotov cocktail was thrown against the side of the Oregon State University ROTC Building and caused minor damage to the outside wall.
May 23, Council Bluffs, Iowa.....	IBI	The Council Bluffs Police Station was scorched by a firebomb.
May 23, Ames, Iowa.....	EBI	A bomb exploded directly below Ames Police Headquarters in city hall. 10 persons injured. 2 cars demolished, and extensive damage to 1 side of the building. It also shattered about 200 windows in a nearby hotel. The dynamite is believed to be part of a supply taken from Quick Supply Co. on May 5.
May 23, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	Homemade pipe bomb exploded in doorway of a boutique in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.
May 23, Fayetteville, N.Y.....	IBI	A firebomb was thrown from a cruising automobile into the driveway of a vacant house at 120 Vanida Lane. The bomb, similar to a Molotov cocktail, was improvised from a beer bottle, gasoline, and a paper napkin serving as a wick.
May 25, Oxford, N.C.....	IBI	A firebombing destroyed a lumber company office and woodwork shop.
May 25, Wilmington, Del.....	EBI	A bomb exploded in the driveway of a home at 4708 Capitol Trail, Delpark Manor. A garage door was damaged and windows were blown out. Damage was \$1,000.
May 25, Los Angeles, Calif.....	EBI	A military-type fragmentation grenade damaged an office of the California Trucking Association. No injuries.
May 26, Santa Cruz, Calif.....	IBI	Rocks and firebombs were thrown at Federal Government buildings.
May 27, Philadelphia, Pa.....	EBI	A bomb was thrown from a high school window at 49th and Chestnut Sts. causing injury to 1 youth.
May 27, Los Angeles, Calif.....	EBI	The Los Angeles Induction Center was the target of a bombing attack. Extensive damage was done to the exterior of the building by 2 pipe bombs, 1 of which did not explode; no injuries were reported.
May 27, Oxford, N.C.....	IBI	A \$1,000,000 fire caused by firebombs destroyed 2 tobacco warehouses.
May 28, Phoenix, Ariz.....	BA	A 1-pound block of TNT was found on the engine of a U.S. Department of Labor bus used to haul members of a Government training program. The bomb was apparently wired incorrectly to the ignition.
May 28, Philadelphia, Pa.....		A 15-year-old pupil of West Catholic High School for boys was arrested for making what police described as homemade bombs. Police found a container of black smokeless powder, 3 coils of waterproof fuse, each 3 yards long and 25 tubes each containing a .22 caliber bullet concealed at his uncle's house. Police searched his locker at high school and found an 18-inch-long, 3/4-inch wide galvanized pipe filled with black powder and capped at both ends, and 5 small carbon dioxide cartridges filled with black powder with fuses attached.
May 28, Long Beach, Calif.....	EBI	A small homemade bomb exploded in a basement corridor of a faculty office building on the California State campus causing an estimated \$100 damage. No injuries.
May 28, Fullerton, Calif.....	IBI	In the early morning hours, a temporary building at Fullerton State College was destroyed by a firebomb. Damage estimated at \$27,000.
May 28, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	Pipe bomb exploded in the rear of a lecture hall at Rockefeller University.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
MAY 1970—Continued		
May 29, Charles City, Iowa	EBI	A homemade explosive device blasted out a window at the home of Charles City High School track coach, scattering broken glass throughout the living room.
May 29, Cleveland, Ohio	EBI	A series of 6 dynamite bomb explosions, timed to go off in quick sequence, ravaged a Garfield Heights Truck Co. Yard, wrecking 6 trucks. The blasts occurred at the C. & K. Trucking Co., 8001 Old Granger Rd. Damage to the trucks was estimated at about \$150,000.
May 29, Oakland, Calif.	EBI	A pipe bomb exploded on the front porch of the family of the deceased former chief of police, Oakland.
May 29, St. Louis, Mo.	BA	A bomb was placed on window sill of residence of St. Louis County circuit judge. Rain put out the fuse.
May 30, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded at the site of World Trade Center in lower Manhattan causing an estimated \$3,000 damage to a construction company office trailer. Blueprints and other records were destroyed.
May 30, St. Louis, Mo.	EBI	An explosive was hurled through the front window of a local tavern at 2900 Chippewa St. The explosive blew out 3 windows and left 2 small holes in the floor.
May 30, Trona, Calif.	EBI	A home located at 12243 E St., Argus, was almost totally destroyed by a dynamite blast.
Do.	EBI	An explosive device was set off at 13838 Fremont St., Pioneer Point, damaging a storage area adjacent to the house and breaking out several windows.
May 31, Terry, Mont.	EBI	An accidental explosion mutilated the hands of a 16-year-old boy. He was injured when a homemade bomb apparently exploded in his hands as he and friends were playing.
May 31, Alexandria, Va.	BA	Incendiary device hurled at Alexandria Lighting & Supply Inc., 701 North Henry; but failed to ignite.
Do.	IBI	Incendiary device caused extensive damage at historic Hallowell House, 501 North Washington St. No injuries. Damage to house estimated \$65,000, but could run as high as \$200,000 because antiques were destroyed.
Do.	IBI	A firebomb was pitched through window of Virginia Alcoholic Beverage Control outlet at 1319 King St.
Do.	IBI	Incendiary device hurled into yard at rear of 608 North Washington Street.
Do.	BA	Incendiary device hurled at Alexandria Lumber Corp. South Patrick and Wilkes Streets but failed to ignite.
JUNE 1970		
June 1, Alexandria, Va.	IBI	Firebomb was thrown at a 7-Eleven store, West Glebe Rd. and Commonwealth Ave.
Do.	IBI	2 cars set ablaze in the 900 and 1000 blocks of Princess St. by Molotov cocktails. Both were destroyed.
June 1, Batesville Ark.	EBI	A dynamite explosion blasted a grocery store located about 7 miles northwest of Batesville. Damage estimated at \$700 to \$1,000.
June 1, Philadelphia, Pa.	IBI BA	An incendiary device exploded under a pew in the meeting room of the Historic Friend's Meeting House. Police found 3 other incendiary devices placed at strategic locations throughout the building.
June 2, Baton Rouge, La.	EBI	An explosive device detonated under a Gulf States Utilities Co. transformer causing an estimated \$40,000 damage and disrupting electrical service in the Feliciana area.
June 2, Joliet, Ill.	EBI	A dynamite bomb exploded when State Representative William C. Barr turned on the ignition key in his late-model Cadillac. Barr was reported in satisfactory condition at St. Joseph Hospital where his right leg was amputated above the knee by surgeons shortly after the bombing.
June 2, Alexandria, Va.	IBI	Firebomb was hurled through window of Rosemont Park Market, 2 East Walnut St. Blaze caused extensive damage; no injuries.
Do.	IBI	A firebomb thrown through the window at 7-Eleven store at Duke and Cambridge Sts. caused heavy damage.
June 3, Alexandria, Va.	IBI	5 firebombings: (1) Fire gutted 100-year-old carriage house; (2) extensive damage at Manhattan Laundry, 413 North Alfred; (3) extensive damage at Scientific Products Corp., 1108 Oronoco; (4) light damage at Virginia Motel, 100 North Washington St; (5) light damage at residence, Cameron and West Sts.
June 2, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A pipe bomb exploded at LaStella Restaurant in Queens causing extensive damage.
June 2, Edison, N.J.	EBI	Homemade bomb exploded in a cigarette urn in the Menlo Park Shopping Center Mall and put a hole in the ceiling 25 ft. overhead.
June 4, Oakland, Calif.	EBI	Two officers investigating pool hall disturbance heard loud explosion, returned to see their police car engulfed in flames from pipe bomb explosion.
June 5, Los Angeles, Calif.	EBI	An explosion and fire at the ROTC facility on the University of California campus in Los Angeles caused about \$10,000 in damages.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS,  
IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of incident	Legend
JUNE 1970—Continued		
June 5, Los Angeles, Calif.	IBI	A fire at a Bank of America branch in East Los Angeles was touched off by firebombs. A junior high school near the bank was damaged in a blaze less than 25 minutes after the bank fire. Damage to the bank is estimated at \$25,000 and to the school at \$50,000.
June 7, Los Angeles, Calif.	EBI	The bombing of the Firestone Park Station was caused by military-type grenades. There were no injuries but 5 squad cars were damaged. Damage estimated at \$5,000.
June 7, New York, N.Y.	IBI	Firebomb was placed in a Woolworth store, 44th and Broadway, Manhattan. Damage estimated at \$100,000 to \$200,000.
June 7, Bloomfield Township, Mich.	EBI	Dynamite exploded in the window of Toy Town at Miracle Mile Shopping Center blowing out the glass storefront and shattering display cases.
June 8, Oakland, Calif.	EBI	An armed forces patrol car was damaged by a bomb in Oakland. The bomb consisted of 2 sections of pipe filled with black powder and tacks and tied to a bottle of gasoline. No injuries.
June 8, Chicago, Ill.	EBI	A grenade-type device blew out the windows of the National Socialist White People's Party headquarters. No injuries.
June 9, New York, N.Y.	EBI	A tremendous explosion rocked police headquarters at 240 Centre St. heavily damaging the 2d floor of the 5-story building. At least 4 officers and 4 other persons were injured. The explosion demolished several offices including 4 rooms occupied by the deputy commissioner in charge of administration, blew out many windows and smashed walls in Centre Market Place Nos. 3, 4 and 5 and wrecked 2 cars parked in front of No. 4.
June 9, Stratford, N.J.	IBI	Fire caused by a Molotov cocktail destroyed the Stratford Police Station. 6,000 records were lost. Estimated damage \$35,000.
June 10, Stratford, N.J.	IBI	Police sergeant's garage was firebombed.
June 11, Omaha, Nebr.	EBI	A dynamite explosion ripped a 4-ft. hole in a corner of the Omaha Police Department's North Assembly Bldg. shattering several windows, damaging the ceiling of a room, and blowing out windows of a bus parked outside the building. No injuries were reported.
June 11, Los Angeles, Calif.	EBI	A homemade pipe bomb caused an estimated \$2,000 damage to an annex-type trailer located at the Central Ave. branch of the department of public social services.
June 12, Fresno, Calif.		Police carted boxes of landmines, grenades, machineguns, mortars, pistols, knives, dynamite, and narcotics out of the house of William E. Thoresen III, steel heir, who was found shot to death.
June 12, Des Moines, Iowa	EBI	An explosion damaged a community cultural center operated by a nationalist organization, "US." No injuries and damage was \$1,000.
June 12, Cairo, Ill.	BA	A box which was placed outside a door at Alexander County Courthouse contained a bomb. Police disarmed the bomb and found 7 sticks of dynamite.
June 13, Kansas City, Kans.	EBI	2 bombs exploded outside a Kansas City bank blowing out 3 windows and causing minor damage. No injuries.
June 13, Des Moines, Iowa	EBI	A dynamite explosion ripped through the Greater Des Moines Chamber of Commerce building causing an estimated \$75,000 damage. The blast blew out approximately 275 windows in surrounding buildings. Damage to surrounding property was estimated at \$25,000.
June 14, Venice, Ill.	EBI	2 men were seriously injured when bomb exploded in an apartment. Charges were filed against 1 of the men for illegal possession of dynamite.
June 15, Manhattan Beach, Calif.	EBI	Manhattan Beach's joint police and fire station received minor damage when a ring of crude bombs exploded around the building. There were no injuries.
June 16, San Francisco, Calif.	IBI	The California State garage at Golden and Larkin Sts. was firebombed during the early morning hours.
June 16, Elizabeth, N.J.	IBI	4 firebombings: (a) Mother and son injured and their home wrecked; (b) 1-story brick structure used as a wholesale grocery store; (c) Loyal Dog Academy, 507 Newport Rd., slightly damaged; (d) Candy store, 501 Court St., superficial damage.
June 17, Smeryville, Calif.	EBI	During the early morning hours, homemade pipe bombs exploded at a diner and 3 persons were slightly injured. The bombing was an attack against police department personnel. Local officers frequent the location at approximately 2400 hours each night.
June 18, New York, N.Y.	IBI BA	3 firebombs were set off near New York University early today and a 4th was found unexploded under a car in East Village.
June 18, Elizabeth, N.J.	IBI	2 Molotov cocktails were tossed through window of synagogue, Temple B'nai Israel.
June 18, New York, N.Y.	IBI	A firetruck was firebombed while firemen were battling a 2-alarm apartment blaze at 8 and 10 Ave. B. 1 fireman injured and another stricken with heart attack while fighting incendiary device in the firetruck.
June 19	EBI	Bombs exploded at 2 branches of the Bank of America. Windows shattered but little structural damage.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF BOMBINGS, BOTH EXPLOSIVE AND INCENDIARY, AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS, IN THE UNITED STATES, JAN. 1, 1969-JULY 9, 1970—Continued

Date and place	Type of Incident	Legend
JUNE 1970—Continued		
June 21, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	IBI	Firebombing and rock throwing swept the predominantly Negro Manchester district after a 12-year-old Negro boy was shot to death. An ice cream plant went up in flames, but the blaze was contained after 2 hours.
June 25, San Francisco, Calif.....	BA	A dynamite bomb was discovered at the door of the U.S. Army Recruiting Station.
June 26, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	A Molotov cocktail was thrown into a bread truck at 470 Par Ave., seriously burning the driver.
June 27, Berkeley, Calif.....	BA	A bomb was found on the window sill of a bank which had failed to detonate.
June 28, Washington, D.C.....	IBI	2 empty D.C. Transit buses were destroyed by firebombs early yesterday at the company's garage. Damage estimated at \$50,000. A D.C. Transit official said that another bus had been similarly damaged at the garage within the past month.
June 29, Des Moines, Iowa.....	EBI	Explosion damages Harvey Ingham Hall of Science at Drake University; no injuries. 15 to 20 pounds of high power dynamite was used. Damage might reach \$250,000.
June 30, Fairfax County, Va.....	IBI	A meat store was firebombed causing an estimated \$20,000 in damages.
June 30, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	Fires touched off by incendiary devices erupted in 3 F. W. Woolworth department stores in Manhattan. No injuries were reported.
June 30, Oakland, Calif.....	IBI	Firebombs touched off a 4-alarm fire which damaged a hotel, 2 abandoned buildings and a church. No injuries were reported.
June 30, Washington, D.C.....	EBI	A pipe bomb was thrown into the Inter-American Defense Board Bldg., 2600 16th St., NW.
JULY 1970		
July 1, Berkeley, Calif.....	EBI	A bomb explosion and fire damaged part of the University of California's Center for East Asian Studies on the Berkeley campus.
July 1, Washington, D.C.....	IBI	Fire bombs caused damage at 4 Latin American Embassies in Washington, D.C. No injuries reported.
July 2, Compton, Calif.....	EBI	A Negro male was killed when a bomb which he was attempting to set off at the Compton Police Station exploded prematurely.
July 3, New York, N.Y.....	BA	Police found a bomb outside the door of State Supreme Court Justice Jawn A. Sandifer's 5th Ave. apartment.
July 4, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	A firebomb was tossed into an Army truck at Fort Hamilton.
Do.....	IBI	A Molotov cocktail was thrown against the front door of Barclays Bank, Ltd., 300 Park Ave.
July 4, Longview, Tex.....	EBI	Plastic dynamite explosions damaged the Longview School District's entire fleet of 36 buses.
July 4, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	A firebomb was thrown at the entrance door of the British Overseas Corp.'s ticket office at 530 5th Ave.
July 4, Akron, Ohio.....	EBI	A pipe bomb explosion damaged the home of the Akron Beacon Journal executive editor and publisher.
July 5, New York, N.Y.....	IBI	A firebomb was hurled through an open window of an apartment at 189 Ross St.
Do.....	BA	10 Molotov cocktails were found under the gas tanks of 5 patrol cars in the parking lot at the police station in Queens.
July 7, New York, N.Y.....	EBI	Homemade bombs were planted near 3 foreign nations offices. 1 bomb exploded and slightly injured 3 persons.
Do.....	EBI	An explosive device exploded at the old world fair's grounds.
July 7-8, Berkeley, Calif.....	IBI	5 firebombs exploded near the University of California campus. Police officers confiscated 30 firebombs and arrested 5 people.
July 8, Los Angeles, Calif.....	EBI	A bomb exploded at a private home in the El Sereno section. A pickup truck was destroyed and the home was extensively damaged.
July 8, Petaluma, Calif.....	IBI	A firebomb was thrown into the home of a printer for the strike bound San Rafael Independent-Journal.
July 8, Alexandria, Va.....	EBI	A youth was injured when a homemade pipe bomb which he was making exploded prematurely.
July 8, Arlington, Va.....	EBI	2 youths were injured when a steel pipe stuffed with match heads exploded prematurely.
July 9, Washington, D.C.....	IBI	A firebomb was thrown through the window of the Omega Restaurant at 1856 Columbia Rd. NW.
July 9, Oneonta, Ala.....	EBI	A dynamite warehouse was sabotaged by an explosion that touched off 2,000 cases of dynamite. The explosion smashed windows within an 8-mile radius.

<sup>1</sup> EBI—Explosive bombing incidents include those which involve the use of dynamite, grenades, pipe bombs, and other explosive-type devices.

<sup>2</sup> BA—Bombing attempts include those incidents where an explosive or incendiary device failed to ignite, where the explosive or incendiary device missed the target and exploded without harm, or where the saboteur was caught planting an explosive or incendiary device.

<sup>3</sup> IBI—Incendiary bombing incidents include those which involve the use of firebombs, gasoline bombs, Molotov cocktails, and other incendiary-type devices. They also include a few incidents of fires involving arson caused by probable firebombing.

Note.—This chronology also includes several incidents not identified by corresponding symbols. These incidents involve illegal possession and storage of explosive materials, illegal construction of explosive devices, and the purchase and transportation of explosive materials for illegal purposes where such information was available.

## EXHIBIT No. S26

(Staff study of thefts of dynamite and other explosive materials in the United States, January 1, 1969-June 1, 1970)

## INTRODUCTION

The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations has been engaged since August 1967 in the investigation of riots and civil and criminal disorders in the United States and the commission of crimes in connection therewith, and is to report to the Congress measures necessary for the prevention of such disorders.

In the performance of this obligation, under the resolutions authorizing this investigation, the Subcommittee staff has compiled a chronological study of the thefts of explosive materials in the United States which occurred during the period January 1, 1969 to June 1, 1970.

The study was compiled, for the most part, from readily available public source material and from theft reports issued by manufacturers of explosives to the Institute of the Makers of Explosives in New York City. This study should not be construed, therefore, as a complete listing of every theft of explosive materials that has occurred in the United States during the period covered.

This study was prepared under the direction of Philip R. Manuel, Staff Investigator, assisted by Daniel C. Harris, Jerry J. Perry, and John J. Klotz of the U.S. General Accounting Office.

JEROME S. ADLERMAN, *General Counsel.*

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THEFTS OF DYNAMITE AND OTHER EXPLOSIVE MATERIALS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR CALENDAR YEAR 1969 AND CALENDAR YEAR 1970 TO JUNE 9, BY MONTH AND TYPE OF EXPLOSIVE MATERIAL

Calendar year	Total thefts	Explosives (pounds)	Blasting caps (number)	Detonating cord and fuse wire (feet)
<b>Calendar year 1969:</b>				
January.....	3	1,350	220	5,000
February.....	2	400	120	44,000
March.....	1	-----	11,000	-----
April.....	8	110	10,582	-----
May.....	2	-----	7,000	8,000
June.....	4	275	140	-----
July.....	7	3,055	16,200	11,000
August.....	8	435	2,950	1,500
September.....	5	660	2,700	-----
October.....	6	3,650	3,105	9,250
November.....	5	1,006	128	2,490
December.....	4	1,440	7,910	-----
Calendar year 1969 total.....	55	12,381	61,155	81,240
<b>Calendar year 1970:</b>				
January.....	6	5,814	4,129	14,000
February.....	7	2,550	17,260	2,000
March.....	4	700	7,020	-----
April.....	10	2,825	554	3,500
May.....	5	7,100	3,900	800
Calendar year 1970 total.....	32	18,989	32,863	20,300
Calendar years 1969-70 total.....	87	31,370	94,018	101,540

<sup>1</sup> Total thefts include several incidents where the amount of explosive material stolen was unknown or could not be estimated.

Note.—During the period covered the following miscellaneous items were also stolen: 1 thermo coupler; 3 galvanometers; 304 M-14 antipersonnel mines; 50 conductors; 350 connectors; 12 boosters; 7,500 miners safety squibs; and 14 1-pound spools of connecting wire.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF THEFTS OF DYNAMITE AND OTHER EXPLOSIVE MATERIALS IN THE UNITED STATES  
JAN. 1, 1969-JUNE 1, 1970

Date	Place	Legend
Jan. 1, 1969	Jumbo, Okla.....	An estimated 45 cases of dynamite were taken from a construction site along the Indian Nations Turnpike.
Jan. 19, 1969	Taylor, Pa.....	The following items were taken from the cap and powder magazines of the Marona Construction Co.: 2 cases Gelex; 10 Petron primers; 110 RM caps; 1 thermo coupler.
Jan. 25, 1969	Nearman, Kans.....	Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc., reported 100 electric blasting caps and 5,000 ft. of fuse stolen from a customer's magazine.
Feb. 2, 1969	Tijeras, N. Mex.....	Wayne A. Lowdenmilk, Inc., reported the theft of 5 cases of dynamite and 120 electric blasting caps from a construction project on Highway 10.
Do.....	Foursoam, Ky.....	Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc., reported the theft of 3 cases of coalite, and 44 cartons (44,000 ft.) of prima cord from a customer's magazine.
Mar. 26, 1969	Evans City, Pa.....	The Austin Powder Co., reported the theft of 11,000 blasting caps from a customer's magazine.
Apr. 1, 1969	Burkeville, Va.....	The Burkeville Stone Co., reported the theft of 50 lbs. of powder primer, 100 fuse caps, and 20 electric blasting caps.
Apr. 3, 1969	Berlin, Pa.....	The American Cyanamid Co., reported approximately 1,750 electric blasting caps missing from a customer's magazine in Brothers Valley Township.
Apr. 6, 1969	Louisville, Ky.....	The following items were reported missing from a magazine in Pleasure Ridge Park: 400 blasting caps; 2,050 electric blasting caps; 1,000 MKV acudet; 50 talless conductors.
Apr. 10, 1969	Raymond, Wash.....	The U.S. Powder, Division of Commercial Solvents Corp., reported the theft of 4,000 fuse caps and 300 electric blasting caps.
Apr. 20, 1969	Casper, Wyo.....	Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc. reported the theft of 10 pounds Petrogel L from a customer's magazine.
Apr. 25, 1969	Ankeny, Iowa.....	A case of dynamite (42 sticks) was stolen from a building supply company.
Apr. 27, 1969	North Tonawanda, N.Y.....	The Wurlitzer Co. reported 162 dynamite caps missing from their storage yard on Niagara Falls Blvd.
Apr. 29, 1969	Yonkers, N.Y.....	1,000 electric blasting caps were stolen from a construction site on Central Park Ave.
May 1, 1969	Clarksburg, W. Va.....	The National Powder Co. reported the theft of 7,000 electric blasting caps from a cap magazine on R.D. No. 3.
May 18, 1969	Granite County, Mont.....	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 8,000 feet E-cord and small amount of Gelex from a customer's magazine on Echo Lane Rd.
June 17, 1969	Oswego, N.Y.....	The Ballard Construction Co. reported 20 sticks of dynamite missing from a storage shed on East 12th St.
June 18, 1969	Fort Smith, Ark.....	The Deupree Distributing Co. reported the theft of 20 blasting caps and 20 electric blasting caps.
June 26, 1969	Eveleth, Minn.....	2 cases of dynamite and 2 cases of blasting caps were stolen from a construction site on Highway 53.
June 29, 1969	Prince, Utah.....	Hercules, Inc. reported the theft of 150 pounds of dynamite.
July 3, 1969	Flagstaff, Ariz.....	50 cases of dynamite were stolen from construction sites near Flagstaff.
July 7, 1969	Bronx, N.Y.....	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 150 lbs. of Gelex and 100 electric blasting caps from a customer's magazine located on Zenega Ave.
July 16, 1969	Mono County, Calif.....	100 dynamite caps were stolen from a magazine located at a June Mount Resort area.
July 16, 1969	Pittsburgh, Pa.....	A dynamite cache was stolen from a worker's shack at the Glenwood Bridge in the Hazelwood area.
July 23, 1969	Salem, Mass.....	The Austin Powder Co. reported the theft of the following materials from a customer's magazine: 100 pounds—Gelatin; 200 pounds—Ammonia Nitrate mixed; 51 pounds—TNT cast primers.
July 25, 1969	Hazard, Ky.....	The U.S. Army reported the theft of 11,000 ft. of detonation cord and 16,000 blasting caps from an Army Corps of Engineers project.
July 29, 1969	Dalles, Oreg.....	The Cody Logging Co. reported 2 cases of dynamite missing from a storage shed.
Aug. 8, 1969	Springfield, Ill.....	The DuPont Co. reported the following items stolen from one of their distributor-operators: 5 cases (250 pounds) dynamite; 800 blasting caps; 600 electric blasting caps; 1,000 feet primacord.
Aug. 13, 1969	Lima, Ohio.....	90 sticks of dynamite were stolen from a local construction site.
Do.....	New Lexington, Ohio.....	Approximately 1,500 blasting caps were taken from the Monsanto Company Building at Rehoboth.
Aug. 21, 1969	Fowlerville, Mich.....	Approximately 35 lbs. of dangerous high explosives were stolen from a drilling truck parked at the Fowlerville fairgrounds.
Do.....	Montesano, Wash.....	Dynamite caps and wire were stolen from the Mike Hagara Construction Co. near Newskah.
Aug. 23, 1969	Steubenville, Ohio.....	The Hanna Coal Co. reported 50 electric blasting caps and 500 ft. of primer cord missing from mine No. 22 at West Farms.
Aug. 27, 1969	Huerfano County, Colo.....	A DuPont Co. distributor reported the theft of 50 lbs. of Monobil A.A.
Aug. 29, 1969	Gary, Ind.....	Several pounds of gunpowder and 304 M-14 antipersonal mines were stolen from a test range operated by Illinois Institute of Technology Research Institute.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF THEFTS OF DYNAMITE AND OTHER EXPLOSIVE MATERIALS IN THE UNITED STATES,  
JAN. 1, 1969-JUNE 1, 1970—Continued

Date	Place	Legend
Sept. 3, 1969	Mulberry, Fla.....	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 400 lbs. of dynamite and 1,450 electric blasting caps from a customer's magazine.
Sept. 18, 1969	Falls Village, Conn.....	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 250 sticks (approximately 80 pounds) of dynamite and assorted blasting supplies.
Sept. 23, 1969	Herriman, Utah.....	Approximately 28 sticks of dynamite were stolen from a locked shed owned by American Fork Contractors.
Sept. 29, 1969	Reeasport, Oreg.....	Approximately 150 sticks of dynamite and 5 cartons of electric blasting caps were taken from an International Paper Co. logging operation near Gardiner.
Sept. 29, 1969	Bates City, Mo.....	The Dieta Hill Development Co. reported the theft of 1,000 electric blasting caps from their quarry.
Oct. 3, 1969	Tacoma, Wash.....	The W. S. Walter Co. reported the theft of 21 cases of dynamite and 4 cases of primer cord.
Oct. 7, 1969	Las Vegas, Nev.....	Twenty cases of dynamite and 115 detonators were stolen from a magazine near Overton.
Oct. 7, 1969	Mahanoy City, Pa.....	The Meadows Coal Co. near Shepton reported the following explosives missing from a coal stripping area: 10 bags (500 pounds) pellite; 8 cases dynamite.
Oct. 8, 1969	Mount Vernon, Washington.....	600 pounds of dynamite, 40 blasting caps, numerous fuses, and 2,000 ft. of fuse wire were stolen from a talc mine at Marblemount in Skagit County.
Oct. 21, 1969	Golden, Colo.....	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 100 pounds of Gelex and 3,000 feet of E-cord from a customer's magazine.
Oct. 22, 1969	Powell, Tenn.....	The DuPont Co. reported the following items stolen from a customer's magazine located near Powell: 2,950 electric blasting caps; 1 blasting galvanometer; 250 feet lead wire.
Nov. 3, 1969	Cary, N.C.....	The DuPont Co. reported 5 cases of Gelex taken from a customer's trailer magazine.
Nov. 6, 1969	Gettysburg, Pa.....	The Austin Powder Co. reported 4 cases (200 pounds) of Extra Gelatin taken from a customer's trailer magazine.
Nov. 10, 1969	Edwards Air Force Base, Calif.....	A bunker located on the installation was forcibly entered and the following materials removed: 132 lbs.—plastic explosives; 74 lbs.—dynamite; 450 ft.—safety fuse; 18—blasting caps; 20—electric blasting caps; 1,800 ft.—detonating cord.
Nov. 10, 1969	Miami, Fla.....	E. & T., Inc. had 7 cases (350 lbs.) of powder primer taken from a magazine.
Nov. 23, 1969	Yuma, Ariz.....	The following items were stolen from a portable box magazine at a road construction site: 90—blasting caps; 200 ft.—primex economy cord; 40 ft.—safety fuse.
Dec. 21, 1969	Katonah, N.Y.....	The DuPont Co. reported the following items taken from a distributor's powder and cap magazines along route 22: 50 lbs.—dynamite; 1 case—blasting caps.
Dec. 22, 1969	Sayre, Ala.....	The Republic Steel Corp. reported 5,500 coal mine blasting caps taken from a magazine.
Dec. 24, 1969	West Hartford, Conn.....	The West Hartford Water Dept. reported 21 sticks of dynamite missing from their building on Farmington Ave.
Dec. 31, 1969	Columbus, Ohio.....	The Vulcan Materials Co. reported the following items stolen from their dynamite and cap magazines: 700 lbs.—special gelatin; 165 lbs.—pourvex extra; 250 lbs.—pourvex primers; 1460—electric blasting caps.
Jan. 1, 1970	Newport, Vt.....	The DuPont Co. reported 7 cases of dynamite and 7 cases of Gelex stolen from a customer's magazine.
Jan. 6, 1970	Kingman, Ariz.....	The Apache Powder Co. reported the following items stolen from a customer's cap and powder magazines southeast of Kingman: 150—electric blasting caps; 1000 ft.—primex detonating cord; 50 lbs.—Amogel.
Jan. 12, 1970	San Francisco, Calif.....	Persons unknown entered a bunker at Fort Cronkhite and removed approximately 32 lbs. of explosives, including electrical blasting caps and hand grenade detonators.
Jan. 15, 1970	Medford, Oreg.....	Hercules, Inc. reported the theft of 40 electric blasting caps.
Jan. 19, 1970	Oneonta, Ala.....	Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc. reported the theft of the following items from a customer's magazine: 39 boosters; 1,200 lbs. H.E.; 1,000 blasting caps; 550 electric blasting caps; 350 connectors; 100 ft. fuse.
Jan. 24, 1970	Mineral Wells, Tex.....	The DuPont Co. reported the following items taken from 3 magazines owned by a customer: 10,000 ft. E cord; 2,000 primacord; 4 drums (400 lbs.) RDX; 2,350 electric blasting caps; 2,632 Fourvex Extra; 700 lbs. RCX; 100 lbs. HlVal.
Feb. 2, 1970	Denver, Colo.....	The DuPont Co. reported the following items stolen from a customer's cap and powder magazines located along U.S. 40: 4 cases (200 lbs.) Gelex; 2 cases (2,000 ft.) E Cord; 2 cases (100) electric blasting caps.
Feb. 14, 1970	Littleton, Colo.....	Torpedo-type explosive devices were stolen from a Sante Fe Railroad tool shed.
Feb. 19, 1970	Las Vegas, Nev.....	Hercules, Inc. reported the theft of 100 lbs. of dynamite and 12,350 blasting caps.
Feb. 21, 1970	Raleigh, N.C.....	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 2 cases of Gelex from a customer's dynamite magazine.
Feb. 23, 1970	Marion, Ill.....	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 2,000 lbs. of Pellite from a customer's trailer magazine.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF THEFTS OF DYNAMITE AND OTHER EXPLOSIVE MATERIALS IN THE UNITED STATES,  
JAN. 1, 1969-JUNE 1, 1970—Continued

Date	Place	Legend
Feb. 24, 1970	Salt Lake City, Utah	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 1 case (50 lbs.) Gelex from a customer's magazine located 14 miles West of Salt Lake City.
Feb. 28, 1970	Marion, Ill.	Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc. reported the following items stolen from two magazines owned by a customer: 4,700 blasting caps; 310 electric blasting caps; 14 (1 lb.) spools connecting wire; 100 lbs. Aquaram.
Mar. 9, 1970	North East, Md.	Ordinance Products, Inc., reported 7 cartons (7,000) blasting caps stolen from a magazine.
Mar. 16, 1970	Beulah, Mich.	Several high explosive capsules and about 15-20 blasting caps were stolen from an oil company truck box.
Mar. 23, 1970	Almont, Pa.	American Cyanamid reported the theft of 500 pounds of gelatin from a customer's magazine.
Mar. 25, 1970	Bauxite, Ark.	The DuPont Co. reported the theft of 200 pounds of E1-785A1 from a distributor's magazine.
Apr. 2, 1970	St. Elmo, Ill.	The following items were stolen from a magazine located at Winter's stone quarry: 2 cases Trojan U.S. Powder; 3 cases Gelex; 2 rolls (100 feet) primacord; 1 galvanometer.
Apr. 5, 1970	Berkeley, Calif.	Approximately 500 pounds of dynamite were stolen from an American Smelting & Refining Co. facility in the Berkeley area.
Apr. 5, 1970	Ventura, Calif.	The following amount of explosives and detonating devices were reported stolen from the California Drilling & Blasting Co.: 5 cases (615 sticks) Hercimite; 2 cases Gellomite; 2,000 feet fuse; 5 partial rows detonating fuses; 100 feet blasting wire; 1 blasting machine.
Apr. 5, 1970	Wellington, Colo.	The Western Geophysical Co. reported 55 pounds of Hi-Vel (plastic) and 10 electric blasting caps stolen from a magazine and a truck located 5 miles north of Wellington.
Apr. 6-7, 1970	Camarillo, Calif.	The following explosives and detonating devices were reported stolen from L. S. Hawley Corp.: 6 cases (300 pounds) dynamite; 2 cases (200 feet) detonating cord; 1 case safety fuse; 1 case delay fuse; 1 box (500) fuse caps; 50 blasting caps.
Apr. 11, 1970	Selby, Calif.	The American Smelting & Refining Co. reported the following items stolen from a magazine: 6½ cases (325 pounds) gelatin; 3 cases (150 pounds) Hercules powder.
Apr. 13, 1970	Crockett, Calif.	Three cases of dynamite reported missing from a smelting and refining plant.
Apr. 20, 1970	Anchorage, Alaska	The Yukon Equipment Co. reported two separate thefts along the Alaska railroad: Theft No. 1, 10 blasting caps; 34 electric blasting caps. Theft No. 2, 10 cases Gelex; 4 cases dynamite; 12 boosters.
Apr. 21, 1970	Eagle River, Alaska	The Alaskan Railroad reported that an unknown quantity of amodyte and less than a case of Gelex was stolen from a magazine.
Apr. 23, 1970	Niagara Falls, N.Y.	An individual found 17 sticks of dynamite owned by the Amherst Sanitary Land Fill, Inc., abandoned behind his home. The explosives were stolen from a magazine at the convention center construction site.
May 4, 1970	Bethesda, Md.	Approximately 4,250 pounds of dynamite and 3,200 blasting caps were taken from a stone quarry near Bethesda.
May 5, 1970	Fort Edward, N.Y.	The Newton & Hill Corp. reported the theft of 35 cases (1,750 pounds) of dynamite from a storage magazine.
Do.	Des Moines, Iowa	The Quick Supply Co. reported the theft of 1,000 pounds of dynamite and 700 electric blasting caps from a trailer magazine.
May 14, 1970	Fairhaven, Mass.	The Campanella Corp. reported the theft of 100 pounds of Gelex.
May 23, 1970	Phillipsburg, Pa.	The Austin Powder Co. reported the theft of 75 cases (7,500) miners safety squibbs and 800 feet of safety fuse from a customer's magazine.

## EXHIBIT No. S27

(Staff study of terroristic attacks against law enforcement facilities and officials in the the United States, CY's 1968, 1969, and 1970 to July 1)

## INTRODUCTION

The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations has been engaged since August 1967 in the investigation of riots and civil and criminal disorders in the United States and the commission of crimes in connection therewith, and is to report to the Congress measures necessary for the prevention of such disorders.

In the performance of this obligation, under the resolution authorizing this investigation, the Subcommittee staff has compiled a chronological study of assaults on law enforcement facilities and officials in the United States which occurred during CY's 1968, 1969, and 1970 to July 1.

This study was compiled, for the most part, from information supplied by various law enforcement agencies both Federal and local. The study should not be construed, therefore, as a complete listing of every assault on law enforcement facilities and officials that has occurred in the United States during the period covered.

It should be noted that the study was intended to include only terrorist acts and that those injuries and deaths to law enforcement officials which resulted from the ordinary course of duty were not included.

This study was prepared under the direction of Philip R. Manuel, Staff Investigator, assisted by Daniel C. Harris, Jerry J. Perry, and John J. Klotz of the U.S. General Accounting Office.

JEROME S. ADLERMAN, *General Counsel.*

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THE CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970, TO JULY 1—BY STATE AND TYPE OF ASSAULT

State	Total assaults	Explosive bombing attacks	Incendiary bombing attacks	Bombing attempts	Ambushes and snipings	Demonstrations, riots, and disturbances
Arizona	1				1	
Arkansas	5		1		3	1
California	70	16	2	3	33	16
Colorado	17	5	3	1	5	3
Connecticut	6	2	1		2	1
Delaware	3				1	2
District of Columbia	2					2
Florida	22		1		18	3
Georgia	2				2	
Illinois	60	2	4	1	45	8
Indiana	4				4	
Iowa	5	2	1		2	
Kansas	3		1		2	
Kentucky	4	2		1	1	1
Louisiana	4				3	1
Maryland	4		1		1	2
Massachusetts	2	1			1	
Michigan	16		1	2	10	3
Minnesota	3				3	
Mississippi	2				2	
Missouri	17	1	2		14	
Montana	1	1				
Nebraska	2	1			1	
Nevada	1				1	
New Jersey	13	1	2	2	6	2
New York	22	3	2	2	10	5
North Carolina	10				9	1
Ohio	10	2	1		6	1
Oregon	5				3	2
Pennsylvania	14	1	1	1	8	3
South Carolina	2				1	1
Tennessee	3				3	
Texas	4			1	1	2
Utah	1		1			
Virginia	6		1		5	
Washington	12		1		9	2
Wisconsin	1					1
Total	1,359	40	27	14	216	62

<sup>1</sup> The 359 total assaults on police officers resulted in 326 injuries to police officers, and 23 deaths of police officers.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS IN THE UNITED STATES, CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970 TO JULY 1

Date	Place	Legend
Arizona: May 31, 1969	Phoenix	4 policemen shot during disturbance; injuries minor.
Arkansas:		
Apr. 5, 1968	Pine Bluff	Sniping at police officers; no injuries.
Apr. 7, 1968	Malvern	A sniper fired at .38-caliber pistol into police car.
Aug. 9, 1968	Little Rock	1 policeman injured by rock; 1 National Guardsman shot by sniper; 1 civilian injured.
Aug. 12, 1968	do.	Unknown person fires at police car; no injuries.
Do.	West Helena	Home of auxiliary police officer firebombed; minor damage.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970 TO JULY 1—CONTINUED

Date	Place	Legend
California:		
Feb. 19, 1968	San Diego	Police car shot at in southeast area of the city.
Feb. 25, 1968	do.	Do.
Apr. 16, 1968	Pittsburg	During disturbance patrolling sheriffs were fired upon by snipers; sheriff received minor wound.
July 31, 1968	do.	Police car responding to call in El Pueblo housing project met with gunfire and rockthrowing; no injuries to police.
Do.	San Francisco	Hunters Point housing project—police car with 2 members of mayor's crime commission responded to report of fire-bombing; shots fired at the car.
August 1968	Marin City	Substation of sheriff's office hit by rifle fire; no injuries.
Aug. 5, 1968	Los Angeles	Policeman stopped car for wanted check; four Negro male Black Panther Party members opened fire, wounding policeman; policeman returned fire and killed 3 Black Panther Party members.
Aug. 8, 1968	do.	Police trade shots with Black Panther Party members; no injuries.
Aug. 29, 1968	San Francisco	Hunters Point Police Station fired upon from 1 or more of 3 cars driven by Negro youths.
Aug. 30, 1968	Berkeley	5 shots fired; 2 policemen wounded; 10 arrests.
Sept. 9, 1968	Los Angeles	A male suspect shot 3 police officers attempting to apprehend him; 1 officer died and 2 sustained injuries; suspect killed by officers.
Oct. 2, 1968	Oakland	Bomb explodes in restroom of Oakland Police Department; no injuries; damage minor.
Oct. 24, 1968	Marin City	Juveniles observed placing dynamite under sheriff's office substation; dynamite defused before it exploded.
Do.	San Diego	Police car shot at; no injuries.
Oct. 27, 1968	San Francisco	Bomb detonated at Richmond District Police Station; facade of building damaged; no injuries.
Oct. 28, 1968	Oakland	Bomb exploded in parking lot of Highway Patrol; damaged 3 personal cars; no injuries.
Nov. 13, 1968	Berkeley	Policeman wounded by shots fired by Black Panther Party member.
Nov. 19, 1968	San Francisco	3 policemen wounded, 2 critically, in noon shootout with Black Panther Party members identified as fleeing from \$80 gas station robbery.
Jan. 19, 1969	Walnut Creek	Bomb exploded near rear of local police building.
Jan. 30, 1969	San Francisco	San Francisco State College, between 500 and 600 demonstrators threw rocks and bottles at police. No injuries reported, 4 to 7 arrests resulted.
Feb. 4, 1969	Berkeley	Approximately 150 demonstrators attempt to block entrance to University of California, Berkeley. Police attempt to clear entrance and are hit with rocks, sticks, cans, and other flying objects; 12 policemen injured, 15 demonstrators arrested.
Feb. 20, 1969	do.	Demonstrators breaking windows in shops along Bancroft St. 2 police vans overturned. Action resulted in 25 to 30 arrests and 3 policemen hospitalized.
Feb. 27, 1969	do.	Picketing began at the entrance to the campus and California highway patrolmen were required to clear the gates. Officers were subjected to a barrage of rocks. 11 arrests were made during the day.
Mar. 17, 1969	Los Angeles	Police car bombed on parking lot; no injuries.
Mar. 22, 1969	Long Beach	An undercover police panel truck was demolished by a bomb, 23d and Myrtle Sts.
Mar. 25, 1969	do.	A bomb exploded under a patrol car seconds after 2 patrolmen had left the car to make a routine check of a bar.
Apr. 2, 1969	Palm Springs	5 Riverside County sheriff's deputies suffer minor injuries and 1 Palm Springs officer seriously injured while trying to disperse a crowd of hippies.
Apr. 6, 1969	Los Angeles	Officer assaulted with deadly weapon while trying to break up a "love in" in Griffith Park.
Apr. 20, 1969	Venice	Police trying to disperse hippies on Sunset Beach were assaulted with rocks and bottles.
Apr. 28, 1969	San Francisco	Police assaulted when they entered Black Panther Party headquarters in the Fillmore District.
May 1, 1969	do.	1 police officer shot and killed and his partner beaten by 6 youths. Motive or details unknown.
May 11, 1969	San Diego	Angry crowd throws rocks and bottles at police; shot fired at police ambulance.
May 22, 1969	Los Angeles	Homemade pipe bomb thrown on roof of police station; no injuries.
May 24, 1969	San Diego	Crowd of about 10 beat up policeman who was attempting to arrest a speeding suspect in a predominantly Negro area.
June 4, 1969	Santa Ana	Policeman shot and killed while making a routine check of 4 Negro males in a vehicle.
June 15, 1969	Sacramento	Police receive sniper fire following dispersal of Black Panther Party group; 7 police slightly wounded by shotgun pellets.
July 2, 1969	San Rafael	Sheriff's office was target of homemade firebombs made with soda pop bottles.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970 TO JULY 1—CONTINUED

Date	Place	Legend
July 4, 1969	San Francisco	Bomb explodes in front of police station in Mission District; minor damage and no injuries.
July 13, 1969	San Diego	During disturbance snipers fired at police who returned fire killing 1 man.
July 14, 1969	Sacramento	6 or 7 shots fired at police at scene of fire in predominantly Negro area; 3 additional shots later fired at police in same area.
July 25, 1969	Los Angeles	3 police officers questioning 2 persons when a 4th policeman saw 2 persons preparing to fire on policemen. 8 admitted Black Panther Party members arrested for conspiracy to murder 4 Los Angeles police officers.
Aug. 18, 1969	do.	Police officer fatally shot in an attempt to break up gang fight at black housing project.
Sept. 7, 1969	Gardena	Police stopped car containing 3 Black Panther Party members; occupant shot officer in chest; police responding to shots at woman's residence exchanged gunfire with BPP members; 1 officer shot in leg.
Sept. 20, 1969	Riverside	2 policemen attempting to arrest youth for fighting at party attacked by crowd of 300 and severely injured; when disturbance was over 13 policemen injured.
Oct. 1, 1969	San Diego	Rocks are thrown at 2 policemen who were attempting to put out fire of their automobile, by gang of youths.
Oct. 17, 1969	Compton	Police officer shot and wounded by 4 Negro males from their parked car.
Oct. 18, 1969	Los Angeles	2 police officers shot at through the window of their car; one officer was wounded by the shotgun blast.
Oct. 24, 1969	San Diego	When police arrived at a disturbance at a local market, they were fired on.
Dec. 8, 1969	Los Angeles	Police raid Black Panther Party headquarters; 4½-hour gun battle erupts with 3 policemen injured, 1 critically. Three BPP members received minor injuries.
Jan. 1, 1970	San Francisco	A patrolman detailed to Civic Auditorium for James Brown concert became separated from fellow officers; found after concert under attack by Negro males; suffered a broken nose and concussion.
Do.	Los Angeles	Police fired upon from U.S. headquarters; no injuries.
Feb. 13, 1970	Berkeley	Pipe bomb explodes in parking lot at police station injuring 6 officers and wrecking 3 automobiles.
Feb. 16, 1970	San Francisco	Police station near Golden Gate Park bombed; 9 officers injured, 3 seriously; 1 officer later died of injuries received. Major damage to police station; explosive was pipe bomb with staples serving as shrapnel.
Feb. 18, 1970	Vallejo	A booby trap made with a military hand grenade was found wired to a car in the Vallejo Police Department parking lot and was deactivated by a police officer.
Feb. 24-25, 1970	Santa Barbara	A firebomb was thrown under a patrol car heavily damaging it.
Mar. 24, 1970	Richmond	A homemade bomb, planted outside a Richmond police officer's home, blew out the living room window and damaged the walls and furnishings. No injuries.
Apr. 17, 1970	Oakland	An Oakland police van carrying 2 officers and 4 prisoners was ambushed by a group of men armed with fully automatic weapons. Both officers were wounded severely. A chase ensued between police and the assailants. The assailants threw fragmentation grenades at the pursuing police cars heavily damaging them. 2 of the assailants were captured. 1 of them is a captain in the Black Panther Party. His fully automatic weapon used in the ambush was traced. It had been stolen from a bunker at a military reservation.
May 9, 1970	Sacramento	Police officer was critically wounded by sniper fire during evening patrol of the Oak Park section.
May 10, 1970	San Diego	Police vehicle furnishing cover for fire department is target of Molotov cocktail thrown by a group of Negro youths; firebomb misses car; no injuries.
May 25, 1970	San Francisco	Arson fire in a racially mixed neighborhood draws police who are fired upon by 15-20 youths at the scene.
June 4, 1970	Oakland	2 officers investigating a pool hall disturbance, heard loud explosion, return to see their police car engulfed in flames from pipe bomb explosion.
June 7, 1970	Los Angeles	Military grenade thrown into police parking lot; extensive damage to 10 cars; no injuries.
June 8, 1970	Oakland	In the second attack on a police vehicle in 3 days, an armed forces patrol car was damaged by a bomb in Oakland. The bomb consisted of 2 sections of pipe filled with black powder and tacks and tied to a bottle of gasoline. No injuries. An unoccupied Oakland City Police car was destroyed by a similar bomb on June 4.
June 15, 1970	Manhattan Beach	Manhattan Beach's joint police and fire station received minor damage when a ring of crude bombs exploded around the building. There were no injuries.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970 TO JULY 1—CONTINUED

Date	Place	Legend
June 18, 1970	El Monte	1 officer was shot, and is in critical condition following an apparent ambush, while questioning a pedestrian. Another officer who had come to aid the first officer saw an individual lurking behind the officer with a rifle, but was unable to warn the injured officer. The individual with the rifle was identified and was arrested after police found the rifle in his house.
June 19, 1970	San Francisco	Officer shot and killed while sitting in his patrol car.
June 26, 1970	Santa Cruz	14 young people were arrested and 2 officers were hospitalized in a disorder in front of a Santa Cruz bar called the Catalyst. Police were attacked with rocks and bottles by about 300 persons.
June 27, 1970	San Francisco	A wild scuffle broke out between police and a group of students who invaded the Iranian consulate in San Francisco. 4 students and 6 policemen were treated for cuts and bruises.
Colorado:		
July 12, 1968	Denver	Incendiary devices set off at Denver Police garage.
July 20, 1968	do	A policeman responded to an alarm at a store located in a Negro section; after he was fired upon, and wounded, he shot and seriously wounded a youth.
Sept. 13, 1968	do	Police fired upon during disturbance.
Dec. 7, 1968	do	A Negro male was arrested at BPP headquarters for assault on police officer and pointing a rifle at a passing police cruiser.
Mar. 21, 1969	do	Police use CS gas to control crowd after being stoned and shot at; 1 policeman had minor injuries.
June 10, 1969	do	1 stick of dynamite exploded at Denver Police Station; minor damages and no injuries.
June 26, 1969	do	Sniper fired 1 shot at each of 2 police stations; no injuries and damage minor.
July 19, 1969	do	Officer wounded by shotgun blast while seated in patrol car with Negro man who was also wounded; both in satisfactory condition.
Aug. 6, 1969	do	Dynamite explosion at Five Points Substation of Denver Police Department; door destroyed and windows broke for half block; station was unmanned at the time.
Aug. 24, 1969	do	Rocks and firebombs thrown at police during disturbance; latter explosion destroys garage door at police station.
Sept. 26, 1969	do	Police responded to car accident and were aiding injured party when group of Spanish-Americans, thinking police were trying to subdue injured person, attacked the police; mace used and several policemen as well as 3 civilians, received minor injuries.
Dec. 12, 1969	do	A stick of dynamite, thrown at an occupied police car from a passing vehicle, failed to explode.
Jan. 31, 1970	do	Bomb blast damaged Police Band Building at 2105 Decatur St. Police said the bomb probably included a stick of dynamite. Damaged restroom.
Mar. 1, 1970	Boulder	A University of Colorado campus police car was firebombed.
Mar. 2, 1970	do	A city police car was dynamited.
June 24, 1970	Denver	Several persons including a police officer suffered cuts and bruises when an estimated crowd of 400 antiwar demonstrators clashed with law enforcement officials.
Connecticut:		
Mar. 19, 1968	Norwalk	An explosive device detonated outside police department.
Aug. 24, 1968	Voluntown	Group, all armed and carrying flammables, opened fire on police; 5 civilians and 1 policeman injured.
July 16, 1970	Bridgeport	1 police car and 5 civilian automobiles were firebombed during a disturbance.
Nov. 14, 1969	Hartford	5 shots hit police car in north end of city; believed shotgun used; no injuries.
Feb. 13, 1970	Danbury	2 gunmen set off bomb in a police station, a bank, and a parking lot and made off with over \$40,000. The blast in the main corridor of the police station injured 23 persons. The blast in the parking lot occurred when the men blew up their get-away car and drove off in another.
May 6, 1970	New Haven	Police officer physically assaulted by 3 Yale University students who are members of the SDS.
Delaware:		
Oct. 29, 1968	Wilmington	2 FBI agents assaulted while escorting apprehended deserter to an automobile; agents beaten, requiring hospitalization; guns taken and deserter allowed to escape.
Nov. 27, 1968	do	During a disturbance, bottles thrown at police cars; 1 officer hit in back of head; 2 assaulted; 1 State trooper struck.
Feb. 15, 1970	Wilmington	Police car was the target of a sniping incident; 1 officer injured.
District of Columbia:		
Dec. 18, 1969	Washington	A crowd of about 250 people threw rocks and bottles at police at 5th and E Streets.
May 11, 1970	do	Approximately 150 students stoned police at Wheeler Road and 4th Streets, SE.; no injuries.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970 TO JULY 1—CONTINUED

Date	Place	Legend
Florida:		
Mar. 16, 1968	Gainesville	Shots fired at police officer called to investigate theft of wallet at restaurant in a slum area.
Apr. 5, 1968	Tallahassee	Sporadic gunfire and arrows shot at police from campus of university.
Do	Deerfield Beach	Rock throwing and shooting at police officers in Negro area.
Apr. 6, 1968	Gainesville	Deputy shot at during demonstration.
Apr. 7, 1968	Jacksonville	2 shots fired at police car during disturbance.
Apr. 22, 1968	Fort Lauderdale	Police car fired into, seriously wounding 1 officer; 1 youth arrested for vandalism and shooting.
Aug. 2, 1968	St. Petersburg	Car of police officer firebombed; total loss.
Aug. 17, 1968	do	Crowd of 450 at dancehall threw bricks and bottles; snipers fire at police tear gas machine; total damage \$150,000 to area businesses.
Oct. 17, 1968	Miami	Police paddy wagon shot at by a sniper.
Dec. 12, 1968	do	Police investigating disturbance attacked with boards, bottles, and a hammer; minor injuries.
Apr. 1, 1969	Gainesville	Police officer in cruiser at intersection in ghetto area fired at with shotgun; no injuries.
Apr. 5, 1969	Tampa	2 police detectives fires on by unidentified man.
Apr. 27, 1969	Miami	Policeman investigating a stabbing incident was shot at while radioing for assistance; officer hit by ricocheting bullet and flying glass.
July 5, 1969	Tampa	Police officer wounded twice by gunfire and police car fired on.
Sept. 3, 1969	St. Petersburg	5 or 6 shots heard by police in patrol car; bottle hit car; later 1 officer was beaten by 2 men.
Sept. 4, 1969	Fort Lauderdale	Police car responding to call of fire is shot at.
Do	Clearwater	Rocks thrown at officers in connection with the arrest of a man and woman; 1 officer injured.
Sept. 25, 1969	Fort Lauderdale	Snipers fire on police department 12 times.
Oct. 1969	St. Petersburg	Police were fired at by snipers hiding in building and dark places.
Jan. 17, 1970	Jacksonville	Police patrol car shot at by unknown person; no injuries.
May 17, 1970	Fort Lauderdale	Police stop drag racing; this instigates rock and bottle throwing. Numerous false fire alarms set to ambush police by rock throwing.
June 15-17, 1970	Miami	Police and snipers exchanged shots and firebombs were thrown as the city underwent its 3d night of racial violence.
Georgia:		
Apr. 7, 1968	East Albany	Shotgun and .22-caliber rifle were used in ambush of a police cruiser.
June 7, 1969	Macon	2 police detectives wounded by sniper fire.
Illinois:		
May 4, 1968	Chicago	Police car fired on by unknown sniper; 3 shots came from an area of a nearby apartment house.
May 7, 1968	Chicago	2 police officers were shot when they attempted to question 2 suspects.
May 28, 1968	East St. Louis	4 persons attempted to murder a policeman who was trying to question them about a gun thrown from their car.
May 31, 1968	Chicago	Police attempted to arrest a female suspect. Crowd gathered and became unruly; 2 policemen injured by shots fired; 12 persons arrested.
June 2, 1968	East St. Louis	3 men arrested after shooting at 2 plainclothes policemen.
June 5, 1968	Chicago	1 policeman shot and killed by 2 unidentified men.
July 3, 1968	Harvey	2 Molotov cocktails were thrown at a police car.
July 27, 1968	Peoria	Policeman hit by rocks after responding to phony call for help. At least 9 policemen were hit by shotgun pellets; 3 hospitalized on July 30.
Aug. 4, 1968	Waukegan	Rifles were fired at police responding to a call at Waukegan Shopping Plaza.
Aug. 6, 1968	Harvey	5 shots fired from a mob; wounded 5 policemen. Later 2 policemen wounded by snipers.
Do	Dolton	Unidentified individual fired 3 shots into police car; no injuries.
Aug. 11, 1968	East Chicago Heights	Police officer hit by shotgun blast.
Do	Chicago Heights	Police sniped at when responding to call of fires in area.
Aug. 28, 1968	Chicago	Police car fired upon by unknown sniper; officer injured by flying glass.
Sept. 10, 1968	Summit	Shotgun blasts fired at 3 police cars; 2 policemen injured.
Sept. 14, 1968	Markham	Police officer injured by unidentified object thrown at police car.
Sept. 23, 1968	Chicago	Shotgun fired at police car; 1 officer slightly injured by glass.
Jan. 2, 1969	do	Negro male walked into police station and drew weapon and wounded policeman; policeman killed attacker.
Apr. 9, 1969	do	Police officer shot while on duty in plain clothes in personal auto; officer in fair condition.
Apr. 21, 1969	do	Police fired on by several youths; 1 policeman shot; minor injury; 45th and State Streets.
Apr. 24, 1969	do	Policeman fatally shot outside tavern at 3320 West Roosevelt Road.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970 TO JULY 1—CONTINUED

Date	Place	Legend
Illinois—Continued		
Apr. 26, 1969	do	2 police department lieutenants shot and wounded by shotgun blast by unknown assailants; shooting occurred on Chicago's near west side.
Apr. 28, 1969	do	2 shots fired by unknown sniper at police car; officer cut by flying glass.
May 7, 1969	do	Patrolman wounded in leg by sniper fire; shooting occurred at 6147 South University.
Do	do	Officer wounded by gunfire near 47th and Drexel Streets.
May 8, 1969	do	Officer shot and killed in front of Woodland Tap, 1206 East 47th Street; off duty at time.
May 17, 1969	do	Police car on patrol fired on by 2 male teenagers; no injuries.
May 19, 1969	Chicago Heights	Crowd of people threw bricks and bottles at police who were trying to arrest 4 men.
June 24, 1969	Venice	Approximately 20 demonstrators made demands at police headquarters. Later, 6 firebombs were thrown, 1 of which ignited a small fire in a store. As firemen arrived to extinguish the fire, a firebomb was thrown at the fire truck. 3 firebombs were also thrown at 2 police cars that arrived at the scene, but no damage resulted.
July 2, 1969	do	Firebomb thrown through window of a policeman's house.
July 6, 1969	Chicago	Off duty officer tried to break up a gathering of 7 youths in front of his residence. Identified himself as a policeman and was attacked with bolo machete.
Aug 4, 1969	do	Shots were fired into a police car in area of 18th and Wabash; no injuries.
Aug. 13, 1969	do	Shots were fired at a police unit in vicinity of 42d and Oakenwall no injuries.
Aug. 16, 1969	do	4 youths threw a package under police car. Package contained a black powder bomb. Police arrest youths and when their home was searched, three similar bombs were found plus 3 pounds black powder.
Sept. 11, 1969	do	Police stoned by large crowd at 5225 South State; one officer hospitalized.
Sept. 13, 1969	do	Police stoned by 40 to 50 people in area of Humboldt Park. Street gang had set an auto on fire. 2 officers suffered minor injuries.
Sept. 15, 1969	do	Police officer was shot in the face by sniper; hospitalized in fair condition.
Sept. 26, 1969	do	Shots fired at patrol car which was driving past 2350 West Madison. Car was not hit.
Oct. 5, 1969	do	Snipers fired at police from Mother Cabrini housing project. No injuries, but car hit 4 times.
Oct. 9, 1969	do	Policeman found fatally shot in back of parking lot at St. Thaddeus Church, 95th and South Harvard.
Oct. 10, 1969	do	Shotgun fired at a police squad car in vicinity of Damen and Maypole.
Oct. 25, 1969	do	Police officer shot and wounded in the vicinity of the band shell at Garfield.
Oct. 26, 1969	do	Police officer shot and wounded by a sniper while on routine patrol duty.
Oct. 30, 1969	do	Police car hit by sniper fire in vicinity of 61st St. and Ada; no injuries.
Dec. 5, 1969	do	An off-duty but uniformed policeman was driving home in his personal auto when he was forced off the road and shot by 2 youths; injury not serious.
Dec. 6, 1969	do	A police car was shot at several times in the vicinity of 4305 South Berkley.
Dec. 18, 1969	do	Police vehicle was fired on while in the vicinity of 500 West Division; no injuries.
Jan. 14, 1970	Champaign	2 firebombs thrown through the windows of the Champaign Police Department; 1 traffic patrolman was severely burned.
Jan. 31, 1970	Chicago	Police attacked with sniper fire at Mother Cabrini housing project; no injuries.
Feb. 1, 1970	Cairo	2 officers traveling in an Illinois State Police car near Pyramid Courts were struck by 3 shots fired from the project.
Mar. 10, 1970	Chicago	Security guard at Loop City College was beaten by 8 to 10 students.
Mar. 12, 1970	do	An explosion wrecked an empty police car at an intersection immediately after 2 policemen left the car to respond to a call for help.
Do	do	An explosion ripped up the floor boards of an empty police patrol car parked in front of a detective headquarters.
Mar. 18, 1970	do	At least 2 unknowns fired on a cruising squad car with shotguns. 2 officers inside hit by blasts, condition fair.
Apr. 3, 1970	do	2 police officers responding to a routine call were fired at from a field in the vicinity of Altgeld Gardens. 1 officer received minor injuries.
Apr. 14, 1970	do	A police officer responding to report of gunfire stopped to talk to 2 groups of youths and was shot in the hand by an unknown person.
May 5, 1970	do	2 officers fired on by unknown snipers as they returned to their squad car following ticketing of parked car.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970 TO JULY 1—CONTINUED

Date	Place	Legend
Illinois—Continued		
June 12, 1970	Cairo	An Illinois State Police unit fired upon and 1 officer received minor injuries.
June 19, 1970	Chicago	Patrolman killed by a shotgun blast.
Indiana:		
June 23, 1968	South Bend	Sniper shots were fired through the window of a police car. Policeman fired at by unknown assailant.
July 28, 1968	Gary	A policeman was shot in the back by a sniper.
Aug. 24, 1968	Evansville	1 high-powered rifle slug, 2 shotgun blasts, 6 shots from small caliber weapons hit a police car.
May 20, 1970	Muncie	
Iowa:		
Aug. 17, 1968	Waterloo	Police cars hit by 6 shots fired by a sniper.
Sept. 13, 1968	do	2 police officers injured by sporadic gunfire at vehicles and officers.
Apr. 13, 1969	Des Moines	Crowd at a BPP rally threw objects damaging several police cars.
May 13, 1970	do	An explosion, believed to be dynamite, ripped through the Des Moines Police Station injuring 1 person and causing an estimated \$200,000 damage. The building was the target of a bomb threat a week earlier. The bomb, placed against the south wall adjacent to a transformer and several fuel drums, knocked out all primary and secondary power and telephone facilities, blew holes through the outer and inner brick walls, shattered about 280 windows, damaged about a dozen parked cars, and broke windows in several surrounding buildings. The police chief linked the explosion with the theft of 285 sticks of dynamite stolen from the Quick Supply Co. on May 5.
May 23, 1970	Ames	Bomb exploded directly below Ames Police Headquarters in city hall. 9 persons injured. 2 cars demolished, extensive damage on one side of building. Army demolition experts say 12 pounds of dynamite used, probably 3 sticks.
May 24, 1970	Council Bluffs	A bomb was thrown at the Council Bluffs Police Station but missed a window and burned harmlessly outside the brick building.
Kansas:		
July 11, 1968	Topeka	Firebomb thrown through window of police information center.
Aug. 20, 1968	Wichita	3 policemen injured by gunfire.
Aug. 31, 1969	Lawrence	Police officer hit by man and later a shotgun was fired into a police car.
Kentucky:		
June 27, 1968	Owensboro	Police car shot at by a sniper.
Aug. 6, 1968	Lexington	Attempted bombing of Fayette County Police Department; 4 sticks of dynamite used.
Sept. 24, 1969	Mount Sterling	Auto owned by state detective was damaged by dynamite.
May 11, 1970	Hazard	A dynamite blast damaged the mobile home of a Kentucky State policeman and slightly damaged his police cruiser. No injuries.
Louisiana:		
July 22, 1968	New Orleans	Policeman shot at in patrol car by a sniper.
Aug. 14, 1968	St. Bernard Parish	Deputy sheriff fired on with shotgun by unknown person.
May 13, 1969	Baton Rouge	An estimated 3,000 students rampaged on the campus of Southern University exchanging gunfire with police, hurling firebombs, rocks, and bottles filled with acid.
Aug. 31, 1969	Baton Rouge	Bricks and bottles thrown at police. Next day an officer was hit and knocked unconscious.
Maryland:		
Apr. 20, 1969	Baltimore	A civil disturbance occurred as the 40,000 people who attended a "Youth for Decency" rally at Memorial Stadium were leaving the stadium. 81 persons were injured, including 6 or 7 police officers. By late evening police reported 75 to 100 persons had been arrested.
May 27, 1969	Baltimore	Firebombs thrown at police cars during disturbance.
Oct. 13, 1969	Baltimore City	Rocks and bottles thrown at 2 officers attempting to aid injured man.
Apr. 24, 1970	Baltimore	4 or more men approached police car and fired shots into it. 1 officer dead, other critical.
Massachusetts:		
Nov. 2, 1969	Beverly	A bomb explosion occurred in the rear of the police station.
Nov. 21, 1969	Cambridge	Single shot fired into police headquarters.
Michigan:		
Apr. 4, 1968	Detroit	2 policemen wounded by gunfire during civil disturbance.
July 21, 1968	Benton Harbor	Police car burned by firebomb.
Aug. 5, 1968	Jackson	2 patrolmen reported from 20-40 rounds of ammunition were fired at them by youths as they drove past the Peter Claver Center.
Aug. 7, 1968	Inkster	Shots fired from auto at policemen wounding both slightly; Michigan State Police officer fatally shot.
Do	Jackson	Shots fired at police car; no injuries.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970 TO JULY 1—CONTINUED

Date	Place	Legend
Mar. 29, 1969	Detroit	2 police officers drive by evening session of Republic of New Africa 2d national convention, observed men in front with rifles. When they went to investigate they were fired upon. 1 officer killed, 1 seriously wounded; when more police arrived there was more gunfire.
May 19, 1969	Niles	Police trying to stop gang fight; 1 policeman knocked to ground. 1 officer fired at by youth; he returned fire killing youth.
June 30, 1969	Grand Rapids	Police car assaulted with rocks and bottles.
Sept. 27, 1969	Pontiac	Police car fired upon; hit 4 times.
Mar. 6, 1970	Detroit	A bomb made of 34 sticks of dynamite was found in a waste basket in the women's restroom of a Detroit police precinct station at Woodward Avenue near Wayne State University. Bomb had double fuse that failed.
Do	do	A bomb was found and disarmed in the Detroit Police Association Building.
Mar. 8, 1970	do	Fire truck fired upon. Police investigating also fired upon.
Apr. 16, 1970	do	Police stop car containing 2 males for traffic violation. As officer stepped from his car, he was fired upon. Officer in serious condition. 2 men arrested.
May 19, 1970	Grand Rapids	Policeman attempted to make arrest on an auto theft was assaulted by 15-20 youths. Officer struck by brick and injured.
June 3, 1970	Detroit	Suspect attacked a police officer at police station; causing injury to the officer.
June 29, 1970	do	3 officers ambushed; 1 seriously wounded, 2 slightly injured.
Minnesota:		
Aug. 30, 1968	St. Paul	2 off-duty policemen took gun from youth at dance; officers attacked by large group. Unknown person shot at officers, wounding 1. Later on, in the early morning hours of August 31, officers struck by shots from sniper.
Feb. 6, 1969	do	2 shotgun blasts struck police car.
May 22, 1970	do	Officer responding to a call at 859 Hague Avenue was slain by a sniper bullet.
Mississippi:		
Feb. 20, 1968	Lorman	Sniping and throwing of furniture and bottles at police. Three policemen were injured.
Apr. 18, 1969	Port Gibson	1 State Patrolman shot in abdomen and another State Patrolman injured. Crowd damaged police car.
Missouri:		
Nov. 16, 1968	St. Louis	4 shots fired into 9th District Police Department; no injuries.
Feb. 21, 1969	do	2 firebombs thrown through front entrance of 9th District Police Department; no injuries and minor damage to building.
June 27, 1969	do	Policeman injured when firebombs thrown at car.
Aug. 13, 1969	do	Police car traveling in ghetto area fired upon by 3 or 4 automatic weapons; 1 policeman slightly injured.
Sept. 4, 1969	do	Police car fired on, car hit by 4 rounds, no injuries.
Sept. 5, 1969	do	Shots fired from apartment, 1 policeman wounded in leg during exchange of gunfire.
Sept. 15, 1969	do	Police fired at from house by snipers.
Sept. 24, 1969	do	Police car fired at by snipers; no injuries.
Oct. 8, 1969	do	Police officer attempting to break up fighting shot in back with shotgun by unknown subject; officer in serious condition.
Oct. 13, 1969	do	2 shots fired through front doors of 9th District Police Station; no injuries.
Nov. 25, 1969	do	2 police cars fired on by snipers. No injuries.
Dec. 2, 1969	do	4 shots fired at police officers by snipers.
Dec. 3, 1969	do	Patrol car fired upon. Officers investigate and find male with pistol. Shots were exchanged, but no injuries. Assailant escaped.
Dec. 13, 1969	do	2 shots fired through the front doors of the 9th District Police station; no injuries.
Dec. 20, 1969	do	Police making arrest are fired upon by sniper on the roof of housing project; no injuries.
Dec. 21, 1969	do	Police car fired upon by snipers; no injuries.
Apr. 13, 1970	Kansas City	A bombing occurred about midnight at the Police Academy breaking windows in the Academy and in several other homes and businesses. Cause unknown.
Montana:		
Mar. 16, 1970	Billings	Bomb placed in parked police car explodes, demolishes car.
Nebraska:		
July 4, 1968	Omaha	Police stoned and shots fired at police car by sniper.
June 11, 1970	do	An explosion, believed to be dynamite, ripped a 4-foot hole in a corner of the Omaha Police Department's North Assembly Building shattering several windows, damaging the ceiling of a room, and blowing out windows of a bus parked outside the building. No injuries.
Nevada:		
Apr. 14, 1969	Las Vegas	Police fired upon by sniper.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970 TO JULY 1—CONTINUED

Date	Place	Legend
New Jersey:		
July 22, 1968	Newark	Shotgun fired at police director while in his residence, 388 Highland Ave.
Sept. 24, 1968	Jersey City	3 policemen injured by members of Black Panther Party after they had stopped the police car.
Nov. 29, 1968	do	35 shots fired into Fifth Precinct police station; no injuries.
Jan. 1, 1969	do	Explosive device thrown in the window of 5th Precinct police station.
Jan. 10, 1969	Plainfield	Local police officer shot at and wounded by sniper.
Apr. 29, 1969	Linden	Shooting at police car by snipers.
July 5, 1969	Camden	4 Camden police officers shot and killed, ambush by snipers.
Aug. 19, 1969	Lakewood	Police use teargas to disperse 400 youths after being pelted with rocks, bottles, and firebombs.
Nov. 25, 1969	Paterson	Bottles and ashcans thrown at police officers injuring the officers.
May 21, 1970	Rahway	Molotov cocktails thrown at fire trucks and police cars, missed the mark and no damage resulted.
June 10, 1970	Stratford	Stratford Police Station was destroyed by arsonists.
Do	do	Police sergeant's garage firebombed.
June 30, 1970	Plainfield	2 patrolmen were wounded by shotgun fire in an ambush; 1 officer critically wounded, the other reported in good condition.
New York:		
July 27, 1968	Brooklyn	Police car firebombed; total loss.
July 31, 1968	New York	2 rifle shots hit police car cruising south on Harlem River Drive near 159th Street.
Aug. 2, 1968	Brooklyn	2 policemen seriously injured by shotgun sniper fire when they responded to apparently fictitious call about family quarrel at 1054 Eastern Parkway.
Aug. 21, 1968	do	2 policemen injured when crowd threw rocks at police car.
Sept. 12, 1968	do	2 shots were fired at patrol unit; windshield shattered.
Sept. 19, 1968	do	2 firebombs tossed at police communications truck; 2 patrolmen injured.
Sept. 28, 1968	New York	2 men approached police cruiser, asked for time, then fired 2 shots into the police car, injuring both patrolmen.
Oct. 13, 1968	Brooklyn	3 patrolmen shot at by unknown snipers.
Nov. 12, 1968	New York	Bomb exploded outside the 25th Precinct Police Station at 125th and Lexington.
Jan. 17, 1969	do	Police fired on when they stopped a suspicious auto near 170th and Harlem River Drive.
Do	do	The 44th Precinct Station in the Highbridge section was shaken by an explosion.
Jan. 19, 1969	do	Bomb consisting of 5 sticks of dynamite discovered outside 24th Precinct; failed to explode.
June 17, 1969	Bronx	3 policemen injured when 150 people angered over the arrest of 2 men tried to storm police station; threw bricks and bottles.
Jan. 17, 1970	New York	Dynamite was found at the West 100th police station prior to detonation.
Jan. 25, 1970	do	2 policemen were shot at from behind; 1 shot 3 times in back, back, other shot in arm.
Jan. 26, 1970	do	2 shots fired at policeman as he approached car of person who had summoned him for help.
Mar. 17, 1970	Buffalo	2 policemen were shot at while investigating report that Molotov cocktails were being made near dormitory of New York State University.
Apr. 27, 1970	Brooklyn	Patrolman critically injured after being attacked from behind with a machete. Off duty at time.
May 4, 1970	do	Patrol are struck by shotgun pellets fired by a sniper.
May 13, 1970	do	Rocks and missiles were thrown at police injuring an officer.
June 9, 1970	do	A tremendous explosion rocked Police Headquarters at 240 Centre Street heavily damaging the 2d floor of the 5-story building. At least 4 officers and 4 other persons were injured. The first deputy police commissioner described the explosive device as a "sophisticated bomb" with a timer. The explosion demolished several offices, including four rooms occupied by the deputy commissioner in charge of administration, blew out many windows and smashed walls in Centre Market Place Nos. 3, 4, and 5, and wrecked two cars parked in front of No. 4. On June 10, a hand-printed communication signed "Weatherman" sent to the AP claimed responsibility for the bombing.
June 22, 1970	do	2 police cars were set afire and a 3d was damaged when a large crowd gathered outside an upper Manhattan police station after a young girl was taken into custody following a dispute among teenagers.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970 TO JULY 1—CONTINUED

Date	Place	Legend
<b>North Carolina:</b>		
Apr. 4, 1968	Greensboro	3 policemen wounded by shotgun blasts, one critically.
Apr. 5, 1968	High Point	2 police cars hit by bullets from a sniper.
Do	Wilmington	Police cars shot at by snipers.
Mar. 13, 1969	Greensboro	Police fired upon by small caliber weapons and shotguns during night of disturbance on North Carolina A. & T. State University campus by snipers.
Do	Durham	Unknown snipers shot at police car.
May 18, 1969	Burlington	Sniper fire aimed at police officers responding to a call for help.
June 13, 1969	Roxboro	Shotgun fired into police patrol car and 3 policemen were injured.
Aug. 26, 1969	Sanford	Rocks thrown at police cars causing damage to the vehicles.
Aug. 31, 1969	do	Sniper fire at police cars at scene of a fire.
Oct. 7, 1969	do	Police officer on routine patrol was fired on in area of Central High School by 3 unknown snipers.
<b>Ohio:</b>		
July 23, 1968	Cleveland	Ambush of policemen by Negro group followed by looting, firebombing, and large scale disturbance; 11 dead, including 3 policemen; 14 policemen and 10 civilians hospitalized.
June 17, 1969	Springfield	Police car firebombed.
Oct. 7, 1969	Cleveland	Police cadets assaulted by demonstrator. 3 cadets hospitalized.
Jan. 15, 1970	Lima	2 incidents of sniping at police department by unknown persons.
Jan. 30, 1970	do	Police called to quell fight; their cars stoned and at least 4 shots fired; 1 officer critically injured.
Feb. 2, 1970	Cleveland	An explosion, destroyed most of an \$800,000 municipal building containing a police department, jail, municipal court, and law department offices. The blast injured 15 persons, including a judge and several policemen. On February 4, police announced that the building was bombed by a mental patient whose body was found in the rubble, and whose abandoned car was found nearby containing several weapons and a grenade.
Feb. 18, 1970	do	A small homemade bomb damaged the automobile of a Cleveland policeman working part time as a security guard at Cuyahoga Community College. The bomb was placed under the car fender while it was parked in the underground garage of the campus administrations building. No injuries damage \$150.
Feb. 23, 1970	do	Police cruiser fired upon by snipers. Occupants received slight cuts.
Apr. 3, 1970	Hamilton	Police called to community center to break up fight. They were assaulted. 1 officer shot in back, 3 others injured. 4 cruisers damaged.
June 29, 1970	Cleveland	Police officer and youth wounded when gun battle broke out at a Black Nationalist recruiting headquarters.
<b>Oregon:</b>		
Mar. 22, 1969	Eugene	2 shots fired at police car by snipers.
June 13, 1969	Portland	2 police officers and several citizens beaten by youth gangs.
June 13, 1969	do	2 police officers attacked and beaten in separate incidents.
June 18, 1969	do	Shots were fired from a crowd at police who were arresting man for arson.
Feb. 18, 1970	do	Patrolman shot at by sniper and police car window broken by thrown rocks.
<b>Pennsylvania:</b>		
May 27, 1968	Wilkesburg	Police officer's home firebombed; no injuries; home gutted.
June 1, 1968	Philadelphia	Group of 3 fired 5 shots from a shotgun at police officers; 3 police officers hit with pellets, none seriously injured.
Aug. 4, 1968	York	Police armored vehicle shot at during disturbance by snipers.
Sept. 22, 1968	do	2 shotgun blasts fired through police department. Desk sergeant injured from flying glass.
Sept. 7, 1968	Pittsburgh	Patrol car fired upon by snipers; no injuries.
Nov. 23, 1968	do	2 policemen injured by shotgun blast from a sniper in Hiss section.
Dec. 10, 1968	do	Attempted bombing of police station; 48 sticks of dynamite in a 5-gallon can found next to station house; failed to ignite.
Mar. 19, 1969	do	3 policemen injured when disorder erupted following basketball game between 2 high schools.
Apr. 23, 1969	do	Shots fired by snipers at 2 police vehicles in Hazelwood section.
July 3, 1969	do	2 policemen required hospitalization after being pelted with rocks.
Oct. 6, 1969	Philadelphia	2 hand grenades exploded in the parking lot outside the police department radio repair shack. No injuries, but 14 police cars damaged.
Jan. 30, 1970	do	Patrolman shot and killed by 2 or 3 snipers during his tour of duty.
May 1, 1970	Aliquippa	Police cruiser stoned by group of 50 youths.
May 26, 1970	Philadelphia	Officer shot in leg by an unknown person.
<b>South Carolina:</b>		
Sept. 27, 1968	Greenville	Policeman assaulted by relative of a man he had arrested earlier.
May 2, 1969	Charlestown	2 police cars fired on by snipers.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF TERRORISTIC ATTACKS AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT FACILITIES AND OFFICIALS  
IN THE UNITED STATES, CALENDAR YEARS 1968, 1969, AND 1970 TO JULY 1—CONTINUED

Date	Place	Legend
<b>Tennessee:</b>		
Jan. 16, 1968	Nashville	2 policemen were fatally shot by 5 people when they stopped car to question them about a theft.
Apr. 4, 1968	Memphis	Sporadic sniping at police; 3 policemen injured.
Aug. 24, 1968	Memphis	3 rounds from 0.30 calibre rifle fired through door of police car; officer shot in leg.
<b>Texas:</b>		
Aug. 4, 1968	Wichita Falls	Policeman severely beaten by unknown assailant.
Nov. 14, 1968	Houston	5 boys threw a hand grenade, which did not explode, into a police car.
Sept. 29, 1969	Dallas	3 policemen wounded with shotgun pellets by snipers.
Nov. 6, 1969	Austin	Policeman attempted to pick up 11-year-old runaway; beaten by students and tires of patrol car slashed.
<b>Utah:</b>		
Dec. 10, 1969	Salt Lake City	Police car firebombed and completely destroyed.
<b>Virginia:</b>		
Apr. 9, 1968	Petersburg	Gunfire from snipers and rock throwing at police officers.
Sept. 1, 1968	Newport News	Officer surrounded by crowd and beaten by man who took his gun and fired at another policeman. Disorder followed and buildings destroyed; \$2,000,000 damage.
Sept. 27, 1968	Portsmouth	A police K-9 wagon was struck twice by .22 caliber bullets.
Oct. 9, 1968	Norfolk	Window of a police van was shot out by a sniper while an officer was patrolling.
July 7, 1969	Arlington	Police cruiser shot at by sniper and Molotov cocktail thrown at it, 2400 block of Shirlington Road.
<b>Washington:</b>		
July 18, 1968	Seattle	Police car fired on from a group of 100-200 youths. Rocks thrown at police.
July 29, 1968	do	3 policemen wounded by sniper fire.
Sept. 4, 1968	do	Police car responding to call was fired upon from both sides by snipers.
Sept. 8, 1968	do	Police car shot at by snipers.
Sept. 20, 1968	do	Police detective physically assaulted by 12 Black Panther Party members.
Oct. 6, 1968	do	Unknown person fired shotgun at police patrol car; 2 officers injured.
Oct. 14, 1968	do	Police car sniped at with 2 shots in 700 block of 34th Ave.
Jan. 11, 1969	do	Police car was following civilian car. Civilian car stopped and 4 to 6 men got out and fired at police car.
Feb. 28, 1969	do	Deputy sheriff hit with barrage of bottles and rocks thrown by persons inside panel truck that he had stopped.
Aug. 10, 1969	do	Police car firebombed and destroyed.
Aug. 18, 1969	Tacoma	Police fired at by snipers.
Jan. 27, 1970	Seattle	Officer stoned and shot with own revolver by youths who attacked him.
Wisconsin: Apr. 23, 1969	Racine	During disturbance, 2 policemen found near park in critical condition after beating.

(The following document was marked "Exhibit No. 847" for reference. The enclosures referred to may be found in the files of the subcommittee attached to exhibit No. 847.)

EXHIBIT No. 847

SOUTH BEND, IND., July 24, 1970.

Senator JOHN L. McCLELLAN,  
Chairman, Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations,  
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR McCLELLAN: In accordance with your letter of July 21, 1970, written in response to mine of July 11, 1970, I am herewith submitting, with attachments, notarized testimony with the request that it be either printed in the record or placed in the hearing file for reference, or both if that is standard procedure and appropriate.

My concern, the validity of which has been amply verified by Senators Bayh and Hartke and other knowledgeable persons, is that in an absence of being fully heard, people like myself may find their honorable activities sharply, therefore perhaps terminally, curtailed by explosive legislation which through oversight does not take them into account.

By way of personal introduction, I am a former Indiana state trooper, more lately a tenure high school English teacher, and now a full time researcher and craftsman whose work is in part described in the enclosed catalog. I am currently

engaged in an extensive historical research project on line-throwing cannons—the first such work undertaken since 1878—and will before long have a definitive text on that subject in print.

As a craftsman, I have lately been consulted by Dr. John D. Nicolaides, of the University of Notre Dame, in regard to the possible use of muzzleloading cannons in ballistic experiments connected with the space program, and I understand that possible funding is now being considered. Dr. Nicolaides' past positions include those of Technical Director of Ballistics for the U.S. Navy, and Director of the Naval Space Program; he is currently Director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for Unmanned Satellites, and a member of both the U.S. Army and U.S. Navy Ordnance Advisory Boards. He is aware of the present situation, has expressed concurrence with my observations regarding it, and has given express permission to use his name in conjunction with my efforts thereabout.

Also as a craftsman, I have supplied cannons, or parts for them, for various historical restorations, and currently have several inquiries on hand awaiting determination of exact need and cost estimates. As an occasional participant in competitive cannon target matches, I have just returned from a sporting match in Minnesota, part of which was carried nationwide on NBC News, in their coverage of Fourth of July activities around the country.

The depth of my historical research into the field of cannonmaking and related subjects is in part evidenced throughout the catalog; the spirit of it is discussed in the introduction. With the help of Dr. Vernon Tate, Archivist (Ret.), U.S. Naval Academy. I am now formulating a series of historical reprints from the field, some of which are expected to include modern English translations of foreign texts contemporary with the subject.

In research of the most practical nature, I have succeeded in re-creating, on salvaged 19th century machines, authenticated 18th and 19th century cannon boring techniques long since forgotten in modern technology, on which basis—in conjunction with academic research—I have become able to provide practical information regarding the manufacture of original muzzleloading ordnance, a subject which is virtually without detail in texts, either ancient or modern, from the field.

My work has been variously acknowledged, assisted, or encouraged by persons and institutions including, but not limited to, Dr. Harold Peterson, Chief Curator of the National Park Service, Captain Dale Mayberry, Director of the U.S. Naval Academy Museum, Dr. Joseph Bruzek, Curator of same, personnel of the Field Artillery Museum Association at Fort Sill, and the U.S. Coast Guard, both Headquarters and Academy. The latter has just contributed an early original "Lyle" type linethrowing cannon to my research in that area; on a recent 3,000 mile trip to further the project (which is not the sort of thing one makes money at), surviving makers of later models were eager to make significant contributions both of information and of materiel.

As an author in the field, I have contributed various articles on muzzleloading activities, safety, construction, and related subjects to various publications both in and out of the general field.

Within that spectrum of experience and capacities, I feel that I am qualified to speak for various full and part time researchers and craftsmen about the country whose work in varying ways and degrees is similar to mine, and for the majority of people who own antique and replica muzzleloading cannons for decoration and sporting pleasure, and for ceremonial use. Page 46 of the catalog and other places in it make reference to a few of those people.

Muzzleloading cannons are no more a factor in crime than antique automobiles are a factor in the highway death rate. The only propellant suitable for use in any type of traditional muzzleloading device, cannon or otherwise, is commercially manufactured black powder expressly designed and intended for use as an antique sporting propellant. Other types of powder (i.e., pyrotechnic, smokeless, et cetera) will cause them to burst. Black powder propellant is therefore *absolutely* essential to the sporting and ceremonial use of antiques and replicas.

In acknowledgement of historical and sporting contributions alongside an absence of criminal use, the Gun Control Act of 1968 exempts antiques and replicas, and *their ammunition*, from the purview of the Act.

Senator Bayh and others now inform me that most explosive control legislation currently under discussion would place severe limitations on access to that ammunition. I understand that in deference to sporting users of smallbore muz-

zleloading devices—rifles, and so forth—there is talk of allowing access to up to five or six pounds of sporting black powder propellant. I understand that some proposals would limit even that access only to persons whose organizational inclinations lead them to join approved antique-oriented clubs or associations.

Considering different granulations necessary for different types and bores of antiques, five or six pounds of propellant is hardly enough to begin to supply the owner of a flintlock rifle and a fowling-piece. But a muzzleloading cannon limited to a stock of five pounds of powder is like a Cadillac limited to a gallon of gasoline. Considering that only a very small percentage of muzzleloading enthusiasts, however serious, actually maintain club memberships (just as most fishermen do not belong to the Izaak Walton League), any provisions of that sort—especially a combination of them—could not do other than effectively deprive the vast majority of persons who honorably pursue the muzzleloading arts of the only propellant suited to their use.

Especially, those whose interests lie primarily in the study and sporting use of muzzleloading cannons. Asking friends and relatives, or members of a competitive crew, to obtain their individually allowable rations and donate them to the sporting maintenance of one's antique cannon is a shoddy business at best; an unthinkable imposition if they individually shoot smallbore devices for their own individual sport. At worst, such pooling could involve legal entanglements of possession and transfer, subjecting all of them to considerable embarrassment and possible legal penalties.

In any case, it would be an avenue still open to a cluster of people who intended to make bombs: if, of course, those people chose to use black powder out of the myriad of more powerful substances available by hook, or crook, or home brew, for bombs.

But even assuming pooling as a justifiable crime-preventing expedient, and assuming willing contributors (and possibly assuming club memberships), the combination of practice, the firing for score, and a purely educational linethrowing demonstration by my crew at the recent Minnesota match consumed more powder than would have been available in our three full rations. And our entry, a half-pounder, was one of the smaller pieces there.

An original or full-bored replica six-pounder, shooting sporting loads of half the original service charge, consumes a half pound of powder per shot. Completion of the research toward my book on linethrowing guns will require my driving to a borrowed range some distance away and firing a lengthy series of test shots consuming up to five or six ounces of powder per shot.

On the day before this writing, I was asked by the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, for the fourth time in as many years, to get sixteen muzzleloading cannons, as large as transportation will permit, to Cincinnati on August 12, 1970, for—at cost, of course—another performance of the "1812 Overture" there. At five pound rations, the rehearsal and performance would exceed the quantity of powder available to me and to the employee who will go along to assist: and he, to boot, an entirely honorable young family man whose modest income must go to his family, rather than to club memberships, which have nothing to do with his reliability.

Even if sources of black powder propellant were typically nearby and easy to find, such short supply would impose severe hardships on persons like myself (and again, I am only one) who possess and honorably use antique and replica muzzleloading cannons and engage in the historically valid study of them.

But as it is, sources of the antique propellant are typically neither nearby nor easy to find, in evidence of which I submit the enclosed lists, which were compiled through the combined efforts of several people, myself included, as a service to owners of all types of antiques and replicas who are unable to locate supplies in their individual areas.

The relatively few dealers who do carry black powder propellant generally carry it purely as a convenience to antiquarians in their areas. Because shipping restrictions (which are not so severe in regard to smokeless powders) make black powder difficult to obtain regularly, most dealers regard it a generally unprofitable nuisance.

Finding a dealer who carries black powder is precisely analogous to finding a gasoline station that still carries kerosene for lamps, with the exception that there are many times more gasoline stations than dealers in loading components. In view of other limiting factors (see below), the effect of attempting to strictly regulate the sale of black powder propellant in order to keep it out of the hands of bombers would be precisely the same as regulating the sale of kerosene to keep it out of the hands of arsonists.

Typically, rather than each driving what may be a considerable distance to replenish personal supplies (wholly impractical under a small-ration stipulation), users of the antique propellant frequently supply each other: one goes to a match or other pickup point and picks up enough to supply his friends until the next goes, and so forth.

With that frail—and largely esoteric—grapevine system decimated by stringent transferral requirements, the sports and arts associated with the antiques could not be less than similarly decimated, even though neither the antiques nor the users are a factor in crime.

Which is doubly ironic, since it is already often easier to *make* black powder as an explosive than to *find* it as a sporting propellant. For anybody who can read a dictionary knows the ingredients of black powder, and anybody who has enough ingenuity to open an encyclopedia can make it (and various other home-born explosives, many infinitely more powerful), from substances as ungiven to regulation as nitrate fertilizers and barbeque briquets.

Being a simple and ancient mixture of sulphur, potassium nitrate and charcoal, it requires no special equipment or knowledge whatever to make—in crude but fully explosive form—black bomb powder by simply stirring those ingredients together.

I enclose copies of pages from two dictionaries, both of which enumerate the ingredients of black powder under the traditional name of "gunpowder." I draw your attention, as indicated on one of the pages, to the simple process given for making, in addition to black powder, the higher explosive guncotton, which is a prime ingredient for a bomb, with no sporting worth whatever.

My firm opinion, which is widely shared by sportsmen, craftsmen, and historians with whom I have continuing occasion to speak, is that a proper approach to explosive legislation is to—

- (1) Impose sure penalties for the manufacture or possession of home made bombs, including firebombs;
- (2) Restrict the manufacture of explosives to licensed makers;
- (3) Restrict the distribution of bona fide explosives of no historical or sporting value (dynamite, et cetera) to licensed dealers, with whatever regard is necessary to legitimate service in rural areas; and
- (4) Expressly *exempt* commercially manufactured black powder designed and intended for use in antiques and replicas, in simple consistence with the existing exemption for antique ammunition, and with other related design-and-intent clauses appearing throughout the Gun Control Act.

In regard to (4) above, I would point out that percussion caps designed and intended for use on the ignition mechanisms of antique and replica smallbore devices are, because of their fitted shape, of less use to bombers than common paper caps used in toy pistols, which respond comparably to percussive force.

In relation to the same, I would also point out that common 3/32" pyrotechnic fuse is the safest and most reliable means available to discharge muzzleloading cannons, while at the same time (in part, because it burns with conspicuous visibility) being less suitable for clandestine purposes than any of a myriad of other possible bomb fusing systems, virtually all of them mechanical or chemical, anyway.

I would add that the use of fuse in antique cannons is as old as the invention of cannons themselves, during the Middle Ages. Two humorous, nonetheless historically valid, references to the use of similar fuse in the 19th century appear on page 6 of the catalog, in the discussion of mule guns there.

In view of the nature of and historical precedents for both, it is my opinion that both of those ignition devices should be expressly exempted, along with black powder propellant, as components of antique ammunition. Another worthy point of consideration in regard to the fuse is that it is also commonly used in model rocketry, a widespread—and surely non-criminal—pursuit.

Under a design-and-intent exemption, of course, *no* quantity of *any* type of black powder would be legally possessed in circumstances indicating *intent* to use it in a bomb; homemade varieties would be doubly controlled under (1) and (2), above. The same general approach could probably be expanded to include even such things as match heads, from which I understand two amply destructive bombs were lately made, and exploded, near Washington: i.e., mere possession of materials useful in a bomb, however commonly available, would be federally illegal in a basement bomb factory, but not so under the circumstances for which they are designed and intended. Even gasoline.

In summary, I respectfully submit that imposing severe hardships on persons like myself in the way of sharply curtailing our constructive work is not a suitable first condition of approach toward preventing the use of explosives by persons of ill intent: none of which, I suspect, feel impelled to present their cases in order to preserve their arts.

To the contrary, it would seem only fair that especially after having just been recognized in the Gun Control Act for sporting and historical contributions alongside an absence of criminal use, those who study and maintain antique and replica cannons and other devices of contemporary nature, and shoot them honorably in sport, ceremony, and research, should not be penalized into virtual extinction because of the acts of a handful of bomb makers who are as disrelated from them as cutthroats are from archers.

And in view of the schoolboy ease with which the bomb makers can manufacture crude black powder and other alternate explosives virtually at will, however harshly the sporting propellant is restricted, a substantial part of the question seems to be whether they, or the craftsmen, sportsmen, and historians will be given the greater regard.

Most respectfully,

J. PAUL BARNETT.

(Related enclosures: Barney's Cannons, Inc. Catalog #7 (1970): general information; indication of the nature of the field; *Congressional Record* excerpt, June 22, 1970: evidence of concurrent opinion; letter of Vernon D. Tate, July 7, 1970: evidence of concurrent opinion; letter of Dale Mayberry, June 2, 1970: evidence of concurrent opinion; letter of Vance Hartke, June 19, 1970: evidence of concurrent opinion; letter of Harold Peterson, June 1, 1970: evidence of concurrent opinion; letter of Harold Langley, June 2, 1970: evidence of historical validity; letter of Harold Peterson, January 13, 1970: evidence of sparse black powder supply under current conditions; letters of Robert Dixon, Jr., May 21, 1970, and J. Paul Barnett, May 26, 1970; evidence of the nature, extent, and validity of Lyle gun research jeopardized by proposed legislation; lists (2) of dealers and clubs: evidence of sparse black powder supply under current conditions; dictionary pages (2): evidence of the common-knowledge aspect of black powder and (on the page indicated) of guncotton; *Time* magazine excerpt, July 13, 1970: evidence of homemade bombs that would exist in a total absence of black powder; evidence of typical fusing mechanisms.)

STATE OF INDIANA,  
St. Joseph County, ss:

On this 27th day of July, 1970, personally appeared before me a Notary Public in and for said County and State and made oath that the foregoing statement by him, subscribed is true in substance and in fact and did acknowledge the signature thereto.

My Commission expires Sept. 6, 1970.

HELEN A. LANGYEL, Notary Public.

(The following document was marked "Exhibit No. 848" for reference and ordered to be printed.)

EXHIBIT No. 848

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL SHOOTING SPORTS FOUNDATION, INC., TO THE U.S. SENATE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS ON EXPLOSIVES, JULY 15, 1970

We, the National Shooting Sports Foundation, Inc., wish to thank you for this opportunity to submit our statement for the record of the Subcommittee's hearings on the misuse of explosives.

The National Shooting Sports Foundation has 105 member companies which manufacture hunting clothings, sporting arms and ammunition, components, recreational shooting accessories, or publish outdoor magazines. The foundation is chartered to promote the shooting sports in America and to give the public a better understanding of recreational shooting. Traditionally, the foundation has played a most active role in promoting the safe use of sporting arms and in furthering the conservation of our natural resources. Our member companies also have a long record of cooperation with government agencies in connection with

law enforcement and national defense. Recently, we have been most active in assisting the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Internal Revenue Service in obtaining compliance by the public with the various provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968.

We are very much concerned with the problems caused by criminals and other irresponsible persons who use explosives improperly and illegally. We are also concerned with the threat which such misuse presently poses to the lawful use of small arms propellant powders and gun powder by millions of sportsmen, many of them hunters whose direct and indirect financial contributions help form the bulwark of our country's conservation programs. We favor measures designed to prevent the misuse of explosives. However, we believe that the legitimate use of small arms propellant powders and gun powder by millions of law-abiding gun owners, hunters and shooters should not and need not be unduly restricted in any new legislation. It should be possible to give law enforcement agencies reasonable laws on explosives control but at the same time not interfere with the legitimate recreational activities of law-abiding citizens.

When Congress enacted the Gun Control Act of 1968, it provided for the regulation of commerce in small arms ammunition and components thereof including primers and smokeless powder. Smokeless powder and primers are, in fact, defined as ammunition by the Act and are subject to all of the rules, regulations and restrictions which apply to ammunition. Among other things, Title I of the Act provides that:

(1) Manufacturers, importers and dealers in ammunition and components thereof including primers and smokeless powder must obtain a federal license before engaging in business.

(2) Licensees may not sell or otherwise dispose of ammunition or components thereof including primers and smokeless powder to any person knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that such person—

(a) is under indictment, or has been convicted in any court of a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year;

(b) is a fugitive from justice;

(c) is an unlawful user of or addicted to marihuana or any depressant or stimulant drug (as defined in section 201(v) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act; 21 U.S.C. 321(v), or narcotic drug (as defined in section 4731(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954);

(d) has been adjudicated as a mental defective;

(e) has been committed to any mental institutions;

(f) is less than 18 years of age; or if the ammunition or components thereof are for other than a rifle or shot gun, less than 21 years of age.

(3) Licensees may not sell or deliver any ammunition or components thereof including primers and smokeless powder to any person in any state where the person or possession by such person of such ammunition or components would be in violation of any state law or any published ordinance applicable at the place of sale, delivery or other disposition.

(4) Licensees must maintain records showing the acquisition and disposition of ammunition and components thereof including primers and smokeless powder as provided for in the regulations issued by the Department of the Treasury under the authority of the Gun Control Act.

(5) No person may ship or transport ammunition or components thereof including primers and smokeless powder in interstate or foreign commerce, or receive any ammunition or components thereof including primers and smokeless powder which has been shipped or transported in interstate or foreign commerce, who—

(a) Is under indictment for, or who has been convicted in any court of a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding 1 year;

(b) Is a fugitive from justice;

(c) Is an unlawful user of or addicted to marihuana or any depressant or stimulant drug (as defined in section 201(v) of the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act), or narcotic drug (as defined in section 4731(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954); or

(d) Has been adjudicated as a mental defective or who has been committed to a mental institution.

(6) No person shall transport or ship in interstate or foreign commerce any stolen ammunition or components thereof including primers and smokeless powder knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that such ammunition or components thereof were stolen, and no person shall receive, conceal, store, barter, sell, or dispose of any stolen ammunition or components thereof including primers and smokeless powder which is moving as, which is a part of, or which constitutes interstate or foreign commerce, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the ammunition or components thereof were stolen.

(7) Any ammunition or components thereof including primers and smokeless powder involved in or used or intended to be used in, any violation of the provisions of the Gun Control Act or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, or any violation of any other criminal law of the United States, shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture.

(8) Whoever violates any provision of the Gun Control Act of 1968 or knowingly makes any false statement or representation with respect to the information required by the provisions of the Act to be kept in the records of a person licensed under the Act can be fined \$5,000 and imprisoned for 5 years.

(9) Whoever, with intent to commit an offense punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year or with knowledge or reasonable cause to believe that an offense punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year is to be committed, ships, transports or receives any ammunition or components thereof including primers and smokeless powder in interstate or foreign commerce can be fined \$10,000 and imprisoned for 10 years. It should also be called to the attention of the Subcommittee that Title II of the Gun Control Act of 1968 covers all types of destructive devices including—

(1) Any explosive, incendiary, or poison gas (A) bomb, (B) grenade, (C) rocket having a propellant charge of more than one-quarter ounce, (E) mine, or (F) similar device;

(2) Any type of weapon by whatever name known which will, or which may be readily converted to, expel a projectile by the action of an explosive or other propellant, the barrel or barrels of which have a bore of more than one-half inch in diameter, except a shotgun or shotgun shell which the Secretary or his delegate finds is generally recognized as particularly suitable for sporting purposes;

(3) Any combination of parts either designed or intended for use in converting any device into a destructive device as defined in (1) and (2) above and from which a destructive device may be readily assembled.

The term "destructive device" as defined in the Gun Control Act gives the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Internal Revenue Service jurisdiction over virtually all of the explosive devices with which this Subcommittee is presently concerned.

Small arms propellant powders and primers are used extensively by sportsmen in handloading, or reloading their own rifle, handgun and shotgun ammunition. This handloading of ammunition by the individual sportsman has, in fact, become a major recreation activity in itself over the last decade. Congress has previously recognized the importance of reloading by exempting individual sportsmen who handload ammunition for their own use from the licensing requirements of the Gun Control Act of 1968. We believe that Congress would want to include a similar exemption for reloaders in any explosives bill that it might pass. In addition, the difference in physical properties between small arms propellant powders and ordinary explosive materials makes a distinction between the two quite feasible. Perhaps Congress would wish to exempt entirely from any new explosives legislation small arms ammunition and components thereof as already covered by the Gun Control Act of 1968.

Gun powder, or "black powder," is extensively used by recreational shooters who use antique or replica muzzle loading firearms. Black powder shooting is growing in popularity with special hunting seasons and hunting areas now established in a number of states for this type of sporting firearm. The "North-South Skirmishes" put on by the muzzle loaders are now attended by tens of thousands of spectators. Target shooting matches with these types of firearms are also very popular. National muzzle loading championships may draw over one thousand competitors at a single event. Black powder shooting definitely plays a significant and historical role in the overall recreational shooting picture. So we would also ask the Congress not to place any undue restrictions on those who participate in these legitimate recreational activities.

This Subcommittee has an unenviable job. Probably every high school, college and public library in the nation has chemistry books available which explain how to make explosives. The New York City library, which is open to the public, has an extensive section on explosives. Even the United States government has not been reluctant to print and distribute booklets on how to make explosives.

The difficulties in attempting to prevent those who would misuse explosives from obtaining the ingredients for their acts of destruction are evident. The agricultural industry, which reaches into every county in the United States, distributes ammonium nitrate fertilizer which is inexpensive and easily converted to a high explosive by the addition of diesel fuel.

The various provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968 which are designed to regulate and control explosives and incendiary devices constitute a wide range of existing law which should be an effective tool for law enforcement agencies in their efforts to combat explosives misuse. We respectfully request this Subcommittee not duplicate provisions of the all encompassing Gun Control Act in new legislation. Recreational shooters are already laboring under a network of federal laws and regulations, in addition to state, city and county laws.

We urge this Subcommittee to recognize the exemptions for recreational reloading activities established by the Ninetieth Congress.

Thank you again for providing us with this opportunity to present our views. Respectfully submitted.

CHARLES DICKEY, *Director.*

STATE OF CONNECTICUT,  
County of Fairfield, ss:

I, Roger C. Walz, a Notary Public, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the with Statement of The National Shooting Sports Foundation, Inc., and found it to be a full, accurate, true and correct copy of the original.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal this 31 day of July, 1970.

ROGER C. WALZ,

*Notary Public in and for the State of Connecticut, County of Fairfield.*

(The following document was marked "Exhibit No. 849" for reference and ordered to be printed.)

EXHIBIT No. 849

REPORT TO THE SENATE INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE ON EXPLOSIVES BY MAJOR JOSEPH F. STOFFEL AUS (RET.), 6008 COWIN DRIVE, NW., HUNTSVILLE, ALA., REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF POLICE, 1100 NE. 125TH STREET, NORTH MIAMI, FLA.

AFFIDAVIT

I Major Joseph F. Stoffel AUS (Ret), acting for and in behalf of the American Federation of Police, swear and affirm that the following report to the Senate Investigating Committee on Explosives to be a true statement of facts, circumstances and beliefs:

As to my credentials, I am presently employed as a Supervisory Training Instructor (Ammunition) at the U.S. Army Missile & Munitions Center & School, Redstone Arsenal, Alabama.

I retired from the U.S. Army as a senior Explosive Disposal Officer and have over twenty-five years of comprehensive explosive experience.

Following my retirement in 1961, I wrote the first and at present the only book in print on the subject of Explosives and Homemade Bombs. I also produce a police training kit on the subject that is used by all branches of the Armed Forces, many universities, the R.C.M.P., Treasury Department agencies, the C.I.A., United Nations and other law enforcement agencies throughout the world. I have had many articles published on explosives in trade journals as the Police Chief, Law & Order, Police, and foreign publications.

I am a consultant and instructor for the training arm of the American Federation of Police and have conducted regional training courses on Homemade Bomb Disposal to several thousand officers in Canada, New York, Miami, New Orleans, and Chicago. I have received many recognitions for my training activities from

federal, state, and local agencies including an Honorary Doctor of Laws, Honorary Attorney General of Louisiana, Honorary Citizen of New Orleans, Star of Commendation-Greater Chicago Police Chapter No. 1, and appointment as Colonel, Commissioners Staff, Kentucky State Police.

Until the last few years, the bomb problem in the United States was relatively simple, that is most homemade bombs consisted of one or more sticks of dynamite with fuse, or a section of pipe containing either dynamite or black powder with fuse. There were very few instances where more elaborate triggering devices were used. However, in 1961 the number of disposal of explosives and homemade bombs is delegated to fire departments in some cities, in most others disposal is the responsibility of the police department. Private security forces in industrial plants have to cope with explosive incidents within the plant site. Hospital security personnel have a major evacuation problem when a bomb threat is received. All these various groups must be considered in any training recommendations and plans.

Military explosive disposal units are well trained to cope with unexploded military munitions, but are not trained for actual homemade bomb disposal. The military units are too few in number to provide the quick response that is necessary.

The training of police in explosive subjects has improved during the last few years, but only through the efforts of the Police to help themselves. Aside from the American Federation of Police courses, there is no national coordinated training effort being made to train the large number of officers that must be trained quickly to cope with the problem. There has been no national data collection bank, such as for automobile statistics etc.

During the last nine years I have deplored the lack of national direction and attempted to remedy the situation by producing a basic book on the subject of Explosives & Homemade Bombs, the development of a police training kit, and personally conducting training courses. As evidence of the desperate need for training, officers from as far distant as Arizona, Minnesota, Virginia, and Kentucky, attended the last training course in Chicago in June of this year. Attendees included representatives of sheriff's departments, police, fire, government, industrial, hospital and military security personnel.

*Problems Associated With Small Departments*

The term small departments is a misnomer as I refer to departments that range in size of from three to hundreds of officers. Departments that do not have special equipment, such as bomb trucks, fluoroscopes, electronic amplifying devices, and trained personnel who are able to cope with explosive incidents. In most communities, the number of explosive incidents does not justify the expenditure of money for special equipment. When an explosive incident does occur the attendant hazard to the public and to the law enforcement personnel that are involved is amplified many times when compared to cities that possess full-time expertise and special equipment. Some communities evacuate a school when a bomb threat is received, many others do not. Most cities and states are unprepared when a rash of explosive incidents occur as in California, Washington, Ohio, and Iowa. Suddenly a department has to face to fact that a knowledge of explosives is necessary to an investigation after an explosion has occurred, and when an unexploded bomb is located their lack of trained personnel is calamitous. Actions that are taken very often are a comedy of errors. Cities that possess bomb trucks for transporting unexploded explosives can be counted on the fingers of one hand. For this reason, the training of officers must emphasize the practical; doing the next best thing. The time has already passed for action to cope with bombs during the upcoming school year. Immediate action to train thousands of police officers quickly, is needed.

Anyone can decry the situation and I realize that to continue would belabor the point that there is a very real explosive problem confronting our communities, and that the situation is most desperate in other than our large metropolitan centers.

There is a solution. Not a solution that will end all bombings, but a solution that will allow maximum control and containment with a minimum expenditure of funds and time. *The recommended solution is a three part plan of action consisting of (1) Promulating laws, (2) Promoting research and development of equipment, and (3) Training.*

*(1) Laws*

The suggestion that metal tags with serial numbers be inserted into each stick of dynamite that is manufactured is an excellent example of little in-depth knowledge and little practical thought. This is one of the reasons that the American Federation of Police is concerned that the committee is being provided with somewhat less than knowledgeable suggestions. First, the metal plate would have to be of non-sparking material, such as aluminum in order to meet safety standards for explosives. The metal could not react with the explosive to form sensitive explosive salts or hazards are increased in handling and transport. Any stick of dynamite can be unwrapped and the plate removed. In most instances when a bomber loads a pipe bomb the wrapper is removed from the dynamite. The markings on the tag and wrapper would probably be obliterated, or destroyed in the explosion. The suggestion does not take into account the problems of the manufacture, or allow for the ingenuity of the bomber to nullify the purpose.

Our present laws that govern the manufacture, storage, and interstate shipment of explosives are not adequate. In particular they do not control the small one-case user. It is at the retail and user level that federal and state laws are needed. While explosive laws vary from state to state, they are generally promulgated and supervised by the state fire marshal who does not possess adequate enforcement personnel and control. It is not unusual to find a retailer with dynamite stored in his basement, or to find dynamite stored in the corner of a farm shed. Storage sites are unguarded, even those of large users with a record of thefts. State laws are at wide variance and a bomber has little trouble securing high explosives.

*It is recommended that amendments to present federal laws and the drafting of new laws be accomplished by a committee of knowledgeable individuals, to include representatives of the Justice Department, Interstate Commerce Commission, Explosives Safety Board, and commercial manufacturers. A model explosive law for consideration by state legislators should be drafted. Enforcement of state laws should be the responsibility of state police who possess the authority and the means for proper enforcement.*

The foregoing will not dry up the sources of explosives used by homemade bomb constructors, but it will make explosives harder to obtain and force many bombers to use low explosives, such as black powder that has much less power and force. More stringent laws, in conjunction with other evidence, will help in many instances to obtain convictions of bombers.

Many communities do not possess the facilities, or the knowledge to perform final disposal of a bomb's explosive components.

*It is recommended that clear regulations be published that will authorize military explosive disposal units to pick-up and dispose of commercial types of explosives. This seems to be a grey area in some military commands and line of duty should be provided these men in the event of an accident.*

The theft of weapons, ammunition and explosives from ROTC, National Guard, Reserve, and active military installations have also reached alarming proportions. Every weapon, grenade, or explosive that is taken generally has an immediate repercussion in a nearby community.

*It is recommended that the armed services cause an immediate and continuous survey to be conducted to further insure the security of pilferable weapons, munitions, explosives, and booby-trap firing devices. Explosives that are issued to troops in field training should be placed under more stringent accountability.*

Within the last few years, a new and ominous business has appeared. Individuals in several states supply explosive formulas to youths with the statement—"Manufacture Explosives in your home." There is no serious attempt to restrict sales to adults and advertising is distributed freely at all school levels. Further military manuals on explosives are purchased from the government printing office and resold to youths at a greatly increased price.

*It is recommended that mail-order sales of fireworks and firework components be prohibited. Restrictions must also be placed on the interstate sale of fireworks and explosive formulas. The sale of certain government publications should be stopped.*

Youths that compound dangerous rocket propellant mixtures in their homes have incurred death, or injury in every state. Reputable manufacturers of amateur rockets provide propellant motors that are safe and may be sent through the U.S. Mail. Permissive laws are needed in most states that will place restrictions on the amateur who mixes propellants in his home, but will permit youths to engage in rocketry using safe manufactured motors.

*It is recommended that a model law be drafted for consideration by state legislatures. The law should restrict the basement bomber yet permit legitimate amateur rocketry.*

*(2) Research and Development*

Equipment specifically designed for use by police bomb squads exists by accident rather than plan. The single exception is the bomb truck possessed by a handful of cities. The \$25,000 for a tub-type bomb truck and \$2,200 price for a fluoroscope, is prohibitive for most communities. There are essentially two types of bomb transport trucks, the basket weave used by New York and the tub-type used in Miami and Canada. Neither is satisfactory for general use because of the high cost. There are no small tools designed for bomb squad use in gaining entry into a container of wood or metal. Police are faced with purchasing stock items from hardware shelves. Sparkproof tools of beryllium should be made available. Canada is far in advance of the United States in experimentation to devise bomb squad equipment.

*It is recommended that an immediate allocation of funds be made for research and development of equipment. That research and coordination with other departments and industry be placed under the direction of the Justice Department.*

The following represent a few of the areas that require research and development effort:

1. Devise a slide-in type of bomb transport tub that can be used in conjunction with a pick-up truck, or dump truck.
2. Experiment with various cushioning materials that may be used to direct and partially absorb blast.
3. Devise a small electronic amplifier for detecting muted sound of a wrist watch that is contained in a bomb.
4. Devise portable non-sparking hand tools for gaining entry into suspected bomb containers.
5. Devise pull-apart devices for tearing a bomb open remotely.
6. Test products on the market that could be injected through a small hole and would quickly harden. The object of preventing some devices from firing the bomb.
7. Develop a model operating procedure for coping with bombs and threats to various buildings etc.
8. Coordinate with military experiments that are already being conducted to develop suitable light weight body armor for protection against flash and small caliber bullets. Also develop easily emplaced snap-on armor for covering the inside of windows in a standard police car.

*It is recommended that the Federal Bureau of Investigation data collection system be expanded to include data on homemade bombs and explosive incidents.*

As a minimum the following information is needed:

1. Number of explosive incidents by type
2. Number of exploded homemade bombs
3. Number of unexploded homemade bombs
4. Amount and type of explosive
5. Method of initiation
6. Estimated damage costs

Research and development should be under the direction of the agency that is responsible for training. Feedback reports from student contacts and from communities will cause the training agency to be quickly responsive to the day-to-day needs in the field.

*(3) Training*

Of the three actions mentioned as a solution, laws, research, and training, by far the most important is training. The time is already late for training officers to cope with expected protest bombings this school year. Training must commence at once to be effective and employ the pyramidal system of training.

The pyramidal system consists of training a small group of officers then using this group to train others and in turn others. This system is the only method they can be used to train large numbers of officers in a minimum time frame, and at minimal cost. The training must be knowledgeable to be effective, meaningful and practical to fit the present state of equipment and facilities. Facilities already exist for conducting this type of training and could be quickly utilized with a minimum outlay of funds.

*It is recommended that the direction of and responsibility for this training be placed under the Justice Department with FBI academy facilities and instructors used for this purpose.*

Initial training would be presented to representatives of regional FBI offices. On completion of approximately five days of training the graduates would be provided with slide sets, lesson plans, inert aids and handout materials. These agent instructors would in-turn conduct training for agents in their area and for area law enforcement personnel. The additional agents trained would conduct training using local school facilities, or during in-service training periods now in session. The advantages of bringing the school to the student are apparent: Reduced cost and most important, speed of training.

This is a fast one-time method of training the most individuals in the shortest possible time. For the long run, this training should be incorporated into the regular FBI academy curriculum.

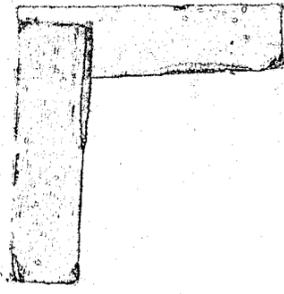
If the recommended pyramidal training suggestion is adopted, as outlined, the undersigned will offer full reproduction rights on all training materials in his possession without cost to the government. Any consultation deemed necessary will also be offered.

Respectfully,

Maj. JOSEPH F. STOFEL, AUS (Ret.).

ARNOLD R. BREEDLOVE,  
A notary in Madison Co., State of Alabama.

My Commission Expires January 7, 1978.



**END**