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SITUATION INFORMATION REPORT

Guerrilla Warfare Advocates in the U. S. A.

Because of the pertinence and timeliness of the recently issued HCUA report titled, "Guerrilla Warfare Advocates in the U. S. A.", pertinent information therein has been summarized and reproduced for such dissemination as may be deemed desirable.

Their weapons will include molotov cocktails, acid bombs, sniper rifles, phosphorous matches, hand grenades and machine guns, among others including a "simple, silent but deadly" weapon which is "most potent at night", the poisoned dart. Other statements spell out the strategy tactics, devices and weapons of groups and individuals who hope to launch guerrilla warfare against the U.S.

HCUA chairman, Congressman Edwin E. WILLIS, in a foreword to the report, expresses the view that guerrilla warfare plotters in this country would pose little danger to the U.S. if this country "did not face an international communist threat with the ever-present possibility of its being militarily engaged in other parts of the world".

Suppressing guerrilla warfare operations in the U.S., however, would pose "a most serious problem", he said, if they were launched simultaneously in a number of major cities while our military forces were committed "in substantial numbers" to actual combat in a number of other areas in the world.

"The threat of guerrilla warfare may be completely dissipated within a few years, or it might be greater than it is today", he added. "Meanwhile", he said, "the committee is releasing the report as part of its duty to inform the Congress and the American people of matters warranting their attention, if our national security is to be preserved.

#### CHAPTER I - Communist Concepts of Guerrilla Warfare

Communists throughout the world have utilized the methods and operations of "guerrilla warfare" to harass, and in some cases destroy, those governments they oppose. The format used is based on the use of small armed bands of irregulars to create anarchy and terror throughout the general population as a means to frighten and "awaken" the populace of a specific region to the political goals of the communists. The only way guerrilla warfare can succeed is through the tacit support, or ambivalence, of a large segment of the general population. This warfare differs distinctly from "conventional warfare" in that it demands a military operation that is fluid and in which the guerrillas, operating in "bands" rather than armies, never directly confront the government forces in massive or decisive battles. To annihilate big enemy manpower and liberate land, guerrilla warfare must eventually move to mobile warfare. It is essential to base most operations in the countryside and attempt to make it impossible for the government to separate potential and actual guerrillas from the rest of the population. Cuba demonstrated three important principles:

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

Other factors are usually also necessary for a guerrilla victory:

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

The guerrillas must have a privileged sanctuary to which they can retreat either within the country or, more likely, an area in an adjacent country which gives aid and comfort to the guerrillas.

Communist organization and control of the guerrilla operation must be concealed in order to win support and aid of the general populace and in waging the international propaganda campaign. The purpose of concealing the communist's creation of a guerrilla movement and the use of a communist front apparatus to run that movement is to neutralize those who can be neutralized and to divide the enemy in order to strike at him more effectively with all forces that can be united.

## CHAPTER II - The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)

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

RAM was founded in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in the Winter of 1963 under the direction of Max STANFORD, a Negro militant. STANFORD has retained leadership position as field chairman in RAM and since 1966 has also been head of the New York Black Panther Party, a creation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and RAM.

Although RAM is under control of STANFORD, it takes its lead from Robert WILLIAMS, who now lives in Peking and is listed as "Chairman-in-exile": WILLIAMS has been militantly active in black civil rights

causes since 1955 and has been espousing violence and hatred since 1959. He fled a federal arrest warrant in 1961 and was in Cuba 1961-1966, from where he wrote and broadcasted urgings to the black people to adopt a violent posture. His statements apparently became too radical even for his CPUSA supporters and he turned more and more to the Maoist line. In the spring of 1966 he left Cuba for Communist China from where he has been operating ever since. He has developed a relationship with Red China's leading communists. In 1963, during an earlier visit from WILLIAMS, Mao issued a statement of China's support of the American Negro's struggle against racial discrimination.

In both mid-1963 and mid-1964, so-called student trips to Cuba were used by WILLIAMS to work with certain students to organize and give impetus to RAM which admittedly was formed by "Afro-Americans who favored Robert WILLIAMS and the concept of organized violence". RAM has operated under a number of different names including UHURU, Afro-American Youth Association, and the Black Panther Party (BPP). While RAM is relatively small in numbers, it does have a growing membership among young Negro extremists who, through a sense of frustration, advocate civil war. WILLIAMS has sent an appeal to revolutionaries throughout the world to support RAM in its struggle. RAM has officially aligned itself with the Communist Viet Cong. RAM members have refused to serve in the U. S. Armed Forces.

J. Edgar HOOVER in February 1967 stated that Max STANFORD of RAM and Stokely CARMICHAEL have worked closely together. CARMICHAEL, who resigned as head of the SNCC in May 1967, has become an open advocate of (Negro) guerrilla warfare in the U. S. H. Rap BROWN, the new leader of SNCC, shares and espouses the same views.

### CHAPTER III - RAM'S New Concept of Guerrilla Warfare

The RAM concept of guerrilla warfare differs from traditional guerrilla warfare principles in a major respect. Robert WILLIAMS, RAM'S mentor on violence, revolution and guerrilla warfare, has advanced a completely new concept applying the traditional rural-based guerrilla tactics to urban areas, particularly those which are densely populated. He believes his principles would enable neutralization of a highly industrialized nation's powerful military forces and the most modern weapons of mass destruction. Briefly the concept is for lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities with the paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas. The concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern weapons - to create conditions that involve/ the total community, whether they want to be involved or not - to sustain a state of confusion and destruction of property - to dislocate the organs of harmony and order and reduce central power to the level of a helpless, sprawling octopus. During the hours of day, sporadic rioting and massive sniping would occur. At night, all-out warfare, organized fighting and unlimited terror would be unleashed against the opposition.

**WILLIAMS** predicted that when such massive violence occurred, the U.S.A. would become a bedlam of confusion and chaos. "Violence and terror will spread like a firestorm. A clash will occur inside the armed forces. At U.S. military bases around the world, local revolutionaries will side with Afro-GI's. Because of the vast area covered by the holocaust, U.S. forces will be spread too thin for effective action. U.S. workers, who are caught on their jobs, will try to return home to protect their families. Trucks and trains will not move the necessary supplies to the big urban cities. The economy will fall into a state of chaos".

(Reviewer's personal note - "While the foregoing account of the extent of the havoc the revolutionaries may expect to wreak may be overly ambitious and exaggerated, it does not seem too far-fetched to suppose that it may be quite possible for them to cause such confusion, disruption and terror (particularly in the nation's capitol) as to make another "Pearl Harbor " seem possible or perhaps even plausible").

The report notes that even with all of the writings and plans of RAM there is no serious discussion of what would take place in this country once the RAM members "gained power". The taking of power implies that the people involved have some serious concept of what "power" involves and also what constitutes a government. To date, the people surrounding RAM have not given any indication of such an understanding. A total state of anarchy could follow a racial civil war in this country. The report surmises that the followers of RAM are so involved in their own brand of political insanity that they seriously believe that once "power" is in their hands, a governmental structure will automatically appear. The assassination of whites and even Negroes who do not support its program is part of RAM'S philosophy.

#### CHAPTER IV - The Harlem Riot - The First Clear Indication

This section relates how the Harlem riot of July 1964 gave the first clear indication that the communists were deeply involved in these disturbances and that they were actually training and directing rioters. A riot is a complex organization. Although there is often a single spark that ignites a riotous situation, it is never an isolated specific that creates the major force behind the riot. Riots - be they racial, social or political - are not created over one lone incident. Conditions for a riot have to build over a period of time. Anger grows until one incident sends the people into the streets.

The Harlem riot, called a "rebellion" by the communists, was the first major riot in which Negroes began an almost systematic destruction of their own "ghetto". It also gave clear indications that the communists were actively engaged in attempting to create riot conditions in most large city black ghettos. A complete picture would depict the communists as the major agitators in the ghetto prior to the riots, and once the riots began, it is equally clear that they did everything in their power to perpetuate them and to intensify them where possible.

The PLP, which might accurately be termed the American arm of the Chinese Communist International, differs from the CPUSA over the "means" to be used to establish the same end - communism. Just as there is international conflict over "theory" between the USSR and Communist China, so are there national conflicts between their advocates throughout the world. The PLP conducted a more militant campaign to discredit the police and to inflame the people during the Harlem riots. The report's author was a participant in the PLP's efforts during this period and the report spells out PLP's role then and it is deemed instructive because it shows exactly how the communists operate in a riot situation.

#### CHAPTER V - Cleveland - "Trained and Disciplined Professionals"

In Cleveland, Ohio the communists and black militant doctrine of promoting and supporting the violence was clearly evidenced and a special grand jury report clearly reflected the role of both.

"This jury finds that the outbreak of lawlessness and disorder was both organized, precipitated and exploited by a relatively small group of loud and disciplined professionals in this business.

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

The majority of the people in the Hough area had no part in either the lawlessness or disorder."

#### CHAPTER VI - The Watts Riot - A Civil Revolt?

The Watts riot of August 1965 was one of the most destructive and ominous of any of the "ghetto" riots to date. Today, the same conditions exist that formented the original Watts riot with the possible exception that more agitators are now at work trying to organize the people.

The spark that apparently set it off - an arrest of a young Negro for drunk driving - followed by a family fight and cries of "police brutality" - was followed by the infamous phrase, "Burn, baby, burn". The riot was undoubtedly caused in part by the resentment of the people of the ghetto toward the police and white people in particular. The report reflects the opinion that "for some time, there has existed a world-wide subversive campaign to stigmatize all police as brutal. The cry of police brutality has been shouted in cities all over the world by communists, dupes and demagogues irrespective of the facts." (this is a 1965 quote from Los Angeles Mayor, Samuel W. YORTY). The report cites facts to support this charge and particularly ties in PLP smear efforts.

CHAPTER VII - Other Pro-Guerrilla Warfare AdvocatesThe Revolutionary Contingent (RC)

This is another guerrilla warfare oriented group - an openly communist organization with headquarters in New York City, which calls for "guerrilla action" in the U.S. as well as for volunteers to serve with communist guerrillas in other nations. Its action regarding the Viet Nam war goes beyond that of the "liberal argument" to "stop the war" but calls for "victory" by the U.S.'s opponents. It was first noted publicly in its appearance during the communist organized and directed New York City "Vietnam Week" march and demonstration, April 15, 1967 and contributed much to the disorder. Its publications call for fast, destructive action and state that violence leads to self-respect.

While the RC is openly communist, it is not affiliated with any of the major communist organizations in the U.S.A. One of its sponsors is quoted as saying that the RC is "completely alienated from the ceremonial left". He described the ceremonial left as the "holy trinity" of the CPUSA, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP-Trotskyist communists), and the PLP. It considers itself supermilitant and radical and proposes to substitute revolutionary action for talk. Because the RC feels that conditions for revolution in the U.S. at present and in the foreseeable future are "minimal and limited" it proposes to send revolutionaries to fight with guerrilla movements in Latin America, Africa and possibly Asia - actually resisting "aggression" now or in the near future.

The RC is representative of and centered around the Free School mentality - the ultraradical communist so filled with revolutionary zeal and hatred of the U.S. that he finds all other existing communist organizations too "conservative".

SDS's "Democratic Society " of Guerrillas

Key leaders of the SDS have given open support to guerrilla warfare in the U.S. SDS, generally recognized as the leading "new left" student organization, is openly radical and leftist.

During the July 1967 SDS convention, the delegates also talked freely about "guerrilla warfare", counterinsurgency techniques" and "guerrilla mentality". Reportedly, it was often questionable as to what the SDS members actually meant when they used these words, however, some of their leaders apparently are certain when they are quoted as saying:

"We are building a guerrilla force in an urban development."

"Che's message is applicable to urban America, as far as the psychology of guerrilla action goes."



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

"We are getting ready for the revolution."

CHAPTER VIII - The Current C. P. Positions

The report documents the idea that the CPUSA has made it clear that it is not opposed to guerrilla warfare against the U.S. Government in principle but that, for strategic reasons, it is opposed to the launching of such warfare at this time. The CPUSA position is that resort to arms now could lead to suicide and set back the movement for years.

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

\* \* \* \* \*

As we see it today, the overwhelming majority of the American people, including black people, are not yet convinced that the system must be changed, much less that it is necessary to do so by armed force." Henry WINSTON, in spelling out the Party's position, hinted; however, that the time may not be far when the Communist Party may reverse its position and support guerrilla warfare against the U.S.

CHAPTER IX - Pre-riot Measures - The Best Defense

This chapter is an effort to analyze some of the factors contributing to mass rioting and ultimately potentially accelerating to guerrilla warfare. As the threat of riots is more immediate at this juncture than that of guerrilla warfare, the report reprints portion of the FBI study, "Prevention and Control of Mobs and Riots".

CHAPTER X - Conclusion

A Major Difference In U. S. Guerrilla Warfare

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

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

If a guerrilla war were initiated from the ghettos of our major cities calling for "black liberation", it would necessarily entail a racial civil war in which black revolutionaries would attempt guerrilla warfare against the white population and the existing government. This fact would necessarily make this a unique guerrilla operation, different in a major respect from those abroad. The base of operations would be in the cities. It would attempt to pit one race against another. Successful guerrilla operations have always depended upon the guerrilla's ability to melt into the general population and to win over a sizable segment of that population to his political position. The concept of black guerrilla fighters working outside the ghetto is only conceivable in the South and even there the issue of race would limit the potential of the revolutionaries.

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

A guerrilla operation could depend on some communists, on ultra-militant black nationalists, and a portion of the lawless elements in the ghetto for support, but it could not hope to sway the majority of Negroes. Secondly, the ghetto could be isolated and bottled up.

Thirdly, the very nature of a conflict between black and white effectively precludes protection from detection.

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

Fifth, once effective counterinsurgency plans were placed into operation and search and seizure operations were instituted, few Negroes could afford to harbor the guerrillas.

There is no doubt that a concerted secretive operation on the part of a small group of black militants and communists could possibly create vast chaos for a short period and could result in the death of a significant number of innocent people, but it could never be successful in overthrowing the government.

The report then briefly suggests measures which could be taken to contain and defeat any such revolutionary uprising. The report concludes that - when the groundwork has been laid by social conditions, economic deprivations, civil disobedience, subversion and political skulldaggery, a riot is born.

Logically, it would seem improbable that even the communists would rationally consider implementing a guerrilla operation in this country.

Numerically small, devoid of much popular support, they would appear to have no political base for such operations. Logic and rationality are not, however, necessary ingredients in the plans of some communists for the U.S. They are obviously capable of making mistakes and it would be just as grievous a tactical error to overestimate their intellectual capabilities as to underestimate their fanatical revolutionary zeal.

There is considerable evidence that not only some communists factions in the U.S. but also certain communist-oriented black nationalist groups, are seriously considering the possibility of initiating armed insurrection in this country. They regard ghetto riots as a prelude to general guerrilla warfare operations. They see the possibility of using Negroes as the shock troops for a revolution. Believing that the Negro ghettos offer a base for such operations, these "tacticians" think that there will be but a short jump from riots to a general rebellion carried out along guerrilla warfare lines. Their guerrilla concepts are founded on raw racism, black man versus white man.

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

Both of these factions in the communist movement are now joined in their agitation - either for riots or for rebellion - by certain ultramilitant black nationalist organizations. Together the two groups pose a serious threat to law and order and the security of the U.S.

In the past months, communists and black nationalists have been working overtime in the various ghettos to further inflame the people into taking violent action. Whether their efforts will lead only to additional riots - or something worse - only the future will tell.

(Personal note of reviewer

It is generally believed that the Communist Party is not genuinely concerned with the plight of the black race except as it represents another means through which to work toward their ultimate goal of world domination by Communism. In view of the remarkable social and economic gains actually made by the American Negro in the last decade and the potential for further progress, it would seem conceivable that the Communist Party, while espousing support of the Negro in his efforts, would actually secretly desire and work for such activity by the Negro as would result in a major setback or abortion of his progress and place him in a position of greater discontent, frustration and need. Rioting, disorder and even guerrilla warfare which would be doomed to failure and probable harsh reprisal or at least would accentuate his hardships may possibly be acceptable to the Communist Party.)