

NEWS OF MUSIC

Dr. King Honored By Gospel Series

By DONALD SMITH
 Staff Writer

"He was chatting with two friends just before starting for dinner. One of the friends was a musician, and Dr. King had just asked him to play a Negro spiritual, 'Precious Lord, Take My Hand,' at a rally that was to have been held two hours later. . . ."

—The New York Times
 April 5, 1968

With tears in his eyes, the musician yesterday afternoon recreated Dr. Martin Luther King's last request.

The occasion was a Southern Christian Leadership Conference benefit concert at All Souls Unitarian Church, 16th and Harvard Streets NW, one of a series of black gospel music concerts in Washington over the weekend.

Ben Branch, director of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket Orchestra and Chorus, told of how King bent over the railing of a motel balcony in Memphis, Tenn., on the evening of April 4, 1968, and asked Branch to play the song, one of King's favorites, "real pretty for me tonight." Mo-

ments later, after King had returned to his conversation with the Rev. Jesse Jackson, an SCLC official who was standing next to him on the balcony, a sniper's bullet felled the civil rights leader.

"Now, we're going to play for you the song the way we

never got to play it for Dr. King," Branch told the audience of about 200 Negroes and whites.

Operation Breadbasket, led by the Rev. Jackson, is an SCLC project aimed at developing employment for poor people.

The Rev. Fauntroy noted that All Souls Church recently appointed a Negro (the Rev. David Eaton) to its pastorship, and quipped, "We are going to inaugurate and initiate this church in a soul session."

The ensemble, which is based in Chicago, includes a 15-member chorus, an electric bass, guitar, drums, piano and an eight-piece brass section. Branch, a skilled saxophonist, blends jazz and blues with his basic material — gospel. Some

of the material is gospel adapted to civil rights, as in "We Are Climbing Freedom's Ladder" (instead of Jacob's Ladder), but most is pure gospel, the ecstatic "good-time" kind heard in fundamentalist churches. The effect is breath-taking.

Two songs in particular, "Together On Our Knees" and "Yield Not To Temptation," were a perfect wedding of all the musical forms, instrumentation and voices.

The group also appeared Friday evening at Howard University's Crampton Auditorium, Saturday at St. Stevens and the Incarnation Church, and at Bethlehem Baptist Church, last night.

The 150-voice Washington-Maryland Diocese Choir of the

Bible Way Church, 1130 New Jersey Avenue NW, presented an anniversary concert of black gospel Saturday night.

The choir, hosted a number of local groups as well as a group from Richmond, the Refugee Young Peoples Choir. One of the local groups, the St. Rose Choir of Holy Trinity Church, 1818 11th Street NW, was particularly effective. In "You Can't Make Me Doubt Him In My Heart," the director became the main performer, manipulating the choir as if it were an instrument — in this case a finely-tuned one.

But the real delight was the Bible Way choir itself. One suspects that 150 voices doing anything would be awe-inspiring, and director Wallace Williams is to be congratulated on his musical skill and the discipline he maintains over such a large group of non-professional singers.

Wash Star
 6/23/69

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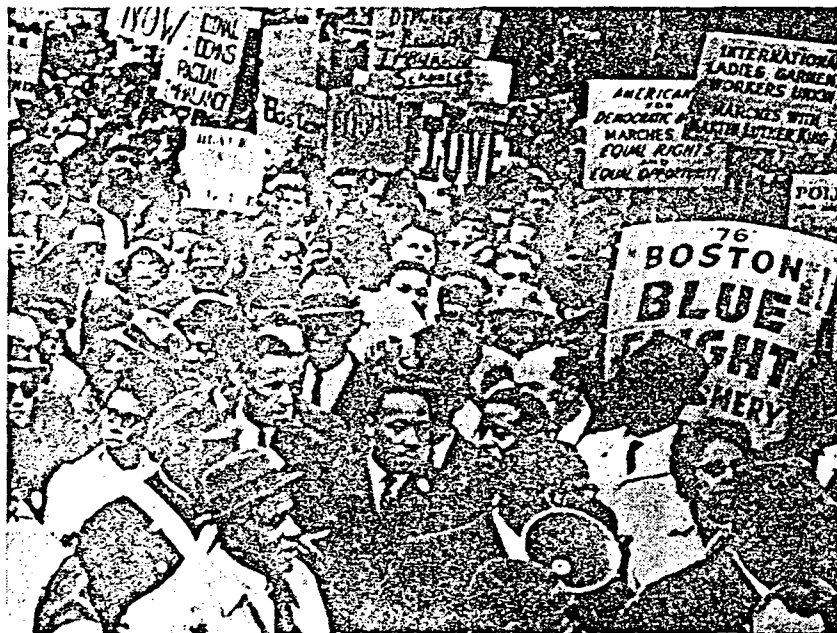
U.S. News & WR
4/26/68

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NOW, DR. KING'S MARCHERS TURN NORTH



—Wide World Photo

Dr. King—in center foreground—leads a racial protest in Boston

BOSTON—This Northern city has become the target of Dr. Martin Luther King's latest protest march.

The Negro minister led about 15,000 people on a three-mile walk to Boston Common on April 23 in a mass protest against alleged racial discrimination in housing and public schools.

Dr. King served notice that later "we will get to New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and many others" of the big cities outside the South.

Boston Negroes, like those in many other Northern cities, complain because many schools in Negro neighborhoods are predominantly Negro in enrollment. They call this *de facto* segregation.

These Negroes demand that some schools in Negro areas be closed and that 5,000 pupils be exchanged between schools in white and Negro neighborhoods to improve racial balance. This would require bus transport of many children.

A majority of the Boston School Committee has rejected the busing demand.

"It is undemocratic, un-American, absurdly expensive, unworkable and diametrically opposed to the wishes of the parents of this city," says Mrs. Louise D. Hicks, committee chairman. She was re-elected by a huge majority in 1963 after opposing previous Negro demands.

"Busing would be an inconvenience," says Dr. King. "But I think our white

little inconvenience to rectify a social situation far greater than an inconvenience."

Negroes found support for their demands in a recent report by a State advisory committee on schools.

The committee found that 45 schools in Boston are predominantly Negro, although Negroes make up only about 23 per cent of the school enrollment.

The committee urged that State funds be withheld from communities not acting to improve racial balance.

(New tack for Dr. King, page 18.)

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

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Words on Rights

After months of pressure against strongholds of Dixie segregation, the thrust of civil rights demonstrations in the South has been slackening over the past few weeks. There were still marches and picketings, and police action to break them up, in a scattering of Southern towns last week. But with the main issue—voting rights—now in the forum of Congress, the continuing agitation seemed, at least for the moment, more of a backwash than a tide. The signs were that civil rights leaders might shift their immediate attention again to the problem of poverty, voter apathy and joblessness that de facto discrimination breeds in the North.

A move in that direction was taken last week by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. who led the campaign in Alabama this spring. On Friday Dr. King brought his civil rights crusade to Boston, whose Negroes have long complained of "ghetto" conditions and whose public schools, according to a recent official investigation, are still racially "imbalanced."

Dr. King led a three-mile march from the Negro section to the Boston Common, where he spoke before a crowd of 20,000 on the theme that Americans "must not become a nation of onlookers" in the civil rights struggle. He and 15 of his followers then conferred with Mayor John F. Collins and presented him with a list of Negro grievances.

As for the voting rights bill before Congress, it reached the floor of the Senate last week, and initial debate showed that a bipartisan coalition of Northern liberals and conservatives was holding firm in its support of the bill's basic formulas. Those formulas provide for appointment of Federal examiners to register Negroes where the Attorney General, upon his own initiative or the complaint of 20 persons, finds discrimination.

The debate also indicated that the Southern bloc would seek to stall the bill by challenging the constitutionality of some of the amendments tacked on by the bill's supporters in the Senate and in the House (where it is before the Judiciary Committee). The expectation still was, however, that even though some of the controversial amendments may have to be dropped or rewritten, and though a shortlived Southern filibuster might take place, the bill was assured of fairly swift passage.

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New York Herald Tribune, 24 April 1965

Dr. King Leads 22,000 in Rain

Boston: First '65 Rights March in North

Special to the Herald Tribune
BOSTON.

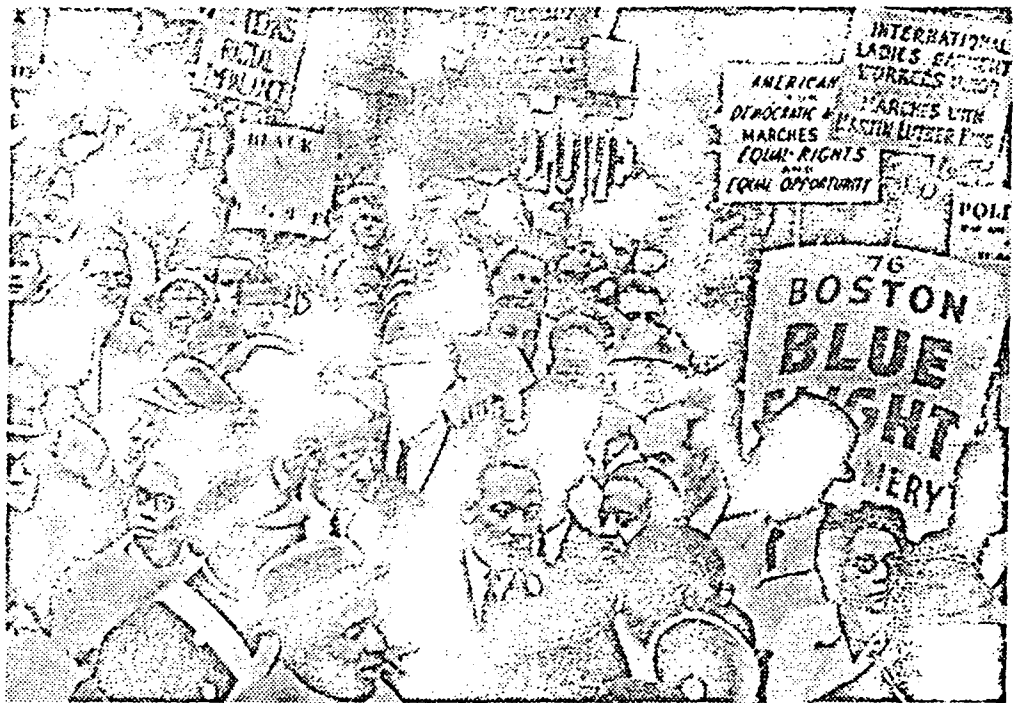
Dr. Martin Luther King stood beneath an umbrella on rain-swept Boston Common yesterday and told the drenched remnants of a massive Freedom Rally that "this will go down as one of the greatest days that Boston has ever seen."

Dr. King wound up his two-day visit, the first mass civil rights demonstration in the North in 1965, with a call for racial equality for all Bostonians.

The Nobel Peace Prize-winning Negro leader earlier led a singing, cheering freedom march from the heart of Roxbury's Negro district to the Common, a procession which swelled from 5,000 to 22,000 as bystanders joined the column all along the route.

Dr. King, ignoring threats of death, headed the march in this "cradle of liberty" after jittery police freed him from enthusiastic mobs who trapped him in his car for an hour.

Dr. King spent a "fruitful" hour closeted with Boston's Mayor John F. Collins, a meeting delayed nearly three hours by the late-starting parade, during which Mr. Collins waited patiently in his City Hall Office.



Associated Press wirephoto

"A NEW BOSTON" was the rallying cry of Dr. Martin Luther King, surrounded here on Boston Common by civil rights demonstrators during the march yesterday.

Dr. King pointedly stood up Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, chairman of the Boston School Committee and her colleagues, who waited in their chambers through the day, "available" if King wished to reconsider their invitation for a conference. Dr. King on Thursday flatly refused to attend the

meeting, which Mrs. Hicks had stipulated would be open to him but closed to Boston leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other local Negro civil righters.

It began to drizzle when an aid, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, introduced Dr. King at

the Common rally as "the Moses of the 20th century."

"He is my perennial jail-mate," said Mr. Abernathy, vice-president of the SCLC, which Dr. King heads.

"Until the French go back to France, until the Irish go back to Ireland, until the

More on BOSTON—P 2

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Boston: Dr. King Leads 22,000 in Rain

(Continued from page one)

Mexicans go back to Mexico and until the white man gives this country back to the Indians, until then—the Negro is here to stay," Mr. Abernathy said.

Dr. King told the rally:

"I come to Boston not to condemn, but, instead, to encourage this great city. The vision of the new Boston must extend into the heart of Roxbury."

His visit here, in response to the call of local SCLC leaders, was to underscore charges of racial imbalance and de facto segregation in Boston schools. Boston, he said, is only the first stop on a planned tour of Northern cities in the coming months, which will include New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, and Baltimore.

CHARGES

Labeling segregation a "new form of slavery, Dr. King said the freedom rally was designed to "make Boston a better city." Rev. Virgil A. Wood, Boston leader of SCLC, presented a Bill of Particulars to Mayor Collins. It detailed charges of inequality in education, housing and economic opportunity in Roxbury. Mr. Wood called Roxbury "Boston's permanent disaster area."

Praising Gov. John A. Volpe, whom he met on Thursday during an appearance before the Massachusetts Legislature, Dr. King said:

"It is not easy to see the governors of some of our states. I've yet to meet Gov. Wallace of Alabama."

Cutting short the rally be-

cause of the cold rain and his overdue meeting with Mayor Collins, Dr. King and his entourage later whisked to Logan International Airport and a 5 p. m. flight to Los Angeles. The California city is one of the metropolises which Dr. King said he would visit this summer to hear and see firsthand, conditions of racial inequality.

The morning Freedom March drew thousands from the city suburbs, the out-of-town marchers arriving by bus for a full hour before the

scheduled parade start. They jammed Roxbury's Carter Playground, carrying placards and bag lunches, and were entertained by folk-singing groups while awaiting Dr. King's arrival.

HETEROGENEOUS

In the line of march were Roman Catholic priests and nuns, rabbis, Protestant clergymen, students and several cripples in wheel chairs. About one-third of the marchers were white.

Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, 73-

year-old mother of former Gov. Endicott Peabody, was among the marchers. Only last year, Mrs. Peabody was arrested in a racial demonstration at St. Augustine, Fla.

The marchers stepped off eight abreast, but their ranks expanded to thirty abreast as they neared the downtown area and hundreds of on-lookers joined up at every intersection. Hundreds of schoolchildren, on Easter vacation, were in the line of march and thousands more watched from the sidewalks, as kids will do for any parade.

"He's my savior," shouted one Negro woman from the sidewalk.

But another Negro woman said:

"If those people would get on their knees and pray, they would do more good than all this marching around."

Bearing dramatic witness to their feelings about racial equality, white and Negro mothers with babes in arms exchanged their infants as they marched.

The parade and rally were orderly, with but one incident marring the start. A white picket, identified as Josef Mlot-Mroz of Salem, president of the Polish Freedom Fighters in the USA, appeared at the Roxbury playground bearing signs which read, "Martin Luther King is a trouble-maker — Truman," and "Liar—J. Edgar Hoover," in reference to the remarks about King by former President Truman, and the FBI chief. The picket was escorted from the playground by parade officials.



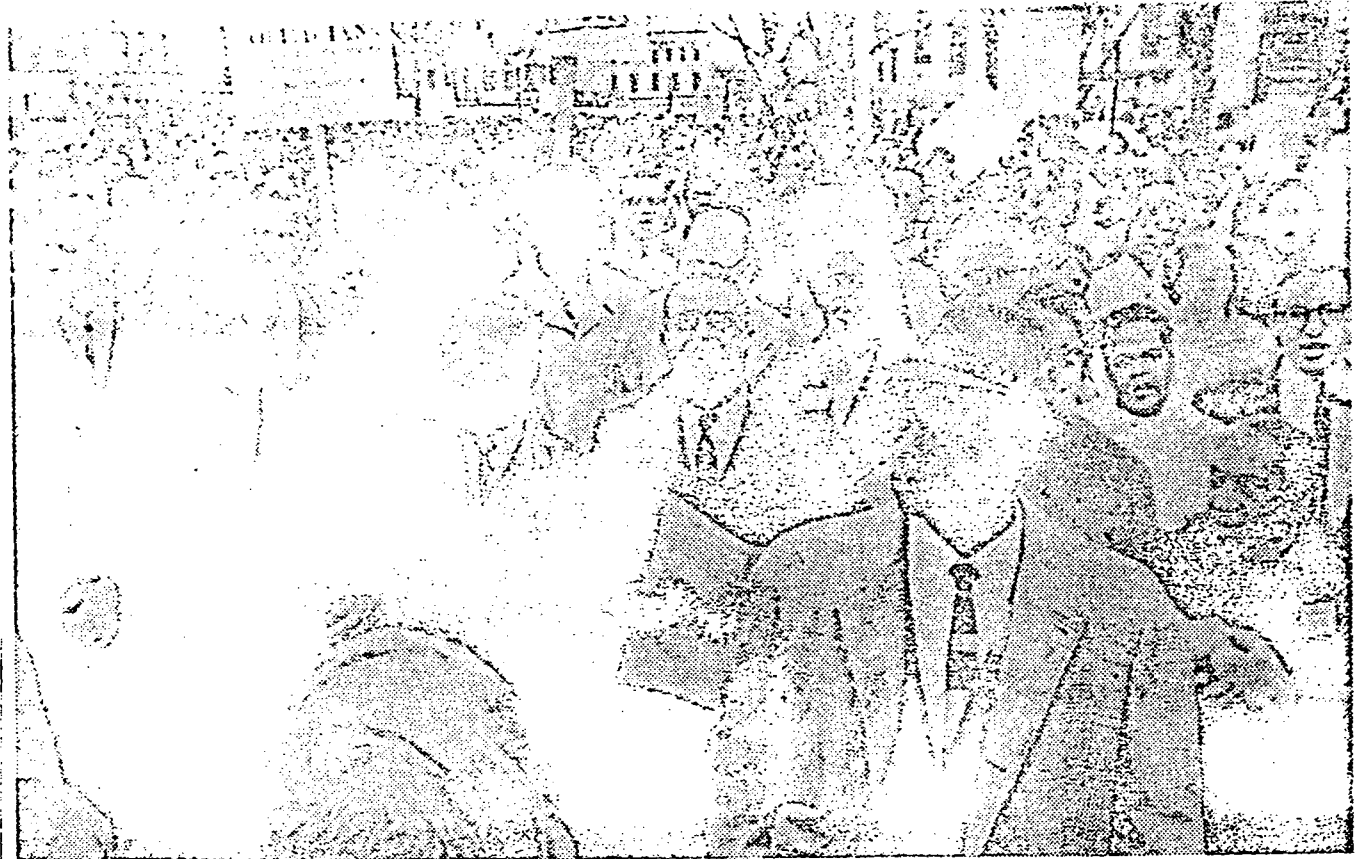
Herald Tribune—UPI telephoto

ACTIVIST—Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, who is 71, and mother of the former Massachusetts Governor, Endicott Peabody, talks with a marcher yesterday in Boston, before joining the civil rights protest demonstration.

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HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM



New York Times, 24 April 1965

Associated Press Wirephoto

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. marches in Boston, arms linked with the Rev. Virgil A. Wood, left, head of Massachusetts branch of Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Rev. Ralph Abernathy is on Dr. King's left.

By JOHN H. FENTON

Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, April 23—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. preached his message of civil rights to a rain-soaked throng today on Boston Common, where Ameri-

can patriots have marched and gathered for three centuries. Protected from an increasing drizzle by an umbrella held by an aide, the Negro leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference said in measured pul-

pit tones that Americans "must not become a nation of onlookers" in the battle against segregation. The police estimated the crowd at about 20,000. It jammed a semicircular area of folding chairs and wooden

benches around a bandstand. The Boston Common ceremony followed a three-mile protest march from the heavily Negro section of Roxbury in a chilly east wind.

Continued on Page 12, Column 5

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Dr. King, in Boston Rain, Warns Against a Nation of Onlookers

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

As the rain increased some of the crowd ran to marquees on nearby Tremont Street for protection. But most of them stood through Dr. King's 25-minute speech.

At the end, Dr. King was driven to City Hall for a talk with Mayor John F. Collins.

The march and the session with Mayor Collins both were more than two hours behind schedule. As a result, Dr. King had to rush from City Hall to catch a plane, ending his two-day visit.

Before departing, he left the impression that Boston would serve as a Northern laboratory for civil rights in the coming summer.

The Rev. Virgil A. Wood, president of the Massachusetts unit of Dr. King's conference, said the march had been delayed by a turnout far beyond expectations. He estimated the crowd at 50,000.

'You Come to Us'

In a preliminary speech from a bandstand on the Common, Mr. Wood read part of a statement he said would be presented to Mayor Collins. He said the Mayor would be told that "since you refused to come to our 'disaster area' known as Roxbury and tour the community and seek the conditions when we invite you in the past to come, we come to you this time. The next time you had better come to us."

But Dr. King adopted a milder tone. Asking why civil rights workers had staged a march here, he asserted:

"I come not to condemn but

to encourage. I would be dishonest to say Boston is Birmingham or that Massachusetts is a Mississippi. But it would be irresponsible for me to deny the crippling poverty and the injustices that exist in some sections of the community."

The march had been scheduled to start from Carter Playground, a children's recreation area in Roxbury, at 9:30 A.M. But Dr. King arrived more than an hour late. He explained that he had been "conferring with several leaders."

By that time, several thousand enthusiastic marchers swarmed around Dr. King's car, and he remained inside until the crowd dispersed enough to let him emerge about 11:30 A.M. There were no incidents along the line of march, which was well covered by several hundred policemen.

15 Confer With Mayor

After the speeches, Dr. King and about 15 of his followers conferred for about 50 minutes with the Mayor.

Mr. Wood said the Mayor had been presented a "bill of particulars" on Negro grievances and that the Boston group would return in a week to talk further.

Mr. Wood said that housing, unemployment and welfare had been discussed and that Mayor Collins had promised "he would work diligently on them."

Mayor Collins said, "I certainly enjoyed the opportunity to talk with Dr. King. He is a pleasant and articulate gentleman."

Of the bill of particulars, Mayor Collins said, "I am going to read them and do what I can."

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FILE NUMBER

J 4-24-65 (A-2)

Pin Him in Car for Hours

BOSTON, April 23 (UPI) last year. Mrs. Beardsley was. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. led a civil rights march in this "Cradle of Liberty" today after jittery police, who proclaimed today police freed him from enthusiastic "Dr. Martin Luther King" mobs and trapped him "Day" in Massachusetts, and in his car for an hour. "not match, apparently because."

He walked at the head of a he still was suffering from a column of 1500 persons—feet from a hotel and—about half as many as entered Tuesday. Dr. King in the pated — from a Negro slum area. Volpe said and all appeared to a rally on Boston commons for this weekend. Common. The rally attracted on advice of his doctor, about 22,000 persons.

Speaking at the rally in a The wall of admirers, and King and the minister Negro police were a person in getting the marchers back to the "Cradle of Liberty" organized into ranks during it. He said it would be the start of the three-mile parade to "equally Boston" for two hours. with Birmingham, but it also.

Altogether, he said, would be enough police to take care of the march. He said the police that is.

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Return Promised

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

DATE

PRESS CONFERENCE

On the Avenue

The group had the look of a decontamination unit mopping up after an atomic explosion. Stumbling down the street, interfering with traffic, all jabbering at once, arms flailing in all directions, was a tangle of men loaded down with electronic equipment. But the only explosive item in sight was Harry Truman, out for a morning stroll while visiting Manhattan. The city's TV newsmen were on hand, milking him for every jaunty, testy word as they pursued him for 20 minutes from his hotel at Madison and 76th, over to Fifth Avenue, up a few blocks and then back again.

As always when they follow Harry on one of his walks, the TV types got all the words they wanted. The ex-President was in town to receive an award from Freedom House, an organization that promotes international cooperation, and he was in a talkative mood. The brisk stride is gone now, and he moves slowly and stiffly, but Truman at 80 still manages to stage one of the more remarkable of modern press conferences.

Above the din and bustle of cameramen, soundmen and reporters, somebody managed to shout: "What about the violence in Selma?" Answered Harry: "Busybodies brought most of it about. If they'd stayed home and tended to their own business, they'd be much better off."

The man from Independence has said the same sort of thing many times before. But either the reporters had not read their newspapers or they wanted to goad him on.

What about the march to Mont-

gomery? one asked. Didn't that seem impressive?

Not so far as Harry thought. He had meant what he said. "It was silly," he snapped. "What good did it do?"

What about civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King and James Farmer?

"They're troublemakers."

Is Martin Luther King a troublemaker? a reporter persisted.

"One of the first-class troublemakers."

Has King made any contribution?

"He's caused more trouble than he's made a contribution."

He won a Nobel Prize, didn't he?

"I didn't give it to him."

Even at the Freedom House dinner in his honor, Truman was no less salty than he had been on his sidewalk constitutional. After receiving his award, he said: "It's wonderful to be able to hear the preaching at your own funeral and still be able to walk around."



HARRY TRUMAN STROLLING WITH REPORTERS
All the words they—and he—wanted.

TIME, APRIL 23, 1965

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CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM

OFFICE AND TITLE

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A Big Night

JAMES A. WECHSLER

It seemed widely agreed that nothing like this had happened before in the se-lute 411 Street quarters of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Martin Luther King's address was scheduled to begin at 8:30; but many minutes before eight, the meeting hall was filled to its capacity of 650 and by the time he began the overflow had filled another room of nearly comparable capacity and the latest arrivals clustered upstairs in smaller refuges to hear his microphoned message.

Actually, two days after the Association mailed out the announcement of Dr. King's appearance, it had received 1,800 applications for tickets by mail or in person. Within two more days the figure had reached 4,000. In deference to hallowed tradition, the Association declined to hire a larger hall, excluded television cameras and invited journalists to make their own sitting, or standing, arrangements. But these faithful observances of custom rendered the evening no less extraordinary.

The size and demeanor of the assemblage were the most memorable aspects of the occasion. For much of what Dr. King said had been said before, by himself and others. But it was heard in almost reverent silence and acclaimed at the end by a standing ovation even more fervid than the greeting he received when he was introduced.

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It may be said that the tribute was in part symbolic, a form of vicarious involvement in the struggles King has led and a recognition of his place in the history of the most meaningful movement of our lifetime. Yet it was also a deeply personal acknowledgement. Delivered by anyone else, much of his address would have seemed a recital of familiar ritual, with certain special emphasis on the role of lawyers in the quest for justice. But King has a rare talent for imparting the quality of passion and revelation to a reminiscent statement.

One is reduced to the tortured word charisma in describing the event. Plainly the audience felt that it was in the presence of a man of unusual strength and spirit whose commitment to the gospel of non-violence is neither artifice nor expedient. It inevitably identified him with great scenes in which he has met the test of his allegiance, and his small, sturdy frame became the personification of the quiet valor of which so many had read.

One was also reminded, especially in the interlude of questions and answers, of the adroitness and sensitivity of his mind. He knew the nature of the company in which he was speaking; he talked in thoughtful, unagitated tones and he was well-prepared for the troublesome question of the evening.

The question was how he justified the practice of civil disobedience in those areas where the remedy of law exists. His answer was both subdued and pointed. He believed such demonstrations must be selective, designed to deal with the most intolerable of grievances in which the search for lawful redress had been thwarted too long, but he repeatedly emphasized that those who participate in such protests must be ready to accept cheerfully the penalty for their defiance. It is this moral courage that crucially differentiates the equality crusader from the segregationists who would seek to evade both the law and the consequences of evasion.

This is the ground on which King has held fast while some forces in the civil rights movement have derided him for undue devotion to principle.

For one who has heard his recital in other settings, the intriguing lines last night were a diversion from the main theme. What the nation needs, he suggested, is a "divine discontent" too often described in psychiatric clinics as a condition of "maladjustment."

He proudly proclaimed his own "maladjustment" to segregation, religious bigotry, the "madness of militarism" and "the self-defeating effects of physical violence." The choice, he argued, is between non-violence and non-existence; he called for the creation of an International Association for the Advancement of Maladjustment.

The solemn stillness amid which he had spoken for many minutes was finally broken by laughter. It was the only interruption until he finished. Then, even in the overflow room where he had been heard but not seen, there came the ovation that no old timer could remember having heard before in these august halls.

I long ago abandoned any belief in political saints, and Martin Luther King would demand no exemption from that rule of skepticism. I am sure he is intermittently afflicted by the disease of vanity, and other ailments common to the human condition. Possibly that is what enhances his magnetism; there emerges in each confrontation the sense that this man, whom some of the precocious young militants of the civil rights movement scornfully call "de lawd" is very much part of this earth. It was also hard to forget, as one watched him receive the bravos of this city's Bar Association, that not too long ago the director of the FBI was portraying him as some species of public enemy; to the best of my knowledge, no Bar Association any

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SUBJECT

ones. "The white press," Williams says, "so thoroughly indoctrinated King and his people with the idea that the capitulation of the bus company [following the Montgomery, Ala., boycott] was a victory for the blacks that they believed it; believed, too, that other things would inevitably fall like tin soldiers, all in a neat line."

King, says Williams, suffered from a fatal inability to perceive what was happening to him, and believing in himself, continued to lash out at the white power structure. "He did not understand that it had armed him with feather dusters," Williams writes. "He was a black man and therefore always was and always would be naked of power, for he was slow, indeed unable, to perceive the manipulation of white power, and in the end white power killed him."

But not, Williams believes, without some help from King himself, for King

white society: he compromised. Says Williams: "Compromises that seem to favor black people have always turned out to be defeats for them. 'Political expediency' is nonexistent for Negroes. The demands made must be stood by."

The Doctors. Only toward the end of his career, Williams feels, did King fully understand the realities of power in America and begin to take the steps that would have made him a truly effective leader by seeking to unite the nation's poor across class and color lines against the Viet Nam War. This idea, Williams argues, so threatened the hegemony of the white power structure group that it decided that King must be destroyed.

King unwittingly provided the noose. Suspecting that some of his associates had Communist connections, the FBI began tapping King's telephone and bugging his hotel rooms in 1963. From a se-

UPI

TIME 8-17-70

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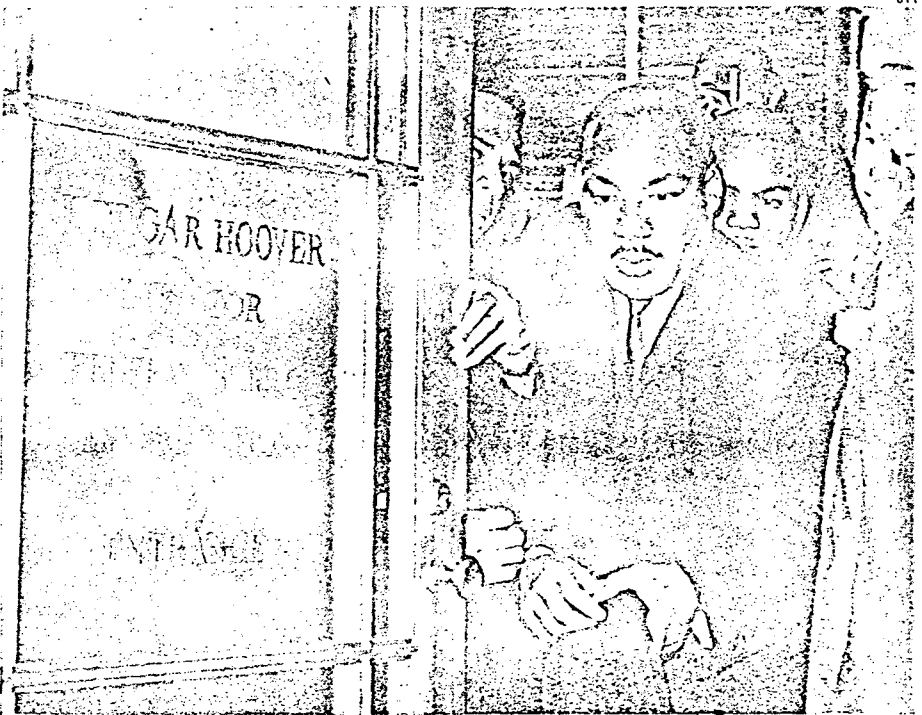
OPINION

Posthumous Pillory

No black American was so widely honored in his lifetime; and yet, as ~~the~~ ^{the} blacks denounced Martin Luther King Jr. as a Communist and worse, ~~ERL~~ ^{ERL} ~~Dr.~~ ^{Dr.} J. Edgar Hoover once publicly branded him a liar, and militant blacks eventually came to see him as a "sellout" to the white Establishment. Now a black writer has added yet another—and unlikely—epithet to those fastened on the assassinated leader. In a new book, *The King God Didn't Save* (Coward-McCann, Inc.: \$5.95), Novelist John Williams (*Night Song*, *The Man Who Cried 'I Am'*) calls King a failure.

Full of frustration and seething black anger, Williams' book is both a compassionate catalogue of King's strengths and achievements and an agonizing reappraisal of his weaknesses. Dedicated to the memory of the man Martin Luther King "could have become had he lived," the book argues that King was the complicitous victim of a "white power" plot to manipulate, castrate and ultimately destroy him.

Fatal Inobedience. Though Williams' work is disorganized and repetitive, its message is clear. Williams believes that white power corrupted and then co-opted King by making him believe that he had power when, in fact, he had none, by granting him minor concessions so that he could not demand major



KING LEAVING HOOVER OFFICE (1964)

Armed with feather dusters and flawed by hubris.

suffered from the tragic flaw of *hubris*. An ambitious, middle-class Christian, he sought success and basked in the public recognition that his efforts brought him, says the author, who interviewed many of King's friends and associates in preparing his book. King gloated over a magazine poll that showed him to be the nation's most respected black leader, savored his meetings with presidents and kings, accepted the Nobel Prize as if it were an inalienable right rather than a cherished award.

But he could not, states Williams, relate to the black underclass or understand its impatience with a system that refused to recognize its legitimate demands. Because of this lack of understanding, the angry Williams charges, King did what no black leader can afford to do if he is really to influence

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Private Detail. Most newspapers ignored the rumors and leaks to them of King's extramarital activities, but their existence undermined King's effectiveness just the same. The effect, says Williams, was one of slow political assassination; King was spared it only by the bullet of James Earl Ray.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

DATE

SUBJECT

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Williams has the correct outline of the FBI tape story. What he does not have is precisely what happened at the celebrated meeting between FBI Director Hoover and King in 1964. Hoover, TIME learned, explained to King just what damaging private detail he had on the tapes and lectured him that his morals should be those befitting a Nobel prize-winner. He also suggested that King should tone down his criticism of the FBI. King took the advice. His decline in black esteem followed, a de-

cline scathingly narrated by Williams.

Williams' anger over the slow progress of the fight for equality is more understandable than some of his charges. His depiction of "white power" as "a marsh underfoot for anyone not white . . . treacherous and deadly" is, of course, wildly exaggerated. Far more serious, King himself was less a victim than he was a victor. His leadership brought conscience and cohesion to the cause of black equality, while his faith in the tenets upon which the

country was founded forced Americans to recognize the equity of his demands and Congress to take action to meet them.

King's compromises were not capitulations, but sane and sound recognition of the way progress historically has been wrung from the American system. He may have failed to reach his ultimate goal. But by serving as the catalyst in the formation of a truly national civil rights movement, he laid the groundwork for its possible success in the future.

OFFICE AND TITLE

SIGNATURE

so thoroughly indoctrinated King and his people with the idea that the capitulation of the bus company [following the Montgomery, Ala., boycott] was a victory for the blacks that they believed it; believed, too, that other things would inevitably fall like tin soldiers, all in a neat line."

King, says Williams, suffered from a fatal inability to perceive what was happening to him, and believing in himself, continued to lash out at the white power structure. "He did not understand that it had armed him with feather dusters," Williams writes. "He was a black man and therefore always was and always would be naked of power, for he was slow, indeed unable, to perceive the manipulation of white power, and in the end white power killed him."

But not, Williams believes, without some help from King himself, for King

Williams: "Compromises that seem to favor black people have always turned out to be defeats for them. 'Political expediency' is nonexistent for Negroes. The demands made must be stood by."

The Doctors. Only toward the end of his career, Williams feels, did King fully understand the realities of power in America and begin to take the steps that would have made him a truly effective leader by seeking to unite the nation's poor across class and color lines against the Viet Nam War. This idea, Williams argues, so threatened the hegemony of the white power structure group that it decided that King must be destroyed.

King unwittingly provided the noose. Suspecting that some of his associates had Communist connections, the FBI began tapping King's telephone and bugging his hotel rooms in 1963. From a se-

OPINION

Posthumous Pillory

No black American was so widely honored in his lifetime: yet segregationists denounced Martin Luther King Jr. as a Communist and worse, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover once publicly branded him a liar, and militant blacks eventually came to see him as a "sellout" to the white Establishment. Now a black writer has added yet another—and unlikely—epithet to those fastened on the assassinated leader. In a new book, *The King God Didn't Save* (Coward-McCann, Inc.; \$5.95), Novelist John Williams (*Night Song*, *The Man Who Cried I Am*) calls King a failure.

Full of frustration and seething black anger, Williams' book is both a compassionate catalogue of King's strengths and achievements and an agonizing reappraisal of his weaknesses. Dedicated to the memory of the man Martin Luther King "could have become had he lived," the book argues that King was the complacent victim of a "white power" plot to manipulate, castrate and ultimately destroy him.

Fatal Inability. Though Williams' work is disorganized and repetitive, its message is clear. Williams believes that white power corrupted and then corrupted King by making him believe that he could not, in fact, he had made some minor concessions and that he could not demand major



KING LEAVING HOOVER OFFICE (1964)

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suffered from the tragic flaw of hubris. An ambitious, middle-class Christian, he sought success and basked in the public recognition that his efforts brought him, says the author, who interviewed many of King's friends and associates in preparing his book. King gloated over a magazine poll that showed him to be the nation's most respected black leader, savored his meetings with presidents and kings, accepted the Nobel Prize as if it were an inalienable right rather than a cherished award.

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well Daniel, Selma, Ala., and Jerry Mallard Daniel, Macon, Ga.; two sisters, Mrs. Norris C. Tucker, Savannah, Ga., and Mrs. Leroy Kirkendahl, Sylvania, Ga.; brother, Rev. Robert C. Daniel, Augusta; mother, Mrs. Lucille Carter Daniel, Sylvania; four grandchildren. Friends may call at Hopper-DeLoach Funeral Home until the time of services.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, May 6, 1968]

LAST RITES TODAY FOR J. C. DANIEL

WAYNESBORO, Ga.—Funeral services for James Carswell (Moody) Daniel, 53, husband of Mrs. Lorraine Mallard Daniel, who died Saturday in an Augusta hospital, will be held at 4 p.m. today at Waynesboro First Baptist Church. The Rev. Harold Rowland will officiate. Burial will be in Magnolia Cemetery, Waynesboro.

The son of the late James Carswell Daniel of Burke County, Ga., he was an honorary member of University of Georgia's Gridiron Society.

Friends may call at the home, 436 Pine St., Waynesboro.

Pallbearers will be Paul Stone, Malcolm Mobley, Gilbert S. Peel, Frank Cates Griffin, James Posey, Tom Cooper, Ralph Elliott and J. C. Palmer, Jr.

Honorary pallbearers will be J. C. Palmer, Sr., Quinton Rogers, M. A. Miller, Jr., John W. Walker, Preston B. Lewis, Jr., John R. Bates, J. D. Barger, Dr. J. M. Byne, O. J. Clett, Raymond De Laigle, Freddy McKinney, Jessie McCullough, Robert G. Stephens, Jack Ray, Phil Campbell, Glenn Phillips, Bill Bryan, Ovid Davis, George L. Smith, Jack Eland, Bill Lanier, Al Fowler, Arthur Bolton, Ernest S. Vandiver, Julian Cox, Robert Troutman, A. T. Bray, Rountree Youmans, George Busbee, Crawford Pilcher, Dixon Oxford, Jim Gillis and Carl Sanders.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, May 9, 1968]

JAMES CARSWELL DANIEL

When death claimed James Carswell (Moody) Daniel of Waynesboro Saturday, it was a distinct loss not only for his family and for Burke County neighbors, but also for the state of Georgia.

Mr. Daniels had carried out responsibilities and exerted a beneficent influence in many spheres, as a member of Masonic bodies of the Georgia Farm Bureau and of the Baptist Church. It was in the political realm, however, that he possibly was best known and most widely effective in advancing democratic processes.

As chief aide to the speaker of the House of Representatives, he was well and favorably known. The homespun manner and cordial approach which were a genuine and deeply felt part of his nature won him many friends. And, as consultant to the Georgia commissioner of agriculture, he had a voice in farm policies of his native state.

His genial and sincere role in public affairs was one which few can fill.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, May 9, 1968]

STATE OFFICIALS PAY TRIBUTE TO MOODY DANIEL

A large delegation of state government officials headed by Gov. Lester Maddox attended funeral services in Waynesboro Monday for J. C. (Moody) Daniel.

In attendance with the governor, Lt. Gov. George T. Smith and House Speaker George L. Smith were numerous state officials and a majority of the members of the Georgia General Assembly.

The largest crowd in the memory of most Waynesboro citizens gathered to pay tribute to Mr. Daniel's memory.

EDITORIAL COMMENT: COMMUNITY AND STATE LOSE "MOODY" DANIEL

(By Roy F. Chalker)

The untimely passing of James Carswell "Moody" Daniel leaves Burke County with a distinct sense of loss.

Indeed, his loss to the state government will be felt in many places.

He was serving as Chief Aide to the Speaker of the House of Representatives as he had for several years, and as Consultant to the Commissioner of Agriculture. In these positions he had built up a wide circle of friends among the politically great and near-great. His kindly manner and helpful attitude to everyone earned him a place of indispensability in the legislative and administrative branches of state government.

Moody had been a close personal friend of the last four or five governors. All of them depended upon him in their relations with the legislature.

He was helpful to his home people. It was generally understood that he was one of the best people to secure attention and favors from state officials and departments.

Moody pursued his political battles with diligence, but he seemed never to carry a grudge. He was ready to do a favor for anyone, regardless of his previous political affiliation.

He could always be depended upon to do the hard and necessary work in any project that he felt was to the best interest of his community or Church. For instance, several years ago he personally conducted a campaign that resulted in air conditioning the First Baptist Church.

His place of leadership and friendship state-wide and in his home community will not soon be duplicated.

THE UNTOLD STORY OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John S. Perilloux, of New Beach, Hawaii, offers a documented story of Martin Luther King, Jr. with which he feels the American people should reacquaint themselves before the past is forgotten—and history written from halftruths.

I include Mr. Perilloux' "Untold Story" in the Record:

THE UNTOLD STORY OF MARTIN LUTHER KING

(By John S. Perilloux)

Few men have had so many words spoken and written about them as has had the late Martin Luther King, Jr. The Reverend King was the center of a storm of controversy and violence from the time he achieved prominence in 1955, when he led a successful boycott against the bus system of Montgomery, Alabama, until the day of his death in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968. Indeed, the controversy continues even after his death.

Because of his success in the bus boycott King gained the respect and admiration of many Americans. Overlooked by some, and unknown to most, were the character and backgrounds of the men and women chosen by King to assist him in his assault upon such formidable obstacles as segregation and racial prejudice. Had he enlisted the support of worthy people as his immediate aides, King could have been a potent force in strengthening America and uplifting his people.

However, such was not the case, and from the pinnacle of success in 1955 he descended to an all-time low in April of 1967 when he called the United States "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today."

Who was this man who has been commended as a man of peace and damned as an apostle of violence? To those liberal and bleeding hearts who have not intelligently discerned what King had been saying and doing during his twelve years of prominence this may come as a shock and a tragedy. To those of us who have followed his activities closely and have been aware of his questionable activity it comes as no surprise at all. In 1967 the real Martin Luther King stood up, and yet, where is the criticism he deserved and should have gotten?

On January 15, 1929, Michael Luther King, Jr., was born in a 13-room home in Atlanta, Georgia. When he was six his father changed both their names to Martin. He entered Morehouse College in Atlanta at the age of 15 and from Morehouse went to Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania.

In 1955 King became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. On December 1st of that year a Montgomery bus driver ordered Negroes to stand so Whites could sit. One woman, Mrs. Rosa Parks, refused and was arrested. Within hours Negroes began a boycott against the bus system which was to last for more than a year. King's gift of articulateness, his willingness to defy city officials, and his apparent lack of personal motives made him the natural leader of the boycott. When the boycott ended Martin Luther King had become world-famous.

But who had assisted King in toppling segregation on Montgomery buses? Surely, no one man, no matter how articulate or how brave, could succeed in such an undertaking alone. And who is Mrs. Rosa Parks?

Dr. King led the boycott as the head of the Montgomery Improvement Association, which may have been formed by the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, former convict who has also been President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (1) The SCEF had been formed from the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Identified communist James A. Dombrowski was administrator of the SCHW. Paul Crouch, one of its founders, and an admitted communist from 1925 to 1942 testified that the SCHW "was intended to lead to class hatred and race hatred, dividing class against class and race against race." (2) The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee exposed the SCHW, stating that it was "conceived, financed, and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 to promote communism in the Southern States." After the SCHW was exposed the Party replaced this organization with the Southern Conference Education Fund. (3)

This new communist front continued to use the same address as the SCHW, the same publication, the same telephone number, and almost identical officers. Dombrowski continued to serve as administrator, identified communist Aubrey Williams remained on the board, and identified communist Carl and Anne Braden were made field secretaries. After conducting an investigation the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee described the SCEF as a communist transmission belt for the South. (4)

It is extremely interesting that the President of the SCEF was at one time the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, founder of the Montgomery Improvement Association and Vice President of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Also in the Montgomery Improvement Association with King and Shuttlesworth was Bayard Rustin. BI reports state that Rustin joined the Young Communist League in 1934 and at the College of the City of New York.

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York and was active in this organization on the campus and elsewhere. During World War Two he was arrested several times for advocating resistance to the war and served 26 months in Federal prisons for draft dodging. (6)

Rustin has worked closely with the War Resisters League, the World Peace Brigade, the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, the Committee for Non-Violent Action, the Greenwich Village Peace Center, and similar organizations, often as an ownerholder. (7) He has also been active in the American Forum for Socialist Education, a Communist-dominated organization. (8)

In 1953, in Pasadena, California, Rustin was arrested on a charge of sex perversion and went to jail after pleading guilty. (9) There are those who might argue that Rustin had mended his ways by 1955 when Martin Luther King hired him as his secretary and adviser. Let's follow Rustin's activities since 1955.

In 1957 the Communists Party invited him to its 16th national convention as an "observer". (10) He has been socially entertained at the Soviet embassy and in 1958 went to Russia under the sponsorship of the Nonviolent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons. (11)

The January 1963 issue of Fellowship reveals Rustin to be a "friend" of Kwame Nkrumah, former Communist dictator of Ghana. The same issue of Fellowship credits Rustin with having worked to establish a "center for nonviolence" at Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, which has proven to be a training center for communist guerrillas. Terrorists, trained at this center, have conducted raids on Rhodesia and South West Africa.

In September 1963, at Richmond, Virginia, Rustin said that "more bloody Negro suffering should be encouraged so that squeamish Northern Negroes would be horrified into line". (12) It is possible that some would be horrified. However, it is certain that this is part of the strategy of the communists for propagating racial warfare in the United States.

On August 28, 1963, Rustin led a "march on Washington".

On August 29, 1963, he urged that the only hope for Negroes was to "go left". (13)

On February 8, 1964, Rustin was a leader of the New York City school boycott.

On February 4 he was photographed leaving a cocktail party at the Soviet mission to the United Nations. (14)

Thus, when was the leadership of the Montgomery Improvement Association? Martin Luther King and two ex-convicts who were also communist frontiers.

And what of Mrs. Rosa Parks, the woman who precipitated the bus boycott?

Shortly before the incident on the bus, Mrs. Parks had attended the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee. (15) To fully understand the nature and purpose of this school we must go back to the early 1930's, a time when the Communist Party had great dreams and expectations for using the Negro in the Party's plans for overthrowing the government of the United States.

It was in the 1930's that the party organized the People's Institute of Allied Religion. As part of its program this organization set up the Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas. It was organized around 1932 by identified communist James A. Dombrowski and fellow-traveler Myles Horton. It was cited by the U.S. Attorney General as a communist front (16) and fined \$2500 for violating the sedition statute of the state of Arkansas. (17) The faculty then moved to Monteagle, Tennessee, and organized the Highlander Folk School. In addition to Dombrowski and Horton those assisting in the school's operation included Don West, district director of the Communist Party in North Carolina (18), and identified communist Aubrey Williams. (19)

In 1945 the U.S. Senate rejected the appointment of Aubrey Williams as adminis-

trator of the Rural Electrification Administration because of his communist affiliations. (20)

Aubrey Williams was President of the Southern Conference Education Fund—until 1963, at which time he became national chairman of the Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (21)

This organization has been cited as a communist front.

Can there be any doubt as to what was taught at the Commonwealth College where the hammer and sickle was prominently displayed? Or at the Highlander Folk School where Rosa Parks was trained?

In March 1967 the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was organized in Atlanta. Martin Luther King was installed as President, Fred Shuttlesworth as Vice President, and the Reverend Andrew Young as program director.

The Atlanta Constitution of June 24, 1963, had this to say about Andrew Young:

The Reverend Young has been headquartered rent-free in Savannah in the offices of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. The Subversive Activities Control Board, an agency of the Federal government, has found the union to be communist infiltrated. Another coincidence.

In 1957 King was photographed at the Highlander Folk School during the Labor Day weekend. Also in attendance and photographed were Rosa Parks, Aubrey Williams, Myles Horton, and Abner Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. (22)

Now it would seem that the Reverend King would have gotten some inkling of the backgrounds of his associates at this school and the nature and purpose of the school itself. Nevertheless, on a form letter from school director Horton, dated May 15, 1963, the Reverend Dr. King is listed as a sponsor of Highlander. (21)

In December 1959 King called upon Southern Negroes to practice "civil disobedience" and to break openly any state or local law "not in harmony with Federal law". (23)

In 1960 Hunter Pitts O'Dell replaced Bayard Rustin as secretary and adviser to King. Let's delve a little into O'Dell's background.

In 1956 he refused to testify before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, taking the 5th amendment when questioned about his communist activities. He repeated this performance in 1958. (23) In 1962 the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a report entitled "Structure and Organization of the Communist Party in the United States". On page 576 there is a list of those elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, as known to the House Committee in November of 1961. Among the names is that of Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

The facts are that O'Dell was district organizer for the Communist Party in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1956 (23), was a member of the Communist Party when Martin Luther King hired him, and was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party while on King's payroll.

On October 26, 1962, the St. Louis Globe Democrat printed an article stating that King had a communist on his payroll, so King claims to have fired O'Dell at this time. However, O'Dell then went to work as administrator in the New York office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The SCLC, you will recall, is an organization of which Martin Luther King was President. Pressure from the press again caused King to "fire" O'Dell, this time on June 26, 1963. In July 1963 a reporter for United Press International phoned the New York office of the SCLC and was told that O'Dell was still administrator of that office. (24)

In 1960 there was the restaurant "sit in" in Atlanta, led by King. (25)

In 1961 demonstrations in Albany, Georgia, led to his arrest. He declared dramatically when arrested that he would remain in jail until the city desegregated public facilities. Two days later he was out on bail. (25)

In St. Augustine, Florida, after getting Negroes fired up for demonstrations King went to jail amid great fanfare. But two days later he was bailed out again so he could receive an honorary law degree at Yale University. (25) In the meantime, the aged mother of Massachusetts Governor Peabody remained in the St. Augustine jail after having been arrested in the demonstrations. White segregationists "Boss" Menard and Connie Lynch were in St. Augustine whipping up mobs into a murderous fury. King was safe at Yale.

King's American Committee for Africa sponsored and financed an American tour of communist terrorist Golden Roberto, leader of the "war of national liberation" which began in Angola on the morning of March 15, 1961. A thousand whites were killed and dismembered and also about 100 Africans. (34)

In October 1962 King met with communist Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria in a hotel in Harlem. (26) From the United States Ben Bella traveled to Cuba for conferences with Fidel Castro.

In 1963 there were the demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama. A bomb in a church, which resulted in the deaths of four Negro girls, was described as the work of white segregationists and the Ku Klux Klan. Possible. Equally possible is that it could have been the handiwork of agents provocateurs. Remember Carl Braden? He was indicted, tried, and convicted of conspiring with Negroes to bomb the house of a Negro and then place the blame on white segregationists. (40)

On October 5, 1963, state and local police raided the office of the Southern Conference Educational Fund at 822 Perdido Street in New Orleans. Quantities of communist literature were seized. Also seized were a check on James A. Dombrowski made out to and endorsed by Martin Luther King. There were letters from King to Dombrowski and the Bradens and a photograph of King, Dombrowski, and the Bradens. The photograph had been taken at the 5th annual meeting of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. (27)

King was directly responsible for a Supreme Court ruling in 1964 in the case of "New York Times vs Sullivan". The case dealt with a full-page ad placed in the Times by King and other civil rights leaders. Many statements in the ad, charging that Negroes in Montgomery were being abused, were proven false. Sullivan, a Montgomery city official was subsequently awarded a \$500,000 libel judgment. The Supreme Court reversed the judgment, ruling that criticism of official conduct cannot be termed libelous without showing actual malice, which is knowledge that the statement was false or reckless disregard for whether or not it was false. (28)

In 1964 there was the march from Selma to Montgomery. Who were the participants? An entry by U.S. Representative William L. Dickinson in the Congressional Record for March 30, 1965, will help to enlighten us.

Mr. Dickinson says there were four distinct groups participating in the march. "One group was the Alabama Negro who participated to secure rights and privileges which he felt had been withdrawn from him illegally". A second group were the do-gooders from out-of-state, motivated by compassion for their fellow human beings. He describes the third group as "human flotsam" — adventurers, beatniks, prostitutes, and similar rabble.

And what of the fourth group, the ones who welded the others together and gave them cohesiveness? Who were they? In the words of Congressman Dickinson, "the Communist Party".

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Look at the speakers on the platform in front of the State Capitol in Montgomery or participating prominently in the march or demonstration.

Carl Linder, a well-known communist was convicted of conspiring to bomb a Negro's house.

Abner Berry, one of the directors of the Communist Party. He was in and out of the Santa-Montgomery area.

James Peck, who has a Federal criminal record and who once tried to prevent the launching of our first nuclear submarine.

Bayard Rustin, who by his own admission in the Saturday Evening Post was a communist party organizer for 12 years.

Martin Luther King, who has amassed the staggering total of over 60 communist front affiliations since 1955 (41).

On page 6114 of the Congressional Record for March 30, 1965, there is an affidavit sworn to under oath, by Karl Frousson, a former counterspy for the FBI. Part of the wording of that affidavit is as follows:

"I hereby also state that Martin Luther King has either been a member of, or wittingly has accepted support from, over 60 communist fronts, individuals, and/or organizations which give aid to or espouse communist causes."

In the New York World-Telegram for July 23, 1964, there is an article on page 2 in which King says he is sick and tired of people saying the civil rights movement has been infiltrated by communists and communist sympathizers. He said there were as many communists in the movement as there are Eskimos in Florida.

In November 1964 J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, said King was the most notorious liar in the United States. (29)

In 1965 King began to make critical speeches about U.S. foreign policy. The communist press gave extensive coverage to his speeches, often featuring them on the Communist Party's official newspaper, the Worker. In September of 1965 he called upon Arthur Goldberg at the United Nations and urged the United States to press for a UN seat for Communist China. He also asked for a halt in U.S. air strikes against North Vietnam and recommended negotiations with the Vietcong. (26) Has anyone ever heard of the Reverend King calling on North Vietnam to halt its subversion, murder, and terrorism in the South?

In 1965 an organization known as the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty was founded. Respected author and writer George Schuyler had this to say about that organization:

"Its officers include the Soviet-trained Reuther, Martin Luther King, black power promoter James Farmer, radical socialist Michael Harrington, ADL sneak Dore Schary, the Vietnami Doctor Benjamin Spock, and a team of other such revolutionaries crimson enough to dye the Pacific Ocean a brilliant red." (30)

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, commented, "We are at a new stage in the struggle, because this is the crossroads where the civil rights struggle meets the class struggle." (31)

In an interview on "Meet the Press" on March 28, 1965, King said, "I do think that there are two types of laws. One is a just law, and one is an unjust law. I think we all have moral obligations to disobey unjust laws." (32) And who is to decide which laws are just and which are unjust? King was advocating chaos and anarchy.

The connections between the civil rights movement and the Communist Party became stronger in April of 1966 when all three South-wide civil rights organizations lined up in opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam. These organizations were the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and King's

Southern Christian Leadership Conference. They termed their merger a "meshing of the civil rights and peace struggles." (43)

The riots which began in Chicago on July 12, 1966, broke out just two days after King held a mass civil rights rally in Soldiers Field. The Chicago Tribune reported that prior to the riots King had shown films detailing the violence of Watts. Asked by the Tribune about this King replied that the films showing the Watts riots were to demonstrate the negative effect of riots. (Negative effects such as rioters carrying off color TV sets?) During the Chicago rioting King reportedly sped from one trouble spot to another, but reporters noted that he seldom got out of his car. (32)

The Allen-Scott Report of July 1966 states that King and company were contacting and enlisting Chicago street gangs and "bringing them into the civil rights movement to attack the 'power structure'."

In a speech in Los Angeles on February 1967, King called for a "merger" of the peace and civil rights movements. He called the Vietnam war the result of "paranoid anti-communism." (44)

In a speech at the Coliseum in Chicago King again called for the merging of the peace and civil rights movements, saying, "We must combine the fervor of the civil rights movement with the peace movement. We must demonstrate, teach and preach, and organize until the very foundations of our nation are shaken." (45)

In a statement delivered April 4, 1967, King called upon Negroes and Whites to register their opposition to the Vietnam war by becoming conscientious objectors to military service. (28)

On April 4, 1967, the Reverend Martin Luther King rose to the speaker's platform in New York City's Riverside Church and delivered what was later described by a Presidential aide as "a speech on Vietnam that goes right down the commie line." In his speech King called the United States "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today." He charged the nation with "cruel manipulation of the poor" and said that U.S. troops "may have killed a million South Vietnamese civilians—mostly children." He added, "We test our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicines and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe." (32)

On April 13, 1967, Michael Laski, Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, (Marxist-Leninist), told a press conference in New York: King knows what's going on. He is allowing himself to be utilized by the Communist Party. . . . King willingly enters into an alliance with the Communist Party. . . . Mr. King receives financial support from organizations and individuals that are tied to the Communist Party. He knows what is happening, and so does James Bevel. (33)

James Bevel just happens to be one of the top men in King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Bevel helped to organize the Spring Mobilization Committee and in July 1967 met with North Vietnamese and Vietcong officials in Stockholm. Sweden. Bevel's wife, Diane, visited Hanoi in December 1966 and conferred with women in Ho Chi Minh's government. (35)

One of the strongest statements from a fellow-clergyman came in April 1967 from the Reverend Henry Mitchell. As reported by the Chicago Tribune: The leader of a group of West Side Negro ministers declared yesterday that the Reverend Martin Luther King should "get the hell out of here." His civil rights marching last summer "brought hate."

The Chicago chapter of the NAACP, long critical of the civil rights tactics of King, formally split with King's group. (46)

From August 29, 1967, to September 4, the National Conference for New Politics held its convention in Chicago. Every subversive organization in the United States was represented.

A partial list of organizations which participated include:

- Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam
- Draft Resistance Union
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
- W.E.B. DuBois Clubs
- Revolutionary Action Movement
- Socialist Workers Party
- Progressive Labor Party
- Communist Party, USA

The keynote speaker for the convention was Martin Luther King. Part of his speech follows:

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression. Out of the wombs of a frail world new systems of justice and equality are being born. We in the West must support these revolutions. . . . A morbid fear of communism has made Americans the arch anti-revolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has the revolutionary spirit. Communism is a judgment of our failure.

We have deluded ourselves into believing the myth that capitalism grew and prospered out of the Protestant ethic of hard work and sacrifices. The fact is that capitalism was built on the exploitation of black slaves and continues to thrive on the exploitation of the poor—both black and white.

The way to end poverty is to end the exploitation of the poor and ensure them a fair share of the government's services and the nation's natural resources. We must recognize that the problems of neither racial nor economic injustice can be solved without a radical redistribution of political and economic power. (38)

Lenin couldn't improve on that speech. On September 21, 1967, King was made an honorary lifetime member of the ILWU local 30 in San Francisco. (37) The ILWU, you will remember, is the labor union which was expelled from the CIO when it was found that the ILWU was communist-dominated. The leader of the ILWU, Harry Bridges, is a communist and was ordered deported from the United States. The deportation order was overruled by Roosevelt's Supreme Court at the urging of Eleanor Roosevelt. (38)

In November 1967 King was guest speaker at the National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace in Chicago. In his speech King denounced the Johnson administration. (39) If communist press reports were accurate the "left wing" of labor dominated the convention. The Worker of November 19, 1967, says, "This was the most significant anti-war gathering of labor leaders ever held in this country. The conference radiated awareness that here was the force capable of mobilizing the decisive factor of the people, the working class, against the Vietnam war." Communist Harry Bridges got a standing ovation when he addressed the closing session.

On March 8, 1968, the Honolulu Star Bulletin carried an article in which King stated that flame throwers in Vietnam are fanning the flames in the cities of the United States.

In 1967 King began planning for massive demonstrations in Washington, D.C. The demonstrations were scheduled to take place beginning on April 22, 1968. In addition to recruiting thousands of the poor, he planned to organize and train black militants involved in last summer's riots for major roles in his campaign of massive civil disobedience.

King revealed this in private conferences with Stokely Carmichael, the pro-Vietcong, pro-Castro revolutionary, and other black militants.

At one point in their meeting Carmichael said that the time had come to begin disrupting American cities "to help our Vietcong comrades-in-arms." King, while stressing that he was vigorously opposed to the Vietnam war, argued that if such an objec-

tive were announced for his campaign it would backfire. King's plans included:

(a) Selection of five cities in which to train 100 neighborhood leaders. The suggested cities were Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Houston, and Atlanta.

(b) Contacts would be made with the residents of the poor community. Young men who were actively involved in last summer's riots were to be sought out and trained as leaders.

King also told Carmichael, "To dislocate the functioning of a city without destroying it can be longer lasting, more costly to the society. It is more difficult for the government to quell it by force. The disruption of the cities you want will come much easier."

King also reported that ousted Congressman Adam Clayton Powell would play a major role in the Washington demonstration. Powell himself has said, "My return to Washington in April will help rock the entire country." (42)

Take a close look at this again, ladies and gentlemen. Stokely Carmichael recently returned to the United States after conferring with Fidel Castro, North Vietnamese officials, and communist revolutionaries in many countries in Africa, Asia, and Europe.

James Bevel, who is on the staff of the SCLC which is drawing up the battle plans for the disruptions, conferred with North Vietnamese and Vietcong officials in Stockholm last July.

Adam Clayton Powell was in California recently where he attempted to organize students, white as well as black.

This is the groundwork for a revolution, and the only people who can possibly benefit from such a coalition are the enemies of the United States.

In late March of 1968 King's attention was drawn to Memphis, Tennessee, where a garbage collectors strike was in progress. He went to Memphis and organized a demonstration which culminated in a riot. During the burning and looting which followed, a 16-year-old was killed. A judge issued an injunction prohibiting any more demonstrations because of the explosiveness of the situation in Memphis, but King promptly announced he had no intention of obeying. He had again decided to disobey an "unjust law."

On April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King was killed by a sniper's bullet fired by someone who has not as yet been apprehended, despite a massive investigation instigated by Ramsey Clark. The odd circumstances surrounding the murder are again suggestive of an agent provocateur.

On April 11, 1968, U.S. Representative John R. Rarick of Louisiana inserted in the Congressional Record a news item concerning King. On page E3005 there is the following: [From the Yakima (Wash.) Eagle, Nov. 30, 1967]

The first disclosure that an FBI report existed which tied Martin Luther King in communism was published in Washington Observer Newsletter No. 13 in the February 15, 1966 issue.

At that time Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach refused to turn over this file to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In fact Katzenbach, in the presence of Lyndon Johnson, lied and denied to Congressman John Bell Williams that the file even existed.

WO is now happy to report that the FBI report is not only in the hands of the HCUA, but copies are also in the hands of Congressman John J. Rooney of New York.

The lawmakers were so shocked at what they read in the FBI report that they plan to summon King before their committees and delve deeply into his involvement with communist conspirators. When the FBI agents had King under surveillance they observed him meet a well-identified Soviet espionage agent at Kennedy Airport in New

York. They also secured evidence that King was receiving large sums of money from a well-known American communist agent who gives King instructions which he implicitly obeys. The Federal agents also adduced evidence of his unsavory personal conduct in Washington hotels and elsewhere and the fact that he had violated the Mann Act (white slavery). This is a violation of the U.S. criminal code, but neither Attorney General Katzenbach nor his successor, Ramsey Clark, would allow the FBI to present the evidence to a Federal grand jury.

The record of Martin Luther King strongly indicates he had been grossly irresponsible in learning the backgrounds of his associates and associations or that he chose to use them for his own ends. The only other conclusion that a reasonable person can come to is that Martin Luther King covertly and consciously attempted to promote the cause of the Communist Party.

DOCUMENTATION

- (1) Louisiana Legislative Report on the Southern Conference Educational Fund, part 1, pp 13-14.
- (2) Communism and Race in America, p 36.
- (3) Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Report, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., p v.
- (4) The Communist Attack on U.S. Police, p 26.
- (5) Louisiana Legislative Report on the Southern Conference Educational Fund, part 1, p 13.
- (6) Allen-Scott Report, August 16, 1963.
- (7) National Review, August 20, 1963.
- (8) Annual Report—1957, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, pp 36-40.
- (9) This information is recorded in the files of the Pasadena Police Department under Rustin's official arrest number 33194.
- (10) Daily Worker, February 25, 1967, p 1.
- (11) Boston Globe, February 5, 1964.
- (12) Ibid.
- (13) Richmond News-Leader, September 27, 1963, editorial.
- (14) Boston Globe, February 5, 1964.
- (15) Testimony of J. B. Matthews given before the Florida Legislation Committee, volume 1, p 24.
- (16) New York Times, April 28, 1949, p 6.
- (17) Report of the Louisiana Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, entitled "Activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund", part 1, p 25.
- (18) Testimony of Paul Crouch, leading Communist Party official in the South at the time. See House Committee on Un-American Activities, May 16, 1949, pp 191-193.
- (19) "Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc." Report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, p 45.
- (20) J. B. Matthews, testimony before the Florida Legislation Investigation Committee, volume 1, p 21.
- (21) It's Very Simple, by Alan Stang.
- (22) Photographs may be obtained from The Councilor, 1827 Texas Avenue, Shreveport, Louisiana, price \$1.
- (23) St. Louis Globe-Democrat, October 26, 1962.
- (24) UPI story in the Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion-Ledger, July 26, 1963.
- (25) Reader's Digest, September 1967.
- (26) New York Times, October 14, 1962.
- (27) Activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., in Louisiana, part 2, p 81.
- (28) Reader's Digest Almanac, 1968.
- (29) North American Newspaper Alliance, November 19, 1964.
- (30) George S. Schuyler in American Opinion, January 1968.
- (31) The Worker, February 13, 1966.
- (32) U.S. Representative John Ashbrook in Congressional Record.
- (33) Gary Allen in American Opinion, July-August 1967.
- (34) New York Times, March 20, 1961, p 3.

- (35) Esquire, November 1967.
- (36) Gary Allen in American Opinion, November 1967.
- (37) Imua Fact Finder, 568 Alexander Young Bldg., Honolulu, Hawaii.
- (38) Gary Allen in American Opinion, March 1967.
- (39) Imua Fact Finder #3, December 1967.
- (40) New York Times, December 14, 1964, p 26, and October 2, 1964, p 6.
- (41) Congressional Record, March 30, 1965, pp 6113-6114.
- (42) Human Events, March 2, 1968.
- (43) The Worker, April 30, 1968.
- (44) The Worker, March 12, 1967.
- (45) The Worker, April 2, 1967.

WORLD REFUGEE REPORT, 1968

HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1968

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, each year the U.S. Committee for Refugees—USCR—a New York-based private agency, publishes a worldwide refugee census and special reports on current refugee situations. The 1968 survey records some 4,500,000 more refugees than last year and underscores the need for the United States and other countries to continue their humanitarian concern and activities for the homeless throughout the world. The 1968 survey also includes reports on the refugee problems in Africa, Vietnam, and the Middle East.

I commend the USCR and its executive vice president, Dr. R. Norris Wilson, for preparing the annual survey, which I, as chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, always find extremely helpful. Because I know the current survey will be of interest to many Senators, and to others as well, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the survey was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

WORLD REFUGEE REPORT: 1968 ANNUAL SURVEY ISSUE

(By the U.S. Committee for Refugees, Inc.)

(NOTE.—The U.S. Committee for Refugees, a private Citizens Committee, now in its 10th year, brings the story of the world's refugees to the American people and their leadership in the Congress. It encourages support for more than 80 American voluntary agencies working for refugees all over the world and makes funds available to their projects for refugee assistance overseas.

(These outstanding Americans are behind the work of the U.S. Committee for Refugees:

(Officers: Maxwell M. Rabb, President; Luther H. Evans, Chairman of the Board; George Meany, Vice President; Samuel W. Meek, Vice President; Roderic L. O'Connor, Vice President; Reginald H. Helfferich, Treasurer; Victor Jacobs, General Counsel; Frances Humphrey Howard, Chairman of the Executive Committee; R. Norris Wilson, Executive Vice President.

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IT SEEMS TO ME:

Julian Bond: An emerging giant

BY
PRESTON M. YANCY

RICHMOND

All of us would be writers dream of making it big one day with a Pulitzer Prize winning effort.

I have the subject matter

I not the writing talent. My book should be entitled In the Shadows of Giants. For during my college days from 1955 to 1959 at Morehouse College in Atlanta, I did, in fact, come in contact with some very large men.

The greatest giant of them all, the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had finished Morehouse in 1948; he frequented the campus. The Rev. A. D. King was my classmate. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, now president emeritus, was president. Whitney Young was dean of Atlanta University's School of Social Work. Some of the others not so widely known but who made significant contributions were the Rev. Samuel Williams, the Rev. John Porter and the Rev. Otis Moss. Lonnie King and Dr. Howard Zinn.

SOME OF those in the Atlanta University complex were giants; most were proud of who and what they were. Now another giant is emerging.

JULIAN BOND JULIAN BOND! JULIAN BOND! ... It was my good fortune to be acquainted with Julian Bond in 1959 when I was a senior and he was a sophomore.

He was quiet and unassuming even shy and retiring. Yet no one who talked to him ever questioned his intellect. I expected him to lead a rather quiet, scholarly obscure life. How wrong I was! Bond lends considerable weight to the old proverb, "still water runs deep."

There at the Democratic Convention were a thou-



JULIAN BOND

sand people chanting JULIAN BOND. It was hard to believe that this was the kid I knew nine years ago. But Julian has a knack for being "where it's at." And racists have a great proclivity for over-playing their hands.

Julian Bond was thrown out of the spectator's gallery of the Georgia Legislature when he was a student, because some of the group he was with sat in the white section. Later he ran for a seat in the Georgia House of Representatives and won.

Before he could be seated he gave his views on the war in Vietnam and draft card burners. He said, in effect, that the war was immoral and that while he would not burn his draft card he admired those with the courage to do so.

THE EXPRESSION of these views plus the fact that Bond had been active

in civil rights protests in Atlanta, and, because, the national press reminded the Georgia Legislature that the man they once threw out of the spectators galleries now had a seat on the floor was enough for the racists in the Georgia House to deny Bond his seat.

Julian's district was without representation. He went to the Federal Courts. Before a final court ruling could be made it was election time again. Bond ran, won, and was denied his seat again.

Finally the Supreme Court, unanimously, told the Georgia Legislature to seat Julian Bond. By now he had become another symbol of the black man harassed by racist persecution. His comments and actions made minor news now and then. Then he mounted another major effort.

The Georgia delegation to the Democratic Convention has long been chosen by the Governor and the state party chairman. The chairman is James Gray, publisher of the racist Albany (Ga.) Herald Newsaper. Everyone knows the Governor is Lester "Axhandles" Maddox.

In 1964 the Convention had warned that delegations should be representative of all citizens. The Maddox delegation had little black representation. Bond challenged the Maddox delegation; the rest is history.

Add to the list of brilliant and competent black leaders the name, JULIAN BOND.

SUPPORT

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SCHOOL CHILDREN WILL BE USED AS RIOT FODDER....DURING VACATION TIME..

se injunctions to stop
other King Christmas Riots!

Martin Luther King is bound to use the HOLIDAY VACATION time to stage
a "massive civil disobedience" in Washington, D.C., Chicago, Milwaukee...
other big cities...TV and the Leftist Press have played him up as the
"Savior"...when in fact he is basically a power hungry agitator who shows
no difference from RAP BROWN or STOKELY CARMICHAEL who are self-admitted
racists and anti-American anarchists and communists.

OFFICIALS OF ALL BIG CITIES MUST OBTAIN A SERIES OF
INJUNCTIONS...TO PREVENT THE PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF MARTIN LUTHER KING
and all other known agitators...TO PREVENT INCITEMENT TO RIOT!

The problems of the so-called ghetto are not racial problems
but human problems. Education is the key to the solution of
these problems...not riots. The majority of ghetto children
flagrantly reject education. And Martin Luther King has brought
anarchy into the classroom...an anarchy that will spill over
into the holiday streets...just as it did into the summer streets.

The Federal Communications Commission and the Congress must make
TV live up to its FAIRNESS CODES and stop giving Special Privilege
Coverage to Agitators who use democracy to destroy democracy...while
giving only Token Coverage to people of ALL RACES who want to speak out
for Main Stream America.

Read: THE BRAT FACTORIES by Roger Puggart 40 cents per copy

Written with an angry wit, here is a little book that shook the
entire school world. Published in 1964, its predictions are coming
shockingly alive. Its simple reforms are still suppressed.