

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FILED

JUN 5 1978

.....
HAROLD WEISBERG,

Plaintiff,

v.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY,
et al.,

Defendants
.....

JAMES F. DAVEY, Clerk

Civil Action No. 77-1997

ORDER

Upon consideration of plaintiff's motion for an extension of time within which to file an opposition to defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment, and the entire record herein, it is by the Court this 5th day of June, 1978, hereby ORDERED, that plaintiff's time for filing an opposition to defendants motion for summary judgment is extended to and including June 17, 1978.


UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

(21)

19 SEP 1968

SUBJECT: Stokely CARMICHAEL

1. Attached is a copy of an article appearing in the 9-15 May 1968 issue of Clarte, weekly newspaper of the Belgian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) covering an interview with Stokely CARMICHAEL that was published in the 1 May issue of Humanite Nouvelle, newspaper of the French Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). The interview was conducted when CARMICHAEL was in Paris, France.

2. Also contained in the clipping is a report of an interview on Radio Havana with CARMICHAEL following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther KING. CARMICHAEL was in Havana, Cuba, at the time.

PLEASE TRANSMIT REPLY VIA LIAISON, MR. S. J. PAPICH.

Based on Clarte, Belgian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist),
9-15 May 1968

Enclosure: as stated (one)

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
Date 13 March 78

333

53

Le peuple soviétique est fidèle à STALINE !

Avant

Fondateur : Honoré WILLEMS, fusillé par les nazis, le 29 février 1944.

BIEN QUE LA DIRECTION DU PARTI ET DE L'ETAT SOVIETIQUES SOIT A PRESENT UCURPEE PAR DES REVISIONNISTES, JE CONSEILLE AUX CAMARADES D'AVOIR LA CENVICTION QUE LES LARGES MASSES DU PEUPLE SOVIETIQUE, DES MEMBRES DU PARTI ET DES CABRES SONT BONS ET VEULENT FAIRE LA REVOLUTION; LA DOMINATION DU REVISIONNISME NE SERA PAS LONGUE.

MAO TSE-TCUNG.

REDACTION
ADMINISTRATION
32, chaussée d'Alsemberg, 32
BRUXELLES 6
TEL. (02) 37.76.05

ORGANE CENTRAL DU PARTI COMMUNISTE
(MARXISTE-LÉNINISTE), DE BELGIQUE

SEDDOMADAIRE
NOUVELLE SERIE - Numéro 20
Censuré du 9 au 15 mai 1955
6 pages - 5 Francs
(Tarif d'abonnements : pages 5)

Stockely CARMICHAEL :

Notre objectif final :

Nous attaquer aux structures capitalistes des U.S.A.

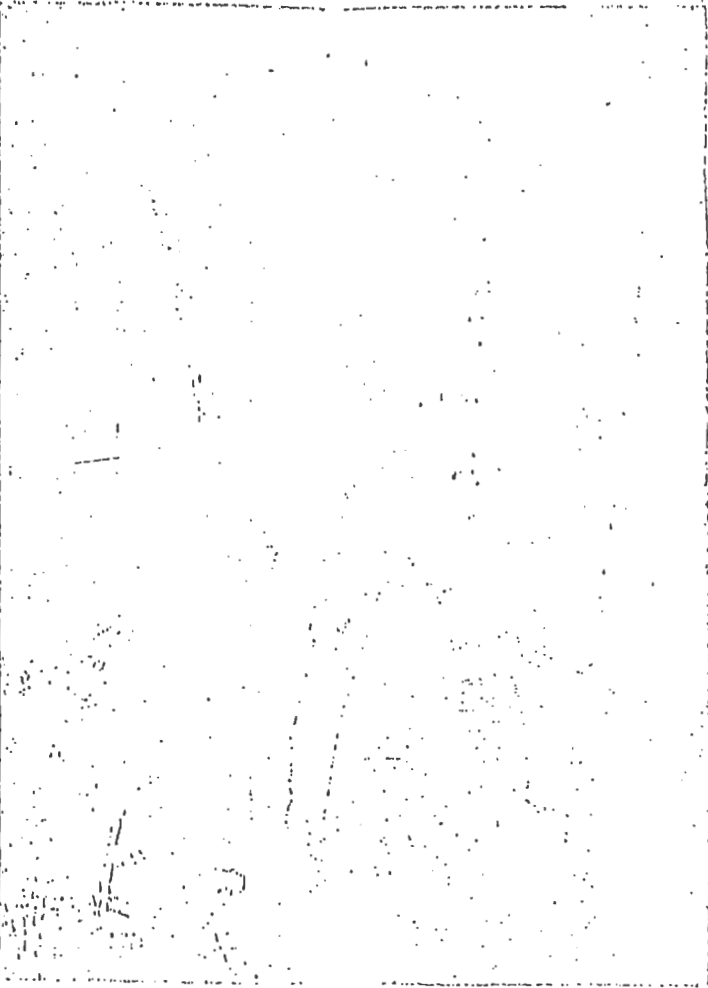
Dans son numéro du Premier Mai, l'« Humanité Nouvelle », organe central du Parti Communiste Marxiste-Léniniste de France a publié une interview de Stockely Carmichael, leader du « Black Power » (Pouvoir Noir) Cette interview a été réalisée par un camarade africain lors du récent séjour de Carmichael à Paris.

Le Black Power est un mouvement de masse de Afro-américains. Certaines de ces positions peuvent ne pas toujours coïncider avec celles des marxistes-léninistes mais il est évident que le combat du Black Power est héroïque, courageusement anti-raciste, anti-impérialiste.

C'est cela qui est important. C'est pour cette raison que nous reproduisons ce remarquable document.

La grande vague de combativité qui a fait sur les grandes villes à l'échelle, d'abord, et un combat héroïque, les larges masses afro-américaines contre les forces réactionnaires, les systèmes racistes et l'ordre capitaliste (1966), c'est déjà l'annonce de la chute de l'impérialisme américain, l'annonce de la lutte finale, elle concerne, par ailleurs, les combats de lutte internationale menée par la bourgeoisie mondiale.

STOCKELY CARMICHAEL — L'aspect principal de la situation du peuple afro-américain est celui d'une nouvelle forme de colonialisme intérieur. Il s'agit d'une situation presque originale qui implique que notre lutte se fixe deux objectifs principaux :
— Objectif numéro 1 : éliminer l'oppression coloniale qui nous visent en tant que Noirs sur le triple plan économique, social et politique.
— Objectif numéro 2 : nous attaquer aux structures capitalistes et impérialistes des U.S.A.
Il est évident que l'objectif n°1 sera essentiellement poursuivi par les seuls afro-américains. Quant à l'objectif n°2, il concernera tous les révolutionnaires du monde. C'est une lutte internationale.



... de la violence...
... de la lutte des peuples...
... de la violence contre-révolutionnaire.

Mais l'impérialisme, aux abois, tente dans un ultime effort, de jeter le discrédit sur la lutte des peuples révolutionnaires, en faisant paraître devant le monde des « leaders » de l'impérialisme, en présentant ses leaders comme des « psychologues, qui tentent publiquement ou secrètement (New York Times 12-1-68). Mais la nuance est des capitalistes, elle n'est à deux bouts. On est donc forcé de reconnaître, en une rage d'impotence en certes, qu'aujourd'hui, la voix d'un Stokely Carmichael est entendue de plus en plus nettement dans le pays » (L'Économiste du 11-1, Londres).

Que dit cette voix. De quelle lutte s'agit-il ? D'une lutte entre deux races ou de quelque chose d'essentiellement important ? Pourquoi les marxistes-léninistes et tous les progressistes doivent-ils la soutenir et la faire connaître ?

Des réponses apparaîtront dans le cours de l'exposé que Stokely Carmichael nous a fait récemment et que nous traduisons publiquement pour la première fois. Des réponses parvenues

J'ai indiqué plus haut que l'objectif n°2 était une œuvre d'ensemble ; simplement parce qu'il visait à résoudre un problème qui n'est pas particulier aux Noirs : le problème de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme. Il n'est pas nécessairement lié à la couleur de la peau.

Quant au problème du racisme, on peut dire qu'il est spécifique à l'homme noir. On peut même poser l'équation suivante : Noir = Proletariat du monde. A cause de sa seule peau.

L'Occident Blanc ne peut pas nier s'être enrichi sur la sueur du Noir. Prenez les Antilles françaises, hollandaises, anglaises. La même saucisse. Prenez les Etats-Unis des siècles précédents. Prenez les Etats-Unis d'aujourd'hui. Prenez l'Afrique. L'histoire est éloquentes à ce sujet.

Les Blancs de l'Occident trouvent leur justification dans la négation du Noir en tant que Noir. Ils ont du Noir un être sub-humain pour rationaliser l'exploitation du Noir. Pour ne pas s'humilier en tant qu'hommes.

— Oui, bien sûr, il y a le « Code Noir » de Colbert. Mais tout de même, cette exploitation du Noir ne peut pas être simplement un fait de psychologie appliquée, car en fait, le racisme apparaît bien comme une manifestation de la lutte des classes. Il n'y a qu'à reprendre les exemples.

STOCKELY. — D'abord, il y a un problème immédiat : celui de la prise de conscience de la victime en face du bourreau. C'est en tant que Noirs que nous entendons nous battre.

Il reste qu'aux Etats-Unis, un Noir « bien placé » sur le plan économique n'échappe pas au racisme.

Il n'est que de lire la presse américaine pour s'en convaincre. Le problème du racisme ici n'est pas nécessairement lié au problème de l'exploitation.

Le racisme fait partie de l'arsenal idéologique et pratique de l'impérialisme américain. Les Noirs sont d'autant plus exposés que les Blancs occidentaux ont détruit les cultures africaines de l'homme noir, les Noirs, dans le monde, parlent la langue de leurs maîtres.

Or la culture comme dit Fanon, est une « force cohésive ». Il leur faut donc aussi résister à cette culture d'imposition (le plégin, le petit-nègre ?).

Dans le cadre des Afro-américains cela transparaît sous la forme du christianisme. Le christianisme est une culture d'imposition, c'est-à-dire essentiellement une culture impérialiste, parce que liée à l'idée de la valeur universelle du maître. Vous devez en savoir quelque chose en Afrique, avec le cortège de conversions forcées.

En fait, la libération culturelle est une chose très importante. Elle doit viser à répéter le système d'éducation du maître (on fait que l'endo final de l'imposition culturelle). L'éducation capitaliste vise à

... ou nécessairement pour eux.
— L'une des limites objectives des dirigeants qui nous ont précédés est la suivante : il ont fait appel aux oppresseurs et non aux opprimés. Nous, nous faisons appel aux opprimés. Nous leur devons :

« Si vous voulez être libres, il faut vous battre ! » Le président Mao Tsé-toung indique avec raison que « le pouvoir est au bout du fusil ». C'est juste. Nous opposerons nos fusils libérateurs aux fusils racistes de l'impérialisme américain, dans ses propres villes.

Nous le forcerons à se battre comme nous l'entendrons. Comme font nos camarades vietnamiens. S'il veut utiliser du napalm et des rockets sur ses propres villes, nous n'y voyons pas d'inconvénients, mais nous nous battons, c'est une chose entendue.

— Voici-tu un rapport entre votre lutte et celles des camarades vietnamiens, et des autres peuples en lutte contre l'impérialisme U.S. en tête ?

Bien évidemment, chaque fois que les bases de l'impérialisme sont minées à l'extérieur, notre lutte s'en trouve proportionnellement avantagée.

Nous voudrions bien par exemple qu'il se trouve un seul pays africain qui se développe par ses propres efforts, et non en allant mendier chez les Blancs occidentaux.

Nous en aurions fait, pour la mobilisation de nos masses fondamentales un modèle psychologique et méthodique à la fois. Mais on ne peut pas dire qu'il y ait un seul pays révolutionnaire en Afrique à l'heure actuelle. C'est d'ailleurs pour cela que l'O.U.A. est paralysée. Aujourd'hui, si des Noirs américains avaient à s'exiler en Afrique, pas un seul pays africain ne les accepterait pour la bonne raison que tous ces pays sont soumis au joug de l'impérialisme américain.

Toutes les petites bourgeoisies contre-révolutionnaires au pouvoir en Afrique sont intéressées à Johnson, et exploitent leur propres frères de couleur.

— Quelle est votre tâche principale en ce moment. Celle qui requiert actuellement la priorité ?

D'abord, éliminer nos ennemis, c'est-à-dire tous les mouvements contre-révolutionnaires voulant s'intégrer à la société capitaliste blanche.

Ensuite, organiser notre peuple pour qu'il acquière le mordant offensif, condition sine qua non pour briser le statut quo d'aujourd'hui.

Car c'est bien cela que signifie la lutte défensive des Luther King et autres.

Pour vaincre, il s'agit d'attaquer. C'est un programme minimum.

Interview téléphonique à Radio-La Havane
Déclaration de Carmichael à la suite

... mais elles expriment tou-
tes une fol inébranlable en la vic-
tore finale. D'autres traitent du dé-
veloppement de cette lutte qui n'est
pas qu'à ses débuts. Nous avons
tenu à les présenter comme elles
sont venues au cours de la conversa-
tion.

Statety parle en responsable.
Bien d'extravagant, en lui, contrai-
nement à ce que suggère une cer-
taine presse. Mise très simple. Il
n'a pas eu le temps de se polguer ;
vous l'avez surpris au bord du lit.
En ville, nous avons passé la soirée
ensemble. Nous sommes, en tout,
deux camarades ; nous parlons très
librement. Une commande afro-unif-
ormée - venue à Paris - assure la
régularité de la traduction. Les en-
trevues dureront quatre heures.

KIMBA.

relativer et à perpétuer la société capitaliste.

— Pratiquement, comment tout cela peut-il s'agencer ?

En organisant les Noirs. Historiquement, nous venons tous d'Afri-
que. En nous dispersant dans leur monde, les Blancs occidentaux
nous ont appris, par la négative certes, mais nous ont appris quand
même à apprécier l'unité. Nous savons aujourd'hui, que l'unité, c'est
la puissance. C'est pour réaliser cet impératif d'unité que nous a-
vons arrêté, dans un premier temps, de nous réaliser culturellement,
en rejetant le christianisme (culture d'imposition, liée à l'idée de su-
prémalte de la culture des Blancs occidentaux).

— Le problème à résoudre est celui de créer des révolutionnaires
noirs. Pour nous, cela signifie 3 objectifs :

1. Adoption d'une langue nationale africaine : le swahili, par
exemple.
2. Destruction du christianisme.
3. Redécouvrir l'Afrique, mais d'une manière scientifique, pour y
puiser nos propres héros, au lieu d'assumer les héros blancs
occidentaux.

En somme, recréer notre culture pour en faire une force de cohé-
sion.

Dégager une idéologie politique commune. A cet égard l'expérience
de la Révolution chinoise est riche d'exemples mobilisateurs.

Notre tâche à nous est de lutter pour acquérir une idéologie cor-
recte, capable d'unifier tous les Noirs.

La chose fondamentale à retenir, c'est de contribuer à développer
la conscience qui doit amener l'Américain noir à résister. Cette
conscience est nécessaire.

de l'assassinat de Martin Luther King

La guerre de guérilla

dans les villes

— Les rackets et les gangs qui ne convergent de plus en plus
pour interférer rapidement en guerre de guérilla dans les villes.
Trouvé en prison et hier soir, il est évident que nous ne pou-
vons pas attendre la police en ré-
sultat. C'est une grave erreur de
bellion ouverte.

— C'est le seul dirigeant qui est...
population noire des États-Unis...
ne pas brûler les villes à ne pas...
mettre d'acier de violence. Il...
mont qu'ils ont usé jusqu'au...
dirigeant noir ne pourra être...
frères de ne pas brûler les villes...
idéologie qu'il sera nécessaire de...
gager à fond dans la révolution.

— Hier soir, comme conséquence...
l'assassinat de King, il y a eu...
graves incidents dans 25 villes...
incendies, des coups de feu, des...
luta et des morts, il est évident...
y aura d'autres incidents de ce...
type.

— En conséquence le nombre de
personnes qui commencent à penser
sérieusement à la guerre de guérilla
devenant à grande échelle augmente
car c'est l'unique manière non acade-
mique de donner une réponse adéqua-
te à l'assassinat de King, mais d'avancer
vers une véritable révolution au
sein du pays et de mettre à genoux
le système impérialiste. Pour nous,
la nécessité de la chute de ce systè-
me est évidente pour que l'humanité
puisse vivre. Et nous donnerons notre
vie pour y arriver.

[REDACTED]

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Attention: Mr. S. J. Papich

SUBJECT : "GARRISON and the Kennedy Assassination:
Bernard FENSTERWALD et al."

1. A Washington UPI dispatch of 3 January 1969 reads as follows:

Washington -- New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison is one of seven board members of a new national committee to investigate assassinations which is being formed here.

Bernard Fensterwald, 47, of Arlington, Va., another board member, said the committee's purpose is "To embarrass or force the government to make investigations they have been putting off since Nov. 22, 1963."

That was the date of President Kennedy's assassination in Dallas.

Fensterwald, who said he was setting up an office which would open in a week, left the senate earlier this week after 12 years as counsel for several committees.

"The committee will concentrate on the three best known assassinations -- President Kennedy, Senator Robert Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King -- but will leave its options open on some other rather mysterious deaths," he said.

"Our position is there was a conspiracy in Dallas, there were strong footprints of a conspiracy in Memphis where Dr. King was shot and nobody really knows much about what went on in Los Angeles (where Senator Kennedy was slain) but we intend to look."

NOT RECORDED

46 JAN 29 1969

APPROVED FOR RELEASE [REDACTED]

Date 28 March 1978

335

1/28/69. Not in CIA (Garrison)
Re: [unclear]

He said the committee hoped to find private financial support to hire a professional staff for its investigations.

Other board members, said Fensterwald, include Bill Turner of San Francisco, a former FBI agent; Richard Sprague of Hartsdale, N. Y., a computer expert; Fred J. Cook, Englewood, N. J., author; Lloyd Tupling, associated with the Sierra Club here, and Paris Flammonde, a New York writer who will have a book out next week on assassinations.

Eight more board members will be named later, Fensterwald said.

2. [REDACTED]

Paris Flammonde appears in the January 1969 issue of Evergreen as the author of an article entitled "Why President Kennedy Was Killed". His book The Kennedy Conspiracy has been published by Meredith Press, New York. The dust cover of the book states that Flammonde was for many years the producer of the Long John Nebel radio show. We have no record of him.

3. [REDACTED]

We should be grateful if you can determine whether the Bernard Fensterwald who appears in this report is identical with the 47 year old Bernard Fensterwald cited in the UPI dispatch. If so, any additional information is also requested.

4. Our records show that Richard Sprague, a management consultant and photographic researcher, appeared in a New York Times article of 24 May 1968 in which he claimed that within an hour of the assassination of President Kennedy three men may have been pulled off freight cars in a railroad yard near Dealy Plaza. We have no further identifiable record of him. We also have no record of Lloyd Tupling. We should be grateful for any further information about Sprague, Tupling, or Flammonde.

FOR THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR PLANS:

CSCI-316/00108-69

[REDACTED]

13 January 1969

Distribution:

- Orig & 1 - FBI
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Office of General Counsel
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED] memo
- 1 - [REDACTED] file
- 1 - [REDACTED]

19 14 13z MAY 71

19134Z MAY 71 CITE

HEADQUARTERS

MHCHAOS

REF: HEADQUARTERS/

1. IN FINAL COVERAGE ON 18 MAY OF WPC, WHICH ENDED 16 MAY, ~~REDACTED~~ PRESS HAS MADE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS RE U.S. PARTICIPANTS:

A. SIDNEY P. E. C. K., IDENTIFIED AS "USA PROFESSOR," SPOKE AT CONGRESS ON VIET NAM WAR.

B. WPC HAS AWARDED JOLIOI CURIE GOLD MEDAL ^{AL P} ~~EX~~ SIMULTANEOUSLY TO REV MARTIN LUTHER KING. MEDAL ACCEPTED BY REV RALPH ASERNATHY AND REV W. W. A. L. K. E. R. "AN AMERICAN PEACE FIGHTER." PHOTOGRAPH (POUCHED) OF PRESENTATION ALSO PICTURES U.S. DELEGATES WILLIAM D. O. U. R. T. H. A. R. D. ^{AND} ~~AND~~ MRS. ADDIE W. Y. A. T. T.

C. U.S. DELEGATES RUTH G. A. G. E. - C. O. L. B. Y. AND SYLVIA K. U. S. C. H. E. R. (SIC) SPOKE AT MEETING OF INDOCHINESE AND ^{AMERICAN} ~~AMERICAN~~ DELEGATES.

D. AMERICANS HERBERT A. P. T. H. E. K. E. R. AND CARLTON G. O. O. D. L. E. T. T. REELECTED TO PRESIDENTIAL BOARD.

2. POUCHING MOST SIGNIFICANT PRESS COVERAGE OF COUNCIL SESSIONS.

APPROVED FOR RELEASE

Date 10 March 1978

~~REDACTED~~ 337

B-2628
21 MAY 1971

SUBJECT: Americans Attending the World Peace Council (WPC)
Conference in Budapest, Hungary, 13-16 May 1971

1. A reliable source has reported that the following Americans spoke at the indicated committee meetings of the WPC Conference:

- A. Stanley FAULKNER, Committee on European Peace and Security;
- B. Sylvia KUSHNER, Committee on Indochina Aggression;
- C. John GILMAN, Committee on the Near East;
- D. Mary Angie DICKERSON, Section Meeting Discussing Discrimination;
- E. Luis GARZA, Section Meeting Discussing Discrimination; and
- F. Ruth GAGE-COLBY, Committee on Disarmament.

All of the above-named persons were identified specifically as members of the U.S. delegation.

2. According to the same source, S. FAULKNER, "Vice President of the American National Lawyers' Association," functioned as President in a meeting of lawyer delegates to the Congress and the American delegate Albert KAHN translated a message from the widow of artist Rockwell KENT to the Conference.

3. In its final coverage on 18 May of the WPC Conference, which ended 16 May, the Hungarian Press made the following additional observations regarding United States participants:

- A. Sidney PECK, identified as "USA Professor," spoke on the war in Vietnam;

PROVED FOR RELEASE

10 MAY 78

338

[Redacted]

- B. The WPC awarded the JOLIOT-CURIE GOLD MEDAL posthumously to the Reverend Martin Luther KING. The medal was accepted by the Reverend Ralph ABERNATHY and the Reverend Wyatt T. WALKER, "an American peace fighter." A photograph of the presentation ceremony also included William DOUTHARD and Mrs. Addie WYATT as U.S. delegates to the Conference;
- C. U.S. delegates Ruth GAGE-COLBY and Sylvia KUSHNER spoke at a meeting of Indochinese and American delegates; and
- D. Americans Herbert APTHEKER and Carlton GOODLETT were re-elected to the Presidential Board of the WPC.

4. For previous information on Subject, please refer to [Redacted] dated 14 May 1971, Subject: [Redacted]

[Redacted] and [Redacted]

Please transmit reply via [Redacted] channel

Originated by: [Redacted]

Based on: [Redacted] 18 May 71 and [Redacted] 19 May 71

Source: [Redacted] Hungarian Press

Distribution:

Original - FBI (Mr. Wannall) via [Redacted] courier

- 1 - B memo chrono
- 1 - extra copy
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - KING/Sens/ID 6201-760966
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - Production
- 1 - Production

[Redacted]

[REDACTED]

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

11 December 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

ATTENTION : Mr. William A. Branigan ^{W.A.B.}

SUBJECT : Conference of the Committee to Investigate
Assassinations; Report on Proceedings
23 November 1973 Inc.

1. Herewith a report containing partial coverage on the events during the first session of the Committee to Investigate Assassinations, together with material (which is overt) made available on the floor of the conference. *me*

2. We would be interested in anything you develop on any of the other sessions of the conference.

FOR THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR OPERATIONS:

APPROVED FOR RELEASE

Date 27 Mar 1978

REC-64 62-112697-33

EX-104

[REDACTED] 14 JAN 3 1974

Enclosure:
Report w/atts

CIR-316/03107-73

7-
BEHIND FILE

[REDACTED]

339

[REDACTED]

Attachment to [CIR-316/03107-73]

SUBJECT: Conference of the Committee to Investigate Assassinations,
Report on Proceedings 23 November 1973

1. The Committee to Investigate Assassinations claims to have been established in 1969. The headquarters are in Washington, D. C. (at 1520 16th Street, N. W.). In the four years of its existence the Committee has done research and has become a kind of clearing house for the study of assassinations. It maintains contact with other groups engaged in similar activity, of which there seem to be at least two, one of which is located in the Boston area.


2. In addition to research, the Committee acts to help individuals interested in the investigation of assassinations. It thus files suits for private persons demanding access to classified information. It sponsors the publication of books and articles relating to the field of its interest, and sponsors the production of movies. It publishes a newsletter.

3. The conference of November 23-24, 1973, is the first of its type to be held by the Committee. The Georgetown University was helpful by placing Gaston Hall at the disposal of the Committee free of charge. By agreement with the University, the Committee will also be able to use the services of the University Library as a repository and research center.

4. The Conference opened on November 23, 1973, with a delay of about half an hour. The delay may have been due to the installation of recording equipment which literally covered the premises with a tangle of wires of every kind. The Washington Post reports an attendance exceeding 300. This is a generous estimate. After deducting official speakers, recording personnel, and press representatives, the audience probably numbered no more than 150, if that many.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



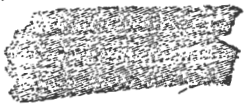
5. Beards and long hair prevailed, and others stood out like a sore thumb. There was not a single Negro in the audience, nor, that morning, on the platform. Even the speaker who spoke on the case of Martin Luther King was white.

6. Not all the speakers preannounced were present. The chairman announced the absence of Richard Sprague. Another speaker, a lawyer from Los Angeles whose name was drowned out in the noise, was also absent. They were replaced by Dr. Robert Forman and someone whose name sounded like "Ed Kirkley".

7. The chairman announced that all the speeches would be tape recorded for subsequent publication. He further invited the audience to attend movies to be shown that night. One of these, "Burn", was to be shown at the University. Others by prearrangement would be shown at local movie theaters. The latter were connected with the Kennedy assassination. The case of the President's murder was in the center of the conference and, as noted by one of the organizers (Smith), one half of the speakers were to center their attention upon the Oswald case.

8. The chairman adhered strictly to the program and every speaker mentioned in the program for the morning session of November 23 spoke as specified. Of those who spoke, Norman Mailer, Robert P. Smith and Ronald Van Doren deserve particular attention. Their speeches in summary are reviewed below.

9. A table at the back of the audience presented recommended literature. The books included H. Weissberg's Whitewash and Peter Noyes' Legacy of Doubt. For some reason there was a copy of one paper only, that of George O'Toole's "Assassination Tapes". There was also a bibliography of political assassination; the foreword to which lists the persons most actively collaborating with the Committee.



10. A publication circulated during the conference was the November, 1973 issue of Computers and Automation which is to be renamed, starting January 1, 1974, Computers and People. The publication of articles such as "Nixon and the Mafia" which concludes that Richard M. Nixon seems to be the embodiment of a prediction that organized crime would someday put its own man in the White House, seems somewhat curious in a magazine devoted to the profession of data processing and the use of computers. The magazine was established in 1951 by Berkeley Enterprises in Massachusetts. Alger Hiss is among its contributors and an abundance of articles by Richard Sprague on the subject of Watergate published in the past year.


11. Another organization which received publicity at the Conference was The Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC).

12. A representative of Computers and Automation handed out this publication free of charge to members of the audience. He took notes with fantastic speed and apparent accuracy of everything said during the proceedings."

13. The lights gave out at one point and did not come on again during the morning session. The absence of current may have affected the tape recording.

14. The morning session, due to close at 12:30, ended after 1:30 p.m. By this time the audience was impatient to have lunch, and the resumption of the proceedings was therefore postponed to a later hour.

15. No document of any kind was issued to the persons who paid \$15.00 to enter. Instead their hand was stamped with the name of the organization which gave them access to all further meetings that day and the next (the members of the audience were apparently not supposed to wash their hands during this time). Names were taken down, but no questions asked other than one's initial. No information on address, occupation, etc. was required.



16. Speech by Norman Mailer. This was beyond a doubt, the most striking presentation during the Friday morning session. Mailer spoke briefly and left the conference shortly after the speech.

17. Mailer said that political intelligence as a subject was as powerful as "peace". Interest in assassination is obsessive. The obsession arises from the fact that a solution to the problem is not found, and attention is constantly drawn back to the unanswerable question.


18. He said that we have here the most powerful nation in the world which cannot come to grips with a question which seems as amazingly simple as the Kennedy assassination. The result has been that this nation has decided to shut down investigation and has thus alienated itself from its own history. This alienation has brought apathy, a trait noticeable in the reaction to investigations which bring no wide response.

19. A nation which rejects its own history is on the path to a totalitarian regime. Facts, meanwhile, have a peculiar ability to change when they are investigated, and investigators must therefore rely upon hypothesis. The history of the last ten years has been made unendurable by the abundance of hypotheses. They range from the opinion that an assassination is an accident lacking any particular sequence to the hypothesis that secret police forces are engaging in a world conspiracy.

20. The present conference must help us to learn whether there are possibilities, and what possibilities exist, to solve these questions.

21. Speech by Robert P. Smith. Mr. Smith was described as the director of research of the Committee, but he seems to be one of the major motive forces in this organization.

22. Mr. Smith pointed out that he had spent the last three years studying the Kennedy case. Much research had been done, but nothing had changed, so far as practical action was concerned, in the last nine years.



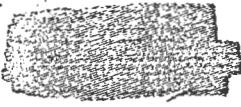
23. Although the National Archives are the repository for the Kennedy assassination documents, the FBI and the CIA are responsible for restricting research. Much of the 300 cubic feet of documents have been printed, a reclassification in 1971 has released 3,000 pages, and the CIA later released more, but none of the material released has created any sensation. The Freedom of Information Act is not as liberal on assassination material as on other matters. Some material was not even turned over to the Warren Commission. The FBI and the Justice Department are alone in knowing the results of some tests.

24. In the non-governmental area, much has been published, and the book by Peter Noyes must be singled out particularly.

25. Speech by Mr. Robert Hanson. Mr. Hanson has become the counsel for Sirhan Sirhan. He studied to become an engineer and then shifted to law. (To judge from the number of cases which he says he has lost, he should have remained an engineer instead of becoming an attorney.)

Mr. Hanson said that the Sirhan case is pretty hopeless. The trial was based on a 100 per cent belief in Sirhan's guilt. Therefore important witnesses were not called, and no attention was paid to ballistics. Scientific study, however, indicates that Sirhan Sirhan may not even have been the person who committed the crime. But even if it is proved that his gun did not kill Robert Kennedy, this discovery may have no influence upon Sirhan's case. California officials have no desire to reopen the case and funds to handle the proceedings are lacking. A book by Tiger on the case is worthy of note. Tiger claims that Sirhan Sirhan was acting under hypnotic influence.

26. Speech by James Lesar. Mr. Lesar, who spoke on the Martin Luther King assassination, declared that Ray was innocent, and that the FBI and the Justice Department were responsible for wrongly solving the crime. Ray was framed by conspirators. The persons presently involved in Watergate played a role in the Ray case investigation. No private agency - only a government agency - can solve the Ray case. All depends on whether the judiciary acts honestly or with political consideration in mind. As it stands today, we see Ray's rights having been abominably violated; we see lawyers who did not do their job; and we see nothing approaching an open hearing.

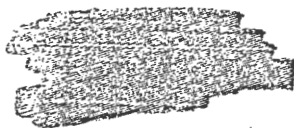


27. Speech by Ronald Van Doren. Mr. Van Doren seems to be a follower of Governor Wallace. He began by commenting on the sad situation in a country with a judiciary where individuals have to make conjectures regarding a case as obvious as that of Bremer. There is no doubt that Bremer pulled the trigger. But one should examine the political situation at the time of his action. Wallace was by far the leading candidate in the election campaign, a threat to other candidates, and he was winning the nomination. He represented a challenge to both parties. Nothing he said could be interpreted as racist, and in the economic sense he carried wide appeal. The question which faced the other candidates was how he could be stopped from disrupting the two parties and from preventing the re-election of the President. History will show how he was stopped and why this occurred.

28. The case in defense of Wallace's civil rights was quietly dropped. No proper investigation was conducted. As usual in assassination cases there was a diary. It showed that Bremer was acting alone and was deranged. Read as a piece of literature, the diary presents Bremer as a non-person, an illiterate unable to spell. There is nothing regarding the people he worked with. Meanwhile, if one examines Bremer's background, he appears an entirely different person. Why did he travel repeatedly to Ottawa? How did he manage to carry guns on planes? What was he doing in New York? Why was he in Washington? And where did he get his funds? The apartment he rented exceeds his annual income. His mother could not afford to visit him in prison, yet he dressed well. With whom was he involved?

29. All this should be looked into. Watergate brought the electoral campaign to the fore. Why has discussion of the Bremer shooting been excluded from the investigation? Bremer was a part of the 1972 campaign, yet there is no mention of Wallace or of Bremer. Two years from now Wallace will be back.

30. Speech by Ms. Meredith Rode. Ms. Rode was very brief. She said she became interested in the killing of George Lincoln Rockwell in 1970, and that the case was built on circumstantial evidence exclusively. The case is still open, for the police believe that there was an accomplice. No funds are available for defense.



31. -There was also a speech by Robert Salzman who was long-winded and technical. No useful coverage available.

32. Copies of materials which were available at the Conference are attached.

- A. American Political Assassinations: A Bibliography of Works Published 1963-1970 Related to the Assassination of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Robert F. Kennedy. Compiled by The Committee to Investigate Assassinations, Washington, D. C., 1973.
- B. "Decade of Assassinations -- 1963-1973". Committee to Investigate Assassinations, 1973.
- C. "Don't Read This Out Loud!" Intelligence Report. The Committee for Action Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC).
- D. Announcement. The announcement states that Senator John Stennis will begin hearings on his Bill to amend the National Security Act, in regard to the clarification of the authority of the CIA.
- E. Assassination Tapes by George O'Toole. Published by Penthouse International Ltd., 1973.
- F. Computers and Automation (Computers and People), November, 1973, Volume 22, No 11.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Senator John Stennis, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, will begin hearings early in the New Year on his Bill No. S.2597 -- to amend the National Security Act -- in regard to clarification of the authority of the CIA.

The bill recently introduced by Senator Stennis resulted in part from correspondence with Senator Edmund Muskie, Chairman of the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee. To some degree, these hearings were inspired by the Watergate developments.

People with knowledge in the areas which might be fruitful for investigation should be in touch with Senator Stennis' Committee. For further information, contact the Task Force For A Nuclear Test Ban, Betty Lall and Jo Pomerance, Co-Chairmen, care of the Project on Budget Priorities, 1620 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

JOIN THE COUNTER-SPY

INTELLIGENCE

• PUBLICATIONS

CARIC publishes a bi-weekly *INTELLIGENCE REPORT* and a quarterly named *COUNTER-SPY* featuring various articles examining the structures and operations of U.S. Intelligence. In addition, CARIC publishes occasional pamphlets on various concepts in the craft of intelligence. CARIC also provides reprints of selected articles on intelligence which have appeared in other publications.

CARIC is preparing a guide to U.S. Intelligence which will serve as a citizen access device to the hidden world of government operations. We hope that any controversy raised by this guide or any other CARIC publication will lead to public debate and resolution of the issues involved. Our analysis is based in a firm belief that no human being should be denied life, liberty or the pursuit of happiness by our government or its agents. CARIC publications aid the public effort to assure the veneration of this concept by those in our government.

• IN-FROM-THE-COLD HEARINGS

CARIC will sponsor In-From-The-Cold Hearings featuring public testimony by individuals intimately involved with U.S. Intelligence. The hearings will focus on American intervention abroad, domestic repression in this country and the effects of secrecy on the individuals' personality. Former intelligence workers and those who have been victimized by the intelligence community will publicly relate their participation in activities of our government which can no longer be ignored by good citizens.



TEAM

Join with us in our effort to end "illegal, unconstitutional and gross acts" by our government. CARIC is entirely supported by donations from American citizens. Donate and become a sponsoring member of the Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community. Sponsoring members receive our bi-weekly *INTELLIGENCE REPORT* and our quarterly *COUNTER-SPY* as well as additional information on government operations. CARIC actively seeks the advice and viewpoints of all sponsoring members in our activities. Write to CARIC, Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044, or call (202) 785-8330.

With your support we can prevent the visions of George Orwell in *1984* from becoming an American reality.

STOP THE SPYING

STOP TECHNOFASCISM

CARIC A
Box 647
Ben Franklin Station
Washington, D.C. 20044

I wish to sponsor the efforts of CARIC.
Please find enclosed my donation of \$ _____

I wish only to subscribe to the *INTELLIGENCE REPORT's* and to *COUNTER-SPY* (\$6/individual, \$10/organization)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____

Don't
React
This
Out
Low

The Committee for Action
on the Intelligence Community

The headlines in American newspapers have for years told of Army surveillance of civilians, U.S. spy planes being shot down over other countries, attempted coups and intrigue initiated by the CIA and unrestrained FBI wiretapping. We all know that Big Brother is watching, but no one in our government has taken the time to explain what is being spied upon, and why we are being watched. Too often, we American citizens don't even know who Big Brother is.

In 1955, President Eisenhower accepted the report of the Hoover Commission on U.S. Intelligence. Among other recommendations, the Commission emphasized the need for two "watchdog" committees on intelligence within the executive and legislative branches of government. Although a Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (FIAB) was established to serve the President, Congress by an overwhelming majority has refused to establish a committee within the legislative branch. Now, in the midst of the Watergate scandals, there is some movement within Congress to establish committees on the separate intelligence agencies. The result will be divided oversight with no assurance that Congress will be able to stop illegal and unjustified spying. With Congress abrogating its responsibilities, there is no agency of government, directly responsible to the public, monitoring the United States Intelligence Community.

Now former intelligence workers and concerned citizens have formed a national association to provide the vital information an aware public needs to know about government operations. The Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC) is an independent "watchdog" on the government spy apparatus. CARIC, sponsored entirely by donations from American citizens, serves as an alternative source of analysis and information on the practices, organization and objectives of U.S. Intelligence. What clandestine operations are being carried out in the name of America? Is the CIA preparing to entangle us in another war similar to the Indochina War? What information is going into Federal, State, local and private data banks on innocent American citizens? Is the FBI becoming a "secret police force?" Whose phones are tapped in America? These are some of the questions CARIC is answering.

CARIC knows that all conscientious Americans are closely watching the events that have unfolded since the arrests made at the Watergate building. We share the hope of most Americans that the illegal espionage practices that have now been exposed will no longer be a part of American political life. However, the dismantling of one espionage apparatus does not insure that this abuse will not be repeated by future politicians.

Who knows what future political espionage will occur under the guise of so-called "national security" or loyalty to an administration? Only time will tell, but through diligence and your help CARIC will anticipate and bring to your attention situations within the government that are likely to produce a new "Watergate."

Although CARIC does believe that a massive government spy apparatus is at work in the world, we hope to dispel some of the paranoia citizens naturally feel when there is talk of spies and wiretaps. We know that the FBI does not have agents behind every tree, but there are agents in every major community in this country who have spied on innocent private and public citizens. Only a full and undisguised look into this hidden world can dispel unwarranted fears, and guide the public effort to end this illegal and unjustified espionage. *The secrecy with which the government surrounds itself must end.*

CARIC knows that tens of thousands of American citizens from all walks of life were mobilized over the past decade to help bring an end to the government's war in Indochina — a war that has taken new forms under the direction of U.S. Intelligence agencies. CARIC hopes that these same concerned citizens will continue to oppose the policies of our government which bring this new form of *covert war* and the Watergate scandals. It is now time for thousands of Americans to mobilize to stop the spying as we stopped the dying. *Please join us in our effort.*

THE COMMITTEE FOR ACTION/RESEARCH ON THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY (CARIC)

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

• CARIC ORGANIZATION

CARIC is organized to reflect the operating procedures of a typical intelligence organization. Our research process involves collecting information from a wide variety of sources both public and private. Our analysis is the collective product of CARIC participants and eliminates any compartmentalization of knowledge. The information and our analysis is then disseminated through CARIC publications and separate works by CARIC participants. In addition, CARIC provides information to other journalists and qualified researchers.

• INTELLIGENCE DOCUMENTATION CENTER (IDC)

CARIC is continuously collecting information on intelligence from a variety of sources including official government, official documents, previous investigations, public accounts and information from hundreds of former intelligence and police agents. This information forms the data-base of the Intelligence Documentation Center maintained by CARIC. The IDC is a library of information on U.S. Intelligence available upon request to journalists, researchers and members of CARIC.

• SPEAKERS BUREAU AND WORKSHOPS

CARIC maintains a listing of members available to give talks in groups on a variety of subjects ranging from the foreign intelligence programs of our government to the problems of criminal justice in this country. Our speakers include former intelligence workers, agents and informers and others familiar with American intelligence.

CARIC will periodically conduct workshops for church, school or community organizations. Workshop topics include:

- OPERATION PHOENIX — CIA assassination in Vietnam
- SALEM HOUSE — Preparation for the coup in Cambodia
- The CIA in Laos
- OPERATION BOULDER — An introduction to the next war
- Right-wing terrorism in America
- Federal Planning for civil disturbances: Riots and demonstrations
- The Internal Security apparatus and Watergate

• MULTI-MEDIA BRIEFING

CARIC will soon augment our workshops with a multi-media briefing on U.S. intelligence featuring films, video tapes and recorded interviews. The exhibit will dramatically illustrate as practiced by our government. Our hope is to create a greater realization by our audience of the concepts presented in these reports.

The first element of the multi-media briefing is a slide show demonstrating the growth of the internal security apparatus of our government and how this apparatus influenced the Watergate scandal. The slide show terminates with suggestions for future actions of the internal security apparatus.

62-116 91-33

COME SHARE THE FINDINGS
OF THE NATION'S EXPERTS

AT A TWO DAY CONFERENCE

SPONSORED BY THE COMMITTEE TO
INVESTIGATE ASSASSINATIONS

TO BE HELD AT

GEORGETOWN
UNIVERSITY

GASTON HALL

Nov. 23-24, 1973

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ASSASSINATIONS
1520 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. • (202) 232-1152

DECADE OF ASSASSINATIONS

1963 - 1973

JOHN F. KENNEDY • SYLVANUS OLYMPIO •
ABDUL KARIM KASSEM • MEDGAR EVERS •
"NGO" DINH DIEM • JIGME DORJI • ADIB AL •
SHISHAKLI • PIERRE NGENDANDUMWE •
HASSAN ALI MANSOUR • MALCOLM X • VIOLA
LIUZZO • MARIO MENDEZ MONTENEGRO • SIR
ABUBAKAR BALEWA • J.T.V. IRONSI AGUIYI •
HENDRIK VERWOERD • TRAN VAN VAN •
GEORGE LINCOLN ROCKWELL • CHE GUEVARA
• MARTIN LUTHER KING • ROBERT F.
KENNEDY • EDUARDO MONDLANE • TOM
MBOYA • A.A. SHERMARKE • GEORGE
WALLACE • SALVADORE ALLENDE •

THE LAST THREE PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN DECIDED BY
BULLETS:

1964 — result decided by the assassination of
President John F. Kennedy

1968 — result decided by the assassination of
Senator Robert F. Kennedy

1972 — result decided by the near-assassination of
Governor George Wallace

WHAT is the evidence?

WHO fire the fatal shots?

WHY has there been such a concerted effort
to withhold the facts?

WHO was really behind the assassinations?

1963 - 1973

PROGRAM

FRIDAY - NOVEMBER 23

- 9:00 LATE REGISTRATION -
Early Registrants pick up passes.
- 9:30 WELCOME:
Mr. Bernard Fensterwald, Jr., Executive Director, Committee to Investigate Assassinations
Mr. Norman Mailer, Author and Forwarder of *The Fifth Estate*
- 10:00 CURRENT STATUS OF PROMINENT ASSASSINATION CASES:
JFK CASE - Mr. Robert P. Smith, Director of Research, Committee to Investigate Assassinations
RFK CASE - Mr. Robert Hanson, Attorney, present counsel for Sirhan Sirhan
KING CASE - Mr. James Lesar, Attorney, present counsel for James Earl Ray
WALLACE CASE - Mr. Ronald Van Doren, Newsman, Author, researcher into the background of Arthur Bremer
ROCKWELL CASE - Ms. Meredith Rode, Professor at Federal City College, Authority in killing of George Lincoln Rockwell
- 10:30 UNIQUE INVESTIGATIVE TECHNIQUES:
Mr. William Turner, Moderator - Former FBI Agent, Author of numerous books on investigative techniques
Mr. George O'Toole - Former CIA Agent, Free-Lance Writer, expert on the PSE (Psychological Stress Evaluator)
Mr. Robert Saltzman - Computer Engineer, lecturer on the Warren Commission Report

FRIDAY - Continued

- 12:30 BREAK FOR LUNCH
- 2:00 MEDICAL AND PHYSICAL EVIDENCE:
Mr. Josiah Thompson, Moderator - Professor at Haverford College, author of *Six Seconds in Dallas*
Dr. Cyril Wecht - Professor of Law and Forensic Medicine at Duquesne University; Coroner of Pittsburgh, Pa.
Ms. Sylvia Meagher - Attorney, UN Official, author of *Accessories After The Fact*
Mr. Roger Hanson - Attorney, counsel to Sirhan Sirhan
Mr. Herbert MacDonnell - Professor of Criminalistics, Corning University; expert in case of Fred Hampton
Mr. Mark Lane - Attorney, author of *Rush To Judgment and Executive Action*
- 6:00 BREAK FOR DINNER
- 8:30 WARREN COMMISSION REPORT: FACT OR FICTION -
A slide show and lecture by Mr. Robert Saltzman

SATURDAY - NOVEMBER 24

- 9:30 ASSASSINATIONS AND THE MEDIA:
Mr. John Henry Faulk, Moderator - Humorist and Author of *Fear On Trial*
Mr. Robert Kaiser - Author of *RFK Must Die*
Mr. Donald Freed - Co-Author of *Executive Action*
Mr. Harold Weisberg - Author of *Frame Up*
Mr. Ted Charach - Author of *Second Gun*
Mr. Peter Noyes - Author of *Legacy Of Doubt*
Mr. Fred Cook - Author of numerous books and articles
- 12:30 BREAK FOR LUNCH
- 2:00 THEORIES OF CONSPIRACY:
Mr. Richard Sprague, Moderator - Computer expert and author
Dr. Richard Popkin, Professor at Washington University; author of *The Second Oswald*
Col. Fletcher Prouty - Former Liaison Officer between Pentagon and CIA; author of *The Secret Teams*
Mr. Robert K. Brown - Former Special Services Officer; expert in attempts on life of Castro
Mr. Earl Golz - Reporter for Dallas Morning News; expert on Organized Crimes
Mr. Victor Marchetti - Former CIA Agent; author
Mr. Peter Dale Scott - Professor at Berkeley; Author of *The War Conspiracy*
- 5:00 INDIVIDUAL WORKSHOPS WITH THE SPEAKERS -
Question and Answer Sessions

AMERICAN POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS:

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF WORKS PUBLISHED

1963-1970

RELATED TO THE ASSASSINATION OF

JOHN F. KENNEDY

MARTIN LUTHER KING

ROBERT F. KENNEDY

Compiled by

THE COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ASSASSINATIONS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ASSASSINATIONS

1973

GENERAL

- "Implications of Bourgeois Democracy: The Fight to Dignify Rights." Current Digest of the Soviet Press, 1 January 1964, p. 25.
- "After the Tragedy." Tablet, 30 November 1963, pp. 1161-1162.
- "After the Assassination." Newweek, 15 August 1966, pp. 30-33.
- "Above: Relief; Below: Installment of the death of a President." Time, 27 January 1967, p. 38.
- Ahner, J. and J. Toney. "Some Functions of Religious Ritual in Catastrophes: Kennedy Assassination." Sociological Analysis, 25(1964), 212-230.
- Alibay, Marina. "That Day in Washington." Philippine Herald Magazine, 25 January 1964, pp. 23-25.
- . "When Night Fell on the U.S." Philippine Herald Magazine, 7 December 1963, p. 12.
- Alex, S. "Johnson Took Over." Saturday Evening Post, 15 February 1964, pp. 17-23.
- "American Long Victim." TV Guide, 23 January 1964, pp. 19-22.
- "As a child's yellow fever." Newweek, 2 December 1963, pp. 36-37.
- "As then it was November 23 again." Newweek, 10 November 1964, pp. 25-28.
- "Assassination of an Assassination." Newweek, 27 November 1964, p. 6.
- Astoria, Brothers. "Death has Reached Kennedy (from Times of Indonesia)." Panorama, September 1963, pp. 9-12.
- Australia and after." Christian Century, 30(1963), 1647.
- Ayns, L. "Reflections on a Tragedy." Delaware, January 1964, p. 27.
- Barthman, Stephen A. "The Kennedy Assassination." Catholics, 53, no. 3(1966), 61-69.
- Armit, R.S. "The Death of a President." Panama, N.J.: Minority of One, 1964.
- "Assassination Given Impetus to Enact a Gun Bill." Advertising Age, 2 December 1963, pp. 1-2.
- "Assassination of a President, reprinted from New York Times with Intro. by Anthony Lewis. New York, 1963.
- "The Assassination of President John F. Kennedy." Current Digest of the Soviet Press, 11 December 1963, pp. 3-15.
- "The Assassination of President Kennedy." East Europe, January 1964, pp. 25-26.
- "The Assassination of President Kennedy." (NY) Leaflet, 1963. ("Memorial Edition")
- "The Assassination of President Kennedy: A Study of the Press Coverage." Ph.D. dissertation, State of the City." Newweek, 4 December 1967, pp. 310-32.
- "The Assassination: The Reporter's Story: What Was Seen and Read: Television, Newspapers, Newspaper Journalists' Perspectives, Unsettling Issues." Columbia Journalism Review, Winter 1964.
- "The Assassination: The Road to a Verdict; with report by G.R. Ford." Life, 2 October 1964, pp. 40-50.
- "The Assassins." Time, 27 December 1963, p. 18.
- "The Assassins." Newweek, 6 January 1964, pp. 19-20.
- Beckman, H. "President Johnsons Reconsideration." First Denmark, 23, no. 2(1964-65), 1-4.
- "Book of the secret in the assassination probe." U.S. News and World Report, 24 February 1964, p. 32.
- "Book in Dallas: Theories of J. Thompson and J. Connolly." Time, 24 November 1967, pp. 34-35.
- "Book on the Kennedy Film." Film Forum, Spring, Fall/Winter 1967, pp. 39-44.
- Bohler, R.H. "The Assassination." Saturday Evening Post, 4 December 1963, pp. 22-27.
- Bohrer, Fern C. The Assassination of President Kennedy: A Study of the Press Coverage. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Dept. of Journalism, 1965.
- Boston, France. "The Assassination." Life, 26 November 1963.
- Brennan, Vera. "The Kennedy Assassination." Life, Autumn 1964, pp. 90-93.
- Bull, Morris A. Some of the representative rights: the only reconstruction of the Kennedy Assassination. Washington: Columbia Pub. Co., 1964.
- Burke, Stephen B. "Gulf Stream Assassination Book to Widen Kennedy-LBJ Rift." Yale Daily News, 15 October 1966, pp. 1-3.
- Burt, Anna. Elizabethan and Stuart England. Eudagoga: Kozuth Konykleda, 1964.
- Burt, Anna. "Which way to only one?" Week Magazine, 13 August 1971, pp. 13-15.
- "Bill and Howell Costa Read for Assassination Film: Now in National Archives." Image Magazine, January 1967.
- Brown, V. "That Night on the Kennedy Assassination (book review of Die Mordzeit über John Kennedy: wie und warum der Mord geschah, by Joachim Joachim)." Yale Daily News, 20 October 1966, pp. 20-22.
- Brown, L. "John F. Kennedy for Assassination." Paris: Editions du Cerfuit, 1963.
- Byrd, Wendell. "November Twenty-Six Remembered Sixty Three." New York:
- . "Return to Dallas." New Republic, 23 December 1967, p. 34.
- Blush, J.W. The Day Kennedy Was Shot. New York: Viking and Signalla, 1964.
- "Black Friday, Five Years Later." Newweek, 25 November 1964, pp. 17-23.
- "Bubal Brith, Overseas Honor JFK: 25th Anniversary Celebration Dedicated to JFK." Directors place wreath at Tomb of President." National Jewish Monthly, Jan 1964, pp. 24-26.
- Bonner, Judy Whitton. Investigation of a Heavenside: the Murder of John F. Kennedy. 4 avo, S.G.: Doubt House, 1969.
- Booker, Stroem. "How JFK Surpassed Abraham Lincoln." Life, February 1964, pp. 25-27.
- Boonstra, Jan. De aanslag in Dallas: 22 November 1963. De geschied van John F. Kennedy: 1917-1963. President van de Verenigde Staten van Amerika. Amsterdam: Bibliotheek en Documentatie school, 1964.
- Bowser, Halliwell. "The Perils of Hosty History." Saturday Review, 31 December 1966, p. 14.
- Brand, Scerlu. "Si Totual Claci." Epica, 17 December 1966, p. 12.
- Bravo, Francisco. "John Fitzgerald Kennedy: el martir de la generacion discursiva." Guinea, 1963.
- Breiz, J. "Assassination of a People." Ava Hestia, 14 December 1963, p. 10.
- . "President Kennedy's Death: Why?" Ava Hestia, 11 January 1964, p. 9.
- . "Death in Emergency No. One: Parkland Memorial Hospital." Saturday Evening Post, 14 December 1963, pp. 30-31.
- Brenberg, Horacio. "The Riddle of Dallas." Spectator, 212(1964), 305-306.
- Bringuler, Carlos, Red Friday. Chicago: Charles Hallberg & Co., n.d.
- Brodie, Israel. Tribute to the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy at the Marble Arch Synagogue. London, 1964. London: Office of the Chief Rabbi, 1964.
- Buchanan, Thomas C. "Traza Porocilo a Isaura v Dallasu." Orje, 27-29 February 1964, pp. 56-58.
- Budnac, Budimir. "Zlocin u Teksasu." Demok, 22(1963), 6124.
- Bugelli, Paolo, et al. Chi ha ucciso Kennedy. Roma: Tranipi editore, 1958.
- "Business Pledge its Support." Burton, 30 November 1963, p. 34.
- Butler, Ed. "The Great Assassination Puzzle." The Woodstock Village Square, 1, no. 2(1963), pp. 21-28; 2, no. 1(1969), pp. 26-27, 37-41.
- Caccro, J. "Honest and Sane." Continental, 13 December 1963, pp. 138-139.
- Caplan, Gerald and Vivian Cadden. "Lessons in Bravery." McCall's, September 1968, pp. 12-15, 113.
- Carney, Frederick S. "Crisis of Conscience in Dallas: Soul-searching vs. New Faith in Dallas." Thought on the day of the funeral of Ten F. Driver." Christianity in Dallas, 23 December 1963, pp. 235-241.
- Carr, Vagoneer. Texas Supplemental Report on the Assassination of President Kennedy and Certain Killings of Governor John B. Connally. November 27, 1963. Austin, Texas.
- Castro, Fidel. Comunicacion del Comandante Fidel Castro sobre el pueblo de Cuba sobre la asesonacion del presidente John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Havana: Comision Orientacion Revolucionaria, Oficina Nacional del Publico, 1963.
- A Child's Eyes, November 22, 1963 (motion picture). Group VI Productions (released by Pa Contemporary Films), 1964.
- "A Chronology of Tragedy." Time and Tide, 28 November 1963, pp. 7-9.
- Clardi, John. "November 22, 1963." Saturday Review, 7 December 1963, p. 164.
- . "Of chance and courage." Saturday Review, 28 December 1963, p. 25.
- Clifford, G. "Warren Spott: A New Boost for the Kennedy Memorabilia Industry." Weekly Magazine, 2 November 1964, p. 3.
- Colt, Alvin. "Assassina Forger." Journal of Forensic Science, July 1966, pp. 272-283.
- "Compendius of Curious Coincidences: Parallels in the Lives and Deaths of A. Lincoln and J.F. Kennedy." Time, 21 August 1964, p. 17.
- The Complete Kennedy Story: Four Book Exam. 4 vols. Hollywood: Associated Professional Services, 1967.
- Condon, R. "Ranchman Candidate in Dallas." Nation, 26 December 1963, pp. 449-451.
- Connally, John B. "Why Kennedy Went to Dallas." Life, 21 November 1967, pp. 64-82.
- Connally, Mrs. John B. "Since That Day in Dallas." McCall's, August 1964, pp. 75-79.
- Cook, Fred J. "Assassination Investigations: The Irregular Take the Field." Nation, 19 July 1971, pp. 40-46.
- Cooke, Allatair. "After the President's Assassination." Listener, 3 December 1963, pp. 967-968.
- . "Death of the Young Warrior." Listener, 28 November 1963, pp. 863-864.
- . "Man at Large: the Evidence in the Assassination of President Kennedy." New Yorker, 22 September 1966, p. 6.
- Cottrell, John. Assassinations: The World Stood Still. London: New English Library, 1964.
- Coptine, Norman. "The Legacy of John F. Kennedy." Saturday Review, 7 December 1963, pp. 21-27.
- Crawford, Kenneth. "The Epodes Ha Made." Newweek, 2 December 1963, p. 39.

A Bibliographical Essay on John F. Kennedy. New York: New York University Press, 1963.

1. V. "The JFK: Twins of Fate." Philippine Herald Magazine, 14 March 1964, pp. 42, 44, 47, 72.

2. John F. Kennedy: A Biography. Boston: American Poster and Printing Co., 1969.

3. John F. Kennedy: A Biography. In John F. Kennedy: Aus dem Leben eines grossen Staatsmannes. Zurich: Birkbeck, 1964.

4. John F. Kennedy: A Biography. Boston: American Poster and Printing Co., 1969.

5. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

6. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

7. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

8. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

9. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

10. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

11. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

12. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

13. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

14. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

15. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

16. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

17. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

18. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

19. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

20. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

21. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

22. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

23. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

24. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

25. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

26. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

27. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

28. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

29. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

30. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

31. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

32. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

33. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

34. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

35. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

36. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

37. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

38. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

39. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

40. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

41. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

42. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

43. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

44. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

45. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

46. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

47. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

48. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

49. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

50. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

51. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

52. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

53. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

54. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

55. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

56. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

57. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

58. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

59. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

60. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

61. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

62. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

63. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

64. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

65. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

66. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

67. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

68. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

69. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

70. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

71. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

72. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

73. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

74. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

75. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

76. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

77. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

78. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

79. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

80. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

81. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

82. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

83. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

84. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

85. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

86. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

87. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

88. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

89. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

90. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

91. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

92. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

93. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

94. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

95. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

96. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

97. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

98. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

99. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

100. "The Assassination." Newsweek, 20 February 1965, pp. 31-32.

Fox, Sylvia. "Unanswered Questions About President Kennedy's Assassination." National Review, 11 January 1966, pp. 34-37.

"Funeral of John Fitzgerald Kennedy." Illustrated London News, 30 November 1963, pp. 650-673.

Galea, Robert Robinson. "Notes. The Assassination of the Presidents: Jurisdictional Problems." Syracuse Law Review, Fall 1964, pp. 69-81.

Gans, H.J. "Why did Kennedy Die?" Trans-Action, July 1963, pp. 5-6.

Gardos, Miklos. A Kennedy Mystery. Budapest, 1960.

Garcen, Barbara. Deed! New York: Grove Press, 1967.

Gallner, J. "Who Killed John Kennedy?" Saturday Night, July 1964, pp. 11-14.

Gentleson, Alvin. Kennedy and His Assassination. (N.Y.) Book Company of America (n.d.)

Gilliat, Penelope. "The Current Cinema." New Yorker, 17 June 1961, p. 93.

Gilman, R. "Facts of Morality." Commonwealth, 17 December 1963, pp. 337-339.

Glicks, Edwin A., ed. Of Electors and Electors: poems occasioned by the Presidency and death of John Kennedy. New York: Basic Books, 1964.

Goodhart, A.L. "The Hysterics of the Kennedy Assassination and the English Press." Law Quarterly Review, January 1967.

Gordon, Bruce. One and the Same Two Shots: the Kennedy Assassination. Fullerton, California, 1963.

Gordon, William E. "The Assassination of President Kennedy." Contemporary Review, January 1964, pp. 0-13.

Gotte, Fritz. "Nach John F. Kennedy's Tod." Die Zeit, 1964, pp. 143-145.

"The Government Still Lives." Time, 29 November 1963, pp. 21-32.

Graham, Fred P. "Doctors Inspect Kennedy X-rays." New York Times, 9 January 1977.

Greenberg, Bradley S. "Disfranchisement of News of the Kennedy Assassination." Public Opinion Quarterly, 28(1964), 225-232.

Grosvonor, Melville Bell. "The Last Full Measure." National Geographic, March 1964, pp. 397-355.

Gun, Nerla E. See Jones from Texas. London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1964.

Gurgo, Ottocino. Ferite i Kennedy uolano. Roma: Trevi, 1960.

Hahn, Hans. "Die Hälfte der Wahrheit; der Mörder Gefundener Nord Ungelärt." Ultramarine, 32(1964), 1614.

_____. The Wounded Land: Journey through a Divided America. New York: Coward-McCann, 1964.

Hanson, William H. The Shooting of John F. Kennedy. San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1967.

Harris, T.G. "Heno about a Dallas Clinic." Look, 11 August 1964, pp. 64+.

Hart, L. "The Death of President Kennedy." Columbia, December 1963, p. 3.

_____. "A Tear of Progress with a Sorrowful Close." Columbia, January 1964, p. 16.

_____. "Hatred knows no logic." Saturday Evening Post, 4 January 1964, p. 69.

_____. "Have We Learned Our Lessons?" Christian Century, 60(1963), 1567-1568.

_____. He Gave His Life. Nashville, Tenn.: The Nashville Tennessean, 1965.

Hegyl, Karoly. "A Dallas Ictelethidetes Utam." Elmer, 17 March 1964, p.3.

Henderson, Bruce. 1133. New York: Cowles, 1969.

Herscher, W.H. "Thousand well wishers and one assassin." U.S. News and World Report, 2 December 1963, pp. 34-35.

Hessol, D. "To heal the wounds." Christian Century, 81(1964), 15.

_____. "Die Hintergründe den Kennedy-Morde." Das Ausland, Deutschland, 1963.

_____. "History's Jury." Newsweek, 16 December 1963, pp. 75-77.

Holace, H.A. "One thing worse than this: Sermon delivered at Northaven Methodist Church, Dallas, November 24, 1963." Christian Century, 60 (1963), 1555-1556.

_____. Portrait to a Friend, a memorial tributes by the United Nations for President John F. Kennedy. New York: United States Committee for the United Nations, 1964.

Horowitz, Irving L. "Kennedy's Death, Myth, and Realities." Trans-Action, July 1964, pp. 3-5.

Houts, Marshall. "President Kennedy's Autopsy was Botched." Medical Economics, 4 March 1964, p. 249.

_____. Where Death Calliphen: Adventure in Courtroom Medicine. New York: Coward-McCann, 1967.

"How JFK Died." Newsweek, 30 December 1963, p.55.

Howard, Anthony. "Logistics of the Funeral." Enquirer, November 1963, pp. 119-122.

Howe, Irving. "On the death of John F. Kennedy." In his Steady Work: Essays in the Politics of Democratic Radicalism. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1958.

Hughes, Ernest John. "An Echo in the Silence." Newsweek, 2 December 1963, p. 32.

_____. "Hven Pyrdede Iven or Ivorfor!" Frie Danmark, 22 (1961-64), 3-5.

_____. "Myanna Fort Revisited." Look (17 November 1964: The JFK Memorial Issue), pp. 37-45.

_____. "Hypothetical Case: Letters." National Review, 17 December 1963, pp. 315-316, 14 January 1964, p. 36.

_____. "I Just Heard Four Shots: Three Shots." Editor and Publisher, 30 November 1963, pp. 14-23.

1. "Historical post-Kennedy assassination threats of reprisals." Parade, 25 December 1963, p. 27.

2. John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 1917-1961, President of the United States of America. Official biography of the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, November 1963. 160 pp. Includes a list of assassination threats. Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1963.

3. "In 1953 He Survived." Christian Century, 60 (1963), 1599-1601.

4. "The Death of Dallas." San Francisco Chronicle Magazine, 1964.

5. "The Right to Peace Arms." Tablet, 3 October 1964, pp. 1101-1102.

6. International Outlook. Business Week, 30 November 1963, pp. 83-84.

7. "Let the Archival, X-rays and photographs of body of JFK." Time, 11 November 1966, p. 33.

8. Newsweek. Kennedy's Body, Newsweek, 1964.

9. Life. The Dallas Investigation. Newsweek, 11 December 1963, pp. 10-12.

10. Life. John F. Kennedy. Newsweek, 21 December 1966, pp. 29-31.

11. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

12. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

13. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

14. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

15. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

16. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

17. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

18. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

19. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

20. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

21. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

22. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

23. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

24. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

25. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

26. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

27. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

28. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

29. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

30. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

31. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

32. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

33. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

34. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

35. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

36. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

37. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

38. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

39. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

40. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

41. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

42. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

43. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

44. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

45. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

46. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

47. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

48. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

49. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

50. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

51. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

52. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

53. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

54. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

55. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

56. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

57. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

58. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

59. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

60. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

61. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

62. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

63. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

64. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

65. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

66. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

67. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

68. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

69. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

70. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

71. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

72. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

73. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

74. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

75. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

76. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

77. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

78. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

79. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

80. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

81. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

82. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

83. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

84. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

85. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

86. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

87. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

88. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

89. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

90. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

91. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

92. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

93. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

94. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

95. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

96. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

97. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

98. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

99. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

100. Life. Kennedy's Death. Newsweek, 12 December 1966, pp. 44-46.

Kopland, Andrew. "The Kennedy Mystery Deepens." New Statesman, 29 July 1966, p. 163.

Korolovskiy, Lajos. "Famatolom a Vallandorok." Gazdasag és Kenekeny Gyilkossag. Határozat, 5, no. 2 (1964), 60-67.

Kroger, Avram, et al. Kennedy: Dova u Bellou. Zaprosi Izdravna Kuca "Strazbec", 1963.

Kroger, Albert F. "The Four Days." Television, January 1964, pp. 274.

Krupp, G.R. "Day the President died; its meaning and impact." Front, March 1964, pp. 1-10.

Kumoth, Rudolf. "Gedanken an den Tod John F. Kennedy." Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 10, no. 12 (1963).

"Labor Union Rally to Johnson." Business Week, 30 November 1963, pp. 48, 49.

Lana, Mark. A Citizen's Dilemma: How Let's Embrace. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960.

_____. Kennedy, a crime a la fois. Plo de Janafrei, Ed. 5035, 1967.

_____. The Man in the Hourglass. Pile Comment, Fall/Winter 1967.

_____. Book to Judgment. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

_____. Book to Judgment. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1967.

_____. Who Killed Kennedy? CBS is Wrong. True Magazine, December 1967.

"Lane Says JFK Death is still unexplained." Public Affairs Weekly, 22 August 1966, p. 53.

Langer, L. "Kennedy's Assassination: Study Organized by Social Scientists." Science, December 1963, pp. 1446-1447.

"The Last Two Days (action picture)." Naval Photo Center 1211-69. National Archives and Records Service, 1967.

Lattimer, Dr. John K. "Factors in the Death of President Kennedy." JAMA, 24 October 1966

Lauren, A. "Au Bon Accueil, une Ville: Dallas." Le Monde, March 1964, pp. 13-15, 56-58.

Lawrence, D. "Incredible Tragedy." U.S. News and World Report, 2 December 1963, p. 104.

Lawrence, Lincoln (pseud). Were We Controlled. New Hyde Park, New York: University Books, 1967.

Leferer, Ernest W. Uncertain Horizons. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967.

Lerner, Max. "The World Impact." Illustrated London News, 6, no. 1707 (1963).

_____. "The World Impact." New Statesman, 29 November 1963, p. 767.

Levin, Warren. Dallas City Limit. Greenwich, Conn.

"Letters to the Editor." National Review, 31 December 1963.

"Letters to the Editor with editorial comment." Senior Schooling, 10 January 1964, p. 11.

Levin, Bernard. "The Bell Tolls in Dallas." Listener, 5 December 1963, p. 914.

Levy, A. "Day JFK died; what people remember now." Good Housekeeping, November 1963, pp. 34-37.

Life. John F. Kennedy memorial edition: All of Life's pictures and text on the road ahead for years of our time, including his biography and his next enduring words. Chicago: Time, Inc., 1963.

Life-Itch Kennedy Assassination File Analysis. Lexington, Mass.: Itch Corporation, 1967.

"A Lonely Summer for Jacqueline." Look, (17 November 1964; The JFK Memorial Issue), p. 43.

Love, Ruth. "Television and the Kennedy Assassination." New Society, 13 October 1966, pp. 567-571.

Lutzendorf, Felix. Dallas 22. November. Einmaligher Bericht. Bonn: Bech (1963)

Hokai, György. A Kennedy-Williamson Különös történet. Budapest: Kossuth Könyvtárs, 1964.

"Man Who Killed Kennedy." Time, 8 December 1963, pp. 134-136.

Manchester, William K. The Death of a President. November 22 - November 25, 1963. New York: Harper, 1967.

_____. "The Death of a President." Look, 24 January, 7 February, 21 February, 7 March, 1967.

_____. "Good Van Our President." Newsweek, 1967 (seven serialized parts).

_____. "John F. Kennedy: Portrait of a President." Rolling Magazine, April, May, June 1962.

_____. "Mort d'un Président." Paris-Match, 1967 (eight serialized parts).

_____. "Portrait of a President." Random House, 1967.

_____. "For Two Days President." Star Magazine, 1967 (eight serialized parts).

_____. "For Two Days President." Time, November 1963, Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1967.

_____. "Who Killed Kennedy? Ein Buch schreiben." Star Magazine, 26 March 1967.

_____. "William Manchester's Own Story." Look, 4 April 1967.

Handel, P. "Lead to naming assassins; the six critical seconds." Life, 6 December 1963, p. 5.

Hanner, H. "John F. Kennedy." Reporter, 19 December 1963.

Hansfield, Michael J. Epilogue to the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy delivered to the records of the United States Capitol, November 26, 1963. New Britain, Conn.: J.H. Knicker, 1964.

_____. John Fitzgerald Kennedy, eulogy to the late President delivered to the records of the United States Capitol, November 26, 1963. New Britain, Conn.: J.H. Knicker, 1964.

... Stanley J. "Hunder and foul." The Commission that murdered President Kennedy. 975
... Investigation and Summary. Los Angeles: Bureau of International Relations, 1967.
... Unsettled President and Nation's Journey. Feenough Institute, 11 December 1963, p. 3.
... Harold, Richard. The Kennedy Case. New York: Ballantyne Books, 1969.
... Writer of economic doom. Life, 25 November 1966, pp. 37-40.
... Harold, J.. Four Dark Days in History. November 22-25, 1963. Los Angeles: The author, 1963.
... Waller, Milton. "November 22, 1963." Expressive Magazine, December 1964.
... Waller, Stanley. "What They are Saying." Life, 28 November 1963, p. 468.
... Waller, John R.. Bulletin from Ballantyne: The President is Dead. New York: Exposition Press, 1967.
... Wilder, Thomas H.. "The Assassination Industry: A Tentative Checklist of Publications on the Murder of President John F. Kennedy." American Book Collector, Summer 1968.
... Wolfe, Mary. "After great pain; a formal feeling." America, 14 December 1963, p. 764.
... In Memoriam: John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Washington: Evening Star Newspaper Co., 1963.
... Wolfe, M.. "Paris, November 22nd, 1963." Imaginate Heart Crusader, November-December 1964, pp. 6-9.
... Wolfe, C.J.. "Après 14 Mort de Kennedy: L'Amérique devant Elle-Même." Etudes: Revue Catholique d'Action Sociale, 1964.
... Wolfe, Sylvia. "The Curious Testimony of Mr. Given." Tea & Conversation, 13 August 1971, pp. 11-12.
... Notes for new investigation. Enquiry, December 1966, pp. 211+.
... "On Closing the Doors, Not opening them; or the Limit of the Warren Investigation." The Minority of One, July-August 1966, pp. 29-32.
... "Fort Assassination Credibility Check." The Minority of One, March 1967, pp. 21-22.
... "A Psychiatrist's Retrospective Diagnosis." The Minority of One, June 1966, pp. 25-27.
... "Words with Deeds: How the Kennedy Investigation Was Organized." The Minority of One, July-August 1966, pp. 23-27.
... The Real Crime. Science Digest, February 1967, pp. 33-35.
... Principal collection of newspaper articles chronicleing events of the assassination of John F. Kennedy. September 22-28, 1963. Cleveland: Bell and Howell Co., Micro Photo Division, 1964.
... Worsham, Harold. "Broadcast vs. Sources of Information in Emergent Public Crises: the Presidential Assassination." Journal of Broadcasting, Spring 1964, pp. 147-156.
... Worsham, Earl E.. "Echoes of Dallas." Illustrated London News, 66, no. 1709 (1963), 860-870.
... "Victory as Tragedy." Illustrated London News, 66, no. 1707 (1963), 766-768.
... Worsham, Earl E.. "Sopjezeli Metok na Savijest Amerike." Viznik u svijetu, 27 November 1963, p. 504.
... The In White Kennedij-ly. Zagreb: "Starnost", 1967.
... Worsham, Earl E.. "Arhiva je Povele Istragu nad Samom Sebi." Bozha, 1 December 1963, pp. 29-30.
... "Stravna Bicaika 22. Novembra." Bozha, 24 November 1963.
... "Prijazna Predgovor 500 Dva Ponedjeljka." Bozha, 23 November 1963.
... Worsham, E. and S. Lord. "Seeds of Doubt: Some Questions About the Assassination." New Frontiers, 21 December 1963, pp. 16-17.
... Worsham, E.. "Svjetlo de la Dallas de Semole de di Intervare." Peatru Apararea Pacii, October 1966, pp. 19-21.
... "Missing Links: photos and S-rays of autopsy." Newweek, 14 November 1966, pp. 20-31.
... Worsham, E.. "New inquiry needed: questions concerning the assassination." New York Times Magazine, 25 December 1966; 8 January 1967.
... "Concept of Tragedy." U.S. News and World Report, 1 December 1963, p. 6.
... Worsham, E.. "Crystal Ball: Condensation from Gift of Prophecy." Reader's Digest, July 1965, pp. 235-247.
... "More unaided stories concerning the death of a President by W. Worsham." U.S. News and World Report, 20 January 1967, p. 36.
... Worsham, E.. Investigation: The Death of President John F. Kennedy. New York: New American Library, 1964.
... Worsham, E.. Why? This Being the Day in November the word from Dallas was Heard in Excess. New York: Exposition Press, 1965.
... Worsham, E.. "A New Kennedy Theory." New Statesman, 18 November 1966, p. 735.
... Worsham, E.. "Report from Mexico on Reaction to John Kennedy's Tragic Death." Catholic Messenger, 5 August 1963, p. 12.
... Worsham, E.. "And All That Might Be..." Midwest Magazine, January 1966, p. 24.
... Worsham, E.. Investigation: The Death of President John F. Kennedy. New York: New American Library, 1964, p. 232.

National Broadcasting Company. There Was A President. New York: Random House, 1964.
... "The Nation: How Successful Was..." Time, 23 November 1963, pp. 16-30.
... Worsham, E.. "If Kennedy had Survived: Life in Respiration Might Have Been His Fate." Journal of Action, 7 June 1963, pp. 1-15.
... "New Assassination theory: Theory of J. Thompson." Newweek, 22 November 1967, pp. 1-2.
... "New Light on the Assassination: A secret agent's story." U.S. News and World Report, 5 December 1966, pp. 1-2.
... June 1964, pp. 36-39.
... Worsham, Alfred. The Assassination of John F. Kennedy. The Beaches, N.Y.: New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1970.
... Worsham, E.. "President Kennedy's Adrenaline." Life, 10 July 1967, pp. 123-130.
... "Notes and comment." New Yorker, 7 December 1963, p. 45.
... "November 22, 1963, Dallas: Death by Nine Syntanders." Life, 25 November 1967, pp. 1-2.
... "How the Trooper Summons Again..." American Week, 30 November 1963, pp. 21-23.
... "How the U.S. gets JFK autopsy." U.S. News and World Report, 14 November 1966, p. 2.
... O'Brien, Connor C.. "The Life and Death of Kennedy." New Statesman, 71, no. 1818 (1950-51).
... "In and Out but his." New Statesman, 30 September 1966, pp. 479-481.
... O'Toole, Dr. James K.. "Mounting a President." Psychiatric Quarterly, 43 (1966), 73-75.
... "On the Far Right: The Assassination." Democrat, 27 December 1963, pp. 384-385.
... "On the Writing of Contemporary History." Atlantic, March 1967, pp. 67-74.
... "Oswald's Historic Diary." Life, 10 July 1964, pp. 26-31.
... "Other Guns." Newweek, 30 December 1963, p. 15.
... Pacia, Vincent A.. "Hate Campaign did it." Weekly Graphic, 25 December 1963, p. 2.
... Pacia, Vincent A.. "Hate Campaign did it." Weekly Graphic, 25 December 1963, p. 2.
... Panter-Duane, Hollis. "Letter from London." New Yorker, 7 December 1963, pp. 196-197.
... "Paris: Le Coup de Dallas." New Statesman, 6 December 1963, p. 217.
... Parlach, Alexander von. "Jacqueline Kennedy: Das Leben einer Witwe." Stern Magazine, 1967, p. 70+.
... "Pathologist Sleuth Reopens Kennedy Controversy: Suggests JFK suffered from Addison's Disease." Science News, 22 July 1967.
... "A Permanent Record of What He Watched from November 22-25, 1963." TV Guide, 23 January 1964, pp. 23-45.
... Phelan, J.. "Plot to Kill Kennedy? Rush to Judgment in New Orleans." Saturday Evening Post, 6 May 1967, pp. 21-25.
... "Pilgrimage to Grave of President Kennedy: Shadow Still Cast Over White House." The Nation, 23 November 1966, p. 8.
... "Pity of it." Irish Frontier, December 1963, p. 3.
... Pomerantz, Charlotte, comp.. The Mood of the Nation. New York: Harpal and Busnell, 1967.
... "Portrait of a Psychopath." Newweek, 16 December 1963, pp. 82-84.
... Possamy, S.T.. "Clearing the air." National Review, 9 February 1965, pp. 113-114.
... Possamy, S.T.. "Process a Dallas." Civic Voice, April 1964, pp. 26-28.
... "President Assassinated by a Gunman at Dallas." Illustrated London News, 30 November 1963, p. 867+.
... "President Kennedy Assassinated." The Times, 23 November 1963, p. 5.
... "The Press: Covering the Tragedy." Time, 23 November 1963, p. 84.
... "Prisoner of Assassination Theories." Enquiry, December 1966, pp. 295-210.
... Puche, Ignacio, comp.. Arquitectura: el asesinato de Kennedy en todos sus detalles. Madrid: Grafica Ruano, 1963.
... "A Quiet and Sad Day." Newweek, 30 December 1963, p. 31.
... Rand, Michael et al., comps.. The Assassination of President Kennedy. London: Cape, 1967.
... Rand, Michael. "Rush to Judgment." Vain Love, January 1967, pp. 381-397.
... "Reaction in the South." Newweek, 16 December 1963, p. 27.
... "Reaction to Killings." Science News Letter, 7 December 1963, p. 358.
... "Reaction to the Assassination: excerpts from reports to Christian Century's news correspondents." Christian Century, 63 (1953), 1618-1619.
... "Report from the FBI." Newweek, 23 December 1963, pp. 19-20.
... Reyes Hurrey, Juan Luis. Boa de arrojados la bella (for carisma) de Guatemala, la la del gran presidente de los Estados Unidos de America, Juan John F. Kennedy. Madrid: Tip. Nacional, 1963.
... Roberto, C.. "Eyewitness in Dallas." Newweek, 5 December 1966, pp. 16-29.
... Roberto, Charles W.. The Truth About the Assassination. New York: Crossart and Dunlap, 1967.
... Robertson, A.. "Hunder and foul." American Heritage, August 1964, pp. 72-104.
... Roddy, Jon. "Did this man happen upon John Kennedy's Assassination?" Maclean's Magazine, 1967.

... Weisberg and E.J. Epstein's theories
 ... 25 June 1966, pp. 23-25.
 ... 3 January 1966, pp. 13-18.
 ... 27 January 1967, p. 99.
 ... "The man who killed Kennedy." Spectator, 23 September 1966, pp. 371-374.
 ... "The Warren Commission report and its critics." Frontier, November 1966, pp. 5-20.
 ... "What the Warren report omits: vital documents." Nation, 11 July 1966, pp. 43-49.
 ... "The Warren Commission report: some unanswered questions." Nation, 13 June 1966, pp. 325-329.
 ... "Warren Commission reports testimony of the eyewitnesses." Nation, 20 June 1966, pp. 131-146.
 ... "Warren Report and the Irreconcilables: Theories of Joseph Thompson and Sylvia Mosher." Bullseye, 26 February 1968, pp. 277-281.
 ... "Critical Questions to the Warren Report." New York: Harzani & Marshall, 1964.
 ... "Warren Investigators." Newsweek, 19 October 1964, p. 40.
 ... "Why the Warren Commission?" New York University Law Review, May 1965, pp. 421-511.
 ... "The Verdict of the Evidence: The Warren Report and its Critics." New York: Meredith Press, 1966.
 ... and Jim Matthews, eds. Highlights of the Warren Report. Covina, Calif.: Collector Publications, 1967.
 ... Highlights of the Warren Report. Los Angeles: Associated Professional Service, 1966.
 ... "The Warren report: questioning the verdict of the Warren Commission." Newsweek, 10 October 1966, pp. 26-34.
 ... "The Warren Report: The Death of a President." Liberation, January 1965, pp. 11-17.
 ... "Editorial: The Warren Report..." Liberation, March 1965, pp. 3-5.
 ... "Allen Dulles answers Warren Report critics: excerpts from statements, December 4, 1965." U.S. News and World Report, 19 December 1965, p. 20.
 ... "The Warren Report." Bullseye, December 1965, pp. 24-27.
 ... "Edward J. Bremer: the Warren Commission and the establishment of truth." New York: Viking Press, 1964.
 ... "Oscarate de Warren: A Confession Warren e a busca da verdade." Trad. do Senado. Rio de Janeiro: 40, Inova, 1957.
 ... "Who is afraid of the Warren Report?" Esquire, December 1966, pp. 2044.
 ... "The Warren Report and its Critics." Saturday Review, 21 January 1967, p. 26.
 ... "The publisher: Louis Warren panel's secret." Publishers' Weekly, 5 October 1964, pp. 43-44.
 ... "An editors are out: concerning Warren Commission report." Saturday Review, 7 November 1964, pp. 31-37.
 ... "The Warren Commission." Greater Philadelphia Magazine, January 1967.
 ... "The Warren Commission: The Truth and Allen Spitzer." Greater Philadelphia Magazine. (Mass proofs, 1966).
 ... "Portrait of an Assassin." New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965.
 ... "The Warren Commission and the Fourth Shot: A Reflection on the Fundamentals of Forensic Fact Finding." New York University Law Review, May 1965.
 ... "An Examination of the Contradictions and Deficiencies of the Warren Report." Chicago: World Intellectual Co., 1966.
 ... "The Warren Commission." Am. Weekly, 11 September 1964, pp. 16-17.
 ... "Warren Commission: the critics and the law; theories of E.J. Epstein and M. Lane." Frontier, 15 December 1965, pp. 44-48.
 ... "The Warren Commission from a Procedural Standpoint." New York University Law Review, May 1965, pp. 404-423.
 ... "The Mysteries of the Kennedy Assassination and the English Press." Law Quarterly Review, January 1967, pp. 25-63.
 ... "Warren Commission." Atlantic, August 1966, pp. 117-118.
 ... "The Warren Commission: A Study of the Warren Commission's Role in the Assassination of the President." Journal of the American Bar Association, December 1963, p. 33.
 ... "What the Warren Report Will Show." U.S. News and World Report, 14 September 1964, pp. 44-47.
 ... "Warren Commission One-Bullet Theory Exploded." Agency Magazine, July 1967, pp. 120-126.
 ... "The Warren Report." Newsweek, 19 October 1964, p. 40.

Jacobson, Don. "Horn Street: Warren Commission Report." New Statesman, 13 January 1964, pp. 76-77.
 Jaffe, Louis L. "Trial by Newspaper." New York University Law Review, May 1965, p. 1.
 Jochen, Joachim. Die Wahrheit über den Kennedy-Mord: wie und warum der Warren-Prozess. Zürich: Schweizer Verlagshaus, 1968.
 ... The Case in the Warren Report. New York: Harzani & Marshall, 1965.
 Johnson, Nathan H., comp. Facsimile Inventory of the Records of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy. Washington: National Archives & Records Service, General Services Administration, 1970.
 Jones, Penn. Explosive by Grief: a critical review of the Warren Commission report on the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Middletown, Texas: Middlekian Mirror, 1967.
 ... Explosive by Grief. Vol. 2. Middletown, Texas: Middlekian Mirror, 1967.
 Kepton, M. "Warren reports: a case for the prosecution." New Republic, 10 October 1964, pp. 13-17.
 ... "Latest on murder of Kennedy: a preview of the Warren Report." U.S. News and World Report, 1 June 1964, pp. 43-44.
 Lewis, Richard W. The Scapegoats and Critics of the Warren Report: the endless parade. New York: Pelicote Press, 1967.
 Lifton, David G., comp. Documental Addendum to the Warren Report. Los Angeles: Slight Publications Inc., 1968.
 Lynd, Staughton. "Comment by Staughton Lynd." Liberation Magazine, 5, no. 10 (1965).
 MacDonald, Dwight. "A Critique of the Warren Report." Esquire, March 1965, p. 59.
 ... "A Critique of the Warren Report." In Walker, Gerald, ed. Post Mortem: A Critique of the Warren Report. New York: Crown, 1966, p. 19-53.
 ... Chart of Contradictions: A Critique of the Warren Commission Report. Englewood, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1965. (Publication withdrawn).
 Malow, Richard. The Kennedy Assassination and the Warren Report. Washington: C.P.O., 1965.
 Marcus, Raymond. The Warren Report: a search for truth in the Warren Commission's Los Angeles Report. Bradell Publications, 1966.
 Meagher, Sylvia. Assassination after the fact: the Warren Commission, the authorities, and the rumors. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971.
 ... Warren Report and its critics: and exhibits. New York: Sefton, 1966.
 Meyer, Karl E., and M. MacFennis. "Spotlight on Warren." London, New Statesman, 2 Oct 1964, pp. 474-476.
 ... "The Warren Report: the Triumph of Caliban." New Leader, 12 October 1964, p. 1.
 Michel, Armand. L'Assassinat de John Kennedy, le Rapport Warren et ses critiques. N. Trébevier, 1967.
 Hillo, Andrew. "Who killed Kennedy? The Warren Report is Right." Time Magazine, Dec 1967, pp. 37, 72, 75-77.
 Hontagu, Ivor. "The Warren Report." Labor Monthly, November 1964, pp. 447-500.
 Hook, Richard M. "The Warren Commission and the Legal Process." Cons and Comment, May-June 1967, pp. 13-20.
 Huhlen, Norbert. "Hord und Legende. Die Kritiker des Warren-Reports." Frankfurt am Main Monat, 17 (1965), 14-20.
 "Mystery makers: J. Sparrow's evaluation of the Warren Commission report and its critics." Time, 22 December 1967, p. 21.
 Nash, George and Patricia. "The Other Witnesses." The New Leader, 12 October 1964, p. 1.
 ... The Witnesses: The Hiphlights of the Warren Report. New York: Bantam Books, 1964.
 ... "New York Times Sues 48 Cases of Report." Editor & Publisher, 3 October 1964, p. 61.
 "Nightmare revisited: recontact for Warren Commission." Newsweek, 8 June 1964, p. 4.
 O'Brien, Conar Cruise. "Veto by Assassination?" Manager of the Day, December 1967, pp. 1-2.
 Cotterburg, James W. "The Warren Commission: Report and Hearing." Journal of the Forensic Science Society, July 1966, pp. 261-271.
 Oswald, Frank. "Kom man stole på Warren?" Verdens Gang, 1964, pp. 274-279.
 Packer, Herbert L. "The Warren Report: A Measure of Achievement." Nation, 2 November 1964, pp. 295-299.
 Pashoretz, Herman. "The Warren Commission. An Editorial." Commentary, January 1964, p. 74.
 Popkin, Richard H. "The Second Oswald: The Case for the Conspiracy Theory." Am. Bar Review of Books, 20 July 1966, pp. 11-12.
 "Porcillo Matrignova Revisited." Lithuanian Journal, 2 October 1964, pp. 142-175.
 "Reaction to Warren Commission Report." Reading Scholar, 14 October 1964, p. 11.
 "Recommendation." JAMA, 11 January 1965, p. 141.
 "Reporting the Report." Newsweek, 12 October 1964, pp. 100-101.
 Rifkin, S. Reply to M. Kepton. "Warren report: a case for the prosecution." Time, 24 October 1964, p. 30.

... Commission to investigate the assassination of J. Kennedy," *Time*, 13 September 1963, pp. 25-27.

Colandrea, Vincent J. "The Warren Report: A Philadelphia Lawyer Analyzes the President's Aids and Back Wounds," *Illustration*, March 1965, pp. 14-32.

Schomberg, Lyle. "Was the Warren-Feltich 'Shoe den Tod Präsident Kennedy's Glaubwürdig?'", *Frankfurter Hefte*, 20, no. 1 (1965), 25-27.

Swartz, Jay. "A Legal Reminder in the Report of the Warren Commission," *Journal of Forensic Science*, July 1966, pp. 310-329.

Tracy, Allison. "A Lawyer's Notes on the Warren Commission Report..." *American Bar Association Journal*, January 1965, pp. 39-43.

Wagon, Robert L. "Fervidest Reviler CBS News Inquiry the Warren Report." *Saturday Evening Post*, 22 July 1965, p. 46.

Waters, W. David. "The Warren Report: Letters from Readers," *Commentary*, April 1967, pp. 17, 14, 16.

Smith, Ed. "Doubting the unthinkable the Warren Commission books," *Publishers Weekly*, 10 October 1965, p. 35.

Carson, John H.A. "After the Assassination: A Positive appraisal of the Warren report." New York: Cliffpark Press, 1968.

"Proposals on the Warren Commission Report." *New York University Law Review*, May 1965, pp. 401-524.

"Task of the Warren Commission," *Nation*, 27 January 1964, p. 81.

"Text of Summary of Warren Commission Report." *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, 2 October 1964, pp. 2357-2360.

Thomson, George C. *The Court for Youth: A critical look at the Warren Report: or, How President Kennedy was really assassinated*. Glendale, California: G.C. Thomson Engineering Co., 1964.

"These missing exhibits: photographs and X-rays turned over to the National Archives." *Nation*, 14 November 1965, p. 509.

Wine, Anthony. "The Assassination, the Warren Commission and the public interest." *Nation*, February 1967, pp. 6-14.

Winters, Paul F. "Slowly Warren Report," *Atlas*, February 1965, pp. 115-118.

Wright, L. "Was the assassination was the Warren report written in haste to prove a theory? With interview of A. Spitzer." *U.S. News and World Report*, 10 October 1965, pp. 42-50.

1. President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy. *A Complete Compendium of the Warren Commission Report on the Assassination of John F. Kennedy*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.

2. Warren Commission. *Report of the Warren Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964.

3. *The Official Warren Report on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964.

4. *The Warren Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy*. With added material prepared by the New York Times exclusively for this edition. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.

5. *Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy*. Washington: U.S.G.P., 1964.

6. *The Warren Report: Report of the Commission*. New York: Associated Press, 1964.

7. *The Warren Report: A selection and edited from the Warren Commission hearings by...* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.

8. *Warren Report: A Selection of the Warren Commission Report on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.

9. *Warren Report: A Selection of the Warren Commission Report on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.

10. "Warren Report is not enough; voters speaking in contradictions of report; call for investigation," *Life*, 7 October 1964, p. 38.

11. "Warren Report is not enough; voters speaking in contradictions of report; call for investigation," *Nation*, 23 October 1963, p. 443.

12. *New Republic*, 27 February 1964, p. 4.

13. "Commission on the death of JFK." *Senior Scholastic*, 18 November 1964, pp. 15-17.

14. "Commission Report," *Time*, 2 October 1964, pp. 45-50.

15. Warren Commission Report on the role of the press in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy." In Green, Gerald, ed. *The Personality of the Press*. New York: New York, 1966.

16. "Commission report: Paraffin test unreliable; killing still a mystery." *Science News Letter*, 10 October 1964, p. 217.

"Warren Commission Report: 'Verdict, One Man Alone.'" *World Book Magazine*, 7 October 1964, pp. 9-10.

"Warren Commission: Testimony and evidence." *Time*, 4 December 1964, pp. 25-27.

"Warren findings: some new facts." *U.S. News and World Report*, 6 July 1964, p. 24.

"Warren Report: A Measure of the Achievement; with editorial comment." *Nation*, 2 November 1964, 270-273.

"Warren report: comment." *Congressional*, 9 October 1964, p. 59.

"The Warren Report: How to Murder the Medical Evidence." *Current Mediator for Attorneys*, November 1965, pp. 1-28.

"The Warren Report: Letters from Readers." *Commentary Magazine*, April 1967, pp. 7-12.

"Warren Report Wrong, College Teacher Says." *Los Angeles Times*, 17 November 1967, p. 13.

"Warren's Secret." *National Leader*, 7 April 1964, pp. 265-266.

"Washington News: Kennedy Shot Twice in the Back." *JAMA*, 4 January 1964, p. 13.

Weaver, John D. Warren: *The Man, The Court, The Case*. Boston: Little Brown (n.d.)

Weisberg, Harold. *The Report on the Warren Report or The Six Wise Men of Indian*. 1965

Wheat, John K. *Death of the President: The Warren Commission on Trial*. Covina, California: Collectors Pub., 1967.

White, Stephen. *Should we believe the Warren Report?* New York: MacMillan, 1966.

D. LEE HARVEY OSWALD

Analic, J. Review of *Lee Harvey Oswald*, by Leo Sauvage. *Atlas*, October 1965, pp. 249-250

Anbacher, Melvin and Kenneth R. David and Kathleen Silverick. "Lee Harvey Oswald: An Adlerian Interpretation." *Psychological Review*, 53, no. 3 (1964), 55-68.

"Assassination, as the plot unfolds: case against Oswald: how the President was shot." *U.S. News and World Report*, 9 December 1963, pp. 68-71.

"Attorney for Oswald," *Life*, 6 March 1964, p. 47.

Bachmann, Ida. "How Hydrate President Kennedy? Et Defenseur for Oswald Indulgent." *Felt Report*, 22, no. 10 (1963-64), 1-3.

"Boy, Don't You Know I'm on Camera?" *New Republic*, 29 February 1964, p. 7.

Chapman, Gil and Ann. *Lee Oswald Alone?* San Diego: Publishers Export Company, 1967.

Cooke, Alistair. "Oswald had Psychopathic Personality: no evidence of conspiracy." *Manchester Guardian*, 27 November 1963, p. 11.

"Council for Oswald." *U.S. News and World Report*, 9 March 1964, p. 16.

Ducovny, Aaron and Leon Friedman. "The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald (A Play)." *Playbill Magazine*, 4, no. 11, 12.

Feldman, Harold. "Oswald and the FBI." *The Nation*, 27 January 1964, pp. 26-29.

Graham, J.J. "Acquittal for Oswald; Concerning the comic 'Rush to Judgment'." *Congressional*, 21 April 1967, pp. 149-151.

Grove, L. "Did press pressure kill Oswald?" *U.S. News and World Report*, 6 April 1964, pp. 78-79.

Hastings Michael. *Lee Harvey Oswald: A Far Streak of Independence Brought on by Neglect*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966.

"He was my brother: excerpts from Lee (R.L. Oswald and others)." *Look*, 17 October 1967, pp. 62-64.

Heves, Henry. "The Theatre: Sensing History." *Saturday Review*, 4 May 1968, p. 52.

Holmes, John Clellon. "The Silence of Oswald." *Flasher*, November 1955, pp. 101-102, 222, 224.

"If Oswald had lived, could impartial jury have been found to try him." *Broadcasting*, 6 January 1964, pp. 51-53.

Jackson, Donald. "The Evolution of an Assassin." *Life*, 21 February 1964, pp. 684-80.

Joesten, Joachim. "Last Oswald." *Delacorte*, 21 (1964), 5297-5238.

----- *Marina Oswald*. London: Bantam, 1967.

----- *Oswald: Assassin or Fall Guy?* New York: Bantam and Munsell, Inc., 1964.

----- *Oswald: The Truth*. London: Dutton, 1967.

Johnson, Priscilla. "Oswald in Moscow." *Harper's*, April 1964, pp. 46-50.

Kempson, H. "Oswald, May We Have Some Facts, Please." *New Republic*, 17 June 1964, pp. 13

Laure, Mark. "Oswald Innocent? A Lawyer's Brief." *National Geographic Weekly*, 17 December 1964, p. 19.

"Lee Oswald's Widow tells her story: summary of testimony by Marina Oswald." *U.S. News and World Report*, 17 February 1964, p. 19.

Le Hanna, Roger and Gene Flinfield. *Assassin: The Lee Harvey Oswald Story*. Hollywood: Associated Professional Services, 1964.

McIntire, Dr. W.S. "What Was Behind Lee Harvey Oswald? The author (n.d.)

MacDonald, Dwight. "That Oswald Paternity Case." *New Republic*, 27 February 1964.

... Manchester Guardian, 30 September 1966, p. 18.
 ... "The Cross Fire that Killed President Kennedy: Excerpts from Sir
 ... Saturday Evening Post, 2 December 1967, pp. 27-31.
 ... "The Case for Garrison: A Candid Conversation with the Embattled District Attorney
 ... New York University Law
 Review, 48, no. 3 (1978), 466-487.
 ... "The Case for Garrison." Reader Scholastic, 7 October 1964, pp. 9-10.
 ... Garrison, David M. The Plot to Kill JFK. Chicago: Naval Books, 1965.
 ... "Murder, Herald. 'Kennedy Murder: Buried Proof of a Conspiracy.'" Saga, April 1967,
 pp. 24-31, 57-70, 92, 96-96.
 ... Conrad in New Orleans: Case of Conspiracy with the CIA. New York: Canyon
 Books, 1967.
 ... "Lynch, David and David Lifton. 'The Cross for Three Assassins.' January 1967, pp. 77-100.
 ... 'Why a plot was feared when Kennedy was shot.'" U.S. News and World Report, 6 January
 1964, p. 7.

C. JIM HARRISON

"All the elements." Newsweek, 10 March 1969, pp. 36+.
 ... The Garrison Investigation into the Assassination of John F. Kennedy: the
 ... Journal of American Studies, 3 (1969), 1-16.
 ... Garrison, H.A. "Garrison and Warren, Anything in Common?" Liberty of One, October 1967,
 pp. 11-12.
 ... "The Assassination: Leveaux Street Reopens." Time, 3 March 1967, p. 26.
 ... "Assassination: Mystery or Headlines." Newsweek, 13 March 1967, pp. 44+.
 ... "Entry, James. 'The Garrison Investigation: How and Why it Began.'" New Orleans, April
 1967, pp. 6-9.
 ... "Garrison, H. 'J. Garrison's Investigation of a Plot to Kill JFK.'" Newsweek, 15 May
 1967, pp. 36+.
 ... "Garrison, Milton E. The Garrison Case. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1969.
 ... "Garrison in New Orleans: Jim Garrison's Investigation." Newsweek, 6 March 1967, p. 32.
 ... "The Case for Garrison." New York Review of Books, 14 September 1967, pp. 19-29.
 ... "The Case of Conspiracy." Newsweek, 2 April 1967, pp. 35-37.
 ... "The Case for Garrison's unofficial chief investigator quits." Time, 7 July 1967, p. 17.
 ... "Garrison, J. and H.C. Christ. 'New Orleans: Act One.'" Reporter, 6 April 1967, pp. 17-20.
 ... "Garrison, Jim. 'Garrison.' Newsweek, 17 March 1969, p. 105.
 ... "Garrison for the 24: physicians examine photographs and X-rays." Newsweek, 27 January
 1964, p. 27.
 ... "Garrison, H.A. 'Garrison's Investigation.'" Time, 24 March 1967, pp. 17-18.
 ... "Garrison Investigation." Time, 2 March 1969, pp. 22-23.
 ... "Garrison, H.A. 'The Garrison Case.'" Newsweek, 24 February 1969, p. 33.
 ... "Garrison, William F. Jr. 'The Case: Its Actions and Reactions.'" New Orleans, April 1967,
 pp. 12-13, 52-53.
 ... "Garrison, Edward J. 'Garrison.'" New Yorker, 13 July 1968, pp. 35-40, 42, 49-52, 54-56,
 58-60, 62-64, 79-81.
 ... "The Garrison Case." Newsweek, 3 March 1969, pp. 24+.
 ... "Garrison, David. The Garrison Case: An Unauthorized Report on the Jim Garrison
 Investigation. New York: Doubleday, 1969.
 ... "Garrison, Jim. A History of Storm. New York: Putnam, 1970.
 ... "New Orleans Evidence: excerpts from statements." Reporter, 8 February 1968, p. 10.
 ... "Garrison Under Fire." The Independent, 25 February 1967, p. 730.
 ... "Garrison vs. the People." Time, 14 March 1969, p. 29.
 ... "Garrison, Alex. 'Case Show Tells His Story.'" Transcript of TV Interview, Station WUVE,
 Channel 11, New Orleans, 11 March 1969.
 ... "Garrison Tells His Story." Transcript of TV Interview, Station WUVE,
 Channel 11, New Orleans, 11 March 1967.
 ... "Garrison's compliance." Time, 12 January 1968, p. 14.
 ... "Garrison, Evelyn. 'Garrison Plot: Claim District Attorney.'" Sunday Times, 26 February 1967.
 ... "Garrison and Jack D. Wardlaw. King of Political: The Garrison Case and its
 ... New Orleans: Pelican Publications, 1967.
 ... "Garrison, Joachim. The Garrison Inquiry: Truth and Consequences. London: Peter Daway, 1967.
 ... "Garrison's Case." Newsweek, 24 March 1967, p. 16.
 ... "Garrison, David. The Garrison Case: An Account of the Clay Shaw-Jim Garrison Affair in the
 ... City of New Orleans. New York: Bantam and Schuster, 1970.
 ... "Garrison's Case." Time, 21 June 1967, pp. 97-100.
 ... "Garrison's Case." Time, 21 February 1969, p. 18.
 ... "Garrison's Case." Time, 17 February 1967, p. 14.
 ... "Garrison's Case." U.S. News and World Report, 23 February 1967, p. 14.

"More than a Man in the Dock." Time, 14 February 1969, pp. 25-29.
 ... "New Orleans Plot." Reader Scholastic, 14 April 1967, pp. 16-17.
 ... "Horden, Eric. 'Jim Garrison: A candid conversation with the Embattled District Attorney
 ... of New Orleans.'" Playboy, October 1967, pp. 39+.
 ... "Odd Company." Time, 19 March 1967, p. 24.
 ... "Phelan, James. 'To Old New Orleans: The Vice Man Conoth.'" Saturday Evening Post, 8 June
 1963, pp. 67-71.
 ... "Pouledge, F. 'In Garrison Faking.'" Rev Republic, 17 June 1967, pp. 13-13.
 ... "Roberts, G. 'The Case of Jim Garrison and Lee Oswald.'" New York Times Magazine, 21 May
 1967, pp. 31-35.
 ... "Rogers, W. 'Prosecution of Clay Shaw.'" Look, 26 August 1969, pp. 53-56+.
 ... "Round One." Newsweek, 3 February 1969, p. 31.
 ... "Shutting Up Big Mouth." Time, 25 August 1967, pp. 48-51.
 ... "Sideshow in New Orleans." Vice, 31 January 1969, p. 40.
 ... "Sifting Fact From Fantasy: Use of Truth Drugs in Jim Garrison's Investigation." Time,
 31 March 1967, p. 41.
 ... "Sleight of Hand: Jim Garrison's Assassination Investigation Extends to FBI and CIA." Newsweek,
 22 May 1967, p. 40.
 ... "Swilling Through." Newsweek, 27 January 1969, pp. 27-28.
 ... "Smith, Morrison. 'Jim Garrison and His Sources of Evidence.'" Manchester Guardian, 18 May
 1967, p. 7.
 ... "Talen of Garrison." The Economist, 25 March 1967, p. 1145.
 ... "A Tangle for Conspiracy." Newsweek, 20 March 1967, p. 76.
 ... "Thickening the Plot: Judges support Jim Garrison's plot theory." Newsweek, 27 March 1967,
 p. 37.
 ... "Turner, William W. 'Garrison Corroborates on the Assassination of President Kennedy.'" Harvard
 ... Review, January 1968, p. 43.
 ... "Two For the Seesaw." Newsweek, 3 July 1967, p. 82.
 ... "What Conspiracy? Testimony of Perry Russo." Newsweek, 24 February 1969, p. 33.
 ... "What Garrison Proved." Rev Republic, 13 March 1969, p. 9.
 ... "Young, Roger. 'The Investigation Where It Stands Today.'" New Orleans, July 1967, pp.

H. WILLIAM MANCHESTER

"L'Affaire Manchester." Triumph, January 1967, p. 7.
 ... "As the book appears a close look at the facts: concerning The Death of a President,
 ... by William Manchester." U.S. News and World Report, 21 January 1967, pp. 50-51.
 ... "The Assassination: The Book." Newsweek, 10 April 1967, pp. 38-38.
 ... "The Assassination: Who Can Understand It?" Newsweek, 16 January 1967, pp. 22-29.
 ... "Battle of the Book: Manchester's The Death of a President." Time, 23 December 1966,
 pp. 15-18.
 ... "Barnett, Arnold. Jackie, Bobby and Manchester: The Story Behind the Headlines. New York:
 ... Bee Line Books, 1967.
 ... "Book that backfired: concerning The Death of a President by William Manchester." U.S. News
 ... and World Report, 26 December 1966, p. 36.
 ... "Caffero, L.H. 'Manchester Book Allegedly Conspired JFK Killed.'" Electronic News, 3 April
 1967, p. 22.
 ... "Cannon, Jason H. and Edward Kooner. 'Manchester's Own Story.'" Newsweek, 30 January 1967
 pp. 21-24.
 ... "Churchill, Randolph S. 'The Manchester Book.'" The Times, 13 February 1967, p. 13, 14
 February 1967, p. 11.
 ... "Coff, Margaret L. 'November 22, 1963.'" Saturday Review, 15 April 1967, pp. 30-31.
 ... "Collins, R.S. 'Garrison vs. Look, Manchester, Harper & Row: an Informal Glossary of Press
 ... Relations Techniques.'" Public Relations Journal, April 1967, pp. 13-15.
 ... "Cooke, Altonair. 'Trench Shots in Kennedy Book Battle.'" Manchester Guardian, 24 January
 1967, p. 9.
 ... "Mrs. Kennedy Suffers Grief She Sought to Avoid." Manchester Guardian, 21
 December 1966, p. 7.
 ... "Cory, J. 'Manchester Affair.'" Saturday Review, 9 September 1967, p. 61.
 ... "Cunliffe, Marcus. 'A courtier's chequebook.' (Review of The Death of a President). New
 ... Yorker, 20 April 1967, pp. 599-581.
 ... "Death of a President: Excerpts from the Introduction to the Annual Report of the Library
 ... of Congress for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1964." Library Journal, August
 1965, pp. 3173-3176.
 ... "Elms: Presidential Relic in den Tod: William Manchester vertoutet die volle Wahrheit des

"The Accused: Bay and Sisson." *Life*, 21 June 1968, pp. 24-34.
 "Aftermath of a tragedy; boy's deep hate, a senator's claim." *U.S. News and World Report*, 17 June 1968, pp. 25-26.
 American Baritone, Editors of. *FIX: His Life and Death*. New York: Dell, 1968.
 "Bobby Kennedy Retard." *U.S. News and World Report*, 6 May 1968, pp. 50-54.
 "Bobby: To be or Not To Be." *New York*, 29 January 1968, pp. 18-19.
 Buckley, W.F., Jr. "Reflections on the Sirhan trial." *National Review*, 11 March 1969, p. 247.
 "Cassidy, J.W. "From England: the death of Kennedy." *Commentary*, 28 June 1968, pp. 425-30.
 "Gardi, John. "Memory of Speaking: TV coverage and radio coverage." *Saturday Review*, 19 June 1968, p. 32.
 "Thinking symbols." *New York*, 14 July 1968, pp. 156.
 "The Commission of FBI." *Commentary*, 22 February 1968, p. 12.
 "Gardner, Thomas J. "Eulogy for Robert F. Kennedy, Delivered at the Funeral." *VITAL Speeches*, 1 July 1968, pp. 347-363.
 "Death of a Kennedy." *Amicus*, 10 July 1968, p. 22.
 "De Toland, Ralph. *FIX: The Man Who Would Be President*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1967.
 "Dwyer, R.L. "Sithon through the looking glass; testimony of psychiatrist." *Time*, 4 April 1969, p. 28.
 "The Bobby Kennedy: How a Chance?" *Saturday Evening Post*, 20 April 1968, p. 83.
 "Gardner, Thomas J. "New Yorker Words on Family, Friends Return with Body." *Los Angeles Times*, 7 June 1968, pp. 1, 12.
 "Gardner, T.J. "Hill: Court Appearance; Suspect Given Impression of Cocky, arrogant confidence." *Los Angeles Times*, 9 June 1968, pp. 1, 15.
 "Friendly words on the way to a Senator; with reports by L. Whitwright and T. H. White." *Life*, 14 June 1968, pp. 32-420.
 "Gardner, T.J. "Another Deliberate Eulogy for 'Good and Decent Man'." *Los Angeles Times*, 9 June 1968, pp. 1, 27.
 "Gardner, T.J. "Boy in Jail." *McCall's*, June 1968, pp. 30+.
 "Gardner, T.J. "Eulogy with Bobby Kennedy." *Harper's*, July 1968, pp. 51-61.
 "Gardner, T.J. "National: A Test for Bobby." *New York Times Magazine*, 5 May 1968, pp. 32-33.
 "Gardner, T.J. "New State 'Extremely Critical'; Speech, Arab Immigrant, Arraigned; President's Own Guard on Candidates." *New York Times*, 6 June 1968, p. 1, 20.
 "Gardner, T.J. "RFI on Cuba: an Insider's Analysis." *Commentary*, 22 November 1968, pp. 211-27.
 "Gardner, T.J. *Special Mail Sentences: FIX Assassination*. New York: Random House, 1967.
 "Gardner, T.J. "Minority of One, September 1968, pp. 9, 16.
 "Gardner, T.J. "Kennedy: The 60th." *U.S. News and World Report*, 29 April 1968, pp. 28-30.
 "Gardner, T.J. "Year of Blood." *Life*, 10 January 1969, pp. 30-37.
 "The story of the latest Bobby-FBI break." *U.S. News and World Report*, 1 April 1968, pp. 30-32.
 "Gardner, T.J. *My Friend Kennedy was Killed*. New York: Third Press, 1970.
 "Gardner, T.J. "In 1968." *Life*, October 1968, pp. 12-13.
 "Gardner, T.J. "Sirhan." *Commentary*, 3 May 1969, pp. 25+.
 "Gardner, T.J. "Sirhan: Confrontations in Jail with Sisson, a name meaning Wolf." *Life*, 17 January 1969, pp. 20-25.
 "Gardner, T.J. *How Big*. New York: Grove Press, 1970.
 "Gardner, T.J. "Sirhan: Kennedy Made Each of his 42 years count." *Los Angeles Times*, 7 June 1968, pp. 1, 16.
 "Gardner, T.J. "The Fire of your Love (June 5, 1968)." *Amicus*, 15 June 1968, back cover.
 "The FBI Assassination: religious overtones." *Christianity Today*, 21 June 1968, p. 39.
 "Kennedy Assassination." *Christian Century*, 27 March 1968, pp. 20+.
 "The Kennedy Case." *New Republic*, 15 June 1968, pp. 1-4.
 "Kennedy: Thank Nation for providing them with Strength and Hope." *New York Times*, 14 June 1968, pp. 1, 24.
 "Kennedy, Robert. "Kennedy killed calm and lucid... Sirhan describes himself as Jordanian horn in Jerusalem." *New York Times*, 6 June 1968, pp. 1, 21.
 "Kennedy, Robert. "Sirhan." *Life*, 21 March 1968, p. 17.
 "Kennedy, Robert. "Sirhan: AIA Society on day for recruiting." *Los Angeles Times*, 7 June 1968, pp. 1, 16.
 "Kennedy, Robert. "Thinking word; spiritual." *U.S. News and World Report*, 17 June 1968, p. 100.
 "Kennedy, Robert. "The Kennedy tragedy." *U.S. News and World Report*, 17 June 1968, pp. 37-44.

"Letter and the Law." *New York*, 2 June 1968, p. 33.
 "Letters to the editor." *Life*, June 1968, pp. 144.
 Lowell, Robert. "FIX: Post." *New Republic*, 21 June 1968, p. 77.
 Lyons, Louis H. "America Becomes SIX." *Washington Post*, Summer 1966, pp. 5.
 Martin, Dean. "Dean Martin talks about his drinking, the Mafia, Frank Sinatra, and Bobby Kennedy. Interview edited by Orlan Falicki." *Look*, 26 December 1967, pp. 78-85.
 Mehl, H.T. *Kennedy and Sirhan*. New York: New World Press, 1968.
 Moore, T. "A Bit of the Way with FIX." *Amicus*, 24 October 1967, pp. 6-9.
 "Mother and son." *New York*, 17 February 1969, p. 31.
 "Muggeridge, Malcolm. "Celebration of Senator R.F. Kennedy." *Insider*, November 1968, pp. 118+.
 "Navasky, Victor. "Robert F. Kennedy, Martin L. King, J.F. Hoover - who did it to vi Atlantic, November 1970.
 "New clues in FIX death: was there a plot?" *U.S. News and World Report*, 24 June 1968, p. 36.
 "Newfield, Jack. "Kennedy Lays Out a Gut Campaign." *Life*, 29 March 1968, pp. 20-31.
 "Notes and Comments." *New Yorker*, 15 June 1968, pp. 21-23.
 "O'Leary, Karl. "Down the Primary Staircase, from Indiana to Oregon." *Nation*, 27 May 1968, pp. 642.
 "Once Again, Once Again." *New York*, 17 June 1968, pp. 20-40.
 Osborne, John. "Hechuck Primary, the life, and, and buta." *New Republic*, 18 May 1968, pp. 1-9.
 "Other Sirhan; testimony of prosecution's psychiatrist." *New York*, 14 April 1969, pp. 44-45.
 "Psychiatry on trial." *National Review*, 6 May 1969, pp. 427-428.
 "Reeves, Richard. "The Making of a Candidate 1968." *New York Times Magazine*, 31 May 1968, pp. 25-27.
 "Reich, Ken. "McCarthy Suspends Political Activities; Asks Prayer Vigil." *Los Angeles Times*, 6 June 1968, p. 8 10.
 "Reichley, A.J. "He's Running Himself Out of the Race." *Fortune*, March 1968, pp. 111-112.
 "RFK." *Christian Century*, 85 (1968), 607-608.
 "RFK: The Bob Kennedy we knew." *Look*, June 1968, entire issue.
 "RFK: the end, the dream, the tragedy." *U.S. News and World Report*, 17 June 1968, pp. 16-18.
 "Rosen, David. "McCarthy and Kennedy." *New Republic*, 13 April 1968, pp. 22-23.
 "Robert F. Kennedy and the Negro." *Amicus*, July 1968, pp. 29-31.
 "Robetta, S.V. "Sirhan: A literary negotiation." *Insider*, November 1970, pp. 131-134+.
 "Rogers, Warren. "Bobby's Decision." *Look*, 16 April 1968, pp. 72-80.
 "Rogers, Warren and Stanley Tretick. "The Bob Kennedy vs. Knew." *Look*, 9 July 1968, pp. 31-36.
 "Rover, Richard H. "Letters from Washington." *New Yorker*, 15 June 1968, pp. 20-26.
 "Scheer, Robert. "The Night Bobby Died." *Esquire*, 10 August 1968, pp. 56-63.
 "Schlesinger, Arthur M. "Why I ran for Kennedy." *New Republic*, 18 May 1968, pp. 35-40.
 "Second thoughts on Bobby." *Time*, 21 June 1968, p. 48.
 "Selectivity in Los Angeles." *Time*, 3 January 1969, p. 40.
 "Sirhan, Aziz. *Sirhan*. San Antonio: Bayler Co., 1969.
 "Shock of violence hits the campaign." *Business Week*, 8 June 1968, pp. 38-42.
 "Sirhan guilty." *Senior Scholastic*, 1 May 1969, p. 19.
 "Sirhan takes the stand." *New York*, 17 March 1969, p. 37.
 "Sirhan; tragedy of the absurd." *New York*, 24 March 1969, p. 32+.
 "Sirhan's trance; testimony of psychiatrist." *New York*, 7 April 1969, p. 37.
 "Sirhan's Verdict." *Time*, 25 April 1969, pp. 21-22.
 "Soaking it to eat: Travela with Bobby." *Time*, 5 April 1968, pp. 22-23.
 "Sorensen, Theodore G. "RFK: a Personal Memoir." *Saturday Review*, 22 June 1968, p. 17.
 "Steinbocker, John. *FIX: The Man, the Beatniks, the Murder*. Los Angeles: Impact Publishers, 1969.
 "T.R.A. from Washington; who's guilty." *New Republic*, 15 June 1968, p. 2.
 "Taking the oath." *New York*, 25 August 1967, p. 42.
 "Test case; responses to psychological tests." *New York*, 7 April 1969, pp. 64-93.
 "Three Assassinations." *Minority of One*, 10, no. 9 (1968), 13-16.
 "Toward the Gas Chamber." *Time*, 7 May 1969, p. 19.
 "Townsend, Dorothy. "Witness Report: Girl said 'we Shot Him'." *New York*, 15 June 1968, p. 11.
 "Tragedy in Los Angeles." *Insider*, 15 June 1968, pp. 11-12.
 "U.S. built in Assassination."

"Verdict on Stohm." New York, 28 April 1969, pp. 41*

Weiss, P. and M. Morris. "Reflections on a tragedy." Saturday, August 1968, pp. 191-193.

"What was in Stohm's mind?" Time, 23 January 1969, p. 54.

Welch, Paul R. "The Oregon Primary." New Republic, 3 June 1968, pp. 14-15.

"Win or lose, the Primary Players." Life, 7 June 1968, pp. 23-41.

Wise, David. "How Bobby Plans to Win It." Saturday Evening Post, 1 June 1968, pp. 23-27.

"Witnesses speak." New York, 24 June 1968, pp. 18-19.

Yakus, Robert. "Kennedy and McCarthy: 1955-1957 Voting Record." New Republic, 11 May 1968, pp. 23-27.

[REDACTED]

28 NOV 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: [REDACTED]
ATTENTION: [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: Martin Luther KING, Jr.
REFERENCE: See Attached

1. Dr. Martin Luther KING was assassinated (4 April 1968) prior to the implementation of the WHCHAOS program (4 July 1968). However, a review of other material available in [REDACTED] shows that one dissemination was made to the FBI on a possible activity of KING while in Rome, Italy, in September 1964 (copies attached for your conv[REDACTED].)

2. We have no indication of any Agency surveillance or letter intercept which involved KING. Further, there is no indication that the Agency ever requested any of its representatives abroad to report on KING or to be alert to any of his activities.

3. While there is a large number of documents available which mention KING, the vast majority are dated after his death and are in some way related to world reaction to his assassination.

[REDACTED]

Attachment: a/s

- Orig & 1 - Addressee [REDACTED]
- 1 - Memo Chrono [REDACTED]
- 1 - Outgoing correspondence

340

APPROVED FOR RELEASE

Date 10 March 1978

[REDACTED]

[COMMITTEE PRINT]

EX-4866

SUBVERSIVE INVOLVEMENT IN THE
ORIGIN, LEADERSHIP, AND ACTIVITIES OF
THE NEW MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE
TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
AND ITS PREDECESSOR ORGANIZATIONS

STAFF STUDY

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



(INCLUDING INDEX)

Prepared and released by the Committee on Internal Security

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

45-03 0

WASHINGTON : 1970

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20540 - Price \$4.00 each

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
18 AUG 1976

Date



344

TESTIMONY OF GERALD WAYNE KIRK

EX-7044

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PART 2

MARCH 10, 1970

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1970

APPROVED FOR RELEASE

Date 10 10 1975

341

a couple of other people there with us, but I can't remember exactly who.

Mr. NORPEL. What was the outcome of that discussion?

Mr. KIRK. We realized our position was very good. Our position for influencing the convention was very, very good because we had people who, even if they were not members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. were very much in agreement with our position, even though those people who were not members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. would use rhetoric that may be a little different from that of the Communist Party, U.S.A. One person that influenced people was Rennie Davis, for example.

Mr. NORPEL. His name came up in the discussion?

Mr. KIRK. Right.

Mr. NORPEL. He did not participate in the discussion?

Mr. KIRK. No; he did not. He had other things to do in other parts of the conference, but he was mentioned as a person who was very, very close to the position of the Communist Party, U.S.A., on almost every matter that would come up.

As I mentioned before, Rennie Davis was involved, very deeply, with Earl Durham, of the Center for Radical Research, and at Durham's request, Davis asked me to work for him, Davis.

So, you can see that Davis, even though his rhetoric may be a bit different, it is still very close to his basic position. He is also very close, not only in his positions but in his tactics, because no matter what anyone may say, I know for a fact that he, Davis, could not have traveled to North Vietnam and other places in the Red-bloc countries without having very, very close contacts with the Communist Party, U.S.A. It is not possible to do that unless you do have close contacts.

Mr. NORPEL. Was this meeting in Black's room to which you referred construed as a party meeting, a party caucus?

Mr. KIRK. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. In other words, what developed there was an assessment of the party's position and particularly within the black caucus relating to the National Conference for New Politics?

Mr. KIRK. Yes.

Mr. NORPEL. All right, would you continue, please?

Mr. KIRK. Well, I can't remember whether it was that day or the next one, we were on the floor of the convention making various notes and suggestions and the caucus had coalesced by that time. It was, in our opinion, in very good shape. We had people who had been involved in SNCC, people who had been involved in RAM, people who had been involved in various things around the country, a few people who eventually, I think, became members of the Black Panther Party, because there was always a movement of personnel through these various organizations. So we started to take these various votes and realized that the black caucus' position was even better than we had believed at first, and we did eventually in that convention move it to quite a few of the party's positions wanted on the war and on the party's definition of racism, and things of that sort. We got just about everything we wanted, and that is borne out by the fact that the publications and the statements that came from NCCP, especially on the decision to have the ticket of Spock and King which were basic party

positions. There were quite a few people who believed they were real revolutionaries who didn't believe it was necessary to have a ticket or a presidential campaign of Spock and King, but the party believed it was absolutely necessary because it grew out of the dialectical position they had.

Mr. NORTON. Are you saying that Benjamin Spock and Martin Luther King were chosen for a presidential ticket by the Communist Party, U.S.A. in fact?

Mr. KING. Well, the Communist Party, U.S.A. decided that these were the two of the best people that the party position could move for, the party personnel.

Mr. NORTON. You are not implying then that either Spock or King were or are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KING. No.

Mr. NORTON. You are not implying that?

Mr. KING. I doubt they would have to be.

Mr. NORTON. Now, to go back to this black caucus, wasn't it true that the blacks were numerically inferior when it came to the voting?

Mr. KING. That is true.

Mr. NORTON. That the whites predominated or held the majority of voting participants?

Mr. KING. That's true.

Mr. NORTON. Was anything done about that? Can you elaborate on the way the minority question representing the blacks was settled as far as the votes went, within the convention?

Mr. KING. Well, all through the conference or convention there was a theme that was promoted by the Communist Party, U.S.A. years ago, that because of the institutional racism in America and all those terms they throw out, a convention like the NONP had to do something that would negate the fact that blacks didn't have as many votes as whites, and so one of the positions of the Communist Party members was to support anyone in the black caucus and anywhere else in the convention who wanted to change that numerical system. I, myself, did not get to go to the final meeting at which the black caucus voted, you know, on the specifics, but I was there when they came back to the convention, because they had left, and there was some arrangements made, I am not sure of the specifics or the numbers but there was some arrangement made where the votes of the black caucus were more than they would have been simply on the basis of numbers, per se.

Mr. NORTON. Would you continue on then with what happened at the convention, as you recall it?

Mr. KING. Well, there were several speeches amply covered by all the press. The one speech that struck me was by James Forman, who had been an informant—off the record, please.

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. NORTON. Are you speaking of James Forman?

Mr. KING. Right. As you know he had been involved in SNCC and a few other organizations in the South and gave a very interesting talk. As you probably well know, but I don't think many of the people who read this would know, speeches in conventions, especially in this

2
1
3
7

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING,
AND BURNING
PART I

HEARINGS
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETEENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SENATORIAL

OCTOBER 23, 24, 25, and NOVEMBER 23, 1925

(INCLUDING INDEX)

Printed for the use of the
Committee on Un-American Activities



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1925

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office,
Washington, D.C. 20540 - Price 10 cents

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
Date 10/15/1975

341

Mayor Yorty was a Member of Congress in 1950 to 1954 and mayor of Los Angeles since 1961.

His tenure in the California Legislature in the mid-1930's gave him an opportunity to study the subject of communism. Since that time, the witness has maintained an interest in Communist activities.

In answer to a question concerning his opinion of underlying factors which caused the riots in the last few years, Mayor Yorty replied:

I would certainly say that one of the factors is the constant repetition of subversive propaganda, the agitation and propaganda conducted by the Communist Party within the framework of their historic objective to break down the respect for government, certainly for law and order, and to personalize, as they always do, this objective mainly in the police officer.

Asked if he believed these riots have been spontaneous or planned, the mayor said, "I think that there are some of both." He added:

I think that the propaganda over the years has been so constant and at times very effective . . .

. . . I also think there are some riots where subversive forces have actually planned . . . incidents that they would hope would spark a riot.

Mayor Yorty introduced an exhibit into the record, a pamphlet entitled "The Big Lie." The pamphlet, produced by the Los Angeles city government, contained a short history of the charge of police brutality over a period of 21 years—or since 1946, by the Communist Party.

The witness stated that law enforcement has been handicapped "by the reinterpretation, really the rewriting of the Constitution by the United States Supreme Court * * *." He cited examples of the exclusionary rule of evidence, the rules of search and seizure, and the registration of known criminals.

Mayor Yorty recalled that Lenin, in his writings, as early as 1902, had made reference to police brutality and noted that he knew of no period in history where the "campaign against the police has been quite as effective as it is today."

The mayor was asked if police brutality charges were made in his city during the Watts riot. He replied that an attempt was made "to blame the police for the rioting," and added: "This led to my unpleasant confrontation with Dr. Martin Luther King, who—

persisted in arguing that the police were to blame for the rioting. Then he went out and got before the cameras and newspapers and made that same charge. I felt it necessary to answer that charge and to tell him that it was very unfair for him to come out to Los Angeles and try to blame the police for the rioting.

Mayor Yorty then stated that he did not "know of any case where an officer has had to be dismissed for brutality."

The mayor noted that there were many people who made charges of police brutality whose motive was to discredit the police department and to carry on the so-called Communist struggle campaign to "break down respect for the law enforcement officials and * * * eventually * * * break down the ability of our Government to operate."

The Los Angeles mayor said that:

Unfortunately, the nature of news is * * * usually negative. The bizarre makes more news than the everyday hard work of law enforcement.

Mayor Yorty saw a need for people to understand the Communist Party and its apparatus. He said:

768 SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

ness, inadequate housing and education, poor health, and a myriad of other social ills based on poverty and racial discrimination to bear their lot in silence. Their anger at the obvious injustice of their plight and at the lack of massive programs which would end poverty and racism must be recognized. So long as people feel they have nothing to lose, appeals to logic and reason will fail.

The question is not, then, whether rioting is "compatible with the American system of government," but whether the American system of government has been as flexible and as energetic as it should be in including all American citizens in the fruits of our society. If we were to take immediate steps to end the racial gap which condemns a disproportionate number of Negro citizens to poverty and inadequate necessities of life, we would not have to worry about rioting.

The second question posed by the chairman is: "Whether or not Communists sincerely have the interests of the Negro at heart and Negroes therefore can accept them and work with them in their efforts to achieve full equality in this country."

In every country in which there exists a poor and downtrodden group in the population, the Communists have found their strength in that group. In every country that is, but the United States. The Communist Party has spent much time and effort in wooing the Negro population, all to no avail. If anything, its appeal to the Negro population in the United States has been less than with any other group of citizens.

Negro citizens do not want to change the American way of life. The whole history of Negro efforts to secure equality is an indication that Negro citizens desire, above all else, inclusion on an equal basis in American society.

There is little evidence that Communists have any significant influence on the civil rights movement. Their record is not one which inspires trust among Negro citizens, and Negro citizens do not accept them and do not work with them.

The National Urban League welcomes this opportunity to comply with a request for information by a committee of the United States Congress. The National Urban League, Inc. is a professional community service organization committed to securing equal opportunities for Negroes and other minorities in all areas of American life. It is nonpartisan and interracial in its leadership and staff.

[The joint statement referred to on p. 767 follows:]

From: Public Relations Department, National Urban League, 55 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-0302.
Contact: Goldard Parris.

The following is the text of a statement issued jointly by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney M. Young, Jr., on July 28, 1967, and released from the headquarters offices of the NAACP—20 West 40th Street, New York City:

Developments in Newark, Detroit and other strife-torn cities make it crystal clear that the primary victims of the riot are the Negro citizens. That they have grave grievances of longstanding, cannot be denied or minimized. That the riots have not contributed in any substantial measure to the eradication of these just complaints, is by now obvious to all.

We are confident that the overwhelming majority of the Negro community joins us in opposition to violence in the streets. Who is without the necessities of life when the neighborhood stores are destroyed and looted? Whose children are without milk because dairies cannot be made? Who loses wages because of a breakdown in transportation or destruction of the place of employment? Who are the dead, the injured and the imprisoned? It is the Negroes who pay and pay and pay, whether or not they are individually involved in the rioting. And what for?

Killing, arson and looting are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke, and call specifically for such action. There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and its people.

We who have fought so long and so hard to achieve justice for all Americans have consistently opposed violence as a means of redress. Riots have proved ineffective, disruptive and highly damaging to the Negro population, to the civil rights cause, and to the entire nation. We call upon Negro citizens throughout the nation to forego the temptation to disregard the law. This does not mean

and to accentuate racial issues. The riots and disorders of the past 3 years clearly highlight the success of this Communist smear campaign in popularizing the cry of "police brutality" to the point where it has been accepted by many individuals having no affiliation with or sympathy for the Communist movement.

So, we have a pretty good authority there. I would say, certainly the best in the world, on the effectiveness of this campaign against the police.

Another statement before the Appropriations Subcommittee, which I am certain that you all recall, was made by Mr. Hoover on February 10, 1968. He said:

At a still higher level, the national headquarters of the party, on August 15, 1965, instructed the southern California party district to prepare articles concerning the riots for early publication in *The Worker*, an east coast Communist newspaper. Special efforts were to be made to play up the "police brutality" angle. Major portions of subsequent issues of *The Worker* and *People's World*, a west coast Communist newspaper, were devoted to the uprising in Los Angeles and its aftermath. Each article faithfully followed the line set by party headquarters.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mayor YORTY, were police brutality charges made in your city during the Watts riot?

Mayor YORTY. Yes. An attempt was made, of course, to blame the police for the rioting. This led to my unpleasant confrontation with Dr. Martin Luther King. We had always welcomed him to our city on previous occasions and tried to work with him in the field of civil rights. But, during the aftermath of the rioting, he rushed out to Los Angeles and in a private meeting with some of his aides and our chief of police, Mr. William Parker, he began to blame the police for the rioting.

I pointed out to him that the police department of Los Angeles is run by a civilian commission; they are actually the head of the department. I also pointed out to him that three of the five members were from minority groups and, also, that one of the persons at the meeting with Dr. Martin Luther King was the father of a member of the police commission.

But he persisted in arguing that the police were to blame for the rioting. Then he went out and got before the cameras and newspapers and made that same charge. I felt it necessary to answer that charge and to tell him that it was very unfair for him to come out to Los Angeles and try to blame the police for the rioting.

Mr. McNAMARA. Your exhibit, Mayor, and various items that we have read in the Communist press over the years indicate that many charges of brutality have been made against the police in Los Angeles, as in the case of other cities.

Will you tell the committee whether or not any police officers in Los Angeles, since you have been mayor, have been dismissed for brutality?

Mayor YORTY. I don't know of any case where an officer has had to be dismissed for brutality.

We, of course, investigate every charge that is made to us of police brutality, first within the department, and then I have instructed our civilian police commission that if people are not satisfied with the action of the department that they can ask the commission to hold a hearing.

I think the best example of the big lie technique was the case where one of the newspapers in Los Angeles, not a Communist newspaper, but one that circulates only in the Negro area, had a picture of two

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES BY RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING 875

aggression * * * as well as to the anti-U.S. struggle of the people of the whole world

"The American Negroes' struggle is by no means isolated. They will for ever receive boundless sympathy and massive support from the 700 million Chinese people * * *"

PEKING RADIO BROADCAST, JULY 23, 1967:

"By its ferocity and its ruthless methods in suppressing the Negro movement, the Johnson administration has given a profound lesson to more and more Afro-Americans by negative example. This has greatly hastened their awakening. On the day Johnson made his speech, H. Rap Brown, a young Negro leader who has stood out prominently in the current struggle, forcefully and pointedly replied to Johnson's threats when he gave a press conference and attended a mass meeting in Washington. Brown said that 'the black man has the immutable will to be free and has no recourse but to rebel.' He stressed that 'violence is necessary' and that the black people must get their guns because the white rulers 'don't respect nothing but guns. . .'. His millitant speech reflects the determination of the awakening Afro-American masses to rebel."

PEKING RADIO EDITORIAL COMMENT IN ENGLISH ON DETROIT RIOT, JULY 29, 1967:

"The swift and vigorous spread of the Afro-American people's armed struggle against racial oppression has thrown the White House into complete confusion. This proves to the hilt that the US ruling circles who appear to be formidable are no more than a paper tiger. * * *"

"The roaring flames in Detroit have scared the US ruling circles. * * *"

"It is not the fighting Afro-Americans who are afraid of the US ruling circles; it is the US ruling circles who are afraid of the Afro-American masses * * *"

"More and more Afro-Americans have embarked on the road of combatting counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. This is what the US gangsters fear most. * * * If the people in the United States unite, the revolutionary people of the world unite, and together wage a common struggle, the handful of reactionaries in the United States will be completely isolated and besieged ring upon ring by the masses of the people thus accelerating the doom of US imperialism."

PEKING RADIO BROADCAST, AUGUST 1, 1967:

"Stoges like Martin Luther King issued statements publicly supporting the Johnson administration's violence against the Afro-Americans. This at once renamed these champions of 'nonviolence' for what they really are—opponents of the revolutionary violence of the oppressed and supporters of the counter-revolutionary violence of the oppressors."

"However, the level of political awareness of the Afro-American masses is daily rising and they have come to realize more clearly than ever the need to resist violence with violence. * * * Neither the US ruling circle's violent suppression nor the humbug of 'nonviolence' preached by Martin Luther King and his ilk can prevent the Afro-American masses from taking the road of struggle by violence and promoting the Afro-American movement."

PEKING RADIO BROADCAST, AUGUST 2, 1967:

"Lyndon Johnson * * * made a speech on 27 July calling for the intensified suppression of the armed struggle of Afro-Americans * * * and asked the Afro-Americans to be 'law-abiding' and 'responsible' and to 'share in America's prosperity'."

"But what kind of stuff is American law? Friedrich (sic) Engels pointed out long ago that bourgeois law is a 'whip' against the proletariat. * * * To the Afro-Americans, such laws mean that they must put up with the privation of monopoly capitalism * * *. The broad sections of Afro-Americans and working people in the United States must destroy such laws and smash the state apparatus"

910 SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

organizers protects virtually the whole of Harlem and the other New York ghettos from being organized into tenants councils right now. Moreover, block councils truly based on building councils would offer a natural basis for the organization of self-defense.

SPARTACIST, MAY-JUNE 1967, P. 5:

"The illusion of 'non-violence' spread by King and others is a critical disarming of black people, and is consistent with the role of these leaders as agents of the power structure. The movement must scrap these illusions once and for all and begin to organize the Negro people to defend themselves from violence."

SPARTACIST, MAY-JUNE 1967, P. 54:

"It is the duty of a revolutionary organization to intervene where possible to give these outbreaks [riots] political direction."

HARLEM RIOTS, 1964

SPARTACIST, JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1964, PP. 1, 5; 1, 11, 12

"On this basis SPARTACIST stated early in July . . . the bourgeois state now prepares to fight openly in the streets through its police arm against the resurgence of the struggle. This prediction was strikingly confirmed on July 15 and the days that followed as wave after wave of armed, specially trained elite police—the Tactical Patrol Force—swept through Harlem indiscriminately beating and terrorizing all who crossed their paths, when the mood of the ghetto made it clear that the killing of 15-year-old James Powell by an off-duty police officer would not go unprocessed."

"James Robertson, SPARTACIST editor, described the role of the cops in creating the riots and, in reference to attempts being made to blame the riots on Communists, said that 'unfortunately there aren't many Reds in Harlem now—but there will be!'"

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

2511 W. Diamond Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Origin:

Winter 1963

PURPOSE:

From the Ram Manifesto of 1964: "RAM was officially organized . . . by Afro-Americans who favored Robert R. Williams and the concept of organized violence. . . . ONE PURPOSE—To free black people from the universal slave-master. . . . ONE LEAD—To demand black people through struggle to the highest attainment possible. ONE DESIRE—To follow in the spirit of black revolutionaries . . . and to create a new world free of colonialism, racism, imperialism, exploitation, and national oppression."

In hearings before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, on February 18, 1967, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, described the Revolutionary Action Movement as "a Negro organization . . . dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and its replacement by a socialist system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism."

ORGANIZATION:

Less than 50

Exact membership figures cannot be stated owing to the clandestine nature of the organization. However, it should be noted that RAM does not seek mass membership. Instead, it operates on the principle of a tight-knit, highly selective inner circle of leaders who accomplish their aims through infiltration and subversion of other Afro-American groups, through fronts, and through use of Negro teenage gangs schooled in urban guerrilla warfare.

RAM has units in Philadelphia (home base), Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, and New York City.

There are three levels of membership in the RAM organization: (1) field organizers, (2) active members, and (3) associate members.

RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS

2
3
9

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
PERMANENT
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETEENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO SENATE RESOLUTION 216, 92ND CONGRESS

JUNE 15 AND 21, 1973

PART 9

Printed for the use of the Committee on Government Operations



APPROVED FOR RELEASE
Date 10 AUG 1976

347

have, when we speak of strength within a gang, of fellows who just tag along and join because they have no choice not to join, they feel that it would be dangerous if they did not.

Mr. ADLERMAN. There would be a great deal of fear on the part of the merchants, on the part of the community, on the part of the children in the community, by the parents, and even the schools and schoolteachers, principals, and so forth—there was a great deal of fear—

Mr. MOORE. Was? There still is.

Mr. ADLERMAN. There still is a great deal of fear that has been exploited by these gangs. They have used threats. They have used killings. They have murdered other children. They have intimidated witnesses. Is that correct?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Mr. ADLERMAN. We were talking about extortion before, I show you some of these cards and ask you whether or not you have seen cards similar to these in the windows of any of the shops during the rioting?

(The document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. MOORE. This was during the Martin Luther King riot situation when these signs were put, the April 4 riot situation. Those are the signs they had in the neighborhoods during the riots of April 4 and 5.

Mr. ADLERMAN. And they were put up by whom?

Mr. MOORE. The Main 21.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Would you read them?

Mr. MOORE. This one says, "Do not touch. Signed, Jeff Fort, Main 21, Blackstone Rangers."

The CHAIRMAN. That may be made exhibit 188.

(Document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 188" for reference and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MOORE. Jeff Fort did not write this. He can't write.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Somebody wrote it for him?

Mr. MOORE. Yes. I am not trying to be funny, but it is preposterous to have somebody as a director—when we speak of the fourth-grade achievements of the leaders, when you throw his achievements in there with the rest of them, then the leaders' achievements are less than the students within the class. He has no achievements.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Do you believe that a program could work for gang members if it were properly supervised?

Mr. MOORE. Not for gang members, no. I think a program should be for youth within a community. The minute you specify gang members, you encourage others to become gang members. We are fooling ourselves when we say you can work directly with gangs in this area, give them something. What about the kids who don't belong to gangs? They get nothing. So they join so they, too, can get something.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Is there any way you can work the program, utilizing the gang leader's influence over gang members in the community, with proper supervision?

Mr. MOORE. Why gang members? Why can't the communities become more responsible and have it like any other program?

Mr. ADLERMAN. In other words, it would have to be open to everybody?

Mr. MOORE. To everybody.

Mr. ADLERMAN. And not involve the gang members?

The CHAIRMAN. That is enough, itself?

Mr. ROSE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So you were getting prepared and organized for any eventuality like that?

Mr. ROSE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Do you know about the meeting in Philadelphia?

Mr. ROSE. Yes, I do.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Would you tell us about that meeting?

Mr. ROSE. I wasn't there.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Tell us what you know about it.

Mr. ROSE. That is where the Revolutionary Action Movement people first came into the picture. That was there.

Mr. ADLERMAN. That is RAM?

Mr. ROSE. Yes. That is where they first came into the picture. A couple of our members went down there.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Did they come to see you in Chicago?

Mr. ROSE. Later they came.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Go ahead and tell us.

Mr. ROSE. They were talking over a list. This is what I was told. I wasn't there.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Who told you this?

Mr. ROSE. Eugene Hairston, the president, and Lamar Bell.

Mr. ADLERMAN. They went to Philadelphia?

Mr. ROSE. Yes. They had a list of people who were to be assassinated the next time the riots started. They were all of the civil rights leaders that you have, like the guys from NAACP.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if I understand you right, and I don't want to put words into your mouth, they wanted to have some of the nonviolent leaders assassinated?

Mr. ROSE. Yes, sir, all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. All of them?

Mr. ROSE. All the big leaders.

The CHAIRMAN. So the militants, revolutionary leaders, wanted to have their own people assassinated?

Mr. ROSE. This is what I heard. I was not there.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not there, but that is what was reported to you?

Mr. ROSE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Did they tell you the names of the people they wanted assassinated?

Mr. ROSE. Yes, they did.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Who were they?

Mr. ROSE. I can't remember all of them, but there was Jesse Jackson involved in it, and Martin Luther King was involved in it.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Who?

Mr. ROSE. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The CHAIRMAN. He was one of them they had marked?

Mr. ROSE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else?

Mr. ROSE. And the people from the NAACP. I can't remember all their names, because I didn't pay any attention.

The CHAIRMAN. They wanted to kill the leaders of the NAACP?

Mr. ROSE. Yes. The large civil rights groups that are nonviolent,

90th Congress }
2d Session

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINT

24-3535

THE NEW LEFT

MEMORANDUM

PREPARED FOR

THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER
INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETEENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION



OCTOBER 9, 1968

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1968

12-683

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20540 - Price 71

Date 11-7-1968

341

only the black press and the African press be invited to all future SNCC press conferences (ibid., p. 15).

It was this kind of metamorphosis which transformed SNCC and CORE from civil rights organizations into revolutionary forces calling, not for the entrance of Negroes into society, but for the revolutionary reconstruction of the society.

It was this change which provided them with a common basis for union with other New Left organizations, which also sought the revolutionary transformation of society, one in which integration, as they saw it, would become a possibility. Until then, everything about the status quo had to be challenged, whether it was the selective service system or the war.

Perhaps the major fusion of the civil rights movement with the New Left was found, however, in the person of the late Martin Luther King.

The assassination of Dr. King in Memphis on April 4 of this year was an unspeakable tragedy, an affront to every civilized man. There is an ancient saying that one should say nothing critical about the dead. But a discussion of the developing relations between the New Left and civil rights movement is impossible without making note of the role played by Dr. King in these developments in the closing years of his career.

Martin Luther King, when he first emerged as leader of the civil rights movement, made a number of positive contributions for which he has rightly been honored. During this early period, among other things, he insisted on nonviolence and he avoided association with the extremists. Before his death, however, he had moved into an increasingly open alliance with the extremists and he had become increasingly feeble in his criticism of American foreign policy.

Speaking in New York on April 4, 1967, King called on "all who find the American course in Vietnam a dishonorable and unjust one" to apply as conscientious objectors to military service. He described the U.S. Government as the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today." (National Guardian, Apr. 15, 1967, p. 13.)

Commenting on Dr. King's speech, Floyd McKissick, CORE leader, said that "Dr. King has come around and I'm glad to have him with us."

A challenge came from Whitney M. Young, executive director of the Urban League. He said that since Negroes "have as their first priority the immediate problem of survival in this country . . . the limited resources and personnel available to civil rights agencies for work in their behalf should not be diverted into other channels."

April 15 protest demonstrations in New York and San Francisco were organized under the leadership of Rev. James Bevel, chief assistant to King. At the New York meeting, King said that he hoped to raise \$700,000 to finance the work and that:

We view the Vietnam summer project as a major organized followup to last week's massive peace demonstration. It will offer a constructive channel for all those who ask, "What can I do?"

Dr. King said the civil rights movement had shown that—

Arrogant power can be made to yield to organized courage to the fight for peace.

On April 24, 1967, in Cambridge, Mass., Martin Luther King, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, announced a "Vietnam summer drive" against the war and against U.S. interventions elsewhere. He said that the drive would include antidraft activities, sponsorship of peace candidates in local and State elections, and referendums in municipal elections asking for an end to the war. "We throughout the Nation who oppose the war must reach others who are concerned," Dr. King said. "It is time to move from demonstrations and university teach-ins to a nationwide community teach-out" (Washington Post, Apr. 24, 1967, p. 1).

Dr. King was joined at a news conference by pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock and Robert Scheer, editor of the radical Ramparts magazine. A pamphlet distributed at the conference stated the long-range aim of the organizing effort is the creation of a vocal, strong antiwar bloc by 1968. "We aim at more than changing a vote or two in Congress," the pamphlet said, "We seek to defeat Lyndon Johnson and his war."

A statement issued by Freedom House strongly criticized Martin Luther King for lending his "mantle of respectability" to an anti-Vietnam war coalition that includes well-known Communist allies and luminaries of the American left. The paper said that Dr. King had "emerged as the public-spear carrier of a civil disobedience program that is demagogic and irresponsible in its attacks on our government." Joining in this statement was Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP and a member of the board of directors of Freedom House (New York Times, May 21, 1967).

In an advertisement in the New York Times a call for "Vietnam Summer 1967" was made under the names of Dr. Martin Luther King, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Robert Scheer, Dr. John C. Bennett, Carey McWilliams, and a number of others. The statement noted that—

Vietnam Summer is a call for 10,000 volunteers, including 2,000 full-time workers, to spend the summer in 500 communities organizing and educating against the war. . . . Vietnam Summer is a project to reach the millions of citizens in communities across the Nation who oppose the war in Vietnam but whose voices have not yet been heard (the New York Times, Apr. 30, 1967, p. 4-B).

The goal of this project was to create "a new, independent force in America which will undertake a broad range of concrete actions to end the war." The group proposed to stimulate antiwar feeling among young people and to encourage them in their refusal to join the Army or fight in the war.

The antidraft aspect of the New Left has been adopted by many within the civil rights movement. On May 1, 1967, Cleveland L. Sellers, Jr., one of the three major officers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, refused to be inducted into the Army. The 23-year-old Negro called the Vietnamese war a "racist conflict" and joined with Stokely Carmichael, then student committee chairman, in accusing the United States of drafting large numbers of Negroes as part of a plan to commit "calculated genocide." At the same time, Carmichael announced that 13 other student committee workers had refused induction within the previous 3 months as part of the organization's campaign against the war in Vietnam (New York Times, May 2, 1967, p. 11).

In an interview, the Reverend James Bevel, assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, and head of the April 15 antiwar march in New York and San Francisco, was asked how he would "implement" antidraft sympathies. "You don't need a whole lot of complicated plans," Bevel said. "When Mr. Johnson comes around to get you, you just say: 'I won't go.'" He expressed the view that—

Mr. Johnson is not going to stop, but we won't stop either. We're going to organize students by the thousands to go to jail by the thousands. . . . We're going to have a radical summer. We're going to say to young people, you must get out of the school and into the streets. . . . Close down New York City. . . . Tell Mr. Johnson plain that he is going to have to stop killing the folks in Vietnam (the Washington Post, Apr. 30, 1967, p. C-4).

An antidraft organization was established at predominantly Negro Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga. Seventy-eight students signed a petition which declared "We cannot conscientiously permit ourselves to be used as objects in war." Henry Bass, a spokesman for the Atlanta Committee to End the War in Vietnam, said that—

the Morehouse guys are pledged to seek legal classification as CO's; that is, they are pledged not merely to opt out by going to Canada, starting in graduate school, fathering children, etc., but actually to combat the draft (National Guardian, Apr. 29, 1967, p. 3).

Despite all of this activity within the civil rights movement, there has also been a strong reaction against it by traditional advocates of civil rights and by many Negro leaders.

Speaking at Howard University in Washington, D.C., Richmond M. Flowers, Alabama's former attorney general and a racial moderate, charged that Stokely Carmichael had betrayed Negro interests and that Martin Luther King, Jr., was wrong to oppose the war in Vietnam. He called Carmichael's draft card burning exhortations "almost treasonous" and compared Carmichael with former Alabama Governor George Wallace and suggested that the two men run on the same ticket for President and Vice President.

I do see a very close parallel with such a leader defying a draft notice and the Governor of a State scolding in a schoolhouse door in defiance of a Federal court order that admits a qualified citizen of that State to the State university and attempts to exclude her for the sole reason that she is a Negro.

He said:

Defiance is defiance, whether you are defying a draft notice or a Federal court order (Washington Post, May 3, 1967, p. A-9).

Flowers noted that "black power, defiance, and black supremacy are just as immoral and illegal as white power, defiance, and white supremacy." Turning to Dr. King, he said that there is no connection between the civil rights movement and the war in Vietnam:

I fear that certain leaders have taken this attitude in order to keep themselves in the news rather than spending their energies to improve the Negro's position in this Nation. . . .

Dr. Ralph Bunche, a member of the NAACP's board of directors and longtime Negro leader, said that—

In my view, Dr. King should positively and publicly give up one role or the other. The two efforts have little in common (New York Times, Apr. 19, 1967, p. 21).

At the antiwar meeting in New York on April 15, Dr. King found himself doing what he once said he would not do. He appeared on the

Speaking in New York, Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, said he thought Dr. King was sincere in making the prediction, "But I think it's dangerous. * * *" He said that "less disciplined persons" might interpret such warnings as encouragement to riot (New York Times, Apr. 21, 1967).

The leader of a group of West Side Negro ministers in Chicago declared that Dr. Martin Luther King should "get the hell out of here" because his civil rights marching in Chicago last summer "created hate."

The Reverend Henry Mitchell said that—

If he wants to march on the West Side, let him march with rakes, brooms, and grass seeds.

He noted that the ministers represented the sentiments of 50,000 Chicago Negroes who want "peace, love, and harmony," don't approve of civil rights marches, and "just want to live in their communities and upgrade them." (Chicago Tribune, Apr. 20, 1967).

Scores of Howard University students chanted "Burn, baby, burn" as an effigy of Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey was set afire during a campus rally on April 19, 1967. The burning was spontaneous, following hangings of effigies of Hershey, University President James M. Nabrit, Jr., and Dean Frank Snowden of Howard's College of Liberal Arts. After the hangings and a round of speeches denouncing Nabrit and Snowden as "Uncle Toms," someone in the crowd of more than 400 students yelled, "Burn that white maffinhead." Other students quickly took up the cry, shouting "burn him" and "Naplam him." (Washington Post, Apr. 20, 1967.)

Before the hangings most of the crowd jammed into a hallway in a campus building where a number of students were facing disciplinary charges for forcing General Hershey to cancel a speech at Howard on March 21. Outside the building Ronald O. Ross, co-chairman of the Project Awareness student committee that had invited Hershey to speak, said:

I'm sorry I invited him. I don't want him to speak. He's a white man (ibid.).

Referring to university charges that the students "disrupted the * * * orderly operation of the school," Ross continued:

With this rope we're going to disrupt it some more. We don't intend to be responsible. We intend to be black * * * He [Nabrit] is reading Homer and shooting this university to pot. I say we don't have time for Homer. First let's get rid of every Uncle Tom around here (ibid.).

A cache of arms, ranging from a slingshot to a sawed-off rifle, was uncovered by police in a raid on a Harlem theater noted for its production of plays with antiwhite themes. A police inspector said the raiding party also found a rifle practice range in the basement of the Black Arts Repertory Theater. Officers arrested six men, including one who was armed and tried to block detectives at the door. Police said they found a sign inside the theater which read:

All weapons cleaned and sharpened by 6 p.m. All weapons will be inspected by Elden, the Leader.

The theater is the same one founded by bitterly antiwhite playwright LeRoi Jones with partial support from antipoverty funds (Washington Post, Mar. 13, 1966).

against things as they are, regardless of whether the things be detrimental or beneficial.

It is for this reason, too, that violence becomes a tactic which in the eyes of the Negro New Left, is wholly permissible. It is, after all, the established order of doing things to call for rational discourse, debate, and a democratic and peaceful settlement of disputes. If the New Left-civil rights coalition disputes the establishment in all areas, it also disputes the establishment with regard to violence.

It is important that the majority of Americans recognize the fact that these revolutionary views are held by only a small minority of Negroes. Yet, like the non-Negro New Left, it is a militant, vocal and active minority and it makes its presence felt out of all proportion to its numerical strength. Racism in reverse may be an understandable reaction to many years of discrimination and suffering, but it is the kind of reaction which will prevent real progress in the very important area of race relations.

Martin Luther King's brief membership in this coalition, that he had become willing to appear on the same platform and program with the black power advocates he shunned only a short time before, indicates that his own views had changed significantly. The fact that Negro opinion has been sharply divided over the new affiliation of portions of the civil rights movement with the antiwar movement was pointed out in a recent study of the effect of the war in Vietnam upon American life:

The peculiar conflict in Negro sentiment emerged strikingly, too, in a measurement of current attitudes toward Nobel laureate Martin Luther King. Was King's outspoken anti-Vietnam war stand, the pollsters asked, damaged the civil rights movement? Only 27 percent of the Negroes (as compared with the 64 percent of the general public) answered "Yes." Yet, significantly, the poll suggested a dramatic decline in King's popularity among Negroes. Only 15 percent of them, in fact, said that they would vote for him if he ran for President. The chief reason for this does not seem to be King's pacifism. Rather, it apparently is that his antiwar activity has belittled his previous role as a champion of the Negro cause per se. "The war isn't King's problem," says the mother of a Negro GI from Chicago, "but the Negro people is, and he ought to stick to it" (Newsweek, July 10, 1967, p. 34).

Despite the efforts of the militants, Negro participation in antiwar protests has been slight. Many see a parallel with past efforts of the Communist Party to enlist Negro support for a separate Negro Republic in the South by identifying themselves with civil rights activities. But for the limited response to the black power appeal, it would appear that the current New Left attempt to use the Negro as a catalyst for revolution will fail as dismally as have past efforts to exploit the American Negro for revolutionary purposes.

The split which has been growing in the civil rights movement since the association of some of its members with the New Left, antiwar movement, has seen conflicting organizations and viewpoints arise.

Ex-convict Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panthers' "Minister of Information" and presidential nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party, explained his revolutionary goals to a group of San Francisco lawyers:

America is up against the wall. This whole apparatus, this capitalistic system and its institutions and police . . . all need to be assigned to the garbage can of history and I don't give a ——— who doesn't like it. If we can't have it

*Some obscure words used by New Left activists have been omitted from these articles. Although it might be argued that to quote such language would help to depict the nature of these activists, the most offensive words were deleted because they were found to be objectionable under congressional standards.

Stokes noted that

... you must not confuse some of the many disturbances around our country that have reflected reaction of people to an unresponsive city administration or to a continually frustrating environment. The acts of the people the other night were just deliberately coursed lawlessness and determination to commit violence among this small group. (Washington Post, July 25, 1968.)

Experts state that the key figure in the conspiracy was Fred "Ahmed" Evans, a local black power leader who has been linked to the pro-Peking revolutionary action movement. In May 1967, Det. Sgt. John Ungary, head of the Cleveland police department's subversive squad, said that terrorists under Evans' direction were plotting a "black revolution" to coincide with "a war between Red China and the United States." Evans, who was arrested during the riots, was charged with shooting to kill. "If my carbine hadn't jammed I would have killed you three," police quoted him as saying. "I had you in my sights when my rifle jammed." Evans told police that he and 17 others had organized the sniper attacks that resulted in the deaths of three policemen. Told that three of his snipers had been slain, Evans said, "They died for a worthy cause." Phil Hutchings, militant head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, told newsmen that the Cleveland outbreaks were "the first stage of revolutionary armed violence." (Human Events, Aug. 3, 1968.)

It is evident that a certain segment of the "civil rights" movement has turned to separatism and to violence. It has joined forces with the New Left in opposing the very structure of American society, and in calling for defeat abroad and revolution at home.

Those who truly seek civil rights, who truly seek an American society in which Negroes and whites share a common citizenship, are disturbed with this trend among younger, more militant Negro spokesmen. This concern was expressed by former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner:

Negro extremists who advocate violence assert that non-violence did not work. It is naive. The greatest gains for the American Negro came in response to the non-violent campaigns of Martin Luther King, Jr. and (before it turned violent) SNCC. It is the fashion now to belittle those gains, but they were great and undeniable. They were registered in historic civil rights legislation and even more emphatically in social practice. . . . The violent tactics of the past two years have brought nothing but deepened hostility between the two races and a slowing down of progress in the necessary drive toward social justice. . . .

Nor do those who condone violence ever speak of the legacy of bitterness and division that will be left by increasingly harsh outbreaks of destructive inter-raciality. What good will it do to dramatize the problem if, in the process, hatreds burn themselves so deep that the wounds permanently cripple our society. . . . To date the moderates—both Negro and white—have been all too silent. (Reader's Digest, June 1968.)

The joining of forces between the New Left and certain elements of the civil rights movement is a dangerous symbol of the extremism toward which we are moving. Part of the reason for its success, as Secretary Gardner has said, is that the moderates have not stemmed the tide. In many cases, they have encouraged it, fearing to lose their own leadership role. If this continues, society will face an ever more serious problem. Violence begets violence, and the gains of the past will be in danger. This would be harmful to all Americans. Only those who appreciate the gravity of this new coalition can act to defeat its influence and power.

THE APRIL 15 MARCH AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

April 15, 1967, marked the culmination of one important phase of the antiwar movement and saw large numbers of marchers parading in New York and San Francisco. The New York City Police Department's Office of Community Relations said that police officials at the United Nations Plaza estimated the number of demonstrators at between "100,000 and 125,000." The parade was led by the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Harry Belafonte, and was sponsored by the Spring Mobilizing Committee To End the War in Vietnam, a loose confederation of New Left, pacifist, and more moderate antiwar groups (New York Times, Apr. 16, 1967, p. 1).

About an hour before the parade started a crowd of young men gathered on a rock in Central Park to burn their draft cards and demonstrators said that "nearly 300" were burned. As each card caught fire, a throng of several thousand persons, many of whom carried or wore daffodils, chanted "flower power."

In one area of the park, where the demonstrators gathered prior to the march, the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam built a 40-foot-high tower of black cardboard tubing. They then attached a number of flags of blue and red with a gold star in the center, the flag of the Vietcong.

Most of the marchers carried signs that had been authorized and printed by the Spring Mobilization Committee. Among the slogans were "Stop the Bombing," "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger," and "Children Are Not Born To Burn." There were also many "unauthorized" banners and placards. One, a bed sheet carried by three young men, bore in large black letters the words "Ho Chi Minh Is a Virgin" (ibid.).

One of the significant things about the march was the fact that it represented a new coalition of the so-called hippie left and the more traditional political left. One eye-witness report stresses this fact:

The marchers, variously estimated at from 100,000 to 300,000 gathered at the Sheep Meadow in Central Park and the first impression the visitor received was that of a summer afternoon outing. The Angry Arts Against the War Committee performed several plays, portraying mean and vicious Americans murdering innocent and noble Vietnamese. Poems were read, and songs were sung, and at one point the meeting was interrupted by an announcement that one of the audience was needed immediately on "Hippie Hill," where he was to participate in a rock n roll group.

"Hippie Hill" was the point in the park where the advocates of LSD, marijuana, and other drugs met and performed their own private ritual. One sign there stated that "War Is a Bad Trip," and a small group continually beat their improvised drum and rhythmically chanted "LSD, LSD, LSD."

Another part of the Sheep Meadow was used for what was politely known as the Radical Contingent. High atop a tower were the flags of the Vietcong, and money was being raised to send to North Vietnam. A leaflet distributed by the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front stated that "To be effective the peace movement must come out in support of the NLF. The Peace Movement should work to show that the real enemy of Americans is not in Vietnam but in our own country."

We are engaged in a war that seeks to turn the clock of history back and perpetuate white colonialism. The greatest irony and tragedy of it all is that our Nation which initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit in the modern world is now cast in the mold of being an arch and retrograde (National Guardian, Apr. 22, 1967, p. 2).

Showing the ambivalence of the critics to the nature of the Vietcong, Prof. Howard Zinn of Boston University told the New York rally that—

... This administration has said a social revolution is needed in this destitute and crippled country, which we have helped to make destitute and crippled. Who could better carry out such a revolution than the National Liberation Front? ... It is quite clear ... that the National Liberation Front can do a more efficient, humane, and democratic job of running South Vietnam than either Premier Ky or General Westmoreland or Ellsworth Bunker (Ibid.).

According to antiwar spokesmen, the mobilization represented the broadest coalition of "peace" groups. One peace group which did not support the demonstration was the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, but William Price, National Guardian reporter, noted that "throughout the crowd, banners appeared identifying participants with local Sane chapters." One delegation estimated at 350 marched behind a huge red banner lettered in gold: "Communist Party, New York State Area." In the group was Gus Hall, Communist Party national chairman. Communist Party public relations head Arnold Johnson said frequent applause had come from onlookers and interpreted this as "approval of the open participating of the party in the political life of the country." Such participation, he said, marked the end of McCarthyism (National Guardian, Apr. 22, 1967, p. 1).

A leaflet distributed at the rally and published by the U.S. Committee To Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (Box C, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y.), said the following:

The U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam urges you to show your opposition to the U.S. Government's aggression by expressing your support for the Vietnamese peoples' fight in defense of their liberty. The time has come to decide which side you are on!!! The USCANLF-SV wishes to help give the Vietnamese NLF a voice in the United States and believes that to be effective, the Peace Movement must come out in support of the NLF. The Peace Movement should work to show that the real "enemy" of Americans is not in Vietnam, but here in our own country.

At the New York rally Stokely Carmichael called Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara "a racist," Secretary of State Dean Rusk "a fool," and President Johnson "a balloon." William Pepper, the author of "Children of Vietnam," called for an end to "the reign of Lyndon Johnson" and proposed a national ticket of Martin Luther King and Dr. Benjamin Spock. Howard Zinn of Boston University called for "the most magnificent, elegant withdrawal" from Vietnam, with the bands playing and "Bob Hope cracking jokes" (Washington Star, Apr. 16, 1967).

One contingent of militant Negro protestors broke away from the main line of march in New York and proceeded on their own to the Times Square area. The following report appeared in the May-June 1967 issue of Black Mask, a black nationalist publication in New York City:

"Hell No! Blacks Won't Go!" Waiting in Central Park for the April 15 mobilization (and to get underway, the Harlem contingent is spotted making their way down Central Park West. They would not take the legal parade route, but would

but to "orient it toward * * * the revolutionary organization whose program does provide the basis for such a general struggle."

Protest leaders viewed the results of the April 15 march optimistically, and many expressed the view that this represented "only a beginning." The Reverend James Bevel, committee director and a close associate of Martin Luther King, viewed the April 15 action as "the beginning of a mass movement against mass murder." He said that the aim of the new movement "will be to get Johnson's troops out of Vietnam by Christmas."

Jack Smith of the National Guardian asked the question: Is it possible in the United States at this point to develop a mass, broad-based anti-Vietnam war movement with the potential of seriously affecting government decisions? His answer:

A year ago the answer would have been an immediate unqualified "no." Today the answer from some leaders in the antiwar struggle is a cautious, qualified "perhaps." This response is forthcoming even though there may have been more antiwar action a year ago, and the movement, on the surface, has been in decline in recent months.

The next several months will determine whether this year's more optimistic prediction has substance. Part of the answer depends on whether there has been a qualitative change in the mood of the American people toward the war. Part depends on the existing antiwar movement itself and whether it is able to capitalize on any such change (National Guardian, Apr. 4, 1967, p. 13).

A significant change in the approach of organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society is that they no longer seek to express their disapproval of either the war or the American society through mere sporadic protests, or "dropping out," or what they call the "parliamentary games" of liberals.

What they seek to do is develop a political awareness and move from "nonpolitical protest to political resistance." In order to do this it believes that "alienated youths must be brought to understand that their 'personal' problems are collective—the result of a society in which man is increasingly distant from the decisionmaking process. The cause for such distance, the New Left seems to be saying more and more, is the entire economic, social, and political structure of society. Programs are now being devised to expose the powerlessness of the "unrepresented" groups in society, and among these the major ones are opposition to the war, opposition to the draft, and an effort to achieve "student power." The long range goal is "not power for this particular class, but the development of this class into a revolutionary force that would work with other oppressed classes in society" (National Guardian, "SDS Aim: To Build Revolutionary Consciousness, Apr. 15, 1967, p. 5).

The national secretary of Students for a Democratic Society, Gregory Calvert, said that "We are working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment. We are actively organizing sedition" (New York Times, May 7, 1967). New York Times reporter Paul Finkelman stated that "during a 3-week series of interviews with some 75 New Left activists and sympathizers from coast to coast * * * sounded much more truculent than members of the Moscow-oriented Communist Party, U.S.A." He reported that Che Guevara's picture was found on the walls of the offices of radical newspapers and living groups and that "His name cropped up in talks whenever the New Left's current infatuation with direct action was mentioned."

THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE ON NEW POLITICS

Let anyone believe that the New Left's interest in American politics is limited to simply criticizing the "establishment" and the mores and standards of our society, the National Conference for New Politics, which took place in Chicago during the first week of September 1967, should be sufficient to establish that criticism plays only a minor role in this New Left's attacks.

Chicago's Palmer House Hotel was the scene of a meeting which brought 2,000 delegates from throughout the country together to decide what political path the New Left might profitably take as it approached the 1968 elections. The group convened on August 31, 1967, for a meeting which may set the tone for radical activity for some time to come. It was, in a sense, the end of one phase of New Left activity and the beginning of another.

Prior to the meeting much discussion took place concerning future possibilities for action. Writing in the Communist Worker, Carl Bloom noted that—

"If there is any clear consensus as the convention gets underway, it would be that whatever form the movement takes, nothing will be given up. The participants reject the calls to move 'from protest to politics.' Electoral action, therefore, should move no one off the streets. If new politics is to mean anything, it is said, it will mean more than the ballot box and/or the picket line. (The Worker, Sept. 3, 1967, p. 1.)

In a position paper prepared prior to the Chicago meeting, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs set forth its own approach. It stated that—

"Once the place of the 3d ticket on the ballot is assured, then other work may be undertaken, and a peace ticket in the Democratic primary could be the basis for leading a larger number of Democratic voters to support a 3d presidential ticket in November 1968, after Johnson is re-elected. But if there is no peace ticket in 1968 the voters against Johnson will have no place to go except the CP. ('New Politics for a New America, an Approach to the 1968 Elections,' The Worker, Aug. 20, 1967, p. 1.)

Some of the 2,000 participants wanted to field a third party ticket in 1968, headed perhaps by the Rev. Martin Luther King or Dr. Benjamin Spock. Others, however, expressed the view that the whole election process is a fraud and that they should not directly involve themselves in it.

The keynote address was given by Dr. King. He accused President Johnson of betraying people who supported him in 1964. "The promise of a Great Society was shipwrecked off the coast of Asia on the dreadful peninsula of Vietnam," he said. He denounced the war in Vietnam and said that if it isn't ended by next year "all men of good will must create a situation in which the 1967-68 elections are made a referendum on the war. The American people must have an opportunity to vote into oblivion those who cannot detach themselves from militarism, those who lead us not to a new world but drag us to the brink of a dead world." (The Washington Star, Sept. 1, 1967.)

In his address Dr. Spock said the United States should announce

of the John Birch Society." Their revolution, he said, "is psychological, not political or economic, and they talk loud and long about what they're opposed to, like big Federal Government, but they say hardly anything about what they're for." (New York Times, Sept. 7, 1967.)

Not all Negroes found themselves in agreement with the demands of the militant black power advocates. Joseph Dawson, son of Rep. William Dawson of Illinois, said that "This is not a convention. This is hell. These people have the audacity to say they are helping our cities' Negroes. Well, I am a Negro and they're not helping me." (Human Events, Sept. 16, 1967.)

Prior to the Chicago meeting Professor Peretz wrote in the "New Politics News" a warning of what might occur:

It is possible that years hence we shall be able to look back upon this national convention as having been a milestone in the maturation of a new American politics . . . But this convention may also prove to be the burial grounds of our hopes and programs and energies. It may become a footnote to history recording not our triumph but our missed opportunities. I fear we may look back upon this convention . . . as being the place where the lefts engaged in mutual vituperation and in fratricide, where ideological absolutism displaced both theory and concrete analysis. (Quoted in Washington Star, Sept. 11, 1967.)

The plans for a third-party ticket for 1968 never reached fruition as a result of the internal wrangling evident at the conference. Jeffrey L. Hodes analyzed this event in these terms:

Drawn by the Black Caucus, the sponsoring NCNP never was able to pursue its original objective: acceptance of a King-Spock ticket for 1968. Support for Dr. King dissipated after his opening night speech. He not only failed to fire emotions, but the black militants and white radicals wrote him off as passive. Stoughton Lynd and Rennie Davis of SDS stated in a position paper that they "unequivocally refuse to condone the ghetto rebellion" and hence could not back Dr. King who had joined the moderate civil rights leadership in condemning riots and those who incite or provoke them. (The New Leader, Sept. 11, 1967.)

In this analysis, the role of the Students for a Democratic Society and other university organizations is discussed:

. . . SDS and other university groups believe radicalization means transforming society itself. The real power, they contend, lies within corporations, media, universities, and the military. In addition, they claim elections are manipulative and tied to existing value systems. Voting then, in SDS's lexicon, is a passive act that gives one a choice between options provided by others—the height of powerlessness. SDS prefers to concentrate on local organizing in urban ghettos and universities, on advancing counter-communal institutions, on altering campuses and students to the "system" and on radicalizing the poor.

Others in Chicago sharply differed with the SDS approach. David Kolodney of Berkeley's New Action Politics believes the Presidency is the focus of American politics. He urged the idea that providing a third choice widens the limits of national debate and threatens existing order.

Two clear-cut approaches emerged. The first called for local political action, organizing the ghettos and working class communities, opposing the war. The second, supported by New York and California delegations, proposed an independent national ticket, with candidates to be selected by a national nominating convention next year.

The compromise which resulted came about in this way:

To avoid splitting the convention, a premidnight caucus was held in a last attempt to iron out a compromise between SDS and the Californians. Max Bursztin of Berkeley proposed backing the resolution on local organizing.

LIST OF OVERT DOCUMENTS

1. Black Power, White Resistance, by Fred Powledge, The World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York.
2. The Negro Revolt, by Louis E. Lomax, a Signet Book.
3. Ghetto Rebellion to Black Liberation, by Claude M. Lightfoot.
4. Is Anybody Listening to Black America, a Seabury Paperback.
5. Martin Luther King, Jr., by William Robert Miller, a Discus Book.
6. SNCC - The New Abolitionists, by Howard Zinn, a Beacon Book.
7. The Black Muslims in America, by C. Eric Lincoln, a Beacon Book.
8. Negro and Jew, An Encounter in America, by Shlomo Katz.
9. Chronicles of Black Protest, With Introduction by C. Eric Lincoln.
10. The Black Messiah, by Albert B. Cleage, Jr., a Search Book.
11. Black Power and White Protestants, by Joseph C. Hough, Jr.
12. The Negro Mood, by Lerone Bennett, Jr.

13. Black Man's Burden, by John Oliver Killens.
14. When Negroes March, by Garfinkel.
15. Black Man's America, by Simon Booker, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
16. "King's Kapers," The National Review, May 3, 1967, Vol. 13, No. 12.
17. The Rebel - May & June 1968, Vol. 1, No. 2.
18. The New World of Negro Americans, by Howard R. Isaacs. A Viking Compass Book.
19. "McCarthy Term Death of Dr. King a Sacrifice", St. Louis Post Dispatch, April 5, 1968.
20. "Mystery Call Spur Carmichael to Take Leadership in Mourning for Dr. King", by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, The Washington Post, 8 April 1968.
21. Article by Virginia Kay, Chicago, Illinois News, 8 April 1968.
22. "Racism Aiding Communist", by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, Northern Virginia Sun, 16 August 1968.
23. "Stokley Grabbing for King's Men" by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, Northern Virginia Sun, 17 April 1968.
24. "Next Two Weeks are Critical", by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, Northern Virginia Sun, 18 April 1968.
25. Mark Lane Asks: "Is Bobby Silent Because CIA Killed his Brother?" by Mark Lane, Los Angeles Free Press, 9 April 1968.
26. "Dr. King Sr. Tells of Threats Since Slaying of Son" The Washington Star, 23 April 1968.
27. "Who Hired Dr. King's Assassins?" by David Lawrence, Washington Star, 24 April 1968.
28. "Millitants may Fire Capitol", by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, Northern Virginia Sun, 25 April 1968.

29. "Some Distrubing Parallels", by William W. Turner, Ramparts, 29 July.
30. UPI Wire Service Article datelined Washington, 3 January 1969.
31. "King Assassination Motel Sued Over Memorial Debt" Washington Star, 16 July 1969.

...LIAISON...

MOSCOW TRIP 22 NOV 55 P 5

GIST OF TWO PAGES--GEORGYAN REPORT

...GEORGYAN REPORT: "THE SECRET OF KING'S MURDER"

...NEW YORK, 21 TWENTY ONE NOVEMBER--UP TO NOW THE AMERICAN

...AGENCIES HAVE PERSISTENTLY MAINTAINED THAT THE BLOODY REPRISAL

...AGAINST THE NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE LEADER, MARTIN LUTHER KING

...WAS CARRIED OUT ON 4 FOUR APRIL IN MEMPHIS BY A LOYAL ASSASSIN

...THIS JULY JAMES EARL RAY, THE MAN SUSPECTED OF KING'S MURDER

...WAS AIRLIFTED AND TAKEN IN A BULLETPROOF SUIT FROM ENGLAND TO THE

...UNITED STATES. HE WAS LODGED IN THE COMFORTABLE PRISON CELL THAT

...HAD BEEN RESERVED FOR HIM IN THE CITY OF MEMPHIS, WHERE HE RESIDES

...ON THIS DAY. APART FROM LAWYERS, THE PRISON AUTHORITIES DO NOT

DOCUMENT AS REFERRED TO

4/11/49

ALL THINGS PRESENT IN THE WALL ARE THOROUGHLY SEARCHED. IT IS WELL

KNOWN THAT SEVERAL YEARS AGO RAY WAS CONVICTED OF A CRIMINAL

OFFENSE ON 23 TWENTY-THIRD APRIL 1967 NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN HE

WAS PUNISHED 13 UNCLAS

ESCAPED FROM THE MISSOURI STATE PRISON. AFTER HIS ESCAPE FROM

PRISON RAY HARDLY WORKED, BUT HE LIVED IN GRAND STYLE. IF RAY ACTED

ONE, IF HE HAD NO MONEY, HOW COULD THE FUGITIVE PRISONER HAVE

LEFT FROM MEMPHIS TO CANADA AFTER KING'S MURDER, GET A FOREIGN PASSPORT

AND CROSS SAFELY TO EUROPE, AND TRAVEL THROUGH VARIOUS COUNTRIES?

ALL THESE QUESTIONS PLACE IN SERIOUS DOUBT U.S. ATTORNEY

GENERAL RANSBY CLARK'S STATEMENT THAT KING'S MURDER WAS UNCONNECTED

WITH CONSPIRACY. MATERIAL HAS NOW APPEARED IN THE AMERICAN PRESS

IT EXPOSES THE ATTEMPTS OF THE AUTHORITIES TO DISTRACT THE

ATTENTION OF THE PUBLIC FROM THE REAL PERPETRATORS OF KING'S DEATH.

HAS PUBLISHED IMPORTANT ARTICLES BY THE NOTED AMERICAN JOURNALIST

AND WRITER WILLIAM HUGH, WHO CONVINCINGLY SHOWS THAT KING'S

ASSASSINATION APPEARED TO BE THE RESULT OF A CAREFULLY PREPARED

PLAN. IN THESE ARTICLES HUGH CITES NOTES THAT RAY HAD HAD GIVEN TO

HIM WHILE IN PRISON IN MEMPHIS. THEY RELATE HOW RAY WAS DRAGGED

INTO THE CONSPIRACY AND HOW THE PREPARATIONS FOR A REPRISAL

AGAINST KING CAME ABOUT.

HUGH MADE MANY TRIPS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, AND

MEXICO TO CHECK THOROUGHLY THE DETAILS GIVEN IN RAY'S NOTES. HUGH

PAGE 3 BUFILE 13 UNCLAS

WRITES THAT ALL THE FACTS AS REPORTED BY RAY HAVE BEEN CORROBORATED

ON THE BASIS OF THE INFORMATION GIVEN BY RAY. HUGH DRAWS THE

CONCLUSION THAT ALREADY ON 15 FIFTEEN AUGUST 1967 SIXTY SEVEN

LEAVE THE UNITED STATES AND GO
TO RETURN CRIMINALS TO THE UNITED
MONEY, DOCUMENTS, AND A FOREIGN
SIXTY SEVEN RAY MANAGED TO HAVE
INTENDED GOING ON TO ANOTHER COUNTRY
RAY WERE ABOUT THE PORT EMPLOYERS
CONTINUALLY SOLI THE REPLY: "THEY
AND WERE A BIT TIGHT IN THE HOPE
IN THE DOCKSIDE "NEPTUNE" TAVERN
"IT IS SLIGHTLY UNPLEASANT FOR ME
EARN MONEY AND GET DOCUMENTS, A
"SO GREAT RISK IS INVOLVED."

TO A COUNTRY UNBOUND BY ANY TREATY
ED STATES, FOR THAT RAY HAD TO HAVE
PASSPORT. IN AUGUST 1967 HE OBTAINED
HIS WAY TO CANADA, FROM WHENCE HE
COUNTRY.

MENT OFFICE IN MONTREAL, QUEBEC
IS NO WORK." HE TRAILED SAILORS
OF STEALING DOCUMENTS FROM THEM.
HE TOLD HIS BOOZING COMPANIONS THAT
IN THE UNITED STATES; I HAVE TO
FOR THAT I COULD DO ANY WORK WHERE

... STARTED TAKING AN INTEREST IN RAY. RAOUL PROPOSED
THAT, IN RETURN FOR MONEY AND DOCUMENTS, RAY SHOULD HELP IN
... IS UNCLAS
... CARRYING OUT CERTAIN PLANS.
... RAOUL MADE THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS: SEVERAL DAYS LATER RAY WOULD
... TO WINDSOR IN CANADA) TO MEET RAOUL AND TAKE SEVERAL PACKAGES
... OVER TO DETROIT (IN THE UNITED STATES); FROM DETROIT RAY WOULD SET
... OFF FOR BIRMINGHAM (ALABAMA) AND THERE AWAIT FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS
... RAOUL.
... RAOUL PROMISED RAY THAT AFTER SEVERAL WEEKS OR MONTHS OF
... JOINT ACTIVITY HE WOULD PAY HIM 12,000 TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS.
... GET RAY A PASSPORT AND OTHER DOCUMENTS, AND HELP HIM TO GET

"I HAD SWORN NEVER TO RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES," RAY WRITES:
"BUT I HAD NO MONEY. I COULD NOT RISK COMMITTING A NEW CRIME. I
COULD NOT GET ON ANY SHIP, I COULD NOT GET HOLD OF ANY DOCUMENTS,
AND SO THAT IS WHY I SAID TO RAGUL: 'O.K., I'LL MEET YOU IN MONROE.'
"AFTER HANDING THE CONTRABAND PACKAGES OVER TO DETROIT, RAY GOT
TWO SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS FROM RAGUL AND THE TELEPHONE
NUMBER OF A SECRET ADDRESS IN NEW ORLEANS. SUBSEQUENTLY, RAY SET
OUT FOR BIRMINGHAM.
"AFTER MEETING RAY IN BIRMINGHAM SEVERAL DAYS LATER, RAGUL
HANDS OVER TO HIM 3,000-THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS, PART OF WHICH HAD
PAGE 3 PENDING 13 UNCLAS
BEEN SET ASIDE FOR BUYING A "MUSTANG," IN WHICH RAY LATER CARRIED OUT
HIS TRIP AROUND THE UNITED STATES AND IN WHICH HE FLEW FROM MEMPHIS
ON 4 FOUR APRIL AFTER KING'S ASSASSINATION.

...I suppose," RAY WROTE, "THAT I WAS DRAGGED INTO THE PLOT TO
...WHL WINS WHEN I TOOK THE PACKAGES FROM CANADA TO THE UNITED
...STATES (21 TWENTY FIRST AUGUST 1967 NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN). IT
...SEEMS TO ME THAT THE QUESTION HAD ALREADY BEEN DECIDED BEFORE THE
...CAR WAS BOUGHT IN BIRMINGHAM, BECAUSE NOBODY WOULD HAVE GIVEN ME
...\$300 THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS JUST TO TAKE DRUGS ACROSS A BORDER.
...ON 5 FIVE OCTOBER RAY GOT A LETTER IN BIRMINGHAM FROM PAOL WITH
...A DEMAND FOR HIM TO BE AT THE BORDER BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
...MEXICO, FOR BRINGING ANOTHER BATCH OF CONTRABAND INTO MEXICO, AS
...PAOL HAD INSTRUCTED. RAY GOT 2,000 TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS FROM HIS
...PATRON. PAOL PROMISED TO HAND OVER DOCUMENTS AND 10,000 TWELVE
...THOUSAND DOLLARS TO RAY AT THEIR NEXT MEETING.
...RAY STAYED IN MEXICAN RESORTS UNTIL THE END OF NOVEMBER.

ON 15 FIFTEEN DECEMBER FOR THE NEXT MEETING WITH RAOU.

AS RAOU HANDED OVER 2,500 TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS TO RAY.

HE TOLD HIM THAT IN TWO OR THREE MONTHS' TIME THEY "WILL HAVE TO DO

PAGE 5 BUCLONE 15 UNCLAS

ANYTHING MORE." "WHEN I ASKED HIM WHAT IT WAS," RAY WRITES, "HE

OLD ME THAT I HAD PROMISED NOT TO ASK ANY QUESTIONS."

AT THE BEGINNING OF MARCH THIS YEAR A PLASTIC FACIAL SURGERY

OPERATION WAS CONDUCTED ON RAY IN LOS ANGELES. ON 15 FIFTEEN MARCH

RAOU GAVE RAY INSTRUCTIONS TO GO BY CAR TO SELMA. ON 22 TWENTY

5 MARCH RAY SIGNED INTO THE "FLAMINGO" HOTEL THERE. THIS HOTEL

ON EIGHTH PETTUS (AS TRANSLITERATED) BRIDGE, WHICH HAS PASSED INTO

THE HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS. MORE

00/12707 NOV

L297935 COPY TO UD, LIAISON

ONLY ADD L297929 MOSCOW RUD 22 NOV 65 P 5 L (GEVORGYAN REPORT) XXX

NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS.

(TEXT) SEVERAL YEARS AGO ON THIS BRIDGE SHERIFF JIM CLARK'S
SOLDIERS AND MOUNTED POLICE USED GAS ON THE COLUMNS OF THE FAMOUS
MARCH FROM SELMA TO MONTGOMERY IN DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF NEGROES
THEY BEAT THEM UP, TRAMPLED ON THEM, AND DISPERSED THEM. THIS
MARCH WAS LEADED BY MARTIN LUTHER KING.

ON THE EVENING BEFORE RAY ARRIVED IN SELMA, THE LOCAL NEWSPAPER
"THE TIMES JOURNAL," WROTE: "MARTIN LUTHER KING HAS AGAIN BEGUN A
CAMPAIGN IN ALABAMA TO MOBILIZE PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POOR
PEOPLE'S MARCH ON WASHINGTON.... KING AND HIS SUPPORTERS," THE
PAPER POINTED OUT, "ARRIVED YESTERDAY IN ALABAMA AFTER A TWO-DAY

DOCUMENT AS REFERRED TO EX-15

LINDEN, AND CAMDEN, AND AFTER THAT HE WILL FLY ON TO ATLANTA.....

ON 23 TWENTYTHREE MARCH JAMES EARL RAY LEFT SELMA FOR ATLANTA.

WITH THIS, HUGH FINISHES HIS ACCOUNT OF RAY'S CONFESSION. "THE CONTENTS OF THE PLAN TO MURDER KING," HUGH WRITES, "ARE BECOMING CLEAR TO ME. PERHAPS MY READERS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO FULLY UNDERSTAND IT, BECAUSE I AM UNABLE TO TELL EVERYTHING THAT HAS BECOME CLEAR TO ME IN IT AND THAT I HAVE FOUND OUT BY CHECKING THE FACTS, UNTIL RAY HAS BEEN TRIED." "ON THE BASIS OF MY OWN RESEARCH," HUGH CONTINUES, "I HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE PLAN WAS AS FOLLOWS: KING HAD TO BE MURDERED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR. THIS MURDER WAS THOUGHT UP NOT BY KING'S PERSONAL ENEMIES, BUT BY PEOPLE OF COLD REASON WHO WANTED TO USE THE MURDER TO IGNITE A SAVAGE WAR BETWEEN THE WHITE AND THE BLACKS."

"TOWARD 15 FIFTEEN MARCH," HUGH FURTHER WRITES, "THE CONSPIRACY

TO BE JUDGED. THE AMERICAN "TIMES" MAGAZINE CITES THE FOLLOWING

STATEMENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CRIMINAL WORLD IN MEMPHIS:

"RAY WILL NOT LIVE TO GET TO COURT, MARK MY WORDS--HE WILL NOT
GET TO THE STAND."

THE FUTURE WILL SHOW WHETHER THE WORLD WILL HEAR FROM THE LIPS

OF KING'S MURDERER ABOUT THE PEOPLE WHO PLOTTED AND CARRIED OUT THE

CONSPIRACY OF HATRED AGAINST THEIR OWN PEOPLE. THE FUTURE WILL SHOW

PAGE 3 RUDLDD 14 UNCLAS

WHETHER THE AMERICAN AUTHORITIES WILL MANAGE TO HIDE THE TRUTH

ABOUT THIS OMINOUS CONSPIRACY. ENDALL

29/0957Z NOV

BT

TASS REPORTS JAMES EARL RAY SENTENCING

Moscow TASS International Service in English 1115 GMT 11 Mar 69 L

[Text] New York March 11 TASS--James Ray who assassinated Martin Luther King has been sentenced to a 99 year prison term. The trial was held in Memphis, Tennessee, where Martin Luther King, leader of the Negro movement of the United States, was killed almost a year ago. Ray pleaded guilty to the charge of murdering Martin Luther King.

According to the press, all the trial was a kind of a "deal" between the prosecution and the defense. Their aim was to save Ray from the death penalty. It has been officially announced at the trial that only one man was involved in the assassination of Martin Luther King. The authorities, thus, disregarded the opinion of many representatives of the public that the Negro leader had fallen victim to a racist conspiracy.

USSR, CANADA SIGN JOINT RADIO-TV AGREEMENT

Moscow in English to Eastern North America 2200 GMT 11 Mar 69 L

[Text] The Soviet Union and Canada have signed an agreement in Montreal containing recommendations to expand cooperation in the sphere of radio broadcasting and television. The recommendations foresee a greater exchange of radio and television programs, as well as exchanges of creative workers for joint program production.

TEXT OF JOINT SOVIET-URUGUAYAN COMMUNIQUE

Moscow IZVESTIYA 7 Mar 69 pp 1, 2 L

[Text] From 27 February through 4 March 1969 a Uruguayan Government delegation led by Chairman of the General Assembly of the Republic of Uruguay Alberto Abdala paid an official visit to the USSR. Among the delegation were: delegation deputy leader and Deputy Director General of the Uruguayan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Joaquín Costanzo; Ambassador Denis Barreiro; and acting Uruguay chargé d'affaires in the USSR R. Piris [transliterated].

Vice President A. Abdala was received by Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium N. S. Podgornyy and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers A. N. Kosygin, and he paid a visit to Deputy Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium N. A. Iskhendrov and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union I. V. Spiridonov. The vice president laid wreaths at the Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Talks took place between the Soviet and the Uruguayan sides in which the Soviet side was represented by USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Deputy Chairman N. A. Iskhendrov; Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers V. K. Novikov; USSR Minister of Fish Industry M. A. Iskhov; USSR Minister of Power and Electrification P. S. Popovchukiy; USSR First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade R. K. Kuznetsov; USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs N. M. Chirbasov; USSR Ambassador to the Republic of Uruguay V. K. Kolesnikov; and USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs collegium member N. A. Zhukov.

The talks, which took place in a friendly atmosphere and a spirit of mutual understanding, discussed questions of Soviet-Uruguayan relations.

24 April 1968

(b)(3)

MEMORANDUM FOR: [REDACTED]
ATTENTION : [REDACTED]
SUBJECT : Identikit Composite of James Earl Ray

(b)(3)

1. In response to your request of 20 April 1968, an Identikit composite of the subject was completed on that date, and the coded information was communicated to you for dissemination. The composite was assembled by the undersigned with the cooperation of Mr. [REDACTED] of this office.

(b)(3)

2. We are forwarding, for your information, a copy of the composite, along with the photographs and list of stations received from your office.

[REDACTED]
ISD/

(b)(3)

Attachment: (1 env., h/w)
As stated.

Distribution:
Original & 1 - Addressee (w/Att.)

[REDACTED]

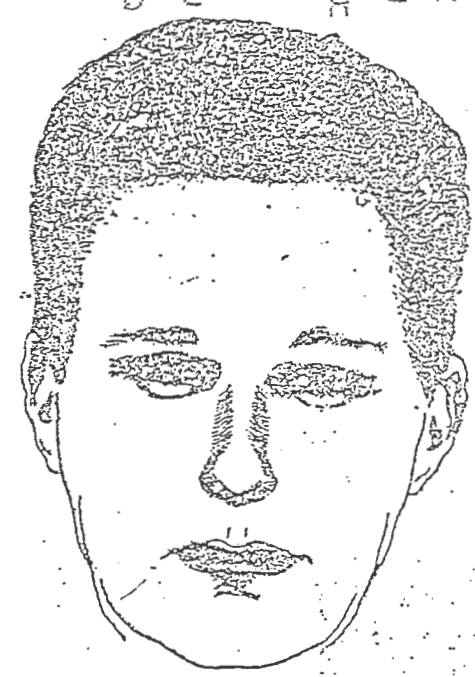
(b)(3)

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

82 C 23 32 35
D E H L N



H C H
33 27 37 23
D H
82 37

E50 C32x2 E31 D32 H35x2 L28x2

Photograph shows left ear stands away from head in pronounced manner, should be noted eyes were drawn in since they were closed when photograph was taken. According to description subject is 5'10" tall, weighing from 163 to 174 pounds. Subject is said to have a small scar on forehead, exact location not stated, another scar on palm of right hand.

notarial

H.W. , Plaintiff

Civil Action no. 77-1997

CIA.

Affidavit - Francis J. J. J.

Signatures - J. Mc Knight
for copying

(S-1)

Apr 1965

SUBJECT: King, Martin Luther, Jr. - 353062

1. Subject's departure from the United States enroute to the Nobel Prize award presentation ceremony was not covered in the the Washington Post, Washington Star, New York Times, New York Post, Philadelphia Enquirer, New York Herald Tribune, New York World Telegram, the Worker, National Guardian or Peoples World. Later stories indicate that he always split his traveling group into two groups who travel separately. (for security?)

2. The London papers first report on his arrival there on 7 December 1964. They indicate he arrived in England on Saturday 5 December. (New York papers for the 5th state that he retired to his rooms in New York "totally exhausted," but nothing more.

3. All papers indicated, except the latter three CP papers, covered the Nobel award in issues of either the 10th (the day of the award) or the 11th. Several printed summaries the following Sunday. Most were AP or UPI stories which gave no information other than the ceremonies and the text of the acceptance speech.

4. There are no coverage in the above papers for the 10th, 11th, or 12th which shed light on his other activities. However, Newsweek, 21 December 1964, reported:

"Although King was suffering from a London cold, he stayed up until 2:30 a.m. that night, celebrating an aide's birthday with a party, a cake, and psalm singing. The next day, while his entourage saw the sights of Oslo; he stayed in his hotel room, writing his acceptance speech and taping television and radio interviews. The next morning...received the prize." Time only reported the text of his acceptance speech. U.S. News and World Report and Washington World neglected it altogether.

Norwegian

5. As an indicator of where he possibly stayed, the following is quoted from an apparent press conference held in Oslo, Norway on 10 December, as reported in Norwegian in the Aftenposten, Oslo, : "sam deltok i dr. Martin Luther King's presskonferanse i bankettsalen på Grand igår."

6. With reference to those in his party, the New York Times of 11 December reported "Among those in the party of 30 accompanying Dr. King to Europe were his father and mother, Mrs. and Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr., from Atlanta, Ga.; a sister, Mrs. Christine Farris, and a brother, the Reverend A.D. King of Birmingham, Alabama." The New York Times of the 12th states, "Dr. King and his party of 30 will leave for Stockholm tomorrow, stopping in Copenhagen and Paris before returning to New York and finally Atlanta." Another press item in the same paper indicated "Mrs. Ralph D. Abernathy, the wife of Dr. King's associate, who was hospitalized yesterday with nervous exhaustion was expected to be well enough to travel tomorrow." The 21 December 1964 Newsweek article included "To share his moment of triumph, Dr. King had brought with him the largest entourage in Nobel Prize history--some 26 relatives, friends, and aides..." This last article continued, without giving names, to indicate the financial sacrifices of some of those in the party. The Oslo Aftenposten press conference report prefaced questions with "Pressekonferansen begynte med at en av King's sekretærer presenterte selskapet: Dr. Abernathy..., Mr. Bayard Rustin."

Nobel prize is awarded Oslo, Norway. Whether awarded in the 11th or 12th.

ROSTIN

(S-2)

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

DR. JOHN C. BENNETT DR. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER RABBI ABRAHAM HESCHER

Speak
on the war
in
Vietnam

On the occasion of the naming of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as a co-Chairman of this Committee, and because of widespread interest in the subject of the war in Vietnam, as a public service we have reprinted several addresses and statements of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and of other distinguished Americans.

The addresses of Dr. King in Los Angeles and at Riverside Church in New York, have been selected from among many he has delivered on the subject because the Los Angeles address concerns the many casualties which the Vietnam war has inflicted on America, whereas the Riverside Church address reflects an effort by Dr. King, in the spirit of nonviolence, to see this war through the eyes of those who are our adversaries despite his disagreement with their philosophies.

Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam is a national committee of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergy and laymen which was formed in December 1965. We have come together on an ad hoc basis in opposition to the role our Government has played, particularly in its military involvement, in recent Vietnam history.

We feel that a time comes when silence is betrayal. That time has come for us in relation to Vietnam. As members of American churches and synagogues, we voice not only our own convictions, but seek also to articulate the unexpressed fears and longings of millions of Americans.

Our share of responsibility haunts us today and prompts our outcry. We confess that we should have spoken out sooner and with clearer voice. Our allegiance to our nation is held under a higher allegiance to the God who is sovereign over all nations. Each day we find allegiance to our nation's policy more difficult to reconcile with allegiance to our God.

We speak in full awareness that no easy answers are available. But we believe that issues must be pressed and questions forced, if new answers are to be forthcoming. For the old answers no longer satisfy us.

a foreword by
**DR. REINHOLD
NIEBUHR**

I am happy and honored in being asked to write a foreword for the significant volume which contains the four eloquent addresses delivered at the Riverside Church mass meeting sponsored by the committee of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam.

My illness prevented me from attending the meeting, but I am deeply persuaded by its concern about our bloody, costly and essentially futile involvement in a civil war in Vietnam. Some of our citizens regard our involvement as an expression of our sense of responsibility, but we are among those who regard it as an example of the "illusion of American omnipotence."

We are quite certain that the churches are not the only source of discontent. All university centers have expressed dissidence and so have the journalists. It is difficult to make criticism of a war in which so many patriotic emotions are involved. But we think it must be done; and we hope the churches now will make a common cause of this undertaking.

I will not write of the four memorable addresses made by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Prof. Henry Steele Commager, of Amherst College, Dr. John C. Bennett, President of the Union Theological Seminary, and Dr. Abraham Heschel, Professor of Ethics, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. But I must say a word about Dr. King's opening remarks because they have been the subject of controversy and misunderstanding ever since they were delivered.

We quite appreciate that some of the civil rights leaders have disassociated themselves from Dr. King's opposition to the Vietnam war, in part because of fear that the civil rights movement itself will be confused by this opposition view. Dr. King knows this to be a hazard. But after all he is one of the great religious leaders of our time and he has a right to speak on any issue which concerns mankind. These two causes are interrelated not by reason of Dr. King's championing of them. Both causes must be pursued. Let us simply say that Dr. King has the right and a duty, as both a religious and civil rights leader, to express his concern in these days about such a major human problem as the Vietnam war.

The second concern is about Dr. King's position on nonviolent resistance to evil. Many of the journals and the public have confused his position with absolute pacifism, which they reject. I think, as a rather dedicated anti-pacifist, that Dr. King's conception of the nonviolent resistance to evil is a real contribution to our civil, moral and political life.

We hope therefore that this volume will have a wide reading among thoughtful persons of our churches, of our schools, and of the entire land.

April 11, 1967

Reinhold Niebuhr

An address by
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
The Nation Institute
Los Angeles, California
February 25, 1967

THE CASUALTIES OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM

I would like to speak to you candidly and forthrightly this afternoon about our present involvement in Viet Nam. I have chosen as a subject, "The Casualties of the War in Vietnam." We are all aware of the nightmarish physical casualties. We see them in our living rooms in all of their tragic dimensions on television screens, and we read about them on our subway and bus rides in daily newspaper-accounts. We see the rice fields of a small Asian country being trampled at will and burned at whim; we see grief-stricken mothers with crying babies clutched in their arms as they watch their little huts burst forth into flames; we see the fields and valleys of battle being painted with humankind's blood; we see the broken bodies left prostrate in countless fields; we see young men being sent home half-men—physically handicapped and mentally deranged. Most tragic of all is the casualty list among children; so many Vietnamese children have been mutilated and incinerated by napalm and by bombs. A war in which children are incinerated, in which American soldiers die in mounting numbers is a war that mutilates the conscience. *These casualties are enough to cause all men to rise up with righteous indignation and oppose the very nature of this war.*

But the physical casualties of the war in Vietnam are not alone the catastrophies. The casualties of principles and values are equally disastrous and injurious. Indeed, they are ultimately more harmful because they are self-perpetuating. If the casualties of principle are not healed, the physical casualties will continue to mount.

One of the first casualties of the war in Vietnam was the Charter of the United Nations. In taking armed action against the Vietcong and North Vietnam, the United States

clearly violated the United Nations charter which provides, in Chapter I, Article II (4)

All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

and in Chapter VII, (39)

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, and shall make recommendations or shall decide what measures shall be taken . . . to maintain or restore international peace and security.

It is very obvious that our government blatantly violated its obligation under the charter of the United Nations to submit to the Security Council its charge of aggression against North Vietnam. Instead we unilaterally launched an all-out war on Asian soil. In the process we have undermined the purpose of the United Nations and caused its effectiveness to atrophy. We have also placed our nation in the position of being morally and politically isolated. Even the long standing allies of our nation have adamantly refused to join our government in this ugly war. As Americans and lovers of Democracy we should carefully ponder the consequences of our nation's declining moral status in the world.

The second casualty of the war in Vietnam is the principle of self-determination. By entering a war that is little more than a domestic civil war, America has ended up supporting a new form of colonialism covered up by certain niceties of complexity. Whether we realize it or not our participation in the war in Vietnam is an ominous expres-

sion of our lack of sympathy for the oppressed, our paranoid anti-Communism, our failure to feel the ache and anguish of the have nots. It reveals our willingness to continue participating in neo-colonialist adventures.

A brief look at the background and history of this war reveals with brutal clarity the ugliness of our policy. The Vietnamese people proclaimed their own independence in 1945 after a combined French and Japanese occupation, and before the Communist revolution in China. They were led by the now well-known Ho Chi Minh. Even though they quoted the American Declaration of Independence in their own document of freedom, we refused to recognize them. Instead, we decided to support France in its reconquest of her former colony. With that tragic decision we rejected a revolutionary government seeking self-determination, and a government that had been established not by China (for whom the Vietnamese have no great love) but by clearly indigenous forces that included some Communists.

For nine years following 1945 we denied the people of Vietnam the right to independence. For nine years we financially supported the French in their abortive effort to re-colonize Vietnam. Before the end of the war we were meeting 80% of the French war costs. Even before the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, they began to despair of their reckless action, but we did not. We encouraged them with our huge financial and military supplies to continue the war even after they had lost the will.

When a negotiated settlement of the war was reached in 1954, through the Geneva Accord, it was done against our will. After doing all that we could to sabotage the planning for the Geneva Accord, we finally refused to sign it.

Soon after this we helped install Ngo Dinh Diem. We supported him in his betrayal of the Geneva Accord and his refusal to have the promised 1956 elections. We watched with approval as he engaged in ruthless and bloody persecution of all opposition forces. When Diem's infamous actions finally led to the formation of The National Liberation Front, the American public was duped into believing that the civil rebellion was being waged by puppets from Hanoi. As Douglas Pike wrote: "In horror, Americans helplessly watched Diem tear apart the fabric of Vietnamese society more effectively than the Communists had ever been able to do it. It was the most efficient act of his entire career."

Since Diem's death we have actively supported military dictatorships all in the name of fighting for freedom. When

it became evident that these regimes could not defeat the Vietcong, we began to steadily increase our forces, calling them "military advisers" rather than fighting soldiers.

Today we are fighting an all-out war—undeclared by Congress. We have well over 500,000 American servicemen fighting in that benighted and unhappy country. American planes based in other countries are bombing the territory of their neighbor.

The greatest irony and tragedy of all is that our nation which initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world, is now cast in the mold of being an arch anti-revolutionary. We are engaged in a war that seeks to turn the clock of history back and perpetuate white colonialism.

A third casualty of the war in Vietnam is the Great Society. This confused war has played havoc with our domestic destinies. Despite feeble protestations to the contrary, the promises of the Great Society have been shot down on the battlefield of Vietnam. The pursuit of this widened war has narrowed domestic welfare programs, making the poor, white and Negro, bear the heaviest burdens both at the front and at home.

While the anti-poverty program is cautiously initiated and zealously supervised, billions are liberally expended for this ill-considered war. The recently revealed misestimate of the war budget amounts to ten billions of dollars for a single year. This error alone is more than five times the amount committed to anti-poverty programs. The security we profess to seek in foreign adventures we will lose in our decaying cities. The bombs in Viet Nam explode at home: they destroy the hopes and possibilities for a decent America.

If we reversed investments and gave the armed forces the antipoverty budget, the generals could be forgiven if they walked off the battlefield in disgust. Poverty, urban problems and social progress generally are ignored when the guns of war become a national obsession.

It is estimated that we spend \$322,000 for each enemy we kill, while we spend in the so-called war on poverty in America only about \$53.00 for each person classified as "poor." And much of that 53 dollars goes for salaries of people who are not poor. We have escalated the war in Vietnam and de-escalated the skirmish against poverty. It challenges the imagination to contemplate what lives we could transform if we were to cease killing.

At this moment in history it is irrefutable that our world

prestige is pathetically frail. Our war policy excites pronounced contempt and aversion virtually everywhere. Even when some national governments, for reasons of economic and diplomatic interest do not condemn us, their people in surprising measure have made clear they do not share the official policy.

Another casualty of the war in Vietnam is the humility of our nation. Through rugged determination, scientific and technological progress and dazzling achievements, America has become the richest and most powerful nation in the world. But honesty impels me to admit that our power has often made us arrogant. We feel that our money can do anything. We arrogantly feel that we have everything to teach other nations and nothing to learn from them. We often arrogantly feel that we have some divine, messianic mission to police the whole world. We are arrogant in not allowing young nations to go through the same growing pains, turbulence and revolution that characterized our history. We are arrogant in our contention that we have some sacred mission to protect people from totalitarian rule, while we make little use of our power to end the evils of South Africa and Rhodesia, and while we are in fact supporting dictatorships with guns and money under the guise of fighting Communism.

We are arrogant in professing to be concerned about the freedom of foreign nations while not setting our own house in order. Many of our Senators and Congressmen vote joyously to appropriate billions of dollars for war in Vietnam, and these same Senators and Congressmen vote loudly against a Fair Housing Bill to make it possible for a Negro veteran of Vietnam to purchase a decent home. We arm Negro soldiers to kill on foreign battlefields, but offer little protection for their relatives from beatings and killings in our own south. We are willing to make the Negro 100% of a citizen in warfare, but reduce him to 50% of a citizen on American soil. Of all the good things in life the Negro has approximately one half those of whites, of the bad he has twice that of whites. Thus, half of all Negroes live in substandard housing and Negroes have half the income of whites. When we turn to the negative experiences of life, the Negro has a double share. There are twice as many unemployed. The infant mortality rate is double that of whites. There are twice as many Negroes in combat in Vietnam at the beginning of 1967 and twice as many Negro soldiers died in action (20.6%) in proportion to their numbers in the population as whites.

All of this reveals that our nation has not yet used its vast resources of power to end the long night of poverty,

racism and man's inhumanity to man. Enlarged power means enlarged peril if there is not concomitant growth of the soul. Constructive power is the right use of strength. Our arrogance can be our doom. It can bring the curtain down on our national drama. Ultimately a great nation is a compassionate nation. We are challenged in these turbulent days to use our power to speed up the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain."

A fifth casualty of the war in Vietnam is the principle of dissent. An ugly repressive sentiment to silence peace-seekers depicts advocates of immediate negotiation and persons who call for a cessation of bombings in the north as quasi-traitors, fools and venal enemies of our soldiers and institutions. When those who stand for peace are so vilified it is time to consider where we are going and whether free speech has not become one of the major casualties of the war.

Curtailed free speech is rationalized on grounds that American tradition forbids criticism of our government when the nation is at war. More than a century ago when we were in a declared state of war with Mexico, a first term congressman by the name of Abraham Lincoln stood in the halls of Congress and fearlessly and scathingly denounced that war. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois had not heard of this tradition or he was not inclined to respect it. Nor had Thoreau and Emerson and many other philosophers who shaped our democratic traditions.

A sixth casualty of the war in Vietnam is the prospect of mankind's survival. This war has created the climate for greater armament and further expansion of destructive nuclear power.

One of the most persistent ambiguities that we face is that everybody talks about peace as a goal. However, it does not take sharpest-eyed sophistication to discern that while everybody talks about peace, peace has become practically nobody's business among the power-wielders. Many men cry peace! peace! but they refuse to do the things that make for peace.

The large power blocs of the world talk passionately of pursuing peace while burgeoning defense budgets bulge, enlarging already awesome armies, and devising even more devastating weapons. Call the roll of those who sing the glad tidings of peace and one's ears will be surprised by the responding sounds. The heads of all of the nations

issue clarion calls for peace yet these destiny determiners come accompanied by a band and a brigand of national choristers, each bearing unsheathed swords rather than olive branches.

So when I see in this day the leaders of nations talking peace while preparing for war, I take frightful pause. When I see our country today intervening in what is basically a civil war, destroying hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese children with napalm, leaving broken bodies in countless fields and sending home half-men, mutilated, mentally and physically; when I see the recalcitrant unwillingness of our government to create the atmosphere for a negotiated settlement of this awful conflict by halting bombings in the north and agreeing to talk with the Vietcong—and all this in the name of pursuing the goal of peace—I tremble for our world. I do so not only from dire recall of the nightmares wreaked in the wars of yesterday, but also from dreadful realization of today's possible nuclear destructiveness, and tomorrow's even more damnable prospects.

The past is prophetic in that it asserts loudly that wars are poor chisels for carving out peaceful tomorrows. One day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal that we seek, but a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means. How much longer must we play at deadly war games before we heed the plaintive pleas of the unnumbered dead and maimed of past wars?

President John F. Kennedy said on one occasion, "Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind." Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete. There may have been a time when war served as a negative good by preventing the spread and growth of an evil force, but the destructive power of modern weapons eliminates even the possibility that war may serve as a negative good. If we assume that life is worth living and that man has a right to survive, then we must find an alternative to war. In a day when vehicles hurtle through outer space and guided ballistic missiles carve highways of death through the stratosphere, no nation can claim victory in war. A so-called limited war will leave little more than a calamitous legacy of human suffering, political turmoil, and spiritual disillusionment. A world war—God forbid!—will leave only smouldering ashes as a mute testimony of a human race whose folly led inexorably to ultimate death. So if modern man continues to flirt unhesitatingly with war, he will transform his earthly habitat into an inferno such as even the mind of Dante could not imagine.

Let me say finally that I oppose the war in Vietnam because I love America. I speak out against it not in anger but with anxiety and sorrow in my heart, and above all with a passionate desire to see our beloved country stand as the moral example of the world. I speak out against this war because I am disappointed with America. There can be no great disappointment where there is no great love. I am disappointed with our failure to deal positively and forthrightly with the triple evils of racism, extreme materialism and militarism. We are presently moving down a dead-end road that can lead to national disaster.

It is time for all people of conscience to call upon America to return to her true home of brotherhood and peaceful pursuits. We cannot remain silent as our nation engages in one of history's most cruel and senseless wars. During these days of human travail we must encourage creative dissenters. We need them because the thunder of their fearless voices will be the only sound stronger than the blasts of bombs and the clamour of war hysteria.

Those of us who love peace must organize as effectively as the war hawks. As they spread the propaganda of war we must spread the propaganda of peace. We must combine the fervor of the civil rights movement with the peace movement. We must demonstrate, teach and preach, until the very foundations of our nation are shaken. We must work unceasingly to lift this nation that we love to a higher destiny, to a new plateau of compassion, to a more noble expression of humane-ness.

I have tried to be honest. To be honest is to confront the truth. To be honest is to realize that the ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of convenience and moments of comfort, but where he stands in moments of challenge and moments of controversy. However unpleasant and inconvenient the truth may be, I believe we must expose and face it if we are to achieve a better quality of American life.

Just the other day, the distinguished American historian, Henry Steele Commager, told a Senate Committee: "Justice Holmes used to say that the first lesson a judge had to learn was that he was not God... we do tend perhaps more than other nations, to transform our wars into crusades... our current involvement in Vietnam is cast, increasingly, into a moral mold... It is my feeling that we do not have the resources, material, intellectual or moral, to be at once an American power, a European power and an Asian power."

I agree with Mr. Commager. And I would suggest that there is, however, another kind of power that America can and should be. It is a moral power, a power harnessed to the service of peace and human beings, not an inhumane power unleashed against defenseless people. All the world knows that America is a great military power. We need not be diligent in seeking to prove it. We must now show the world our moral power. We still have a choice today: nonviolent co-existence or

violent co-annihilation. History will record the choice we made. It is still not too late to make the proper choice. If we decide to become a moral power we will be able to transform the jangling discords of this world into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. If we make the wise decision we will be able to transform our pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of peace. This will be a glorious day. In reaching it we can fulfill the noblest of American dreams.

Addresses given at Riverside Church Meeting, New York City, Tuesday April 4, 1967
Sponsored by: CLERGY AND LAYMEN CONCERNED ABOUT VIETNAM

BEYOND VIETNAM

I come to this magnificent house of worship tonight because my conscience leaves me no other choice. I join you in this meeting because I am in deepest agreement with the aims and work of the organization which has brought us together: Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. The recent statement of your executive committee are the sentiments of my own heart and I found myself in full accord when I read its opening lines: "A time comes when silence is betrayal." That time has come for us in relation to Vietnam.

The truth of these words is beyond doubt, but the mission to which they call us is a most difficult one. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war. Nor does the human spirit move without great difficulty against all the apathy of conformist thought within one's own bosom and in the surrounding world. Moreover when the issues at hand seem as perplexing as they often do in the case of this dreadful conflict we are always on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty; but we must move on.

Some of us who have already begun to break the silence of the night have found that the calling to speak is often a vocation of agony, but we must speak. We must speak with all the humility that is appropriate to our limited vision, but we must speak. And we must rejoice as well, for surely this is the first time in our nation's history that a significant number of its religious leaders have chosen to move beyond the prophesying of smooth patriotism to the high grounds of a firm dissent based upon the mandates of conscience and the reading of history. Perhaps a new spirit is rising among us. If it is, let us trace

its movements well and pray that our own inner being may be sensitive to its guidance, for we are deeply in need of a new way beyond the darkness that seems so close around us.

Over the past two years, as I have moved to break the betrayal of my own silences and to speak from the burnings of my own heart, as I have called for radical departures from the destruction of Vietnam, many persons have questioned me about the wisdom of my path. At the heart of their concerns this query has often loomed large and loud: Why are you speaking about the war, Dr. King? Why are you joining the voices of dissent? Peace and civil rights don't mix, they say. Aren't you hurting the cause of your people, they ask? And when I hear them, though I often understand the sources of their concern, I am nevertheless greatly saddened, for such questions mean that the inquirers have not really known me, my commitment or my calling. Indeed, their questions suggest that they do not know the world in which they live.

In the light of such tragic misunderstanding, I deem it of signal importance to try to state clearly, and I trust concisely, why I believe that the path from Dexter Avenue Baptist Church — the church in Montgomery, Alabama where I began my pastorate — leads clearly to this sanctuary tonight.

I come to this platform tonight to make a passionate plea to my beloved nation. This speech is not addressed to Hanoi or to the National Liberation Front. It is not addressed to China or to Russia.

Nor is it an attempt to overlook the ambiguity of the total situation and the need for a collective solution to

the tragedy of Vietnam. Neither is it an attempt to make North Vietnam or the National Liberation Front paragons of virtue, nor to overlook the role they can play in a successful resolution of the problem. While they both may have justifiable reason to be suspicious of the good faith of the United States, life and history give eloquent testimony to the fact that conflicts are never resolved without trustful give and take on both sides.

Tonight, however, I wish not to speak with Hanoi and the NLF, but rather to my fellow Americans who, with me, bear the greatest responsibility in ending a conflict that has exacted a heavy price on both continents.

Since I am a preacher by trade, I suppose it is not surprising that I have several reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision. There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I, and others, have been waging in America. A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor—both black and white—through the Poverty Program. There were experiments, hopes, new beginnings. Then came the build-up in Vietnam and I watched the program broken and eviscerated as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war, and I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demoniacal destructive suction tube. So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such.

Perhaps the more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia and East Harlem. So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village but we realize that they would never live on the same block in Detroit. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor.

My third reason moves to an even deeper level of

awareness, for it grows out of my experience in the ghettos of the north over the last three years—especially the last three summers. As I have walked among the desperate, rejected and angry young men I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through non-violent action. But they asked—and rightly so—what about Vietnam? They asked if our own nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today—my own government. For the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent.

For those who ask the question, "Aren't you a Civil Rights leader?" and thereby mean to exclude me from the movement for peace, I have this further answer. In 1957 when a group of us formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we chose as our motto: "To save the soul of America." We were convinced that we could not limit our vision to certain rights for black people, but instead affirmed the conviction that America would never be free or saved from itself unless the descendants of its slaves were loosed completely from the shackles they still wear. In a way we were agreeing with Langston Hughes, that black bard of Harlem, who had written earlier:

O, yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me,
And yet I swear this oath—
America will be!

Now, it should be incandescently clear that no one who has any concern for the integrity and life of America today can ignore the present war. If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read Vietnam. It can never be saved so long as it destroys the deepest hopes of men the world over. So it is that those of us who are yet determined that America will be are led down the path of protest and dissent, working for the health of our land.

As if the weight of such a commitment to the life and health of America were not enough, another burden of responsibility was placed upon me in 1964; and I cannot forget that the Nobel Prize for Peace was also a commis-

sion—a commission to work harder than I had ever worked before for "the brotherhood of man." This is a calling that takes me beyond national allegiances, but even if it were not present I would yet have to live with the meaning of my commitment to the ministry of Jesus Christ. To me the relationship of this ministry to the making of peace is so obvious that I sometimes marvel at those who ask me why I am speaking against the war. Could it be that they do not know that the good news was meant for all men—for communist and capitalist, for their children and ours, for black and for white, for revolutionary and conservative? Have they forgotten that my ministry is in obedience to the one who loved his enemies so fully that he died for them? What then can I say to the Vietcong or to Castro or to Mao as a faithful minister of this one? Can I threaten them with death or must I not share with them my life?

Finally, as I try to delineate for you and for myself the road that leads from Montgomery to this place I would have offered all that was most valid if I simply said that I must be true to my conviction that I share with all men the calling to be a son of the Living God. Beyond the calling of race or nation or creed is this vocation of sonship and brotherhood, and because I believe that the Father is deeply concerned especially for his suffering and helpless and outcast children, I come tonight to speak for them.

This I believe to be the privilege and the burden of all of us who deem ourselves bound by allegiances and loyalties which are broader and deeper than nationalism and which go beyond our nation's self-defined goals and positions. We are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for victims of our nation and for those it calls enemy, for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers.

And as I ponder the madness of Vietnam and search within myself for ways to understand and respond in compassion my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula. I speak now not of the soldiers of each side, not of the junta in Saigon, but simply of the people who have been living under the curse of war for almost three continuous decades now. I think of them too because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution there until some attempt is made to know them and hear their broken cries.

They must see Americans as strange liberators. The Vietnamese people proclaimed their own independence in 1945 after a combined French and Japanese occupation, and before the communist revolution in China. They were led by Ho Chi Minh. Even though they quoted the Ameri-

can Declaration of Independence in their own document of freedom, we refused to recognize them. Instead, we decided to support France in its re-conquest of her former colony.

Our government felt then that the Vietnamese people were not "ready" for independence, and we again fell victim to the deadly western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere for so long. With that tragic decision we rejected a revolutionary government seeking self-determination, and a government that had been established not by China (for whom the Vietnamese have no great love) but by clearly indigenous forces that included some communists. For the peasants this new government meant real land reform, one of the most important needs in their lives.

For nine years following 1945 we denied the people of Vietnam the right of independence. For nine years we vigorously supported the French in their abortive effort to re-colonize Vietnam.

Before the end of the war we were meeting 80% of the French war costs. Even before the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, they began to despair of the reckless action, but we did not. We encouraged them with our huge financial and military supplies to continue the war even after they had lost the will. Soon we would be paying almost the full costs of this tragic attempt at re-colonization.

After the French were defeated it looked as if independence and land reform would come again through the Geneva agreements. But instead there came the United States, determined that Ho should not unify the temporarily divided nation, and the peasants watched again as we supported one of the most vicious modern dictators—our chosen man, Premier Diem. The peasants watched and cringed as Diem ruthlessly routed out all opposition, supported their extortionist landlords and refused even to discuss re-unification with the North. The peasants watched as all this was presided over by U.S. influence and then by increasing numbers of U.S. troops who came to help quell the insurgency that Diem's methods had aroused. When Diem was overthrown they may have been happy, but the long line of military dictatorships seemed to offer no real change—especially in terms of their need for land and peace.

The only change came from America as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept and without popular support. All the while the people read our leaflets and received regular promises of peace and democracy—and

land reform. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us—not their fellow Vietnamese—the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move or be destroyed by our bombs. So they go—primarily women and children and the aged.

They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals, with at least 20 casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.

What do the peasants think as we ally ourselves with the landlords and as we refuse to put any action into our many words concerning land reform? What do they think as we test out our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe? Where are the roots of the independent Vietnam we claim to be building? Is it among these voiceless ones?

We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing of the nation's only non-communist revolutionary political force—the unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men. What liberators!

Now there is little left to build on—save bitterness. Soon the only solid physical foundations remaining will be found at our military bases and in the concrete of the concentration camps we call fortified hamlets. The peasants may well wonder if we plan to build our new Vietnam on such grounds as these? Could we blame them for such thoughts? We must speak for them and raise the questions they cannot raise. These too are our brothers.

Perhaps the more difficult but no less necessary task is to speak for those who have been designated as our enemies. What of the National Liberation Front—that strangely anonymous group we call VC or Communists? What must they think of us in America when they realize that we permitted the repression and cruelty of Diem

which helped to bring them into being as a resistance group in the south? What do they think of our condoning the violence which led to their own taking up of arms? How can they believe in our integrity when now we speak of "aggression from the North" as if there were nothing more essential to the war? How can they trust us when now we charge them with violence after the murderous reign of Diem, and charge them with violence while we pour every new weapon of death into their land? Surely we must understand their feelings even if we do not condone their actions. Surely we must see that the men we supported pressed them to their violence. Surely we must see that our own computerized plans of destruction simply dwarf their greatest acts.

How do they judge us when our officials know that their membership is less than 25 per cent communist and yet insist on giving them the blanket name? What must they be thinking when they know that we are aware of their control of major sections of Vietnam and yet we appear ready to allow national elections in which this highly organized political parallel government will have no part? They ask how we can speak of free elections when the Saigon press is censored and controlled by the military junta. And they are surely right to wonder what kind of new government we plan to help form without them—the only party in real touch with the peasants. They question our political goals and they deny the reality of a peace settlement from which they will be excluded. Their questions are frighteningly relevant. Is our nation planning to build on political myth again and then shore it up with the power of new violence?

Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and non-violence when it helps us to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves. For from his view we may indeed see the basic weaknesses of our own condition, and if we are mature, we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition.

So, too, with Hanoi. In the North, where our bombs now pummel the land, and our mines endanger the waterways, we are met by a deep but understandable mistrust. To speak for them is to explain this lack of confidence in western words, and especially their distrust of American intentions now. In Hanoi are the men who led the nation to independence against the Japanese and the French, the men who sought membership in the French commonwealth and were betrayed by the weakness of Paris and the willfulness of the colonial armies. It was they who led a second struggle against French domination at tremen-

dous costs, and then were persuaded to give up the land they controlled between the 13th and 17th parallel as a temporary measure at Geneva. After 1954 they watched us conspire with Diem to prevent elections which would have surely brought Ho Chi Minh to power over a united Vietnam, and they realized they had been betrayed again.

When we ask why they do not leap to negotiate, these things must be remembered. Also it must be clear that the leaders of Hanoi considered the presence of American troops in support of the Diem regime to have been the initial military breach of the Geneva Agreements concerning foreign troops, and they remind us that they did not begin to send in any large number of supplies or men until American forces had moved into the tens of thousands.

Hanoi remembers how our leaders refused to tell us the truth about the earlier North Vietnamese overtures for peace, how we claimed that none existed when they had clearly been made. Ho Chi Minh has watched as America has spoken of peace and built up its forces, and now he has surely heard the increasing international rumors of American plans for an invasion of the North. Perhaps only his sense of humor and irony can save him when he hears the most powerful nation of the world speaking of his aggression as it drops thousands of bombs on a poor weak nation more than 8,000 miles away from its shores.

At this point I should make it clear that while I have tried in these last few minutes to give a voice to the voiceless on Vietnam and to understand the arguments of those who are called enemy, I am as deeply concerned about our own troops there as anything else. For it occurs to me that what we are submitting them to in Vietnam is not simply the brutalizing process that goes on in any war where armies face each other and seek to destroy. We are adding cynicism to the process of death, for they must know after a short period there that none of the things we claim to be fighting for are really involved. Before long they must know that their government has sent them into a struggle among Vietnamese, and the more sophisticated surely realize that we are on the side of the wealthy and the secure while we create a hell for the poor.

Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as an American to the

leaders of my own nation. The great initiative in this war is ours. The initiative to stop it must be ours.

This is the message of the great Buddhist leaders of Vietnam. Recently one of them wrote these words: "Each day the war goes on, the hatred increases in the heart of the Vietnamese and in the hearts of those of humanitarian instinct. The Americans are forcing even their friends into becoming their enemies. It is curious that the Americans, who calculate so carefully on the possibilities of military victory, do not realize that in the process they are incurring deep psychological and political defeat. The image of America will never again be the image of revolution, freedom and democracy, but the image of violence and militarism."

If we continue there will be no doubt in my mind and in the mind of the world that we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam. It will become clear that our minimal expectation is to occupy it as an American colony and men will not refrain from thinking that our maximum hope is to goad China into a war so that we may bomb her nuclear installations. If we do not stop our war against the people of Vietnam immediately the world will be left with no other alternative than to see this as some horribly clumsy and deadly game we have decided to play.

The world now demands a maturity of America that we may not be able to achieve. It demands that we admit that we have been wrong from the beginning of our adventure in Vietnam, that we have been detrimental to the life of the Vietnamese people.

In order to atone for our sins and errors in Vietnam, we should take the initiative in bringing a halt to this tragic war. I would like to suggest five concrete things that our government should do immediately to begin the long and difficult process of extricating ourselves from this nightmarish conflict:

1. End all bombing in North and South Vietnam.
2. Declare a unilateral cease-fire in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation.
3. Take immediate steps to prevent other battlegrounds in Southeast Asia by curtailing our military build-up in Thailand and our interference in Laos.
4. Realistically accept the fact that the National Liberation Front has substantial support in South Vietnam and must thereby play a role in any meaningful negotiations and in any future Vietnam government.
5. Set a date that we will remove all foreign troops from Vietnam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

Part of our ongoing commitment might well express itself in an offer to grant asylum to any Vietnamese who fears for his life under a new regime which included the Liberation Front. Then we must make what reparations we can for the damage we have done. We must provide the medical aid that is badly needed, making it available in this country if necessary.

Meanwhile we in the churches and synagogues have a continuing task while we urge our government to disengage itself from a disgraceful commitment. We must continue to raise our voices if our nation persists in its perverse ways in Vietnam. We must be prepared to match actions with words by seeking out every creative means of protest possible.

As we counsel young men concerning military service we must clarify for them our nation's role in Vietnam and challenge them with the alternative of conscientious objection. I am pleased to say that this is the path now being chosen by more than seventy students at my own Alma Mater, Morehouse College, and I recommend it to all who find the American course in Vietnam a dishonorable and unjust one. Moreover I would encourage all ministers of draft age to give up their ministerial exemptions and seek status as conscientious objectors. These are the times for real choices and not false ones. We are at the moment when our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive its own folly. Every man of humane convictions must decide on the protest that best suits his convictions, but we must all protest.

There is something seductively tempting about stopping there and sending us all off on what in some circles has become a popular crusade against the war in Vietnam. I say we must enter that struggle, but I wish to go on now to say something even more disturbing. The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality we will find ourselves organizing clergy and laymen-concerned committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy. Such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam, but not beyond our calling as sons of the living God.

In 1957 a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past 10 years we have

seen emerge a pattern of suppression which now has justified the presence of U.S. military "advisors" in Venezuela. This need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counter-revolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Colombia and why American napalm and green beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru. It is with such activity in mind that the words of the late John F. Kennedy come back to haunt us. Five years ago he said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable."

Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken—the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investment.

I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a "thing-oriented" society to a "person-oriented" society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

A true revolution of value will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. On the one hand we are called to play the Good Samaritan on life's roadside; but that will be only an initial act. One day we must come to see that the whole Jericho Road must be transformed so that men and women will not be constantly beaten and robbed as they make their journey on life's highway. True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar; it is not haphazard and superficial. It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs re-structuring. A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say: "This is not just." It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of Latin America and say: "This is not just." The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just. A true revolution of values will lay hands on the world order and say of war: "This way of settling differences is not just." This business of burning human beings

with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice, and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing, except a tragic death wish, to prevent us from re-ordering our priorities, so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war. There is nothing to keep us from molding a recalcitrant status-quo with bruised hands until we have fashioned it into a brotherhood.

This kind of positive revolution of values is our best defense against Communism. War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bombs or nuclear weapons. Let us not join those who shout war and through their misguided passions urge the United States to relinquish its participation in the United Nations. These are days which demand wise restraint and calm reasonableness. We must not call everyone a Communist or an appeaser who advocates the seating of Red China in the United Nations and who recognizes that hate and hysteria are not the final answers to the problem of these turbulent days. We must not engage in a negative anti-Communism, but rather in a positive thrust for democracy, realizing that our greatest defense against Communism is to take offensive action in behalf of justice. We must with positive action seek to remove those conditions of poverty, insecurity and injustice which are the fertile soil in which the seed of Communism grows and develops.

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression and out of the wombs of a frail world new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. "The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light." We in the West must support these revolutions. It is a sad fact that, because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of Communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch anti-revolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has the revolutionary spirit. Therefore, Communism is a judgment against our failure to make democracy real and follow through on the

revolutions that we initiated. Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism. With this powerful commitment we shall boldly challenge the status-quo and unjust mores and thereby speed the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain."

A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies.

This call for a world-wide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all men. This oft misunderstood and misinterpreted concept so readily dismissed by the Nietzsches of the world as a weak and cowardly force—has now become an absolute necessity for the survival of man. When I speak of love I am not speaking of some sentimental and weak response. I am speaking of that force which all of the great religions have seen as the supreme unifying principle of life. Love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality. This Hindu-Moslem-Christian-Jewish-Buddhist belief about ultimate reality is beautifully summed up in the first epistle of Saint John:

Let us love one another; for love is God and everyone that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us.

Let us hope that this spirit will become the order of the day. We can no longer afford to worship the God of Hate or bow before the altar of retaliation. The oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever-rising tides of hate. History is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursued this self-defeating path of hate. As Arnold Toynbee says: "Love is the ultimate force that makes for the saving choice of life and good against the damning choice of death and evil. Therefore the first hope in our inventory must be the hope that love is going to have the last word."

We are now faced with the fact that tomorrow is today. We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. In this unfolding conundrum of life and history there is such a thing as being too late. Procrastination is still the thief of time. Life often leaves us standing bare, naked and dejected with a lost opportunity. The "tide in the affairs of

men" does not remain at the flood; it ebbs. We may cry out desperately for time to pause in her passage, but time is deaf to every plea and rushes on. Over the bleached bones and jumbled residue of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words: "Too late." There is an invisible book of life that faithfully records our vigilance or our neglect. "The moving finger writes, and having written moves on. . . ." We still have a choice today: non-violent co-existence or violent co-annihilation.

We must move past indecision to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice throughout the developing world—a world that borders on our doors. If we do not act we shall surely be dragged down the long dark and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight.

Now let us begin. Now let us re-dedicate ourselves to the long and bitter—but beautiful—struggle for a new world. This is the calling of the sons of God, and our brothers wait eagerly for our response. Shall we say the odds are too great? Shall we tell them the struggle is too hard? Will our message be that the forces of American life militate against their arrival as full men, and we send our deepest regrets? Or will there be another message, of longing, of hope, of solidarity with their yearnings, of commitment to their cause, whatever the cost? The choice is ours, and though we might prefer it otherwise we must choose in this crucial moment of human history.

DR. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
Professor of American History
at Amherst College

It is important to put our intervention in Vietnam—and in the whole of Southeast Asia—in historical perspective; important if we are to find our way out of the labyrinth into which we have wandered and in which we appear to be lost; important if we are to avoid involving ourselves in other and even larger catastrophes—catastrophes which would, needless to say, engulf much of the world.

Writing of that curious war which we waged against the Filipino rebels at the close of the century, a war we somehow prefer to forget, the poet William Vaughan Moody (It was in his "To a Soldier Fallen in The Philippines").

"Let him never dream that his bullet's scream
Went wide of its island mark
Home to the heart of his darling land
Where she stumbled and sinned in the dark."

Alas, it cannot even be said, in extenuation of this monstrous war in Vietnam, that we have merely stumbled and sinned in the dark. We have embarked upon this war with our eyes wide open. We know what we are about—or boast

that we do—and we are apparently proud of it. The Administration and its supporters not only fight this war with defiant determination, they are self-righteous about it and proclaim to an incredulous world that we are fighting the battle of freedom and of peace. Worse yet, we are prepared not only to justify and defend our conduct, we are prepared to rationalize it and generalize it, and to make it a central part of a larger and more ominous body of principles. Some of us, inclined to find excuses for the complexities facing the administration, regard the war as somehow an aberration, something into which we have indeed blundered without quite meaning to do so; something for which no one is really responsible because the escalation has been unplanned and imperceptible. But it is not that. We have used even that sorry excuse. We quite deliberately sabotaged the Geneva agreements calling for elections in South Vietnam and providing that the 17th parallel was but a temporary military line. We quite deliberately put up Diem and maintained him as long as we could, just as we deliberately put up and maintain and endure Premier Ky, endure him even when he repudiates our own policies. We quite deliberately stepped up the war, transformed advisors into soldiers, increased the soldiers from some ten thousand to a half a million, launched bombing raids upon the north on a scale as great as that in World War II against Germany or Japan.

And we have quite deliberately justified all of this not on ground of military necessity but on ground of far-reaching policy. It is this which is most ominous. It is this which is—unless we can somehow persuade the administration to change its course—it is this which is the shadow of things to come.

The war itself is a product of a body of political and historical miscalculations, of moral and psychological obsessions. It is the product of an obsession with Communism—we call it communist conspiracy just as the communists used to talk about capitalist conspiracies—something that is, therefore, not merely a rival political or economic system, but an ineradicable moral evil. Something that is not local and temporary, but permanent and universal: something that is not organic—like all other forms of government, and therefore subject to change, but monolithic and unchanging.

The war is a product of a gigantic miscalculation, or series of miscalculations: that the world, after 1945 was and would remain divided into two great blocs, one representing light and the other darkness, and that we—who represented the light—stood at Armageddon and battled for the Lord. This involved a second great miscalculation:

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

1. The first question is addressed to Dr. King. IF PRESENT AMERICAN POLICY DOES NOT CHANGE, WILL YOU ADVOCATE WHOLESAL RESISTANCE TO THE DRAFT, ESPECIALLY BY BLACK MEN, IN KEEPING WITH YOUR PHILOSOPHY OF NON-VIOLENCE? WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH A POLICY?

DR. KING:

As I said earlier in the speech, I think the time has come for those of us who feel that this war is immoral and unjust to advise young men of the alternative to the draft, which is to serve as conscientious objector. I think this will do a great deal to arouse the conscience of the nation on this whole situation, and certainly if the war is continually escalated I think this will be absolutely necessary. I must also point out that we are not only caught up in a situation where I feel we are wrong in Vietnam, but if there are not some changes in our national direction and character, we are going to be in several more wars like this. There are many potential Vietnams in Latin America, in Africa, and in other places in Asia. And the young men of our generation and other generations will continually confront this problem of going into armed service that is really serving as the counter-revolutionary force of the world. I think somewhere this has to stop, and that is why I have already advised many young men that I have talked with to serve as conscientious objectors. And if things continue to go on, it is something that won't only have to be advised, but many will do it anyway, as was quoted in Dr. Bennett's speech: college students have already started responding with the kind of disenchantment and the kind of dismay that causes many to say

that they will go to jail if it continues like this before they will fight in an unjust war. It is my conviction that we must do everything in our power to bring an end to this tragic conflict.

2. The next question is also addressed to Dr. King. WOULD YOU PLEASE COMMENT ON VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY'S POSITION THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR PEOPLE WHO CRITICIZE OUR BOMBING TO CONDEMN INSTEAD VIETCONG TERROR.

DR. KING:

Weil, let me say first that I am opposed to violence. I think that I have said that often enough now over these last twelve years so that people know my philosophy on that point. I happen to be a pacifist on this whole matter of war; I am not a self-righteous pacifist because I understand the moral dilemma of the non-pacifist, but I do think we have reached a stage where war can no longer serve as a negative good that it may have served against a tragically evil and sick force like Hitler. Because of the potential destructiveness of weapons of nuclear warfare, we have to find some alternative to war. I would advise everybody to seek this alternative—including the Vietcong. I don't want to give anybody the impression that I am saying that this is the best way for anybody. I would prefer that we would come to the day when we can deal with all of these problems around the peace table and through the U.N. and end the long night of war we have faced so long.

But I do think, as I tried to say in my talk, that there are many things that we have done that must be condemned with all of the might that we have, and I think

that there are some things that the Vietcong can say, if we only listen to them, to explain why they are acting as they are acting. I think, as I said earlier, that we initiated this. After all, the Vietcong only came into being during the period when Diem was reigning, at a time when Diem was resorting to oppressive and ruthless methods of dealing with his opposition. I think it is necessary for us to honestly say this. The Vietcong, as many have tried to say all along, did not represent forces coming from the North, but represented forces from the South—which certainly gained support as time went on from the North—but they were basically forces right there in the South seeking to overthrow a government that had proved to be unjust and committed to evil ends. This is why many of us say that this is basically a civil war, and the United States should not have been there in the beginning. So I am very sorry, but I have to disagree with our Vice President, and I must say very strongly that we who took the initiative in this war had ought to continue the initiative by stopping the bombings in the North and in the South.

DR. COMMAGER

I want merely to add a word, because this particular point, ladies and gentlemen, is raised all the time. President Johnson has raised it so it should be taken seriously. It is one of these arguments that comes up throughout history. As Dr. King well knows, the favorite argument of the slave owners in the South was a *Tu quoque* argument: they said, "What are you people talking about slavery for? How about your industrial workers? How about your sins?" Those guilty and aware of their guilt are always asking the rest of us to look somewhere else. We are saying, "Don't look at us—look at the Vietcong." But our morals are our affair. The Vietcong morals are their affair. Even if they are as guilty as Mr. Johnson and Mr. Humphrey think they are; that would not excuse a Christian people—a humane people—for their guilt in this matter. We ought not model our moral conduct on that of an Asiatic people or a foreign people or an enemy. It makes no difference how they conduct war. We do not conduct war or conduct diplomacy or conduct anything else on the lowest level that some other nation sets for us. We must square our conduct with our own morality. Not with the Vietcong.

3. There is a question addressed to Professor Commager. THERE IS WIDESPREAD ACCEPTANCE OF OUR GOVERNMENT'S CLAIM THAT WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE FOR PEACE, BUT HANOI DOES NOT WANT IT AND MUST BE PUNISHED ENOUGH TO ACCEPT IT.

WHAT ARE THE FACTS AS SEEN BY AN OBJECTIVE AUTHORITY SUCH AS YOURSELF?

DR. COMMAGER:

Even if I knew all the facts, I couldn't tell them in two or three minutes. This is a very large and complex story. On the surface it is quite preposterous to suppose that Hanoi does not want peace. Do you suppose that they welcome a bombing heavier than that which we poured on Japan and Germany? Is it to be supposed that they welcome the intrusion of a great Western power after fighting for ten years to get rid of France? They have made a number of overtures of one kind or another for negotiations. None of them have been found satisfactory to the administration because they do not carry that element of reciprocity that our government requires. Our government requires reciprocity not on any fair standards whatsoever. They say first, "If we stop bombing you must stop everything else." And they charge that when we have stopped the bombing, their infiltration (that is part of the corruption of language that is going on; we "land soldiers" but they "infiltrate," we "fight" but they "carry on terrorist tactics") goes right on. Our infiltration goes right on too, on a ten-fold larger scale than that of the North Vietnamese. What would we say if we were told to stop supplying our troops while negotiations went on? Now, of course the first thing to do is to stop the bombing. Then we can square off and see what other reciprocity may be called for. And I suspect some might.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the initiative for peace, as Dr. King said, must come from us. The initiative for war came from us. The initiative of power comes from us. We can afford to make any gestures. They can't.

There is one other thing, and I confess, ladies and gentlemen, that I am astonished at the lack of imagination on the part of people high in power. They expect Hanoi to come to the peace table under a rain of bombs. What would we have said had Churchill ceased supplying troops in the Mediterranean and Africa while the Nazis were bombing London? What would we have said had George Washington agreed to negotiate with the British while the British occupied New York? He didn't agree; he refused to talk to them. Churchill refused to deal with the Nazis while bombs were raining down on Britain. No proud, self-respecting people is going to come to the peace table while it is being bombed. And it is extraordinary that anyone with American traditions and experience should expect this and should require it. This is to require an act of subjugation. It is to require an act of humiliation that we have no right to impose on any other people.

INTERVIEW:
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
APPEARING IN
NEW YORK TIMES
APRIL 2, 1967

Q. Dr. King, in recent days you have become increasingly outspoken against the war in Vietnam. Why the increased opposition at this particular time?

A. Well, I would say there are at least three reasons why I felt compelled to take a stronger stand against the war in Vietnam. First, I feel this war is playing havoc with our domestic destinies. As long as the war in Vietnam goes on, the more difficult it will be to implement the programs that will deal with the economic and social problems that Negro people confront in our country and poor people generally.

So in a real sense, the Great Society has been shot down on the battlefields of Vietnam. I feel it is necessary to take a stand against it or at least arouse the conscience of the nation against it so that at least we can move more and more toward a negotiated settlement of that terrible conflict.

There is another reason why I feel compelled at this time to take a stand against the war and that is that the constant escalation of the war in Vietnam can lead to a grand war with China and to a kind of full world war that could mean the annihilation of the human race.

And I think those of us who are concerned about the survival of mankind, those of us who feel and know that mankind should survive must take a stand against this war because it is more than just a local conflict on Asian soil. It is a conflict that in a real sense affects the whole world and makes possible, at least brings into being the possibility of, the destruction of all mankind, so because of my concern for mankind and the survival of mankind, I feel the need to take a stand.

The other reason is I have preached nonviolence in the movement in our country, and I think it is very consistent for me to follow a nonviolent approach in international affairs. It would be very inconsistent for me to teach and preach nonviolence in this situation and then applaud violence when thousands and thousands of people, both adults and children, are being maimed and mutilated and many killed in this war, so that I still feel and live by the principle, "Thou shalt not kill."

And it is out of this moral commitment to dignity and the worth of human personality that I feel it is necessary to stand up against the war in Vietnam.

Rights Drive Migration

Q. In 1965, there was an influx of civil rights workers, mostly those identified with the more radical groups such as the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, into the peace movement. At that time I believe you condemned the war but kept your organizations and energies pretty well channeled in the civil rights movement.

Recently, one of your assistants, the Rev. James Bevel, moved full time into the peace movement and is now organizing a protest in New York April 15 in which he will participate. Do you foresee a mass migration from civil rights to the peace movement?

A. No. I don't think there will be a mass migration from the civil rights movement if by that you mean leaving civil rights. I think more and more of them will become involved in both kinds of programmatic action.

There are many Negroes who now feel the two problems, the two issues, are inextricably bound together and

that you can't really have freedom without justice, you can't have peace without justice, and you can't have justice without peace, so it is more of a realization of the inter-relatedness of racism and militarism and the need to attack both problems rather than leaving one.

Certainly we will continue to work in both areas, but I feel, and many others that I have talked to agree, that we are merely marking time in the civil rights movement if we do not take a stand against the war. The fact is that while it may be true technically and from a monetary point of view that you can have guns and butter, it is a fact of life that where your heart is there your money will go, and the heart of the Administration is in that war in Vietnam.

The heart of the Congress is in that war. As long as that is true, that is where the money will go, and I feel that we are in need of a radical reorientation of our national priorities. This war is keeping us to the point where we aren't really reordering things.

Q. If the war continues and worsens despite peaceful demonstrations against it in this country, do you think the peace movement should engage in civil disobedience of the kind the civil rights movement has used with some success in the past?

A. I have not yet gone that far. But I wouldn't say it won't be necessary. It depends on developments over the next few months. I feel like the United States must take the first steps, I mean the initiative, to create an atmosphere for negotiations. We are so much more powerful than Vietnam.

We are the greatest military power and we don't need to prove our military power. I think we are superbly well placed, equipped to take the initiative in this and create the atmosphere for negotiations by ceasing bombings and some of the other things we are doing. Now if our nation insists on escalating the war and if we don't see any changes it may be necessary to engage in civil disobedience to further arouse the conscience of the nation and make it clear we feel this is hurting our country.

And I might say this is another basic reason why I am involved and concerned. It is because I love America. I am not engaged in a hate America campaign. I would hope that the people of this country standing up against the war are standing up against it because they love America and because they want to see our great nation really stand up as the moral example of the world.

The fact is we have alienated ourselves from so much

of the world and have become morally and politically isolated as the result of our involvement in the war in Vietnam.

Peace Demonstrations

Q. Do you think civil rights organizations as such should join in peace demonstrations?

A. I would certainly say that individuals in the civil rights movement should join in peace demonstrations. I have to make a distinction at this point because of my own involvement, and that is I made a decision to become involved as an individual, as a clergyman, as one who is greatly concerned about peace.

S. C. L. C. as an organization has not yet become actively involved in the peace movement. There are many individuals in S.C.L.C. who are involved, but organizationally S.C.L.C. has backed me in all the decisions I have made and all the stands I have taken without becoming a peace organization.

Now this may be the way it will have to continue, but civil rights organizations will continue engaging in purely civil rights activities, leaving the way open for persons on staffs and persons on boards, and what have you, and the membership can, as individuals, feel free to participate.

I do feel that organizationally we are limited in terms of resources and energies in what we can do, and this means we probably will have to continue to give our prime time and work to civil rights activities through the civil rights organizations. But I as an individual will continue to stand up on the issue of peace and against the war in Vietnam.

Q. Dr. King, I understand you have been away for some time writing a new book and contemplating where to go from here. Did you reach any conclusions on where the civil rights movement is headed?

A. Well, I reached several conclusions which will be stated in the book. One of the things I tried to state in the first chapter is that for more than a decade we worked mainly to remove the stigma and humiliation of legal segregation. We have made some significant victories in this area. Many people in the nation, whites, joined in taking a stand against this kind of humiliation of the Negro.

But what we are faced with now is the fact that the struggle must be and actually is at this point a struggle for genuine equality. The struggle over the last 10 or 12 years has been a struggle for decency, a struggle to get rid of

extremist behavior towards Negroes, and I think we are moving into a period which is much more difficult because it is dealing with hard economic problems which will cost the nation something to solve.

It did not cost the nation anything to integrate lunch counters or public accommodations. It did not cost the nation anything to guarantee the right to vote. The problem is now in order—to end the long night of poverty and economic insecurity—it would mean billions of dollars. In order to end slums it would mean billions of dollars. In order to get rid of bad education, education devoid of poverty, it means lifting the educational level of the whole public school system, which would mean billions of dollars.

This, I feel, is much more difficult than the period we have gone through. There will be more resistance because it means the privileged groups will have to give up some of their billions. And I think the so-called white backlash is expressed right here.

It is a reaction to the demands that are presently being made by Negroes now demanding genuine equality, and not just integration of the lunch counters but an adequate wage; not just integration of the classrooms, but a decent sanitary house in which to live. It is much easier to integrate a restaurant than it is to demand an annual income. I think the growing debate is recognition of this difficulty.

The next conclusion I reached is that the great need in the Negro community and the civil rights movements is to organize the Negro community for the amassing of real political and economic power. The question now is not merely developing programs because we have put many programs on paper.

What is needed now is the undergirding power to bring about enough pressure so that these programs can become a reality, that they can become concretized in our everyday lives; not only under the legislative process but under all the processes necessary to make them real. This just means the hard job of organizing tenants, organizing welfare recipients, organizing the unemployed and the underemployed.

It is for this reason that I am recommending to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference that we begin to train more field organizers so that we can really go out and organize these people and thereby move into the area of political action. I think the Negro can improve his economic resources much more if these resources are pooled, and I intend to do much more in this area so that we can make an economic thrust.

Q. Dr. King, you have been called to the White House on many occasions to confer with the President about civil rights matters. Has your opposition to the war altered your relations in any way with President Johnson?

A. Not as far as I am concerned. I go to the White House when he invites me. I have followed a policy of being very honest with the President when he has consulted me about civil rights.

I have made it very clear to him why I have taken a stand against the war in Vietnam. I had a long talk with him on the telephone not too many months ago about this and made it clear to him I would be standing up against it even more. I am not centering this on President Johnson. I think there is collective guilt.

Civil Rights Bills

Four Presidents participated in some way leading us to the war in Vietnam. So I am not going to put it all on President Johnson. What I am concerned about now is that we end this nightmarish war and free our souls. I think that our souls are so terribly scarred now that as long as we are involved they get scarred more.

I will continue to be concerned, and if the President invites me to the White House on civil rights I will respond to it.

Q. What about the President's civil rights bills now before Congress? Are they relevant to today's problems?

A. They are all relevant to today's problems, but they are not adequate. One aspect of the inadequacy is the failure to call for immediacy.

The housing problem, I believe, is one of the greatest problems facing our nation. There is a no more dangerous trend than the constant growth of predominantly Negro central cities ringed by white suburbs. I think this is only inviting social disaster.

I don't see any answer to it but an open housing law that is vigorously enforced. The Administration's bill does not call this year for a housing bill that is immediately enforceable. It would take three years to become nationally and universally applicable.

I don't think that is recognition of the urgency, and there is so much urgency about it that the more we stall on it the more the ghetto intensifies, the more the frustrations of the ghetto will intensify, so I don't think it is adequate because it does not call for immediate implementation.

The legislation on the administration of justice is necessary and relevant because we know that in the South, Negroes and white civil rights workers are still being murdered and brutalized at whim, and trampled over at will and a lot of this happens because they think they can get by with it, because they feel they are aided and abetted by the law enforcement agencies in those particular areas.

Q. What in your opinion is the current state of race relations in this country? Have there been gains? Do you still have hope?

A. We have certainly made some gains. The greatest gain is that we have brought the issue out into the open so that nobody can say there isn't a race problem.

For years, many people deluded themselves and argued that the Negro was satisfied, that conditions were good. But now everybody knows that things aren't right and the Negro is not satisfied. We have exposed the injustices and brought the evils out in the open. This is probably the greatest achievement.

The other is a psychological achievement and many people overlook this, and that is the new sense of dignity, the new sense of manhood within the Negro himself. And I think this is probably the greatest victory, that the Negro has a new sense of dignity, a new sense of destiny, a new sense of self-respect as the result of the struggle over the last few years.

Also, we have made very significant legislative strides. The Civil Rights Bill of 1964 represented progress; the Voting Rights Bill of 1965 represented real progress. The problem is that these particular gains are legislative victories that did very little to rectify conditions facing millions of Negroes in the teeming ghettos of the North.

They rectified wrongs and evils in the South, but did very little to penetrate the lower depths of Negro deprivation in the North. Consequently, we do see worse slums today in many parts. The schools in the North are more segregated today than they were in 1954. And, as I said earlier, the Negroes' economic problem is at many points worse today because of Negro unemployment and growing gulfs between white and Negro income.

Now this tells us that we still have a long way to go. But I'm not one to lose faith in the future or lose hope because I think the minute you do that you defeat the force that makes a revolution powerful. A revolution cannot survive on despair. It always must move on a wave of rising expectations and the feeling that you can win.

The minute you begin to feel that you can't win, you begin to adopt a no-win policy and to develop a nihilistic approach. I refuse to engage in that kind of hopelessness.

I still believe that we have in this country forces of goodwill that can be mobilized and that can direct the condition of conscience that will finally bring about the day when racism is no longer at the center of our society.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Comments on NAACP Resolution April 12, 1967

I have lived and worked in ghettos throughout the nation, and I travel tens of thousands of miles each month which takes me into dozens of Northern and Southern Negro communities. My direct personal experience with Negroes in all walks of life convinces me that there is deep and widespread disenchantment with the war in Vietnam; first, because they are against war itself, and secondly, because they feel it has caused a significant and alarming diminishing of concern and attention to civil rights progress. I have held these views myself for a long time but I have spoken more frequently in the recent period because Negroes in so many circles have explicitly urged me to articulate their concern and frustration. They feel civil rights is well on its way to becoming a neglected and forgotten issue long before it is even partially solved.

Recently, a myth about my views on Vietnam has confused these clear issues. The myth credits me with advocating the fusion of the civil rights and peace movements and I am criticized for authoring such a "serious tactical mistake."

I hold no such view. Only a few weeks ago in a formal public resolution, my organization, S.C.L.C., and I explicitly declared that we have no intention of diverting or diminishing in any respect our activities in civil rights, and we outlined extensive programs for the immediate future in the South as well as in Chicago.

I am saddened that the Board of Directors of the NAACP, a fellow civil rights organization, would join in the perpetuation of the myth about my views. They have challenged and repudiated a non-existent proposition. S.C.L.C. and I have expressed our views on the war and drawn attention to its damaging effects on civil rights programs, a fact we believe to be incontrovertible and therefore mandatory to express in the interest of the struggle for equality.

I challenge the NAACP and other critics of my position to take a forthright stand on the rightness or wrongness

of this war, rather than going off creating a non-existent issue.

We do not believe in any merger or fusion of movements, but we equally believe that no one can pretend that the existence of the war is not profoundly affecting the destiny of civil rights progress. We believe that despite the war our efforts can produce results and our strength is fully committed to that end. But it would be misleading and shallow to suggest that the role of the war is not hampering it substantially and can be ignored as a factor.

Loud and raucous voices have already been raised in Congress and elsewhere suggesting that the nation cannot afford to finance a war against poverty and inequality on an expanding scale and a shooting war at the same time. It is perfectly clear the nation has the resources to do both, but those who oppose civil rights and favor a war policy have seized the opportunity to pose a false issue to the public. This should not be ignored by civil rights organizations. The basic elements in common between the peace movement and the civil rights movement are human elements.

I am a clergyman as well as a civil rights leader and the moral roots of our war policy are not unimportant to me. I do not believe that our nation can be a moral leader of justice, equality, and democracy if it is trapped in the role of self-appointed world policeman. Throughout my career in the civil rights movement I have been concerned about justice for all people. For instance, I strongly feel that we must end not merely poverty among Negroes but poverty among white people. Likewise, I have always insisted on justice for all the world over, because justice is indivisible and injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. I will not stand idly by when I see an unjust war taking place and fail to take a stand against it. I will continue to express my opposition to this wrong policy without in any way diminishing my activity in civil rights, just as millions of Negro and White people are doing day in and day out.

24 April 1967

PB 5

USSR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

S-3

M 353062

AMERICANS CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE VIETNAM WAR

Percy Statement

Moscow TASS International Service in English 0835 GMT 24 April 1967--L

(Text) New York--Senator Charles Percy, Republican from Illinois, speaking on CBS television, questioned the sincerity of President Johnson's Vietnam "peace offers."

Johnson's offer in his letter to DRV President Ho Chi Minh, Percy said, is absolutely unacceptable for North Vietnam. Johnson pledged to stop bombings only if all supplies to the Viet Cong forces are stopped and they are left at the mercy of fate. Not a single person in his right mind, the Senator said, would accept such an offer.

Senator Percy also opposed the movement of further reinforcements of U.S. troops to South Vietnam. In his opinion, the Vietnam war should be waged by Asians--South Vietnamese, Filipinos and Thais.

King Statement

Moscow TASS International Service in English 0549 GMT 24 April 1967--L

(Text) New York--The American people must halt the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Martin Luther King said yesterday. The well-known public figure and Nobel Peace Prize laureate was speaking at a press conference in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The latest antiwar manifestations in the United States, King said, show that the majority of Americans are expressing serious anxiety over the escalation of the war in Vietnam.

Martin Luther King, Benjamin Spock, the well-known pediatrician, and RAMPARTS Editor Robert Scheer, who addressed the press conference with him, called for a powerful antiwar bloc in the United States which would include representatives of the most diverse sections of the population opposing U.S. armed intervention in Vietnam. Martin Luther King said they had to build up an effective political force to secure an end to the war in Vietnam.

King and Spock said they had called upon all participants in the antiwar movement to hold a mass campaign throughout the summer for an end to U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Trade Union Leaders

Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0345 GMT 23 April 1967--L

(Text) Moscow--"More and more Americans are joining the movement for an end to the war in Vietnam," Yu. Zhukov and S. Vishnevskiy point out in PRAVDA. Today the paper published their dispatch from Washington on Americans' attitude toward that war. "It would require a book to tell how this wide, popular, courageous movement of the Americans' resistance--a minority so far--to the forces of war and aggression, which disgrace America, is growing and spreading," the authors write.

According to them, the forces joining the struggle include the leaders of the major trade union of the workers of the automobile and aviation industries--1.5 million members, headed by Walter Reuther--who are demonstratively leaving the leadership of reactionary AFL-CIO. They demand that the trade unions dissociate themselves from the government's foreign policy, particularly that concerning Vietnam.

S-4

In this manner, distinguished listeners, the problem that has so highly [word indistinct] the Honduran people has been solved and we hope that the solution found will be very beneficial for the common welfare of all the Honduran people.

NICARAGUA

NORTH AMERICAN FUGITIVE FROM JUSTICE SIGHTED

Lima AFP in Spanish 0542 GMT 26 Sep 68 P (FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

(Text) Managua, 25 September--Major Alegratt, chief of migration, revealed yesterday that a North American fugitive from justice called John Peter Lee entered Nicaragua with a false passport issued by the same organization that furnished the one used by Dr Martin Luther King's murderer.

Lee, who used the name of Peter John Young to enter Nicaragua, escaped to Honduras shortly after it was discovered that he had committed several swindles, which according to Alegratt, he repeated in El Salvador.

PANAMA

LABOR LEADER CRITICIZES FEDERATION FORMATION

[Editorial Report--P] Panama City Radio Impactos at 1200 GMT on 24 September featured a speech by labor leader Diogenes Gutierrez, who commented on the founding of a new federation of industrial workers which will include Procas del Toro banana workers and Canal Zone workers and would be immediately affiliated with the Confederation of Workers of the Republic of Panama (CTRP) and the Regional Inter-American Labor Organization (ORIT) which, Gutierrez said, follows the U.S. line in Panama and Latin America.

The purpose behind the creation of this new labor organization, Gutierrez said, is to make the CTRP be eligible for Alliance for Progress funds and CIA funds that are handed out through the Institute for the Development of Free Unionism. "It is another maneuver by imperialism and capitalism seeking solely to completely colonize Panama's union movement." Gutierrez cited a Drew Pearson article on CIA financing of the Institute for the Development of Free Unionism to bolster his claims that "The American Institute for the Development of Free Unionism is an instrument of the most nefarious capitalist exploiters in the world, instruments of the CIA."

The answer to this effort, Gutierrez said, is for Panamanian workers to seek true unity within their own ranks and to depend on resources that come from their own pockets. He noted that the U.S. Embassy and its offices were recently picketed by workers asking that Canal Zone unions be recognized. This is wrong, labor leader Gutierrez said. Canal Zone workers should join Panamanian unions and oblige Canal Zone firms to recognize Panamanian unions.

10/3/68

Strong

S-5

REPORT ON GARRISON'S KING MURDER THEORIES

Kiev TRAVDA UKRAINY 23 Aug 68 p 5 L

(G. Borovik report)

over
p 26

[Text] A prisoner called Charlie Stephens is incarcerated in a prison in Memphis, Shelby County, in the extreme south of Tennessee. Certainly for a prisoner the conditions of his life are somewhat strange. His cell is an individual room with all comforts supplied. It is equipped with airconditioning, television, radio, and a telephone. Three times a day he is brought food which has been specially prepared by the prison cook. He has at his disposal, papers, journals, magazines, and books. Apart from anything else, he has the assistant sheriff's company for 24 hours a day.

The fact is that Charlie Stephens is the only person in the world who saw the murderer, or, more precisely, the alleged murderer of Dr Martin Luther King a few minutes after the shot had been fired in Memphis on 4 April this year. The 57-year-old Stephens, a former mechanic, rented a furnished room on South Main Street on the same day. He saw a person who was being shown the neighboring furnished room, No 5. Stephens was able to recall his clean-shaven cheeks, his long pointed nose, and his square chin. The lodger was dressed in an evening suit and was wearing a white shirt and a dark narrow tie. His fairly thick hair was combed straight back.

Then Stephens heard the person from No 5 room go into the shared bathroom which was next to Stephens' room. He remembered this all the more clearly as the occupant of room No 4 attempted to get into the bathroom but found it locked. Then Stephens heard a loud shot. He immediately went into the hall and saw the lodger from room No 5 already at the door leading to the street. In his hands he had something wrapped up in a paper.

At all events, this is what Stephens told reporters. The next morning the police began to question him. The interrogation lasted several days. But when the police let him go, the former mechanic drank himself sick, was picked up in a gutter, and taken away to the police. But the police, knowing what kind of person he was, released him. The district prosecutor, having found out about this, insisted that Stephens be kept in prison lest they should be deprived a key witness before the beginning of legal proceedings against Earl Ray, accused of assassinating Dr Martin Luther King.

That is how former mechanic Charlie Stephens came to be in prison. People say he is unhappy in prison: he has never read a book in his life, he cannot be phoned, and he is not allowed to drink. He has no glass. Because of this Stephens tries during all his waking hours to make his companion, the deputy sheriff, understand that he, Stephens, is an alcoholic. But there are millions of alcoholics and nobody imprisons them. If you incarcerate Stephens, you should not deprive him of his civil rights, so give him something to drink. After all, he is not responsible for what took place on 4 April in the house on South Main Street.

The authorities explain to him that prison laws do not permit drinks to be given to prisoners and he cannot be released from prison because he is the only witness. He might be killed or trapped, or might simply fall under an automobile after one of his drinking bouts.

I have told you about the "key witness" for the prosecution because recently more and more questions are being raised around Ray, the alleged killer of Doctor King.

2/9/68

The view finds increasing support that in all probability Ray was only a decoy and someone else did the shooting. New Orleans District Prosecutor (Jim Garrison) spoke about this recently and said that the killing of Martin Luther King was carried out by the same people who murdered John and Robert Kennedy. In an interview with the free press, [as published] he named the CIA and American reaction as the chief organizers of all three murders. The future will show how the alcoholic Charlie Stephens will help to untangle the complex situation.

I remember yet another interview which I and TASS correspondent (S. Losev) had with Jim Garrison nearly 1 and a half years ago. Jim Garrison told us the story of John Kennedy's death and then said: "To begin with, the CIA prepared for Fidel Castro's assassination. They did this with the aid of reactionaries from the southern states and counterrevolutionary Cuban emigrants. The machine for the assassination was built and put into action. However, they did not succeed in killing him. Lee Harvey Oswald did not obtain a visa at that time to Cuba. But the machine had already been launched. It resembles a rocket. It is launched into the sky with a precise target to strike. But suddenly all control of the rocket is lost. The rocket flies in an arbitrary course and hits a completely different target. This was also the case with Kennedy's assassination: once the machine had been launched there was no way of stopping it."

There is a special reason why I remember Jim Garrison's words. Recently the police found an ammunition depot on an isolated farm called the "dead road" near New York. The ammunition consisted of half a ton of dynamite, several reels of fuse wire, rifles, pistols, and even a mortar. Apart from this the police discovered many complete sets of uniforms worn by the U.S. Marines in Vietnam. But instead of American identification marks on the tunics... they found silver crosses which had been sewn on and the words: "The Cuban Offensive Brigade." This organization was formed by Cuban counterrevolutionaries last year and its aim is to overthrow the Cuban Government and to assassinate Fidel Castro. A group of Cuban emigre counterrevolutionaries led by specialists held secret training and preparation exercises on this farm. It is hardly likely that it will become known who these specialists were who trained to kill. But the police believe that it was this group which was responsible for 14 bombs that went off in New York in recent months, damaging many foreign consulates, UN legations, and tourist offices. As is clear, the trained diversionists decided to hold practical exercises in the area and chose for these purposes New York, which is the nearest large city.

It is quite possible that once again somebody will prepare to launch a "rocket." Even now it is striking unexpected targets, but is not the CIA itself a rocket over which the U.S. Government has lost control?

STURUA COMMENTS ON DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

Moscow IZVESTIYA 27 Aug 68 p 2 L

[Article by M. Sturua: "The Curtain Rises"]

[Text] The brain center of the Democratic Party convention in Chicago is at the Hilton hotel. Vice President Humphrey has established his headquarters on the 24th floor of the hotel, while Senator McCarthy has established his headquarters on the 15th floor. The newspaper kitchen is operating in the basement. Above it in the banquet hall the ordinary kitchen is at work. The hotel is picketed by demonstrators around the clock.

4/12
X

(S-6)

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN FOR JOBS AND INCOME

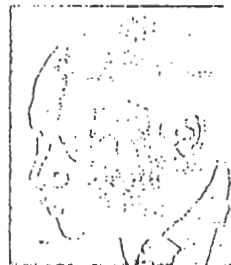
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, LED BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., IS ORGANIZING A NONVIOLENT CAMPAIGN TO BRING THOUSANDS OF POOR PEOPLE TO WASHINGTON IN APRIL. THEY WILL STAY THERE UNTIL SOME DEFINITE AND POSITIVE ACTION IS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE DECENT JOBS AND ADEQUATE INCOME FOR THE POOR. IN ANNOUNCING THE CAMPAIGN, DR. KING SAID:

"America is at a crossroads of history, and it is critically important for us, as a nation and a society, to choose a new path and move upon it with resolution and courage.

"It is impossible to over-estimate the crisis we face in America. The stability of a civilization, the potential of free government, and the simple honor of men are at stake."

There are 35 million poor people in America who do not have nearly enough money for a decent, healthy life. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Mexicans, poor whites and Orientals who are crushed down by economic forces make incomes that fall below what the Government calls the "poverty line." This income is approximately \$3,000 per year for a family of four or \$1,500 for an individual. A recent Federal Government study showed that a city family needs about \$9,000 per year to live at a "modest but adequate" level.

Yet America is the richest nation of all times. The Government spends about \$500,000 to kill one enemy soldier in Vietnam but only \$53 per year to heal one impoverished American in the War on Poverty.



WHAT THE CAMPAIGN IS DOING

Offices have been set up in the principle eastern cities, and a corps of 3,000 poor people--including Indians, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and Appalachians as well as black Americans--is being recruited and trained in nonviolent methods. Dr. King and his staff have met with other Negro leaders to explain the purposes of the campaign. Some have agreed to join the effort and accept its nonviolent discipline. Dr. King says:

"We will go there, we will demand to be heard, and we will stay until America responds. If this means forcible repression of our movement, we will confront it, for we have done this before. If this means scorn or ridicule, we will embrace it, for that is what America's poor now receive. If it means jail, we accept it willingly, for the millions of poor already are imprisoned by exploitation and discrimination. But we hope, with growing confidence, that our campaign in Washington will receive at first a sympathetic understanding across the nation, followed by dramatic expansion of nonviolent demonstrations in Washington and simultaneous protests elsewhere."

While the demonstrations will be focused on action by Congress and the administration, they will appeal to the people of America. Support is sought from all those concerned over the millions of citizens who are denied meaningful employment, adequate income, a good education, proper health services, decent housing, and even respect.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

What can you do? You can visit, write or telegraph your Senator and Congressman to urge their support for the Poor People's Campaign and for a national program of jobs and income for all.

You can join the Philadelphia Area Support Committee for the Campaign. You can get your church, civic group, or other organization to go on record as supporting the campaign and have them inform the press of their action. You can volunteer to work in the Philadelphia office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. When the demonstrations begin, you can join them, either in Washington or in the Philadelphia area.

You can contribute to the campaign. Make out checks to Philadelphia Christian Leadership Conference, or P.C.L.C. You can raise money to send poor people to Washington. And you can care for a poor person's children while they are in Washington.

WRITE OR TELEPHONE:

Philadelphia Christian Leadership Conference
2102 W. Diamond Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19121
Telephone: CE6-5313

RACIAL VIOLENCE IS ROOTED IN WHITE AMERICA: A CALL TO WHITE NON-VIOLENCE

(5-1)

A white man killed Dr. Martin Luther King last Thursday. Black Americans were deprived of a leader and a friend. They were convinced, once again, that white people are incapable of the non-violent love that Dr. King advocated.

For three hundred years America has demanded that blacks be non-violent while whites have been violent. It is time for white America to pay that historic debt: to be non-violent even if blacks are violent.

Instead the American government has responded to the black man's sorrow and anger by sending troops to surround his neighborhood. Many of the individual soldiers--black and white--have behaved with great courtesy and restraint. But to black people, their job still appears a simple, racist one: to protect property even at the expense of the interests of black people. That priority exemplifies what the President's Commission on Civil Disorder denounced as white racism, the fundamental cause of the present crisis.

We urge white America to leave the black community free to create its own form of self government, with police responsible to and controlled by its own community. In order to facilitate this local control, we urge that the President offer to withdraw the troops and allow representative black leaders to decide on the process of creating their own peace-keeping force.

Here are some other ways that we white citizens can respond:

1. Contribute substantial amounts of money, time, and moral support to groups working to end white racism and poverty in our nation;
2. Support the demands of Dr. King's Poor People's Campaign with personal commitment and active participation. The billion spent on death and destruction in Vietnam must now be converted to rebuilding our cities. Write your Congressman urging an end to the war in Vietnam, and the rebuilding of our society at home.
3. Help arrange immediately for free food, clothing, shelter, medical treatment, and other necessities to go to victims of the present situation. Ask that government food and financial assistance be made available quickly and without restrictions. (Telegrams can be sent to Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, HEW Secretary Cohen, and others.)
4. Urge Attorney General Ramsey Clark to abolish unreasonable bonds imposed in order to keep people in jail, and to arrange for prompt release of those jailed politically during the present crisis.
5. Develop a federal insurance fund to repay in dollars, not lives, all citizens who have lost property during an urban crisis.
6. Work in the coming months for the immediate creation of a local Washington government representative of all D.C. residents as a step towards ending white domination and authority over the ghetto.

This statement was developed by a working group initiated by the Center for Emergency Support. The Center is a non-profit corporation created under the law for charitable and educational organizations, to help those hurt or damaged by civil disorder and to study its causes. Contributions can be sent to the Center at 437 Butternut St. N.W., Washington, D.C. Volunteers can call AD4-9382 during emergencies or 723-3182 at other times.

Blacks MAKE OUT TO: CENTER FOR EMERGENCY SUPPORT

S-8

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING IS DEAD

"And your silence is of no avail; today, the blinding sun of torture is at its zenith; it lights up the whole country. Under that merciless glare, there is not a laugh that does not ring false, not a face that is not painted to hide fear or anger, not a single action that does not betray our disgust, and our corollarity. It is enough today for two French people to meet together for there to be a dead man between them. One dead man did I say? In other days, France was the name of a country. We should take care that in 1961 it does not become the name of a nervous disease."

-- Jean Paul Sartre, writing as the French colonialists were fighting against the Algerian liberation movement.
Preface to Franz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth

In 1968, America is the name of a psychosis. Today, when two white Americans meet, the murdered Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is between them, as is Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, Mickey Schwerner, the children of Birmingham, students of Orangeburg, and the colored people who struggled in Watts, in Chicago, in Newark, in Detroit, in Harlem, in Vietnam.

America is the name of a psychosis and that psychosis is racism. That psychosis grows out of our economic and political institutions, and in turn, shapes them in its own grotesque form. The responsibility for Dr. King's death rests not only with the man who pulled the trigger in Memphis, that guilt falls upon racist America.

To mourn for Dr. King but not act against racism in America is the highest form of hypocrisy.

Today LeRoi Jones is in jail, and Huey Newton, and H. Rap Brown is threatened with prison. Last night police in cities across the nation put down black citizens who, enraged by Dr. King's death, took back from ghetto squares a minuscule fraction of what this country had stolen from them. For months, police departments, with the assistance of the Justice Department have been planning repression in black communities this summer.

HOW MANY MORE BLACK PEOPLE WILL WHITE AMERICA MURDER??
Respect for the memory of Dr. King intensifies the demand which human decency has always made upon us: that we act now to stop racism.

TODAY @ 12:00 -- Prayer service in Chapel

VIETNAM SUMMER

129 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
(617) 492-6700

67849

5-9

Draft: Not for Publication
In Process of Revision

May 9, 1967

VIETNAM SUMMER

We have marched and protested, written letters and signed petitions. The escalation of the Vietnam War continues. Now we must escalate our opposition: we must reach more people, more quickly and more deeply than we have yet done. This requires grass roots action on an entirely new scale.

We believe that large numbers of people -- students, faculty members, housewives, clergy and others -- are prepared to devote time and energy to community organizing against the war, if an effective program can be provided. Hundreds of thousands of Americans can be reached through such organizing, Americans disaffected from the war and from the Johnson Administration, ready to join in anti-war activities if they can be brought together and given some serious work to do. We propose to bring them together through a VIETNAM SUMMER, analogous to the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964.

The objective of VIETNAM SUMMER is to weld the widespread opposition to the war into an organized and active constituency capable of exerting powerful pressure to end the war. VIETNAM SUMMER will inaugurate a massive organizing effort in local communities with a combined program of study and action to strengthen and unify the forces opposing this war. In ghetto areas and among youth of draft age we will undertake a program to activate and give expression to sentiment against the war.

The organizational model suggested for the VIETNAM SUMMER is that of a largely autonomous and discrete program, not tied to (nor in conflict with) the activities of existing organizations, but supported, and where

6/17/67
X

possible, aided by many different groups. The VIETNAM SUMMER project will have its own staff, do its own publicizing, recruiting and fund-raising, but will seek the active involvement of all major peace, civil rights, student, and church groups, in ways to be worked out with each group separately. Some organizations will assign staff members to work on the VIETNAM SUMMER; others may supply us with lists of supporters and contributors; still others with existing community bases will form the nuclei to which Summer workers will be assigned.

On April 23, Dr. Martin Luther King, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Robert Schegr, Carl Oglesby and other prominent spokesmen held a press conference in Cambridge to announce VIETNAM SUMMER. This press conference received extensive national television and newspaper coverage and marked the beginning of a major publicizing and recruitment effort for VIETNAM SUMMER. Advertisements have been or will be placed in the New York Times, The Nation, The New Republic, The New York Review of Books, The National Guardian, and New Left Notes. In addition, recruitment ads for VIETNAM SUMMER have been sent to every one of the 1,300 college newspapers in the country. Speaking, organizing and recruitment tours are underway in Philadelphia, New York, Cleveland, Columbus, Baltimore, Houston, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, St. Louis and throughout New England. The effort has begun to recruit a minimum of 10,000 workers for VIETNAM SUMMER, primarily from the student population, but also from university and high school faculties, churches, neighborhood organizations and anti-war groups. A network of regional and community field organizers will prepare the initial groundwork for the Summer project and will organize the workers assigned to each community. It is anticipated that projects will be undertaken in some 500 communities.

4/12/68
X

Participation in VIETNAM SUMMER will take many forms. The majority of participants will be volunteer part-time workers devoting several afternoons or evenings each week to their project. We hope to recruit 2,000 full-time workers, most of whom will be students. These workers will be asked to support themselves wherever possible. For those students requiring full or partial support, several options will be available: community groups will seek out local residents willing to provide room and/or board for student workers; some students will secure full- or part-time jobs in factories, stores, etc. which will provide financial support as well as give the opportunity for organizing work among fellow workers; and some funds will be available to pay a limited number of full-time workers a small salary (about \$25-30 per week).

Each community effort will be independent, with basic decisions about strategy and activities made by the local group, in conjunction with the "indigenous" peace community.

The central office or the regional office of VIETNAM SUMMER will relate to the local groups in six basic ways:

1. To supply a "menu" of suggested activities (together with supporting materials) for the local group, intended to convey possibilities for action as well as an evaluation of how these activities have been found to work in other areas.
2. To train the field organizers and run short-term training institutes for Summer workers.
3. To recruit and assign workers.
4. To evaluate, on a continuing basis, the results of local activities, as an on-going guide and corrective for local projects.

~~To provide continuous national publicity for the VIETNAM SUMMER project as a whole.~~

6. To raise funds nationally to support local projects (which will, in addition, carry on their own fund-raising activities). Funds will be made available to local projects on the basis of their need for outside support and the project's potential effectiveness.

The Program for VIETNAM SUMMER

Community "teach-outs" Starting with door-to-door canvassing to identify those who oppose the War, "teach-outs" proceed to neighborhood educational meetings and seminars. When a group is ready for action, possibilities include petition campaigns to bring the district Congressman home to hold open hearings on the War or to recall Congressional hawks; public referenda on the War in the 1967 municipal elections; anti-draft activities and distribution of information on conscientious objection; leafletting in public places and door-to-door; ads in local papers and letters to their editors; resolutions against the War by local Democratic and Republican Committees; running candidates in 1967 municipal elections; community speak-outs on the War and panel discussions before local organizations; consumer boycotts of companies which are directly involved in war production; fund raising to aid war victims and send medical supplies to Vietnam.

Selected Projects in Poor and Working Class Communities. Some existing community organizations or Unions might be sympathetic to seeing educational and perhaps action programs tied into their work. In addition, some anti-war projects have been undertaken directly where there was no

local organization. The summer should also provide opportunities for extensive work in the black ghettos around issues related to the war.

Draft Opposition. The Summer should provide an opportunity for work by increasing numbers of students who have conscientiously and increasingly questioned the war. Organizers will locate young people opposed to the war in various communities, and set up education and action programs.

VIETNAM SUMMER Is Underway.

-- Three pilot projects for VIETNAM SUMMER involving nearly 200 students, faculty members and local residents, have been organized in the Boston area. In the four precincts that have been canvassed on a door-to-door basis, slightly over 50% of those canvassed have signed a petition calling for their Congressman to hold an open hearing on the war, and of these, half have agreed to attend discussion groups on Vietnam. Similar projects have been organized in Washington, Chicago and other major centers.

-- Tens of thousands of dollars have already been raised toward our minimum budget of \$325,000, indicating that with an adequate fund-raising campaign the financial resources needed for the project will be available.

--VIETNAM SUMMER headquarters have been established in Cambridge, and recruitment and fund-raising materials have begun to flow from this office.

-- Recruitment of national staff (Field Organizers and Office workers) has already begun. Applications for positions in the national and local organizations and offers to do volunteer work are being received in large numbers.

JOIN US NOW !

The postal card mailed to Mr. McCone is one of a series issued by the John Birch Society through its book outlets, the American Opinion Book Store, through local chapters, and by mail from its publication, American Opinion, Belmont, Massachusetts.

The photograph of Subject on this particular card in the Birch Society series has received wide distribution in the past, generally by purportedly anti-Communist or segregationist groups. It may be recalled that a billboard also reproduction appeared along the route of march of the Selma, Alabama, protests.

The photograph was taken from a newspaper-size release on the Highlander Folk School, published in 1957 by the Georgia State Commission on Education, Atlanta, Georgia. The publication contains two photographs of the Subject taken; it is claimed, during a Labor Day weekend session at Highlander in 1957. The Subject is depicted in the other photograph as he addresses the assembly.

The Highlander Folk School was organized about 1932 by Lyles Horton and Don West, the latter an organizer of the Communist Party of the United States.

Public testimony on the School reflects that Paul Crouch, a former functionary of the Communist Party, testified the school was "ostensibly an independent labor school, but actually working in close cooperation with the Communist Party." The Georgia State Commission on Education report, a copy of which is attached, reflects the public record communist-front records of the claimed leadership of the Highlander Folk School and of those attending its Labor Day, 1957, function.

In testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in July 1947, Walter S. Steele testified that the Highlander School "unquestionably keeps pretty close to the (Communist) Party line. Its directors, James Barbrowski and Lyles Horton are found in the company of Red-fronters. It has been a recipient of funds from the Robert Marshall Foundation, which so lavishly contributed to Friends of Democracy, American Youth Congress, National Negro Congress, Southern Negro Youth Congress, and other fronts." It may be noted that the American Youth Congress, the National Negro Congress and the Southern Negro Congress have been cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In November 1957 a jury at Atlanta, Tennessee, found the school to be operating in violation of its State charter. Charges in the charter revocation trial were based on alleged violation of State segregation laws. The school then moved to the Carolina Sea Islands where it continued its

concessions. Later the school was reestablished at Knoxville, Tennessee, under the name of Highlander Research and Education Center.

In June 1963, police raided a Highlander Cook Camp near Tomsland, Tennessee, and arrested a number of persons for charges ranging from lawlessness and disorderly conduct to possession of whiskey. The directors of the camp were found over to the Grand Jury on charges of contributing to the delinquency of minors. Charges of lawlessness were dismissed against seven defendants. Officers had testified at finding males and females, made from the waist up, in a tent at the time of the raid. A total of 27 persons had been arrested.

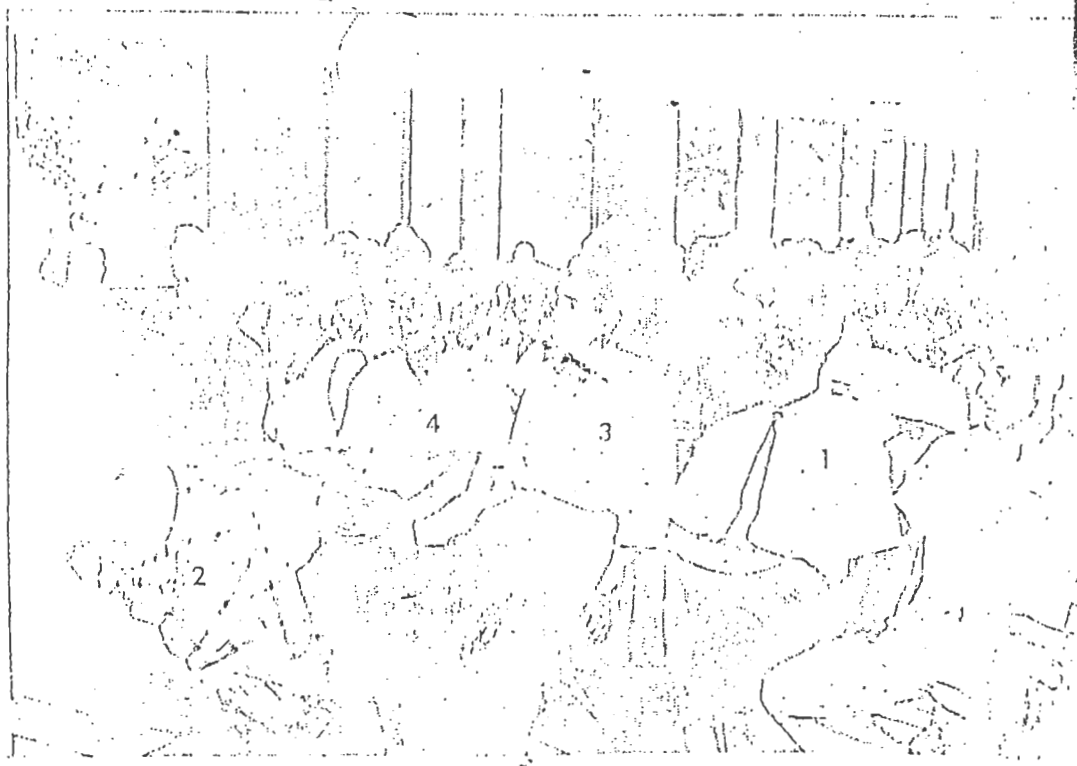
In June 1963, three persons previously identified with Highlander were arrested as a "drunken cook camp" in Knoxville, Tennessee.

In October 1963, Dr. James A. Beahm, one of the early founding officials of the school was charged with subversive activity under Louisiana's Subversive Control Act. His conviction was reversed by a higher court, but evidence seized at his offices served as documentation in reports of a Louisiana Legislative Commission report on Communist activities in that State.

In May 1965 another government agency reported that the Highlander Research and Education Center was building a summer camp in Blount County, Tennessee, near the Great Smoky National Park, and there was some apprehension at a proposed visit by Subject to the camp. According to the report, lesser members of the United Klans of America were discussing the possible assassination of Subject and the limiting of riots, while senior Klan officials were advocating peaceful protest. The Klan leadership, it was reported, was fearful that some harm might come to Subject, and whether performed by Klansmen or not, would be blamed on the Klan. The Klan was reportedly discussing attempts to dissuade Subject from visiting the camp.

A confidential source of another government agency has advised that Myra Falls Horton, Director of Highlander, has openly associated with CPUSA members over a period of years and has knowingly allowed Communists to enroll and speak at the school. The informant advised that Communists had been known to be on the school staff, but that the school is "not controlled entirely" by Communists. He described the school as a "progressive labor school" which welcomes Communists among its students.

MARTIN LUTHER KING... AT COMMUNIST TRAINING SCHOOL



PICTURED (foreground),

- (1) Martin Luther King of the Montgomery Boycott and the Birmingham riots, backed up by the Kennedys;
- (2) Abner W. Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party;
- (3) Aubrey Williams, pres. of the Southern Conference Education Fund Inc., the Transmission Belt in the South for the Communist Party;
- (4) Myles Horton, director of Highlander Folk School for Communist Training, Monteagle, Tenn.

These "four horsemen" of racial agitation have brought tension, disturbance, strife and violence in their advancement of the Communist doctrine of "racial nationalism."

S-11

29 November 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Analysis Group.

SUBJECT : Martin Luther KING - #353 062

[REDACTED]

1. Per your verbal request, the above-captioned security files were reviewed by the undersigned.
2. A thorough review of cited Office of Security files disclosed no evidence that the Office of Security has ever conducted any investigation, including wiretaps, surveillance, mail cover, or field investigation regarding listed subjects. No inquiry was made outside the Office of Security and no DDO records were reviewed or checked.
3. The above is for your information.

[REDACTED]

Security Analysis Group.

MES:hjd

21 Staff - Office of Security

Director wishes to learn whether
Dr. Martin Luther King was ever surveilled
& reported on - while outside of the U.S. -
under the C.I.P.O.S. program.

Also:

Whether there is any record of any
mail interception either to or from
Dr. Martin Luther King.

ASAP

[Redacted]

J. G. Staff

[Redacted]

S-12

SRS FILE COPY

11 DEC 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR : Deputy Director for Support

SUBJECT : Threat to CIA by Some "Black Power" Elements

1. This memorandum is for information only.
2. The growing hostility expressed toward this Agency by some of the more volatile advocates of so-called "black power" presents this Agency with what might be a new threat to its operations abroad and its image in the United States.
3. In the past, denunciation of the Agency by a scattered few for the alleged Agency "assassination" of Patrice Lumumba and Malcolm X. Little might have been dismissed as natural fall-out from embittered followers of the two, seeking a publicly-recognizable scapegoat, and necessarily distorting the true facts behind the deaths to have them "prove" the case against the scapegoat. Presently, however, the growing militancy of "black power" disciples--with clear links to both Moscow and Moscow Communist ideology--and steadily clear threats to counter this Agency's activities, necessitates placing the problem in an entirely new perspective.
4. The term "black power," despite its militant origins, has been accepted by some to describe the laudable efforts of economic "self-help" and "pride of race" efforts of many Negroes at the community and collegiate level. Indeed, some of them of sincere dedication to the orthodox civil rights movement have accepted the use of the term "black power" to describe their efforts. This presents the problem of separating these constructive efforts--and objectives--from those which lead to the destruction of the legally constituted government of this Nation.

5. At least two organizations, the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have questioned the motives and tactics of those who advocate "black power" and "black rebellion," and such respected Negro journalists as Carl T. Rowan and George Schuyler have warned against the militants. In its report for Fiscal Year 1967, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has pointed out that "So-called civil rights organizations preaching hatred for the white race, demanding freedom from laws, and advocating violence constitute a serious threat to our country's internal security." (Emphasis added) The FBI annual report specifically names the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Revolutionary Action Movement as hoping "to disrupt the tranquility of our Nation with violence to further the concept of 'black power.'" According to the FBI report, "Leaders of these groups constantly attempt to spread domestic discord among Negroes by making inflammatory speeches and issuing hate-filled literature." (The same report warns of such militant organizations as the Movimento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico, a group which has signed an "accord" to work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.) State and Federal legislative committees have taken notice of the Communist links to some of the militant groups.

6. In many ways this information is illuminating, yet in other ways it prevents the problem of careful evaluation. Most certainly, all past members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee cannot be charged with being a threat to the Nation's internal security, whereas those who support the statements and activities of the present leadership of SNCC must remain suspect. Similarly, those who have adhered to the tenets of the Revolutionary Action Movement, even from its early days, must be considered more than suspect.

7. Because of this matter of "degree" of involvement in the unfavorable, indeed dangerous, aspects of "black power," this office has compiled from its records those personalities (Tab A), and organizations (Tab B) which must be of our official concern. Two organizations which have to date resisted the blandishments of "black power" leaders are indicated in Tab C. Many of the personalities and

organizations in Tab A and Tab B have not specifically attacked this Agency, although the anti-U. S. policy stance of some of them may make this only a temporary reprieve. Others have not specifically spoken out against the Agency, and by their nature, will probably never single out this Agency for abuse or organized opposition.

3. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has advised that it knows of no organized "black power" assault on this Agency other than the statement of Stokely Carmichael that he is establishing a new group to oppose CIA activities. Our records presently seem to link information on open attacks on CIA to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Afro-American Heritage Association, and the Organization of Afro-American Unity, the latter being the organization founded by the late Malcolm X, Little, and to individuals affiliated with a number of militant groups. Should information be received which significantly supplements that contained in the attachments to this memorandum, you will be advised.

Howard J. Osborn
Director of Security

Attachments:
Tabs A, B, C

Orig - Ret to OS
L. J. BBS

OS/SRS/ /cer

KING, Martin Luther, Jr. - Rev. King heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, State of Louisiana, reported on 13 April 1964 to be "substantially under the control of the Communist Party. . ." Dr. King and his wife have been outspoken critics of U.S. Vietnam policy. Dr. King is known to have two advisors who were identified in the past with the Communist cause, and his deputy, Rev. James Bevel who heads the National Mobilization, has been quoted as stating "every thinking American" should be a member of the Communist Party. Dr. King more recently has proposed extended civil disobedience in Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1968. Although Dr. King has participated in "peace" marches in the past, he sent his regrets to the 21-23 October 1967 Pentagon protest, indicating that he would have attended if other commitments had not precluded it.

S-13

15 MAR 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR : Deputy Director for Support
SUBJECT : The Militants: An Up-date on the
Black Power Threat

1. This memorandum is for information only.
2. By memorandum entitled "Threat to CIA by Some Black Power Elements," dated 11 December 1967, I advised you of the results of inquiries with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the review of existing materials in the Office of Security concerning militant "Black Power" organizations and personalities. I specifically noted those groups and personalities which have expressed hostility against this Agency and its operations.
3. Since that time additional significant information has been received which reflects increased activity on the part of the militants, coupled with threats for what they have termed "The Bloody Summer." Although the ranks of the extremists are still proportionately small, their threats of violence must be given greater weight than might normally be attributed to their small percentage of the U.S. Negro population. A review of these recent developments is attached for your information.
4. In addition to the new information on the extreme militants, we have also noted two scheduled developments for the months of April and May which will be of interest to you. They are:
 - a. Beginning on 22 April 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) will initiate their "Poor People's Campaign" in Washington, D.C. On that day, Dr. King has indicated he will lead "waves of the nation's poor and disinherited" into the city for prolonged, disruptive and "non-violent" demonstrations to demand government action for "jobs or income for all." He has indicated that his initial cadre of up to 3,000

volunteers will remain in the nation's capital "until America responds." In what Dr. King calls the "last resort for nonviolence," SCLC reportedly plans lobbying and other action against the Capitol, a shut-down of all government buildings, transportation tie-ups and school boycotts. It has been threatened that if troops are used to quell these actions, Dr. King will call for demonstrations in other key cities of the nation. As the campaign escalates, SCLC has indicated it will call in peace groups to strengthen the program.

Significantly, Dr. King's campaign will begin early in the announced "International Days of Protest," 21-30 April 1968, sponsored by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a group in which Dr. King, ~~Miss King~~ and ~~Rev. James Bevel~~ a King aide, have been particularly active. The National Mobilization Committee is known to include members of the Communist Party, USA, and other subversive groups. Present plans for the ten-day Vietnam protest call for local and regional demonstrations and concentrated organizing efforts around the country, as well as coordinated protests abroad. As part of the campaign, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Students for a Democratic Society, and SNCC's Black Anti-war Anti-Draft Union have issued a call for a national student strike for peace in Vietnam and against racism at home and abroad," 26 April. On 27 April the sponsors have called for a unified demonstration of the full force of the movement with organized protests and marches in major U. S. cities.

Despite Dr. King's statements the Washington protests are for "jobs or income for all," there can be little doubt the activity will be closely interlinked with the "peace" movement, particularly at the stage when "peace" groups are formally invited in as the activity escalates.

b. Close on the heels of the initiation of Dr. King's Washington campaign, and possibly well-timed with the proposed formal call for participation by "peace" groups as that campaign escalates, are the "National Days for Black Unity Against the War in Vietnam, 19-20 May 1968." Sponsored by the Peking-line Progressive Labor Party and certain to attract the more militant factions, the protest calls for nationwide demonstrations "against the war in Vietnam and slum landlords." The announced highpoint of the protests is a day of widespread

work stoppage and demonstrations on campuses and in cities throughout the United States, tentatively set for 19 May. A potential for disturbance exists since the Maoist sponsors will have had almost a month to observe and assess the effects of Dr. King's Washington campaign.

5. I will continue to keep you advised on significant developments in this area as they come to our attention. You will be pleased to know FBI liaison has been most cooperative and effective in providing this office with timely information about the various domestic militants and protest groups.

[Redacted]
Acting Director of Security

Attachment as stated

Distribution:

Orig - Return to OS
2 - DDS

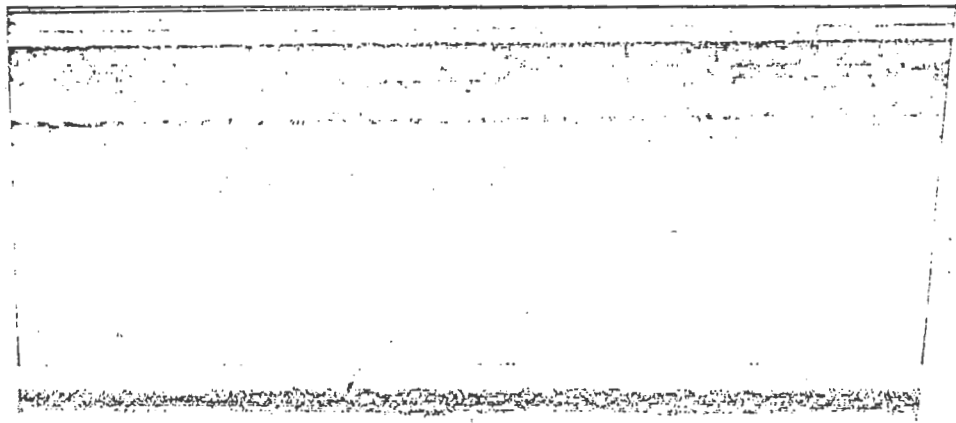
27 March 1968

S-14

MEMORANDUM FOR : Deputy Director for Support
SUBJECT : Potential for Civil Disturbance,
Washington, D. C., Summer 1968

1. This memorandum is for information only.

2. On 15 March 1968, I furnished you with our update assessment of the Black Power movement and attendant potential for civil disturbance. Since that time, we have received two excellent studies from the Federal Bureau of Investigation which provide additional information about extremist elements and the potential for civil disturbance in the District of Columbia during the summer of 1968.



5. I will keep you informed of any additional information received which reflects on the potential for civil disturbance in Washington and environs.

Howard J. Osborn
Director of Security

Attachments as stated

Distribution: OS/SRS/ /pjh - 27 March 1968

Orig - ret to OS
2 - DDS

SUPPORT

Nov. 1, 1967

The AMERICAN TEACHERS PRESS
and its ACTION PROGRAMS

A.T.P.
PO Box
Evanston, Ill. 60204

5-15
353062

SCHOOL CHILDREN WERE BEING USED AS MESSY FOODS... DURING VACATION TIME..

Use injunctions to stop— Luther King Christmas Riots!

Martin Luther King is bound to use the HOLIDAY VACATION time to stage his "massive civil disobedience" in Washington, D.C., Chicago, Milwaukee... and other big cities... TV and the Leftist Press have played him up as the "Dark Savior"... when in fact he is basically a power hungry agitator who shows no difference from RAY 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 RIOTS!

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 Duggan 40 cents per copy

Written with an angry wit, here is a little book that shook the entire school world. Published by Lippincott...
entire school world. Published by Lippincott...
entire school world. Published by Lippincott...

S-16

6 March 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: _____

Martin Luther King, #353 062, _____
along with King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference,
_____ It would appear that the Communist Party, in all probability,
exercised considerable control over King _____
_____ seems to have supplied much of the brains and power
behind King and was, in fact, responsible for many of his programs,
including the Washington Spring Project (Poor People's Campaign).

S-17

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

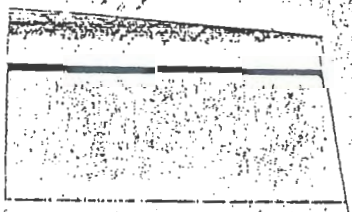
10 March 1965

A confidential informant of known reliability has advised as follows regarding the relationship between the Director of the FBI and the Rev. Martin Luther King:

In the Fall of 1964 following the remarks made to the press by the Director FBI regarding King and after King's counter statement, an Assistant Director of the FBI visited [redacted] and one of the more responsible Negro leaders in this country and advised him that the Director FBI was prepared to make specific charges against King based on factual data in his possession to the effect that King had misused funds contributed to the Civil Rights movement for his personal benefit; that he knowingly employed on his personal staff two members of the CPUSA although he had promised other Negro leaders he would terminate the two.

[redacted] summoned King to New York City and advised him of these charges, and at first met with denials of them, but subsequently King admitted that it looked as though he were in trouble. He asked for time to think the matter over and said he would see [redacted] the following day. He did not appear as promised and later [redacted] ascertained that King had gone to Washington and made his peace with the Director FBI.

The foregoing information has been confirmed from another source with direct access to the Director FBI.



1. 12 Aug 69

A 4

COMMUNIST CHINA
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

(S-18)

Of course, the West German ruling circles at present still have to rely on U.S. support in many respects, particularly in the political and military spheres. Therefore, they have misgivings about the stepped-up collusion and contention between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in an attempt to redivide the world. They fear that U.S. imperialism will make counter-revolutionary deals with Soviet revisionism at the expense of West Germany. That is why amidst the intense preparations by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism for "strategic arms limitation talks," West German Chancellor Kiesinger made a hurried trip to Washington and held talks with U.S. imperialist chief Richard Nixon for two days. After mutual glorification and professions of "kinmanship," Nixon once again assured Kiesinger that as regards the U.S.-Soviet talks, the United States would have "full consultation" with and "take full account of the interests of" West Germany. To placate West Germany, Nixon reached agreement with Kiesinger on the establishment of a "hot line" between the White House and the chancellor's office so as to "stay in close communication with each other." But with the growth of West Germany's strength, its tendency to fall away from U.S. imperialism will inevitably increase.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out long ago: "The epoch we are living in is an epoch in which the imperialist system is heading for total collapse, the imperialist have fallen inexorably into crisis." The manoeuvres and struggles among the imperialist countries to realize their own ambitions are aggravating the division of the imperialist bloc, thus accelerating the doom of the imperialist system.

GANGSTERISM IN U.S. SHIELDED BY OFFICIALS

Feking NCHA International Service in English 1953 GMT 11 Aug 69 B

(Text) Feking, August eleventh (HSEMPWA)--Famous American criminal gangs are working hand in glove with the U.S. officials and big monopoly capitalists to loot the people. The trinity of government officials, businessmen and gangsters has become one of the characteristics of the decadent capitalist society of the United States today.

With accelerated corruption of the U.S. society, gangsterism has been increasingly rampant there. To cover up the government support and shielding of gangsterism, U.S. imperialist chief Richard Nixon remarked recently that gangsterism "has deeply penetrated broad segments of American life." He admitted that in U.S. cities gangsters have unscrupulously carried out such criminal activities as "illegal gambling," "racket," "narcotics traffic" and "loan sharking." He also admitted that from "illegal gambling" alone, organized gangsters have an annual take from 20,000 million to 50,000 million dollars.

These criminal gangs have every connection with the U.S. official circles. Their activities are virtually carried out under the shielding and connivance and with the participation of the U.S. official circles. The narcotics traffic goes on with close collaboration from the police and the operation of secret gambling dens relies fully on police shielding. It was revealed that the bribes to the police from "Rafia" for its secret gambling operations amount to some 4,500 million dollars annually, exceeding the total annual pay for police in the country. Racketeering can by no means be divorced from U.S. official protection and cooperation. A recent scandal involved the seemingly honest U.S. Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas who agreed to a life-time fee of 20,000 dollars a year from a convicted "financier" of stock manipulation.

Furthermore, the criminals often resort to "campaign contributions" to buy over and bribe politicians. Once being "elected" congressmen, "governors" or "mayor," these politicians will use official authority to shield their crimes.

In fact, the ruling monopoly capitalist group is itself the biggest gang of criminals in the United States. The political power it holds dons a "legal" cloak over its plunder, deception and oppression of the broad masses of the American people. Taking "gambling" as an example, there are both "illegal gambling" and "legal gambling." Gamblers have only to pay the government a "tax" to make their operations legal. Nixon himself recently proposed the annual Federal operators tax on gamblers be increased from 20 to 1,000 dollars to boost government revenues. Las Vegas, Nevada, is one of the cities known for its gambling dens. The municipal government of the city collects over 1,600 million dollars from its "tax on gamblers" which becomes its main revenue. It was reported that another U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Douglas was once president of the "Albert Farvin Foundation" founded by a company which owns three casinos in Las Vegas. Gambling in the United States maintains close relations with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, an espionage set-up.

An ever increasing number of murder cases is also inseparable from the connivance of the reactionary U.S. ruling circles, which are themselves the ring-leaders in this respect. They instruct police and national guardsmen to conduct bloody suppression of the revolutionary American people. The U.S. monopoly capitalist class planned the sinister brutal murder of the Afro-American fighter Malcolm X, and did not show any tolerance even towards the Afro-American clergyman Martin Luther King, an exponent of non-violence. In addition, to compete for power and wealth, various monopoly groups repeatedly conducted political murders. The monopoly capitalist class also sets its propaganda machines in motion to advocate murder. In Los Angeles alone, scenes of murder appear on more than 1,200 televisions in television each week. No wonder gangsterism is running wild. According to U.S. official data, more than 10,000 people are murdered in the United States a year (not including those killed by the U.S. reactionary government).

Year after year chiefsting of the gangs of criminals invest in enterprises the tens of thousands of millions of dollars they have plundered. They buy up banks and industrial and commercial enterprises, they subsequently changing into "prominent social figures." It was disclosed that organized gangs have been in control of a number of enterprises, big or small, in Chicago in such important sectors as food processing, restaurants, real estate, auto sales, brokerage houses, travel agencies, shopping centers and radio and T.V. manufacturing. A U.S. bourgeois news agency said that many U.S. corporations look like business headquarters, but private conversations inside their wood-paneled offices concern murder, corruption and rackets.

It is not surprising to see collusion among gangsters, government officials and politicians, and wealthy merchants. Karl Marx long ago pointed out that "capital grows dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt." He also quoted T. J. Duning as saying that "with adequate profit, capital is very bold...100 percent will make it ready to trouble on all human laws; 300 percent and there is not a crime at which it will not scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged."

17 Aug 69

A 6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The situation of organized crime in the United States is precisely the same. Criminals and monopoly capitalists are virtually jackals of the same kind.

The capitalist U.S. society is sinking and rotting to the core. But the American workers and the broad masses of American people are fast awakening. A revolutionary storm to sweep away all the pests will sooner or later rise in the United States. The days are numbered for the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and all sorts of its henchmen when they can ride roughshod over the American people.

NEW ZEALANDERS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST ROGERS

Taking: HCHA International Service in English C293 GMT 11 Aug 69 D

[Text] Wellington, August tenth (HSEHUA)--New Zealand's progressive people angrily demonstrated today and yesterday in protest against the arrival of U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers in New Zealand to carry out conspiratorial activities.

Rogers arrived in Auckland yesterday from Canberra by plane after he participated in an ANZUS pact meeting.

When Rogers, accompanied by New Zealand Prime Minister Holyoake, arrived at the International Hotel where he stays during his visit, he was loudly booed by more than 200 demonstrators at the street opposite the hotel.

Waving placards reading "Get back to the U.S., Rogers," the demonstrators hurled eggs and mud at the car of Rogers and Holyoake and shouted, "Yanks, go home!"

The frightened Rogers hastily entered the hotel under the protection of a large number of secret servicemen. Twelve demonstrators were unjustifiably arrested by the police.

In Christ Church, about 500 people held a meeting today in protest against Rogers' visit to New Zealand. Later, some 150 people and youths marched in the streets in protest against the arrest of the 12 demonstrators in Auckland.

S-19

SUBJECT: Notes Made During Conversations with
in New York City 2 February 1965

1.

2.

3.

5.

6. according to has bankrolled "CHICK" as well
as Martin Luther King possibly and probably with

7.

B. Source states Martin Luther King

S-20

11 May 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: , Conversation with

1. The writer had a short discussion this morning with

2. In summarizing point of view, the problem appears to be something like this. The Communist left is making an all out drive to get into the Negro movement. If through any mechanism they can link prominent Negro leaders to illegal activities and activity which is against President Johnson's policy, this may cause a serious break between Johnson and the Negro leadership which, in turn, may create a violent disruption in the Negro Civil Rights Movement which would give the Communists an opportunity to cause chaos and disruption.

3. Furthermore, if the above is coupled with an exposure of Martin Luther KING, Jr. by other than members of his own race, the damage to the Negro movement would be impossible to estimate. is gravely concerned that KING may be exposed by white sources, official or otherwise, which would have no good effect and would probably only make KING a martyr. was also concerned that KING might possibly be assassinated before his exposure which would have the effect of making him a martyr and would not be at all helpful to the Negro movement. It is belief that somehow or other Martin Luther KING must be removed from the leadership of the Negro movement, and his removal must come from within not from without. feels that somewhere in the Negro movement, at the top, there must be a Negro leader who is "clean" who could step into the vacuum and chaos if Martin Luther KING were either exposed or assassinated.

4. In summary, feels that unless the Negro leaders, other than KING, are informed and are capable of intelligent maneuvering, the Communists or Negro elements who will be directed by the Communists may be in a position to, if not take over the Negro movement, completely disrupt it and hence cause extremely critical problems for the Government of the United States.

Seen by P.M. / S.C. and S.P. / P.M. / S.C.

[Handwritten notes and signatures on the right margin]

5-21

9 June 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR : Chief, Security Research Staff

SUBJECT : (Conversation with 8 June 1965,
Washington, D.C.)

1. On 8 June 1965, the writer met with _____ at the Hilton Hotel, Washington, and had a long discussion with him beginning at approximately 1:15 and ending at 5 p.m. _____ comments covered a wide range of matters, but basically they can be broken down into 3 main topics:

- (a) His attitude towards the FBI;
- (b) _____
- (c) Comments on the Negro Civil Rights Movement, the various personalities connected with it, and some of opinions and theories regarding future events connected with the Civil Rights Movement.

Each of the above will be discussed separately.

attitude towards the FBI

2. Sometime back, Chief, CRS, decided that it would be advantageous to have _____ give information, particularly regarding the Civil Rights Movement, to agents of the FBI in New York City, particularly if this information concerned domestic or local events and activities. Chief, CRS, felt that it would be a faster means of communication than heretofore used where in _____ communicated with CRS officers who, in turn, passed the information to either the FBI or areas where it was useful.

3. _____ made it very clear that he did not wish to communicate with FBI agents, that the Civil Rights Movement should be regarded as an international situation because of the Communist directed infiltration into the movement, and that he felt in some respects that he was being "downgraded" by being used as a source by the FBI and not in a higher echelon

of Government. While [redacted] did not absolutely refuse to cooperate with the Bureau, he made it obvious that only if there was a matter which he felt was of interest directly to the Bureau locally, would he furnish this type of information; otherwise, he would furnish it as he has done previously or cease altogether. The writer attempted, more or less unsuccessfully, to discuss jurisdiction with [redacted] but [redacted] maintained his position that the matter was not one of jurisdiction for the FBI or any single Government agency, but was one that the Government, including CIA, should be interested in; namely, the international Communist efforts at corrupting and seizing the Negro Civil Rights Movement.

— 100-10-10-1

Civil Rights Movement

9. For background information, it is to be recalled that _____ has long provided information on the Negro Civil Rights Movement and its various leaders. _____ position is one of complete sympathy with the Negro and the Civil Rights Movement, but holds that only through legal means and peaceful means should the Negro aims be accomplished. _____ who is a violent anti-Communist, has been alarmed at the Communist movement into the Negro Civil Rights field and the Communist penetration into the various Negro organizations. He has undeniably done everything in his capacity to help the Negro leaders, particularly _____

It is worth noting for the record that _____ has been involved with various Negro leaders since as early as 1934; and he has known a number of the leaders, on a very close personal basis, since that time.

10. _____ main concern has been that the highly derogatory information, of which he is familiar, concerning Martin Luther KING, Jr., will be exposed to the public by the wrong people and at the wrong time which, in _____ opinion, will set the Civil Rights Movement back years and would perhaps give the Communists a chance to either further disrupt it or to seize control of the movement.

11. To make certain that this report reflects as accurately as possible the derogatory information on Martin Luther KING, Jr., here are three main categories:

- (a) Highly derogatory information on _____ which have taken place within the United States and overseas;
- (b) A possible theft of money; and
- (c) Association with identified Communist or pro-Soviet types on an intense personal basis, particularly _____

To further set the background, it should be recalled that several months ago a very serious dispute erupted between Mr. John Edgar HOOVER and Martin Luther KING, Jr. At that time _____ received information, from an absolutely reliable source, that the FBI had derogatory information on Martin Luther KING, Jr., that Mr. HOOVER was incensed on attacks on his agents and the integrity of his organization, and that grave possibilities existed that Mr. HOOVER would turn loose to the public the derogatory information which has been presented above. In turn, _____ gave the information, in confidence, to _____ and at approximately the same time, _____ confronted Martin Luther KING, Jr. with the facts. It is sufficient to say that the matter was hushed up by KING visiting HOOVER. A number of meetings took place between the top Negro leaders and discussions were held as to what to do about the derogatory information, since obviously other individuals would know about it. To date, nothing has been done, and the debate is going on in the top Negro channels at the present time.

11. With this background in mind, the writer asked _____ who were the top Negro leaders that he was in contact with and what were their relationships one to another. The writer named the following individuals, and these were acknowledged by _____ as persons with whom he was dealing:

The other leaders of first magnitude that entered the discussion are Martin Luther KING, Jr. and _____ who has been established clearly as a close and intimate friend of Martin Luther KING, Jr. and whose left wing background is also known. Some of the lesser Negro leaders will be mentioned later, but those of the greater strength and opposed to KING are

_____ replied to the question of rapport among these leaders by saying flatly that there was no rapport at all, that all mistrust and dislike the other, and in certain cases, there was often antagonism. _____ stated that the brightest, shrewdest, and cleverest of all was _____ but a man who had no popular or grass roots following. He stated that _____ was a bright Negro, but who had no following whatsoever in the popular sense, but was making a definite play to gain power by seeking to be publicly connected with important individuals both in the Government and out. _____ described

_____ as a controversial old man, possibly becoming senile, who was afraid to act for fear of damaging his own reputation and who liked to imagine himself as the "Moses" of the Negro race. _____ has some popular following, but he is aloof and has not committed himself as intensely as some of the others. _____, according to _____ is probably the most sincere and devoted of the leaders, but is naive and has a complete capacity for saying the wrong thing at the wrong time. _____ personally is clean and he does, in fact, have the grass roots support of the large organization _____ insisted that he is law abiding, non-violent, and a decent individual, but not too politically intelligent.

12. _____ stated that for weeks the problem of Martin Luther KING, Jr. has been discussed between these leaders and that all of them are aware of the details. _____ stated that to show the range of connections involved here and the sensitive nature of it, he gave the following example.

He said that a few days ago, he was in the office of _____ to discuss with him this matter. _____ stated that for the first 15 minutes or so, _____ was constantly being called to the telephone and the conversation was interrupted. _____ commented that the first two calls that came in were inconsequential, but he stated that the third call was from the President of the United States. _____ stated that he listened to two more calls then told _____ that either he would have to quit accepting phone calls or _____ would no longer discuss anything with him. _____ then told his secretary to stop the calls, and they discussed the matter. _____ stated that the conversation was basically his attempting to get _____ to come to some agreement with the other leaders on the KING matter by pointing out that _____ was in favor of "dumping" KING, and that he _____ hadn't committed himself to anything. _____ indicated that this conversation was not profitable.

13. Of considerable importance to _____ was the following. He was having a conversation with _____ and _____ said to him that he had received confirmation, in exact detail, of the derogatory KING story. Further, that the information had come from Washington from a highly placed official in the Department of Justice, Mr. _____, who had in turn conveyed the information to a Mr. _____, a Negro also attached to the Department of Justice, who was working in Chicago and who had given it directly to _____ stated that he was told that the Washington source had the entire KING file in his office including photographs and tapes on Martin Luther KING, Jr. _____ said he asked _____ if he had done anything about this; and, according to _____ told him that he called a meeting of the

According to _____ he told those present the story. After some shocked silence, _____ said to _____ and those present, we cannot publish that; and _____ said that told _____ if we don't publish it, it is going to blow up underneath our noses because it is certain to come out sooner or later.

14. stated that the details of the KING matter are definitely known to the editors of the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune, but they will not break the story because they have been asked not to. stated presumably by the President.

15. The writer then referred to the thesis that Martin Luther KING, Jr. is moving in a way that is indicative that he is being controlled by the Peking line Communists, possibly or probably through from whom there is some information that would indicate he is a Maoist. The writer asked what possible action would the Peking line Communists take in the KING matter. replied by saying that it is certain to him that the Communists, both the Moscow and the Peking types, are aware of the Martin Luther KING, Jr. matter. stated as far as he could figure out, the Peking Communists would handle KING in one of two ways:

- (a) We will permit you to remain head of the Negro movement in the United States and you may continue to rise in public acclaim. The other Negro leaders have no courage and they will not expose you. They are cowards and controlled by the Capitalist leaders of the United States. You will, however, remember that we know what the story is and you will do what you are told. Or
- (b) They, themselves, the Peking Communists, will expose KING and in so doing they will end him, they will everlasting discredit all the other Negro leaders, and they will then be in a position to disrupt the Negro movement, cause chaos and trouble, and possibly gain control of it. If they expose KING, they will say to the Press and public media which they control to the Negro people, that you leaders have betrayed you, they knew this story of KING all along and were cowardly. They obeyed instructions from their capitalist leaders.

16. stated that he is absolutely convinced that the Peking line Communists are moving ahead of the Moscow Communists, both in the world area and in the domestic scene. He pointed out that has taken over the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and that is going along with this. He stated that there are other indications of the Peking line Communists showing strength, and that there are a number of ways this can be demonstrated. He called attention to the fact that for the last 3 or 4 weeks there has been a period of inaction and that none of the Negro leaders, except

have been doing anything when they should have been strongly active. [redacted] stated that it is his opinion that this is due to the movement being held in check by Peking line Communists who are demonstrating and consolidating their strength. He stated further that the "deacons" are nothing more than small ad hoc groups which the Peking line Communists have set up as needed and are, in fact, riding on the back of CORE. [redacted] stated that they are not CORE groups, but are activist Negro advocates of violence and who are working to disrupt and smear CORE and its leadership. They are constantly working to convert CORE from a non-violent group into an action group which would, of course, put CORE in the Peking line.

17. The writer asked [redacted] if there was any indication that he knew of that would show that the Negro leaders-- [redacted] --were going to expose KING. [redacted] stated that there is no such information, that none of them wanted to be responsible for the exposure, nor could they agree among themselves to do it as a group. [redacted], himself, according to [redacted] would like to expose the situation, but he could not do this alone and unsupported. [redacted] stated again, as he had many times previously, that unless this exposure comes from the Negro leaders themselves, the attacks on KING will be useless and will end up only making him perhaps a martyr and would set back the Negro Civil Rights Movement for years.

18. Toward the end of the conversation, [redacted] pointed out that any examination of the Civil Rights Movement, at the present time, would show a clear and concise picture of Communist penetration and activities, namely, from the Peking line Communists. [redacted] said it is well to note that the war in Vietnam has now been linked to the Civil Rights Movement and, gradually, the two unrelated areas are being blended together in an all out Communist Party line attack on U.S. policy. [redacted] stated that this has spread confusion into the Negro Civil Rights Movement and has duped many of the leaders of the movement and caused them to make utterances which are stupid and certainly unpatriotic. [redacted] referred to the activities and statements of [redacted] in behalf of the "Refusal to Fight" movement.

19. [redacted] further said that the aims of the Communists were clear in that they wanted to link the Negro leadership and the Negro mass Civil Rights Movement into a position of anti-government action, and that the Peking line would be away from the Moscow "peaceful coexistence line", and would be continuous agitation for violent action and disruption. He stated that so called leaders like Martin Luther KING, Jr. and [redacted] have very clearly started blending the Negro Civil Rights Movement into

a merger with their attacks on the government policy in Vietnam and, even to a lesser degree, into attacks on government policy in the Dominican Republic. predicted that more and more of this will appear as the summer goes along. He stated that among the most important leaders of the movement, he felt that only had a thorough understanding of the problem, that in a vague way understood the problem, but was not acute enough to clearly understand it and combat it. He said probably understood this matter, but they are too busy attempting to create a good image of themselves in the public eye to be willing to get down and fight this penetration in an all out manner.

20. stated that he would be continuously in touch with either Chief, SRS or the writer as he obtained information of interest.

5-22

Memorandum

TO : Chief, Security Research Staff DATE: 7 July 1965

FROM : Chief, Liaison & External Ops Branch/SRS

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversations with
 5 July and 6 July 1965

1. Set out following is a very brief summary of views and comments of recent events, particularly in the civil rights area.

2. , in the first conversation which was on 5 July, stated that his study of the activities of the various leaders in the civil rights movement and the positions taken by the various groups have forced him to the conclusion that there is an almost complete split in the civil rights movement and that those groups which are militant and advocating violent action have been captured by the Peking-line Communists. He stated that there is a great deal of information which would support this contention. Along this line, it is particularly interesting to note that the Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, commented that Hanoi had spurned the peace efforts of the United States which, according to , shows how contemptuous the Peking-line is of us and, of course, is reflected in the anti-United States policy attacks of the action groups in the civil rights movement. pointed out that Martin Luther KING was now linking the civil rights movement to attacks on our policy in Vietnam and that others were following this trend.

3. _____

4. He stated that all of the Negro groups have a wing that want militant action and that these groups are subject to or soon will be subject to Peking direction and domination.

5. concluded this long conversation by stating that at the present moment, it is a certain conclusion that the Peking-line

Communists have achieved a "fifth column" in the United States and that this will be used not only to disrupt and attempt to capture the civil rights movement, but will be used as a weapon to attack U.S. policy in South Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and wherever the Peking-line Communists direct.

6. On 6 July [redacted] called and pointed out that [redacted] had apparently suddenly moved in a bid to become the top negro leader in the United States who champions non-violence and anti-Communism. [redacted] stated, that with Martin Luther KING moving toward the Peking-line and splitting the civil rights movement between militants and activists and the non-violent groups, [redacted] stand [redacted], over the past few days was remarkable.

7.

8.

9. _____ concluded by saying that this hard stand by will be very significant, particularly if he continues to hold this position.

10. _____ stated that he would talk to the FBI concerning this in New York City and would continue to keep us informed.

MA:jbc

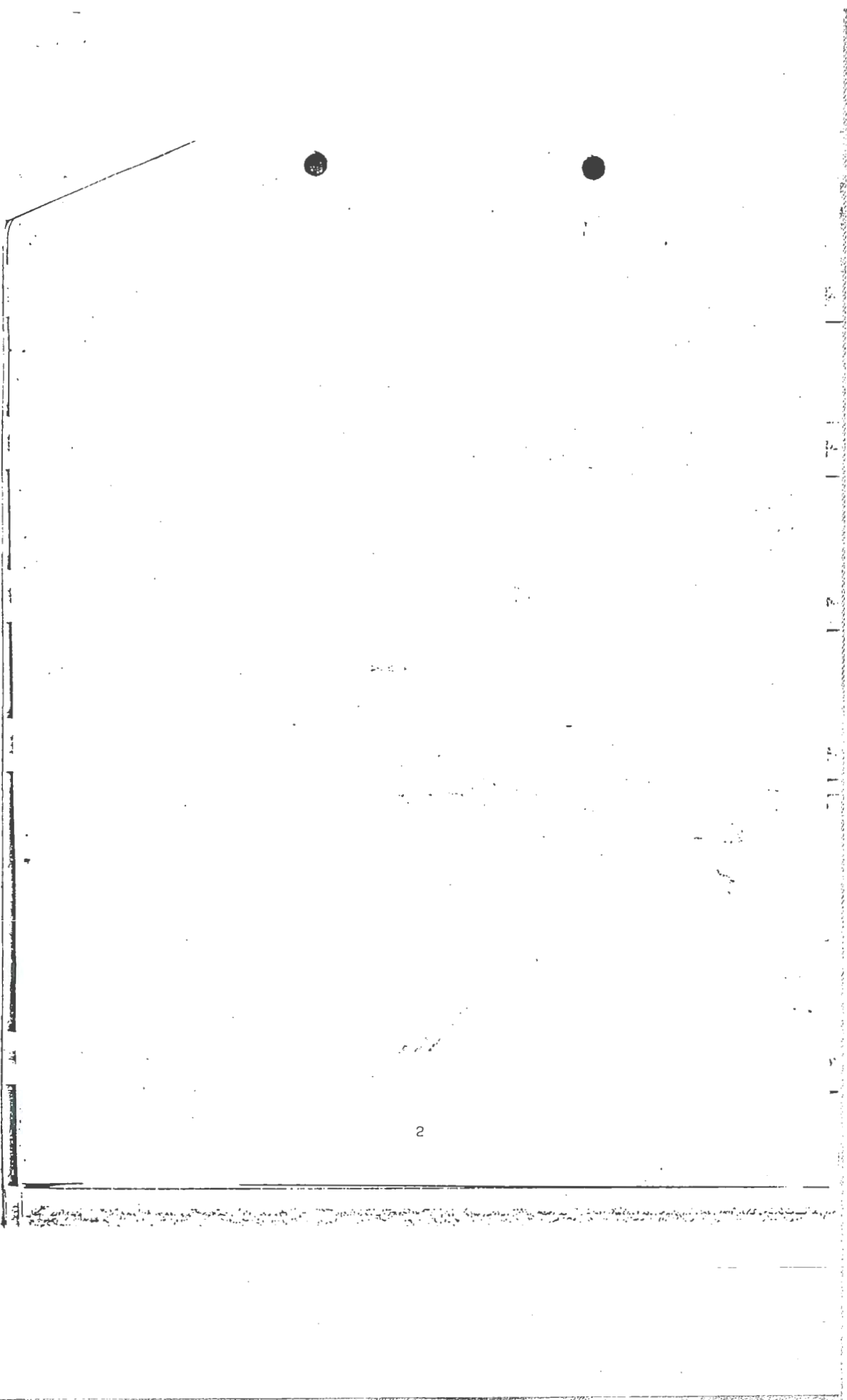
S-23

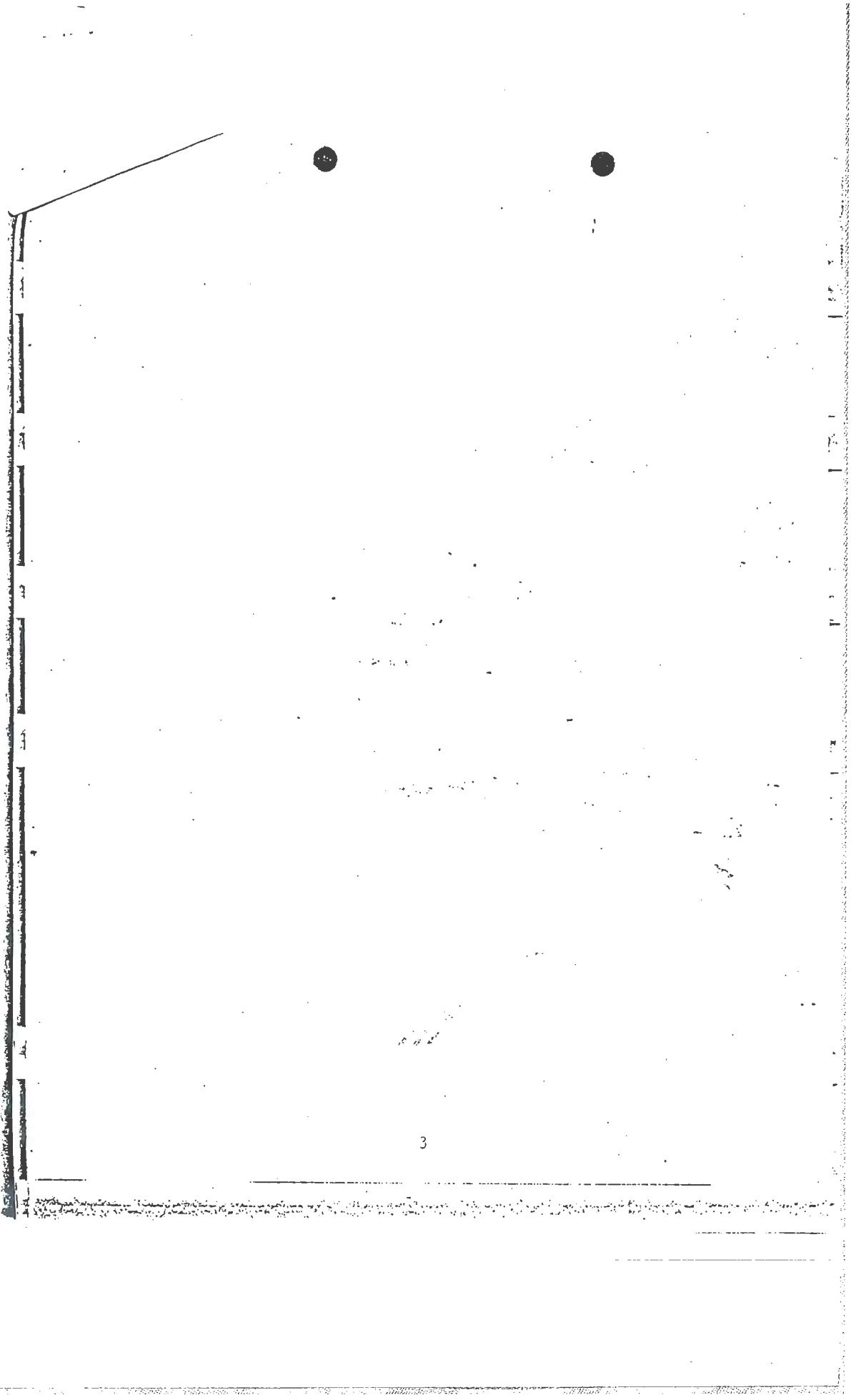
21 July 1965

In connection with another matter, a source of this office talked to _____ at his residence, New York City, on 13 July 1965. (Various topics were covered during the interview and have been reported under separate memoranda.) Following are _____ comments (not verbatim) concerning _____

_____ stated Martin Luther KING has already shown his hand by attacking the Administration and advocating a pull-out in Vietnam. _____ insists that KING is compromised by his moral background and is probably controlled by Peking-line Communists);

_____ pointed out it must be remembered that while the convention was going on, Martin Luther KING issued a public statement denouncing U. S. policy and advocating pulling out of Vietnam.





5-25

5 April 1968

[Handwritten signature]

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Research Staff

SUBJECT : RETORT FROM

1. reported that following the assassination of the Reverend Martin Luther KING, called for advice. claimed that President JOHNSON by telephoning and other Negroes of the same persuasion extending the President's sympathy on the untimely death of the Reverend KING manifests the belief that the President is misinformed in matters of this delicacy. claims that the Negroes are embittered and believe that if the President had not been spending all of our resources on winning the war in Viet Nam, this tragic event would not have occurred.

2. According to stated that he, had been in touch with the and stated that the poor peoples march on Washington which KING was to lead on 22 April 1968 will still be held.

3. said that he had called and recommended that the President issue a proclamation which would make this weekend one of silent prayer. He suggested that the President call upon all ministers, rabbis and priests to concentrate on texts which would emphasize the need for peace in the world. said that he also suggested to that the President extend an invitation to to sing Sunday in a memorial service in Washington, D. C. at the Lincoln Memorial. said that he would be able to bring to Washington at the same time to sing hymns known and loved by the black race. said that today at sundown begins the Jewish Sabbath and that he had urged to request that his suggestions be acted upon forthwith. said that he hates to see this government reacting to notification that the New York Stock Exchange will shut down its trading at 11:00 today and use the time for silent prayer. said that he also noted that campuses all over the United States have also agreed to hold memorial services. He thinks that this government should be way out front in this regard and not reach untimely to the practices put into motion by the Stock Exchange and the colleges.

S-27

29 MAR 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

ATTENTION :

SUBJECT : Martin Luther King, Jr.

_____ has volunteered information concerning one aspect of the forthcoming "Poor People's Campaign" to be directed by the Subject, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Although the information provided does not reflect any violation of Federal law or intent to do so, it is transmitted to your Bureau for background use in view of the information contained in your well-received studies of 11 and 12 March 1968 which provided additional information concerning the Subject and his "Campaign."

Source has advised that _____ of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, recently contacted

advised _____ had been selected by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as a focal point or "Command Center" to support the upcoming Poor People's Campaign headed by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

On the evening of 12 March 1968, the source indicates, Rev. Jefferson Rodgers of the Church of the Redeemer, Washington, D. C., spoke before the congregation of the Arlington Unitarian Church on the objectives of the Poor People's Campaign. Among other things, Rev. Rodgers related that some 3,000 people trained in passive demonstrations will be brought to Washington in order to pressure the Congress to enact legislation in the civil rights area. Rodgers asked the congregation to provide such visible support as food, shelter, child care and transportation. Rev. Rodgers

also mentioned the possibility the Potomac bridges might have to be cut off or blockaded and the demonstrations turn to civil disobedience if the demands are not met by the Congress. In response,

stated the Church could not and would not be a party to any unlawful act.

Two members of the Church subsequently contacted to express grave reservations about their church becoming deeply involved in the Poor People's Campaign. Both indicated that they desired a meeting of the Board to air the issues involved. On the evening of 18 March 1968, the Board of Directors met to discuss their participation. A "blanket endorsement" of the Poor People's Campaign was proposed. The Board split four to four. A second proposal called for the Church's Social Responsibilities Committee to serve as the focal point for receiving and reviewing all requests for support by the Poor People's Campaign, whether from the SCLC or the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The proposal called for the church to examine each request and situation as it developed and to decide on the support to be rendered—or not rendered. This second proposal was approved by a seven to one vote, the sole dissenter being

The first request to be considered under the Board's approved guideline was that requesting the church to act as a storehouse for food supplies. The Board agreed to honor the request.

Because of his deep concern that the Arlington Unitarian Church and its Board might be duped or exploited by elements of the Poor People's Campaign, the source has indicated a willingness to provide additional information as the Campaign develops.

Attached are copies of materials provided the source by the aforementioned

The information contained in this memorandum is for your internal use only and is not to be disseminated outside your Bureau without prior approval of this Agency. Please transmit any correspondence on this matter, via Liaison, Attention: Director of Security.

• FOR THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE:

Howard J. Osborn
Director of Security

Attachments as stated

cc:

w/o att
w/o att

Subj's file

w/o att

OS/SRS/ /pjh - 26 March 1968

5-26

3 April 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Research Staff

SUBJECT: - REPORT FROM

1. called me this morning at the office to thank me
2. advised that was not in evidence following the assassination of Martin Luther KING on Thursday, 4 April 1968. received word from a reliable source that who is under Feking discipline, was instructed not to be in the forefront.

and other leaders in the Black Power structure who are under Feking discipline will hold a strategy meeting in the Reverend KING's home after the funeral.

3. suggested that will disclose that and will be in the forefront during the funeral services. According to has sufficient information of a blackmail nature on that will result in reacting as a puppet to Feking direction in the coming presidential nominating campaign. urged that a task force be established not by the FBI but by the intelligence community to cover from now on in which should develop the intelligence that Martin Luther KING, and have for years been the willing tools of Feking.

S-24

8 February 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Security Research Staff

SUBJECT: - REPORT FROM

1. viewed BELAFONTE's emceeding of the Johnny CARSON Show last night. said that Sidney FOITIER and Livingston WINGATE at the prompting of BELAFONTE went into a lengthy discussion of how Martin Luther KING obtained his money some years ago. According to BELAFONTE is setting the stage for a future discussion of this matter when KING appears tonight on the show.

2. concludes that the reason for the discussion of the alleged source of the funds supplied to KING at this late date must be because there has been a leak of information and all concerned realize that probably the FBI is putting pressure on KING to disclose the true source of the funds.

3. now speculates who leaked the information that he supplied to us that the funds source was from the Chicoms. I assured that no information that he passes to us is given to any source but an official one.

5-28

12 December 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD
SUBJECT: James Earl Ray
#541 245

1. On 12 December 1975, _____ of the Review Staff asked for a file check on James E. Ray, in response to an informal inquiry from Senate Select Committee Staff member _____. The SSC is studying FBI activities, including the King assassination and the recently publicized Hoover/King controversy.
2. The bulk of Ray's file consists of news media material. There are two State Department cables reporting information on his extradition from England.
3. _____ will advise _____ of the above, and the fact that CIA had no file on Ray prior to the King assassination. A formal request is not expected and no further action is necessary at this time.

Security Analysis Group

JMR,Jr:hjd