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JOINT HEARINGS
 BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
 AND THE
COMMITTEE ON
OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
USE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

S. 25

MARCH 27 AND JUNE 21, 1979

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
NATIONAL HOLIDAY, S. 25

TUESDAY, MARCH 27, 1979

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m. in room 2228, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Edward M. Kennedy (chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Kennedy, Bayh, Baucus, Heflin, and Thurmond; Congressmen Garcia, Courter, and Pashayan.

Also present: David Boies, chief counsel and staff director; Peter Parham, counsel; Fred Williams, counsel to Senator Bayh; Mary Stanstel, counsel to Senator Heflin; Pete Velde, minority chief counsel; Mike Ferrell, counsel to Congressman Garcia; and George Omas, counsel to Congressman Courter.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR KENNEDY

Senator KENNEDY. Today the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, in conjunction with the House Subcommittee on Census and Population, chaired by Congressman Garcia, will hear testimony on S. 25, the legislation which designates January 15, the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, as a Federal holiday. This legislation honors Dr. King not only for the strength of his leadership and the courage of his commitment to human rights, but also for his unique contribution to the fundamental principle that all people are created equal.

As chairman of this committee, I am proud to join with 24 of my colleagues in the Senate who have cosponsored the legislation introduced by Senator Bayh, our distinguished friend and colleague and leader in this effort in the U.S. Senate.

An identical bill, H.R. 15, has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman John Conyers with the cosponsorship of 118 House Members. In every session of Congress since 1968, similar legislation has been introduced. President Carter has given his strong support of this goal, and I hope that this will be the year in which the legislation is at last enacted.

This year is also significant because it is the 50th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther King, Jr. It is often said that an individual can make a difference. But the lives of few Americans in our history so clearly demonstrate the validity of that basic truth.

Because he lived, millions of Americans were freed from the chains of segregation and discrimination. Because he dreamed, millions more found hope that their own dreams of a better life could be achieved.

In Atlanta in 1968, Dr. King called himself a "drum major for justice," a "drum major for righteousness," and a "drum major for peace." The image was an accurate one, because he was a leader of great marches. He took his message to Selma, to Montgomery, to Birmingham, to the Lincoln Memorial, and to Memphis. Above all, he was an apostle of nonviolence. He taught the Nation that change could be achieved without resort to violence, that the promise of America could be redeemed by peaceful means.

In Dr. King's last address, the day before his death, he said that he been "to the mountaintop." He spoke of his vision that true equality for all people in America could be achieved. In honoring Dr. King, we bring that vision a little closer to fulfillment. By establishing a national holiday to commemorate his name, we create a greater national awareness of his life and a greater national commitment to the achievement of his dream.

I welcome these hearings, and I look forward to the enactment of this important legislation.

I hope Congressman Garcia will make a statement and ask the House Members for whatever inclusions they would so like.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN GARCIA

Representative GARCIA. As chairman of the House Census and Population Subcommittee, which has the jurisdiction over national holidays and celebrations, I am pleased to be here. The legislation before us today would set aside January 15 of each year as a Federal holiday, to commemorate the life and work of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. It is a fitting and long overdue tribute to an individual who dedicated his life to the cause of civil rights in this country and whose determination and perseverance exemplified the greatest qualities of this country's heritage.

In communities throughout the country, there is a growing appreciation and recognition of Dr. King's contributions. In communities like mine, however, where the vast majority of the population is either black or Hispanic, Dr. King is admired as a man who possessed a vision as well as the courage to champion the battles for equal treatment in jobs, housing, and educational opportunities.

In short, he dared not only to dream about these things, but to pursue these goals with a single-minded purpose.

I was not fortunate enough to have met Dr. King during his lifetime. Nevertheless, I feel a special attachment to him and his mission in life.

Like many others, I attended several rallies where Dr. King spoke. Like those in attendance, I was inspired by his sincerity and dedication to improving the quality of life for many Americans because I, too, am a minister's son who firmly believes that those deeds which we accomplish while we are here on Earth not only will be repaid in heaven, but will also benefit those who follow behind us.

Dr. King left behind a legacy of hopes and dreams, for our generation and those to follow. Although only 11 years since his death, we have not yet fully realized his dream, nor completely eliminated the persistent problems of poverty, unemployment, inferior housing.

The Nation is moving, however slowly, to overcome these problems. In 1968, the late Governor Rockefeller asked me to accompany him to Atlanta as a member of the New York State delegation attending the services for Dr. King. As thousands of his followers marched through Atlanta streets hand in hand singing "We Shall Overcome," I personally was moved tremendously by the outpouring of love and affection from so many diverse people for this man.

I am convinced now as I was that day in 1968 that the spirit of Dr. King lives on and the commitment to pursue his goals grows stronger with the passage of time.

I am hopeful that with the combined support of the administration and Congress, that this be set aside each year in memory of Dr. King and in appreciation for his contribution to this country and to mankind.

Senator KENNEDY. Senator Thurmond.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR THURMOND

Senator THURMOND. It is easy to understand the interests of those who advocate so eloquently the establishment of a legal public holiday on the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr. After all, he was a man of our own times who fervently advocated the causes he espoused, and whose compatriots and personal admirers are very much a part of American life today. While there are quite obviously many people in this country who revere his memory from their own personal knowledge or recollection of his life, it is precisely that point which argues so forcefully against our establishment of such a holiday.

No American should be singled out during his own lifetime or in the contemporary years following his death for an official holiday of national recognition. It remains for the test of history, during succeeding generations, to determine the scope and lasting nature of a person's greatness as a national figure, with near-unanimous recognition of that person's enduring eminence.

Only then can an objective decision be made on holidays for national heroes. Yet even with universal recognition by succeeding generations of a person's true contribution to America's greatness, the designation of an official holiday should be exceedingly rare. As all of you know, there have been only two people throughout all of America's history who have been honored with national holidays: Christopher Columbus and George Washington. Both represent the very origins of this hemisphere as we know it and this Nation as it has come to be. No one else in our history—not Thomas Jefferson, not Benjamin Franklin, not Booker T. Washington, not George Washington Carver, not Abraham Lincoln, not Dwight Eisenhower, not John Kennedy, to name a few—has ever been honored with a national holiday.

On those rare occasions when consideration of such holidays for specific individuals may arise, I believe it should be well past the time when the movements undertaken by those individuals have been completed and made a part of history. I feel sure that Dr. King, if he were here today, would find that his drive for social change, although highly effective, still has other avenues to travel. Indeed, the very existence of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change

indicates that his work goes on, as well it might. However, it serves to show quite clearly that a national holiday in his honor would be an act stemming from strong concurrent feelings, not the objective review of history.

Mr. Chairman, I realize that several States and communities across the Nation already recognize the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., as a holiday and I find no problem with that situation. The establishment of legal public holidays, except in rare instances, should be the primary prerogative of the States. In fact, the birthday of Dr. King is an optional holiday now in my home State of South Carolina.

There is one last consideration which we must not overlook. The Civil Service Commission has estimated that an additional Federal holiday will cost the taxpayers about \$195 million in direct expenditures for nonwork compensation of Federal employees. Additionally, there would be many more millions of dollars in the cost of renegotiated contract services and economic losses.

In short, Mr. Chairman, there are five basic reasons which refute the proposals for this day of national honor for Martin Luther King, Jr.

One: Public holidays should be the primary responsibility of the States.

Two: On the national level, only two people from the earliest days of our history have been so honored, Christopher Columbus and George Washington.

Three: Although a dynamic and charismatic personage of our time, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s place in history has not been established, nor will it be so established until reviewed by future generations.

Four: The cost of another Federal holiday.

Five: Designate a Martin Luther King, Jr., Day, but not as a legal public holiday.

For these reasons, which would apply to any proposal for a new national observance, I oppose the bill to create a Martin Luther King, Jr., Federal holiday.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN COURTER

Mr. COURTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Garcia, Mr. Chairman. I sit here this afternoon, this morning, rather unique in that, No. 1, I don't have a prepared statement, and No. 2, I probably fall someplace in between the statements of the two fine Senators.

I am not here as an advocate against this piece of legislation, nor at this particular juncture am I here as an advocate favoring the legislation. I suppose it is a refreshing win for those of you who come here thinking that all Congressmen and all Senators have always made up their minds before the hearings actually take place.

I am here to listen to the witnesses, to find out what they have to say. I come here with an open mind. Based on the testimony and reading the testimony that I have not heard when we have had hearings in prior years, I will be voting and voting in an informed way.

I would like to footnote what I said by stating that as I was growing up, the name of Dr. Martin Luther King was all over, one of the great names of my generation; truly outstanding American. It is a pleasure for me to be here.

Senator KENNEDY. We will ask our fellow member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator Bayh, who is the principal sponsor of the legislation, to make what comments that he would like.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR BAYH

Senator BAYH. Mr. Chairman, if you have no objection, I would like to ask Fred Williams, who has been my right-hand not only on this but other matters, to sit with me. The kind of problems that I think underlie the very strong feeling I have that the time has come that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., would be recognized. But more than that, Mr. Chairman, all he stood for and the people who feel the great deeds of him, should also be recognized.

If I might, since it has been my good fortune to introduce this legislation, with you and almost a quarter of the Senate, just spend about 5 minutes going over some thoughts that I incorporated as to why I think it is important and then to take another 5 minutes, if I might, to deal with some of the concerns that have been expressed.

I don't want to belabor the committee because I consider it a privilege to testify before our own Judiciary Committee on behalf of Resolution 25.

As you know, a quarter of the Members of the Senate have introduced this on the 1st day of the 95th Congress, because it is quite appropriate that that legislation designed to make January 15, the birthday of Martin Luther King, a national holiday, be introduced in the Senate on the date of his birth, the anniversary of his 50th birthday. Further, it seems to me almost fitting that the chairman of the committee would initiate these hearings in the month of February which, as we all know, is the month designated as Black History Month.

Mr. Chairman, we have the support of a quarter of the Senate; bipartisan support, and I am pleased to announce that our President also supports this legislation.

Making Dr. King's birthday a national holiday seems to me to be the very least we can do to show our great debt of gratitude for the lesson he taught all Americans willing to listen and learn.

He taught us that our democratic principles were seriously impaired if they did not apply equally to all Americans. He reminded us that the values of freedom, equality and liberty could not justly be denied to any group of Americans lest we all lose a degree of the same values.

He reminded us of our history: of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and of the sacrifices they made to liberty and freedom.

From the darkness of a Birmingham jail, this great black American taught us a lesson in justice. He taught us that laws and justice were sometimes at odds and did not necessarily complement each other. Furthermore, he always accepted with pride, dignity and courage; the consequences of his acts.

Dr. King demonstrated that justice is a creation of God while laws are manmade, and the latter being subject to the errors of man, are inferior to justice. As a result of his work, many bad laws were drastically changed so that justice might prevail.

One only need look in the lunch counters, neighborhoods, and schools in previously segregated sections of the country for evidence of this man's work. Where segregation once prevailed, integration is now a common practice and an accepted way of life.

Dr. King further taught us that the teachings of Christ are still the most effective methods by which to confront one's adversaries. He employed the Christian ethic of love thy neighbor and turn the other cheek as a means to attain his ends. Utilizing the Ghandian tactic of nonviolence, Dr. King boldly and bravely confronted his enemies and calmly convinced them of the errors in their ways.

He taught us that violence and hatred appeal to the baser nature of man and that patience and understanding will ultimately triumph in the eternal struggle between good and evil.

Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt that Dr. King touched the conscience of all Americans in a way that was painful but not damaging. He demonstrated that in an era of hatred, violence and bloodshed, love can prevail.

He made us understand that if we claim to be a civilized society, that we had better begin to treat our neighbors in a civilized manner. And for teaching us that nonviolence is the superior form of negotiation, he truly deserves the title of prophet of nonviolence.

And finally, he taught us that our dream of an ideal America can be a reality if only we work at making it so. As he stood at the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963, and shared his vision with America, he touched his country in a way it had seldom been touched before.

He shared with us his dream of black children, whites, and all children, holding hands as they walked on the red clay of Georgia, oblivious to racial distinctions and prejudice. He prophesied that the day would come when all God's children would be free and equal.

It is because of his vision and his work that we are much closer to a purely just and equal society. And it is because he shared his dream with us and then went out and made those dreams a reality that I introduce this legislation which would simply be our way of saying thank you to one of the great men in American history.

If we as a Nation remember Dr. King's birthday each year, it will provide us with an annual reminder that the pursuit of equal justice for all is a task we all share as American citizens—a task which will not be completed until we can truly say that no American is a second-class citizen.

Mr. Chairman, members of this distinguished committee, and fellow colleagues in the U.S. Senate, allow me to close with the quote that, "Greater love hath no man than that he lay down his life for that of another," and so it was with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that I know of no person that I felt closer to over what seems to be an increasing number of years than my distinguished colleague, friend, and chairman of this committee in our efforts to try to fight some of the inequities of injustice, bigotry and prejudice that existed and still exist in our society. And it has been a privilege to be there fighting for the common goals of Dr. Martin Luther King and a wide variety of leaders throughout this country, many of the most noble of which are here today, to join in this common testimony.

But there is still much to be done, which seems to me to be one of the reasons not to put off the establishment of this birthday holiday.

When I think of Dr. Martin Luther King, I have a lot of very personal thoughts. I did not have the privilege of knowing the man well. I knew him casually. Others knew him better. Perhaps those of you who did know him well can better speak to the dramatic impact he had on society generally. At the time of the death of this great man—I recall the chairman's brother making one of the most impassioned, heart-rending pleas of sanity and for patience and for understanding and for the perseverance in the task of rooting out discrimination. The late Robert Kennedy made his call for sanity in my home community at the news of this tragedy. In the march from Atlanta, going from Ebenezer Church to the college, it was a combination of sadness and joy, sadness that this great man would be taken from us, but the joy that the recognition of Americans of all walks, of all colors, of all religions, were determined to pick up this torch, just as we had to pick up other torches and we are going to be resolute to win this battle.

We have been told that this is a matter of State determination. Of course we all recognize that there have been a number—nine in number—of anniversaries which have been significant enough that the Congress of the United States has said that it is a matter of national importance.

We have been told that only two individuals were actually recognized, and indeed, this is true. But it seems to me in recognizing Washington's birthday, we were recognizing the creation of a country and recognizing Columbus' birthday, we were recognizing the actual discovery of a nation.

In recognizing Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday, we are not just recognizing Dr. Martin Luther King, we are recognizing goals, dreams, ambitions yet unfilled for about 15 percent of our population in this society.

The time has come, it seems to me, to make them feel a part of our society just as other segments of our society feel that they are full citizens.

As to Dr. Martin Luther King's place in history, those who do not adequately judge that he has already fulfilled whatever role one must fill to have a place in history apparently have not savored the atmosphere of change that now exists.

The cost? What are the costs of a national holiday? Perhaps more rightly, what are the costs of not having a holiday? What are the costs of second-class citizenship? What are the costs of a little black boy or a little black girl or a little brown boy or a little brown girl not having the opportunity to share in a national holiday of some great leader that happens to look like them, to come from the same heritage that they came from?

What are the costs of divisiveness that exists? I would like to turn that coin over, Mr. Chairman, and say what are the benefits? I hope and pray to God we will never come to the time where we let GSA or GAO or some of these other outfit agencies in this town determine what our country stands for. If everything is to be weighed on the great scale of dollars and cents, America will have lost its real value as a society and it was created differently than other societies.

To me, if you have to weigh it on that scale, then let us put the best price tag on belonging to the society, giving a significant segment of our society a feeling that they are treated equally and here is something that we can show as manifest evidence to that extent.

Whenever we can show that to a segment of our society, who may wonder if there is a place for them, who may wonder whether it is really worth making the sacrifice to achieve, then I think we have made it possible for future generations to excel in the ways that now are not available to them.

Forgive me, Mr. Chairman, for getting carried away further than I wanted, but I feel that this is an opportunity to tell really what we believe, not as individuals, but as a country.

I would be glad to take any questions. I assume you have to get on with other witnesses.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you for a very eloquent and commendable statement. I just might mention that I am sure that we are here to make at least part of the argument against the issue of costs, which I am sure will be raised time and time again. We will probably find in our part of the country that the holidays are actually the best business times more in terms of commercial advantage to businesses, industries. In terms of holidays, however, there is nothing mandated in this proposed legislation that will mean that businesses or industries are actually going to be closed.

I would hope that we could spell that out very early in the beginning of the discussion and the debate. I will include in the record the letter from the executive office of the OMB. They say employees who are required to work receive an additional day's pay estimated by OMB to be \$22 million in this fiscal year for each holiday of work, in the form of premium holidays. OMB advises that this premium pay is the only identifiable budgetary outlay resulting from a holiday.

So I think it is important to note that on the question of cost of the legislation that we are going to hear inflated statements and comments on just what OMB's estimate is. I can tell you at least in my part of the country that the most lucrative and successful commercial enterprises and transactions are conducted over holidays.

It is a tragedy that we have to address this issue in probably these bottom lines of dollars and cents, but I think probably it is important at the early part of the hearing to at least address it.

Senator Bayh?

Senator BAYH. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate you putting that OMB letter in the record. I think that correspondence of others I have seen which we ought to put in the record also shows that OMB's assessment of other holidays that were given that the employees usually made up the lost work by working harder and thus we ended up with no net loss if we had to get down to the dollars and cents, but I share the chairman's concern that this be decided on a greater basis.

Representative GARCIA. If I may, I think the subject of the dollars involved in the national holiday have been points that have been brought up in the Subcommittee on Census on several occasions. I just would like to join with the chairman and state that I have a letter addressed here to the chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Congressman Hanley, again signed by the Congressional

Budget Office, which supports the statement by the chairman of the \$22 million cost over this year and with the additional pay raise it should go up to \$23.5 million.

But I, too, would like to enter this into the record so that the record will be clear as to the cost of the holiday.

[The letter referred to is on file with the committee.]

Senator KENNEDY. We welcome Ambassador Young, if he would be good enough to come before us. He is an old friend to both this committee and to both Houses and we are very much honored by his presence and we look forward to his testimony. He is a good friend to all of us as a forceful spokesman in support of this legislation.

STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG, U.S. MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Ambassador YOUNG. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to thank the members of both the Senate and House committees for moving so rapidly on this legislation which the administration feels to be quite important. I at first asked that I not be the one to testify on this issue simply because of my very close friendship and long assistanceship to the late Dr. Martin Luther King, but it was at the request of the administration that I come as the administration spokesman to express the support of the administration for this legislation.

I think as we look at what was accomplished in the life of this Nation, in the sixties, there is a real sense in which we did experience a rebirth of the basic founding of the Nation in ways that include citizens that had been denied for many, many centuries.

I think too often we forget that much of the development of this Nation was the outgrowth of the work of some 4 million slaves over a period of almost 100 years, laboring without wages, and laboring for the most part without rights.

We saw, I think, our Nation develop in great turmoil and yet those descendants of slaves rose to the occasion to defend this Nation in almost every conceivable adversity, from the very first person to die in your home State for the independence, Crispus Attucks, a slave in the early demonstrations for freedom, through the Civil War and two great world wars. Black Americans have demonstrated both in work and in battle their importance to the survival of this Nation. Yet, it remained for Martin Luther King and the brother of the chairman, and President Lyndon Johnson who followed, to begin to translate the document of our Constitution to include the full freedoms for all of our citizens.

I think that Martin Luther King saw to it that we become a new Nation. He did so really fulfilling the prophecies of Thomas Jefferson, and of Frederick Douglass for many years. He used, first of all, his faith in God and this country and in human kindness as the basic source of idealism for bringing about change.

He exercised very freely, perhaps more freely than any other American, the privileges and responsibilities of the first amendment and never has our court system been put to such dramatic and productive use as it was during the sixties.

I would remind the committee that this was in fact a revolution but it was a revolution where the revolutionaries did not seek to shed blood nor to destroy property, but rather to utilize the institutions of our Government of the first amendment, the courts, the press, and finally the political system to bring about full participation and full freedom for all of the citizens of this Nation.

I would contend, Mr. Chairman, this was not just a contribution for black Americans. For Frederick Douglass always said that the struggle for freedom was a struggle to save black men's bodies and white men's souls. I think, as we look at our region of the country, 11 Southern States, and as we think of the turmoil, the poverty, of the difficulties in development through the early part of this century, and we think of the growth that is present now economically and politically, we are now called the sunbelt, the most dramatic growth region in the Nation perhaps and yet the Sun has been there for many, many years and it was only the coming together of black and white citizens in the South that made possible the tremendous economic takeoff and political takeoff that includes that reintegrated region as a full participant in our national politics.

Internationally, Mr. Chairman, I think the whole notion of human rights is one that came largely as a result of the ideals growing out of this civil rights movement, leading into the antiwar movement, and helping Americans to realize that our strength was not just military, but it was also moral.

I think in the signing of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, and the continuing negotiations between the United States and our Western allies, liberation movements and South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia, in our discussions on normalization with the People's Republic of China, we have a new kind of aggressive peacemaking foreign policy built on the values of this Nation that is not costing the Nation any money and, in fact, has been a tremendous savings in life.

It was something that your brother described in the little book, "Thirteen Days," as he described the nonviolent confrontation which could have destroyed the world had it not been for certain guidelines and principles of negotiation and of nonviolence that were adhered to and introduced by our Government that in fact served as a restraining force on the Soviet Union, and I often refer to that book as a classic of nonviolent decisionmaking in international affairs around the Cuban missile crisis.

I think we see that kind of foreign policy continuing and I attribute the full awareness of the philosophy of nonviolence and its application in our Nation to the movement and the spirit that Martin Luther King shared with this Nation.

I was in the Senator from South Carolina's home State not too long ago and I must say that I was amazed in speaking at a high school in suburban Columbia, S.C., that the total integration of that high school and the spirit in that community as a result of young people, black and white, studying together and seeking to solve problems together, was something I frankly never thought I would see in my lifetime.

My wife recently addressed the South Carolina State Legislature and came back to me surprised at the level of cooperation and development that we have seen in our region in less than a decade.

I contend all over the world that this is perhaps the greatest revolution that is taking place anywhere else in the world and no place has there been the opening up of promise and prosperity to so many citizens with so little loss of life and using the democratic machinery of this society to fulfill it.

I would also say about the cost as you did, Mr. Chairman, that the Office of Personnel Management has determined that Federal payroll is \$173 million a day. The additional cost of extra personnel that would have to work, the emergency personnel that would receive special pay, would be \$22 million, making the \$195 million that Senator Thurmond discussed, but that \$173 million would be paid anyway. And the additional cost would probably be only the \$22 million and we would contend that the Federal Government is a stimulant of growth in the private sector and, as you have pointed out, Mr. Chairman, that \$22 million would probably be compensated for in the District of Columbia alone.

But more important than that, I think that even if it was a Martin Luther King day sale, there would be a constant discussion of the ideals and values and principles and his meaning to this Nation. I must say that one of the things I regret is that we have not had a holiday for Thomas Jefferson also.

I think if we understood a little more about what Thomas Jefferson was doing in putting together the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, there would be much better philosophical understanding of the meaning of this Nation on the part of more of our citizens.

I think that Martin Luther King's birthday would become just such a focal point of analyzing what this Nation is about and what the human rights underpinning of our Constitution actually means to millions and millions of citizens of all classes and creeds and colors.

Senator KENNEDY. It is an excellent statement, Ambassador Young. I think, in listening to you make these comments, as I understand both this hearing and our consideration of this legislation, we are not trying to decide whether we do this Martin Luther King Day versus Abraham Lincoln Day or Thomas Jefferson Day. We are taking one issue, which is Martin Luther King Day, and we are considering that individually for all the reasons that you have spoken so eloquently, and Senator Bayh has, in making a decision on this particular issue and this particular judgment.

I think probably over the course of the debate and discussion, say, well, what about X, Y, and Z? We are not trying to make any other kind of decision. If others want to introduce legislation, we can consider that. But what we are talking about is this day: Martin Luther King Day; and that is the issue which is before us and what we are addressing here.

I have no questions. It is an excellent statement. Senator Thurmond?

Senator THURMOND. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KENNEDY. Birch?

Senator BAYH. I just would observe that it is a common role for our former colleague, Andy Young, to be willing to articulate the broader purpose of what we are about. We are in debt for the kind of sacrifice you make on a day-to-day basis to try to present the right

kind of impression throughout the world for what the United States is all about, which I think would be assisted by standing up and being for this kind of legislation. Thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Chairman, I might make this observation. It has been stated that this would cost only \$22 million. We must not forget that the Government pays salaries of \$173 million a day to the Federal employees. If they don't work, then the Government has got to give them the benefit of those services. In addition, as this letter states by Miss Rivlin, Director of the Congressional Budget Office, and I believe the Civil Service Commission's position is similar, that the total loss is \$195 million.

In other words, the average premium pay on a Federal holiday is currently estimated to be \$22 million. So there is no question about that point. It does cost the taxpayers of this Nation \$195 million: \$173 million for services not rendered and \$22 million to have to pay additionally to certain people who have to work that day, overtime, and so forth.

So I thought I might just clarify that statement.

Senator KENNEDY. We would be glad to have that. Did it give the additional revenues to the Federal Treasury from expenditures that would be made by those employees on that particular day? Have we calculated that in a particular letter? Senator, does it include that?

Senator THURMOND. This letter is by Ms. Rivin from the Budget Office. No; it doesn't say anything about that. I don't think that that is a question at issue at all. The question is, what is it going to cost the taxpayers of this country? We might as well face it. It is going to cost the taxpayers \$195 million.

Senator KENNEDY. In the calculations, of course, in any balance sheet, I always thought you took the intakes as well as the outflow, and I think when you are talking about one sector, you ought to talk about in terms of fairness of giving the expenditures, you also take the other aspects of it. But as you can see, we will get additional information on that.

Representative GARCIA. The next witness is a colleague of mine, a Member of Congress from the State of Michigan, a prime sponsor of the bill, along with 115 other Members of the House of Representatives, Congressman Conyers, of Michigan.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN CONYERS, JR., STATE OF MICHIGAN

Representative CONYERS. Good morning, Chairman Kennedy and Chairman Garcia.

[The prepared statement of Representative John Conyers, Jr., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN CONYERS

A month ago, the 50th anniversary of the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr. took place. The passing of time ordinarily has a way of dulling or tarnishing the memory of our national leaders. Such has not been the case with the memory of Dr. King. In America's history he stands among a small number of great leaders for whom respect, affection, and admiration have grown with each passing year.

I come before the Senate Judiciary Committee and its distinguished chairman,

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, to speak in support of legislation to make the birth-date of Dr. King—January 15—a national public holiday. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate is to be commended in holding public hearings on the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Holiday bill and in seeking to find the appropriate way to honor Dr. King.

DR. KING'S CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN LIFE

The sovereignty of the people is the central purpose of the American system of government. That purpose at various times in our history has manifested itself in public protest and petitioning of our government for the redress of grievances. Dr. King was the preeminent leader of popular political action in modern history. In practicing non-violent, direct action he embodied a great historical tradition—indeed, a great American tradition that originated with the Pilgrim's settlement in the 17th century, that continued with the Boston Tea Party on the eve of the American Revolution, and that in one form or another was exemplified in the public lives of Thomas Jefferson and Henry David Thoreau, among other Americans.

In all of his activities during the civil rights movements, Dr. King spoke for all people. "Black and White Together—We Shall Overcome" was Martin Luther King's credo to the last. It took some Americans a long time to recognize his credo, but it was finally acknowledged, as peoples throughout the world had acknowledged it from the beginning, when President Lyndon Johnson joined with him and the other participants of the civil rights movement. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that Dr. King help change the face of America. I am aware that the public holiday is an honor that, heretofore, has been reserved only for presidents and great national events. May I respectfully suggest that this honor also be conferred on Dr. King, who was the leader of the greatest modern example of popular political action in this country, the civil rights revolution.

THE HEROIC DIMENSION OF DR. KING'S LIFE

Martin Luther King, Jr. possessed extraordinary qualities. He was a deeply religious man, the son and grandson of two prominent ministers, at whose church—the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia—he too became a minister. His training in theology led from Atlanta's Morehouse College and Pennsylvania's Crozer Theological Seminary through the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard to Boston University, where he earned a Doctor of Philosophy degree. In his religious practice, in his preaching the social gospel—the teaching that it is man's duty not only to have faith, but also to serve others (according to Luke, "to heal the broken hearted, to free the captives, to set at liberty them that are bruised")—he helped transform the religious life of the American people and, indeed, of peoples throughout the world.

Dr. King's stature rests on many other qualities: a singular self-discipline and steadiness; an unshakable faith in the basic goodness of human beings; a single-minded dedication to raising up the lives of the disadvantaged; his inspiring and unforgettable speech; and exceptional courage. His politics was harnessed to an overriding moral force, as he led the Birmingham movement in 1963 to end legal segregation, the Selma movement to win full political rights, and the other campaigns of conscience in Montgomery and elsewhere to end segregation in public places, overcome housing and school discrimination, and win a better life for all people. History thrust the young minister into the leadership of the Montgomery bus boycott, after Rosa Parks, a young black woman, returning one evening from her work, refused to turn over her seat on the bus she was traveling. "If you protest courageously, and yet with dignity and Christian love," Dr. King told the assembled at the first mass meeting of the 1955 boycott, "when the history books are written in future generations, the historians will have to pause and say, 'there lived a great people—a Black people—who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization.'"

The combination of a few of these qualities would entitle any individual to a large measure of respect. Yet his greatness reached beyond even these qualities. The quality that above the rest touched the hearts of an entire world was his sense of hope, and his courage in acting on that hope, whatever the obstacles. In this he reached out to hundreds of millions of people whose lives were filled, instead, with suffering, disappointment, and despair. "This is our hope," Dr. King said on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in August, 1963, "this is the faith I go

back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope * * * [and] transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood."

In 1964 Dr. King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize; the third Black person, twelfth American, and the youngest person ever to achieve this supreme world honor.

GOING BEYOND BEING A BLACK SPOKESMAN

In the last years of his life, Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke out increasingly against the war in Vietnam. Many, including some of his closest advisors, questioned his judgment in getting involved in this most controversial issue of the day. "Over the past two years, as I have moved to break the betrayal of my own silences," Dr. King said:

"As I have called for radical departures from the destruction in Vietnam, many persons have questioned me about the wisdom of my path * * * Peace and civil rights don't mix, they say * * * I am greatly saddened, for such questions mean that the inquirers have not really known me, my commitment or my calling."

Dr. King was an opponent of the war because of its terrible cost in human lives, because it threatened to bring the United States and Soviet Union to the edge of nuclear war, and because it was destroying the promise held in "the war against poverty," as energies and resources were being diverted from that struggle to fight in Vietnam.

Dr. King refused to permit others to define the issues and the struggles that engaged his life. He refused to be typecast as a civil rights leader who had no business to question the government about its foreign policies. For him the civil rights struggle was inextricably linked to justice and peace. "I am still convinced," he said a few months before his assassination, "that the struggle for peace and the struggle for civil rights as we call it in America happened to be tied together * * * I feel that the people who are working for civil rights are working for peace; I feel that the people working for peace are working for civil rights and justice."

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND JUSTICE

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s tireless efforts in the north and south were largely responsible for the vitality of the civil rights movement and the passage of the landmark civil rights laws in the 1960's. It may be said that his counsel influenced Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in moving them toward leadership on civil rights.

His last activity, before his death, was the Poor People's Campaign. "We have developed an underclass in this nation," Dr. King said in 1968, "and unless this underclass is made a working class, we are going to continue to have problems. The bitterness is very deep as a result of these problems."

Civil rights was justice, and justice civil rights, to Dr. King, and justice was conceived in broad terms, including economic justice, the right to a job and the right to a decent wage for a job done well. He went to Memphis in April, 1968 to give his support to the sanitation workers who were calling for better conditions.

Dr. King and other ministers saw the need to create an institution that would be strong and respected enough to conduct the struggle for justice. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was conceived as that institution. Its cornerstone was the doctrine of non-violent civil disobedience, the willingness to call into question unjust laws, take responsibility for one's actions in doing so, but always to conduct the struggle on the highest moral and educational level. Many followers questioned whether change in America would come about non-violently. "We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline," Dr. King spoke at the Lincoln Memorial in 1963:

"We must not allow our creative protests to degenerate into physical violence. Many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. We cannot walk alone. We cannot turn back * * * No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream."

DR. KING THE TEACHER

Like the great teachers before him, his guiding lights—Christ, Socrates, Gandhi—Martin Luther King, Jr. engaged individuals in a process of seeking after the truth, which necessarily was a process of seeking after the good. He was convinced of the basic goodness of individuals, but he also knew that ignorance was widespread and change, frightening. Many critics accused Dr. King of fomenting

violence through his actions. They were unable to see that the tragic violence that occurred during the civil rights struggle did not arise out of the civil disobedience of Dr. King's movement, but out of the conditions of anger, antagonism, tension, and violence that existed very close to the surface of everyday life. In Dr. King's words, the tension that already existed had to be "exposed, with all the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured." "You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws," Dr. King wrote a group of clergymen as he sat in the Birmingham City Jail in April, 1963, "This is certainly a legitimate concern * * * One may well ask: 'How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others.' The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust * * * in terms of St. Thomas Aquinas: an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust * * * One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty."

While in jail in Birmingham, Dr. King said he never felt more like being a full partner in the making of American law as when he was sitting in the Birmingham jail.

Lerone Bennett, the historian and Dr. King's biographer, has written: "His grace, like Gandhi's, grows out of a complicated relation not to oppression, but to the ancient scourges of man, to pain, to suffering, to death. Men who conquer the fear of these things in themselves acquire extraordinary power over themselves and over others * * * Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. has taught us not only how to die, but also, and more importantly, how to live."

COMMEMORATING DR. KING

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s memory is honored in a great many different ways, at home and abroad. Thirteen States, as well as most major cities in the United States, honor Dr. King either through public holidays or days of observance. In the 94th Congress both Houses came close to resolving to have a statue or bust placed in the Capitol. Because Dr. King's memory is honored by peoples throughout the world, his gravesite in Atlanta has become a national shrine at which world leaders have paid their respects.

In each Congress from the 90th Congress onward, I have introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to designate Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday. This legislation already has 105 cosponsors in the 96th Congress. Similar legislation sponsored by Senator Birch Bayh has been introduced this year in the Senate, and has to date 19 cosponsors.

We ought to have a way to honor this human being and reaffirm the ideals he lived and died for. To honor him through a national holiday would also, of course, bestow a great honor on black Americans and represent another step forward in reconciling the lives and dreams of all the peoples who compose the American nation. Designating his birthdate a national holiday would create an event for all Americans. For Dr. King championed justice and liberty for all Americans. He exemplified a very special ideal in human history—the ideal of serving one's fellow human being in the ways of freedom and justice. In teaching us how to live in justice and in freedom, and how to die as well, he taught us a great deal, indeed.

Representative CONYERS [continuing]. I am very delighted and privileged to be here. This is a great day in the Congress.

I couldn't help but think as I listened to the excellent testimony so far that I am one of a dwindling number of people who knew Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., before he ascended the heights of greatness as a leader of such eminence.

I knew Mrs. Coretta Scott King in much earlier years. I remember Andrew Young as—not as an ambassador nor as a Congressman—but as a minister, and as an assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King.

This is a great morning for me. I am very pleased and privileged that these hearings would open under such august circumstances, and the difference—and I think it must be spread upon the record—that makes these hearings possible is that not only has the chairman of the

Senate Committee on the Judiciary spoken about this matter, but our colleague, Senator Bayh, has also spoken out on this matter, joined in with the voice of no less than the President of the United States. Today, here in the Senate more than a quarter of the Senators support the legislation. The bottleneck in this body has been finally broken. This is very important. And I feel personally indebted to the people whom I have mentioned.

The real question, when one puts all of the peripheral issues to one side, is very fundamental. Is Dr. Martin Luther King great enough to warrant a public, legal holiday in his name?

It is a legitimate question, which has to be answered by every Member of the Congress.

Was Dr. King great enough to warrant a public, legal holiday in his name—a law passed and enacted by the Congress and signed by the President of the United States?

I hope that for any Member of this body who has to seriously debate or go to the records or would want to seek research on this question, will earnestly do so. And I offer myself to assist him in that discovery.

In my judgment, it is really quite simple. If one understands that Christopher Columbus discovered this country and is remembered for it, and that George Washington founded this Nation and is remembered for it, it seems to me inescapably clear that Martin Luther King kept this country together and has caused the rebirth and reaffirmation of us all to the ideals of freedom, justice, and peace.

It seems entirely appropriate that Columbus, Washington, and King would in fact be the three individuals singled out for national permanent, public recognition.

When we say we want a public holiday named after Martin Luther King I think we are saying something to the past, we are speaking to the present, and we are also speaking to the future of this country. It is enormously important that not just a black hero be recognized, not just a man who founded and reinfused the civil-rights movement be honored. No. It is really much, much more than that.

It is our expression of understanding at the Federal level that Martin Luther King, the man, his ideas and his legacy, are the very cement that brings and binds this Nation together. It expresses our understanding that he is the embodiment of a national movement for justice that aroused this Nation in the 20th century in the great unselfish way that he lived, and the great way that he died and that Martin Luther King of all people must be singled out for the reverence and the honor that is implicit in making his birthday a national public holiday.

If all of us in the Congress who are and will be called upon to cast a ballot in this matter would examine it from these premises, I feel absolutely certain that this bill will be passed this year, in the first year of this 96th session of Congress.

I am very, very happy to join the other Representatives who urge the passage of this legislation—119 Congressmen right now, and the numbers grow every week—because the move is on. The country desperately needs this legislation at this time.

The Martin Luther King National Holiday bill is a timely piece of legislation. And I think that the judgment reflected in the endorsement

of the cosponsors of this bill will prove to be correct, eminently sound, and to the satisfaction of the majority of the people of this country, not just now but for all time.

Thank you very much.

Representative GARCIA. I would just like to add a few words to what you said, Congressman.

I represent the south Bronx, which has been given a lot of publicity over the past several years. But I represent a community that is largely black and Hispanic.

I share your sentiments, because I can remember that during the early sixties, when I was first entering into elective office as a member of the State legislature, that there was a very cooling effect that Dr. King's participation caused.

There were times in the south Bronx and in east Harlem, which I represented as a State senator, when, in fact, young people wanted to take to the streets. It was only because of that nonviolent approach that we were able to subdue those heated feelings and to keep things going—keep things going in an orderly fashion.

I welcome the testimony. I think it is excellent.

I would like to hope that 1979 is a year that we honor this man who deserves to be honored so much.

Senator KENNEDY. I just want to thank you, Congressman, for your testimony.

I remember that at the time of the anniversary celebration of the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change in Atlanta, when you chaired the forum on this particular issue, the nature of the discussion—the debate that was held at that time—I remember the constructive comments that were made at that time by those who gathered at that particular occasion.

I know that these comments today come from deep down in your soul and heart as well as your mind. You have given this a lot of thought. You know the meaning of this issue, as do Ambassador Young and Senator Bayh.

I want to join in welcoming you here before the committee.

Thank you very much.

Mr. McDonald had indicated a desire to testify. Then he called and asked if his statement could be made a part of the record.

[The prepared statement of Congressman Larry P. McDonald follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN LARRY P. McDONALD

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to appear here today and to testify in opposition to S. 25, a bill to designate Martin Luther King Day as a Federal holiday. I regret that my testimony cannot be more detailed, but there was a great deal of difficulty in determining from your staff whether I would be permitted to testify and whether that would be in person and when. I received final word just yesterday morning at 10:30. However, I do want to go on record on the matter, in spite of not being able to present a complete statement.

In my strong view, Martin Luther King is at best a controversial figure, and history has not yet made its final judgment on the man; so, I feel this legislation is premature. Certainly from what we know, our Federal Government—meaning the Executive Branch—had very mixed feelings about Mr. King when he was living and the manner in which he was going about reaching his "Civil Rights" goals.

The other questions that arise are those of cost and a plentitude of Federal holidays. Each Federal holiday costs the government hundreds of millions of dollars to pay our Federal employees for not working and enactment of this bill would add to our already bad fiscal problem. There is also the question of paying

essential government employees millions of additional dollars to keep the government moving during yet another Federal holiday. We now have nine Federal holidays.

This whole subject of Mr. King is an emotion-charged one and I, therefore, hope to give detailed testimony on this legislation at a later date, either to this committee or to another appropriate committee.

Thank you.

Senator KENNEDY [continuing]. We have other statements of other Members of the Congress as well as of other Senators. They will be made a part of the record at the appropriate place.

I would ask Mrs. King if she would be good enough to come forward.

We welcome Mrs. King as our—first of all—a long-time friend. She is a person who has appeared before our Judiciary Committee on a number of different occasions.

Mrs. King is certainly a person who personifies the hopes and dreams of her husband. She has been tireless in fighting for the cause of human rights and social justice—not just for blacks in this country but for all Americans.

Coretta King has been eloquent. She doesn't shake the rafters, but her eloquence shakes the conscience of the American people.

Mrs. King, we look forward to hearing your testimony.

STATEMENT OF CORETTA SCOTT KING, CENTER FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Mrs. KING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and your distinguished colleagues.

I am deeply honored to have been invited to testify on behalf of S. 25, the Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday bill.

[The prepared statement of Mrs. Coretta King follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MRS. CORETTA KING

Chairman Kennedy, Senator Bayh, your distinguished colleagues, I am honored to have been invited to testify on behalf of S. 25, the Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday bill.

For more than a decade, we at the Martin Luther King, Jr. center for social change have been working toward the day when Martin's birthday, January 15, becomes a federal holiday. We strongly believe that, in this fiftieth anniversary year of Martin's birth, the time is now right to begin a major legislative drive to make his dream a reality.

Our reasons for taking this action go beyond personal feelings, for we deeply believe, along with millions of Americans of good will, that, in the interest of improved human relations in our country, there should be a national holiday honoring a black American. A national holiday each January 15 would be much more than a focal point for honoring the contributions of blacks to American history. In addition, it would serve as an annual reminder to Americans of all races that there is a vital relationship between nonviolent protest and the promise of democracy.

It may be argued that, throughout American history, there have been many black historical figures other than Martin who deserve to be honored with a holiday in their name—from Crispus Attucks to Harriet Tubman to Booker T. Washington to name just a very few. But it should be remembered that previous black leaders necessarily addressed issues that tended to concern blacks exclusively, while Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke to us all.

It is also true that Martin Luther King, Jr. was the first to lead a mass-based movement which nonviolently struggled for justice and achieved significant social and legal reforms that improved the lives of millions of Americans.

In addition, perhaps more than any other black American, the name of Martin Luther King, Jr. is widely known throughout the World. Even in countries that have no black citizens one can find buildings, streets and organizations which bear his name. My father-in-law, Dr. Martin Luther King, Sr. recently returned from a mission to eastern Europe. He was deeply moved by the fact that, in Hungary alone, there were no less than five churches named after Martin. It is clear that people who are yearning for freedom everywhere regard Martin as an outstanding example of what is right about America.

At present, fourteen states and hundreds of cities and towns across America observe Martin's birthday as a legal holiday. In addition, hundreds of private businesses are closed and several major labor unions have secured a January 15 holiday under their collective bargaining contracts. It is undoubtedly accurate to say that millions of Americans already have a day off on January 15 and the prospects that the number will increase, with or without Federal legislation, are bright indeed because the holiday drive has steadily gathered momentum at the state and local level over the last five years.

Mr. Chairman, I fully expect that the principal opposition to S. 25 will come from those who contend that another Federal holiday is just "too expensive." The opponents of this legislation will undoubtedly try to hang a price tag on S. 25 in the name of fiscal responsibility. For those who are sincere in their concern, this is a legitimate question, which I will shortly address. But to those who would use this issue as a smokescreen to avoid dealing with the real importance of this bill, I can only say that this is the most reprehensible evasion of all.

At the most simplistic level, it appears that reducing the number of working days for Federal employees even by one would cost the taxpayers something, however small. But any attempt to make an accurate estimate on the real net cost is futile because it is impossible to calculate the offsetting increase in Government revenues that would naturally occur as a result of the increased holiday-related economic activity of millions of consumers.

Those who suggest that the United States cannot afford another holiday must also bear the burden of explaining how the European democracies can afford to maintain a standard of four weeks paid vacation throughout industry and government without any apparent ill-effects on their economies. Perhaps the most revealing example is the German economy, which presently boasts the world's strongest currency.

Another point I would make to challenge the economic argument against S. 25 is that it is fitting and proper that American workers deserve another paid holiday. The last time Congress voted a new federal holiday since 1942. Since that time there has been a substantial increase in the gross national product. Is it not fair that working people should share in the fruits of economic expansion, even if it is generated by automation and new technologies?

The final issue that must be faced as we consider the economic impact of adding another holiday to the federal workweek is the economic role of slavery in the growth of America's prosperity. Few reputable historians would deny the role of slavery in America's arrival to the forefront of the industrial revolution in the late nineteenth century. And, it would be hard to imagine how American industry could have financed its expansion without the enormous pool of unpaid agricultural labor that was available until the Emancipation Proclamation in 1862. I am not asking for reparations to the black community. No amount of money can compensate for the brutal injustice of slavery in the United States. But, given the hundreds of years of economic sacrifice and involuntary servitude of America's blacks, is it too much to ask that one paid holiday per year be set aside to honor the contributions of a black man who gave his life in an historic struggle for social decency?

I think that deep in our hearts we all know the answers to the questions I have just raised. The economic case against S. 25 is, at base, logically and morally untenable and I would ask all of its proponents to honestly address these questions.

In the days after my husband's assassination Congress was inundated with petitions calling for a holiday for Martin Luther King, Jr. I know for example, that one radio station in Newark, New Jersey collected over 250,000 signatures endorsing a national holiday in honor of Martin's life and work. But, in retrospect, it is probably better that this tidal wave of national sympathy did not carry the

day because the passage of time has only underscored the vital importance of his extraordinary contributions, a development which should encourage massive bipartisan support of S. 25 and H.R. 15.

At the time we could not have known the full effects of his campaign for full voting rights for all Americans. In the years after the passage of the voting rights act of 1965, millions of blacks went to the polls for the first time and elected thousands of blacks at every level of representative government. The result was a more than tenfold increase in the number of black office holders in the south alone by 1973.

Equally, the struggle Martin led for desegregation of public accommodations, which resulted in the civil rights act of 1964, has changed for all time the way we relate to each other. And, it has set the stage for the entry of some 25 million citizens into the mainstream of American society, a process which is still underway.

The full effects of Martin's successful campaign for desegregation of educational institutions is still being felt. There can be no question that our country has been greatly strengthened by the growing role of educated blacks in American society.

Finally, I am convinced that the anti-war movement, which forced a reluctant president to negotiate an end to our horrible national nightmare in Vietnam, owes a good deal of its success to the nonviolent strategy that Martin taught a generation of concerned students as well as to his active leadership of the peace movement beginning in 1967.

A holiday on Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday would therefore be a day of reflection on the value of the nonviolent method for advancing justice, equality and peace in America and throughout the world.

It would be a signal that America does indeed respect the legitimate aspirations and contributions of black people. It would also be the first national holiday in honor of an American who gave his life in a labor struggle and it would serve as an inspiration to young people who will be challenged to excellence by the impressive array of accomplishments of a man who was the youngest person ever to win the Nobel Peace Prize at the age of 35.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Bayh and all of the cosponsors of S. 25 and H.R. 15, in closing I want to express my admiration for the courage you have shown in your support of this legislation. I am well aware that your commitment comes at a time when it is fashionable to oppose even the slightest increase in benefits for Government workers. I hope that today I have helped to dispel some of the concerns that this bill might be economically unsound.

Let me assure you that you have the wholehearted endorsement of the Martin Luther King, Jr. center for social change as well as the support of many millions of Americans.

I want to say how deeply moved I am that you, Mr. Chairman, have given leadership to this legislation—and my good friend, Senator Bayh, and, of course, Chairman Garcia, and others who are supporting it—and to be here with my colleagues, and good friends, Andy Young and John Conyers.

I might say that Congressman Conyers has, I know, been carrying this torch for a long time, since 1968. And we are very grateful to him for keeping it alive.

I am extremely pleased that today I appear here to give testimony on what we feel is an important issue and a cause that we would hope that most Americans would support.

I believe that the majority of the right-thinking Americans will.

For more than a decade, we at the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Social Change have been working toward the day when Martin's birthday, January 15, becomes a Federal holiday. We strongly believe that in this 50th anniversary year of Martin's birth, the time is now right to begin a major legislative drive to make this dream a reality.

It is already underway, as we made it an important agenda item and as we celebrated his birthday this last January.

You, Mr. Chairman, made a very important statement in support of it at our annual celebration in Atlanta. We thank you for that—as

well as Representative Conyers, who led one of our workshops and made an important statement, which I believe did do a great deal of good.

Our reasons for taking this action go beyond personal feelings, for we deeply believe, along with millions of other Americans of good will, that, in the interest of improved human relations in our country, there should be a national holiday honoring a black American, a national holiday each January 15, which would be much more than a focal point for honoring the contributions of blacks to American history. We believe that, in addition, it would serve as an annual reminder to Americans of all races that there is a vital relationship between nonviolent protest and the promise of democracy.

It may be argued that throughout American history, there have been many black historical figures other than Martin who deserve to be honored with a holiday in their name—from Crispus Attucks to Harriet Tubman to Booker T. Washington—to name just a few. But it should be remembered that previous black leaders necessarily addressed issues that tended to concern blacks exclusively while Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke to us all.

It is also true that Martin Luther King, Jr., was the first to lead a mass-based movement that nonviolently struggled for justice and achieved significant social and legal reforms, which improved the lives of millions of Americans and which made our country stronger.

In addition, perhaps, more than any other black American, the name of Martin Luther King, Jr., is widely known throughout the world. Even in countries that have no black citizens, one can find buildings, streets, and organizations that bear his name.

My father-in-law, Dr. Martin Luther King, Sr., recently returned from a mission to Eastern Europe. He was deeply moved by the fact that in Hungary alone, there were no less than five churches named after Martin.

It is clear that people who are yearning for freedom everywhere regard Martin as an outstanding example of what is right about America.

At present, 14 States and hundreds of cities and towns across America observe Martin's birthday as a legal holiday. In addition, hundreds of private businesses are closed and several major labor unions have secured a January 15 holiday under their collective-bargaining contracts.

It is accurate to say, undoubtedly, that millions of Americans already have a day off on January 15 and that the prospects that the number will increase, with or without Federal legislation, are bright, indeed, because the holiday drive has steadily gathered momentum at the State and local level over the last 5 years.

Mr. Chairman, I fully expect that the principal opposition to S. 25 will come from those who contend that another Federal holiday is just "too expensive." The opponents of this legislation will try, undoubtedly, to hang a price tag on S. 25 in the name of fiscal responsibility.

For those who are sincere in their concern, this is a legitimate question, which I will shortly address. But to those who would use this issue as a smokescreen to avoid dealing with the real importance of this bill, I can only say that this is the most reprehensible evasion of all.

At the most simplistic level, it appears that reducing the number of working days for Federal employees even by one would cost the taxpayers something, however small. But any attempt to make an accurate estimate on the real net cost is futile, because it is impossible to calculate the offsetting increase in Government revenues that would naturally occur as a result of the increased holiday-related economic activity of millions of consumers.

Those who suggest that the United States cannot afford another holiday must also bear the burden of explaining how the European democracies can afford to maintain a standard of 4 weeks of paid vacation throughout industry and Government without any apparent ill effects on their economies. Perhaps the most revealing example of this is the German economy, which presently boasts the world's strongest currency.

Another point I would make to challenge the economic argument against S. 25 is that it is fitting and proper that American workers deserve another paid holiday.

The last time that Congress voted a new Federal holiday was in 1942. Since that time, there has been a substantial increase in the gross national product.

Is it not fair that working people should share in the fruits of economic expansion, even if it is generated by automation and new technologies?

The final issue that must be faced as we consider the economic impact of adding another holiday to the Federal workweek is the economic role of slavery in the growth of America's prosperity.

Few reputable historians would deny the role of slavery in America's arrival to the forefront of the industrial revolution in the late 19th century. And it would be hard to imagine how American industry could have financed its expansion without the enormous pool of unpaid agricultural labor that was available until the Emancipation Proclamation in 1862.

I am not asking for reparations to the black community. No amount of money can compensate for the brutal injustice of slavery in the United States.

But, given the hundreds of years of economic sacrifice and involuntary servitude of America's blacks, is it too much to ask that one paid holiday per year be set aside to honor the contributions of a black man who gave his life in a historic struggle for social decency?

I think that, deep in our hearts, we all know the answers to the questions I have just raised.

The economic case against S. 25 is, at base, logically and morally untenable. And I would ask all of its proponents to honestly address these questions.

In the days after my husband's assassination, Congress was inundated with petitions calling for a holiday for Martin Luther King, Jr.

I know, for example, that one radio station in Newark, N.J., collected over 250,000 signatures endorsing a national holiday in honor of Martin's life and work.

But, in retrospect, it is probably better that this tidal wave of national sympathy did not carry the day, because the passage of time has only underscored the vital importance of his extraordinary contributions, a development which should encourage massive bipartisan support of S. 25 and H.R. 15.

At the time we could not have known the full effects of his campaign for full voting rights for all Americans. In the years after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, millions of blacks went to the polls for the first time and elected thousands of blacks at every level of representative government. The result was more than a tenfold increase in the number of black officeholders in the South alone by 1973.

Equally, the struggle Martin led for desegregation of public accommodations, which resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, has changed for all time the way we relate to each other. And it has set the stage for the entry of some 25 million citizens into the mainstream of American society, a process that is still underway.

The full effects of Martin's successful campaign for desegregation of educational institutions are still being felt. There can be no question that our country has been greatly strengthened by the growing role of educated blacks in American society.

Finally, I am convinced that the antiwar movement, which forced a reluctant President to negotiate an end to our horrible national nightmare in Vietnam, owes a good deal of its success to the nonviolent strategy that Martin taught a generation of concerned students as well as to his active leadership of the peace movement beginning in 1967.

I have mentioned these highlights of my husband's career not merely to convince you that he was a great man but, more importantly, I am asking you to consider that, taken together, these achievements greatly strengthened our country. They have done much to set us on the direct course for that beloved community Martin described.

The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change has launched a massive petition to campaign to help encourage Congress to establish January 15 as a national holiday. And while it is true that I would be personally gratified to see this legislation become the law of the land, I want to emphasize that the central concern of our holiday movement is to honor an idea that is far greater than any one person. It is an idea that scholars have traced as far back as the fifth century B.C. in ancient Rome—when the plebeians first protested the tyranny of the patrician aristocracy. It is the idea that the nonviolent protest can achieve significant social progress, however formidable the forces of oppression may appear to be.

A holiday on Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday would be, therefore, a day of reflection on the value of the nonviolent method for advancing justice, equality, and peace in America and throughout the world.

It would be a signal that America does indeed respect the legitimate aspirations and contributions of black people.

It would also be the first national holiday in honor of an American who gave his life in a labor struggle.

And it would serve as an inspiration to young people, who will be challenged to excellence by the impressive array of accomplishments of a man who was the youngest person ever to win the Nobel Peace Prize—at the age of 35.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Bayh and all of the cosponsors of S. 25 and H.R. 15: In closing, I want to express my admiration for the courage you have shown in your support of this legislation.

I am well aware that your commitment comes at a time when it is fashionable to oppose even the slightest increase in benefits for Government workers.

I hope that today I have helped to dispel some of the concerns that this bill might be economically unsound.

Let me assure you that you have the wholehearted endorsement of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change, as well as the support of many millions of Americans.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much, Mrs. King, for an excellent statement and comment and support of this program.

I think you have reminded us all of the enormous significance of this proposed legislation not only to black Americans, but to all Americans. This has been a theme that has been ongoing and continuing during the course of the testimony here today and the lessons of this experience in terms of what it means to the American Nation, the commitment toward nonviolence, the commitment toward the utilizations of our institutions to achieve a change, the commitment in terms of the religious experience which is so fundamental in terms of this country's beliefs and its origins and its continuation.

I think this has been important testimony and of great value to this committee.

I want to thank you personally for it.

Representative GARCIA. I would like to join with the chairman, Mrs. King, and state to you that during the course of your testimony, when you spoke about the young people, as a person who represents the district with so many young people who are looking for something to cling on to, something to hope for, we have not progressed in terms of the social changes that we had all hoped for. But I believe we have to give some hope to this, some inspiration.

I think if we could make and finally accomplish in the year 1979, the goal of the holiday in behalf of your husband, I think it means so much to the young people of America who come from communities such as mine, to let them know that within our Federal system that, indeed, there are people who are concerned about their future.

I just think this is a beacon light for us to move forward on. I am deeply appreciative for your testimony.

Senator THURMOND. Mrs. King, we are glad to have you with us. I have no questions.

Senator HEFLIN. Mrs. King, I want to thank you for your life and your work. I have been a great individual to follow your husband in the way you have, and I think that you yourself deserve great recognition.

Mr. PASHAYAN, JR. Mrs. King, I appreciate your very moving testimony. I think there is very little disagreement that your husband was a very great man; that is, his impact on the course of history and I appreciate your testimony.

Senator BAYH. Mrs. King, I want to echo the gratitude already expressed. Since you are continuing through the Social Change Center to carry on the work, is it your assessment that the establishment of this symbolic holiday would assist you in carrying on the unfinished business of your late husband?

Mrs. KING. I think so. It seems to me that the most important affirmative of this Nation's willingness to live out the meaning of its creed, that Martin often talked about, would be the recognition that would come to Martin's contributions.

It seems to me that those people who would argue that this Nation does not really believe in what it preaches, does not practice it, that argument would be greatly diluted with a holiday, because it says a great deal if this Nation is willing to make Martin, Jr.'s, birthday a national holiday.

It says a great deal about how far we have come in terms of our willingness to give black Americans and all Americans an equal chance, and equal share in this society.

Senator KENNEDY. I want to thank you very much, again, Mrs. King. It is personally a pleasure to see you again.

Thank you, very, very, much.

Representative GARCIA. The next witness or witnesses, I don't know if they want to appear jointly, Dr. Joseph Lowery, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

STATEMENT OF REV. JOSEPH E. LOWERY, PRESIDENT, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Dr. LOWERY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of this distinguished body, both committees.

[The prepared statement of Rev. Joseph E. Lowery follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF REV. JOSEPH E. LOWERY

Mr. Chairman and members of this distinguished body, I am grateful for the opportunity to speak on behalf of legislation to designate the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., a national holiday. This recognition and honor of the life and work of Martin Luther King, Jr., would moreover, contribute to the designation of America as a land whose national resolve is to seek justice, cherish peace, offer equality of opportunity, and hold in highest esteem a man whose life characterized and epitomized such resolution. No American has embodied these principles in his life and work in more eloquent fashion than Dr. King. He was, and his legacy remains, a living crusade against racism, poverty, and war. To bestow Congressional affirmation upon such embodiment is to declare to the world that we are a nation willing, even compelled, to enact into legislation a national observance which proudly recognizes the noble struggle of the human spirit for dignity, fulfillment and liberation.

While it is regrettably true, that in our more than 200 year history we have not so honored a black American, the designation of Dr. King's birthday as a national holiday would transcend the issue of race and color. Martin Luther King's leadership gave all Americans—white, black, yellow, red and brown—a new sense of worth and purpose. His leadership helped Americans gain a new understanding and appreciation for our interdependence in the journey toward our national goals. Martin lifted our level of awareness that the paths to fulfillment for all Americans—regardless of race or color—are intersecting paths.

Establishing Dr. King's birthday as a national holiday will especially help American youth of today and tomorrow recognize the nobility and worth of his life and work.

Dr. King's prophetic denunciation of war as a denial of universal brotherhood and a violation of the sacredness of human personality strengthened our alliance with people of peace and good will around the world. His vision of the day when peace with justice would "roll down like waters" challenged all of us to turn from greed to generosity; callousness to caring; violence to non-violence and from death to life.

His commitment to non-violence undoubtedly spared the nation the trauma of the destruction that would have accompanied the social change that might have come through alternative means * * * for change had to come.

His leadership provided the opportunity for a nation which claimed to "trust in God" to translate our profession into a procession of judicial, legislative, and executive acts which Martin clarified as moral imperatives.

His leadership brought together a coalescence of communities and disciplines that demonstrated the unity in diversity that portends a greatness unparalleled in nationhood * * * under God.

His leadership personified the spirit of a people whose historic dedication to liberty caused them to tread the unknown, dare to do the dangerous, pioneer into the perilous * * * knowing that the reward of liberty is more precious than the price the struggle compels us to pay. Willing to pay that price, Martin Luther King, Jr., sought freedom for all God's children knowing that those who mind the chains that bind (others) are also bound.

His leadership taught us that revolutionary change can occur within the context of non-violence when a people inspired and motivated by a sense of justice and the efficacy of love are so determined.

Yes, the designation Dr. King's birthday as a national holiday will do deserved honor to him, and will likewise honor the nation and the family of man * * * and I respectfully urge and support its immediate implementation. Such an act could very well be the force that launches nationally a new and urgent journey toward brotherhood. Believe me, the nation needs such leadership today. Yet, I am compelled to say that such legislation * * * isolated and apart from the continuing enactment of measures that contribute to the goals delineated by King's life and "dream" * * * will ring with hollow sound, and echo the frustration which currently unfolds us.

I am certain that you, the members of this panel are aware that such a victory would be empty and Pyrrhic, nevertheless, as a co-founder of SCLC with Martin, and as one who served as vice-president and chairman of the board with him * * * and as one who now holds the awesome responsibility of sitting where he sat, I am compelled by conscience and driven by sacred duty to remind us that his "dream" remains woefully unfulfilled. In 1970 * * * 20 months following Martin's tragic death * * * black family income reached as high as 61% of white family income. Today, however, I am saddened to report that black family income has declined to 57-59% of whites, which is only slightly better than 1957 when SCLC was founded and Martin Luther King, Jr., led the beginning of that historic movement. Black unemployment today is officially indexed at 2 and 1/3 times the rate of white unemployment. It is more accurately stated at 3 to 4 times higher. So to be truly meaningful * * * as important and urgent as it is * * * this legislation designating Dr. King's birthday as a national holiday must be enacted as one of many important steps in an accelerated march toward the realization of the dream of this great and martyred American. A dream which is in essence the American dream: that this land will truly become the land of the free as well as the home of the brave. The bravest of whom * * * as did Martin * * * gave their lives for that dream * * * not realizing the promise themselves but having seen it afar * * * so-willed it for their brothers and sisters, sons and daughters that they lay down their lives * * * in the hope that we will carry on that struggle toward the day when "every man might sit under his own vine and fig tree and none need be afraid" * * * nor hungry * * * nor unemployed * * * nor ill housed * * * nor without adequate health care * * * nor lacking educational opportunity. * * *

In the hope that we will carry on the struggle toward that day when in Martin's words "empty stomachs * * * will be filled, and brotherhood will be more than a few words at the close of a prayer, but rather the first order of business on every legislative agenda. * * *"

* * * in the hope * * * that we will carry on the struggle toward that day when in the halls of social and economic justice * * * color will be irrelevant; toward that day when black will not be asked to get back; when brown can with dignity stick around; red can get ahead * * * and white will act all right. Thank you.

Dr. LOWERY [continuing]. SCLC, whose first president was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has sponsored petitions across the Nation since 1968 until this day for this legislation, and we are grateful for your leadership, Chairman Kennedy, Senator Bayh, Congressman Conyers, Congressman Garcia, and others.

This recognition and honor of the life and work of Martin Luther King, Jr., would moreover contribute to the designation of America as a land whose national resolve is to seek justice, cherish peace, offer

equality of opportunity, and hold in highest esteem a man whose life characterized and epitomized such resolution.

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His commitment to nonviolence undoubtedly spared the Nation the trauma of the destruction that would have accompanied the social change that might have come through alternative means, for change had to come.

His leadership provided the opportunity for a Nation which claimed to "trust in God" to translate our profession into a procession of judicial, legislative, and executive acts which Martin clarified as moral imperatives.

His leadership brought together a coalescence of communities and disciplines that demonstrated the unity in diversity that portends a greatness unparalleled in nationhood—under God. If Columbus discovered America, Martin helped America discover itself.

If Washington established a Nation, Martin led the Nation to understand that there can be no nationhood without brotherhood.

His leadership personified the spirit of a people whose historic dedication to liberty caused them to tread the unknown, dare to do the dangerous, pioneer into the perilous—knowing that the reward of liberty is more precious than the price the struggle compels us pay.

Willing to pay that price, Martin Luther King, Jr., sought freedom for all God's children knowing that those who mind the chains that bind [others] are also bound.

Senator KENNEDY. You are beginning to preach a little bit here.

Dr. LOWERY. Yes. I am about to take an offering. [Laughter.]

His leadership taught us that revolutionary change can occur within the context of nonviolence, when a people inspired and motivated by a sense of justice and the efficacy of love are so determined.

Yes, the designation of Dr. King's birthday as a national holiday will do deserved honor to him, and will likewise honor the Nation and the family of man, and I respectfully urge and support its immediate implementation.

Such an act could very well be the force that the Nation so vitally needs that launches a new and urgent national journey toward brotherhood and justice. Believe me, the Nation needs such leadership today. Yet, I am compelled to say that such legislation, isolated and apart from the continuing enactment of measures that contribute to the goals delineated by King's life and "dream," will ring with hollow sound, and echo the frustration which currently enfolds us.

I am certain that you, the members of this panel are aware that such a victory of legislation without continuing movement toward the goals of his dream would be empty.

Nevertheless, as a cofounder of SCLC with Martin, one who served as vice president and chairman of the board with him, and as one who now holds the awesome responsibility of sitting where he sat, I am compelled by conscience and driven by sacred duty to remind us that his "dream" remains woefully unfulfilled.

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Today, however, I am saddened to report that black family income has declined to 57-59 percent of whites, which is only slightly better than 1957 when SCLC was founded and Martin Luther King, Jr., led the beginning of that historic movement.

Black unemployment today is officially indexed at 2½ times the rate of white unemployment. It is more accurately stated at three to four times higher. So to be truly meaningful, as important and urgent as it is, this legislation designating Dr. King's birthday as a national holiday must be enacted as one of many important steps in an accelerated march toward the realization of the dream of this great and martyred American.

A dream which is in essence the American dream: That this land will truly become the land of the free as well as the home of the brave. The bravest of whom, as did Martin, gave their lives for that dream, not realizing the promise themselves but having seen it afar, so willed it for their brothers and sisters, sons and daughters that they lay down their lives, in the hope that we will carry on that struggle toward the day when "every man might sit under his own vine and fig tree and none need be afraid"—nor unemployed—nor ill housed—nor without adequate health care—nor lacking educational opportunity—in the hope that we will carry on the struggle toward that day when in Martin's words:

Empty stomachs will be filled, and brotherhood will be more than a few words at the close of a prayer, but rather the first order of business on every legislative agenda.

In the hope that we will carry on the struggle toward that day when in the halls of social and economic justice, color will be irrelevant; toward that day when black will not be asked to get back; when brown can with dignity stick around; red can get ahead, and white will act all right.

Thank you.

Senator KENNEDY. We will give you a little round of applause on that one.

Dr. LOWERY. I would rather have an offering. [Laughter.]

Senator KENNEDY. I think you must do all right if you can preach like that.

Reverend, I have two comments for you. We are delighted to have you. And I value the point that you made about the importance that as we consider this legislation, and I think as one who is strongly committed to it, we also continue the march on these other issues of social justice and social equality.

I think it is important that we be reminded. You have very eloquently today mentioned that.

It is not at the sacrifice of one in favor of the other, it is really the challenge of both. I am glad you brought that up and mentioned it to us.

Thank you very much.

Ms. Pat Brown, National Education Association Black Caucus.

STATEMENT OF PAT BROWN, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION BLACK CAUCUS

Ms. BROWN. Good morning. I am Pat Brown. I am a third grade teacher in the Indianapolis public schools. For the past 4 years, I have been a chairperson of a 1,300 member black caucus of the 8,000-delegate NEA Representative Assembly.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Patricia Brown follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MS. PATRICIA BROWN

My name is Patricia Brown. I am an elementary teacher in the public schools of Indianapolis, Indiana. For the past four years, I have been chairperson of the 1,300-member Black Caucus of the 8,000-delegate NEA Representative Assembly. I am the spokesperson for over 100,000 black educators who belong to the NEA.

For nearly four years, I have been a member of the NEA Minority Affairs Committee which advises the 1,700,000 members of NEA on the sensitive matters concerning First Americans, Chicanos and other Hispanics, Asians and Pacific Islanders, Black Americans, and other minorities.

I am happy to be invited here today to testify in behalf of the NEA Black Caucus. In 1968, the NEA adopted a resolution calling for making January 15 a national holiday. At every subsequent Representative Assembly it has adopted a similar resolution. The Black Caucus wholeheartedly supports the efforts on the part of the Congress and the President to make the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., a national holiday.

By making January 15 a national holiday, America would honor itself, not Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The holiday would be symbolic of this nation's ability to turn away from the path toward self-destruction, the process which Dr. King started in the fifties and early sixties.

A holiday on January 15, if properly observed, could allow all Americans, white, brown, red, yellow, and black, an opportunity to annually reflect on the progress we have made and to contemplate together those yet unfulfilled "Dreams," to measure anew the distance we still have to go before we are indeed "Free at Last."

No doubt this committee has heard and will hear much testimony to the fact that Dr. King was not just a great black American but a great American, not just a great American but a great person, a great universal spirit spanning oceans and continents, embracing people of all lands, all faiths, and all languages.

And while all that is true, the Black Caucus of the National Education Association would remind you that Dr. King, though universal, is a symbol for the poor, the black, and the downtrodden.

A holiday on the birthdate of the descendant of a former slave would not only commemorate Martin Luther King. It would also honor and thank the millions of persons of African ancestry, whether brought to this country or born in this country, who by the labor of their bodies and brains, with or without compensation, helped to make this nation great.

To the masses of jobless, to those working every day but still living below the poverty line, to the relatively comfortable but yet struggling middle class, the holiday would stand as a beacon of hope and a reminder that we shall yet overcome.

To the powerful and rich of the nation, a holiday on January 15 would say: I am my brothers' and sisters' keeper. It would serve as a periodic reminder of the promise of our ancestors "that all men are created equal" and that the quest for equality after creation still has not been achieved.

To those born since the heroic deeds in Montgomery, Birmingham, Selma, St. Augustine, Albany, Cicero, Washington, D.C., and Memphis, and to millions of all races yet unborn, a holiday on January 15 would raise questions to be answered. Who was Martin Luther King? What did he do that the greatest nation on earth would set aside a day in his honor? What debt of gratitude is owed him? What can I do to follow in his footsteps? What can I do to be like him?

I submit to you that the most important contribution of this holiday will be in the quality of the answers afforded to these and other questions which arise in the hearts and minds of our grandchildren and their grandchildren.

I thank you for this opportunity to testify.

Ms. BROWN [continuing]. I am the spokesperson for over 100,000 black educators who belong to the NEA.

For nearly 4 years, I have been a member of the NEA Minority Affairs Committee which advises the 1,700,000 members of NEA on the sensitive matters concerning first Americans, Chicanos and other Hispanics, Asians and Pacific Islanders, black Americans, and other minorities.

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A holiday on the birthdate of the descendant of a former slave would not only commemorate Martin Luther King. It would also honor and thank the millions of persons of African ancestry, whether brought to this country or born in this country, who by the labor of their bodies and brains, with or without compensation, helped to make this Nation great.

To the masses of jobless, to those working every day but still living below the poverty line, to the relatively comfortable but yet struggling middle class, the holiday would stand as a beacon of hope and a reminder that we shall yet overcome.

To the powerful and rich of the Nation, a holiday on January 15 would say: I am my brothers' and sisters' keeper. It would serve as a periodic reminder of the promise of our ancestors "that all men are created equal" and that the quest for equality after creation still has not been achieved.

To those born since the heroic deeds in Montgomery, Birmingham, Selma, St. Augustine, Albany, Cicero, Washington, D.C., and Memphis, to millions of all races yet unborn, a holiday on January 15 would raise questions to be answered. Who was Martin Luther King? What did he do that the greatest Nation on Earth would set aside a day in his honor? What debt of gratitude is owed him? What can I do to follow in his footsteps? What can I do to be like him?

I submit to you that the most important contribution of this holiday will be in the quality of the answers afforded to these and other questions which arise in the hearts and minds of our grandchildren and their grandchildren.

I thank you for this opportunity to testify.

You know teachers always have to go on and on. If you would allow me to say something out of my 18 years' experience as a classroom primary teacher, gentlemen, I could not begin to tell you how important this holiday would be to the minds and hearts of children. It gets to be very weary both for black children, other minorities, and I guess for white children to have to celebrate year after year only those holidays attributed to whites.

We are, as teachers, about the business of building strong self-concepts and strong self-images, and it becomes difficult to do that when there are only those holidays to honor whites.

It is important for all children everywhere to know that there was indeed a man named Martin Luther King and I guess perhaps if it starts coming from the top, it will make our jobs easier. Maybe then parents won't be calling the school board and asking why we are out of school.

In our city, teachers have negotiated a contract that will allow us to close down schools on Martin Luther King's birthday. We also now have a city holiday, thanks to Senator Bayh, where everything is closed down. You know, we get questions, like parents really become upset because children are staying home in honor of Martin Luther King and that tells me that we still need to do some educating.

I guess we are asking for your help in doing that educating. I guess we are asking for your support in honoring a man who indeed does deserve this honor.

Thank you very much for allowing me this privilege.

Senator KENNEDY. That is excellent testimony. I think it is important to have these additional comments you made to us about the importance of what this means to young people and to the students and to those that you come in contact with.

I think one of the obvious key elements in terms of the country is going to be some motivation of its youth and that we can't legislate on that. We can't pass laws that are going to do that. What we can do is by this particular legislation, I think, achieve some of the goals that you outlined in terms of the role models and give the recognition of those lessons.

I think that is terribly important. I think it is very valuable. I have no questions for you. I don't know if other members do.

Thank you.

Our final witness will be Mr. Rittenhouse, Stanley Rittenhouse, legislative aide, Liberty Lobby. He is here at the request of Senator Thurmond.

Senator THURMOND. Who?

Mr. Chairman, to correct the record, the witness is not here at my request. He has requested to testify.

Mr. RITTENHOUSE. Yes, that is correct, Mr. Thurmond, twice, as a matter of fact.

Senator THURMOND. I just wanted to get the record straight.

I must join Mr. Begin and Mr. Sadat at the Caucus room before they leave, Mr. Chairman, if you and Mr. Rittenhouse will excuse me.

Senator KENNEDY. That is fine. I have to leave as well.

Senator THURMOND. I assure you that we will read the testimony, though, of the witnesses in this hearing.

STATEMENT OF E. STANLEY RITTENHOUSE, LEGISLATIVE AIDE, LIBERTY LOBBY

Mr. RITTENHOUSE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, or whoever is left. I am Stanley Rittenhouse, legislative aide of Liberty Lobby, and I appreciate this opportunity to appear and present the views of Liberty Lobby's 26,000-member board of policy, as well as the 400,000 readers of our weekly newspaper, The Spotlight.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Rittenhouse follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF E. STANLEY RITTENHOUSE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee: I am E. Stanley Rittenhouse, legislative aide of Liberty Lobby. I appreciate this opportunity to appear today and present the views of Liberty Lobby's 25,000-member Board of Policy, as well as the 400,000 readers of our weekly newspaper, The Spotlight.

Mr. Chairman, Liberty Lobby believes that S. 25 is a thoroughly bad piece of legislation. It would sanctify and justify a man who deliberately brought violence to America's streets, a subversive who was called "the most notorious liar in America" by J. Edgar Hoover—who was in a position to know—and it would be very costly to the citizens and taxpayers of America. It is clearly onesided, racist legislation. Moreover, the American public, if they were properly informed of the issues, would certainly oppose this misbegotten and ridiculous legislation.

Martin Luther King, Jr. once said, "We don't need to talk mean, we need to get mean." And mean his demonstrators and followers got. His rhetoric was frequently followed by riot. All too often the reaction of his followers was in line with the rhetoric of his speeches. All too often this Nobel "Peace" Prize recipient left a trail of bodily injury and property damage, rising columns of smoke and death.

Accusations toward King have persisted over the years:

1. He was a consummate hypocrite.
2. He was guilty of transporting women across a state line for immoral purposes.
3. He took money and orders from known communist agents.
4. He was a notorious liar.

Until the files and tapes made by the FBI while Dr. King was under surveillance because of possible subversion are made public either to confirm or deny such accusations, America should hold off making a saint out of an alleged sinner. A few years ago these tapes were ordered by the courts to be locked up for 50 years.

Any citizen who says that the U.S. is "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today" while at the same time praising such mass murderers as Ho Chi Minh, an avowed enemy of our country, should have his ashes removed from American soil—not made a hero.

Former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover repeatedly pointed out in his memos to fellow members of the FBI and to the U.S. Attorney General that King was traveling with the wrong crowd:

"This Bureau's investigation of the communist influence in racial matters has developed considerable information indicating the influence upon Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, by individuals with subversive backgrounds such as Stanley David Levison, Clarence Jones, Bayard Rustin and others (Harry Wachtel, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, Carl and Anne Braden, Randolph T. Blackwell, etc.). From time to time, King meets with these individuals and coverage of these meetings by this Bureau results in the obtaining of evidence of the influences upon King as well as information concerning the tactics and plans of King and his organization in the civil rights movement."

A memo from Hoover aide W. C. Sullivan pointed out, "His conferences with these advisors (Levison and Wachtel) have shown the communist influence upon King relative to racial matters as well as the Vietnam situation" (emphasis added).

Even former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, the brother of Senator Kennedy, was aware of King's activities, which were subversive to America. C. D. Brennan, of the FBI, wrote in a "Top Secret" memo December 15, 1966:

"On October 10, 1963, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy approved technical surveillances on King's current residence or at any further address to which he may move. He also approved the technical surveillance of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference New York City office or any other address to which it may be moved."

And it is reasonable to assume that surely his brother, Senator Kennedy, the chairman of this committee and one of the co-sponsors of this bill, knows that King was continually surrounded by communists and pro-communists.

King had an animosity toward the Kennedys which didn't end with Robert, for it ran all the way to the White House. One FBI memo contained "King's vilification of the late President John F. Kennedy and his wife."

Is this the manner of citizen we want to honor with a national holiday? His activities to subvert the well-being of America alone cry out "NO!"

As one top-secret memo on King pointed out: "At present there are 57 investigative-type technical surveillances in operation and three are awaiting installation. The size alone reflects the degree of concern. And every Senator should have that same concern about making a national hero out of such an alleged subversive."

Hoover pointed out that:

"Mr. King has publicly stated that he will create massive civil disobediences in the nation's capital and in 10 to 15 major cities throughout the U.S. in the spring of 1968 if certain commitments are not forthcoming from Congress in the civil rights field. An aide of King has stated 'Jail will be the safest place in Washington, D.C. this spring'."

King didn't practice civil disobedience, though he called it that; his forte was anarchy.

As the FBI director warned:

"Communists continue to influence the organization and the influence is increasing. Recently a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., was hired as aide to the president of the SCLC."

Enemies, enemies everywhere and not a patriot to be found around Martin Luther King, Jr. The fact is he aided the communist cause; he abetted it constantly, continuously. Since when does a nation honor a man who honored its enemy?

A former counterspy for the FBI, Karl Prussion, stated in an affidavit that:

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

The Spotlight of April 18, 1977 reported that:

"Another undercover operative of the FBI, Mrs. Julia Brown, spent more than nine years as a member of the Communist Party in Cleveland. A black, Mrs. Brown called King 'one of the worst enemies my people ever had.'

"Communist leaders * * * also told us to promote Martin Luther King, to unite Negroes and whites behind him, and to turn him into some sort of national hero. We were to look to King as the leader in this struggle, the communists said, because he was on our (the communists') side!

"I knew they were right,' said Mrs. Brown, 'because while I was in the Communist Party I learned that Martin Luther King attended a communist training school (Highlander Folk School, Tennessee). I learned that several of his aides and assistants were communists and that they received funds from communists and that he was taking directions from communists'."

Rep. John Ashbrook (R-Ohio) said on October 4, 1967:

"I can say without equivocation that Martin Luther King does not want nor can he stand a public airing of his record."

That is as true today as it was then.

If the people knew the truth, if the FBI tapes were released, I am confident the Senate would overwhelmingly reject this bill. It would be political suicide not to. But because the truth is not out, because people have been fed a false and misleading impression (Webster's definition of a lie), the whole situation is reversed and, for the moment it would appear to be political suicide not to make King the hero he shouldn't be.

The Bible says the truth will make you free—free from the error of doing the wrong thing when you don't have the truth.

Would it not be wise to wait until all the truth comes out? It will be King talking on these tapes made from the FBI surveillance and it will be King that condemns or exonerates his behavior, his principles, yes and his patriotism.

It has been 52 years since Charles Lindbergh, a patriot of the first order, brought acclaim, glory and pride to America by being the first to fly solo across the Atlantic. We still don't have a national holiday for this patriot who always put America first. Is it so wrong to wait 40-some years before we consider making a national holiday in honor of Martin Luther King, Jr.?

If one is impatient, a constructive alternative would be to release this information (these tapes) immediately, especially since those who want a national holiday honoring King are the same people who want the truth locked up. Since his privacy is no longer a consideration, there must be other reasons to keep the truth in the closet. As long as that coverup exists, he's the wrong man for a national holiday.

And then there's the cost to the poor, overburdened, neglected American taxpayer. According to a Library of Congress (Civil Service Div.) study of 1978, the cost to the taxpayers for a national holiday is:

Salaries for all federal government employees, \$176,502,583; premium for essential government workers (holiday overtime), \$15,500,000; total, \$192,002,583.

Is it wise to put this additional burden on the overtaxed American taxpayer when the debt ceiling is about to be raised to \$830 billion and our national debt is over \$7 trillion, taking into consideration our contingent or off-record liabilities such as Social Security?

As you can see, it is wise and prudent for many and varied reasons for this committee to reject S. 25, and Liberty Lobby urges that you do. The American people hope that such wisdom is also reflected by their Senate.

Thank you again for this opportunity to appear today and present our views.

Mr. RITTENHOUSE [continuing]. Mr. Chairman, Liberty Lobby believes that S. 25 is a thoroughly bad piece of legislation. It would sanctify and justify a man who deliberately brought violence to America's streets, a subversive who was called "the most notorious liar in America" by J. Edgar Hoover—who was in a position to know—and it would be very costly to the citizens and taxpayers of America. It is clearly one-sided, racist legislation.

Moreover, the American public, if they were properly informed of the issues, would certainly oppose this misbegotten and ridiculous legislation.

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Accusations toward King have persisted over the years: One, he was a consummate hypocrite. Two, he was guilty of transporting women across a State line for immoral purposes. Three, he took money and orders from known Communist agents. Four, he was a notorious liar.

Until the files and tapes made by the FBI while Dr. King was under surveillance because of possible subversion are made public either to confirm or deny such accusations, America should hold off making a saint out of an alleged sinner. A few years ago, these tapes were ordered by the courts to be locked up for 50 years.

Any citizen who says that the United States is "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today" while at the same time praising such mass murderers as Ho Chi Minh, an avowed enemy of our country, should have his ashes removed from American soil—not made a hero, and he was praising the enemy, Ho Chi Minh and his crowd, while our men were going through hell over in Vietnam.

Former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover repeatedly pointed out in his memos to fellow members of the FBI and to the U.S. Attorney General that King was traveling with the wrong crowd: "This Bureau's investigation of the Communist influence in racial matters has developed considerable information indicating the influence upon Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, by individuals with subversive backgrounds such as Stanley David Levison, Clarence Jones, Bayard Rustin and others—and I might add these others are from FBI memos, such as Harry Wachtel, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, Carl and Anne Braden, Randolph T. Blackwell, and so forth.

From time to time, King meets with these individuals and coverage of these meetings by this Bureau results in the obtaining of evidence of the influences upon King as well as information concerning the tactics and plans of King and his organization in the civil rights movement.

A memo from Hoover aide W. C. Sullivan pointed out, "His conferences with these advisors—Levison and Wachtel—have shown the Communist influence upon King relative to racial matters as well as the Vietnam situation."

In other words, he was getting a lot of advice from the Communists.

Even former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, the brother of Senator Kennedy, was aware of King's activities, which were subversive to America. C. D. Brennan, of the FBI, wrote in a "top secret" memo, December 15, 1966;

On October 10, 1963, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy approved technical surveillances on King's current residence or at any further address to which he may move. He also approved the technical surveillance of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's New York City office or any other address to which it may be moved.

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At present, there are 57 investigative-type technical surveillances in operation and three are awaiting installation.

The size alone reflects the degree of concern. And every Senator should have that same concern about making a national hero out of such an alleged subversive.

Hoover pointed out that: Mr. King has publicly stated that he will create massive civil disobediences in the Nation's Capital and in 10 to 15 major cities throughout the U.S. in the spring of 1968 if certain commitments are not forthcoming from Congress in the civil rights field.

I might add that is a classic example of blackmail. On one hand he said (paraphrasing) "You Congress, either do what we demand or we are going to burn down 10 to 15 cities." In my opinion, that doesn't sound like a man of peace. That does not sound like a man of God. That does not sound like a man who is a preacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

I am quoting from Hoover again, "An aide of King has stated, 'Jail will be the safest place in Washington, D.C. this spring.'"

King didn't practice civil disobedience, though he called it that; his forte was anarchy.

As the FBI Director warned:

Communists continue to influence the organization and the influence is increasing. Recently a member of the national committee of the Communist party, USA, was hired as aide to the president of the SCLC.

Enemies, enemies everywhere and not a patriot to be found around Martin Luther King, Jr. The fact is he aided the Communist cause; he abetted it constantly, continuously. Since when does a Nation honor a man who honored its enemy?

And I clearly put the Communists in the enemy camp.

A former counterspy for the FBI, Karl Prussion, stated in an affidavit that:

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

I have that list if you folks are interested.

The Spotlight of April 18, 1977 reported that:

Another undercover operative of the FBI, Mrs. Julia Brown, spent more than 9 years as a member of the Communist party in Cleveland. A black, Mrs. Brown called King "one of the worst enemies my people ever had."

I am still quoting Mrs. Brown:

Communist leaders also told us to promote Martin Luther King, to unite Negroes and whites behind him, and to turn him into some sort of national hero. We were to look to King as the leader in this struggle, the Communists said, because he was on our ['the Communists'] side.

Said Mrs. Brown:

I knew they were right, because while I was in the Communist party, I learned that Martin Luther King attended a Communist training school (Highlander Folk School, Tennessee). I learned that several of his aides and assistants were Communists and that they received funds from Communists and that he was taking directions from Communists.

King was more than a Communist, pro-Communist or Communist dupe; he was an anarchist. King himself had publicly stated that he was beyond the reach of the law. That is a good definition of anarchy.

Representative John Ashbrook, Republican, Ohio, stated on October 4, 1967, and put it in the Congressional Record, "I can say without equivocation that Martin Luther King does not want nor can he stand a public airing of his record."

That is as true today as it was then.

If the people knew the truth—I am speaking about black people, white people, polka dot people, I am talking about everybody, it is not a race issue here—if the people knew the truth, if the FBI tapes were released, I am confident that the Senate would overwhelmingly reject this bill. It would be political suicide not to. But because the truth is not out, because people have been fed a "false and misleading impression," which is Webster's definition of a lie, the whole situation is reversed and, for the moment, it would appear to be political suicide not to make King the hero he shouldn't be.

The Bible says the truth will make you free—free from the error of doing the wrong thing when you don't have the truth.

Would it not be wise to wait until all the truth comes out? It will be King talking on these tapes made from the FBI surveillance and it will be King that condemns or exonerates his behavior, his principles, yes, and his patriotism.

It has been 52 years since Charles Lindbergh, a patriot of the first order, brought acclaim, glory and pride to America by being the first to fly solo across the Atlantic. We still don't have a national holiday for this patriot who always put America first. Is it so wrong to wait 40-some years before we consider making a national holiday in honor of Martin Luther King, Jr.?

If one is impatient, and I am sure there are those who are impatient, and understandably so, a constructive alternative would be to release this information—these tapes—immediately, especially since those who want a national holiday honoring King are the same people who want the truth locked up. Since his privacy is no longer a consideration, there must be other reasons to keep the truth in the closet. As long as that coverup exists, he is the wrong man for a national holiday.

I looked into this and found these tapes could be released with a court order.

Then there is the cost to the poor, overburdened, neglected American taxpayer. That puts everybody in this room, I think, in that category. According to a Library of Congress study of 1978, the cost to the tax-

payers for a national holiday is \$176,502,583 of salaries for all Federal Government employees.

Senator Kennedy pointed out that the premium for essential Government workers, in other words, holiday overtime, is \$22 million. I have \$15 million. But either way, it comes close to \$200 million for a national holiday.

I might point out at this time that Mr. Kennedy brought out the fact that holidays generate business. You know, with this logic, I guess the more holidays we have, the richer we are going to get. That reminds me of my wife who goes to the store and takes advantage of a sale. She says, "Well, if I buy this on sale, I can save this much money," and I say, "Yes, if you buy this, buy it again, you can save twice as much."

But you see, nobody ever tells my banking account that logic.

I think the argument that Senator Kennedy has is quite illogical because we cannot spend ourselves or make holidays into prosperity. It can't be done.

Is it wise to put this additional burden on the overtaxed American taxpayer when the debt ceiling is about to be raised to \$830 billion and our national debt is over \$7 trillion, taking into consideration our contingent or off-record liabilities such as social security?

As you can see, it is wise and prudent for many and varied reasons for this committee to reject S. 25, and Liberty Lobby urges that you do. The American people hope that such wisdom is also reflected by their Senate.

Thank you, again, for this opportunity to appear today and present our views.

Representative GARCIA. Mr. Rittenhouse, I would just like to say before I close this hearing that the advantage of a democracy is that all sides are heard. But I must tell you that hate and fear have long run this country and I think it is a shame that you come up and tell us what you are against, but never once said what you were for.

Mr. RITTENHOUSE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to respond to your remarks.

I would like at this particular moment to call these hearings to a close.

Thank you all very much.

[Whereupon, at 12 noon, the committee was recessed, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., NATIONAL HOLIDAY, S. 25

THURSDAY, JUNE 21, 1979

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met at 10:35 a.m. in room 2228, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Strom Thurmond presiding.

Also present: Eric Hultman, minority counsel; Peter Parham, majority counsel.

Senator THURMOND. The committee will come to order.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR THURMOND

This morning the committee continues its hearings on S. 25, a proposal to establish a legal, public holiday on the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr.

In my previous statement before the committee on March 27, 1979, I pointed out that there are many people in this country who admire and revere Martin Luther King, Jr., for his accomplishments in the civil and human rights areas, but there must be other objective tests applied in order for the American public to accept the establishment of a new legal Federal holiday.

First, we should consider whether any new legal holidays ought not be left to the States. Many States and communities now observe not only Dr. King's birthday as an optional holiday, but observe other holidays as well. Public holidays should be the primary responsibility of the States.

The reason for the observance of a legal, public holiday should also be carefully considered. Of the nine public, legal holidays now observed, only two are in honor of individuals. One is Christopher Columbus, who discovered America; and the other is George Washington, the first President of the United States, whom most historians consider as the "Father of our Country." Both Christopher Columbus and George Washington are figures who have established themselves not only in the history books of America, but of world history as well. Since those two holidays have been established, no other American person—not Abraham Lincoln, not Thomas Jefferson, not Dwight Eisenhower, not John Kennedy—has been honored with a legal, public holiday. The basis for such an honor is substantial, indeed.

Another test that should be applied is the place in history a person has established and his overall contribution to our world judged objectively through the passage of time. One must be able to withstand the test of time over the generations in order to be considered for the high honor afforded by the designation of a legal, public holiday.

Finally, the cost of a new Federal holiday must be considered. In a time when everyone is concerned about excess Government spending and inflation, the thought of creating another legal holiday, which would cost the American taxpayers nearly \$200 million, is just not reasonable.

Today we will hear from several more witnesses on S. 25, the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday bill.

Senator BAYH. Would the Senator permit me to make a brief opening statement?

Senator THURMOND. Senator Bayh from Indiana has a statement.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR BAYH

Senator BAYH. I just wanted to make one or two words of observation. I know that all of our witnesses here feel very strongly about this issue this morning, and certainly, our distinguished colleague from South Carolina does.

But it seems to me that those of us who are actively pursuing this goal of a Martin Luther King holiday are thinking in entirely different terms than those that have been concentrated on by those who are opposed.

It seems to me that one of the real crises we have right now is a disenchantment in the minds of many, many citizens. None of us are really certain what caused that disenchantment, and none of us are absolutely certain how to remove it, or indeed to lessen it. We do have a pretty good idea of some ingredients that might help.

None of us suggest that the Martin Luther King holiday bill is going to be a panacea for the Nation's ills; or is going to cause the disenchantment to disappear in the minds of citizens. But indeed, it seems to me this is an important step that can make a contribution, particularly in the minds of our minority citizens. We have many ways of recognizing full citizenship. It seems to me the time has come to add to that number of ways the fact that we believe a black citizen has made a significant enough contribution to society to be recognized as a national holiday figure.

We are desperately searching for role models for our minority youth right now to show them that there is a way that they can climb out—claw out—work out—sweat out of circumstances under which they were born, over which they have no control. It just seems to me as one who has been talking to my constituents of all racial backgrounds; talking to young people about putting aside their frustrations and working within the system, “Hang in there and you can get to the top,” that this is a good example of the system's ability to recognize one of our citizens who just looks a little bit different than anybody else, but serves as a role model to those who are now making important decisions about the pathway they are going to follow through their lives.

I appreciate the courtesy of the Senator from South Carolina for letting his colleague from Indiana get this off his chest.

Senator THURMOND. Our first witness today is Alan Stang. If you would come around, Mr. Stang.

Mr. Stang, we are glad to have you with us. I believe you are a professional journalist and writer. Go ahead and give us your background and proceed with your statement, please.

STATEMENT OF ALAN STANG, JOURNALIST

Mr. STANG. Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to testify before this committee. My name is Alan Stang, I am and have been a professional journalist and writer for the past 20 years; in New York I wrote for NBC radio and channel 13 (TV). Over the years I have written about 125 feature magazine articles and authored three books. I have a daily, nationally syndicated radio news commentary, broadcast over 100 markets to an audience of several million. Most relevant today is the fact that I am the author of "It's Very Simple, the True Story of Civil Rights," which was the result of many months of research and provides an analysis in detail of the career of the late Martin Luther King. The book sold about 400,000 copies.

Mr. Chairman, I am here this morning to argue vigorously that to pay the proposed supreme accolade to Martin Luther King—an accolade deservedly awarded to George Washington, but denied even to such heroes as Jefferson and Madison—would be a misfortune, and indeed a travesty, we would shortly lament.

Many interested observers have wondered why it was that violence was so often a hallmark of King's so-called nonviolent movement. The reason, Mr. Chairman, is that violence was exactly what he wanted. Violence was exactly what King went into the streets to get. He says so himself in an article in the April 3, 1965, issue of Saturday Review. There, he explains his four-part so-called nonviolent strategy as follows:

No. 1. Nonviolent demonstrators go into the streets to exercise their constitutional rights.

No. 2. Racists resist by unleashing violence against them.

No. 3. Americans of conscience in the name of decency demand Federal intervention and legislation.

No. 4. The administration, under mass pressure, initiates measures of immediate intervention and remedial legislation.

Notice, Mr. Chairman, that as I said a moment ago, Martin Luther King wanted the violence. The real reason he went into the streets was to provoke the people who opposed him to attack. The key word is "provoke." So, the violence he got was not a surprise. Martin Luther King did not dislike it. He wanted it in order to pressure the Congress to enact still more totalitarian legislation.

That is why Martin Luther King collaborated intimately with the Communists from the very beginning of his career to its end. For instance, King's organization, known as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was founded primarily by Bayard Rustin, a former organizer for the Young Communist League. In February 1957, only a month before he founded SCLC, Rustin attended the sixteenth national convention of the Communist party.

King also collaborated closely with Southern Conference Educational Fund, which has been described by three agencies of American Government—the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities of the State of Louisiana—as a department of the Communist conspiracy. Yet, the vice president of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference was Fred Shuttlesworth, who at the same time was president of the Communist southern conference educational fund.

On the Labor Day weekend of 1957, Martin Luther King was photographed at the Highlander Folk School, in Monteagle, Tenn. Highlander was a Communist training school, which was raided and closed by Tennessee authorities. In a famous photograph widely distributed throughout America, Martin Luther King is shown with Myles Horton, director of this Communist school, Aubrey Williams, a Communist who was denied a Government job for that reason, and Abner W. Berry, of the central committee of the Communist Party.

There is also a gentleman sometimes known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell. According to the Internal Security Subcommittee of this prestigious body, O'Dell also used such aliases as John Vesey and Ben Jones and Hunter Pitts O'Dell is a top Communist organizer. In 1962, the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a two-volume study entitled "Structure and Organization of the Communist Party of the United States." On page 576, there is a list of members of the National Committee of the Communist Party U.S.A. Hunter Pitts O'Dell is among them.

Hunter Pitts O'Dell was assigned by the Communist Party to be executive director of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. That is correct, Mr. Chairman, Communist O'Dell was the man who ran the show. We know that King knew he was a Communist because on two occasions when the press broke the story King pretended to fire Communist O'Dell—who shortly turned up as the director of still another important division of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Mr. Chairman, these are just a few examples of the voluminous Communist record of Martin Luther King. To put such a man in the same category as George Washington would not only be a travesty—it would also be still another indication to the slaves of communism around the world that the U.S. Government is now on the side of the Reds.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes my statement. Thank you very much.

Senator THURMOND. Senator Bayh has a member of his staff here, and I just asked if he had any questions he would like to propound to the witness.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you very much.

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

Senator THURMOND. The next witness is Ms. Julia Brown.

STATEMENT OF JULIA BROWN

Ms. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I, Julia Brown, joined the Communist Party in December 1947, thinking I was joining a legitimate civil rights organization. Finding that I was a true member of the Communist Party which advocated the overthrow of the United States Government, I decided to leave the organization, but I had to bide my time to avoid suspicion. Subsequently, I went to the FBI to report what I had heard and seen. In 1951, I was asked by the FBI to go back into the Communist Party as an undercover agent to report on their subversive activities.

While at the Communist Party meetings, which only party members attended, I frequently heard Martin Luther King discussed and

was told by Frieda Catz that he was in training for a civil rights movement in this country. Frieda Catz was a party member from Cleveland, Ohio, who had been assigned to my training and education within the Communist Party. On learning this, I reported it to my contact in the FBI. He told me that the Bureau knew that Martin Luther King had high-level connections with the Communist Party, and I should report anything else that I heard about his activities. I continued to report until June of 1960.

In Martin Luther King's early years of agitation he was the hero of America's Communists. The cells that I was associated with in Cleveland were continually being asked to raise money for Martin Luther King's activities and to support his civil rights movement by writing letters to the press and influencing local clergymen, and especially Negro clergymen, that Martin Luther King was a good person, unselfishly working for the American Negro, and in no way connected with the Communist Party.

There are many great Negroes, such as George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington who provide the youth of America with an example they can follow. Martin Luther King provides an example of agitation and manipulation for goals dictated by hatred and envy. The memory of Carver and Washington would be dishonored if this committee acts favorably in this matter.

Mr. Chairman, while I was in the Communist Party as a loyal American Negro, I knew Martin Luther King to be closely connected with the Communist Party. If this measure is passed honoring Martin Luther King, we may as well take down the Stars and Stripes that fly over this building and replace it with a Red flag.

Thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Is there anything else you would care to say, or does that complete your statement, Ms. Brown?

Ms. BROWN. That completes my statement.

Senator THURMOND. Do you have any questions you would like to propound to Ms. Brown?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you, Ms. Brown.

Ms. BROWN. Thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Our next witness is Mr. Karl Prussion.

STATEMENT OF KARL PRUSSION

Mr. PRUSSION. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me this privilege of testifying before this prestigious committee. My name is Karl Prussion, I was born in Brooklyn, N. Y.; raised in Michigan, and I joined the Communist Party after being exhorted to do so by college professors on campus in 1933.

I became active as a Communist since none of the objectives of the Communist Party were really known to me at that time. I became a leader as a hidden identity Communist in the United Automobile Workers' CIO and was president of one of the Chrysler locals in 1938.

The Communist Party sent me to a national training school held in Loon Lake, Mich. In the school I was rigorously trained in insurrection. The textbook used was "Insurrection" by Gertrude Heassler, and all of the emphasis in the teachings was on Nicoli Lenin rather

than on Karl Marx. We were taught how to lead demonstrative activities; how to set up barricades; how to fight from house to house and rooftop to rooftop; how to seize police stations; how to provoke violence; how to throw our Nation into civil strife.

It was then that I realized the trickery, deception, strategy, and tactics being used to further the objectives of the Communists of overthrowing our Government by force and violence. I received a bachelor of science degree in chemistry and later a diploma from the Ford School of Metallurgy and I became a metallurgical engineer, and today that is my profession, as well as a teacher of the subject.

Soon after my training at the national training school of the Communist Party, the training on demonstrative activities on the issues of peace, jobs, and freedom—and we must take note that in all of the demonstrative activities, whether it be in the United States or any free country, the issues as set forth by Lenin are peace, jobs, and freedom; civil rights movement comes under the freedom heading.

These teachings in these demonstrative activities were only for the purpose as taught by Lenin to train Communists to take the leadership role in the overthrow of our Government by force and violence.

I made my first attempt to contact the FBI by telling my story to Capt. Don Leonard of the Michigan State Police, who at one time was a school buddy of mine at Wayne State University in Detroit, Mich. I received no response from the FBI. In January 1941, I was employed at the Albuquerque military airbase and there, too, I personally contacted the District Director of the FBI in New Mexico. I made a lengthy statement to him and there was no reply.

In 1941 the Communist Party "disbanded" and formed a new political organization for the deceitful purpose of cooperating with our Government in the war against Hitler. I then went to work for Henry J. Kaiser and in 1947 in Carmel, Calif., I was visited by a Communist courier by the name of Dr. Schafferman—a medical doctor—who asked me to revive a cell activity of the Communists in the Carmel area because the party was going to resume its activities as a Communist Party, as previously. After he left I immediately contacted the Chief of Police in Carmel, who in turn got together with the FBI and myself, and as of that day in 1947, I commenced work as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, furnishing them with information about Communist activities. I worked in that capacity for the Bureau until 1959, and at the request of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the permission of J. Edgar Hoover, I agreed to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and for the first time exposed myself as an undercover agent within the Communist apparatus in this country.

The hearings in San Francisco were provoked into a riot by the Communists, and the campaign was started to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Since that time I have been working as a metallurgical engineer and as a teacher, and I have done much writing, teaching, and speaking about the Communist conspiracy in the United States.

Now, relative to Martin Luther King, I am opposed to having a legal holiday honoring Martin Luther King, and I think you will have to agree, after I complete my statement. I have often spoken about the witting or unwitting alinement of Martin Luther King with the Communists. Since the statements that I made frequently about Martin Luther King, were not readily acceptable, I wrote a sworn

affidavit—which I have a copy of with me today—in which I declare that I attended five section committee meetings of the Communist Party in Santa Clara County, Calif., from 1954 to 1958; and in this affidavit I name the home of the Communists in which the meetings were held. This affidavit was mailed to all of those mentioned in it. In Kenosha, Wis., I personally delivered it to Martin Luther King at a meeting in which he spoke. I was prepared to ask him questions at the meeting, but there was no question-and-answer period. I never received a reply from either Martin Luther King relative to my affidavit, nor any of the others mentioned in the affidavit. Their silence attests the truth of my affidavit.

In 1954, all Communists throughout the country were directed to give support to, and to participate in demonstrative activities led by Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Communists through their infiltration tactics into church organizations, such as the American Friends Service Committee, trade unions, political organizations—such as the California Democratic clubs—civic organizations—such as the Council for Civic Unity—and also through their own Communist front organizations literally took the leadership in all the activities during the civil rights movement.

It must be explained that all Communists, the cadre Communists, those who are rigorously trained; those who are dedicated; those who will give their life for the Communist Party, they are vigorously trained and disciplined in the teachings of Lenin, which is briefly, that in leading demonstrative activities such as described. Communists become well-trained for the time when the prerequisites for the seizure of power in the United States are reached. What are those prerequisites as outlined by Lenin? One, that there be enough Communists in the United States to lead demonstrative activities; two, that there be issues around which they can get people to demonstrate, to march, to picket. These issues are always the same, whether in the United States, Great Britain, France, or any free country. They are peace; they are jobs; and they are freedom.

Through the teachings of Lenin, Communists have learned that demonstrative activities that they lead through hidden identity are always around the issues that I have already mentioned. Civil rights falls under the heading of “freedom.”

The other prerequisite, as outlined specifically by Lenin is that there be a trade union movement in the United States that will go on strike in cooperation with these demonstrative activities that are going on. The fourth prerequisite as prescribed by Lenin, and which Communists adhere to is that we have a divided Nation and a weak administration that vacillates and would capitulate after the Communists have provoked strife and civil war within our country.

The Lenin plan is that when they can lead large numbers of people into demonstrations which they can provoke easily into violence and civil strife, with a divided Nation and indecisive Government they can achieve their end in this country. To bear this out I would like to quote a statement made by Leonid Brezhnev and the Communist Party U.S.A., which follows the directives of Brezhnev to the letter, on April 21 in a 3½ hour address and on the same day that he signed the first SALT talk treaty:

“But capitalism”—referring to the United States, I insert—“will not collapse by itself. Active and determined action by all revolution-

ary forces is needed to overthrow it. Lenin's exhortation that Communists must be prepared for any change in the situation, for the use of any form of struggle—peaceful or nonpeaceful, legal or illegal—is particularly important today. The Communists mold the masses into an army of revolutionary blows on the still dangerous but already doomed fortress of imperialism”—insert, U.S.A.—“to countries pursuing an anti-imperialist policy and to realistically minded circles in bourgeois countries, circles that really recognized the principles of peaceful coexistence—our efforts to hold the arms race,” and so forth.

Last October, 1978, Brezhnev, in speaking to a large audience celebrating the October Revolution in Moscow, they paraded their might in Red Square and displayed new missiles for the first time, Leonid Brezhnev repeated almost verbatim the same statement that he made in 1972 when we signed the first SALT talk agreement. President Carter has just signed SALT Treaty No. II.

The Communist influence in the United States—and there are many different splinters of Communist organizations in this country, all of them professing to be the true Leninists, and they are at this very moment organizing demonstrative activities around the Leninist-directed issues of peace, freedom and jobs. Regrettably, many hundreds of thousands, and perhaps millions of Americans are unwittingly following the course and direction as set forth by hidden identity Communists as taught by their leader, the one that they deify, Nicoli Lenin.

I am opposed to declaring a legal holiday for Martin Luther King because through my experience within the Communist apparatus in the United States, and for 12 years an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I have proved conclusively within myself and to everyone who can hear me that Martin Luther King—regrettably—whether wittingly, or unwittingly, was aiding and abetting the objectives of the Communist international as taught and described to you this morning by Nicoli Lenin.

This completes my testimony before this committee.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you, Mr. Prussion.

Do you have any questions, counsel?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not really see the connection between your involvement in the Communist Party and Martin Luther King; could you explain that, please?

Mr. PRUSSION. I do not think you were listening very well.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Would you please explain it?

Mr. PRUSSION. I had been an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation for 12 years, from 1947 until 1960, when I testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. During this period, while I was in the Communist Party as an undercover agent for the FBI, I attended five meetings in Santa Clara County, Calif., and similar meetings were held in all the Communist Party sections all over the United States, and I will read you this affidavit, so perhaps you can tie this whole thing together.

Senator THURMOND. I was just wondering, to save time, if we could just place it in the record, if you would like that to be done, and then highlight it. Could you just highlight it?

Mr. PRUSSION. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, the affidavit will be placed in the record.

[The document follows:]

"I dream of the hour when the last Congressman is strangled to death on the guts of the last preacher — and since the Christians seem to love to sing about the blood, why not give them a little of it? Slit the throats of their children and drag them over the mourners' bench and the pulpit and allow them to drown in their own blood; and then see whether they enjoy singing these hymns."

GUS HALL

National Chairman, Communist Party, U.S.A.

This statement was first given before the 8th National Convention of the Young Communist League in New York during May 1937. It was reported early in 1961 at the funeral of Eugene Dennis, National Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Source: The Pilgrim Torch, P.O. Box 257, Englewood, Colorado, April 1961 issue, Dr. Kenneth Gelf, publisher.

This also has been added for
witnesses for- of record of the
1961 application.

AFFIDAVIT

1. Karl Prussion, a former courier for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1947 to 1948, do hereby swear under oath and under penalty of perjury, that from the years 1954 through 1958 I attended five county committee meetings of the Communist Party of Santa Clara County, California. (A county committee meeting of the Communist Party consists of one delegate representing each Communist cell in a county.) The meetings were held during the aforementioned period in the following locations:

The residence of Robert Lindsay, Communist, in San Jose, California, 1954; the residence of Mary Field, Communist section organizer, Palo Alto, California, 1955; the residence of Isobel and Edwin Corsey, both Communists, Menlo Park, California, 1956; the residence of Gertrude Adler, Communist, Palo Alto, California, 1957; the residence of Karl Prussion, courier for the F.B.I., Los Altos, California, 1958; the residence of Myra White, Communist, Mountain View, California, 1958.

I hereby further solemnly state that at each and every meeting as set forth above, one Ed Beck, Communist, who is presently secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of San Mateo County, California, and a member of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), presented the directive from the district office of the Communist Party in San Francisco to the effect that:

"All Communists working within the framework of the NAACP are instructed to work for a change of the passive attitude of the NAACP toward a more militant, democratic, class struggle policy to be expressed by sit-ins, demonstrations, marches and protests, for the purpose of transforming the NAACP into an organization for the achievement of Communist objectives."

I further swear and attest that at each and every one of the aforementioned meetings, one Reverend Martin Luther King was always set forth as the individual to whom Communists should look and rally around in the Communist struggle on the many racial issues.

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

Karl Prussion

Subscribed and sworn to before me this
27 day of Sept., 1968.

[Signature]
Notary Public
My Commission Expires Sept. 27, 1968

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Mr. PRUSSION. What I pointed out, the Communist movement in the United States at all of those meetings, over a period of 5 years, starting in 1954—and I name all those who were present at those meetings—exhorted all party members, those who were working in church organizations and civic organizations, political organizations and trade unions, to promote and support one Martin Luther King, whom they hoped or expected, or wanted to be the leader of the civil rights movement through the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. I think they succeeded in doing that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Senator, I would just like to ask two questions.

Senator THURMOND. You go ahead, ask anything you want.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Did you, as an individual, ever attend a Communist meeting when Martin Luther King, Jr. was there?

Mr. PRUSSION. Never, no. I never attended a meeting where he was there. However, the evidence as presented—

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, did you attend a meeting?

Mr. PRUSSION. Not in his presence—

Mr. WILLIAMS. You never saw Martin Luther King attend Communist meetings. Thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Just a minute, let him explain his answer.

Mr. PRUSSION. I have attended many Communist Party meetings in which leading figures in demonstrative activities, the peace activity, the civil rights activity, that were not present. We have to evaluate people like Martin Luther King, not whether I attended a meeting with him. We have to evaluate him by what direction he was going, and what he was doing at the time of all these revolutionary activities.

Mr. WILLIAMS. One final question. You said that the goals of the Communist Party are peace, jobs, and you named one other.

Mr. PRUSSION. Freedom, civil rights.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Would you not say that those are not only the goals of the Communist Party, but they are the goals of the U.S. Senate, the U.S. Congress, the President of the United States, and in fact, all right-thinking American people? We want peace, we want jobs for everyone.

Mr. PRUSSION. That is correct, sir, I agree with you. However, let me add an explanatory note. The Communist Party, however, believes in peace only after they have conquered the whole world, you know that. They believe in civil rights because they want to activate minority groups, and there are many minority groups in the United States, into civil rights activities for the purpose of provoking violence.

On the question of jobs, they could care less whether Americans have jobs or not. They want to use the job issue as a means of provoking violence during demonstrative activities, so that ultimately they can have the prerequisites to overthrow our Government. So, there is quite a difference between how the Communists think of these issues, and the way we Americans and all freedom-loving people think of these issues. Any other questions?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I might add, Martin Luther King happened to be in the latter category, a freedom-loving American.

Mr. PRUSSION. I disagree with you, but you are welcome to your opinion. The evidence is overwhelming against your opinion.

Senator Thurmond. Do you have other questions?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir.

Mr. BOIES. Mr. Prussion, I believe you said that you had never been at a Communist meeting with Dr. King; is that correct?

Mr. PRUSSION. That is correct, sir.

Mr. BOIES. Have you ever been at a Communist meeting in which a member of the Communist Party asserted to you that Dr. King was a Communist?

Mr. PRUSSION. No, sir; but I have been to many meetings where he was referred to as a good leader for the Communist-directed activities.

Mr. BOIES. Peace, jobs, and freedom, and things like that?

Mr. PRUSSION. Yes, as directed by the Communist Party.

Mr. BOIES. Are you telling me that someone told you at those meetings that Dr. King was being directed by the Communist Party, or merely that he was pursuing these common aims of peace, jobs, and freedom?

Mr. PRUSSION. It is very hard to determine whether he was being directed—

Mr. BOIES. No, all I am asking is what you were told, I realize it is very hard to determine whether somebody is being directed or not.

Mr. PRUSSION. I will simply stand strictly on my affidavit, which you are welcome to. He was chosen by the Communist Party to be a leader of the civil rights movement, and all Communists were urged to support him, to help him, and to participate. So, you can make your deductions from that, sir.

Mr. BOIES. Perhaps my question was not clear. What I was asking was, whether you were ever told by a member of the Communist Party—since you had never talked to Dr. King yourself—but I was asking whether you were ever told by a member of the Communist Party that Dr. King was being directed by the Communist Party.

Mr. PRUSSION. That was common knowledge in the Communist Party.

Mr. BOIES. Were you ever told that, and if so by whom, sir, and under what circumstances and when?

Mr. PRUSSION. This was common talk within the Communist Party and I cannot recall by whom. Within the Communist activities there is much conversation, many Communists. It was generally known within the Communist Party, but I have no recollection which particular member told me that.

Mr. BOIES. Do you have the recollection of any single person who told you that, any single person's name?

Mr. PRUSSION. Well, I have been told that by many.

Mr. BOIES. Do you have the recollection of any single, specific person's name?

Mr. PRUSSION. You are asking me the question in such a manner that you want me to say, "No, I have not heard it."

Mr. BOIES. No, but I would like to know who they are, so we can pursue it with them. What I am asking you is for any specifics you can give us.

Mr. PRUSSION. I think what you should do is subpoena Gus Hall.

Mr. BOIES. Did Gus Hall tell you that?

Mr. PRUSSION. No, you should subpoena him and he can tell you more about it. I am pretty sure he will give you that answer.

Mr. BOIES. Did Gus Hall ever tell you that Martin Luther King was being directed to do things by the Communist Party?

Mr. PRUSSION. Through the direction of Gus Hall most all Communist cell activities were directed to support Martin Luther King, to participate in his demonstrations, to have confidence in him.

Mr. BOIES. My question to you, sir, is a very simple one. Did Gus Hall ever, to your recollection, tell you that Dr. King was being directed by the Communist Party?

Mr. PRUSSION. Not Gus Hall personally.

Mr. BOIES. Now, if not Gus Hall personally, can you tell me any person who did tell you that, who was a member of the Communist Party, what his name was?

Mr. PRUSSION. I repeat what they did tell me——

Mr. BOIES. Can you tell me anything more specific than what you have already told me, in terms of the names of the people that told you this; the date they told you, and anything more specific?

I realize that you may not be able to, I am just asking whether or not you can.

Mr. PRUSSION. I do not remember any names of anybody telling me that.

Mr. BOIES. All right.

Mr. PRUSSION. The indication of my affidavit, my experience indicates to me that Martin Luther King was working under the direction of the Communist Party.

Mr. BOIES. But you cannot give me more specifics than you have given already, correct?

Mr. PRUSSION. I have been very specific.

Mr. BOIES. You have not given me any names, you have not given any dates.

Mr. PRUSSION. I mentioned, for example, five different names of five leading Communists in whose homes those meetings were held.

Senator THURMOND. That is in your affidavit, you are speaking about, where you mention that?

Mr. PRUSSION. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. The affidavit has not been read; it was put in the record. Maybe you want to read those names to the counsel at this time.

Mr. PRUSSION. But those names do not answer his question. He wants me to say that I never heard anybody say that Martin Luther King was in the Communist Party. I cannot tell him that, but it was generally recognized and accepted within the ranks of the Communist Party that Martin Luther King was their leader in the civil rights movement. I cannot make it stronger than that.

Mr. BOIES. I did not understand your last remark. Did you say those names did, or did not answer my question?

Mr. PRUSSION. No, they do not answer your question.

Mr. BOIES. One other area of inquiry, Mr. Prussion. With respect to your own activities within the Communist Party, when did they cease?

Mr. PRUSSION. My activities as a member within the Communist Party ceased in 1941, subsequently until 1959 I was under the direction of the FBI, and gave sworn public testimony in 1960.

Mr. BOIES. That is when they stopped?

Mr. PRUSSION. Yes.
 Mr. BOIES. Had you ever heard of Martin Luther King in 1941?
 Mr. PRUSSION. No, sir.
 Mr. BOIES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.
 Senator THURMOND. If there are no further questions of the witness you are excused, and thank you for your appearance.
 Mr. PRUSSION. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. Congressman McDonald of Georgia. I believe you are next, would you please have a seat?

Congressman McDonald, I notice you have a rather lengthy statement. You can present it all if you wish, or we can put the entire statement in the record and you can highlight it, whichever you prefer.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN LARRY P. McDONALD

Mr. Chairman, in these proceedings we have heard from a number of witnesses intimately acquainted with the career of Rev. Martin L. King, Jr., who have presented facts that demonstrate this man was not of the caliber and moral integrity that we expect from our national heroes whose anniversaries we commemorate as national holidays.

Rev. Martin L. King, Jr., who professed nonviolence, in fact was wedded to violence. He sought out violence; he courted and provoked violence against his followers and by his followers because he believed violence was necessary to the achievement of his ends. Reverend King said as much in an article he wrote for the Saturday Review of April 3, 1965.

In this article he wrote, "The goal of the demonstrations in Selma, as elsewhere, is to dramatize the existence of injustice and to bring about the presence of justice by methods of nonviolence." He continued by writing that that goal can be achieved when four things occur:

1. Nonviolent demonstrators go into the streets to exercise their constitutional rights.
2. Racists resist them by unleashing violence against them.
3. Americans of conscience in the name of decency demand Federal intervention and legislation.
4. The administration, under mass pressure, initiates measures of immediate intervention and remedial legislation.

In other words, the demonstrations were a staged media event, a dramatization to attract the newspaper reporters and television cameramen and make a local event into a national issue. But the second necessary ingredient for Rev. King's scenario was violence.

In communities where ad hoc gangs of thugs did not appear to attack demonstrators, night marches were staged to lure out nightriders. And when all else failed to provoke violence, demonstrators led by Rev. King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference deliberately violated the laws by holding marches and parades without permits, violating court injunctions and provoking police officers. In some areas such as Birmingham and Selma, Rev. King was successful in provoking the violence he felt was necessary for him to win his goals.

During the Albany, Georgia, protests in 1962, where the law enforcement authorities avoided confrontation despite provocations, King generated little publicity. When he was eventually arrested leading an illegal demonstration in July, Rev. King refused to pay the fine so that he could remain in jail as a so-called "martyr." After a black man paid Rev. King's fine and he had to leave jail, he called the event having been "kicked out of jail." [Congressional Record, July 20, 1962, p. 1427.]

In Birmingham, Reverend King welcomed truant students from high schools and even younger into the demonstrations although they were in great danger. Let us remember what he said after the murder of four young girls attending Sunday school in a bomb explosion and after two teenaged boys were shot to death during the riot that followed. In *The Nation* of March 9, 1964, Rev. King wrote:

The keys to victory in Birmingham were the refusal to be intimidated; the indomitable spirit of Negroes to endure; their willingness to fill the jails; their ability to love their children—and take them by the hand into battle; to leave on that battlefield six murdered Negro children, to suffer the grief, and resist demoralization and provocation to violence."

And so for Rev. King, "six murdered Negro children" were "keys to victory." In other words, martyrs helped him achieve his ends and he saw this, and he deliberately continued to court violence.

In his book, *Why We Can't Wait*, (Harper & Row, 1964, p. 103) Rev. King wrote, "Looking back, it is clear that the introduction of Birmingham's children into the campaign was one of the wisest moves we made." But the *New York Times* editorially disagreed, stating that "the presence of hundreds of children among the marchers made all these marches especially perilous adventures in brinkmanship." (*New York Times*, May 11, 1963, p. 24.)

It is also appropriate to question whether or not Reverend Martin L. King, Jr., really found racism repugnant in light of his support of discrimination in jobs and housing so long as the discrimination was in favor of blacks; in light of the formation in February 1966, in Chicago of what Rev. King called a "common front" with the violence-oriented, virulently racist Nation of Islam (NOI) or Black Muslims; and in light of the statements of some of Rev. King's closest aides such as Rev. James Bevel.

During the 1963 Birmingham disorders, Rev. Bevel told students:

"We need an army of captains and sergeants and privates to fight the white man this summer. I want captains to march whole schools to jail after graduation." (*New York Times*, May 11, 1963, p. 8)

While Rev. King did not advocate race hatred, he did not bar alliances with racists and he did not keep them from his personal staff.

In 1966 during the Chicago housing campaign, the association of Rev. King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference with violence was even more open. With Rev. King's knowledge, his aide, Rev. Bevel, showed films of the violence during the Watts riots in Los Angeles to Chicago residents being recruited to participate in his equal housing campaign. Among those particularly singled out for contacts and for those film showings were the leaders and members of Chicago's notoriously violent criminal youth gangs.

Rev. King told newsmen that the film showings had been intended "to show the negative results of rioting" (*New York Times*, 7/16/66, p. 8) and to demonstrate that rioters who destroyed their own communities accomplished nothing. But that is not how the Chicago street gangs interpreted the films. Whenever the film showed a black rioter attacking a police officer, they cheered. And whenever law enforcement officers were shown, they hissed and booed. (*New York Times*, 7/24/66, E-1) In fact, Rev. Bevel's film shows for youth gang members were nothing other than audiovisual seminars in mayhem.

One might have expected after the riot that Rev. Martin L. King, the noted advocate of nonviolence, would have broken all contact between SCLC and the gangs; but that is not what happened. Instead Rev. King and SCLC executive director Rev. Andrew J. Young met with the gang leaders for several hours. [*New York Times*, July 17, 1966, p. 60]. The gang leaders pledged a truce and said they would "try nonviolence." The truce did not last till the end of that day. Five young men were shot and violence increased to include two deaths and thirteen wounded so that a state curfew was imposed two weeks after the "truce." [*New York Times*, July 29, 1966, p. 12 & July 30, 1966, p. 11].

As one of Rev. Martin L. King, Jr.'s critics, Dr. Joseph Harrison Jackson, then president of the National Baptist Convention, noted at the time, "There is a danger of using nonviolence in such a way that it will create violence." One of these ways is to teach the young contempt for the law. Rev. King's "nonviolent civil disobedience" taught that any law an individual personally and subjectively disagrees with or feels is unjustly restrictive can be arbitrarily broken at will.

This is not the lesson we should teach young Americans, but it is the lesson we would teach them by making a hero of Rev. Martin L. King, Jr., and designating his anniversary a national holiday.

COMMUNIST MANIPULATION OF REV. KING AND HIS MOVEMENT

The Communist Party, U.S.A. has attempted to use virtually every real or imagined grievance of every segment of American society—the young, the old, women, American Indians, blacks, Latinos and European ethnic groups—to develop and exacerbate divisions among us. The Communists made the most of the opportunity to stir up race hatred provided by the civil rights movement, and the man around whom the Moscow-line Communists collected was Rev. Martin L. King.

The whole range of Communist Party members, sympathizers and front groups were mobilized to aid Rev. King's campaigns.

Some of the support was via the former Highlander Folk School, now the Highlander Research and Education Center. In sworn testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1954, Paul Crouch, a former CPUSA official and organizer described Highlander as being run "ostensibly as an independent labor school, but actually working in close cooperation with the Communist Party." Prominent among Highlander's supporters was the old International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, now merged with the United Steelworkers of America, Mine-Mill was found by the Subversive Activities Control Board to be Communist-infiltrated.

Rev. King, in a very famous photograph, is shown attending a 1957 Labor Day weekend seminar at the Highlander Folk School. The man sitting next to Rev. King in the photograph, Abner W. Berry, a top official of the CPUSA, wrote in *The Daily Worker* (Sept. 10, 1957, p. 5) that the seminar had enabled those attending to re-establish communications with each other "that had been disconnected during the past few years." The "disconnection" had taken place after the Civil Rights Congress disbanded rather than register as a Communist Party front.

Rev. King's support of Highlander goes beyond attendance at one seminar. In its 1958-59 27th Annual Report the Highlander Folk School quoted Rev. King as saying, "You have given the South some of its most responsible leaders in this great period of transition." Two years later, Highlander and Rev. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference ran joint training programs for civil rights activists.

One of Rev. King's closest SCLC aides was Jack H. O'Dell, now with Rev. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH. Under the name, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, Jack O'Dell had been one of the Communist Party's top organizers in the South. When his affiliation with this totalitarian party became known, Rev. King, under pressure fired O'Dell. The controversy was reopened when it was discovered that O'Dell had been rehired by Rev. King's New York SCLC chapter.

The important point is not that a Communist Party organizer had penetrated Rev. King's confidence because a Communist could sneak into almost any organization. What is important is that when this man was exposed to Rev. King as a member of an organization that proposed to impose a systematic totalitarian regime on this country, that has been repeatedly demonstrated to be controlled by the Soviet Union, a dictatorship whose troops only a few years earlier in 1956 had slaughtered Hungarian freedom fighters—that with all this, Rev. Martin L. King fired O'Dell only because his continued presence would give ammunition to "segregationists and race-baiters."

But then, he had O'Dell rehired in New York. And their association continued. O'Dell, who is still an editor of *Freedomways* magazine, the Communist Party's propaganda arm directed at blacks, appeared with Rev. King at a *Freedomways* affair in Carnegie Hall in February 1968.

That *Freedomways* magazine affair was to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of W.E.B. DuBois who in his senility married a young Communist and joined the CPUSA. In his prime, W.E.B. DuBois understood how the Marxist-Leninists wanted to use black people. He wrote in 1931:¹

The Communists, seizing leadership of the poorest and most ignorant blacks head them toward inevitable slaughter and jail-slavery, while they hide safely in Chattanooga and Harlem.

DuBois responded to the Communists' plan:

American Negroes do not propose to be the shock troops of the Communist Revolution, driven out in front to death, cruelty and humiliation in order to win victories for white workers.

DuBois pointed out further that the Communists only pretend to speak for white workers and actually serve to polarize tensions between black and white workers.

DuBois denounced the American Communists for being the mouthpiece of Moscow, and went on to say:

Unfortunately, American Communists are neither wise nor intelligent.

In his keynote speech that evening, Rev. King said, "So many would like to ignore the fact that DuBois was a Communist in his last years." And he went on to denounce anti-Communism as "irrational" and "obsessive."

A key point of Rev. King's speech was to attack U.S. support for the South Vietnamese against Communist aggression. The struggle against the Vietcong he termed a "senseless, cruel, unjust war." For the record, it should be noted that it is the Vietnamese Communists who have proved to be senseless and cruel. Last

¹ *Crisis*, a NAACP magazine.

month more than eighty persons organized by entertainer Joan Baez, most of whom had once opposed U.S. participation in the Vietnamese war, published an advertisement charging that the Communist conquerors of Vietnam held 200,000 political prisoners, that they starved and tortured prisoners and that some were used as living mine detectors, clearing minefields with their hands and feet.

Rev. King had more Communist agents than merely Jack O'Dell in his entourage. King's long-term adviser was New York attorney Stanley Levison, whom FBI investigations revealed to be a "Communist agent." Levison says he was not a Party member, but that is not what the FBI found him to be. You don't have to be a party member to be an agent, and you don't have to be working for the Russians to be a Communist agent.

After the FBI produced for King the evidence that Levison was a Communist agent, acting for a foreign power, he declined to separate himself from this adviser, who even today maintains a close relationship to Ambassador Andrew Young.

Communists other than those in the CPUSA were involved with Rev. King's activities. His wife, for example, was active with Women Strike for Peace in the early sixties, (August 1965, p. 73). In Hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Women Strike for Peace was shown to be an affiliate of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), an internationally active Communist front controlled by the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. And starting with the marches in Selma in 1963, King had active support from a number of disarmament and ban-the-bomb groups who worked with the World Peace Council (WPC), like the WIDF which is virtually its women's auxiliary controlled by the KGB and the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. A more detailed report on those international Soviet fronts by the Central Intelligence Agency was published in the House Intelligence Committee's hearing, "The CIA and the Media," last year.

It is not without significance that in 1971, when the East German regime welcomed Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, whom they identified as Rev. King's successor, the GDRs propaganda brochure said:

"The GDR was on the side of Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy in the 1950s when they organized the historic boycott of the omnibuses of Birmingham * * *."

Abernathy responded, "What we are still fighting for in the U.S.A. is what has already been achieved in the GDR."

Abernathy was in East Berlin to accept a "peace" medal from the East German Peace Council, the local branch of the WPC. On East Germany's radio he told how after a brief visit to free West Berlin, "after a few hours, I felt homesick for the GDR."

Mr. Chairman, I submit that Reverend Martin L. King, Jr., was not the caliber of person to be made into a national hero. His willing friendship and collaboration with totalitarian Communists and racists; but even more, his teaching of contempt for law and the legal process makes it most unsuitable for his anniversary to be made a national holiday.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN LARRY P. McDONALD

Mr. McDONALD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I feel like perhaps I will try to go through it quickly and add just an addendum note that is not in the statement itself at this time.

Senator THURMOND. Just handle it any way you prefer.

Mr. McDONALD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, in these proceedings we have heard from a number of witnesses intimately acquainted with the career of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who have presented facts that demonstrate this man was not of the caliber and moral integrity that we expect from our national heroes whose anniversaries we commemorate as national holidays.

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who professed nonviolence, in fact was wedded to violence. He sought out violence; he courted and provoked violence against his followers and by his followers because he believed violence was necessary to the achievement of his ends.

Reverend King said as much in an article he wrote for the Saturday Review of April 3, 1965.

In this article he wrote, "The goal of the demonstrations in Selma, as elsewhere, is to dramatize the existence of injustice and to bring about the presence of justice by methods of nonviolence." He continued by writing that that goal can be achieved when four things occur:

1. Nonviolent demonstrators go into the streets to exercise their constitutional rights.
2. Racists resist them by unleashing violence against them.
3. Americans of conscience in the name of decency demand Federal intervention and legislation.
4. The administration, under mass pressure, initiates measures of immediate intervention and remedial legislation.

In other words, the demonstrations were a staged media event, a dramatization to attract the newspaper reporters and television cameramen and make a local event into a national issue. But the second necessary ingredient for Reverend King's scenario was violence.

In communities where ad hoc gangs of thugs did not appear to attack demonstrators, night marches were staged to lure out night-riders. When all else failed to provoke violence, demonstrators led by Reverend King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference deliberately violated the law by holding marches and parades without permits, violating court injunctions and provoking police officers. In some areas, such as Birmingham and Selma, Reverend King was successful in provoking the violence he felt was necessary for him to win his goals.

During the Albany, Ga., protests in 1962, where the law enforcement authorities avoided confrontation despite provocations, King generated little publicity. When he was eventually arrested leading an illegal demonstration in July, Reverend King refused to pay the fine so that he could remain in jail as a so-called "martyr". After a black man paid Rev. King's fine and he had to leave jail, he called the event having been "kicked out of jail".

In Birmingham, Reverend King welcomed truant students from high schools and even younger into the demonstrations although they were in great danger. Let us remember what he said after the murder of four young girls attending Sunday school in a bomb explosion after two teenaged boys were shot to death during the riot that followed. In *The Nation*, March 9, 1964, Reverend King wrote:

The keys to victory in Birmingham were the refusal to be intimidated; the indomitable spirit of Negroes to endure; their willingness to fill the jails; their ability to love their children—and take them by the hand into battle; to leave on that battlefield six murdered Negro children, to suffer the grief, and resist demoralization and provocation to violence.

So for Reverend King "six murdered Negro children" were the "keys to victory". In other words, martyrs helped him achieve his ends and he saw this, and he deliberately continued to court violence.

In his book, "Why We Can't Wait," Reverend King wrote, "Looking back, it is clear that the introduction of Birmingham's children into the campaign was one of the wisest moves we made." But the *New York Times* editorially disagreed, stating that "the presence of hundreds of children among the marchers made all these marches especially perilous adventures in brinkmanship."

It is also appropriate to question whether or not Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., really found racism repugnant in light of his support of discrimination in jobs and housing so long as the discrimination was in favor of blacks; in light of the formation in February 1966, in Chicago, of what Reverend King called a common front with the violence-oriented, virulently racist nation of Islam (NOI) or Black Muslims; and in light of the statements of some of Reverend King's closest aides, such as Rev. James Bevel.

During the 1963 Birmingham disorders, Reverend Bevel told students: "We need an army of captains and sergeants, and privates to fight the white man this summer. I want captains to march whole schools to jail after graduation."

While Reverend King did not advocate race hatred, he did not bar alliances with racists and he did not keep them from his personal staff.

In 1966 during the Chicago housing campaign, the association of Reverend King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference with violence was even more open. With Reverend King's knowledge, his aid, Reverend Bevel, showed films of the violence during the Watts riots in Los Angeles to Chicago residents being recruited to participate in his equal housing campaign. Among those particularly singled out for contacts and for those film showings were the leaders and members of Chicago's notoriously violent criminal youth gangs.

Reverend King told newsmen that the film showings had been intended "to show the negative results of rioting" and to demonstrate that rioters who destroyed their own communities accomplished nothing. But that is not how the Chicago street gangs interpreted the films. Whenever the film showed a black rioter attacking a police officer, they cheered, and whenever law enforcement officials were shown, they hissed and booed. In fact, Reverend Bevel's film shows for youth gang members were nothing other than audiovisual seminars in Mayhem.

One might have expected after the riot that Rev. Martin L. King, the noted advocate of nonviolence, would have broken all contact between SCLC and the gangs; but that is not what happened. Instead, Reverend King and SCLC executive director Rev. Andrew J. Young met with the gang leaders for several hours. The gang leaders pledged a truce and said they would "try nonviolence." The truce did not last till even the end of that day. Five young men were shot and violence increased to include 2 deaths and 13 wounded, so that a State curfew was imposed 2 weeks after the so-called truce.

As one of Rev. Martin L. King, Jr.'s critics, Dr. Joseph Harrison Jackson, then president of the National Baptist Convention—and let me say, I think it is in excess of a 5-million body group—noted at the time, "There is a danger of using nonviolence in such a way that it will create violence." One of these ways is to teach the young contempt for the law. Reverend King's "nonviolent civil disobedience" taught that any law an individual personally and subjectively disagrees with or feels is unjustly restrictive can be arbitrarily broken at will.

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Some of the support was by way of the former Highlander Folk School, now the Highlander Research and Education Center. In sworn testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1954, Paul Crouch, the former Communist Party U.S.A. official and organizer described Highlander as being run "ostensibly as an independent labor school, but actually working in close cooperation with the Communist Party." Prominent among Highlander's supporters was the old International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, now merged with the United Steelworkers of America. Mine-Mill was found by the Subversive Activities Control Board to be Communist infiltrated.

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One of Reverend King's closest SCLC aides was Jack H. O'Dell, now with Reverend Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH. We have already heard this morning something about Mr. O'Dell from the prior testimony of Mr. Alan Stang. Under the name, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, Jack O'Dell had been one of the Communist Party's top organizers in the South. When his affiliation with this totalitarian party became known, Reverend King, under pressure, fired O'Dell. The controversy was reopened when it was discovered that O'Dell had been rehired by Reverend King's New York SCLC chapter.

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Soviet Union, a dictatorship whose troops only a few years earlier, in 1956, had slaughtered Hungarian freedom fighters—that with all this, Rev. Martin Luther King fired O'Dell only because his continued presence would give ammunition to “segregationists and race baiters.”

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Mr. Chairman, as a footnote let me add that Dr. James Bales of Harding College in Searcy, Ark., has submitted testimony on the subject of today's hearing. Because of a heavy teaching schedule he was unable to appear in person, but that testimony was sent to my office. Dr. Bales is a noted researcher, teacher, and author of the book, "The Martin Luther King Story." His testimony arrived this morning by mail and, Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Bales' testimony be accepted at this point in the printed record.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McDONALD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Dr. James D. Bales follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES D. BALES

Black Americans need black American heroes to look up to, and there are such heroes whom all of us should honor such as Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, and General James. However, for the following reasons, I believe it would be unfortunate to institute a national holiday to honor Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Law is essential to the existence of society. The fabric of law which holds together our Republic is not perfect, but it has within it the means of increasing improvement. Our laws have not always been administered with impartiality, but the solution to this is not found in increasing the spirit of lawlessness. Martin Luther King, Jr., and others had the courts open to them, and they were using

the courts, but unfortunately he and some others encouraged the spirit of lawlessness by advocating and practicing mass disobedience to laws which they considered unjust. Then, too, they were faced with the lawlessness of some white people but the solution to lawlessness is not to meet it with lawlessness. This breeds anarchy.

The Bible teaches that when the laws of men require us to disobey God, we must obey God rather than man. (Acts 5:29) However, this does not mean that we must disobey the laws of the land when someone infringes on our real or imagined rights. There is a vast difference between the obligation to carry out one's duties to God and to man, and one advocating lawlessness because he thinks someone has infringed some of his rights—this is especially true when one can seek redress by legal means. However, Martin Luther King, Jr., tried to make it appear that it was immoral to abide by the laws of the land, or the decisions of courts and judges, if he thought they unjustly deprived him of some right. (Why We Can't Wait, pp. 69, 2, 68, 86) Sources as widely divergent as the editor of the Arkansas Gazette (June 16, 1963, p. 2E; March 11, 1965, p. 6A) and David Lawrence of U.S. News & World Report were critical of King's defiance of the order of a Federal Court (Commercial Appeal, March 11, 1965, p. 6)

Many prominent Americans have spoken out against the spirit of lawlessness which was engendered by civil disobedience, which was usually not very civil. (Communism and Race in America, 63-68.)

The creation and the support of lawlessness will hardly improve American society. Charles E. Whittaker, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court (retired) in a speech on June 17, 1965, said: "While I do not claim that all of our crime is due to any one cause, it seems rather clear that a large part of the current rash and rapid spread of lawlessness in our land has been, at least, fostered and inflamed by the preachments of self-appointed leaders of minority groups to 'obey the good laws, but to violate the bad ones'— which, of course, simply advocates violation of the laws they do not like, or, in other words, the taking of the law into their own hands.

"And this is precisely what their followers have done and are doing—all under the banner of 'peaceable civil disobedience,' which they have claimed to be protected by the peaceable-assembly-and-petition provision of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.

"Although such preachments and practices have become far more vocal and widespread in our recent racial strife, they did not have their origin in that strife, but, rather, in the labor racial, sit-ins and lie-downs of an earlier era.

"More recently, certain self-appointed racial leaders, doubtless recalling the appeasements and, hence, successes of that earlier conduct, have simply adopted and used those techniques in fomenting and waging their lawless campaigns which they have called 'demonstrations.'

"They have recently used these techniques to incite their followers to assemble, from far and wide—often, unfortunately, with the encouragement and at the expense of well-meaning but misguided church organizations—into large and loosely assembled groups, which many have regarded as mobs, to wage what they have called 'demonstrations' to force the grant of 'rights' in defiance of the law, the courts and all constituted authority.

"At the beginning, those 'demonstrations' consisted of episodic group invasions and appropriation of private stores, first by sitting down and later by lying down therein, and, eventually, by blocking the entrances thereto with their bodies.

"Seeing that those trespasses were often applauded in high places, were generally not punished, but rather, were compelled to be appeased and rewarded, those racial leaders and their groups quickly enlarged the scope of their activities by massing and marching their followers on the sidewalks, streets and highways—frequently blocking and appropriating them to a degree that precluded their intended public uses."¹

"The philosophy of 'obeying only the laws you like,' and of openly defying and breaking the ones you do not like, has given rise to mobs and mob actions that have proven—as certainly we should have expected—to be tailor-made for infiltration, take-over and use by rabblers and Communists who are avowedly bent on the breakdown of law, order and morality in our society and, hence, in its destruction.

¹ Charles E. Whittaker, "Law and Order," Highlights of Truth, Denver: Homemakers Guild of America Corp., pp. 1-2.

"And even though those results may not have been contemplated, and surely weren't wished by those Americans who so advocated disobedience of our laws, nevertheless, they did advocate that philosophy and they did put its process into action, and cannot now escape responsibility for its results.

"The process has now spread even into the campuses of many, indeed most, of our great universities."²

"Probably because of a rather widespread recognition that, at times and in certain sectors, some of our colored brethren have suffered unconstitutional discriminations, and because many of us have been sympathetic to the ends they seek—and have not, therefore, thought very much about the destructive means they have embarked upon to attain those ends—there has been a rather general public apathy toward their preachments to violate, and their practices in violating, our laws.

"Indeed, one of those who first advised, and was most successful in inducing, his followers to take the law into their own hands—and who, now that their conduct has led to widespread disorder, attempts to excuse his responsibility for, it with the doubtless-true statement: 'I cannot control them'—parenthetically an excuse quite reminiscent of the one given by the man who lighted the squib and threw it into the crowd—was rather recently twice honored. Once by an old and respected American university by conferring upon him an honorary degree—not in some new political science—but in law, and, second, by an honored foreign cultural group by awarding him a prize for, of all things, his contributions to peace.

"What, I would like to ask, has happened to our sense of values?"³

"The remedy is equally plain. It is simply to insist that our governments, State and Federal, reassume and discharge their first duty of protecting the people against lawless invasions of their persons and property and from assaults upon their liberties by demanding and commanding respect for law and legal processes through the impartial even handed, vigorous, swift and certain enforcement of our criminal laws and the real and substantial punishment thereunder of all conduct that violates those laws.

"These are not platitudes, but are fundamentals and vital, as every thinking man should see, to the survival of our nation."⁴

On January 27, 1837 Abraham Lincoln pointed to the results of the spirit of lawlessness and also to its remedy. "And not only so; the innocent, those who have ever set their faces against violations of law in every shape, alike with the guilty fall victims to the ravages of mob law; and thus it goes on, step by step, till all the walls erected for the defense of the persons and property of individuals are trodden down and disregarded. But all this, even, is not the full extent of the evil. By such examples, by instances of the perpetrators of such acts going unpunished, the lawless in spirit are encouraged to become lawless in practice; and having been used to no restraint but dread of punishment, they thus become absolutely unrestrained. Having ever regarded government as their deadliest bane, they make a jubilee of the suspension of its operations, and pray for nothing so much as its total annihilation. While, on the other hand, good men, men who love tranquility, who desire to abide by the laws and enjoy their benefits, who would gladly spill their blood in the defense of their country, seeing their property destroyed, their families insulted, and their lives endangered, their persons injured, and seeing nothing in prospect that forebodes a change for the better, become tired of and disgusted with a government that offers them no protection, and are not much averse to a change in which they imagine they have nothing to lose. Thus, then, by the operation of this mobocratic spirit which all must admit is now abroad in the land, the strongest bulwark of any government, and particularly of those constituted like ours, may effectually be broken down and destroyed—I mean the attachment of the people."⁵

"The answer is simple. Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of seventy-six did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵ Abraham Lincoln Complete Works, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Editors, New York: The Century Company, 1894, Vol. I, p. 11.

pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor—let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.

"While ever a state of feeling such as this shall universally or even very generally prevail throughout the nation, vain will be every effort, and fruitless every attempt, to subvert our national freedom.

"When I so pressingly urge a strict observance of all the laws, let me not be understood as saying there are no bad laws, or that grievances may not arise for the redress of which no legal provisions have been made. I mean to say no such thing. But I do mean to say that although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still, while they continue in force, for the sake of example they should be religiously observed. So also in unprovided cases. If such arise, let proper legal provisions be made for them with the least possible delay, but till then let them, if not too intolerable, be borne with.

"There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law. In any case that may arise, as, for instance, the promulgation of abolitionism, one of two positions is necessarily true—that is, the thing is right within itself, and therefore deserves the protection of all law and all good citizens, or it is wrong, and therefore proper to be prohibited by legal enactments; and in neither case is the interposition of mob law either necessary, justifiable, or excusable."

Not merely mass pressure, but illegal mass pressure is being used. J. Edgar Hoover well said in a speech on October 19, 1965: "I am greatly concerned that certain racial leaders are doing the civil rights movement a great disservice by suggesting that citizens need only obey the laws with which they agree. Such an attitude breeds disrespect for the law and even civil disorder and rioting. The citizen has no latitude as to what laws he must obey. If he feels a law is wrong or unjust, he has recourse to established constitutional procedures to have it changed through his legally elected representatives.

"It is reprehensible for any person to select those laws he will obey and those he will ignore. Such defiance is a form of anarchy. It is shameful and disgraceful for persons in high authority to condone or urge the breaking of established laws."

A second reason why Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. should not be honored by having a national holiday in his memory, is that our country was based on the concept of the limited state with the maximum amount of freedom for the individual. Dr. King was a socialist whose philosophy viewed the capitalist state as the main enemy of mankind. Socialism would destroy our system of Government, and instead of a Republic under Constitutional Government, which limits the power of the State, socialism brings in the all powerful state. To the extent a country becomes socialistic to that extent the freedom of its citizens is limited and the power of the State and its bureaucracy increased. Why should our Republic establish a national holiday in honor of a socialist whose philosophy would undermine our system? Shall we thus honor our ideological grave-diggers?

Was King a socialist? In a tribute to Norman Thomas, who for decades was known as Mr. Socialist, Martin Luther King Jr. said: "I can think of no man who has done more than you to inspire the vision of a society free of injustice and exploitation. While some would adjust to the status quo, you urged struggle. While some would corrupt struggle with violence or undemocratic perversions, you have stood firmly for the integrity of ends and means. Your example has ennobled and dignified the fight for freedom, and all that we hear of the Great Society seems only an echo of your prophetic eloquence. Your pursuit of racial and economic democracy at home, and of sanity and peace in the world, has been awesome in scope. It is with deep admiration and indebtedness that I carry the inspiration of your life to Oslo."

"Truly, the life of Norman Thomas has been one of deep commitment to the betterment of all humanity. In 1928, the year before I was born, he waged the first of six campaigns as the Socialist Party's candidate for President of the United States. A decade earlier, as a preacher, he fought gallantly, if unsuccessfully, against American involvement in World War I. Both then and now he has raised aloft the banner of civil liberties, civil rights, labor's right to organize, and has played a significant role in so many diverse areas of activity that newspapers all over the land have termed him 'America's conscience.'"

King attended and participated in a meeting at Highlander Folk School, a school which Communists helped establish, with Communists and other leftists. This workshop in which Communists participated was certainly not designed to promote racial peace. (Georgia Commission on Education, 19 Hunter St., S.W., Atlanta 5, Ga.)

The leftist Methodist Federation for Social Action, in the March 1964 Social Question Bulletin, said in a tribute to Aubrey Williams, who was then chairman emeritus of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC, that Martin Luther King, Jr. said "the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was begun in Aubrey's back yard in Montgomery, Ala." (p. 24) Congressman John M. Ashbrook said that Aubrey Williams was "identified as a Communist Party member by one witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; another witness identified him as one who accepted the discipline of the Communist Party. He denied both charges but admitted that he had been connected with "some Communist-front organizations." (Congressional Record, Oct. 4, 1967.)

On June 16th, 1969 "The Scott Report" was devoted to FBI investigations of Martin Luther King, Jr.

(By Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON, JUNE 16.—Public airing of the FBI's recordings of private conversations Dr. Martin Luther King conducted with his protest advisers could go a long way toward changing the image of the slain civil rights leader.

Summaries of the recordings, as revealed to members of a House Appropriation Subcommittee, headed by Representative John J. Rooney (D.N.Y.), clearly indicate that King was in direct contact with one of the most influential communists in the U.S.

With leads obtained from their electronic eavesdropping, the FBI was able to confirm that this Kremlin agent, whose influence extended into the highest ranks of the Communist Party, USA, was one of King's ghost writers and chief advisers on protest strategy.

In addition to the evidence gained from the King recordings, the FBI succeeded in taking several photographs of the civil rights leader meeting with this covert communist operator at one of the major U.S. airports.

King, whose assassination in Memphis, Tenn., in April, 1968, is still carried as an "open investigation" by the FBI, was first put under government surveillance in 1961 when the late Robert Kennedy was Attorney General.

Although Kennedy after leaving the Justice Department denied any knowledge of King's surveillance, FBI and Justice Department records show he authorized the inquiry during a conference attended by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, then Deputy Attorney General Nicholas de Katzenbach, and another high-ranking FBI aide.

The surveillance of King, now under fire by several large East Coast newspapers, was the outgrowth of information that the FBI agents obtained during its investigation of another national security case.

When King's name was mentioned several times by one of the persons under surveillance in the case, it was decided that the civil rights leader should be placed under close observation.

The FBI inquiry, which continued for several years, involved King's trips to Sweden and East Germany as well as his preparations to lead the so-called "Poor Army Campaign" to disrupt Washington.

These and other still secret details of King's activities were revealed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to members of the Rooney subcommittee shortly before the civil rights leader was slain.

Deeply concerned about King's plans to disrupt Washington, the legislators had requested the briefing so they would be prepared to blunt his assault on Congress should that become necessary.

So alarming was the FBI's data on King that the lawmakers took the extraordinary step of briefing House Speaker John McCormack. This information along with other material furnished by the FBI caused McCormack to make extensive preparations, including the alerting of military units, to defend the Capitol against King's plans to cause massive disruption.

The House Democratic leaders, all strong supporters of the late President Kennedy, were reputedly shocked at the gutter-type language King used in private conversations about the late President.

Other recordings in the FBI files dealt extensively with his private life, according to the legislators, and showed that there were two Kings—one the public knew and the other known only to his closest friends and the FBI.

Although no government agency or commission has made a study of King's long-range strategy of protest, there is enough evidence in the files of the FBI to show that King's goal was to create a mass protest movement. With the movement, King and his advisers hoped to force a radical change in this country's form of government.

King's leadership task was to give the over-all movement "motion" and an acceptable "image" that would attract millions of Negroes, young people, the poor, clergy, and those disenchanted with the Vietnam war.

His tactics in changing his protest leadership from one of civil rights to anti-war, anti-poverty, and anti-government during the closing days of his life were part of this grand strategy.

Whether most of these FBI recordings, since many of them deal with national security cases still under investigation, will ever be revealed by the Nixon Administration is conjectural.

Should supporters of King, however, pump new life into the stalled drive in Congress to create a national holiday honoring him, demands could become forthcoming from anti-King legislators that Hoover be called to testify. If that occurs, the "Martin Luther King tapes" could become big news.

For now, the only public confirmation of the King recordings comes from Houston Federal Judge Joe Ingraham's hearing involving the case of former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay.

Testimony by FBI agents in the Houston hearing revealed that conversations of King and Clay were recorded. In one instance, Judge Ingraham pronounced it a matter of national security and refused to let it be made public.

Clay, convicted of draft dodging in June, 1967, and sentenced to five years in prison, is appealing his conviction. The U.S. Supreme Court ordered Ingraham to hold a hearing to see whether illegal wiretaps testimony was used to convict Clay.

Both the movement to mark King's birthday as a national holiday and the Houston court hearing clearly indicate that the final chapter in the Martin King story is yet to be written.

Mrs. Julia Brown, who was an undercover operative in the Communist Party for the FBI said: "We were also told to promote Martin Luther King, to unite Negroes and whites behind him, and to turn him into some sort of national hero. We were to look to King as the leader in this struggle, the Communists said, because he was on our side.

"I know they were right because while I was in the Communist Party I learned that Martin Luther King attended a Communist training school. I learned that several of his aides and assistants were Communists, that he received funds from Communists, and that he was taking directions from Communists.

"Most Americans never look at the Communist press in this country. If they did, they would learn that the Communists loved Martin Luther King. He was one of their biggest heroes. I know for a fact the Communists would never have promoted him, financed him, and supported him if they couldn't trust him."

Senator Thomas J. Dodd, who said he had "been a life-long advocate of Negro equality", and had long defended Martin Luther King, Jr., on September 11, 1965 said that when King began "to advocate that the U.S. reorient its foreign policy along the lines of accommodation with communism, then I can only regret that the leader of the civil rights movement, by his intemperate alignment with the forces of appeasement in foreign policy, has alienated much of the support which he previously enjoyed in Congress." (News Release from Thomas J. Dodd)

Although he thought it might be due to "King's political innocence"—how could a mature man be so innocent?, Joseph Alsop in a column in the Arkansas Democrat for April 16, 1964 said: "The subject of the real head-shaking is the Rev. Martin Luther King. His influence is very great. His original dedication to nonviolence can hardly be doubted. Yet his organization has accepted and is almost certainly still accepting Communist collaboration and even Communist advice."

In 1962-63, the issue of the Communists' role in the King organization was raised because of Hunter Pitts O'Dell, commonly called Jack O'Dell. This man, a known Communist, held posts in the Southern Christian Leadership Council, first in the South and then in the New York office, until the late spring of 1963. King finally dropped him when warned by U.S. Government officials that O'Dell was the genuine Communist article.

Official warnings have again been given to King about another, even more important associate who is known to be a key figure in the covert apparatus of the Communist Party. After the warnings, King broke off his open connection

with this man, but a second-hand connection none the less continues. Without much doubt, this is simply a mark of the Reverend King's political innocence, but is disturbing all the same. The King organization and King himself are clearly the prime Communist targets.

W. E. DuBois was a well-known Communist. At a meeting in his honor, King said: "It is time to cease muting the fact that Dr. DuBois was a genius and chose to be a Communist. Our irrational obsessive anti-Communism has led us into too many quagmires . . ." (The Worker March 3, 1968, p. 3).

On April 4, 1967 at the Riverside Church in New York City, Martin Luther King, Jr. made such an anti-American, pro-Communist speech that many who had defended him in the past were shocked. Carl T. Rowan said: "On a crisp, clear evening last April 4, the Rev. Martin Luther King stood in New York City's Riverside Church and delivered the most scathing denunciation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam ever made by so prominent an American. He labeled the United States "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today" and accused it of "cruel manipulation of the poor." He said that the people of Vietnam "watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops."

He stated that U.S. troops "may have killed a million South Vietnamese civilians mostly children." He said that American soldiers "test out our latest weapons" on the peasants of South Vietnam "just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe." He accused President Johnson of lying about peace overtures from Hanoi, and urged Americans to become "conscientious objectors."

Reaction across the Nation and around the world was immediate and explosive. Radios Moscow and Peking picked up King's words and spread them to distant capitals. In the White House, a Presidential aide shouted, "My God, King has given a speech on Vietnam that goes right down the commie line!" President Johnson, reading the wire-service reports, flushed with anger.

Civil rights leaders wrung their hands and began to plan steps to take the already splintered movement for Negro equality out from under the onus of King's broadside. Such prominent Negroes as Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Ralph Bunche, Nobel Prize-winning United Nations under-secretary, and Sen. Edward Brooke disagreed publicly with King. The directors of Freedom House called the program that King advocated "demagogic and irresponsible in its attack on our Government." The Washington Post, long a supporter of King, said, "Dr. King has done a grave injury to the great struggle to remove ancient abuses from our public life. He has diminished his usefulness to his cause, to his country and to his people."

Of this speech, Father Daniel Lyons said that: "Dr. King preached the straight Communist line." (Congressional Record, May 4, 1967, p. H5094) William S. White wrote: "Dr. King's savage denunciation of American motives in Vietnam has done more than to transport him finally and fatefully into the far left wing of the civil rights struggle." (Congressional Record, April 12, 1967, p. S4929) He thought it was also causing people to rally around moderate leaders.

One does not have to know why a person has done something in order to know that he has done it. If someone blunders us into defeat, we are just as defeated as if he meant to do it. We do not have to decide why King had the contacts which he did have with Communists, and whether he was so ignorant of communism that he thought they were just another political party—although it is very difficult to be that ignorant, or whether he thought he was using them for purposes which he thought were right. We do know that communism is the main enemy of America, that it is the main enemy today of mankind, that the Communists have outdone Hitler and are far more successful in their diabolical plans than was Hitler, and that anyone who knowingly worked with Communists is not worthy of having a holiday in his honor.

This is not the extent of King's involvement with people of the far left, but these things are sufficient to show that he gave at least some aid and comfort to the forces which have long worked in America to destroy our country. A man who was, to say the least, as blind as he was to the nature of the main enemy of mankind is not the man in whose honor this country should establish a national holiday. Why should the United States thus honor a man who has helped contribute to the spirit of lawlessness in the land today, who was a socialist who would change the very nature of our Government, and who worked at times with people on the far left and who was more and more taking positions in harmony with the Communist line?

Senator THURMOND. You may proceed with questions.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I just would like to ask you one question, Congressman. Do you think that we have an obligation to obey laws that go against the grain of justice?

Mr. McDONALD. I would answer that by saying that if each person is to determine what is justice, then we have anarchy.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Do we have some idea of there being justice, let us say, predicated on the Commandments?

Mr. McDONALD. Well, our system of justice, as you know, is perhaps the zenith of Western civilization and is based upon a biblical concept of morality. As such, our form of justice is based upon the law, the supreme law being the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Based on morality?

Mr. McDONALD. Well, our law is based upon the Constitution of the United States, it is the "Supreme Law of the Land," notwithstanding some contradictions in treaty law and U.N. law, nevertheless, it is generally viewed as the supreme law of the land. I think our Founding Fathers were very clear that in writing that law they held to a basis of morality that would hold a biblical view of morality, say, as opposed to a humanistic view of morality.

What you perhaps describe as allowing us to move into anarchy would be a humanistic view of morality.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Would you say that Thomas Jefferson had a biblical view of morality in that, let us say, that our Constitution is based on a moral value that all men should be created equal, all men in America should be treated equal, and that is in fact how we got our country started, our forefathers did?

Mr. McDONALD. Well, as you may know, Jefferson did not write the Constitution, that was basically under the authorship of Madison.

Mr. WILLIAMS. He wrote the Declaration of Independence, right?

Mr. McDONALD. Well, he was the man who penned the declaration. As you know, there were a number of people who collaborated with that. In that they stated that the basic rights come from God, not government, and they enumerated three rights, the right to life, liberty, pursuit of happiness.

Many of our Founding Fathers were very upset with Jefferson because he failed to add a fourth right, that is the right to own private property. That fourth right was specified in the Constitution.

Jefferson is an interesting person, however because throughout his lifetime he was an individual, and you can probably find quotes on differing sides of an issue, depending on which phase of his life you wish to quote from. So, I do not know which phase you are trying to pull from at this point.

But if we wish to deal strictly with the Declaration of Independence and then, as expanded upon in the Constitution, and further as defined the limitations governing the Bill of Rights, I think you are on very firm ground.

Mr. WILLIAMS. All right, you talk about the right to life, liberty, and happiness—

Mr. McDONALD. The right to "pursuit of happiness," not "happiness."

Mr. WILLIAMS [continuing]. Is a law.

Mr. McDONALD. Excuse me. The Declaration of Independence states as an unalienable right the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I think the emphasis should be on the "pursuit," not "guaranteed" happiness.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If there is a law that goes against those principles, would you consider that a bad law?

Mr. McDONALD. As determined by whom, individual? That would be anarchy.

Mr. WILLIAMS. As determined, let us say, by the American people.

Mr. McDONALD. Well, there is a way to change the law, that is called an amendment process. The Constitution, when it was written by our Founding Fathers, they knew well that they could not foresee every eventuality for the future, and therefore they wrote into the Constitution a method of change, namely, the amendment process. If we, however, elect to change the law by each individual interpretation of each individual then, indeed, we cease to have a law but rather would move into a state of anarchy, violence, riots, and so forth.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, would you agree that laws that have as their intent segregating the American people on the basis of race, or religion, are bad laws?

Mr. McDONALD. Well, I think there is a great deal of consternation in our society today over things such as affirmative action on the *Bakke* case, and so forth, where one group is selectively penalized to the benefit of another group, and I think that type of thing has created turmoil. But I think the solution to problems such as affirmative action discrimination, the *Bakke* case and so forth, that this solution is perhaps best found in the remedies through the courts, as the *Bakke* case, rather than in the streets, burning and looting.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Would you say that Martin Luther King and blacks in the South in 1955 had recourse to the courts in terms of trying to strike down segregated laws?

Mr. McDONALD. Yes, I think that there was a constant improvement in the South. The South, perhaps, was not perfect, but as a record in civilization it was a record that was probably unparalleled in the progress of man. I know of no other instance in the history of civilization where a people had been at perhaps the lowest level of civilization—namely slavery—and had risen by the period of the fifties into virtually all levels of society in the South. There were Negro or black physicians, ministers, bankers and so forth. In fact, probably the center of Negro education is in Atlanta, Ga., the massive complex of Atlanta University. There were Negro banks there, and so forth.

If you viewed a society in terms of its material gains—whether it is bathtubs, TV sets, automobiles, what have you—the Negro society in America in 1950 perhaps ranked second only to American society as a whole. They were ahead of Sweden, they were ahead of England, and so forth. For example, the average Negro in 1950-60 was more apt to gain a college education than the average British male.

This was not to say that it was perfect. This was not to say that everything was just absolutely as we would have liked it, but I am saying as described by Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver and others, there was a steady degree of progress that had come about as a result of mutual cooperation and a feeling that

we have to work out problems. There were difficulties, but these difficulties were being resolved in a better fashion than ever before in history and in any other nation in history.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I find it interesting that you made a distinction as to where black Americans were in 1950, as compared to the majority of society. I think what Dr. King was trying to do, my friend, was trying to get black folks to be equal to all Americans.

I have no more comments or questions.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Boies?

Mr. BOIES. Congressman, you drew a distinction in your prepared remarks between Dr. King's goals and the means that he used to pursue those goals; do you recall that?

Mr. McDONALD. I think there are very few people who are sometimes pursuing maybe an illegal or sinister direction that will come out and say, "Ladies and gentlemen, I am going in a sinister direction."

Every drive for tyranny in the history of the world, whether it be under totalitarian nazism, or whether it be under Mussolini's fascism, or totalitarian Communism, it is always presented under the most favorable of wrapping; it is always presented as, "for the good of the people, for peace and brotherhood", and so forth.

Mr. BOIES. I do not disagree with that, and I do not in any sense mean to cut you off, but my question is really just a simple one, and that is whether your disagreement with Dr. King's activities comes from a disagreement, what you perceive his goals to be, or with the means that you perceive him to be using to achieve those goals.

Mr. McDONALD. Well, there are individual legislative programs that I think we could perhaps certainly call into question, that were certainly his view. What has been termed the Civil Rights Act of 1965, the so-called Voting Rights bill, was very clearly one of his objectives. You may feel it is a very fine bill. The gentleman, the prior questioner, spoke of equality and so forth. But is it not strange that that bill has it that if you are in Georgia and illiterate, you may vote as a result of that bill; but if you move to New York State you may not vote because you are illiterate. That was a bill that was selective only to certain States. If we are going to be speaking about equality under the law—and as the prior questioner said, that is an objective that should be sought after—is it not strange that that particular bill did exactly the opposite?

That is part of the paradox between the image and the reality. I think in this case I think I would have to argue with some of the goals. I think when Martin Luther King stood before the U.N. building and called our involvement in Vietnam "a racist involvement", I thought that was frankly outrageous. When Martin Luther King started a drive, as you may recall, the national petition drive to get out of Vietnam it was not calling for, really, ending the war. As you know, those protestors who marched up and down our National Capital streets and many other streets, certainly marched up and down the streets of Atlanta, Ga., they really called for a Communist victory—not the ending of conflict.

As you know, the horror just began when Saigon was changed to Ho-Chi-Minh City.

So, as to whether you are dealing with his methods, or whether you are dealing with some of his objectives, I think in both cases there is

reason to certainly reject Dr. King from consideration as a person suitable for a national holiday. I did outline, once again—Mr. Stang covered it—I think the key is the Saturday Review of Literature article in which there were four points. The first is to demonstrate; the second is to provoke violence as an essential part of the nonviolent program; third, with the aid of the news media you create atmosphere; and the fourth point, to get a particular piece of legislation passed, which was the goal all along.

It is a brilliant strategy, but I would like to point out that it creates more division, more bitterness, not less.

Mr. BOIES. You covered a lot of ground in that last answer.

Mr. McDONALD. I have to try to cover it, you know, I just have one shot up here, and you want me to do my best, I am sure.

Mr. BOIES. I am sure you are taking your best shot.

Mr. McDONALD. I always try to do my best.

Mr. BOIES. With respect to one of the things covered, in terms of Dr. King's goals, you referred to "illegal or sinister directions," do you recall using those words?

Mr. McDONALD. No; I am saying—if you go back I think the record will show that I said—any organized effort down through history whose goals may on the surface be laudible, but whose true direction may be sinister, may be dangerous. I think we have to sometimes look beyond simply the initial wrapper on the surface, particularly if coordinated by the news media, especially today. Some of the finest of individuals can appear to have horns, and some of the sleaziest of individuals can be held up as heroes. We have all witnessed that. The propaganda agencies in a technological age are highly refined.

Mr. BOIES. I think it is very important to look beyond the wrapper.

Looking beyond the wrapper, as you put it, do you believe that, using your words, there were any goals of Dr. King that you believe to be illegal, and sinister?

Mr. McDONALD. I just finished saying that the objective to "end the war" by simply walking out of South Vietnam meant an ally was left to the butchery of a Communist aggressive force, the backwash of which has caused perhaps 2 million people to be slaughtered by the most horrible of means in Cambodia, which has carried over into Laos.

I just mention in here where even—believe it or not, it is amazing, I found it amazing in looking up the research on this—very recently, last month, Joan Baez who was strumming the guitar for peace in the name of walking out of Vietnam suddenly has found some horror over the fact that things are not in South Vietnam what she had hoped they might be when everybody walked out.

So, my point is that, yes, when Martin Luther King stood out in front of the U.N. building and denounced our effort to come to the aid of an ally to prevent Communist aggression, when he denounced that as "a racist war," and that we were racist in our pursuit, I think that is a sinister objective, that is working against the interests of what we would term a biblical-oriented, morality-based society, and in favor of a humanistic-militant-atheistic society known as Communism. Why he did it, I do not know. Did he know what he was doing, I do not know. I am simply saying that is the record and we cannot change that.

Mr. BOIES. Do you believe, Congressman, that everybody that worked against the war in Vietnam, worked for withdrawal from Vietnam, was pursuing sinister goals?

Mr. McDONALD. No. Wittingly or unwittingly, people sometimes do crazy things. Somebody may join a lynch mob in the belief that the person at the end of the rope is an absolute criminal. Two weeks later they may find out that they lynched the wrong man and they may have a sickening feeling. But at the time they did it, they may have done it with the noblest of aspirations that they were somehow carrying out the protection of womanhood, the highest levels of our culture and so forth. We are all aware that sometimes, within every movement, there are sometimes fools; there are kooks, there are opportunists who would like to sell buttons, there are many other factors.

So, I think you have to judge the real intent by sometimes the leadership and the results go beyond just simply trying to say he is a kook, obviously not. In a mob, or in any type of a mass movement there are many idealists.

You know the old story that if you are not a socialist at 20 you have no heart. If you are still a socialist at 30, you have no brains. I think that summarizes the fact that we found that many of our college students, all wrapped up in idealism, marched off in this direction. But now many of them are saying, "My gosh, I do not think it was so smart after all, it did not bring the results I thought it was going to achieve." Joan Baez is a classic.

Mr. BOIES. Although I do not think Ms. Baez is saying that she disagreed with getting out of Vietnam. I think she says that there are problems both ways. But I think we can leave that.

Mr. McDONALD. Yes, but anybody, I would submit—not trying to be too facetious—but I think anybody with two brain cells rubbing together would know that getting out of Vietnam by walking out means the Communists are going to walk in. You should be smart enough, if you are going to be a leader advocating certain actions, you should be smart enough—ideally, we would hope—to be able to see the consequences of your action. I think to have people "tooted" up to our young people frequently as "great leaders" but not looking beyond the consequences can have disastrous results. I think that is pretty obvious.

Mr. BOIES. Congressman, trying to put this testimony in perspective, who would your heroes be of the last 20 years in the United States?

Mr. McDONALD. I think Douglas McArthur was a great American. I think in many ways the type of things he stood for, an unabashed type of Americanism.

I personally feel that General Patton would have been, in many ways. Frankly, on the American political scene I think we have had a desert of leaders, probably for the last 4 decades, I am sorry to say that. We have not had many giants that would fall into the category of so many of our Founding Fathers, people like Mason and Madison.

I think in part this is due to the fact that our media has been in many ways dominated by a liberal bias that has pretty well prevented, or has distorted the presentations of many people who could be great leaders, and has tooted up, or magnified, frankly, charlatans who in normal cases would probably be working in a haberdashery.

Mr. BOIES. Do you see any heroes in your own view, in the last 4 decades, other than the two military officers that you identified?

Mr. McDONALD. Well, I think Senator Robert Taft was a very great American, stood for some very fine principles. This is not to say that I would agree with everything Taft said or did; the same thing would apply to the others. But I think Senator Robert Taft, a great American, stood for many fine things.

I did not come here prepared to go through an anthology of American leaders. I would be glad to submit for the record about 30 or 50 that I think in the 20th century have been positive leaders. I think Thomas Edison did a great deal. I think Charles Lindbergh was certainly a great American in so many ways.

Mr. BOIES. I think that would be helpful to have for the record, to put this in context.

Mr. McDONALD. You would like to have for the record my view of 20 or 30 leading Americans of the 20th century?

Mr. BOIES. Yes.

Mr. McDONALD. I would be delighted to provide that for the record. Would you like me to include women in that, or just restrict it to men? [Laughter.]

Mr. BOIES. Well, I suppose that depends on what your view is.

Mr. McDONALD. Well, I have a heterosexual view, I do not know what your preference is. I will be glad to go both ways, there will be no problem. I think we have very fine lady Members who have made great contributions to our society. I think Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly is a contemporary who has been an outspoken lady in favor of a return to stable values.

Mr. BOIES. Just two more questions—if you want to go both ways, that is obviously your choice.

In terms of your own background—again to help put this in context—are you a member of the John Birch Society?

Mr. McDONALD. Yes. Mr. Chairman, I will be delighted to submit for the record at this point my biographical sketch, biographical background, if I could ask unanimous consent for that.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection.

Mr. McDONALD. I am a member of the John Birch Society; the American Legion; the Chamber of Commerce; the National Rifle Association; Young Americans for Freedom; American Conservative Union; Conservative Caucus, and I would imagine a number of other organizations. Basically those organizations who are working for a republican form of government, limited government; a free enterprise system of economics, and also a morality based upon traditional values of Western civilization. By this I mean the biblical reference of value.

Mr. BOIES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. McDONALD. Also, of course, I am a Member of Congress. I do not know what that would do today because that is probably the lowest level of acceptance in American society, I think it is the one next below garbage men.

Senator THURMOND. Congressman McDonald, I just have a few questions to propound to you.

Since you oppose the designation of another Federal legal holiday for Martin Luther King, Jr., do you think there are any other Americans who should be considered for such a legal holiday, if one is going to be named for Martin Luther King?

Mr. McDONALD. I think that is a very good point. Senator Birch Bayh made the point earlier—and I was very pleased to have been here when the distinguished Senator made his presentation—that there is perhaps a segment of American society that may feel disadvantaged, for whatever reason, wrongly or not, may feel they have not been brought into the mainstream, and that perhaps in recognizing Columbus, or George Washington, it would be wise since that is a major segment of our society, to recognize a Negro American or a black American. By their statements, by their writings, by their actions, by their life what they were able to represent, I think perhaps three black Americans could quickly come to mind.

One would be George Washington Carver; the second would be Booker T. Washington, and I think the man would be shocked at the thought if he were here today—if he could be here today, he would certainly argue against it, but a man who pointed out that he could come from poverty in Florida, whose mother, I believe, ran a school so that he could gain some of the better things in life. A family who, as Senator Bayh stated, clawed and worked its way up from poverty, from a poor background, was Gen. Chappy James. Chappy James, as you know, as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, passed away perhaps a year ago. I do not think we have had a more dedicated, finer American on the scene than Gen. Chappy James.

I think he would be a true idol.

Senator THURMOND. He was a four-star general; was he not?

Mr. McDONALD. You, as a member of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, know well that Gen. Chappy James was a four-star general in the Air Force. He fought with distinguished accommodations in World War II, the Korean war, and the Vietnam war for a period. This man was truly a giant of an American in so many ways, in every way.

I think to our Negro youth, if you want to look at a man who came up in the South, a man who came up perhaps without having an ideal system—because an ideal system in this world does not exist—but you might say a disadvantaged system regionally at that time; but a man who worked within the system; who worked to improve the lot of his fellow airmen, the fellow military people, whether they were black or white. He was not discriminatory in his practice, but a man who was a dedicated American, who made that very clear. I just regret that we have lost such a great American because we need him so much today.

Senator THURMOND. I believe there is another black four-star general, General Davis. I do not know if you ever knew him.

Mr. McDONALD. I did not know him.

Senator THURMOND. A very fine, able man who contributed greatly to his country.

In my State of South Carolina Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday is not observed as an optional holiday. The people in the State can observe his birthday, or Robert E. Lee's, whichever they prefer. Would you agree with this approach, for the States mainly to handle this matter since celebrating birthdays is chiefly the responsibility of the States, rather than the Federal Government; and that there has to be something very unusual for a person to have his birthday celebrated by the National Government.

Mr. McDONALD. I would certainly agree with the distinguished Senior Senator from South Carolina that this approach on a State-by-State basis would be far preferable, I also believe that we are perhaps too close in many ways to the life of Martin Luther King, and we may not have as clear a vision as perhaps future historians may have. That is why I have come and testified today.

I believe that at this point we may be moving toward a national birthday of the image and not the reality, and that would be a mistake.

Senator THURMOND. If Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday was set aside by either Presidential proclamation or congressional resolution to be simply observed as a special holiday by local option, and not a legal holiday, do you think this would be a more appropriate way to observe this date, in view of the high cost to the Government, about \$200 million, if we should make it a legal holiday?

Mr. McDONALD. Yes, Senator, I certainly feel that would be by far the more preferable way to go.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Is that to admit that it deserves some consideration as being a holiday?

Mr. McDONALD. I think my testimony is very clear on that point. I am saying between the two options the local option is by far the best, it is within the limits, or within the needs of a given State area, and I think it would be the preferable way to go between the two options. My testimony, I think, however speaks to the overall subject.

Senator THURMOND. Any other questions?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Senator, I just have one. I would like to know, what is it that Booker T. Washington did that he could be considered instead of Martin Luther King, what were his characteristics; what was it about that man?

Mr. McDONALD. I am glad you asked that question. As you know, he is the author of the book, "Up From Slavery." He pointed out to the Negro Americans, to the black Americans that, "Yes, we have come up from slavery, the bottom level of the ladder, and we should not be, perhaps, so preoccupied with trying to become instant leaders. But we should gain knowledge of two four-letter words." We live in a time when four-letter words are very popular among some segments of our society, but in the case of Booker T. Washington I think they were most apropos because he said the two words "wash"—w-a-s-h—and "work." Intimating that you can be poor, but you can also be clean and work by standards of personal cleanliness, and also work to make yourselves productive citizens in the new land, and to gain respect of your fellow members of the community. Out of that respect you will find that your children and their children will be able to move up to all levels of the American society.

I think not saying, "demonstrate in the streets," as the criticism of Reverend Jackson, as he also pointed out that is not the way, but to work within the American system, which is the greatest system guaranteeing individual liberty, more than man has ever witnessed.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think he also said, "Brush your teeth."

Mr. McDONALD. He also said what?

Mr. WILLIAMS. "Brush your teeth," that was Booker T. Washington, carry a toothbrush.

So, he seems like someone who tells black people to brush their teeth, wash up, and work. I have no further comments.

Mr. McDONALD. I have a comment on that. You know, as a physician, you do not have to be a physician to say that, speaking to a people who perhaps had come from a society in another continent where they had maybe not the similar background of how to cope with many problems, I think in writing to urge that they become a productive member in the American society, urging that people should work to be a productive citizen, gain self-respect and respect of your fellow men; to earn self-respect, not to demand self-respect whether you earned it or not, but trying to work toward that. I did not know that he said carry a toothbrush and keep clean; that is not bad advice, though.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You need to read your copy of "Up From Slavery" again.

Mr. McDONALD. I never knew that carrying a toothbrush was the central theme of it. I think we could all read it if you think it is.

Mr. WILLIAMS. By the way, by the time Booker T. Washington wrote, the majority of black folks in America were American citizens and did not come from Africa.

Mr. McDONALD. I understand that. I would not for 1 minute suggest that they were coming from Africa, that would be absurd. I think the record will show that the basic culture or heritage came from one—I mean, you are wearing a necktie today and you are wearing a shirt which would be a western style shirt, western style necktie, Americanized. I am not saying it is good or bad, or better or worse, I am simply saying that as we make a transition from one culture to another—some of my forebears came from Scotland. I do not go around wearing a kilt, that is sort of passé. Another side of my family is Cherokee Indian. If you want to talk about a group that has really been discriminated against, those were the Indians. I think there are many fine Indians that we might point to with pride as great leaders.

But I think our emphasis should be to point to the American system, and point to it as Americans first and try to improve the system, rather than as separate divisions, increasing disunity. I think that does no service to our national goals, but only serves those who would destroy us.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you very much, Congressman, for your presence here. We appreciate your testimony. You have the reputation of being one of the most able Members of Congress, and we thank you for coming over and testifying.

Our next witness is Mr. Clifford J. White III, National Director of Young Americans for Freedom.

Mr. White, you go ahead and testify, I will ask Mr. Hultman to preside until I get back.

STATEMENT OF CLIFFORD J. WHITE III, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure and honor for me to speak today on S. 25, the proposal to make Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday. As representative of the 55,000 members of Young Americans for Freedom, the Nation's leading conservative youth political and educational organization, I am here to urge the committee to reject the proposal.

National holidays are important occasions for all Americans. When an individual is recognized—or rather almost canonized—through a national holiday in his honor, it is understood that the individual had a unique and indispensable impact on this Nation's history. So great a recognition is this that only Christopher Columbus and George Washington have in this way been honored. To so recognize Martin Luther King, a patriotic American to be sure, would be to classify him along with Washington—and above Lincoln, Jefferson and Adams. We would do this without the benefit of being able to put his memory under the test of time.

Young Americans especially have reason to respect the work of Martin Luther King. Whether or not one agrees with all of his political activities during the turbulent decade of the sixties, I think he did accomplish much good. He helped to alter the social fabric so that my contemporaries and I did not grow up with segregation and racism as a Government sanctioned, socially acceptable practice.

However great Martin Luther King may have been, his impact on American history has not yet stood the test of time. Those who oppose efforts to increase America's defense expenditures, to decrease Federal social welfare programs and to lessen Federal regulation on the States often point to the memory of Dr. King. They say that the current budget-cutting mood is racist and against the ideals for which Dr. King stood. Those who would continue U.S. sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia say that to recognize the new regime there would be racist. Indeed, Dr. King's closest advisers are very prominent in the Carter administration. The question is: Should the U.S. Congress decide that all of Dr. King's past actions and perhaps by implication the current activities of his former followers are above reproach? Was Dr. King's wisdom on the Vietnam war necessarily correct? Were his efforts to increase Federal social welfare programs always wise?

If we want to pass a bill which will in some small way bring this country, black and white, rich and poor, closer together, then by all means create a national brotherhood day, or some other such holiday. Do not redefine the American political tradition and declare unequivocally that American presence in Vietnam was immoral or that poverty is caused exclusively by racism. In my view most Americans reject these notions. Public opinion surveys indicate that to the contrary, most Americans want us to build up our national defenses and to decrease Government economic regulation, in expectation that more jobs will thus be created and poverty will be diminished.

I am reminded of my philosophy courses which taught Immanuel Kant's concept of the "moral imperative." The German philosopher said we should act each day only as we would expect others to act in the future.

If the U.S. Congress creates Martin Luther King Day, then perhaps it is saying that past generations should have in this way recognized their contemporary heroes. Imagine a George Armstrong Custer Day. Revisionist history teaches us that he was not deserving of the martyrdom which was conferred on him by his contemporaries.

Let me make a suggestion with which I believe most Americans, at least most members of Americans for Freedom would agree. If you must create a Martin Luther King Day, then please also create a John Wayne national holiday. I can think of few Americans who have

stood with such stature in the past half century of American history. A national hero John Wayne was without question.

Of course, I could understand why this committee might not want to take such action. To do so might lead to more national holidays than is wise. After all, there are economic consequences of creating national holidays. According to the Civil Service Commission, taxpayers lose \$195 million in lost productivity from Federal workers. The last thing the Congress probably wants to tell its constituents is that it has increased their tax burden even more.

In conclusion, I ask the committee to reject S. 25. Please, do not tell young Americans that Martin Luther King's memory—as it is construed by many to mean antidefense, pro-government spending, and other such political positions—is beyond reproach. Perhaps after several years, after the vagaries of contemporary politics are behind us, maybe then we can proclaim that Martin Luther King and his dream that "one day this Nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed, 'we hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal'" is a national treasure never to be forgotten.

Thank you.

MR. HULTMAN. Mr. White, thank you for your testimony. I apologize for the Senator not being here, but he had read your statement ahead of time and he will be right back.

I do have two questions that I would like to propound to you that I think would be helpful for the record. You indicate in your statement that a national brotherhood day, or some similar observance would achieve the same impact that might be had by singling out Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Do you think most Americans would support such an observance, such as national brotherhood day?

MR. WHITE. I think they probably would, and I think that it would be certainly preferable to creating a day in honor of one single individual. I think you have probably seen during today's and the previous day's testimony you had on Martin Luther King day that we are not talking about an individual about whom there is consensus opinion. So, if we really do want to help end divisions, then let us create a national brotherhood day. Let us make the concept of what we are trying to achieve into national law as a holiday.

MR. HULTMAN. Also, Mr. White, would you not agree—and I think you just alluded to it—that perhaps history is a better judge of man's contribution to society than is the judgment of his immediate contemporaries who maybe share his same ideals and objectives?

MR. WHITE. I agree without question. I pointed out in my testimony the example of General Custer, who was a hero in his day, but probably is not a hero to most Americans today. If we do not want to memorialize the particular vagaries of contemporary politics, then let history judge. Then let us honor Martin Luther King, or whatever individual we want to honor, in order to communicate the message, that all Americans—black or white—were created equal. I think that is the objective of the legislation; however, I do not think that S. 25 will accomplish the goal. I think only the test of time could tell us whether Martin Luther King is the best person who has embodied the spirit of brotherhood.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Was George Washington considered a hero to his contemporaries?

Mr. WHITE. I would guess he probably was.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Is he still a hero today?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, he is.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think Peter Parham from Senator Kennedy's staff has a question for you.

Mr. PARHAM. In your testimony I recall that you said taxpayers lose \$195 million in loss of productivity from Federal workers.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. PARHAM. Could you explain that?

Mr. WHITE. That is from the Civil Service Commission. I do not know the exact methodology used. What we are talking about is lost productivity of Federal workers.

I guess when the Civil Service computed the salary paid but for which we are not getting productivity.

Mr. PARHAM. For the record I make mention of the fact that in the first hearing Senator Kennedy had submitted a letter from the Office of Management and Budget, and that they pointed out—and I read from that letter—"With regard to the cost to the Federal Government of the holiday, the Office of Personnel Management has advised us that the daily Federal payroll outlay on a regular work day is \$173 million in basic pay, which continues on any holiday. Employees who are required to work receive an additional day's pay, estimated by OMB to be \$22 million in this fiscal year for each holiday worked in the form of premium holiday pay. OPM advises that this premium pay is the only identifiable additional budgetary outlay resulting from a holiday," the \$22 million. "We should also note that work not performed on a holiday represented by the \$173 million in basic pay is normally made up to some extent during the remainder of the year."

Mr. WHITE. I am not sure about Senator Kennedy's view on that, but as far as I am concerned, we do not get enough productivity out of Federal workers as it is, and I am not willing to give them another holiday in this particular instance.

Mr. PARHAM. Thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Any other questions?

Mr. WHITE, thank you very much for your appearance here, we appreciate it.

Our next witness is Mr. Kenneth White, president of the Virginia Taxpayers Association. Mr. White?

We will put your entire statement in the record, if you could just highlight it for us, it would save that much time.

STATEMENT OF KENNETH WHITE, PRESIDENT, VIRGINIA TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION

Mr. WHITE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I merely state that the Virginia Taxpayers Association, having been organized for 6 years, is concerned about taxes at all levels, local, State and Federal. We have testified regularly for the last 6 years before the Virginia General Assembly on many taxpayer matters.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kenneth White follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KENNETH WHITE

Mr. Chairman, my name is Kenneth White and I am president of the Virginia Taxpayers Association, a federation of local taxpayer organizations and individuals from all 10 congressional districts in Virginia. The Virginia Taxpayers Association was organized 6 years ago as a broadbased taxpayer organization working to reduce Government taxes and spending at all levels of Government—local, State and Federal—and to preserve the freedom of the individual American citizen. The VTA has become widely known not only across Virginia but among followers of the taxpayer movement all over the United States, and reports of our activities have been carried in publications printed in many other States.

Immediately following the success of Proposition 13 in California a year ago, we called a State Capitol press conference attended by the principal Virginia media in Richmond where we announced plans to obtain property tax reductions similar to those in California and where we made the statement: "Taxpayers are the boss", a slogan that was immediately carried as the lead item in a national Associated Press news story and was featured on network television. A Lynchburg, Va. News lead editorial specifically favoring our VTA position on the Panama Canal treaty was carried in the Congressional Record July 18, 1978. For the last 6 years we have represented taxpayers of our State at the annual legislative sessions of the Virginia General Assembly in Richmond on a wide variety of taxpayer matters, we have twice appeared in televised debates with the Virginia attorney general on the subject of State general obligation bonds, we have assisted in the continuing defeat of the so-called equal rights amendment in the Virginia legislature, and we are currently promoting vigorously a constitutional amendment that would give Virginia taxpayers the right of initiative and referendum as now enjoyed in some 22 other States and the District of Columbia.

Regarding the proposal now before the Senate Judiciary Committee to establish a Federal holiday on January 15, Martin Luther King's birthday, we do not believe the present economic situation will permit the United States to afford any more Federal holidays for any reason whatsoever. As a result of destructive policies tolerated and deliberately encouraged by Congress over many years, capital has been exported from the United States to foreign countries to a point where today many industries are more efficient and productive in advanced nations overseas than here at home, and the United States is no longer competitive in producing many kinds of goods. Intolerable ever-increasing minimum wage laws passed by Congress are only one of the reasons for this. Also Congress has by its beneficence with taxpayers' resources made Federal employees a specially privileged class—as well as increasing beyond reason the number of such employees—and U. S. News & World Report revealed in its June 18, 1979 issue that each workday Federal offices are closed costs taxpayers \$194.5 million. (Of course this figure is in Federal Reserve Notes, or what the January 1979 Reader's Digest admits is "phony money", but this really counterfeit currency, for which we have Congress to thank also, is the only thing made available for use in most statistics today.) So what is really the proposal now before this committee is the insane idea of declaring another Federal paid holiday in a less and less productive Nation which is already bankrupt, and where the country's national debt can never possibly be paid by the taxpayers. Frankly, for any congressional committee to seriously consider such a proposal is a further reason why Members of Congress as a class today rate so low in all the public opinion polls. Do members of this committee really wonder why there is a national tax revolt today?

Of course, the cost of the holiday cannot be limited to Federal pay alone, since State and local government employees also would be affected and a great many private employers would feel compelled to pay their employees for not working also. So the total economic consequences would be disastrous. Moreover, coming at a time so soon after Christmas and New Year's Day the January 15 date would be particularly unnecessary for an additional holiday.

There is now no Federal legal holiday honoring any American except our first and greatest President, George Washington. In the light of all the other great American patriots who are not so honored, including Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, it would be singularly inappropriate to devote a holiday to one who did as much to increase Federal bureaucracy, Federal regulation and Federal encroachment on American life as Martin Luther King. Representative John

Ashbrook of Ohio has placed massive documentation in the Congressional Record of King's unwavering service to Communist causes, and it would be impossible in this brief time to restate all of Ashbrook's unchallengeable facts, but we would like to incorporate herewith by reference Congressman Ashbrook's lengthy and authoritative material. We should keep in mind that it was a very liberal Democrat attorney general, Robert Kennedy, who ordered Government personnel to investigate thoroughly King's subversive connections and activities. All of this might perhaps be considered by some King adulators to be merely academic history of no account in today's world, except for its extreme importance in the area of ideals and symbolism. The honorable ranking minority member of this Judiciary Committee, Senator Thurmond, is certainly as well informed as any Member of Congress on the overwhelming importance given by Communist forces to symbolism, for it was the honorable Senator from South Carolina who single-handedly gave to the American public some years ago his historic report on Muzzling American Military Forces in which many significant but sometimes hidden Communist devices and influential symbols were revealed. It was just a few days ago from this hearing date, June 11, 1979, that Communist interest in Martin Luther King was confirmed by a most unimpeachable source, Tass, the Soviet news agency. It was on that date that the Soviet propaganda machine declared, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Moscow, that President Carter's decision to submit a bill to Congress making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday was "a serious success for the progressive forces in the U.S.A." (the Tass agency).

It needs to be asked publicly, and also answered publicly, why are the ruthless Communist butchers so interested in making Martin Luther King's birthday a holiday in a foreign country (that is, foreign to the Soviet Union), and why should the United States do anything of this kind and of such symbolic importance to bring special pleasure to such enemies of mankind?

We can only conclude by warning this committee that if the committee wishes by its actions to add further fuel to the fast-growing national tax revolt, an affirmative vote on the question now before us will certainly do it.

MR. WHITE [continuing]. We were quoted by the National Associated Press with a statement, "Taxpayers are the Boss" a year ago, and this was on national television, following a news conference which we called in Richmond. One of our positions, on the Panama Canal, was entered in the Congressional Record July 18, 1978, and we are widely known by people interested in the taxpayer movement across the country.

Regarding the proposal now before the Senate Judiciary Committee to establish a Federal holiday on January 15, Martin Luther King's birthday, we do not believe the present economic situation will permit the United States to afford any more Federal holidays for any reason whatsoever. As a result of destructive policies tolerated and deliberately encouraged by Congress over many years, capital has been exported from this country to foreign countries to a point where today many industries are more efficient and productive in advanced nations overseas than here at home. The United States is no longer competitive in producing many kinds of goods. Intolerable ever-increasing minimum wage laws passed by Congress are only one of the reasons for this. Also, Congress has by its beneficence with taxpayers' resources made Federal employees a specially privileged class—as well as increasing beyond reason the number of such employees—and U.S. News & World Report gave in its June 18, 1979 issue the statement that each work day Federal offices are closed costs taxpayers \$194.5 million. Of course, this figure is in Federal Reserve notes, or what the January 1979 Reader's Digest admits is "phony money," but this really counterfeit

currency, for which we have Congress to thank also, is the only thing made available for use in most statistics today.

So, what really the proposal is now before this committee is the insane idea of declaring another Federal paid holiday in a less and less productive Nation which is already bankrupt, and where the country's national debt can never possibly be paid by the taxpayers. Frankly, for any congressional committee to seriously consider such a proposal is a further reason why Members of Congress as a class today rate so low in all the public opinion polls. Do members of this committee really wonder why there is a national tax revolt today?

The distinguished Senator from Indiana, Senator Bayh, spoke about disenchantment, and we think the taxpayer movement, we in this movement know something about disenchantment today, and we think that our viewpoint of disenchantment is well recognized, not only in the Halls of Congress, but across the country.

Of course, the cost of the holiday cannot be limited to Federal pay alone since State and local government employees also would be affected and many private employers would feel compelled to pay their employees for not working, also. So, the total economic consequences would be disastrous. Moreover, coming at a time so soon after Christmas and New Year's Day, the January 15 date would be particularly unnecessary for an additional holiday.

We have already gone into the legal holidays for other Americans; there is only one who was an American citizen at the time, George Washington. We feel it would be singularly inappropriate to devote a holiday to one who did as much to increase Federal bureaucracy, Federal regulation—they just had a TV program on this subject last evening—and Federal encroachment on American life as Martin Luther King.

In addition to the many statements we heard here this morning, Representative John Ashbrook of Ohio has placed massive documentation in the Congressional Record of King's unwavering service to Communist causes, and it would be impossible to restate all of Mr. Ashbrook's unchallengeable facts. But we would like to incorporate herewith by reference the Congressman's lengthy and authoritative material which is already in the Congressional Record.

We should keep in mind that it was a very liberal Democrat Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, who ordered Government personnel to investigate thoroughly King's subversive connections and activities. All of this might be considered by some King adulators to be merely academic history of no account in today's world, except for its extreme importance in the area of ideals and symbolism.

The honorable ranking minority member of this Judiciary Committee, Senator Thurmond, is certainly as well informed as any Member of Congress on the overwhelming importance given by Communist forces to symbolism. It was the honorable Senator from South Carolina who single-handedly gave to the American public some years ago—and I would like to thank him for it here today—his historical report on "Muzzling American Military Commanders" in which many significant but sometimes hidden Communist devices and influential symbols were revealed. It was just a few days ago from our hearing date today, on June 11, 1979, that Communist interest, continuing

Communist interest in Martin Luther King was confirmed by a most unimpeachable source, Tass, the Soviet News Agency. It was on that date, June 11, that the Soviet propaganda machine declared, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Moscow—which is in my prepared statement—that President Carter's decision to submit a bill to Congress making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday was, "a serious success for the progressive forces in the U.S.A.," the Tass News Agency.

It needs to be asked publicly, and also answered publicly, why are the ruthless Communist butchers so interested in making Martin Luther King's birthday a holiday in a foreign country? That is, it is a foreign country to the Soviet Union. Why should the United States do anything of this kind of such symbolic importance to bring special pleasure to such enemies of mankind?

We can only conclude by warning this committee that if the committee wishes by its actions to add further fuel to the fast-growing national tax revolt, an affirmative vote on the question now before us will certainly do it.

Thank you very much. This concludes my testimony.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. White, I wish to thank you for your presence here and for the splendid testimony you have presented.

Do you have any questions?

Mr. PARHAM. No, Senator, no questions.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. White, you indicate that you have been involved in the proposition 13 movement in Virginia.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. What is the mood of the American people with regard to Government spending and the productivity of Government?

Mr. WHITE. Well, I think we recognize that productivity in American life is down, both in the private and in the public sector; I do not think there is any question about that. I do not think anyone doubts that. We recognize it is down in the private sector, but it certainly is down in the public sector.

As to the position on proposition 13, if you judge from the experience in California a year after, by most all the indicators it certainly was a successful move. So, we are going further on this. If anyone wants another modern American hero—and we do not agree with him in every respect—I would like to nominate Mr. Howard Jarvis.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. White, if the voters of Virginia were given the chance to vote for another legal public holiday, regardless of who or what was being honored, do you think they would vote for it?

Mr. WHITE. It happens that, in Virginia, January 1 has been combined as New Year's Day and Martin Luther King day. I am frank to state that many were not in favor of this, and we were not in favor of this, but this is what the General Assembly did. Probably the main reason that they did it—that is to say they combined it—because it would have little or no economic effect.

Senator THURMOND. Now, if we should make this a national holiday by the Federal Government, it has been estimated it would cost about \$200 million. Do you think the people of Virginia or other States would approve of that?

Mr. WHITE. I do not, Mr. Chairman. I think, frankly, there has not been very much publicity on this, but I think frankly this move-

ment is divisive, I really do. Regarding the subject of brotherhood, we have many holidays, we believe, that observe brotherhood—Thanksgiving, Memorial Day, Independence Day, these are all, certainly, brotherhood holidays. I think that George Washington's birthday too, many of them observe brotherhood.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you again, Mr. White, for your testimony.

Mr. Wallace D. Barlow, Calendar Reform Political Action Group.

STATEMENT OF WALLACE D. BARLOW, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CALENDAR REFORM POLITICAL ACTION GROUP

Mr. BARLOW. I am Wallace Barlow, a calendar scientist and the director of the Calendar Reform Political Action Group. My testimony will deal with the cost of Federal holidays, more specifically, the non-Monday holidays. That is, the holidays which result in broken weeks. [The prepared statement of Mr. Wallace D. Barlow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WALLACE D. BARLOW

Gentlemen, my testimony will deal with the cost of Federal holidays, more specifically the non-monday holidays, i.e. the holidays which result in "broken weeks".

Our data will add a much needed "fiscal note" to S. 25.

I wish to summarize very briefly the cost data contained in our prepared statement of April 14th:

1. In 1980 a Federal holiday on January 15th will fall on a Tuesday. The production of goods and services in that week will fall to about 60 percent of normal. In 1980 dollars, the loss of Gross National Product would be about \$20 billion.
2. During a 7 year period the loss would be \$106 billion or \$15 billion per year.
3. This is not the best way to fight poverty and inflation.
4. The proposed date falls on the worst day of the year:
The climatic merit factors¹ of the possible Federal holidays in 1980 are these:
January 1, New Year's Day, 6.0.
January 15, King's Birthday, 0.3.
February 18, Washington's Birthday, 10.0.
May 26, Memorial Day, 91.0.
July 4, Independence Day, 94.8.
September 3, Labor Day, 93.1.
October 8, Columbus Day, 74.6.
November 11, Veteran's Day, 49.5.
November 22, Thanksgiving, 40.1.
December 25, Christmas, 8.8.
Average, 45.8.

Senator Kennedy, during the earlier hearings on S. 25, said that more business is done on holidays than on work days. Since many billions of dollars are at stake, it is necessary that someone seek out and present these facts to the Congress. For the record, our studies indicate that economic activity falls to 25 percent of normal on a major holiday.

Mr. BARLOW. Our data will add a much needed "fiscal" note to S. 25.

I wish to summarize very briefly the cost data contained in our prepared statement of April 14, which is a part of the record of the committee.

1. In 1980 a Federal holiday on January 15 would fall on a Tuesday. The production of goods and services in that week would fall to about

¹ Climate card, Washington, D:C: areas Published by the Computer Weather Service

60 percent of normal. In 1980 dollars, the loss of gross national product would be about \$20 billion.

2. During a 7-year period—there are some Monday holidays in this period—the loss would be \$106 billion, or an average of \$15 billion per year.

3. This is not the best way to fight poverty and inflation.

4. The proposed date falls on the worst day of the year. The climatic merit factors of the possible Federal holidays in 1980 are these—I will not read the table, but King's birthday has a factor of .03 percent; Memorial Day has a factor of 91 percent; Labor Day 93 percent. The climate, in other words, is excellent on these latter days.

Senator Kennedy, during the earlier hearings on S. 25 said that more business is done on holidays than on work days. Since many billions of dollars are at stake, it is necessary that someone seek out and present these facts to the Congress. For the record, our studies indicate that economic activity falls to 25 percent of normal on a major holiday.

Thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Barlow, you speak mostly, here, I believe, from the economic standpoint.

Mr. BARLOW. I am speaking of lost gross national product. I think this is a better way than to look simply at Federal salaries. I mean, that is only one of three levels of Government. Usually the States will follow along with national holidays. I think \$200 million is a ridiculous figure. As you see, I am showing \$20 billion on any national holiday.

Senator THURMOND. I believe you end up by saying that studies indicate that economic activity falls to 25 percent of normal on a major holiday.

Mr. BARLOW. Yes, but I still have the figure. That 40 percent of industrial production is lost when a holiday results in a broken week. For example, the Fourth of July will fall on a Wednesday this year. I was asked by a lady in Chicago yesterday, "Why did they not make the Fourth of July a Monday holiday?" and I replied, "Well, we went as far as we thought we could at the time, in 1968."

Senator THURMOND. I was reading your statement here, and I believe you make more or less two arguments—let me see if you interpret them as I do. That another Federal holiday will result in an overall reduction in the productivity of the economy.

Mr. BARLOW. Yes. I quantify it, also.

Senator THURMOND. Second, Martin Luther King's birthday falls on the worst day of the year.

Mr. BARLOW. It is the worst from the standpoint of climatic merit factors. Now, I do have a climate chart I can introduce with the testimony, if you wish, which shows the merit factors for every day of the year.

Senator THURMOND. But even if it fell on some other day, it would still be a detriment to the economy, as I understand it, from the lines or loss that you are pursuing.

Mr. BARLOW. Well, you can look at the production figures, and they fall by an enormous amount. On the Monday holidays, we lose only one day; but on the broken week holidays we lose the equivalent of 2 days—starting up and shutting down are very expensive operations in industry.

Senator THURMOND. You mention that additional data should be presented to the Congress on the cost of another Federal holiday. Now, the estimate we received of the cost, if you have another holiday you are paying all the Federal employees.

Mr. BARLOW. That is only a small part of the cost, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. I understand, and the cost estimated on that alone is about \$200 million.

Mr. BARLOW. I do not disagree with that.

Senator THURMOND. Now, if you have any other facts, or information you want to supply to us, do it as quick as you can on that, additional cost, other than the loss of wages; in other words, paying the people when they are not working.

Mr. BARLOW. Well, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has very good figures on the fringe benefits paid when time and a half or double time is paid to people on holidays, it runs \$3 billion a year.

Senator THURMOND. Well, if they have another holiday they get behind with the work, and they might have to work overtime, too. That would not only be more pay, but it would be pay and-a-half, or maybe double.

Mr. BARLOW. It may be double pay and they are not working, not producing anything.

Senator THURMOND. Is there any other point you have in mind? If not, I want to thank you for your appearance here, and for the testimony you presented.

Mr. BARLOW. Thank you kindly.

Senator THURMOND. Do you have any questions?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Burruss of the independent Virginians for political action. Mr. Burruss, as I understand, it will be agreeable with you if we just put your entire statement in the record. Is that satisfactory?

Mr. BURRUSS. Yes, sir, Senator. I think you covered all that I say in my statement in your opening remarks.

I do want to make one remark here while I am on my feet here, about the Senator from Indiana's statement that there was a lot of disenchantment, and he thought that making this holiday would more or less please the black segment of our population.

Now, if we give a holiday for that purpose, for the black segment of our population, we would probably have to give one for the brown segment; for the Indian segment and, lo and behold, the white segment. I am sure by the time we got around to the white segment people would probably call it racism. So, why not call it racism right from the beginning?

Thank you very much, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you, Mr. Burruss, for your presence here. Without objection, your entire statement will be included in the record.

[The prepared statement of George Burruss, Jr., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GEORGE BURRUSS, JR.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished Senators, I am George Burruss, Jr. representing the Independent Virginians for Political Action. We are a statewide organization of citizens who are interested in their Government. An attached brochure more fully describes our organization. We appreciate the opportunity we have been afforded to be heard by this committee relative the question of making January 15th, the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr. a legal public holiday. We hope

that after you have heard all the statements and given careful consideration to them that you will not be in favor of this action. The following are our reasons for these recommendations.

Presently there are a total of nine (9) legal public holidays according to subsection (a) of section 6103, title 5, U.S. Code, namely: New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, Columbus Day, Veterans Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas Day. You will note from the code that only one of these days honor the birthday of a person, namely George Washington who led our Nation to independence. We are in agreement with this. All of the other days honor groups of people, some historical event, a festive occasion or designate a turning point in time. For instance Labor Day honors all working people, Veterans Day all war veterans, Memorial Day all persons who have served their country, Independence Day the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Columbus Day the day of discovery of America, Thanksgiving Day, a day for giving thanks to our creator and Christmas Day a festive day of the Christmas season. You will note that the last mentioned day was not designated as Jesus Christ's birthday, apparently the authors of the original legislation did not wish to tie it to any particular religion. We are in agreement with this as if we were to have legal public holidays for every religion there would be a great number and constitutionality is a question.

It appears that the criteria our former Members of Congress were guided by in establishing legal public holidays was that such a day would honor a great number of people who have made a substantial contribution to their country that has been proven by later history, the only exception being that of George Washington. We have many very distinguished personalities in our history which we do not honor by proclaiming their birthday a legal public holiday. For example: Abraham Lincoln who freed the slaves, to mention one. In fact if we were to have a legal public holiday on the birthday of every notable American, just about every day of the year would be a holiday. This of course is out of the question.

There are many days throughout the year which are given special recognition to which we do not object but are not legal public holidays. For example, St. Patrick's Day, the 17th of March. This of course is the Irishman's day and has become a noble tradition.

Martin Luther King, Jr., was in the limelight many years and no doubt he affected the political climate in many areas of our Nation. However there remain many unanswered questions about him that only history will reveal. If his character was lily white pure, why is it necessary to secure the tapes the FBI made about him in the Archives for 50 years. His opposition to the Vietnam war did much to hurt our National effort at that time and certainly had some influence on our withdrawal. Now what do we see in that part of the world—suffering, death, refugees by the millions trying to get away from Communism. Where does this put us in the eyes of the world? Can America be depended upon to protect those who want to be free? In our opinion Martin Luther King, Jr., did more to destroy the moral fiber of America than had ever been done before. This act has run diametrically opposite to our National purpose.

Senator THURMOND. Now, does anybody have anything else he wishes to bring out? Counsel for Senator Bayh, is there anything you want to bring out?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, Senator, thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Does counsel for Senator Kennedy have anything?

Mr. PARHAM. No, Senator.

Mr. BARLOW. Senator, I contacted the Harris poll and the Gallup poll, seeking information on the public attitude, toward S. 25, and my information is negative, I am sorry; none of them had anything. They have not sampled public opinion on S. 25.

Senator THURMOND. All right, thank you. I see a lady raising her hand back there.

Ms. CURTIS. I am Mary Lou Curtis. I have kept records on Martin Luther King for 16 years, and I have a lot of friends. I was over here in Washington, D.C., working in a recreation center when the Supreme

Court declared segregation unconstitutional. I had black girls' softball teams and I took them around from playground to playground.

Then I was a teacher, physical education teacher over in Arlington at Stradford Junior High School. I had the first colored student in the State of Virginia. That day they had the first colored student in the public school system, we had a ring of National Guardsmen all around Stradford Junior High School.

Anyway, I have given all of you members of the Senate Judiciary Committee a form letter and about eight different enclosures.

Senator THURMOND. You have already sent that to the members?

Ms. CURTIS. I delivered them a couple of months ago from door to door. I would hope that all of you, Peter Parham, that you would read it, research it; also, I hope that Senator Birch Bayh would read it.

Now, I as a citizen am opposed to the glorification of Martin Luther King on his record. I say for anybody to vote on a national holiday based on his color, that this is an act of racism in itself.

I challenge the aide to Senator Birch Bayh and Peter Parham, and everyone right here, I challenge you to read this information that I gave you, read it, and it will refute with evidence that he was not a great man.

I say here today before this committee that hero King is a creation of the leftist news media and other propaganda. I have the facts, I have given them to you. I have many more facts, and I ask you to read the record, and on his record he does not merit the distinction and honor of a national holiday. We have a national holiday for only one American, and that is George Washington.

Senator THURMOND. Well, I believe Christopher Columbus, too.

Ms. CURTIS. No, not according to my information.

Senator THURMOND. Oh, one American; yes. That is right.

Ms. CURTIS. George Washington.

Senator THURMOND. We have a copy of your statement here and it will be placed in the file.

Ms. CURTIS. All of you should have it, and I have additional information.

Senator THURMOND. All right, thank you very much.

Ms. CURTIS. I just have one real quick statement.

I thought it was irrelevant when the aide over here was saying, "Do you have proof he was a Communist," that is irrelevant. He was a tool of the Communists, and that is irrefutable; they used him to accomplish their objectives, to get more legislation enacted by the Congress—where we get more growth of Federal Government; Federal regulations over all Americans, all colors, black, yellow, white. Also, affirmative action, your busing, et cetera, et cetera.

Senator THURMOND. If you will give your name here to the reporter so she will know who you are. Stand up and give your name to the reporter.

Ms. CURTIS. I am Mary Lou Curtis. I live at 4009 Dunmore Ave., Fairfax, Va. 22032.

Senator THURMOND. Did you say you are a teacher?

Ms. CURTIS. Right now I am a mother, I have four children. By profession I am a physical education teacher.

Senator THURMOND. I see. Thank you very much. If there is nothing else, the committee will stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:55 p.m. the committee adjourned, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

Calendar No. 304

96TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**S. 25**

[Report No. 96-284]

To designate the birthday of Martin Luther King, Junior, a legal public holiday.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 15, 1979

Mr. BAYH (for himself, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. GLENN, Mr. DOLE, and Mr. PERCY) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

AUGUST 1 (legislative day, JUNE 21), 1979

Reported by Mr. Kennedy, with an amendment

[Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the part printed in italic]

A BILL

To designate the birthday of Martin Luther King, Junior, a legal public holiday.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
 3 That subsection (a) of section 6103 of title 5, United States
 4 Code, is amended by inserting immediately below
 5 "January 1, New Year's Day."

1 the following:

2 “January 15, the birthday of Martin Luther King,
3 Janior.”

4 That subsection (a) of section 6103 of title 5, United States
5 Code, is amended by inserting immediately below

6 “New Year’s Day, January 1.”

7 the following:

8 “Martin Luther King, Junior’s Birthday, Janu-
9 ary 15.”

ADDITIONAL PREPARED STATEMENTS

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

It is a pleasure to participate in hearings on the proposal to designate the birthday of Martin Luther King a public holiday. I would like to welcome our distinguished guests. I am especially pleased to see Mrs. Coretta King here today. Dr. King was a remarkable American, a man of vision whose dream of equality and brotherhood moved an entire generation. His efforts to eliminate prejudice and hatred in America continue to inspire millions of Americans.

Despite the obstacles and hatred Dr. King encountered, he stuck to his belief in nonviolence. In his struggle for brotherhood and opportunity, Dr. King held true to his philosophy of love and tolerance. He showed us that lasting social change can be achieved through peaceful protest. He reminded us that, as Americans, we must be constantly vigilant in preserving our constitutional heritage of freedom. Dr. King's dream was not simply one of racial harmony. His vision was primarily American. He goals were those of our founding fathers—of establishing for all Americans the equal right to "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." Because of Martin Luther King's unique contributions to American life, I believe it is fitting that we honor him by designating his birthday a national holiday. It is an honor to cosponsor this bill.

Support for a Martin Luther King national holiday continues to grow throughout the country; 13 States and a number of major cities already have designated Dr. King's birthday a time of special observance. In the 95th Congress, over 100 Members of the House of Representatives cosponsored this bill. Work has renewed in the 96th Congress. I hope that a year from Now, January 15 will be celebrated in the memory of Dr. King and his vision.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN CHARLES B. RANGEL

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was a unique human being, a pillar of personal strength and foresight.

He was not only a civil rights leader of Black America but a universal leader of human rights for all oppressed people, regardless of race, color, creed, sex, religion or national origin. Mr. King transformed the Nation and gave new definition and meaning to equality. He will forever stand as an example to all Americans.

We as American need to reflect upon, and rededicate ourselves to the ideas that he lived and for which he gave his life. The work he began, which was abruptly halted by his untimely death, has not been completed. Our Nation and especially our young need to be replenished with the sense of hope and responsibility to improve the lot of all Americans. The ideals that Dr. King stood for have to be continually fought for and not merely remembered.

I would like to take this opportunity to join with my colleagues in supporting the passage of H.R. 15, introduced by Rep. John Conyers, proclaiming Jan. 15th a National Holiday in tribute to the life and inspiration of the late great Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. I encourage my colleagues to join in supporting this historic resolution.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN WYCHE FOWLER, JR.

I am pleased to have an opportunity to make a statement in support of S. 25, a bill to establish a national holiday to commemorate the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Dr. King's record in helping secure civil rights for all Americans is well known. He served as the primary catalyst and most eloquent spokesman for the civil rights movement, beginning with the successful bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. Dr. King went on to establish the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. As leader of the SCLC, Dr. King continued to fight the attitudes and policies of racial discrimination while insisting that the struggle could be won through peaceful demonstration and civil disobedience.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. received well-deserved worldwide acclaim during his lifetime. In 1964, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize that has gone only to a handful of other Americans. A Baptist minister, who was also the son and grandson of Baptist ministers, Dr. King preached a social activism deeply rooted in the principles of Christian charity. Throughout his long struggle for equality for all

people, Dr. King practiced his belief in non-violence even in the face of those violently opposed to his work.

We should commemorate Dr. King's birthday because he helped our nation take important and long overdue steps toward racial equality. His courage, vision and achievements will not be forgotten. I urge the committee to take this opportunity to honor the memory of a great Georgian and a great American, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN M. ASHBROOK

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your giving me the opportunity to submit testimony today on legislation which will establish a legal, national holiday in commemoration of the late Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. My feelings about the late Rev. King are pretty well known here in Washington. Needless to say, I strongly oppose this legislation. I realize that it is not popular and certainly not politically advantageous to speak in opposition to a man who has been canonized by the news media and many of those people who profess to advocate civil rights.

The common misconception is that if one speaks ill of Rev. King, he or she opposes civil rights for all. That is pure nonsense and I think that the members of this committee are well aware of that. The Constitution of the United States guarantees to all men the rights which Rev. King claimed to espouse. When citizens of the United States are denied the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution, legal action can and should be taken. I do not argue with that. Unfortunately, Rev. King's motives were and are misrepresented. He sought not to work through the law but around it, with contempt and violence. How soon we forget. When will politicians learn to accept history as it really happened instead of history as told by the Washington Post?

At any rate, the issue before us today is twofold. One, does the Congress of the United States intend to support the fictional assessment of Dr. King by honoring him with a national holiday, a holiday which will take the taxpayers for a ride to the tune of millions and millions of dollars? Two, should our children and our grandchildren and their grandchildren be misled into believing that Martin Luther King, Jr. was one of the great men of all time? Should they speak of Rev. King with the same reverence that they will of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, two great Americans who share a national holiday? I think not.

I was one of those Members of Congress who spoke out in the sixties when the media was honoring Rev. King for his so-called civil rights advocacy. At that time many of my colleagues publicly shared my opinion. It wasn't difficult to think that way then because we could see him in action. We could easily take notice of his anti-American rhetoric and his penchant for violence. It is not so easy now.

My statements regarding Rev. King are a matter of public record. I see no need to repeat them now. I just want the members of this committee to know that I am one Member of Congress who cannot pass up the opportunity to defend the American taxpayer who suffers on a daily basis as a result of irresponsible legislation which emanates from Washington. The Congress will have ample opportunity to enact more bad legislation. I am confident of that. Often, my voice is a lonely one in that regard. The Congress wins and the taxpayers lose and I want the members of this committee and the Members of the Congress of the United States to think about the fact that they are presently considering legislation which will deprive their constituents of their tax dollars, legislation which will honor from here to kingdom come a man who shared few of the basic principles we as Americans hold dear. I want the members of the Committee to give it a little thought.

Mr. Chairman, again thank you for allowing me to testify. I will not support this legislation and urge that it be defeated.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BLACK MAYORS, INC.

The National Conference of Black Mayors, Inc. (NCBM) is honored to add its name to the distinguished list of persons and organizations endorsing the proposed national observance of the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. No American in this century is more deserving of that special honor than Dr. King. In his life Dr. King reached the highest level of human achievement in a life made short by murder. Dr. King's contributions to the social uplift and betterment of mankind, especially black Americans marked him for his greatness. He

is a prophet of peace, humanitarian and civil rights leader . . . born in the South in an era when social injustice and second-class citizenship was not just a practice but a law. He challenged a system of injustice that was committed to keeping black Americans in a segregated and economically inferior condition. He assumed leadership of a human movement for social justice and equal opportunity when the majority of white Americans, particularly, in the South, was content to keep the system at status quo.

In the Niagara of annual tributes to Dr. King nationally, he is thought of as a prophet of his time. He was sent to expound the doctrine of nonviolence and forgiveness in the third quarter of the twentieth century—reason enough to have a prominent place in America's historical observations.

To believe in a cause and die for it is more than an exemplary reason why his birth should be remembered. Dr. King believed that unless a man dies for something he is not fit to live. By resurrecting that truth and flinging it into the teeth of our fears, by saying it repeatedly and by living it, Dr. King taught us, all of us, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, not only how to die, but also, and more importantly, how to live.

As one writer said, "a tree is measured best when it is down," so it was in April of 1968, during the Easter season, when the tall young tree fell in the U.S. of America—men vied with each other in describing its size.

He is said to be one of the first citizens of the world; an outstanding leader of the century; a friend to both blacks and whites.

To date, no black contributors appear vital enough that one day of observance could be set aside as a national holiday, which proves the fact that blacks will remain third class citizens in this country. A young black American died symbolizing love, hope and the denial of charity is still denied a day of recognition. This also proves that though a decade has passed the virus of hate has not been removed from the veins of our nation and will inevitably lead to our moral and spiritual doom.

This country's adoption of Dr. King's birthday as a national holiday would make a point of focus and definition; and would enlarge the sense of "humanity to man" in our country.

King was more than a symbol. His influence, running on before him, made him a presence in the land, a pervasive and prevailing social force. He was the leader not only of millions of blacks but also of hundreds of thousands of whites. Whenever race is spoken of, even today, Dr. King's name is also spoken. It was in relation to him or in opposition to him that men defined themselves and their racial postures.

Dr. King's emotional and intellectual involvement were genuine and devoid of adornment. It was conspicuous that he was searching for a solution to a problem he knew to be a major shortcoming in America's life. As an indication of Dr. King's strength and worthiness, he was selected as "Man of the Year" by Time magazine. No other Negro, except Haile Selassie, had been so honored since the institution of the category in 1927. Time said Dr. King was selected "as a man—but also as the representative of his people, for whom 1963 was perhaps the most important year in their history."

Dr. King made 1963 the year of his outcry for equality, of massive demonstrations, of sit-ins and speeches, of soul searching in the suburbs and psalm singing in jails. Dr. King, as a result, became to millions, black and white, in the South and North, the symbol of resolution. When receiving the "Man of the Year" award, he said that he considered the honor as "not a personal tribute, but a tribute to the whole freedom movement and the people who participated and continue to participate."

Another honor, more unprecedented, was Dr. King's nomination by eight members of Swedish Parliament as a candidate for the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize. The Swedish said that Dr. King was nominated because he had succeeded in keeping his followers to the principle of nonviolence.

One of Dr. King's philosophies was that he came "not to bring peace, but a sword," a "Sword that heals" to be sure but nevertheless a sword. He tried to tell his audiences that the love of which he spoke is a love that has never been sung and seldom honored. He was a great speaker, and indeed a great man behind the speech. Dr. King's greatness as a public speaker and as a public man grew out of the resolved tensions of the inner man. There seemed to have been a quiet strength, a troubled calmness that pull people to him, that bound them to his words and deeds. Men and women vied with each other in describing this elusive quality. They described it as his inner contentment, ego security, naturalness.

Dr. King dwelled almost always in four major themes: nonviolence, social change, individual and collective responsibility and the price of freedom. Just prior to his death he also stressed nonracial themes, particularly the inequitable distribution of wealth and the threat of a nuclear war. Dr. King gave the world an ideology, old and yet new, Dr. King gave them a new way of thinking about their condition and a new tool for changing it. He managed to convey and articulate positivity in the black community, particularly among youth.

Standing at the peak of his career, Dr. King made a triumphant tour, speaking to 25,000 in Los Angeles, 10,000 in Chicago and leading some 125,000 in a phenomenal Detroit "Freedom Walk." He led 250,000 persons, some 60,000 of them white, to Lincoln's Monument in history's largest civil rights demonstration.

Declaring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday as a legal holiday would demonstrate concretely to the world, and more importantly to our youth, that America's commitment to human dignity and equality is testimony of Dr. King's dream.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

MAR 22 1979

Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
Chairman
Senate Judiciary Committee
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This is in reply to the Committee's request for the views of this Office on S. 25, "To designate the birthday of Martin Luther King, Junior, a legal public holiday."

S. 25 accords with the President's remarks in Atlanta on January 14, 1979, when he expressed the hope that he would be able to sign such a bill this year in honor of Dr. King's principles and accomplishments. Further, in his State of the Union Message to the Congress on January 25, 1979, the President stated:

"Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. led this Nation's effort to provide all its citizens with civil rights and equal opportunities. His commitment to human rights, peace and non-violence stands as a monument to his humanity and courage. As one of our Nation's most outstanding leaders, it is appropriate that his birthday be commemorated as a national holiday, and I will strongly support legislation to achieve this."

With regard to the cost to the Federal Government of the holiday, the Office of Personnel Management has advised us that the daily Federal payroll outlay on a regular workday is \$173 million in basic pay, which continues on any holiday. Employees who are required to work receive an additional day's pay, estimated by OPM to be \$22 million in this fiscal year for each holiday worked, in the form of premium holiday pay.

OPM advises that this premium pay is the only identifiable additional budgetary outlay resulting from a holiday. We should also note that work not performed on a holiday, represented by the \$173 million in basic pay, is normally made up to some extent during the remainder of the year.

S. 25 would carry out the President's policy and we urge the Committee to give the bill its early and favorable consideration. Enactment of S. 25 would be in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely,

James M. Frey
James M. Frey
Assistant Director for
Legislative Reference

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
GEORGE MEANY PRESIDENT
LANE KIRKLAND SECRETARY-TREASURER

PAUL HALL
MATTHEW GUINAN
FREDERICK O'NEAL
GEORGE HANCOCK
WILLIAM SIDELL
C. L. BELLONG
EDWARD T. HANLEY
WILLIAM H. MCELLENAN
DAVID J. FITZMAURICE
ALVIN E. HOGS
WILLIAM H. WYNN

JOHN H. LYONS
PETER BIGNAMARITO
JERRY WURST
AL W. CHESSE
MURRAY R. FINLEY
GLENN E. WATTS
ANGELO FOSCO
J. C. TURNER
KENNETH T. BLAYLOCK
HARRY R. POOLE
FRED J. KRULL

A. F. GROSPIRON
THOMAS W. GLEASON
S. FRANK BARETT
MARTIN J. WARD
ROBERT SHANKER
DOL C. CHAMIN
CHARLES H. HOLLARD
LYONS BARRISSE
EMMET ANDREWS
HOW W. WINDYNGER
JOHN J. O'DONNELL



815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 637-5000

Recd. to Law

April 18, 1979

Honorable Edward Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy:

Recently, the Senate Judiciary Committee held hearings on legislation proclaiming January 15, Martin Luther King's birthday, as a national legal holiday. Since 1973, the AFL-CIO has supported such legislation. We believe that such action would be a fitting tribute to the memory of this outstanding American leader.

I have included a copy of the 1973 AFL-CIO Convention Resolution supporting such legislation. I would ask that it be included in the hearing record of the Judiciary Committee on this legislation.

Thank you for your time and assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

Kenneth Young
Kenneth Young, Director
DEPARTMENT OF LEGISLATION

Enclosure

AFL-CIO CONVENTION RESOLUTION

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

WHEREAS, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was an outstanding leader who in living his conviction carved on the the conscience of America for all time to come, the meaning of "liberty and justice for all," and

WHEREAS, In lending his support to the concept of Trade Unionism and justice in the bitter struggle for human dignity in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968, he paid the supreme price for his convictions, and

WHEREAS, The untimely death of Dr. King was a great loss to all Americans, robbing our nation of a leader of men, advocate of brotherhood and understanding and fighter for equality and justice, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO is dedicated to the position to which Dr. King devoted his life, that all Americans of every race, color and background can live and work together in dignity and peace; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO pledges to continue its efforts to bring about the day when the dream of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. for dignity, justice and peace for all shall be fully realized, and be it further

RESOLVED: That in honor of Dr. King and his outstanding place in our nation's history, the AFL-CIO calls upon the President and the Congress to enact federal legislation proclaiming Dr. King's birthday, January 15, a legal national holiday.

FOR

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. HOLIDAY JANUARY 15,

144 West 125th Street N.Y.C.

10027. Tele. 666-4710 (212)

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HOWARD BENNETT, NATIONAL CO-ORDINATOR:

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 * *

Re: National Public Holiday - Martin Luther
Kings's Birthday (January Fifteenth).

Mr. Peter P. ...
Staff Member
 Dear Senator:

This nation would serve itself well to commemorate the name of Martin Luther King Jr., an immortal in the non-violence tradition of Mahatma Ghandi. He magnified the philosophy of non-violence in his native land as did Ghandi in his. Though they taught and espoused this theme, they met their untimely end by the means against which they preached.

Force, violence and crime in our streets seemingly is the order of the day. It is high in the nation and plagues every state and community.

If Martin Luther King Jr. were alive, by reason of his influence upon the people, there would be less violence today. At least, we can extol this one of his many virtues in marking the anniversary of his birth, thereby saying to young and old alike, the true way is peace and love, not violence.

We believe you would serve your constituency well should you lend your support to the bill which would enact into law this national Holiday approved in 1972 by the Congressional Civil Rights Committee, presently supported by 94 Congressmen and sponsored by Representative John Conyers of the State of Michigan.

You are respectfully urged as the law-makers who are nearest to the people to enact legislation which will be one more buttress against what is now considered next to our troubled economy, the number one priority, namely, crime and violence in the streets. This is truly a wish of the people.

Respectfully submitted,

Howard Bennett

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

CT 100 King

THE DAYS OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

(a series of ten articles by Jim Bishop appearing in The Washington Post, January 15th through 24th 1972 editions)

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THE DAYS OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

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Two Men, Two Missions to Memphis

Three times in five years assassins' bullets cut down leading figures in American public life. One was President of the United States. Another was his brother, a leading contender for the office. The third was Martin Luther King Jr., a black minister from Atlanta who in a dozen years had risen from assistant in his family church to spokesman for millions of his people. He received the Nobel Prize for Peace, was courted—and con-

demned—by statesman and commoner and, in death, achieved martyrdom.

Jim Bishop, author of "The Day Lincoln Was Shot," "The Day Kennedy Was Shot" and other bestselling biographies, has gone behind the legend of King. Bishop's "The Days of Martin Luther King Jr." begins today with Bishop's plotting of the parallel movements of King and his assassin, James Earl Ray, during the last week of King's life.

First in a Series

By Jim Bishop

He stared through the window, the commiserating brown eyes looking at the concrete runway but not seeing it. The jet motors whined, but the plane did not move. It was planned to John F. Kennedy Airport like a tin butterfly. "We're going to be in Memphis," he said. The cheerful clergyman was always late. People begged him to come to Los Angeles, to Washington, to Detroit, to Chicago, and all the invitations were imperative. Nothing would go right unless Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was present.

"It isn't our style of operation," said the twin sitting in the aisle seat. There was no response. The Rev. Bernard Lee, bodyguard and companion, looked like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., talked like him, and, in minor key, thought like him. "When the President of the United States visits someplace, his men go there and see what the situation is. We got no intelligence on Memphis." Dr. King was not President of the United States, but Bernard Lee had uttered a truth.

Usually, Dr. King's personal staff, in conference with the hierarchy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, worked on matters of personal safety weeks ahead of each march. This time there was, as Lee stated, no advance work.

If there was a weakness in the system, it could be laid at the feet of King himself. It was difficult for him to say the word "no." Weeks before, he had been at a convention of preachers in Miami, and he had been entreated, not once, but three times, to go to Memphis and attend a rally for striking Negro garbage men. He had been planning a gigantic Poor People's March on Washington, knowing that he had better make it a good one, especially convincing to Congress and Lyndon Johnson. He needed a victory desperately.

He had felt the whip of the militants, Rap Brown, Eldridge Cleaver, Malcolm X, and he had referred to them as "the crazies." He preached nonviolence and he was sincere. His mind, his heart were concentrating solely on the Poor People's March—not on Memphis. Still, he had said yes to the Rev. Ralph Jackson; he had said yes to Jim Lawson, who represented the only South with a handful of followers, the Christian Leadership Conference strength in Memphis; he had said yes, most of all, to the Rev. Samuel B. Kyles.

He had left the Hilton in New York too early to call his wife. She was in Washington trying to get support from women's organizations for the Poor People's March. Coretta would be the star at

a press conference and there she would call for peace in Asia, just as Dr. King had done recently. Many Americans felt it was a subversive cry for defeat. Others applauded his stand.

Yet he was neither a Communist nor a radical. Martin Luther King was a political shopper. He would accept any candidate who would lend his office to the cause of blacks.

The protest march in Memphis had been originally scheduled for March 22, 1968. An unseasonal foot of snow had fallen and the protest had been postponed six days. Black groups not associated with the sanitation workers began to volunteer to join them. A young group called the Invaders, originally organized in Chicago, had a branch in Memphis, and their leaders complained that they had not been consulted about the march or the limits of the protest.

To mollify them, a group of ministers agreed to a meeting. The Invaders asked why the march should not be turned into a violent demonstration of power and destructiveness at some point along Beale Street. The elders were shocked. With restraint, they argued that Martin Luther King was committed to nonviolence, that he would not come to Memphis if he knew of this proposal.

"Man," one of the Invaders said, "if you expect honkies to get the message, you got to break some windows." The meeting adjourned with no decision on either side. The Invaders found a mimeograph machine and ran off hundreds of sheets defining the ingredients of a Molotov cocktail. Many of these papers reached Hamilton High School, where black students waited impatiently for luncheon to join the march. When the moment arrived, on Thursday the twenty-eighth, they were met by Mayor Henry Leeb's riot police on the school grounds. The boys retreated, then returned with a torrent of rocks and bottles.

The march in Memphis had started. It was orderly, rank on rank of blacks linking arms with their fellows to spread from curb to curb. King got out of the limousine. He backed into the front row of marchers, held his elbows out, and grinned with the delight of a child who knows that he is not breaking any law, but that he is breaking a will to resist.

There were many thousands more nonviolent marchers than violent ones, but Martin Luther King, unknowingly, was leading a gigantic walking time bomb.

Someone came up behind Martin Luther King Jr. and shoved him forward. He

kept himself from falling and looked back. His assailant was a very young man. Dr. King was pushed again. This time he turned backward and found that black teenagers on the curbs were moving in on the marchers. He saw the young fighters, the police to break up the ranks of marchers.

Lee said to Jim Lawson, "We're pulling out. We denounce this march." Scaps were split, and the blood of blacks ran red down the sides of their faces. The Rev. Samuel "Billy" Kyles grabbed a radio from a black marshal. A monotonous voice kept asking: "Permission to break up the march. Permission to break up the march. Permission. . ."

Permission was granted from police headquarters, and the police formed ranks in front of the line of march. In a moment the marchers had reversed themselves and were fleeing in the opposite direction. The police struck out with clubs and tear gas, hurried high over the fleeing mob.

King was frightened, King was shocked; but he didn't want it said that he had left the line of march under fire. He required someone to force him to leave. Bernard Lee didn't wait. He yanked King forward and down a side street. King appeared to have momentarily lost control. His features were slack with horror. He followed the pulling arm, but his flowered tie was askew; his jacket twisted to one side. His breath was coming in gasps as they trotted away from the frightfulness.

Martin Luther King was still trotting behind Bernard Lee when Lee saw a car with two black women in it. "Please," he begged. "Stop. Stop. This is Dr. Martin Luther King. Please stop." The car stopped. King stumbled into the back seat with Abernathy and Lee. "Take us to the Rivermont Motel," Lee said softly.

With sundown, Memphis became quiet. The toll was 60 persons injured, 280 arrested and 1 dead.

King returned to his room. No newspaper was going to blame Jim Lawson or Billy Kyles or anybody but King. It didn't matter who started it and who fin-

ished it—the onus was on Martin Luther King Jr. He knew it.

His people, he heard, were mocking him for living in a white motel on the banks of the Mississippi. Was he now so rich, so affluent, that he preached black and lived white? A man down in the parking lot sent an anonymous note. "History," it read, "has passed you by."

He walked the floor through the early hours of the morning. Physical violence was sickening to Martin Luther King. Whenever he was arrested, he went along not only quietly, but meekly and with fear. In such cases, he permitted personal abuse, such as being lifted off his feet by his coat collar or having his face held down against a precinct desk, without protest.

In the morning, four timid young men presented themselves. King sat with the youths. They felt respect for this great leader of their people, but they said that he was "off the rails" as far as those nonviolent goals were concerned. Quietly, King asked them to speak up. A young man named Smith was the leader, and he said that first of all, they wanted Dr. King to know that they were sorry about yesterday. They knew what he wanted; but he didn't know what they wanted, and that's how the trouble had started.

One said that none of the reverends would listen to them. After all, they represented the young people. They had a right to be heard. One teenager said that the Invaders, unlike their parents, did not have cars or money. The four of them sat looking at Dr. King. He asked them if an automobile and a little money would mean that much to them. They beamed their smiles at him. The black leader began to sense the distillation of bribery.

"Well," he said, "I want you to pledge that you and your followers will either practice nonviolence or stay away from the demonstrations." They promised. "I will try to get you fellows a car," he said, "and a little money."

Business seemed always to be good at Robert E. Wood's Aeromarine Supply Company. His sports goods

prices were reasonable even though it appeared to be an odd choice to set up shop just off the big Birmingham Airport.

Sportsmen were in and out of Mr. Wood's store all day on Friday, March 29. The Smiler came in quietly, almost timidly. He looked around until he saw a rack of rifles and approached clerk U. L. Baker.

The Smiler said that he wanted to look over some rifles. Baker asked what kind. The customer said he didn't really know. He was going to go hunting with his brother, and he thought they'd be after deer. He was shown several types, and the Smiler handled them as though he understood their varied uses. He excited no interest in anyone except Baker and Wood, who felt that this man knew very little about rifles, ammunition, and deer.

The Smiler finally settled on a Remington 700, caliber .243 Winchester. He asked if he could have twenty rounds of 243 ammunition, an amount which might last an hour or two in good hunting territory, and—oh, yes, he wanted a scope mounted on it. The customer gave his name as Harvey Lowmeyer.

The cash was paid, the gun and ammunition were dropped on the floor behind the front seat of a white Mustang, and the Smiler backed away from the store and disappeared. A short time later he phoned. Donald Wood answered. The voice said he was "Harvey Lowmeyer." "Well, it turned out that the rifle was not heavy enough," and could he come back and exchange it? Mr. Wood said he could return the firearm in the morning.

Saturday at 9 A.M. the Smiler returned. He was apologetic about the exchange of rifles but said that his brother figured that this one wasn't heavy enough. This time the novice knew exactly what he wanted. "Let me see a Remington 760," he said. "30.06 caliber."

He was shown the rifle, heavier to level against the eye. "I can't adjust the scope right now," the clerk said. "How about three o'clock?" Mr. Ray returned in the white Mustang on time. The box of 243 car-

tridges was placed on the counter. It was exchanged for twenty Remington-Peters shells. Each weighed twice as much as the other bullets. The new ones would leave the muzzle at 2,100 feet per second, about three and a half times the speed of sound. James Earl Ray had something that would stop an elephant.

Sometimes there is a day when the telephone claims almost all attention. Monday, April 1, 1968, was such a day for Dr. King. He was in his paneled study at home most of the time, either dialing numbers or answering the phone. First of all, he wanted to know what each man thought of Lyndon Johnson's abdication. Everyone had been shocked by the Presidential announcement but felt it would redound to the benefit of the Movement. Even though Johnson had been their hero in 1964, he had become their devil in 1968.

There was a lilt in the voice of Martin Luther King. The depressed mood was gone. Ordinarily, he did not question the minutiae of a march; now he insisted upon knowing who was doing what in Memphis and what guarantees he had that this was going to be nonviolent, nondrinking. Everything he heard on the phone reassured him.

It was Tuesday, April 2, 1968, that King stopped at the Ebenezer Baptist Church for his mail, and "Daddy" King caught him on the inside steps, coming up. The conversation between the two began on a family note. A. D. was at a convention in Miami. The younger brother was somewhat of a disappointment to "Daddy." The father's heart's desire was to raise God-fearing preachers who would cling to the oak until it fell. A. D. was rebellious; he had no desire to be Martin Luther King Sr. or Jr.

The conversation in the hallway moved to the Poo People's March in Washington. "Daddy" hoped that Martin wasn't seriously considering returning to Tennessee—the issue wasn't that big so far as the cause was concerned.

They talked for more than an hour. Nothing was accomplished on either side except the respectful evasions of reality. Martin was too far away for "Daddy" to reclaim

him; "Daddy" was too close to his own neighborhood and his own business. He wanted what he could touch, and nothing more. He said good-bye to Martin, and the young reverend went on to his office.

The sun wasn't up when the Rev. Mr. Abernathy squeezed himself behind the wheel of his 1955 Ford, put the lights on, and started for King's house. They were booked on an early flight to Memphis, and he knew that King, who normally awakened at nine, had lately become restless and could not sleep beyond dawn.

Abernathy was wrong. Dr. King was still in bed when he arrived. He rang the bell, and, in a trice, Mrs. King was up, offering juice and coffee and toast to both men, who said they didn't have time.

Aboard the plane, one of the crew said, "This plane has been under guard all night. We have had a bomb threat. The Rev. Martin Luther King is aboard." King glanced at Abernathy. Both shook their heads.

Memphis was only an hour away, but the weather was bone-chilling and rainy. The usual big car was waiting for them. King told the driver, "Take us to the Lorraine." King was making sure this time that there would be no criticism by the blacks of Memphis that he was staying at a white motel.

Room 306 was a good one. It was on the second floor, facing the parking lot below and the covered swimming pool. King wasn't more than ten or twelve feet from the outside stairway. His staff had rooms upstairs and down, and the minister appeared frightened. He organized meetings in the various rooms, upstairs and down, and assigned various aspects of the march to each of them. This was Wednesday. Dr. King had made up his mind to hold the march on Monday. He was edgy.

The City of Memphis was in federal court asking for an injunction against all "non-residents of the city acting in concert" from organizing or starting a street demonstration. Andy Young was ordered to hurry to federal court to find out what was going on and to report back to King. He said to Ab-

ernathy, "Whether the injunction is granted or not, I am going to lead that march."

There was much to do in a short time. First of all, he wanted to meet those militants again—"those invaders." The Rev. Mr. Kyles missed the meeting with the Invaders. Even if he had been invited, it is doubtful that he would have attended, because he knew these young men and he didn't trust them. Nor would he tell Dr. King a very important fact: "The Invaders had asked the Memphis ministerial group for \$100,000 to implement their own program of riot and arson. Kyles and his group had told them they wouldn't get one dollar.

It was after 4 p.m. when the Invaders arrived at the Lorraine. Jim Orange was present. So were Jim Bevel and Andy Young. A dozen of the young men came in. They smiled hello. No smiles were returned. "We want a part in this thing," one of them said. "See, nobody ever asks us. You're the first one." King told them that they had an important part in the march. They were to be the peace-keepers.

The Smiler was on his way to Memphis. He was in no hurry. The thing he had to do in Memphis could wait. So far as is known, no one was with him. In the car was his little bag—James Earl Ray was always particular about his shirts and socks and shorts—and the long cardboard package with the rifle and the scope. He had one thing more: somebody's money in his pocket. Somebody from Atlanta or Birmingham kept him fairly well stocked. Several times he had come from the West Coast and other far-off places almost broke, and sometimes his man met him in New Orleans, but more frequently in Birmingham and Atlanta.

*After intensive research, the author found nothing to substantiate Ray's story of meeting a man named "Rae" in Canada, a man Ray could not identify with a last name, an address, or even a plausible motive for selecting a witness person to kill Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Almost 600,000 words of correlated notes would indicate, with little room for doubt, that: (1) James Earl Ray had a financial backer and (2) the man who financed the assassination worked alone or representing a group, ordered Ray where to go and when and promised to help him get to Rhodesia. The United States had no extradition treaty with Rhodesia, which had recently seceded from the Commonwealth of Nations.

The work of James Earl Ray was simple. Get a room, buy a newspaper, locate the quarry, and rent a nearby duck blind. That — and patience — would ensure the work. There would be no more tracking, no more problems, just a matter of getting out of Memphis safely and back to the pay-off point. There he would have to abandon the white Mustang he enjoyed so much and then fly first to Canada, then to Great Britain, and finally to Africa.

And yet there were built-in weaknesses. The slim Smiler lacked intelligence. It would not be fair to state that he was stupid, but his history was one of ignorance and failure. He had elected to lead a life of crime, but he had been caught many times and knew more about the inside of prison bars than the outside. He grew up in Quincy, Ill., and Ewing, Mo. — towns about twenty miles apart on opposite sides of the Mississippi River.

The father of the family, James Gerard Ray, was an ex-convict. The mother, Lucille, was an alcoholic. He had a difficult time trying to find work because of his record; Lucille could give birth to children but couldn't rear them. Sometimes, in despair, they moved in with her family in Alton, Ill.; sometimes they returned to Quincy or Ewing. All the times they had was hard. Lucille gave birth to James Earl Ray in 1928; Marjorie Raynes in 1930; John Larry the following year; Gerald in 1935 — in time, a total of nine. It is incredible that one large family should sustain so much anguish and sit in clapboard houses waiting for matters to get worse.

It wasn't until World War II started that the father found work with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. James Earl Ray graduated from elementary school; his brother Gerry ran away from home. All of them, half alive, realized that the basic commodity in life was money. Toward the end of the war James got a job with International Shoe Company. He was diligent, neat, smiling, a good clerk. For two years, it appeared that the Ray family had spawned an energetic and law-abiding son.

The war ended. The government cut back on shoe orders. James Earl Ray was fired. On Feb. 19, 1946, James Earl Ray enlisted in the U.S. Army at East Saint Louis. He chose Germany for his assignment and became a military policeman in the 3824 Battalion, stationed at Nuremberg.

He was, according to the records, a model soldier until he began drinking. He was transferred out of the Military Police to Company B, Sixteenth Regiment. James Earl Ray felt insulted and humiliated. He accepted the transfer and shortly thereafter was arrested for being drunk in quarters. After three days in a stockade he tried to escape and failed.

A court-martial gave James Earl Ray three months. He was not a model prisoner. He was so bored he began to write letters but his sentence was up. Army officers said that he was not fit for service, and he was sent home. On his final papers they wrote "simple." He came home holding his arm up and yelling, "Heil Hitler!"

Ray got a job in Chicago, bought a Mercury, lost the job, and saw the car repossessed. He was twenty-one years of age and broke. He had tried, and tried hard, to make a better life for himself than his mother and father had. In the Army he had sent allotment checks home. In sum, considering the family background, James Earl Ray had been a good son. The pleasant side of the law hadn't worked out, so Ray decided to try the unpleasant side.

In prison, convicts made sport of James Earl Ray. They called him a "hard luck character," a "stupo," a natural loser in the field of crime. He was in and out of prison so frequently that some wardens referred to James Earl Ray as the "commuter." Once he refused to transfer to a model prison farm because he heard that there were blacks in it. He said he hated blacks; he never said he had a desire to kill one.

From the book published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, Copyright 1971, by Jim Bishop. Distributed by King Features Syndicate.

NEXT: The last day.

Assassin's Bullet Creates a Martyr

Second in a Series
By Jim Bishop

The hour was 9 a.m., and the wall in front of the two-story Lorraine Motel in Memphis was gray and gray-black with last night's storm. The car entrance at the left was designed so that guests could enter or leave by car but not without passing the little office with the switchboard where Mrs. Lorraine Bailey sat.

Mrs. Bailey paid special attention to the switchboard light on Room 306. If Martin Luther King Jr. lifted that telephone, Lorraine Bailey wanted to be ready—all other calls would have to wait.

Dr. King came out of the bathroom of floor 306 unshaved. His bodyguard and companion, Bernard Lee, was wandering up and down visiting rooms, trying to reassure the staff (before King called them) that matters would go much easier this time in Memphis, even though "Doc's" mood was down. Someway, somehow, they were going to have to assure him and reassure him.

The staff sat in Room 306 and reassurance expired with King's opening words: "Some of my staff are committed to violence, and they will have to go." The black faces looked at one another in consternation. For ten minutes, King dwelt upon the patient suffering of Jesus and Gandhi. His followers, especially his staff, must be totally committed to this principle, or America's soul could not be redeemed.

"Some of you may have a worry," he said. "Not me. I faced the question of death a long time ago." To Abernathy, Lee, and the others, he was proving the opposite. He was now obsessed with death, and they were powerless to ameliorate it.

The Smiler slept late. He had been up until the early hours in the New Rebel, doing whatever he felt was necessary to the accomplish-

ment of his mission. There is no doubt that he had a visitor during the night—even though it cannot be documentarily proved—because he was not a man to sit up all night looking at street maps and reexamining a rifle. The Smiler was indolent and ignorant; he would need someone to tell him where to go to do the thing he had to do.

He checked out of the New Rebel at noon and cruised the city in the Mustang. He must have passed the Lorraine; he may even have read the room numbers on the second floor until he found "306." A stupid man works twice as hard as an intelligent one to achieve success.

Ray may have been alone. His employer may have been with him. It was imperative that the neighborhood be studied with care. Main Street must have seemed ideal. The rooming house was a cheap no-questions-asked, cash-in-advance place. Any room in the back would look east at the Lorraine. A chair, some patience. An easy assignment.

At the sound of footsteps, Mrs. Bessie Brewer emerged from the room near the desk. It was her rooming house, and she had been long accustomed to the un-washed drunks trying to find the \$1.25 for a roof and a mattress. She looked up at the man in surprise. He was not a drifter.

He was taken back past the desk and down a dingy hall. When they came to S.B. Mrs. Brewer said it was the only room she had vacant in the back. The Smiler wanted to know what that door was, all the way back, at the head of an alley stairway. That, said Mrs. Brewer, was the bathroom. Ray nodded.

The Smiler looked up and down the dim hallway. He took his rifle and his binoculars and went into the bathroom at the back of the house. Inside, Ray found a single window. It straddled

the right edge of the old-fashioned tub and the floor. He stood in the tub, raised the window partway, and found that by crouching a little, he could see the motel porch more clearly. There was also a ledge which could be used as an ideal rest for a rifle. Standing in the tub, he watched black men move in and out of Room 306.

He must have realized that there would not be this much traffic unless Dr. King was in the room. A life of failures confronted a life of successes.

Room 306 was pretty full. The Rev. Dr. King was almost finished dressing. Hosea Williams was there. So was Ralph Abernathy, James Bevel, Jesse Jackson, and Andy Young.

Sam Kyles, who had said five to ensure arrival at home for dinner by six, walked out of the room and stood a few steps down on the stairwell. The Rev. Andrew Young left and walked down the stairway to stand beside the big car and the chauffeur, Ben Branch, the leader of the Operation Breadbasket band, walked over to the car with Jesse Jackson.

Dr. King opened the door and started out. "Wait a minute," Abernathy said, "I forgot my after-shave lotion." King walked to the railing and looked down. It was a relaxed moment.

Bernard Lee cut in to tell Dr. King that it was chilly, that he ought to wear a topcoat. King made a move to go back into 306, then changed his mind. He had a thought, and he didn't want to forget it. "Ben," he said, "make sure you play 'Precious Lord, Take My Hand.' Play it real pretty for me."

Abernathy was in the doorway, still patting his cheeks with cologne, when Jesse Jackson, looking up at King, said, "Oh, Doc . . ."

There was a cracking sound like two flat boards being slapped together. The bullet traveled at 2,600 feet per second. The Rev. Martin

Luther King Jr. neither heard anything nor felt anything. The bullet hit Dr. King a half inch below the right side of his lip, shattered his jaw, kept moving downward and to the left, hit the top of the trachea, and embedded itself in the spine at the bottom of the neckline, severing the spinal cord. Death, in such cases, is almost instantaneous.

Kyles, halfway down the stairway, was the first to realize that Dr. King had been shot. He hurried back up as others below automatically turned their heads toward the origin of the sound—the rooming houses behind the weedy backyard. The white man in 308, James Laue of the Justice Department, who was, in effect, the government's polite shadow, hurried out of his room and stared at the tarpaulin-covered swimming pool. He thought the shot had come from there.

In the courtyard, someone began to moan. "Lord, Lord!" Dr. Abernathy heard it and got to his feet and rushed out. Just as Kyles was rushing in, looking for a big turkish towel, Abernathy saw the hole in King's face and yelled: "Call an ambulance!"

The gold Nobel Prize watch on Dr. King's wrist felt the slam of the shot at 6:04 p.m. and survived, ticking off the seconds firmly and correctly.

Ray was in no mood to linger. He picked up gun and binoculars and came out of the bathroom with both wrapped in a newspaper. Roomer Willy Anchues came out of his bedroom just in time to confront the murderer. James Earl Ray had paused in his room for a rifle was inside a dirty moment. The Remington green bedspread. In the same hand, he held a small blue travel bag with his soiled underwear, a shaving kit, a cake of soap, and the binoculars.

Anchues said, "That sounded like a shot."

Ray was calm and smiling. "Yes," he said, "it was." He continued down the hall and walked on down to the street.

He must have known that his fingerprints were on file in several places, including FBI headquarters, and he should have realized that his prints were all over the gun, the shaving cream jar, the binoculars. Still, he turned left, walked a few steps to a storefront with a recessed window, and dropped everything there. In this he was following the pattern of stupidity which had plagued his life of crime.

The time in Atlanta was an hour later: 7:13 p.m. The phone rang. It was Jesse Jackson. "Coretta," he said "Doc's been shot."

Mrs. King was silent for a moment. These were the words she knew might be heard at any time. "Is he dead?" she whispered.

"No," Jesse Jackson said. "I don't know, but if I was you, I'd get the first flight out of Atlanta."

Mrs. King phoned her husband's secretary, Dora McDonald, and asked her to come over at once. She turned on the television, and by now regular programming had been preempted by the news about the shooting, although no one knew whether the wound was fatal or even serious. Coretta King was phoning Juanita Abernathy, explaining that she had tickets for the 8:25 p.m. flight to Memphis, in case Mrs. Abernathy wanted to join her.

She did not notice that her children had come in to the room. They heard their father's name mentioned, and they crouched in front of the set. When she got off the phone, the boys asked, "what happened? What is it?"

Yoki, the eldest, ran weeping from the room, screaming. "Don't tell me! Don't tell me!"

Mrs. King called her back, took a deep breath, and assumed her controlled manner. "I'm getting ready to go to Memphis," she said, "because your daddy has been shot."

She said no more. The children accepted her calm attitude and assumed it as their own.

Lillie Hunter years earlier had been Dr. King's secretary. Lillie Hunter was showing end tables against the sides of a sofa in her apartment when her daughter Jackie said, "Did you hear? Dr. King's been shot." The shocked woman got in her car and drove to the King home.

Mayor Ivan Allen and his police captain hurried up the front porch and asked the women to hurry. Lillie Hunter and Dora McDonald got into the car with Mrs. King and Mrs. Abernathy. The car sped down the hill and across Atlanta to the airport.

When they arrived a clerk said to Lillie Hunter, "The Memphis manager just phoned Dr. King died." There was disbelief on her face.

Mrs. Hunter asked Mrs. King and Dora to step out of the car and accompany her to the airport ladies' room. The mayor followed them and stood inside the doorway. Mrs. King seemed apprehensive. Lillie looked at her beseechingly. "Your husband," she said firmly, then paused. "Your husband has passed on." Coretta King stood, head up, tilted a little back.

"I don't think I'll go to Memphis," she said. "I'll go home to the children."

When a group of Black Panthers in Los Angeles heard the flash on radio, they got together to discuss the apocalypse. The time to burn America to the ground had come.

It didn't happen. Rioting occurred in 130 cities. The toll was \$130,000,000 in damage—mostly in black sections—apd 34 Negroes and 5 whites would be dead within the span of one day.

There would be a summing up, by the right, the left, and the middle this day. Yet, as a Martyr on this night of April 4, 1968, he was closer to success than in life because, for the first time, he pinched the conscience of all. He had been overtaken by the darkness he feared most, and now he would be sanctified—parks and boulevards and playgrounds would be named for

him. The man who, in life, had been looked upon as a Satan of municipal trouble, had become the Black Christ.

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Next: The beginning.

King Observances

A weekend of observances of the birthday of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. continued yesterday here and around the nation as the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy spoke at Dr. King's home church in Atlanta.

Speaking at Ebenezer Baptist Church on the 43d anniversary of the birth of the slain civil rights leader, Fauntroy, the District's nonvoting delegate and a former associate of Dr. King, said that the radical young and vocal poor are continuing Dr. King's message.

In one of the observances held here yesterday, the Cardozo Jaycees sponsored a memorial symposium in the Cannon House Office Building on the "manifestation" in Philadelphia. Mayor Frank L. Rizzo proclaimed yesterday "Martin Luther King Day" in his city and observances were staged in a number of other cities, including Memphis, where Dr. King was killed April 4, 1968.

A memorial breakfast was to be held at the Pitts Motor Hotel here at 8 a.m. today and there is to be a service at the Washington Cathedral at 7 p.m.

The Days of Martin Luther King Jr.

At 5, He Read Aloud: 'Whites Only'

Third in a Series

By Jim Bishop

Martin Luther King Jr. was born on a chill day, Jan. 15, 1929, at Atlanta, Ga. The Kings were not poor. Martin Luther King Sr. was a respected Baptist pastor. His church was the Ebenezer Baptist Church, where his father-in-law had been pastor for 37 years before him.

The oldest child was Christine, born a year before Martin Luther King Jr. and two years before Alfred Daniel King. In downtown Atlanta, "Daddy" King drove his own car, refused to truckle to white tradesmen.

The King children were ready for enrollment in a black school before the age of six as the law required. Martin attended at the age of five, his mother insisting that he was six. He

proved his academic accomplishments by pointing to a sign across the street and reading it aloud: FOR WHITES ONLY. This was in the winter of 1934, and in April he told his classmates about his birthday party. "There were five candles," he said proudly. The teacher expelled him at once. At age six, he was again enrolled in the first grade, but his knowledge proved so superior that he was at once advanced a grade.

He was young when he learned what it was to be black. He and a white friend were the firmest of friends until the white boy's mother came to the door one afternoon and, with some hesitation, advised Martin to break up the friendship and "not come around here any more." The shock didn't bring tears. It stunned him.

When he was eleven, Martin was transferred to a private laboratory school inaugurated by Atlanta University. The classes were small and the students exceptionally bright, but the school closed two years later. And yet Martin Luther King Jr. had absorbed a great deal of knowledge, and he already had a budding credo which would never be altered: All a black man had to do to be an acceptable success in a white world was to be twice as smart as everyone else and twice as good a Christian.

It was simple. Morehouse College accepted Martin Luther King Jr. as a freshman when he was fifteen. By the time he was sixteen it was assumed by all except his mother that he would become an ordained minister and follow his father and his grandfather.

But it was not until his senior year at Morehouse that King made his decision. It was not final, but he felt he could reach more of his people and preach more of his "uplift" creed from a pulpit.

Martin King had a massive ego, but he did not see himself as a leader of his people, a prophet of nonviolence. The most decisive thing about Martin Luther King Jr. was his indecisiveness. He could talk "hot" on a subject one day and chill it with silence the next. He sought dates with pretty girls and, once they went out with him, moved abruptly to other girls. He set a high value on reason, and his assessment of his own intellectuality kept reminding him that nothing he had read had ever been settled by violence.

In the spring of his senior year Martin told his father that he felt the call to the ministry. His father suggested a trial church service in one of the small auditoriums in the big Ebenezer Baptist Church.

The word spread around Atlanta that a seventeen-year-old would conduct services, and Dr. George Kelsey, head of the theological department of the college was delighted when "Daddy" King had to make an announcement that because so many people had sent word they would attend, the service would be held in the main church.

It was not a timid first speech. The boy had assurance, and his phrasing was good; but it was delivered as though he realized that he was his father's son and his grandfather's grandson and that they had, in their time, made the very stones of the church weep while he was determined to make the stones think.

Martin accepted all compliments gracefully, almost with embarrassment. He had said he could do it. He did it. At once, he made another decision. He stopped dating

girls and going to dances. This was the devil's path.

He was eighteen when he was ordained a minister and—honor of all honors—was made assistant to his father as pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church. After his next birthday he was graduated from Morehouse and decided to enroll at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pa., to earn his master's degree in philosophy.

Crozer Theological Seminary was another planet to Martin Luther King Jr. There were six blacks among ninety-four whites, and everyone appeared to be color-blind.

King was the perfect student, the do-gooder, the debater; he read like a man possessed. He was first in his class and president of the student body.

But Martin was more reckless than prudent in his relationship with women. He had glanced at the attractive white daughter of Crozer's superintendent of buildings, and she smiled at him. This led to a romance which bordered on the dangerous.

The word reached the head of the school and he called Martin and the girl in. "I'm glad you found out about it," Martin said, speaking for both, "because we decided that we wanted you to marry us!" The preacher groaned. He knew about racism all too well, and yet he sympathized with young romance. He pointed out all the reasons why such a marriage could not succeed—especially for a young man with a brilliant future.

When he concluded, Martin Luther King Jr. hung his head and admitted his logic and reason. He glanced sideways at the girl, and she shrugged and admitted that marriage to a white girl could foreclose Martin's future and that they had better forget they had met. Within a year, the girl and her family left Crozer. Years later, when he was famous, he would tell and retell the story.

Martin immersed himself deeper and deeper into his school work. For a time he dated no one. Once, on a walking trip in downtown Philadelphia, he learned that Dr. Mordcaid Johnson, president of Howard University, was to lecture on a recent tour of India.

Dr. Johnson centered his talk not so much on the sub-continent as on the former South African lawyer named Gandhi. Martin King had heard and read about Gandhi before, but he could find nothing in the little bespectacled man's teachings which could be applied to the United States. Dr. Johnson changed the negative feeling to positive within an hour.

Martin left the lecture in a frenzy of excitement. He went around Philadelphia all week buying books on Gandhi and Satyagraha, the nucleus of nonviolence.

About the time Martin left Crozer to attend Boston University to study for his doctorate, Coretta Scott was in her first term at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston. The number of blacks in Boston was sufficient to make it improbable that this boy from Georgia and this girl from Alabama would meet.

At Antioch College, Coretta had had white boy-friends. She could smile, hold hands, kiss, and listen to the lofty promises of marriage, but, as Coretta said of one, "He didn't have the guts." Although Coretta appeared to be the softest of feminine creatures, her brain was tough and often unforgiving. Her ambition to achieve "equality" almost dominated her life.

She determined to be a concert singer. If she went home to Alabama, the best she could expect would be to sing in black churches. In the North, Coretta knew that she could be successful and appreciated.

The more firmly convinced Coretta Scott became that the North was far more liberal and palatable to her, the more Martin Luther King Jr. missed the South. A married woman friend of his said she knew a pretty girl from Alabama who was studying music. Coretta Scott was a nice girl, she assured him, an intelligent and independent girl—now one to be trifled with. King asked for her address but was refused it. Failing that, he supplied a description of

himself to be given to Coretta Scott. The woman listened agape. It wasn't even close to what Martin Luther King Jr. looked like or was. What he gave her was his personal assessment of himself, physically, mentally, and morally. In addition, he fancied himself to be an irresistible Don Juan.

They dated on a tentative basis, his ardent warmth fighting the icicles of her suspicions. Throughout a cold winter, they saw much of each other, and King arrived at a swift and final conclusion: "This girl is for me. I'm going to marry her."

His protestations of eternal love were received by Coretta as the usual tactic of ill males, most of whom would vow, "I love you and want to marry you," without sincerity, merely to attain the age-old goal.

By July, 1952, Coretta was convinced that her swain was sincere and in love, and she was now certain that he was anything but a down-home preacher. Normally, love is an emotion which overtakes a romantic runner. In Coretta's case, she was one who would dwell upon all the aspects of love and marriage as a banker might read an application for a loan.

Coretta still had reservations, but she wanted to meet his parents; she wanted to see the church of his father; she had a desire to weigh what life would be like—even down to the type of living in a middle-class black community. She agreed to visit in Atlanta the first week of August. Almost from the first, Coretta realized that her competitor was King's father. The young minister loved and admired the stern and righteous old man, but Coretta Scott wanted a marriage in which she would be the determinant, not a minister who might be inclined to make important decisions for her and her husband.

The wedding was fashionable. "Daddy" King performed the ceremony on June 18, 1953, at the home of the bride's parents in Helberger, Ala. Everybody who was anybody in black social life was present, and as an event, it had little in common with the crossroads blacks.

Before Coretta would agree to the marriage, she wanted it understood that she was going back to Boston in the autumn of 1953 to continue her studies at the

conservatory. Young King said that this was perfect because he wanted to return to Boston University to qualify for his doctorate. The solitary schism between them, small as it was, would widen in time.

Coretta wanted a singing career in the North and nowhere else. She wanted Martin to promise that he would seek a job as minister of a Northern church or one as a teacher of theology. He could afford to smile. "We'll see," he said. "We'll see."

In an apartment near the conservatory in Boston, the young couple began a placid life. Coretta surprised and delighted Martin with her intelligent approach to personal problems, to a philosophy accommodating the dismal aspects of world affairs, to her self-assurance.

But now that they were married, and when she wasn't studying, Mrs. King was working her way slowly and accurately to the conclusion that she was going to lose the last battle, too. He would not remain in the North, even though he had already received two good offers from churches.

A letter came from the elders of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Ala., explaining that, at this time, they had no pastor and would welcome King to preach when he was in that part of the country.

On a cold Saturday in January, 1954, Martin King and his wife stood across the street and studied the plain red-brick church. It was small, even uninspiring, but it could be his. Coretta King smiled because Montgomery was near her parents' home.

King Chosen to Lead 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott

Fourth of ten installments from "The Days of Martin Luther King Jr."

By Jim Bishop

Rosa Parks' feet ached. She was not complaining, even to herself, but it seemed that life as a seamstress consisted of nothing more than crouching on her toes, with a mouth full of pins, before white women who were dissatisfied. All she wanted now after a day's work was a seat on a bus.

When it came, Mrs. Parks followed the rule for "colored folks" and found a seat in the fifth row left, directly behind the first four rows for the "white folks." The bus started, moved a little, and stopped. More blacks got aboard, plus a few whites. Mrs. Parks didn't look up to note that all the seats were now filled.

A few whites stood up front. "All right, all right," said the driver, looking at Mrs. Parks and two other blacks. "Come on. Get in the back." Rosa Parks looked up at the strong white man at her side, waiting.

"No," she said. "I won't."

Rosa Parks was not frightened. She had been secretary of the local NAACP chapter for years, and she was attuned to race relations and knew the difference between the loud and the ominous. This threat was ominous. The bus driver left to look for a policeman.

There was seldom a confrontation except once in a while between an intoxicated Negro and a surly driver. This was different. An apparently gentle person had given the driver a flat no. If the word got around Montgomery that a small woman had successfully defied a big white man on the bus, well, this would not be Dec. 1, 1955, it would be hallelujah day all over the city.

Mrs. Parks was charged with violation of a Montgomery City ordinance governing racial accommodation on publicly owned vehi-

cles. These complaints were usually handled, and handled well for the whites, under the much broader and vaguer term "Disorderly conduct."

But the officer had written a racial complaint, and now, for better or for worse, the City of Montgomery had only one way out of the dilemma created by the "separate but equal facilities" dictum of the Supreme Court in 1954, and that was to acquit her. However, if that were done, it would spread through "Colored Town" and lead to more violations.

Within an hour of Mrs. Parks' imprisonment, the news was traveling. For help, Mrs. Parks required the services of a black champion, and she could have done better than E. D. Nixon, a burly Pullman porter, who had been a leader in almost every fight for black rights in Montgomery in the decade.

Nixon balled out Rosa Parks. "This," he said happily, "is what we've been waiting for." He asked her if she was willing to be the "symbolic case." She said yes.

Nixon called black leaders all night. Shortly after 5 a.m. he noticed among the list of clergy that there was no check mark against the name "M. L. King Jr." Nixon had no time to persuade. He explained what had happened and asked King to be a member of the committee for a one-day boycott. There was silence on the phone. "Brother Nixon," said King, "let me think it out awhile. Call me back."

Later King said, "The apparent apathy of Negro ministers presented a special problem." Another observer was more succinct: "They were busy preaching God and raising their salaries." Nixon might have declined

to call back, but he took a chance on a refusal. He called King to ask if he had reached a decision. The pastor agreed to serve on the committee. The Rev. Dr. King did not tell Nixon that, between phone calls, he had solicited the advice of his new friend, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy. Abernathy said, "Join." King joined.

Nixon's group drew up a leaflet calling for a black bus boycott for Monday, Dec. 5, the day of the trial. The Rev. Dr. King got out 7,000 additional leaflets—now that he was in, he was going to go all the way.

There was a bus stop a few feet from the King house. The first bus that Monday was due at 6 a.m. When it came Coretta King's face was ecstatic as she pointed: "It's empty!"

They waited at the front window for fifteen minutes. The next bus crept by, empty. The third bus went by. It held two white passengers.

Dr. King ran to the family car and drove down one bus line street and up another. He kept cruising during the peak morning hour and counted eight blacks in all the buses. He kept telling himself solemnly that a miracle—a real miracle—had occurred.

In court, Mrs. Parks was defended by Fred D. Gray, a black attorney. The prosecution argued that there was a municipal ordinance dividing the black race from the white on public conveyances and that the defendant did, in fact, violate that ordinance willfully.

"Ten dollars' fine," the judge said, hardly looking up from his desk blotter, "and four dollars' cost of court." Gray respectfully informed the judge that the decision would be appealed.

"Duly noted," His Honor said. The lawyer and the women were elated. For a pittance, \$14, it was possible that the white prosecution had made a \$100 billion error. Besides, there was that glorious happy bus boycott.

That afternoon the ministers held a meeting with other leaders before the evening church meeting. The entire assemblage, including Martin Luther King Jr., was surprised to hear a voice say, "Mr. President, I would like to nominate Rev. M. L. King for president." King was elected unanimously. The new president later told friends that he was so astonished that he had no tongue to decline; that if he had had time to think it through, he would have declined the office.

Names for the new organization were suggested and discarded. It was Ralph Abernathy who said, "How about the Montgomery Improvement Association?" It was adopted.

The first crack in the facade came on Wednesday. The Alabama Human Relations Council asked for a conference between the city and bus officials on one side and King and his executive committee on the other. The blacks arrived at the commission chamber fifteen minutes early. J. E. Bagley and Jack Crenshaw of the bus company came in and sat at the end of the commissioners' table. At the stroke of eleven, Mayor W. A. Gayle, Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers, and Commissioner Frank A. Parks walked in.

Mayor Gayle turned a stern judicious eye on the blacks and said, "Who's the spokesman?" The blacks were intimidated. They said nothing. Committee members turned to stare at Martin Luther King. "All right,"

the mayor said, "come forward and make your statement."

King sat at the opposite end of the table from Bagley and Crenshaw. He said he wanted to make it clear at once that Rosa Parks was not the cause of the boycott; her arrest had merely precipitated the fight for human rights. "Our action," he said slowly, "is the culmination of a series of injustices and indignities that have existed over the years. . . . Courtesy," he said, "is the least any business can grant to its patrons."

The mayor opened the meeting to general discussion. Police Commissioner Sellers said, in an aside, that the taxi companies had a license ruling that they could not charge less than forty-five cents per ride. King understood the threat. The cab drivers were charging ten cents apiece—the same as the bus fare—to jam five or six persons into each vehicle and drive them downtown. If the city threatened to invalidate their licenses, the movement would be crippled.

The commissioners challenged the legality of altering the bus loading system because it was part of municipal law. "You are asking us," one said, "to violate the law." No one stood to say, "No, sir. We are asking you to change the law."

Neither side desired a long fight, but when the city notified the black taxi companies that mass riding was illegal, the flames were fanned. Mayor Gayle and Commissioner Sellers suddenly joined the White Citizens Council as a lesson to the blacks. The net effect was that, the battle lines were drawn honestly.

One evening King and Bob Williams, a Morehouse classmate, drove downtown. A policeman stopped the car and asked to see Dr. King's license.

Another policeman peered through the wetness and said, "It's that damn King fellow." The minister showed his license, said nothing, and was permitted to go on. A motorcycle cop followed.

At the first stop, the cop pulled alongside and said, "Get out, King. You're under arrest for doing thirty in a twenty-five-mile zone."

Meekly, he got out. The cop frisked him and called headquarters. A patrol car arrived and took him to the Montgomery City Jail. At the desk where he was booked, King's arm was held up between his shoulder blades so that his head went down to the blotter to alleviate the pain.

The word spread through the city that King was in jail. Ralph Abernathy left a meeting with cash in his pocket, went to the jail and asked to bail King out. The officer in charge glanced at a clock and said, "You'll have to wait until tomorrow."

"I am the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Montgomery," Abernathy said loftily. "Do you mean to tell me I can't sign bond?"

"No," the officer said absently, "you sure can't."

"Can I see Dr. King?" The officer shook his head no. Abernathy went back to the churches and told the pastors, preachers, and deacons to assemble at once at the city jail. Again, the blacks responded to the call.

The warden became nervous. He phoned his superior, Dr. King was hustled out of the cell, fingerprinted and mugged, and told, "All right, King. You're being released on your own recognizance. Now get out." Later he told his wife that he had been frightened.

Monday, January 30, 1956—9:30 p.m.—Coretta King and a friend, Mary Williams, were waiting for King to return home. Once or twice he had mentioned the possibility of an attack on the house with her and the baby alone in it—but Coretta was unimpressed.

The women were sitting in the front room when they heard a thump outside the windows, as though someone had tossed a rock on the porch. Coretta King, calm but also aware of the possibilities, said, "It sounds as though someone hit the front of the house. Let's move to the back." They didn't reach it. They heard a clap of thunder and felt the floor shudder. A smoky sulfuric smell rushed through the rooms.

King was called from the pulpit. By the time he reached home the mob was

enormous and police cars were parked askew in the area. Mayor Gayle and Commissioner Sellers were on King's front porch when he managed to force his way through. In the kitchen, he saw his wife holding the baby. "Thank God you and the baby are all right."

The crowd began to shout insults at the police. The police did not respond, but their hands were on the butts of their guns. They were not looking for trouble, but if trouble started, they wanted to save themselves. No one could control a crowd this size.

Martin Luther King stepped to the front of his porch. He held up both arms and in a loud slow voice, King said, "My wife and my baby are all right. I want you people to go home and put down your weapons. We cannot solve problems with violence." There was a pause. "We must meet violence with nonviolence."

Some shouted "amen!" others yelled: "God bless you, Reverend." They began to disperse.

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Tomorrow: Victory.

Boycott Victory Made King a National Figure

Fifth of ten installments
from "The Days of Martin
Luther King Jr."

Chapter V

The bus boycott in Montgomery led by Martin Luther King Jr. went into its eleventh month, and tempers were short. The Supreme Court fight was still pending.

The City Commission ordered city attorneys, in late October, 1956, to press for a state injunction against operating a car pool. Dr. King, who felt safe in federal court, asked U.S. Judge Frank M. Johnson for a restraining order. The judge refused. The car pool, the only transportation artery the blacks had, was in jeopardy. A hearing was ordered for Tuesday, Nov. 13.

The city began to hope it could crush nonviolence. The Saturday before the hearing, the Ku Klux Klan decided to hood itself and hold a rally in Montgomery.

Press photographers began to shoot pictures. The city sent police reserves and ordered the Ku Klux Klan out of town. The organization was told that it could not hold a rally in the city without a permit, and Mayor Gayle would not issue one.

In the streets, the blacks were joyous. Mortal terror had been transformed into low comedy. That old devil boogeyman, the Klan, had been booted in the behind and run out of town.

When court convened on Tuesday, the City of Montgomery opened its argument by specifying that the proceedings opposed the use of 300 automobiles and 20 station wagons operating as a private, unlicensed, unchartered means of public conveyance by a so-called organization calling itself the Montgomery Improvement Association. Because of this, the city had lost taxes from the licensed and properly chartered Montgomery Bus Line in excess of \$15,000 and

would like the court to note that it was asking compensation. The city attorney further contended that the so-called car pool was a public nuisance.

The blacks asserted that the MIA car pool was nothing more than a neighborly share-the-ride plan designed temporarily to protest racial inequity on the Montgomery Bus Line.

Toward the end of the morning session there was a sudden stirring, as a reporter moved across the front of the court, bringing a frown from the judge. He handed a short sheet of paper to the mayor. Gayle read it, stood abruptly, and left the court.

The reporter tiptoed over to Martin Luther King. "Here," he said, "is the decision you have been waiting for. Read this release."

It read: "(AP) Washington, D.C.—The United States Supreme Court today affirmed a decision of a special three-judge U.S. District Court in declaring Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional. The Supreme Court acted without listening to any argument, it simply said 'The motion to affirm is granted and the judgment is affirmed.'"

Dr. King read it twice. He couldn't seem to absorb the news. He said later that he could hear his heart beat within his ears. Usually, his decorum in any situation was cool and mannerly. This time he lost it. He got up from his chair like an old man, still holding the paper, and walked back up the aisle to his wife.

White Montgomery was disconsolate. Three hundred years of tradition had been ground into dust by nine strangers who didn't under-

stand. The blacks were cautiously jubilant. They believed the news and could not believe it. The radio announced that the Klan would ride that night, in spite of a Montgomery order to leave town. At 5 p.m. Judge Carter entered a restraining order against the car pool. It was anticlimactic, a feeble and almost comical protest of an inferior court to the Supreme Court, but Judge Carter, no matter what his juridical feelings, had to continue to live among the whites.

In the evening, forty automobiles loaded with white-hooded men in conical hats drove through the several black ghettos. In times past, the blacks extinguished their lights, and the hooded figures fired guns in the air or through windows. This time, the blacks turned their porch lights on and sat and watched the parade. They did not exult, and they drew no fire.

At a meeting the next night the black people were asked to endorse a decision by the executive board of the MIA to call off the boycott, but to refrain from boarding buses until the decree was served on the officials of the city. The people agreed. In the following few weeks, the blacks assembled in churches to be taught how to practice restraint in buses in the face of racist taunts.

On Dec. 21, 1956, Martin Luther King Jr. assembled a few friends at 5 a.m. in his home. Bernard Lee stood on the porch to watch the first bus come by. Ralph Abernathy was present; so was the white minister—a Southerner born—Dr. Glenn Smiley. On the sidewalk, television cameras had been set up, and lights focused on the sign that said BUS STOP.

At 5:55 a.m. King, Smiley, and Abernathy stepped out onto the porch, saw the empty bus coming, headlights on full, and walked down to the corner. The bus sighed to a stop, the front doors flipped open, and King deposited three dimes as the small crowd gaped.

The white driver, sounding like a gentle satire on the Dr. Livingstone and Stanley dialogue in deepest Africa, said, "I believe you are the Rev. King, aren't you?"

King saw the broad smile and, nonplussed, said, "Yes, I am."

The driver snapped the doors shut and said, "We are glad to have you this morning."

It is a diamond-hard truth that as the year 1957 arrived, one man profited hugely from the Montgomery boycott. Dr. King was a national figure, a dark comet arching high and alone in the heavens. There were offers of full professorships at \$50,000 to \$75,000 per year; a lecture tour at \$1,000 to \$1,500 per talk; a cover story by Time magazine; a bid from Harper & Row to write a book.

In Montgomery, Ala., the black took silent solace in his victory over the White Establishment. Often, around the family table, he referred to King as L.L.J., which meant Little Lord Jesus. This was his hero, and more than his hero. This was his people's leader, come on earth to deliver the indentured from Egypt.

Perhaps King's greatest accomplishment was that for the first time the white people of the United States were being forced to study the black man and his problems. For the first time, scores of millions of Americans who had seen blacks without ever noticing or car-

ing, began to feel the pangs of conscience. Surprisingly, now that it had achieved victory through strength, the MIA fell apart. Meetings were called, but the blacks were exhausted. Attendance fell off; the receipt of funds declined; King knew that the spirit of the people was flagging. Author Louis Lomax had been right in counseling a broader front and a higher goal, but Dr. King was surrounded by men of narrow vision. "Frankly," he said, "I'm worried to death. A man who hits the peak at twenty-seven has a tough job ahead. People will be expecting me to pull rabbits out of the hat for the rest of my life."

Another minister found the higher goal for King. In Tallahassee, Fla., the Rev. C. K. Steele issued a call for a conference of Southern civil rights ministers to be held on Jan. 10 and 11 in Atlanta, Ga. King and Abernathy heard the call and decided to attend. It was awkward to know that the initial impetus came from a source outside the MIA, but once the call was issued, both men had to join or be content to sit outside the action, watching.

Steele and his friends were given an affirmative vote to: (1) request President Dwight D. Eisenhower to journey South and make a major policy speech demanding that Southern white officials abide by the law, as enunciated by the Supreme Court; (2) ask Vice President Richard Nixon to tour the South and confer with white and black leaders; (3) demand that Attorney General Herbert Brownell, as chief law enforcement officer of the nation, visit the Southern states to urge local authorities to comply with the law.

The assembled ministers did not expect action. The Eisenhower administration had "leaked" information that it would not pursue racial problems.

The new organization of ministers adjourned after sessions in Atlanta to meet again in New Orleans, this time to elect Martin Luther King Jr. president and also to name the group the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Once more, King had been projected into "the picture" and was standing front and center.

When he got back to Montgomery, he was told that the mayor and commissioner used recent bombings of a number of Negro churches and homes as an excuse to cancel all bus service. As always, Dr. King called a church mass meeting at once.

At the meeting, King broke down. He had asked the people to join him in a prayer asking for divine guidance. Suddenly, all the frustrations choked him, and he burst into tears. "Lord," he shouted, "I hope no one will have to die as a result of our struggle for freedom in Montgomery. Certainly, I don't want to die. But if anyone has to die, let it be me, Lord." Two ministers grabbed King around the middle to keep him from falling. They half carried him to a chair and begged him to sit. The newspapers reported tersely that Martin Luther King had "collapsed" at a meeting.

Officially, the City of Montgomery continued to apply pressure. Ordinances were passed making it a crime for whites and blacks to play together or even to share the same playgrounds. "L.L.J.," the leader who had proclaimed the honor of going to jail rather than obey "unjust laws," paid a \$500 fine to the Montgomery court on his earlier conviction for violating the anti-boycott law. Some of the other members of the MIA, who had remained in jail for months, were released in a tactical "amnesty," which also freed five whites held on charges of bombing. By unspoken agreement, both sides began to retreat from further confrontations.

Nor did the President of the United States want to get into the struggle. He chilled King's hopes by not responding to the invitation to go South and make a major speech.

As though to revenge himself on Eisenhower, Dr. King, through the SCLC, sent a second letter to the President asking for a White House conference on civil rights or, "if some effective remedial steps are not taken, we will be compelled to initiate a mighty Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington." It was meant as a threat. The response, from a Presidential aide, was that the "moment is unpropitious." Plans for the Prayer Pilgrimage were begun.

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NEXT: Assassination attempt.

In Harlem, a Woman Rams a Blade Into Dr. King's Chest

This is the sixth of ten installments from "The Days of Martin Luther King Jr."

By Jim Bishop
CHAPTER VI

White House rejection of his proposal for a conference on civil rights had prompted Martin Luther King Jr., through the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to call for a mass Prayer Pilgrimage in Washington, D.C. Any plans King might have had to lead the demonstration were dashed when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People adroitly assumed sponsorship.

The date had already been agreed upon: May 17, 1957, the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision abolishing desegregation in schools.

More than 30,000 people — ten per cent of them white — stood between the Lincoln Memorial and the Mall on that day. King sensed that he was on trial before the old leaders of his people, and he had decided to combine an intelligent plea for justice with the repetitive phrase which always had impact in the South.

A. Philip Randolph spoke first. Roy Wilkins was introduced. Then came Congressman Adam Powell and two massed choruses which intoned hymns. Mahalia Jackson sang. There were short addresses by the black spokesmen. King feared that the people would be tired of listening, before he was introduced.

Not so. They were waiting for the newcomer. Dr. King, enunciating each word slowly, sent them rolling down over the crowd:

"Give us the ballot, and we will no longer plead — we will write the proper laws on the books." The crowd screamed "Amen!" "Give us the ballot, and we will fill the legislatures with men of goodwill." The crowd shouted in unison,

"Give us the ballot!" King went on in his extraordinary voice: "Give us the ballot, and we will get the people judges who love mercy. Give us the ballot, and we will quietly, lawfully implement the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court." The crowd stood.

He was, by any test, the man of the hour. The people yelled, cheered, and begged him to go on. Truly, he was now a national figure. Truly, he was a new leader — a Christian following the bare feet of Jesus and Gandhi.

As school opened late that summer, the South remained peaceful. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference realized that it was fighting the acquiescent black as much as it was fighting the arrogant white.

Dr. King arranged for twenty-one mass meetings in twenty-one Southern cities on the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, Feb. 12, 1958. The SCLC did not warm to "Give us the ballot now," because it would require a decade of registration before the black vote would be able to tip the balance in Southern elections. The ministerial alliance was in favor of something with more immediate and dramatic results.

It was time for King to have a White House conference. His public "demands" irritated President Eisenhower because they left the press and the blacks with the impression that until now, the White House had not listened to or tried to ameliorate race conflict. The Rev. Dr. King received his first invitation in June, 1958.

The conference was held in the big Oval Office. The President extended his hand and grinned. So did Dr.

King. Neither felt comfortable.

King, Roy Wilkins, and Lester B. Granger, of the Urban League listened while A. Philip Randolph read a nine-point proposal for a more active government role in promoting Southern integration.

The proposals were reasonable and lawful. When Randolph concluded reading them, the President unclapped his hands, shook his head sadly, and said: "There are so many problems — Lebanon, Algeria . . ." The black leaders knew at once that either the President did not comprehend the nine points or, more likely, did not want to honor them. They left crestfallen.

That summer Montgomery was hot and silent. One more year was dragging toward autumn with no mission in sight.

But summer was not over. On Aug. 29, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy was attacked in his church office by an irate black, Edward Davis, who accused the reverend of having "unnatural" sexual acts with Mrs. Davis, a communicant of the church. Davis shouted he was going to kill Abernathy.

Abernathy made the street door and ran in darkness shouting for help. The police grabbed Davis and, at Abernathy's insistence, took him into custody.

Abernathy pressed charges, even though he must have realized that, regardless of the verdict, it would be HIS reputation that would be damaged.

The first hearing in the matter was held in recorder's court. The Kings and the Abernathys arrived together. A police guard held King and his wife outside the door. Dr. King said he

had a right, as a citizen, to be admitted.

The guard smiled. "Boy," he drawled, "if you don't get the hell out of here, you'll need a lawyer."

Another guard, standing behind the Kings, said, "Boy, you done it now — let's go." Coretta King was stunned as both men grabbed her husband, forcing his head down.

At police headquarters the two policemen shoved King past the desk, saying "Book him for loitering," and took him to a cell full of blacks. They unlocked the door, said, "Everybody out," and pushed the minister in. He was slammed against a wall. The policeman behind King crooked his elbow around the pastor's throat; the one in front kicked him and tried to knee King in the groin. After roughing him up for several minutes, they left to alter the charge to "resisting an officer." In all, Dr. King spent a total of ten minutes in jail. The errant policemen had returned, chastened, and said that the pastor was being released on his recognizance.

When King's case came up in court, the Reverend was found guilty of "resisting an officer" and fined \$10, plus \$4 in court costs. King refused to pay and was ready to serve the 14 days, but the fine was paid for him. The police commissioner said that he would not permit King to use the city jail for a "publicity stunt."

Martin Luther King was more an innocent than a sophisticated. Perhaps his most serious mistake was in

thinking that black people, because they were black, were unified. His inability to understand the Northern blacks became obvious when he arrived in New York for a book autographing party at a department store in Harlem. On the night before the party, he drove through Harlem nodding and waving from the plush back seat of a limousine. Blacks pelted his car with eggs.

The following morning, Sept. 20, 1968, King emerged from his car still smiling and waving. Black nationalists heckled him and booed. Shocked and puzzled, he went into the autographing party. Inside, he sat alone at a desk, smiling at a line of women—mostly black—who held copies of his book. One woman walked to the desk and said softly, "Are you Dr. King?"

He looked up from a book and grinned. "Yes, I am."

The expression on the woman's face changed swiftly. "You son of a bitch!" she screamed, and took a long Japanese letter opener from her purse. "Luther King," she shouted, "I've been after you for years." The blade tore into his ribs until only the handle was sticking from his chest.

Martin Luther King sat quietly, knowing what danger there was in moving. His attacker ran for the front door but was stopped by employees. Another woman, shrieking hysterically, tried to pull the letter opener from Dr. King's chest. He turned pleading eyes on her, motioning her not to do it.

At Harlem Hospital, Dr. Emil A. Naclerio and two other surgeons were, in all likelihood, more frightened than Dr. King. They realized that since the point of the dagger had missed the heart, if he sneezed, it would mean sudden death. An operating room was prepared. The operation required three hours of delicate work. He would live. The would-be assassin was Mrs. Izola Curry. She was forty-two years of age and lived in New York. A police captain asked her why she attacked Dr. King.

"People are torturing me," she said.

"But why King?" the captain said.

"Him? He's trying to convert me from being Roman Catholic." She was taken downtown for a hearing and possible commitment to an institution.

After his recovery, King reminded his wife that they had received an invitation to visit India a year earlier. Perhaps this would be a good time. The preacher, who had studied more about Mohandas Gandhi than millions of Hindus, thought he might learn even more by walking in the Indian lawyer's bare footsteps. When the plane landed in New Delhi in February 1959, the press duly noted Dr. King's observation: "To other countries I may go as a tourist; to India I come as a pilgrim."

Prime Minister Nehru found time for an informal dinner with the Kings. The young man from Georgia was flattered to find that a chief of state was so well acquainted with his struggles for racial equality.

As he was about to leave India, King thrust aside the narrow shielding cloak of the cleric for the broad and vulnerable one of the politician. Now the question was asked: Is he a Communist? Martin Luther King, was not. There were radicals among his followers—at least one of whom had been a party Communist. The pastor was as aware of them as they were of him. Ironically, as this group worked on plans to use King to further their ends, he told close friends that he would send the radicals to do his work.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference meanwhile had set up headquarters in Atlanta. Dr. King all but commuted between Atlanta and Montgomery. After an agony of soul-searching, he decided that he could no longer divide his time between big things and small things. The SCLC promised a bigger role in life than the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

On Sunday, Nov. 29, he stood before the Dexter Avenue congregation and announced his resignation. "I

would like to submit my resignation as pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church."

Summer of 1960 arrived early in Atlanta. The SCLC was involved in a mammoth drive to register black voters. It did not go well. This was a year of national elections. A strong and unified black vote would draw attention to civil rights. The blacks were apathetic.

Nor was Dr. King doing well with SNCC. The more militant students were passing the word from campus to campus that King and his non-violence betrayed the organization. A few said that he was a person who bubbled with enthusiasm and then went home to forget SNCC. Others said he had had "his day."

Adm. Clayton Powell, King, and A. Philip Randolph staged a loud civil rights rally in Los Angeles in July, as the Democratic Party was convening in the same city. Dr. King invited all the leading candidates to address the blacks. They miscalculated. The leaders could not or would not risk taking a stand on civil rights.

The rally was far from a milestone in civil rights. The only people who spoke plainly and fervently for civil rights were blacks. The rally failed also as a publicity device. It swayed no votes in the big smoky convention. John F. Kennedy was nominated on the first ballot. He owed nothing to blacks and was prepared to give them nothing until it was politically advantageous.

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NEXT: Freedom rides

Dr. King Sought Federal Help for Freedom Riders

Seventh of ten installments
from "The Days of Martin
Luther King Jr."

By Jim Bishop

The Congress of Racial Equality, SNCC, and the SCLC held a meeting in April, 1961. The three organizations appointed Dr. Martin Luther King chairman of the Freedom Ride Coordinating Committee. The actual director of the Freedom Rides was James Farmer, director of CORE.

Two buses left Washington on May 4 with the first Freedom Riders. White and black volunteers, numbering no more than a dozen, started on a trip through Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. At each stop, the groups got off the buses, ignored the "For Colored Only" signs on the rest rooms, and desegregated the lunch counters.

The riders knew that the chances of violence would increase as the buses throbbed into the Deep South. Alabama and Mississippi would be the worst. They were surprised when the bus stopped at Rock Hill, S.C., and they were set upon by a group of white hoodlums.

The two buses crossed the state line into Alabama. The buses were about fifteen minutes apart. Outside Anniston, a group of white men blocked the road. The first bus stopped. Men with two-by-four pine boards stepped forward and knocked the windows out of the bus roaring vile epithets. A fire bomb was tossed inside, and everyone, including the driver, ran for the exits. The bus tires were punctured; the riders were beaten. The second bus moved past the scene of carnage without stopping.

Nobody wanted to go on to the next stop, Montgomery. The beaten, frightened were stranded in Bir-

mingham. The day was May 14, and Martin Luther King was on a lecture tour. That evening he saw the carnage on television.

He phoned Washington, trying to get federal assistance, but he was told, "We are keeping abreast of the matter." He could not contact the President or the Attorney General. The Kennedys kept "abreast" by sending a young editor, John Seigenthaler, on one of the Freedom Rides to watch for the White House.

The bus pulled into Montgomery on the morning of the twentieth. A crowd of 300 waited. The first young man off the bus was James Zwerg, a white student from Wisconsin. Zwerg was knocked down by the mob; he staggered to his feet and was knocked down again. A group of Klansmen armed with baseball bats picked black William Barbee as their target. It would be three weeks before Barbee remembered anything, and then it would be in a hospital bed. President Kennedy's on-the-spot observer, John Seigenthaler, was next. He was smashed and rolled out onto the soft tar road.

The violence continued for almost twenty minutes before the police arrived, under the direction of a new commissioner, L. B. Sullivan. The 30 venomous whites were ordered to "go home." Victims were lying on the ground, but no arrests were ordered, no witnesses interrogated. A Southern white reporter asked Commissioner Sullivan if he had called for an ambulance.

"No," said Sullivan. "Every white ambulance in town reports their vehicles have broken down."

The reporter shook his head in disbelief. "He needs medical attention," he said. The commissioner was bland and terse. "He hasn't requested it," he said.

In Washington, the Kennedys now moved swiftly. The Attorney General announced that 400 federal marshals would be in Montgomery by sundown, and an additional 200 by morning. Martin Luther King announced that he would be in Montgomery "in the morning" and would stage a massive rally at Ralph Abernathy's old First Baptist Church at night.

Six hundred marshals were not enough. The sun was setting when a white mob began to gather outside the First Baptist Church. Twelve hundred blacks and a few whites braved the taunts and threats of the crowd to go inside. The crowd grew, until somewhere between 3,000 and 4,000 angry people surrounded the church. At that point, when darkness fell, there was no way to get in or out of the building.

Dr. King, among old friends inside, assumed the leadership role again. "The ultimate responsibility for the hideous action in Alabama," he thundered, "must be placed at the doorstep of the governor of the state."

Rocks and bottles spun in air and crashed through stained-glass windows. Women inside the church screamed. Dr. King begged everyone to get out.

In the night, federal marshals tossed their gas bombs. The action did not alter the mood of the crowd. As it grew later, the crowd outside fired at, and wounded. Groups of people drifted away. In the early light, Martin Luther King and 1,200 others were free to leave.

Montgomery became a national scandal. Black solidarity began to crack. As the year 1961 began to slip off the calendar, it became obvious that black militants and nonmilitants were as far apart as the blacks and the whites.

The year 1962 was not a good time to be a prophet, but it was a good time for a prophet to earn a living. Dr. King made \$6,000 a year as co-pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church; he requisitioned whatever he pleased from the SCLC for travel; he wrote a newspaper column for black weeklies; he cited the Psalms and God's Good Word in Ebony magazine; on invitation he made Florida speeches and raised funds.

Basically, Martin Luther King was a creature of the flesh. He fought his desires and was defeated by the devil of temptation on many battlefields. From babyhood onward, he was short and heavyset, one who enjoyed food as a special pleasure. As he grew, he developed an appetite for wine, but rarely did he drink too much of it. Women were a challenge to his virility, and black or white, when they came too close, they were singled.

The doctor was, in sum, a short man with a tall ego.

If one can measure human beings in terms of values, as oppose to leadership abilities, the accolade would have to go to Coretta King. She was a stronger personality, a more militant and radical person than her husband, an intelligent wife and mother, a woman whose counsel was sought in a field where few women trod.

Deep in her breast, she was aware that she was married to a dead man except that she did not know the hour or the place of death. His mission, to "walk among mine enemies naked" was to beg for the gleaming sword of the bowed neck. Mrs. King would not transmit her fears to her husband.

King's image needed a big fight and a big victory. He was tiring of being called "Little Lord Jesus" and "Uncle Tom." The citadel of Birmingham must crumble before him. It was the most racist big city in the South.

King was aware that the SCLC would have to use the President of the United States, in order to win in Birmingham, and Dr. King proposed to use President Kennedy early, months before Project C would start. He now mailed a letter to the White House asking for assistance before it was required.

The letter, dated May 17, 1962, asked the President to place the power of his high executive office behind compliance to the new laws and measures which ordered desegregation in education, housing, and transportation. President Kennedy was aware that, if he responded in an agreeable tone, King would release the letter to the press, and the result would be a political storm. It was decided to have an assistant phone the SCLC and tell whoever was there that President Kennedy had received the letter, appreciated Dr. King's efforts, and would weigh the contents carefully. We would, in sum, do nothing, say nothing.

In any case, it was time for SCLC to get back into action. Project C was headquartered in Room 30 of the A. G. Gaston Motel at Birmingham. D-Day was pinpointed at a week before Easter, so that a boycott of stores would affect the merchants quickly.

Dr. King decided that now was the time to tell both Kennedys that a gigantic civil rights battle was projected for Birmingham. If the Kennedys had any prior intelligence about it, they pretended to be surprised. King said that if the "confrontation in Birmingham" descended into violence, the government would be forced to act to restore peace.

Between meetings at the A. G. Gaston Motel, in black Birmingham, King flew all over the United States soliciting "cash bail money" for the hundreds who were bound to be arrested by Bull Connor's policemen. He reminded sympathetic audiences: "As Birmingham goes, so goes the South."

Roy Wilkins, whose NAACP was an integral part of King's armament, felt a growing alarm as D-Day approached. He said that the blacks of Birmingham are "some of the roughest in the United States. If there is an incident there, I shudder to think what will happen, because they will not—the great rank and file of the hundred and forty thousand Negroes will not—cede to the fine discipline of Dr. King."

The mayoralty election between Eugene "Bull" Connor and Albert Boutwell (both were segregationists) was won by Boutwell. The city—stead and stiff, politically—was in political chaos.

On April 3 the first few groups of young blacks walked through the business section, without ostentation, and sat at lunch counters. They were asked to leave. They didn't. They were arrested.

There were no plans for King to participate in any of the demonstrations of the first week. Before he could risk jail, the pastor had to shore the will and confidence of his Birmingham followers.

Commissioner Connor, big, steely-eyed, expressionless, had two choices. The first was to bring his police reserves to every black demonstration, show no mercy, and beat the participants back into their ghettos. This method would result in bad publicity, but it would also take the edge from local black courage and, in effect, remove local blacks from the scene of battle in downtown streets. The second choice was to order the policemen not to use violence, but rather to herd the protesters into groups and take them off to jail quietly. He chose the second method, and for the White Establishment, this was a mistake of enormous proportions.

By Tuesday, Commissioner Connor had 400 singing blacks in the Birmingham jail. King's apostles were glum when he told the secret meeting that Good Friday was a special day to be arrested. It had significance, he insisted.

Policemen on foot, policemen in squad cars, a mobile communications center—all were in operation as the Good Friday march started. King and Abernathy led the way. Near the downtown area, Commissioner Bull Connor ordered a halt. He told the marchers to disperse. They stared at him. "Okay," he said. "Arrest those men." Two policemen grabbed King and Abernathy by the backs of their shirts.

On Monday morning, King's New York attorney, Clarence Jones, arrived at the cell to tell him that overnight Harry Belafonte had raised \$50,000 for bail money. The sum would temporarily free 150 blacks of the 400 in jail. All would be free by Wednesday even without bail. Practically all the 400 had been arrested on "criminal contempt of court" charges, a wrong automatically righted by serving five days in jail. Only King, Abernathy, Shuttlesworth, and a few leaders were booked on "civil contempt" charges, a state law under which the crime can be expiated only by admitting the contempt in court. The penalty was usually a suspended sentence or small fine. If convicted on the civil charge, a stubborn prisoner may, theoretically, spend his life in jail if he chooses not to apologize to the court.

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Next: "I Have a Dream."

Dr. King's 'I Have a Dream' Was Highlight of '63 March

Eight of ten installments from "The Days of Martin Luther King Jr."

Chapter VIII

By Jim Bishop

The Birmingham campaign dragged on. Dr. Martin Luther King had twenty-five assistants who left the Gaston Motel every morning to work their way through the black districts, announcing fresh and larger demonstrations, devising ways of bedeviling the community. The first sweet taste of triumph was in the mouths of the conferees, and it was difficult to contain. In the press and television the blacks were white; the whites were black. King was a gentle Jesus; Commissioner "Bull" Connor was a sadistic Satan.

King had made no attempt to discuss matters with the White Establishment. It was Deputy Attorney General Burke Marshall who requested a meeting between black and white leaders on Tuesday, May 27, 1963, at the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce. If the pastor was intransigent at the start, Marshall found that 125 white leaders were even less eager to commit themselves to any form of reconciliation.

By Friday morning Burke Marshall found both sides ready to agree to four points: (1) desegregation of lunch counters, rest rooms, fitting rooms and drinking fountains in all downtown Birmingham stores within ninety days; (2) placement of blacks in clerical and sales jobs in stores within sixty days; (3) release of prisoners still in jail on low bail; and (4) the establishment of permanent communication between white and black leaders.

The agreement was announced by Dr. King. The dimples in his cheeks deepened as he faced the press. He looked like the winner.

But surely Dr. King must have known the agreement was almost worthless. There were no Birmingham officials present. His agreement was with a group of private businessmen; the City of Birmingham was not a party to it.

The blacks would witness some desegregation in stores; here and there, an intelligent and compliant black would be promoted to a "white" job, but any biracial committee formed would have no official sanction, no authority to do anything but discuss and dissemble. The white man would settle back into his traditional ways—except in such instances as when federal law intervened—and the black would return to the squalor of his ghetto.

For more than twenty years, A. Philip Randolph had been dreaming of an orderly, dignified march on Washington to display the power of the black man to Northern and Southern legislators. Martin Luther King was interested. So was Roy Wilkins, John Lewis of SNCC, James Farmer of CORE, Whitney Young of the Urban League, and Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women.

Randolph was determined to be the leader of the leaders, and none disputed him. The date he suggested for the march was Wednesday, Aug. 28, 1963. He selected Dr. King's onetime assistant, Bayard Rustin, to "coordinate" the march, to be assisted by Cleveland Robinson and Walter Fauntroy of the SCLC. In mid-June they began to work.

News of the March on Washington reached President John F. Kennedy and

he reacted antagonistically. He called a meeting of civil rights leaders at the White House for Saturday, June 22. The writing of his civil rights bill and his speech to the nation were positive efforts to make unnecessary mass demonstrations, with their possibility of violence and he did not want one in his backyard. He called in Randolph, Wilkins, Farmer, King, and Young. On the white side, he had Robert Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Stephen Currier, president of the Taconic Foundation and actively interested in promoting civil rights.

The dialogue at the meeting was dominated by Randolph and John Kennedy. The amenities did not last long. The President was fairly blunt. The August march had been planned and publicized without anyone's notifying the government, a government which had gone on record as aligning itself with the Movement.

"We want success in Congress," Kennedy said, "not just a big show at the Capitol." The civil right leaders could not see the danger. Martin Luther King said the march "could also serve as a means of dramatizing the issue and mobilizing support in parts of the country which did not know the problem at first hand." He saw nothing friendly or affirmative in Kennedy's glance.

Kennedy lost the gamble. The blacks were going to hold the rally.

Robert Kennedy had a private talk with Martin Luther King and accused him of having Communists in his entourage. The doctor was surprised and promised to look into the matter.

The alliance between the administration and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was, on the surface, firm and binding. In speeches, Dr. King crowed about the "new Kennedy," a phrase which grated the President's sensitivities. A complete dossier on Dr. King, his personal habits, and his organization was being gathered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and sent to the Attorney General, who routed it directly to the President.

The order to tap King's phones came in early July. The FBI tapped the pastor's private phones and the phones of the SCLC. It also alerted its Atlanta office to shadow King. The tap was not installed until October, 1963, and from that time onward, there was little that King did or said, or that his staff did or said, that the FBI did not know and report on.

The President and his staff were worried that they were "outside" the demonstration, that the participants could become riotous after the rally. Kennedy came to a decision. He invited the black leaders back to the White House, and, after an amiable conference, publicly endorsed the March on Washington. It was a clever stroke; the March on

Washington became an almost official event.

The first small groups in the March on Washington were in the city at the base of Washington Monument at 1 a.m.

It was close to noon when the Kings left for the Washington Monument. More than 200,000 had gathered at the meeting place, and one of every four faces was white. There was an aura of joyous chaos. The mood of the people infected the speakers. There was no doomsday defiance in it; it was like Christmas Morning, with everyone anticipating a gift, but no one demanding a great deal. There was no order, just friendly chaos.

Dr. King was disturbed because the program, starting at 9 a.m., was going on too long. He was right. At 3 p.m. the fringes of the crowd began to walk away. It was thirty minutes past three when Randolph introduced Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as a "man who personifies moral leadership." It was not a stirring introduction for the new hero from Atlanta.

King approached the microphones wearing a solemn expression. "Five score years ago," he said, "a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. But one

hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

"From every mountain-side, let freedom ring." His voice softened, became almost meditative, as he reached the conclusion.

"When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speak up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, 'Free at last!'"

The people went wild, knowing in its collective heart that "I Have a Dream" would stand as one of the most moving speeches of modern times.

On a sunny autumn day in Dallas, Texas, the President of the United States had five and a quarter inches of his head blown off by an assassin. In Atlanta, Dr. King and his wife sat magnetized to the television set all day. After the thirty-fifth Pres-

dent had been pronounced dead in Parkland Memorial Hospital, King bowed his head. "That's the way I'm going to go," he said. "I told you this is a sick society." His wife did not answer. She had lived with the possibility of his death so long that she cherished even more the few hours they had together.

In the penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri, a group of prisoners were talking about the assassination, paying little attention to James Earl Ray. One said, "Someone made a million dollars." Someone else said, "The man who murders King will make another million." A prisoner recalls that James Earl Ray paused, smiled, and said, "That's the million I want to collect."

President Lyndon Johnson, sitting in the Cabinet Room of the White House, took the first of an assortment of pens to sign the civil rights bill. The press gave the bulk of the credit to Martin Luther King Jr., as the President gave him one of the pens. This was not entirely so. It would be correct to state that Dr. King had brought the plight of the black to public attention. But it was the consummate politician, Southern Lyndon Johnson, who had forced the bill through both

houses at the possible cost of losing eleven or more states in his campaign in November.

When Dr. King returned from a September visit to Berlin and Rome, he complained that he felt "tired, tired, tired." He seemed to be drained of strength ideas, and initiative, and the sense of deep fatigue persisted. Mrs. King finally persuaded her husband to go to St. Joseph's Hospital in Atlanta for a complete checkup. On Oct. 13, in the middle of the presidential campaign between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater, the doctor checked in.

The tests proved nothing more than that the patient was tense and needed rest. On the following morning, the phone rang in the King home, and Coretta King answered. The caller identified himself as representing the Associated Press and asked to speak to Dr. King. Mrs. King replied that her husband was not at home.

"Mrs. King," the Associated Press man said excitedly, "we have just received word from Norway that your husband has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize."

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NEXT: Showdown in Selma.

Dr. King Put Selma, Ala., on the Map With Protest Marches

Ninth of 10 installments from "The Days of Martin Luther King Jr."

By Jim Bishop

Director J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI had begun to inquire into the activities of Martin Luther King when the pastor first became involved in the civil rights movement. His men had reported there were leftists and former Communists in the pastor's entourage, and this had led to an order for wiretapping. The trouble with sophisticated eavesdropping is that not only does it capture and parrot the desired material, but it also bags everything including the whispered mouthings in a motel room. The private life of King, licentious or not, was not proper material for the electronic bugs, but they picked up his most personal words and deeds. Had Director Hoover been selective, he might have eliminated all except pertinent material from his top secret reports; but Hoover chose not to be selective, and highly personal material was included with political digests which were sent to Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, President Lyndon B. Johnson, and Speaker of the House John McCormack.

On Nov. 18, 1964, J. Edgar Hoover was holding a press conference for women journalists. Someone mentioned civil rights and Martin Luther King. The man with the ruddy bulldog face took a breath and referred to King as "the most notorious liar in the country." It was hardly a diplomatic statement.

The explosion hit the White House and rocked it. The newly announced winner of the Nobel Peace Prize had been attacked by the Holy of Holies of Justice. No one can doubt that the Johnson administration tried to get Hoover to re-

tract, or restate, or dilute the seven words, but Mr. Hoover was an immovable force.

The words reached Dr. King, who dropped his Nobel speeches to devise a statement in rebuttal. "I am appalled and surprised," the pastor said to reporters. "What motivated such an irresponsible accusation is a mystery to me."

King then did two wrong things: First, he told the press that Hoover's statement sadly must be the result of "extreme pressure. He has apparently faltered under the awesome burdens, complexities and responsibilities of his office. Therefore, I cannot engage in a public debate with him." Then he asked for an appointment with Hoover to discuss the matter.

A message went out that Hoover would meet King in his Washington office on Dec. 4. King thought that the FBI director was irritated solely because of what he had said in Georgia concerning the fact that Southern FBI agents were Southern in sentiment. He did not know about the wiretapping.

The talk lasted for only a short while—the director imperious and mysterious, the doctor puzzled and ill at ease. King left without a farewell handshake.

The animosity of J. Edgar Hoover directed itself more to the personal life of Dr. King than to his public existence.

The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, whose men manned the King taps, learned nothing which could threaten the internal security of the nation.

• • • •

Selma, Ala., was under a black siege. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had been in Selma for eighteen months. Slowly, steadily, inexorably, they had worked the blacks upward from passivity to activity. They were slow to respond—they had seen what the sheriff and his men had done to people who wanted to register to vote. They saw Jim Clark as a soft-spoken man who could break your head in half. He was bad trouble smiling.

Jan. 2, 1965, was cold and clear. Saturday afternoon, no one was working. Two cars came in from Montgomery, went to Brown's Chapel AME Church and stopped. Martin Luther King got out. Dr. King and his party hurried inside the church to the standing applause of 700 blacks. Selma's time had come.

The dangerous division in Selma was not just black versus white; it was black versus black and white versus white. SNCC was determined not to permit Dr. King to walk into town at whim, order "thousands" to be prepared to go to jail, and then, having lit the fuse hurry out of town. SNCC had done the spadework, and SNCC was going to lead the demonstrations. On the white side, Mayor Joe Smitherman did not like the provocative tactics of the sheriff, so he appointed a moderate man, Wilson Baker, as chief of police.

This put the white structure in the position of having Baker, as chief of police of Selma, willing to discuss matters with the blacks, and

Jim Clark, as sheriff of Dallas County, with Selma as the county seat, prepared to herd the blacks back into "Colored Town."

When the first large group of demonstrators appeared on the courthouse steps to register, Clark stood on the top step, held his hands out for silence, and barked: "You are here to cause trouble. That's what you are doing." He started at Hoses Williams in front. "You are an agitator, and that is the lowest form of humanity. If you do not disperse or go in as I direct you, you will be under arrest for unlawful assembly." He pointed to a side door in an alley. "The line forms there," he said. No one moved. Jim Clark went down the County Courthouse steps alone, thrashing and hitting with his nightstick. The demonstrators left.

The county authorities announced that the voting registrars met once every two weeks, but that when they met, no blacks were waiting outside the courthouse. The blacks responded by demanding that the registrars meet more frequently. On Jan. 30, Saturday, Martin Luther King let it be known to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Washington that he planned to march to the courthouse on Monday; this, in turn, would probably mean arrest and jailing.

The march started late on Monday morning. King and Ralph Abernathy led 770 marchers. It was Police Chief Wilson Baker who herded the blacks into jail. An additional 700, including King and Abernathy, were arrested that day. The next

day 500 more were jailed. Dr. King was getting the white man to play the King gambit: stuff the jails until they were unstaffable.

It is certain that the sheriff did not know that, in his crude way, he scored more for the cause of civil rights than most workers for the Movement. Clark had aroused the wait-and-see blacks. On Feb. 10, the sheriff and his deputies encircled 165 demonstrating children and marched and trotted them out of town into the farm country. Selma, who could not keep the pace, were prodded from behind by chucking deputies. "You kids, want to march," one said, "we'll give you a good march." The children's march brought maddened parents into the streets.

Dr. King went to Washington to ask the administration for a strong voting rights law. He didn't request a strong voting rights law; he demanded one. Vice President Humphrey assured him that President Johnson already had one "in the works."

King came back from Washington to say something which, if it had come from the lips of Malcolm X, would not have surprised anyone. "Selma will never get right and Dallas County will never get right," he shouted, "until we get rid of Jim Clark." "Rid" held a connotation of death.

Clark collapsed and was taken to a hospital. One doctor said, "A mild coronary." Another said, "Total exhaustion." The SCLC did what it could. It sent 200 schoolchildren to kneel in front of the courthouse and pray for the recovery of the sheriff "in mind and body."

Dr. King announced in early March that the people would march from Selma to Alabama's capital city of Montgomery — fifty-four miles. They would bring their case before Gov. George Wallace.

Late Sunday morning, King and Abernathy preached sermons in their respective Atlanta churches as SNCC and SCLC field officers in Selma rapped on doors and entreated people to assemble for the march. At last, there were 500 persons assembled.

A policeman in a car left the scene and drove to the Pettus Bridge. "They're on their way!" he shouted. Men mounted their horses. Troopers on the far side of the bridge adjusted gas masks. On the near side of the bridge, the recovered Sheriff Clark and his deputies, equipped with clubs and electric cattle prods, stood aside to let the marchers pass. White Selma, men, women, and little children, fringed both ends of the bridge, waiting with suppressed excitement as crowds once had waited at hangings in England.

The desultory little band marched to the bridge, and climbed the span slowly, listening to the venomous epithets of the white citizens.

At the top of the span, the marchers saw the state troopers ahead. Maj. John Cloud brought a bullhorn to his lips. "Turn about," he said loudly and slowly, "turn about and go back to your church." The people kept marching. "You will not be allowed to march any further. You have two minutes to disperse!"

Hosea Williams of the SCLC was indecisive. He wanted to salvage something from the situation "May we have a word with the major?" he shouted.

A minute passed, then more than a minute. "There is no word to be had," Cloud said. "You have two minutes . . ."

Behind the marchers the avenue to retreat. Cloud turned his bullhorn to his state troopers. "Troopers, forward," he yelled. The state police came forward in a solid line. The blacks shouted for mercy; some fell to the ground; some knelt and prayed loud. Clubs flailed left and right. Heads were split; bodies were broken.

It was over in five minutes. Maj. Cloud's troopers stopped at the Selma side of the Pettus Bridge, and Clark's men drove the blacks back into "Colored Town."

John Lewis of SNCC had a fractured skull. Hosea Williams escaped with minor in-

juries. Sixteen blacks were seriously injured. Forty others were given emergency treatment at the hospital. A hundred more limped home and bound their wounds. Public reaction was instantaneous. Selma was the most publicized town on the globe.

Martin Luther King, almost inarticulate, announced that he and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy would lead another march from Selma to Montgomery.

March day was Sunday, March 21. Huge military jets landed at Craig Air Force Base across the river. Helmeted soldiers with rifles debarked. A direct hot line was established with the Pentagon in Washington.

SNCC threatened to boycott the march. They said that although their people had done all the work, Dr. Martin Luther King was proclaimed the hero of the hour. Both sides spent three days in secret caucus prior to the march.

It was almost 1 p.m. when Martin Luther King arrived with Ralph Abernathy. There were 2,800 people assembled. "Walk together, children," Dr. King shouted. "Don't you get weary, and it will lead us to the promised land. And Alabama will be a new Alabama, and America will be a new America." The local people cheered hoarsely, but many of Selma's 14,000 blacks remained home.

The marchers walked up the hump of the Pettus Bridge and down the other side. The only sign of force that could be seen were United States Army units walking along the sides of the road.

On the second day, the marchers were in Lowndes County, more firmly racist than Dallas. There were no incidents. There were fewer than 300 marchers; they were outnumbered by the soldiers.

On the third day, Martin Luther King flew to Cleveland to make a speech and on Wednesday he and his wife flew to Montgomery to rejoin the marchers. They were a little more than ten miles from the city.

In the morning, there were 20,000 people ready to march. It was difficult to locate the few who had walked from Selma to Montgomery. There were speeches and speeches. When Martin Luther King was introduced, the crowd went wild. King had won another victory, and he left town for Atlanta within a few hours. The litter of old polemics would be swept up by others.

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NEXT: The Final Chapters.

A Sanitation Workers' Protest Took Dr. King to Memphis

This is the last of 10 installments from the book, "The Days of Martin Luther King Jr."

By Jim Bishop
Chapter X

The year 1968 started by staring coldly at Martin Luther King. The bus boycott was a decade behind him, and Dr. King was laden with honors, but a missionary is no better than his most recent convert.

"Chicago," Dr. King said. The SCLC had made timid forays into the North before, but this would be a full-scale campaign. The directors were reluctant, but the president had pointed to a map and said, "Chicago." So that would be the next target.

Chicago was a complex and contradictory city when it came to race relations. It had no segregation laws; it had a huge and politically potent black population; Chicago had a black congressman; it had black aldermen and black ward leaders; it had black banks; black insurance companies; black policemen; not least, it had the Rev. Jesse Jackson browbeating white shop owners into hiring more and more blacks; it had an old-line Democratic mayor, Richard J. Daley, who had the black vote in his hip pocket. On the other hand, most of Chicago's more than 900,000 blacks lived in ghettos, working at inferior jobs for less pay. Beyond the ghettos were the Chicago suburbs, some of the most racist areas in the United States.

King decided that he could understand Chicago's problems better if he lived in the ghetto. His advance agents rented four rooms for him in an old tenement in the Lawndale slum sec-

tion. The landlord hastily had the rooms freshly repainted, had the heating system fixed, and fumigated the apartment.

At City Hall two policemen saluted as he went in to be welcomed to the city of Chicago by Mayor Daley. The mayor was not effusive; he was polite. All city departments, he said, had been ordered to cooperate with King.

"I am confident," the mayor told the press of City Hall, "that there will not be any reason for breaking the law."

Next, King drove out to see Elijah Muhammad and made peace with him. It is possible that Dr. King feared the Muslims of Chicago and what they might do to him, but this is doubtful. Whatever the reason, Muhammad did not come to him; he went to Muhammad. When the meeting was over, Elijah made no announcement. King did. "The time has come when we, the Negroes, must see our mutual problems. It is not the time for us to be fighting each other."

The reaction was bewildering. The Muslim fundamental principle was to separate the races; the SCLC's was to bring them together. One was violent; one nonviolent.

The campaign was almost a month in being and had not moved. There was no explosion. Dr. King was feeling his way around a big tough city. But he was in the wrong place. There were 300,000 blacks on the West Side where he lived. There were more than 600,000 living on the South Side, where he was seldom seen.

The spell was broken in the middle of February. It began with street fights and shouting. By the third night, roving gangs, looters, and snipers to the number of 5,000 were working the West Side. A thousand policemen were ordered into the area.

Gov. Kerner sent 1,500 National Guardsmen, with carbines and bayonets, into the area. Dr. King drove from one area to the next in a car, preaching nonviolence through a rolled-down window, but the people paused only long enough to point with wonderment and shout, "Look! Martin Luther King!" before they returned to their work.

The three-day riots did enormous damage and broke the solid image of black leadership into fragments, so that some favored Daley and others favored King. The riots stopped when the National Guardsmen were told, "If you are fired on, shoot to kill."

Daley won re-election in Chicago. The forces opposed to Martin Luther King became vocal. The Rev. Henry Mitchell of the North Star Missionary Baptist Church convened with fifteen other ministers, who said they represented 50,000 blacks. Mitchell told the press that Dr. King's marches "created hate." King, he stressed, was an "outsider" whose work had failed in Chicago and he advised the doctor to "stay in Alabama."

In Oakland and San Francisco Bay area a group of superstitants organized in October, 1968, and called themselves the Black Panther Party. They owed the name to Stokely Carmi-

chael, but the mystic idea of a black nation within a white one was entirely their own. It was a black Ku Klux Klan.

The rise of the Black Panthers did not improve Dr. King's disposition. The movement was beyond his control. Nor did it elate him that on the opposite end of the spectrum, Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts was elected to the United States Senate. Brooke's origins related to the black middle class, which as far as the average black is concerned, is closer to the White Establishment than to the Black.

The trial and torture of the mind continued when Dr. King saw the "confidential report" of the Chicago Freedom Movement. Daley and his archbishop and his real estate boards had made solemn commitments, but black members of the Chicago Freedom Movement had tested them and found them not wanting, but totally absent.

James Earl Ray escaped from prison. On Sunday morning, April 27, 1967, he reported for duty in the bakery. That night, he was free. It was not a newsworthy event, even in Jefferson City, Mo.

Ray was now thirty-nine years old, and it bothered him that every time he tried to escape the State of Missouri had added more time to his sentence. He had spent thirteen years behind bars—a long time for a young convict.

As a baker he was permitted to eat in the prison kitchen. He devoured six eggs, because he figured that he might have to hide inside or outside the prison for a while. He also had a transistor radio, soap, a mirror, a comb, a score of candy bars, and a razor. He wasn't expected for duty until 11 a.m., so he allowed himself from 8 a.m. on to implement his plan. He donned a white shirt he had hidden and green prison slacks which he had dyed black. On top of those, he wore the green prison uniform. Then he walked out into the warming sunshine on the loading dock and looked around.

Ray opened a storage box for the bread baked for the inmates of a nearby prison farm. He sat on the fresh loaves of bread and crushed them. A prisoner pushed the top back down on the box. It was loaded onto a truck with the other storage boxes and was passed through the tunnel by the guard. As soon as the truck was off prison grounds, Ray began to pry the lid loose.

He had \$300, an ID card, and a Social Security number issued to him as "John L. Raynes" years earlier. The prisoner hid under a railroad overpass, listening to his transistor radio. There wasn't a word about the triumphant escape of James Earl Ray. He couldn't believe it. Neither could the warden, who was sure that Ray, once more, was somewhere inside the prison.

The prison's response to the escape was to reduce the size of the bread boxes. It offered a reward for the capture of James Earl Ray: \$50.

On the seventh day James Earl Ray arrived by bus in Chicago, a furtive, frightened man and found a job as dishwasher in a restaurant in Winnetka, Ill.

Riots had broken out in many cities the summer of 1967. It amounted to mass crime in the name of civil rights. Martin Luther King kept careful track of the disorders. "People expect me to have answers," he said, "and I don't have any answers."

The "Burn, baby, burn" credo was in the ascend-

ancy; King and his philosophy of nonviolence were history.

Someone gave James Earl Ray \$2,000 and a New Orleans phone number. He was told to call that number from time to time for orders. Whatever the orders were, James Earl Ray understood the nature of the assignment, because his Birmingham boss told Ray that he would get an additional \$12,000 in cash and a visa to a foreign country, including an escape route through Canada. The ex-con must have been happy—perhaps for the first time in his life—because he was making that "one big lick." He had lots of cash, a good car, no work to do, and could tour Mexico and return to the United States with identification as "Eric S. Galt of Birmingham, Alabama."

On Dec. 17 Ray made his phone call and met his man in New Orleans. One can but deduce from what occurred later that Ray was told that the job he must do would have to wait two or three months. He was also ordered to change his place of residence in Los Angeles and to remain there and await further instructions.

He was handed \$2,500 in \$20 bills. Whoever was investing in Ray as a gunman now had expended a total of \$8,500 in his future. He was also reminded that when the job was satisfactorily completed, he would get an additional \$12,000 and a passport to a "safe" country. Ray asked what would be a "safe" country. The answer was Rhodesia.

On Dec. 28, 1967, "Eric S. Galt" sat at a typewriter and typed a letter. It was addressed to American Southern Africa Council in Washington. It began: "THE LOCAL JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY PROVIDED ME WITH YOUR ADDRESS." The letter acknowledged that the United States did not issue passports to Rhodesia, but the applicant was interested in emigrating to Rhodesia. Could they please tell him now this could be arranged?

There was little early morning light in Memphis on Jan. 31, 1968. The city was drenched by heavy rain. The supervisor of the sanitation Department called the garbage trucks back to their depots. The collection of refuse would have to wait until Thursday. On Friday, Memphis was cold and dry. Mayor Henry Loeb's auditing department had made up the weekly paychecks for municipal employees. The blacks frowned at what they got. It was less than usual. When they asked, they were told that they were being paid for two hours' work on Wednesday—that's all. It hurt, but they supposed it was fair. A few of them talked with white garbage men in the hall. The whites had been paid for a full day. This was not fair.

The issue dragged for a week. Lincoln's Birthday, the black union went out on strike. The municipal attitude was that the workers could come back to the trucks or starve. As always, the white structure misgauged the anger and courage of the black man.

Eleven days later the NAACP and James Lawson led a march of protest down Main Street. It was peaceful. Sanitation workers held placards delineating their eight demands on Memphis, pleading for support. A solitary police car in low gear followed the line of marchers moving slowly ahead as the driver inched the car to the right, herding the marchers tightly to the curb. As the vehicle neared the front of the line, the car stopped. Several policemen jumped out. Two grabbed a black man. A third one sprayed a can of Mace, an irritant which causes temporary blindness and skin rash. The other policemen ran into the ranks.

Most of the blacks of Memphis did not believe that the strike was a racial matter until a police superior ordered the Mace attack. Overnight, the black ministers and their congregations were converted. This was not a union disagreement; it was a racial fight for life.

Martin Luther King was in Jamaica with his wife when the garbage men's

strike started, and he knew nothing of it. His schedule picked up soon after. He was in Birmingham by Feb. 15; on Feb. 25 he was in New York; he was due in Miami for a ministerial conference the following morning. Dr. King was running harder, faster, more brazenly than ever. The following week he was again in Miami for a series of meetings arranged by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to fuse this ministerial power, to give it direction and purpose. When the last meeting was concluded, the Rev. Sam Kyles sought King. "Martin," said Kyles, "you know, we have a garbage men's strike in Memphis." King looked up, smiling. "You may have to come and help us out," Kyles said. This was just, or as Kyles said later, "a half jest." He did not expect Dr. King to abandon his proposed march in Washington for the problems of one city.

"Sure," the pastor said. "If you don't get it settled, I'd be glad to go to Memphis." But Dr. King was thinking out loud with his staff. His impression was that the Memphis strike would be over quickly.

On St. Patrick's Day James Earl Ray stopped in the main post office in Los Angeles and filled out a change of address card. "Eric S. Galt" stated that all mail should be forwarded to him at "General Delivery, Atlanta, Ga." On the same day, in the same city, Dr. King addressed the communicants of the Second Baptist Church. In the evening, he was on a plane bound for Memphis.

Memphis was quiet when Dr. King arrived. After a short conference with Lawson, Kyle, and other leaders, he went to the Mason Street Temple to speak. There had been talk of a general one-day strike in Memphis to bring Mayor Loeb to the bargaining table. King stepped onstage to the roaring acclaim of 15,000 people.

He told the people that that they ought to have a one-day stoppage—a complete stoppage—of all work in Memphis. They went

wild. He went wild and went beyond what he had planned to do. "You arrange a march for that day," he shouted, "and I'll come back to Memphis to lead it."

"Friday!" they yelled. "Friday!" he shouted back. But by Friday twelve inches of snow blocked the streets of Memphis, and the march was reset for March 28.

On the twentieth, James Earl Ray was headed for Meridian, Tuscaloosa, and Birmingham. He met his man at the Starlite; Dr. King was across town at the Gaston Motel. The next morning Ray said he was ordered to Atlanta, but by mistake, so he says, he drove south to Montgomery. Having discovered the error, there was no reason to compound it by driving sixty miles farther off course to a little town like Selma.

It is possible that Ray and King passed each other on the road, because King was speaking at Linden, Ala.

On the evening of the twenty-third, the Smiler left Birmingham with his mentor and drove to Atlanta. Ray spent a week in the small Atlanta motel. He spent time studying a street map of Atlanta. In pencil he circled places designated as the home of Dr. Martin Luther King, the headquarters building of the SCLC, the Ebenezer Baptist Church, and a parking lot in the Capitol Homes public housing development.

On Sunday, the thirty-first, the map was discarded. The boss had arrived, and he ordered James Earl Ray to pack and clear out. The two men drove to Birmingham. Ray was given \$700 in cash and told to purchase a "large-bore deer rifle."

Within a few days, he was on his way to Memphis. Within a few days, Martin Luther King, dejected as never before because of the violence taking place in Memphis, was also on his way to that city to stay at the Lorraine, to repair his image as a nonviolent man. Across a weedy backyard, with the aid of rifle sights, the loser faced the loser for a moment. James Earl Ray achieved his "one big kick."

only to be chased and caught and sentenced to spend the rest of his life in prison. The man who dreaded to be kept in prison was free at last.

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**the
negro
almanac**

a reference work on

THE AFRO AMERICAN

1776 Bicentennial edition 1976

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
1929-1968

Any number of historic moments in the civil rights struggle have been used to identify Martin Luther King Jr.—prime mover of the Montgomery bus boycott (1956), keynote speaker at the March on Washington (1963); youngest Nobel Peace Prize laureate (1964). But in retrospect, single events are less important than the fact that King, and his policy of non-violent protest, was the dominant force in the civil rights movement during its decade of greatest achievement, from 1957 to 1968.

King was born Michael Luther King in Atlanta on January 15, 1929—one of the three children of Martin Luther King, Sr., pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church, and Alberta (Williams) King, a former schoolteacher. (He did not receive the name of "Martin" until he was about six years of age.)

After attending grammar and high school locally, King enrolled in Morehouse College (also in Atlanta) in 1944. At this time not inclined to enter the ministry, but while there, he came under the influence of Dr. Benjamin Mays, a scholar whose manner and bearing convinced him that a religious career could have its intellectual satisfactions as well. After receiving his B.A. in 1948, King attended Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, winning the Plafker Award as the outstanding student of the graduating class, and the J. Lewis Crozer Fellowship as well. King completed the course work for his doctorate in 1953, and was granted the degree two years later upon completion of his dissertation.

Married by then, King returned South, accepting the pastorate of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. It was here that he made his first mark on the civil rights movement, by mobilizing the black community during a 382-day boycott of the city's bus lines. Working through the Montgomery Improvement Association, King overcame arrest and other violent harassment, including the bombing of his home. Ultimately, the U.S. Supreme Court declared the Alabama laws requiring bus segregation unconstitutional, with the result that blacks were allowed to ride Montgomery buses on equal footing with whites.

A national hero and a civil rights figure of growing importance, King summoned together a number of black leaders in 1957, and laid the groundwork for the organization now known as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Elected its president, he soon sought to assist other communities in the organization of protest campaigns against discrimination, and in voter-registration activities as well.

After completing his first book and making a trip to India, King returned to the United States in 1960 to become co-pastor, with his father, of Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Three years later, King's nonviolent tactics were

put to their most severe test in Birmingham, Alabama during a mass protest for fair hiring practices, the establishment of a bi-racial committee, and the desegregation of department-store facilities. Police brutality used against the marchers dramatized the plight of blacks to the nation at large with enormous impact. King was arrested, but his voice was not silenced as he issued his classic "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" to refute his critics.

Later that year, King was a principal speaker at the historic March on Washington (1963), where he delivered one of the most passionate addresses of his career. At the beginning of the next year *Time* magazine designated him as its *Man of the Year* for 1963. A few months later he was named recipient of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize.

Upon his return from Oslo, where he had gone to accept the award, King entered a new battle, in Selma, Alabama, where he led a voter-registration campaign which culminated in the Selma-to-Montgomery Freedom March.

King next brought his crusade to Chicago where he launched a slum-rehabilitation and open-housing program.

In the North, however, King soon discovered that young and angry blacks (such as the ones in Watts who once replied "Martin Luther Who?" to a question about whether the civil rights leader would approve of their behavior) cared little for his pulpit oratory and even less for his solemn pleas for peaceful protest.

Their disenchantment was clearly one of the factors influencing his decision to rally behind a new cause and stake out a fresh battleground: the war in Vietnam. King himself antagonized many civil rights leaders by declaring the U.S. to be "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world." His clear aim was to fuse a new coalition of dissent based on equal support for the peace crusade and the civil rights movement.

The rift was immediate. The NAACP saw King's shift of emphasis as "a serious tactical mistake"; the Urban League warned that the "limited resources" of the civil rights movement would be spread too thin; Bayard Rustin claimed black support of the peace movement would be negligible; Ralph Bunche felt King was undertaking an impossible mission in trying to bring the campaign for peace in step with the goals of the civil rights movement.

From the vantage point of history, King's timing could only be regarded as superb. In announcing his opposition to the war, and in characterizing it as a "tragic adventure" which was playing "havoc with the destiny of the entire world," King again forced the white middle class to concede that no movement could dramatically affect the course of government in the U.S. unless it involved deliberate and restrained aggressiveness, persistent dissent and even militant confrontation. These were precisely the ingredients of the civil rights struggle

in the South in the early 1960s.

Speaking at the U.N., King again found words to prod the conscience of white America. "Let us save our national honor—stop the bombing. Let us save American lives and Vietnamese lives—stop the bombing. Let us take a single instantaneous step to the peace table—stop the bombing. Let our voices ring out across the land to say the American people are not vainglorious conquerors—stop the bombing."

As students, professors, intellectuals, clergymen and reformers of every stripe rushed into the movement (in a sense forcing fiery black militants like Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick to surrender their control over anti-war polemics), King turned his attention to the domestic issue which, in his view, was directly related to the Vietnam struggle: the War on Poverty.

At one point, he called for a guaranteed family income, he threatened national boycotts, and spoke of disrupting entire cities by non-violent "camps." With this in mind, he began to draw up plans for a massive march of the poor on Washington, D.C. itself, envisioning a popular demonstration of unsurpassed intensity and magnitude designed to force Congress and the political parties to recognize and deal with the unseen and ignored masses of desperate and downtrodden Americans.

King's decision to interrupt these plans to lend his support to the Memphis sanitationmen's strike was based in part on his desire to discourage violence, as well as to focus national attention on the plight of the poor, unorganized workers of the city. The men were bargaining for little else beyond basic union representation and long-overdue salary considerations.

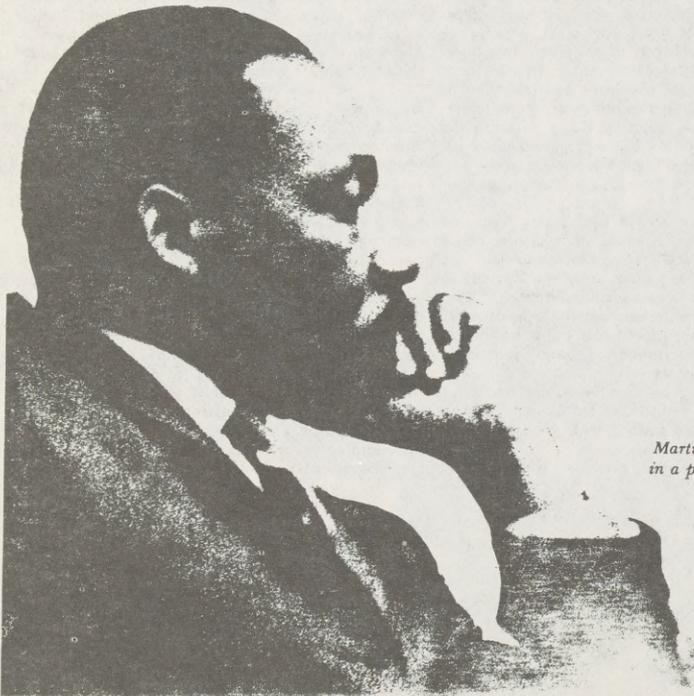
Though he was unable to eliminate the violence which had resulted in the summoning and subsequent departure of the National Guard, King stayed on in Memphis and was in the process of planning for a march which he vowed to carry out in defiance of a federal court injunction if necessary.

On the night of April 3, 1968, he told a church congregation: "Well I don't know what will happen now . . . But it really doesn't matter . . ." (At other times, musing over the possibility he might be killed, King had assured his colleagues that he had "the advantage over most people" because he had "conquered the fear of death.")

Death came for King on the balcony of the black-owned Lorraine Motel just off Beale Street on the evening of April 4. While standing outside with Jesse Jackson and Ralph Abernathy, a shot rang out. King fell over, struck in the neck by a rifle bullet which left him moribund. At 7:05 p.m., he was pronounced dead at St. Joseph's Hospital.

The assassination caused a wave of violence in such major cities as Washington, D.C. (11 dead; 24 million dollars property damage, over 8,000 arrests, over 1,000 injuries); Chicago (nine dead, 11 million dollars property damage, nearly 3,000 arrests, 500 injured), and Baltimore (6 dead, 14 million dollars property damage, 5800 arrests, and 900 injured). Without restraint against looters, death tolls would have been even higher. Both grief and anger suffused the black community. The anger was assuredly all the more fanatic precisely because King had been so irretrievably dedicated to non-violence.

King's birthday, January 15, is now recognized as a national holiday.



*Martin Luther King
in a pensive moment*

NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN

31 No. 5

May 1968

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*"Precious Lord, take my hand, lead me on, help me stand;
I am tired, I am weak, I am worn;
Through the storm, through the Night, lead me on, to the light;
Take my hand, precious Lord, lead me home.
When my way grows drear, precious Lord, linger near;
When my life is almost gone;
Hear my cry, hear my call, hold my hand, lest I fall;
Take my hand precious Lord, lead me home."*

TO PROMOTE AN APPRECIATION OF THE NEGRO'S PAST, TO ENCOURAGE
AN UNDERSTANDING OF HIS PRESENT STATUS AND TO ENRICH THE
PROMISE OF THE FUTURE.

A Children's Tribute To Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

In the wake of Dr. Martin Luther King's death, children in many schools expressed their loss in writing. The following poems and brief paragraphs are printed with the permission of Miss Sallie E. Tancil, Assistant Principal, Patterson Elementary School, Washington, D. C. The selections were written by 5th and 6th grade pupils at Patterson Elementary.

*When the King died,
Everyone cried
He thought non-violence well!
At least he tried.
By Cecelia E. Scott*

*When our leader passed away
Everyone was sad they were not gay
Yesterday, I was sad to say
Our dear sweet leader is resting away.
by Cecilia Scott*

*When Dr. King died
There was much, much, violence
In the town and streets
by Mark Kirby*

*I think they should not fight at all. It is too bad all of the houses and buildings had got burned down and the stores were bad too. Can you help these people do things right from wrong? I can help, can you? Be careful all this week and stay the house and do not get hurt.
by Paula Yvonne Wheeler*

*I think the rioters were wrong to riot because of the death of Dr. King. Dr. King died for non-violence and they're showing violence. This is what he didn't want.
by Stephen Williams*

I think the people do not care about Dr. King because if they did they wouldn't be out here breaking up stores, beating up people that walk down the street and burning apartments.

*The Congress should put them in jail or make them pay a fine. I should be staying in the house.
by Larry Coleman*

I feel very bad about it and I hope that they find the one who killed him. And make him sit in the chair.

*I think the Congress should find him first and arrest him. I would like to help solve the problems for the future and try and stop them.
by Margie Kay Davis*

*I think that since the death of Dr. Rev. King the violence started. I think that all along they wanted to steal, and took advantage of King's death. I think Congress should make a law that is against rioting.
by Mark Kirby*

*Our King is dead so now we are sad and we want to fight but you are not hurting anyone but yourself. And I hope they find the man who killed him. It was a shame for him to die. He had three children and a wife and he had to leave them and so that is the end of our King.
by Wilhemina Henry*

front Cover

The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; courtesy of the Washington Post Newspaper

Back Cover

Courtesy of the Washington Post Newspaper; the casket of Dr. King, Jr. in the mule harnessed cart having just left Ebenezer Baptist Church on the way to Morehouse College.

Biography of Martin Luther King Jr.

Martin Luther King Jr., born, Atlanta, Georgia, January 15, 1929, died April 4, 1968 Memphis, Tennessee. Educated at Morehouse College, A.B. 1948; B.D., Crozer Theological Seminary, 1951; studied at the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard University, 1952-1953; married Coretta Scott, June 17, 1953 — children, Yolanda, Martin Luther III, Dexter and Bernice; awarded Ph.D. by Boston University, 1955; pastor, Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama; Co-pastor with his father, Martin Luther King Sr., Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia; President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; President Montgomery Improvement Association; President Gandhi Foundation; awarded Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, donating the \$50,000 to the Civil rights movement; Man of the year for Time Magazine, 1964. Recognition award, University Club, Montgomery, Alabama. Author: *Stride Forward Freedom*. Harper, 1958; *Strength to Love*. Harper, 1963; *Why We Can't Wait*: Harper 1964; *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community*: 1967.

NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN

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**Purpose**

—to promote an appreciation of the life and history of the Negro, to encourage an understanding of his present status, and to enrich the promise of the future.

MAY 1968



EDITORIAL

martin luther king, jr. and mahatma gandhi

Martin Luther King Jr., black man of the United States, and Mahatma Gandhi, brown man of India, were alike in many respects in their dreams, visions and ideals, and we who are touched by the same divinity, have become their inheritors and the recipients of their legacies. They were both misunderstood, arrested, and jailed, but India received its rights as a nation in 1947, and British rule was a part of history. Both of these voices have been silenced by the hands of assassians, but we must heed to their words, for they were the movers and shakers of their world, it would seem, for social change.

King and Gandhi were men who were dedicated to the oldest of man's collective dreams—universal brotherhood. King refused to accept the idea "that man is mere flotsam and jetsam in the river of life which surrounds him. I refuse to accept the view that mankind is so tragically bound to the star-less midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality".

Gandhi was India's philosopher whose language was not always understood by the people, and as Jawaharlal Nehru said "was almost incomprehensible to an average modern." But he also believed that Gandhi had "an amazing knack of reaching the heart of the people," and he was "a great and unique man and a glorious leader." And thus Nehru and hundreds of thousands of others read the verses recited every evening the ashram prayers of Gandhi. The Hindu, the untouchable, and the Muslim were brought together for Indian unity through the personal example of their Mahatma, and he became for them "a symbolic expression of the confessed desires of the people," in non-violent revolts against British Authority.

King and Gandhi were apostles of non-violence.

Both of them had anger but not hatred against their white overlords, one the white British and the other the white American. There was no complete unity of support for either of them, and there were those, small in number, who took sides against them and opposed their movement.

With the concept of brotherhood, Gandhi and King gave character and background to nonviolence.

As King said so well of America, "Let's take her like she is and rebuild her. We must maintain and advocate and promote the philosophy of non-violence."

Gandhi wrote in his famous article, "The Doctrine of the Sword",

I do believe that when there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honor, than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless victim to her own dishonor. But I believe that nonviolence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment—I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of nonviolence is not meant for the Rishis and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Nonviolence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law to the strength of the spirit."

He wanted India to practice nonviolence with the consciousness of her strength and powers and not because it was weak.

King and Gandhi believed in love not hate, in building not destroying. In terms of this belief King declared, "If you think I came to tell you to hate



The first part of the marchers. Selma to Montgomery. Dr. and Mrs. King, Ralph Bunche, Ralph Abernathy in the front ranks.

white people you have the wrong man. Our goal is not to defeat or humiliate the white man, but to win his friendship and love." This did not mean a surrender of one's independence of thought and action. King said in this connection. "The beauty of nonviolence is that you can struggle without violence. It says that the organized code of dedicated souls possess more power than Molotov cocktails, or atom bombs. On another occasion he added, "we need an alternative to riots and to timid supplication. Nonviolence is our main potent weapon."

With these views King remained impatient, but he was also a mark of humanity and of silent indignation. And yet, he could say, "we know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor, it must be demanded by the oppressed."

The legacies of these two great man of our century call for a rededication to their principles of freedom, justice, peace and opportunity. Gandhi's mantle fell on Nehru, who carried it with him to the victory of India's independence by adding other methods and not slavishly following his prophet. King's mantle has fallen upon Ralph Abernathy who is to carry it on to our victory. Abernathy said to the defiant Memphis power structure "bring on your tear gas, bring on your grenades, your new supplies of Mace, your state troopers and even your National Guard. But let the record show we ain't going to be turned around."

This may not continue to be in violence in burning and in looting. Enough of this should have now taken place to show the evidence of resentment against the white power structures in scores of cities. But do property rights have values beyond and above the rights of man? Which are the more enduring? Will the victory of commercial interests

lead to the ultimate defeat of our nation as it is, or will a victory be gained in terms of the American ethic of the rights of man? These questions now affect the heritage of King as once they did of Gandhi. The answer to these questions are in the minds and hearts of all white and black racists. The continuance of violence might prove to be a desecration of the King legacy. Passing a Civil Rights Bill in 1968 with such immediacy is no evidence of a change of heart by white America.

All of us, black and white, should look deeply into our hearts, wipe out the evidence of hatred and distrust of black people or of white people, and find ways to begin the creation of a single society of white and black, rich and poor, suburbanite and inner city dweller, the educated and the unlearned, the cultured and the uncultured. Then, perhaps the two societies described in the Kerner Commission's report of "racism" will become a matter of history and not a fact of our present and future.

It can be said as we rebuild, "King is not dead for he will live in the legacy which we shall keep alive." These men, Gandhi and King, left legacies which can be kept alive, as one now is being maintained primarily by the brown people of India; and the other primarily by the black people of America. White Americans have a stake in this legacy, too, for King spoke to all America in his endeavors, to save it. We can do this, even though their voices were stifled by their assassinations, while we give attention to their spirit, their words, and their deeds as guardians of his trust. Then each of us can say in the words of Georgia Douglass Johnson's *The Black Runner*.

I'm awake, I'm away, I have jewels in trust.

They are rights of the souls that are holy and just. ■

MARTIN LUTHER KING AND HIS CHALLENGE TO WHITE AMERICA



Dr. Martin Luther King and Dr. Ralph Abernathy

by Patricia W. Romero

Immediately following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the President of the United States issued a statement declaring that the people of goodwill everywhere joined him in deploring the tragic murder of Dr. King. Since that time it has been the policy of public figures to include these "people of goodwill" in every statement they have issued.

The attitude of expressing sorrow for people of goodwill, indicates the plight of our nation, and white America in particular. Why is it necessary to qualify statements in deploring a tragedy which affects every citizen of this country? Why is it necessary to divide us into a nation of men of goodwill and those, by implication, not of goodwill? The answer to this is obvious—we in white America fall into categories ranging from bitter racists, to well-meaning liberals, to and including, a few who have an abiding and active interest in achieving justice and equality.

When a nation is torn and divided; when murder can be committed wantonly, when people can be relegated to the lowest economic and social status

because they are black, it is evident that these people of goodwill whom our leadership refers to are proportionately few in number.

It is difficult to analyze intellectually this period of death and mourning because it was one of great emotional stress no matter on which side one chooses to stand. The fear that had been in the ghetto has moved to the suburbs. The hate that once reigned in the suburbs has swept to the ghetto. Historians of the future may be more capable of placing these days in their proper perspective. For us, who are today faced with the response to Dr. King's challenge the problem is not necessarily one of scientific historical measurements, but one of understanding and dedication.

Many members of the white community have been educated to the plight of the ghetto; have acknowledged that black people should have their undefined "rights," but have refrained from actively upsetting the status quo. Others, and a minority, have deep and passionate objections to black justice and equality. It is this group that presents the challenge to the white community. We have intellec-

ually committed ourselves to various aspects of the total movement. Some of us have moved into the area of Negro History and related studies because of the opportunity we felt it afforded in bringing about the necessary changes in this country. To this particular group comes the special challenge—that of placing the knowledge we have acquired at the disposal of the white community. To press, intellectually and with reason, for the full equality of all Americans before the country becomes so completely divided that revolution does in fact occur.

The challenge of the past has been how long we can contain a segregated society. The challenge of the future is how rapidly we can act to eradicate these elements of a dual society and bring to fruition the premises on which the country was founded.

Much emphasis has been placed on teaching Negro History to the black community. There has been a universal cry for improving the image that blacks have of themselves. Historians, educators, and sociologists have studied Negro History, Negro schools, Negro family patterns, Negro cultural life, Negro attitudes and just about every other related topic. Certainly enough of this type of information has been printed in newspapers and magazines to give every American the impression that he, too, is an expert in the field. It appears that though much has been written, little has been accomplished.

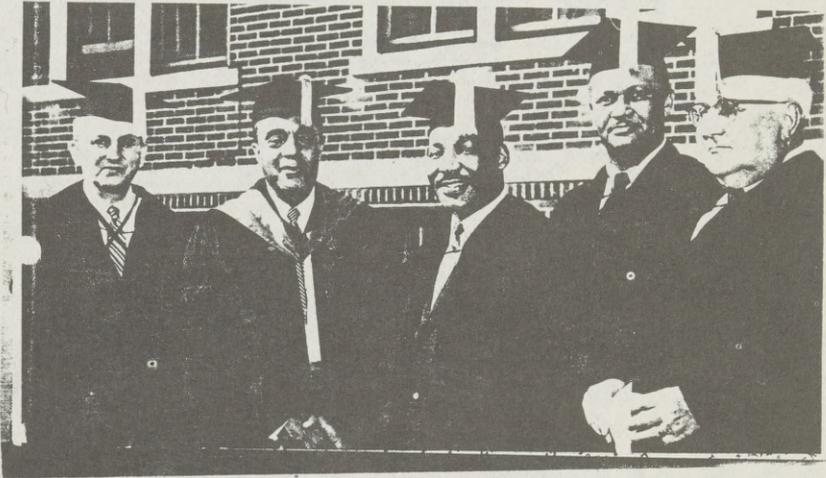
Martin Luther King, Jr. stands as a symbol of all that white America declares that the Negro must be. He was educated, one of the values we hold most dear. He was a man of God, and we claim to be a nation founded on belief in God. He was non-violent, and we extoll to all the world our

belief in peace. He was without fear, and we hold this to be one of our great freedoms. He was a family man, and we place much emphasis on morality. His life was a complete disclaimer to all the statistics, studies and analyses that we have concluded about black America. What then killed him? Did the manner of the man threaten us because we could not place him in a stereotype category? Of all the Negro leaders, he represented more of what white America expects and likes to see of itself than any other. His strengths became our weaknesses. It can be hoped that in his death, our ruptured ego can be replaced with insight into our blind addiction to Negro inferiority.

It has been interesting these days since Dr. King's murder to watch the reactions of white America. First came the immediate response of major politicians, some of whom had never indicated much interest in Dr. King or the movement. The House of Representatives suddenly decided that Negroes living next door to them in the suburbs was a most desirable tribute to a man who died for the poor. Guilt that has been stored in the hearts of many was unshathed in a fury of anger when Negroes, in futility and frustration, began to burn their rat infested ghettos. Even people of responsibility, such as one governor, saw this as an opportunity to spank the black community for wayward behavior, rather than reach out to it with programs for jobs and better homes.

This is only half the story, however. The day the open housing bill passed the House, a white woman, acknowledging her own racial prejudice, stated that she was glad the bill had passed and now she and others would have to get used to it. Many "Letters

Honorary degree awardees at Central State University on June 8, 1958, were; (from the left) Rabbi S. Ruslander, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Todd Duncan and Judge Roscoe Walcutt. Dr. Charles Wesley has just awarded the degree of Doctor of Humanities to Dr. King.



to the Editor" in newspapers these past days have indicated an altogether new awareness of the Negro plight in America. Driving through our nation's capitol with 12,500 army troops everywhere in evidence led many white Americans to believe that this nation cannot survive in its present state. There is beginning to be a new meaning for the old spiritual "Before I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in my grave," and the message, as interpreted by many in white America, is of course, that in keeping the status quo, we too may be buried in our graves before it's all over.

Dr. King stated before his death that only recently had he come to realize the deep seated racism which does exist in our nation. Those of us who preceded his knowledge of this situation should have actively worked to eradicate it. Now it is no longer a secret, and we must work with the white community. We must educate our people. We must teach them morality; remove their fears with knowledge and understanding and bring to them the Judeo-Christian principles on which our country is built.

It is necessary that positive action be taken and that white America acknowledge its responsibility in improving the existing relationships. Martin Luther King, Jr., did not die for a further polarization of the races. He stood for unity and equality. Before it is too late we need to finish constructing the bridge of understanding for which he laid the foundation. In emotional moments such as these days following the assassination it is a natural tendency to join together in expressions of loss, but when time passes and the sting of death has lessened, ghetto areas will still exist. Poor people will remain in need and illiterates will still need to be educated.

No one can suggest that teaching Negro History will solve the problems of jobs, money and housing, but it can teach us about each other. There is as much need for the white community to be educated in a positive sense about their black brothers as there is for Negroes to learn of their past. If we can achieve understanding about each other, and through this bring about the desired programs for America then Martin Luther King, Jr. will not have died in vain. ■

Memorial To Dr. King

1.
*Somewhere I read: he's been shot.
We never really believe this happens—
here—this is a different world.
It all sounds so possible.*
2.
*Somewhere I read: he has died.
Yesterday he was alive—moving toward
all of us—taller than death
suffering with each one.*
3.
*Somewhere I read: some court had
ruled against his peaceful assembly—
let them rule out grief. We
hear his last cry Father.*
4.
*Somewhere I read: a world consoled
his widow—useless as blood gush.
It leaves no less in us
to die or, be resurrected.*
5.
*Somewhere below the levee we will all cry.
When Dr. King died
The children all cried
There was much violence to decide
by Larry Coleman*

*Harry E. Brennecke
Ingle Wood, Calif.*

Martin Luther King is destined to take deep root in the historic memory. He bears the imperishable quality of the truly great. Only time can reveal his full stature but there are some things we can say now of one who touched our hearts with fire.

He was a man who addressed himself to the most crucial issue of our time, or any time—peace and good will among men based upon the principle of equality. The land of King's birth was founded on this ideal that men were created free and equal. This was a new and revolutionary philosophy in that day, and one that has never been fully accepted. America has never lived up to its high goals.

This then became King's life work—to make America a true land of the free. He insisted that his countrymen face up to the unfinished business of democracy. They must needs come to grips with the problems of racial discrimination and economic want. There was no hiding place, he said, and the time was now.

King's message became a moving force because of the manner in which he conveyed it. He spoke to man's conscience, his armor the truth. He advocated political action—registering and voting. He supported economic programs, such as "operation breadbasket." But his essential appeal was not to the polling-booth or the pocketbook, but to the conscience of his fellow man, his will to do right. Hence in line with this belief, King's tactics were those of direct nonviolent action, of "strength through love," to use the title of one of his books.

King's message commanded attention because he was a master communicator. He wrote well and he spoke well, making people take notice in spite of themselves. He wrote clearly and to the point. And when he spoke he was unforgettable, whether one remembered his sentences or not.

He did not leave any new system of theology—he was not a Paul Tillich or Reinhold Niebuhr. But as a soundly trained man of the highest academic credentials, he had read these thinkers and others like them. And he knew how to unlock their insights so that his own readers and listeners would be enriched. No man of his training was more effective in reaching the man in the street, the poor and unschooled. He could quote Martin Buber to one audience and speak in the idiom of the ghetto to another, and be equally at home in both worlds.

His message comes through to us because of what he was—a man of unblemished character. Many men who have achieved great place have the same all-too-human passions and repressions that afflict their fellow men. But King was a man of high principle, of unquestioned integrity. In recent years some of his critics have referred to him as "De Lawd," but in so doing they grudgingly admitted his high ethical and moral standards.

King's role in history cannot be plumbed at this



MARTIN LUTHER KING IN HISTORY

by Benjamin Quarles

moment. "I believe," he wrote, "that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality." His life was spent in putting this belief to the acid test.

His sad and sudden death would seem to cast some doubt upon the effectiveness of such an approach. But like other major events in King's life, dating from the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955, his career has been characterized by failures that turned out to be successes. And this may well be how King himself would have viewed his own all-too-short life. It was not an isolated incident, not a moment frozen in history, but rather a progression, a link in the chain of being and of purpose.

If at the moment we cannot accurately measure Martin Luther King's career, one thing we know. History is kind to those of his mold. For he was the kind of person who at an eventful period proves qualitatively unique and whose life is snatched while his hand is still warm on the plow. Such a figure, as history bears witness, ennobles us of lesser will and courage for generation after generation. ■

A transcription of the Commencement Address delivered, by Martin Luther King, Jr. at Lincoln University on June 6, 1961.

The fact that Lincoln University has had such an impact on the life and development of that great continent and the newly emerging countries of Africa is something for which we will be eternally indebted to this University. And so it is a real pleasure and a great privilege to me to be here today, and I want to express my appreciation to the trustees and the faculty for honoring me in such a significant and meaningful way today by awarding the honorary Doctorate of Law. I can assure you that this honor you have bestowed upon me will give me renewed courage and vigor to carry on in the days ahead.

Today you bid farewell to the friendly security of this academic environment, a setting that will remain dear to you as long as the cords of memory shall lengthen. As you go out today to enter the clamorous highways of life, I should like to discuss with you some aspects of the American dream. For in a real sense, America is essentially a dream, a dream as yet unfulfilled. It is a dream of a land where men of all races, of all nationalities, and of all creeds can live together as brothers. The substance of the dream is expressed in these sublime words, words lifted to cosmic proportions: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This is the dream.

One of the first things we notice in this dream is an amazing universalism. It does not say some men, but it says all men. It does not say all white men, but it says all men which includes black men. It does not say all gentiles, but it says all men which includes Jews. It does not say all Protestants, but it says all men which includes Catholics.

And there is another thing we see in this dream that ultimately distinguishes democracy and our form of government from all of the totalitarian regimes that emerge in history. It says that each individual has certain basic rights that are neither conferred by nor derived from the state. To discover where they came from it is necessary to move back behind the dim mist of eternity, for they are God-given. Very seldom if ever in the history of the world has a socio-political document expressed in such profoundly eloquent and unequivocal language the dignity and the worth of human personality. The American dream reminds us that every man is heir to the legacy of worthiness.

Ever since the founding fathers of our nation dreamed this noble dream, America has been something of a schizophrenic personality, tragically divided against herself. On the one hand we have proudly professed the principles of democracy, and on the other hand we have sadly practiced the very antithesis of those principles. Indeed slavery and segregation have been strange paradoxes in a nation founded on the principle that all men are created equal. This is what the Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal, referred to as the American dilemma.

But the shape of the world today does not permit us the luxury of an anemic democracy. The price America must pay for the continued exploita-



THE

tion of the Negro and other minority groups is the price of its own destruction. The hour is late; the clock of destiny is ticking out. It is trite but urgently true, that if America is to remain a first-class nation she can no longer have second-class citizens. Now, more than ever before, America is challenged to bring her noble dream into reality, and those who are working to implement the American dream are the true saviors of democracy.

Now may I suggest some of the things we must do if we are to make the American dream a reality. First I think all of us must develop a world perspective if we are to survive. The American dream will not become a reality devoid of the larger dream of a world of brotherhood, and peace, and good will. The world in which we live is a world of geographical oneness and we are challenged now to make it spiritually one.

Man's scientific genius and technological ingenuity has dwarfed distance and placed time in chains. Jet planes have compressed into minutes distances that once took days and months to cover. It is not common for a preacher to be quoting Bob Hope but I think he has aptly described this jet age in which we live. If, on taking off on a non-stop flight from Los Angeles to New York City, you develop hiccups, he said, you will hic in Los Angeles and cup in New York City. That is really *moving*. If you take a flight from Tokyo, Japan, on Sunday morning, you will arrive in Seattle, Washington, on the preceding Saturday night. When your friends meet you at the airport and ask you when you left Tokyo, you will have to say, "I left tomorrow." This is the kind of world in which we live. Now this is a bit humorous but I am trying to laugh a basic fact into all of us: the world in which we live has become a single neighborhood.

Through our scientific genius we have made of this world a neighborhood; now through our moral and spiritual development we must make of it a brotherhood. In a real sense, we must all learn to

live together as brothers, or we will all perish together as fools. We must come to see that no individual can live alone; no nation can live alone. We must all live together; we must all be concerned about each other.

Some months ago, Mrs. King and I journeyed to that great country in the Far East known as India. I will never forget the experiences that came to us as we moved around that great country, or the opportunity of meeting and talking with the great leaders of India and with people all over in the cities and the villages throughout India. Certainly this was an experience that I will always remember, but there were depressing moments. How can one avoid being depressed when he sees with his own eyes millions of people going to bed hungry at night? How can one avoid being depressed when he sees with his own eyes millions of people sleeping on the sidewalks at night?

In Calcutta alone, more than a million people sleep on the sidewalks every night; in Bombay, more than six hundred thousand people sleep on the sidewalks every night. They have no beds to sleep in; they have no houses to go into. How can one avoid being depressed when he discovers that of India's 400 million people, more than 365 million make an annual income of less than sixty dollars a year? Most of these people have never seen a doctor or a dentist.

As I looked at these conditions, I found myself saying that we in America cannot stand idly by and not be concerned. Then something within me cried out, "Oh, no, because the destiny of the United States is tied up with the destiny of India—with the destiny of every other nation." And I remembered that we spend more than a million

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dollars a day to store surplus food in this country. I said to myself, "I know where we can store that food free of charge—in the wrinkled stomachs of the millions of people who go to bed hungry at night." Maybe we spend too much of our national budget building military bases around the world, rather than bases of genuine concern and understanding.

All this is simply to say that all life is inter-related. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality; tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. As long as there is poverty in this world, no man can be totally rich even if he has a billion dollars. As long as diseases are rampant and millions of people cannot expect to live more than twenty or thirty years, no man can be totally healthy, even if he just got a clean bill of health from the finest clinic in America. Strangely enough, I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be. You can never be what you ought to be until I am what I ought to be. This is the way the world is made. I didn't make it that way, but this is the inter-related structure of reality. John Donne caught it a few centuries ago and could cry out, "No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main . . . any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind, and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." If we were to realize the American dream we must cultivate this world perspective.

There is another thing quite closely related to this. We must keep our moral and spiritual progress abreast with our scientific and technological advances. This poses another dilemma of modern man. We have allowed our civilization to outdistance our culture. Professor MacIver follows the German sociologist, Alfred Weber, in pointing out the distinction between culture and civilization. Civilization refers to what we use; culture refers to what we are. Civilization is that complex of devices, instrumentalities, mechanisms, and techniques

Martin Luther King, Jr. greets potential voters after one of the mass meetings.



by means of which we live. Culture is that realm of ends expressed in art, literature, religion, and morals for which at best we live.

The great problem confronting us today is that we have allowed the means by which we live to outdistance the ends for which we live. We have allowed our civilization to outrun our culture, and so we are in danger now of ending up with guided missiles in the hands of misguided men. This is what the poet Thoreau meant when he said, "Improved means to an unimproved end." If we are to survive today and realize the dream of our mission and the dream of the world, we must bridge the gulf and somehow keep the means by which we live abreast with the ends for which we live.

Another thing we must do is to get rid of the notion once and for all that there are superior and inferior races. Now we know that this view still lags around in spite of the fact that many great anthropologists, Margaret Mead, and Ruth Benedict, and Melvin Herzkovitz, and others have pointed out and made it clear through scientific evidence that there are no superior races and there are no inferior races. There may be intellectually superior individuals within all races. In spite of all this evidence, however, the view still gets around somehow that there are superior and inferior races. The whole concept of white supremacy rests on this fallacy.

You know, there was a time when some people used to argue the inferiority of the Negro and the colored races generally on the basis of the Bible and religion. They would say the Negro was inferior by nature because of Noah's curse upon the children of Ham. And then another brother had probably read the logic of Aristotle. You know Aristotle brought into being the syllogism which had a major premise and a minor premise and a conclusion, and one brother had probably read Aristotle and he put his argument in the framework of an Aristotelian syllogism. He could say that all men are made in the image of God. This was a major premise. Then came his minor premise: God, as everybody knows, is not a Negro; therefore the Negro is not a man. And that was called logic!

But we don't often hear these arguments today. Segregation is now based on "sociological and cultural" grounds. "The Negro is not culturally ready for integration, and if integration comes into being it will pull the white race back a generation. It will take fifty or seventy-five years to raise these standards." And then we hear that the Negro is a criminal, and there are those who would almost say he is a criminal by nature. But they never point out that these things are environmental and not racial; these problems are problems of urban dislocation.



Citizenship Session joins Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (left), Mrs. Septima Clark (left, foreground) and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy (center, foreground) at lunch.

They fail to see that poverty, and disease, and ignorance breed crime whatever the racial group may be. And it is a tortuous logic that views the tragic results of segregation and discrimination as an argument for the continuation of it.

If we are to implement the American dream we must get rid of the notion once and for all that there are superior and inferior races. This means that members of minority groups must make it clear that they can use their resources even under adverse circumstances. We must make full and constructive use of the freedom we already possess. We must not use our oppression as an excuse for mediocrity and laziness. For history has proven that inner determination can often break through the outer shackles of circumstance. Take the Jews, for example, and the years they have been forced to walk through the long and desolate night of oppression. This did not keep them from rising up to plunge against cloud-filled nights of oppression, and blazing stars of inspiration. Being a Jew did not keep Einstein from using his genius-packed mind to prove his theory of relativity.

And so, being a Negro does not have to keep any individual from rising up to make a contribution as so many Negroes have done within our own lifetime. Human nature cannot be catalogued, and we need not wait until the day of full emancipation. So from an old clay cabin in Virginia's hills, Booker T. Washington rose up to be one of the nation's great leaders. He lit a torch in Alabama; then darkness fled.

From the red hills of Gordon county, Georgia, from an iron foundry at Chattanooga, Tennessee, from the arms of a mother who could neither read nor write, Roland Hayes rose up to be one of the nation's and the world's greatest singers. He carried his melodious voice to the mansion of the Queen Mother of Spain and the Palace of King George the Fifth. From the poverty-stricken areas of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Marian Anderson rose up to be the world's greatest contralto, so that Toscanini could say that a voice like this comes only once in a century. Sibelius of Finland could say, "My roof is too low for such a voice."

From humble, crippling circumstances, George Washington Carver rose up and carved for himself an imperishable niche in the annals of science.

There was a star in the sky of female leadership. Then Mary McLeod Bethune to let it shine in her life. There was a star in the diplomatic sky. Then came Ralph Bunche, the grandson of a slave preacher, and allowed it to shine in his life with all of its radiant beauty. There were stars in the athletic sky. Then came Joe Louis with his educated fists, Jesse Owens with his fleet and dashing feet, Jackie Robinson with his powerful bat and calm spirit. All of these people have come to remind us that we need not wait until the day of full emancipation. They have justified the conviction of the poet that:

*Fleecy locks and dark complexion
Cannot forfeit nature's claim.
Skin may differ but affection
Dwells in black and white the same.
Were I so tall as to reach the pole
Or to grasp the ocean at a span,
I must be measured by my soul,
The mind is standard of the man.*

Finally, if we are to implement the American dream, we must continue to engage in creative protest in order to break down all of those barriers that make it impossible for the dream to be realized. Now I know there are those people who will argue that we must wait on something. They fail to see the necessity for creative protest, but I say to you that I can see no way to break loose from an old order and to move into a new order without standing up and resisting the unjust dogma of the old order.

To do this, we must get rid of two strange illusions that have been held by the so-called moderates in race relations. First is the myth of time advanced by those who say that you must wait on time; if you "just wait and be patient," time will work the situation out. They will say this even about Freedom Rides. They will say this about Sit-ins: that you're pushing things too fast—cool off—time will work these problems out. Well, evolution may hold in the biological realm, and in that area Darwin was right. But when a Herbert Spencer seeks to apply "evolution" to the whole fabric of society, there is no truth in it. Even a superficial look at history shows that social progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless effort and the persistent work of dedicated

individuals. Without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the primitive forces of irrational emotionalism and social stagnation. And so we must get rid of the myth of time.

There is another myth, that bases itself on a species of educational determinism. It leads one to think that you can't solve this problem through legislation; you can't solve this problem through judicial decree; you can't solve this problem through executive orders on the part of the President of the United States. It must be solved by education. Now I agree that education plays a great role, and it must continue to play a great role in changing attitudes, in getting people ready for the new order. And we must also see the importance of legislation.

It is not a question either of education or of legislation. Both legislation and education are required. Now people will say, "You can't legislate morals." Well, that may be true. Even though morality may not be legislated, behavior can be regulated. And this is very important. We need religion and education to change attitudes and to change the hearts of men. We need legislation and federal action to control behavior. It may be true that the law can't make a man love me but it can keep him from lynching me, and I think that's pretty important also.

And so we must get rid of these illusions and move on with determination and with zeal to break down the unjust systems we find in our society, so that it will be possible to realize the American dream. As I have said so often, if we seek to break down discrimination, we must use the proper methods. I am convinced more than ever before that, as the powerful, creative way opens, men and women who are eager to break the barriers of oppression, and of segregation and discrimination need not fall down to the levels of violence. They need not sink into the quicksands of hatred. Standing on the high ground of non-injury, love, and

soulforce, they can turn this nation upside down and right side up.

I believe, more than ever before, in the power of nonviolent resistance. It has a moral aspect tied to it. It makes it possible for the individual to secure moral ends through moral means. This has been one of the great debates of history. People have felt that it is impossible to achieve moral ends through moral means. And so a Machiavelli could come into being and so forth a sort of duality within the moral structure of the universe. Even Communism could come into being and say that anything justifies the end of a classless society—lying, deceit, hate, violence—anything. And this is where non-violent resistance breaks with Communism and with all of those systems which argue that the end justifies the means, because we realize that the end is pre-existent in the means. In the long run of history, destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends.

The practical aspect of non-violent resistance is that it exposes the moral defenses of the opponent. Not only that, it somehow arouses his conscience at the same time and it breaks down his morale. He has no answer for it. If he puts you in jail, that's all right; if he lets you out, that's all right too. If he beats you, you accept that; if he doesn't beat you—fine. And so you go on, leaving him with no answer. But if you use violence, he does have an answer. He has the state militia; he has police brutality.

Non-violent resistance is one of the most magnificent expressions going on today. We see it in the movement taking place among students in the south, and their allies who have been willing to come in from the north and other sections. They have taken our deep groans and passionate yearnings, filtered them in their own souls, and fashioned them into the creative protest, which is an epic known all over our nation. They have moved in

In Memory of Dr. Martin Luther King

*He was a Negro, but with
A Soul as pure as the white snow.
He was killed by whites
With black souls.
When I received this news
That same bullet entered me.
That bullet killed him,
But by that bullet I was reborn.
And I was reborn a Negro!*

*Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko wrote this poem at the request
of the Mexico City newspaper El Dia.*

a uniquely meaningful orbit, imparting light and heat to a distant satellite. And people say, "Does this bring results?" Well, look at the record.

In less than a year, lunch counters have been integrated in more than 142 cities of the deep south, and this was done without a single court suit; it was done without spending millions and millions of dollars. We think of the Freedom Rides, and remember that more than sixty people are now in jail in Jackson, Mississippi. What has this done? These people have been beaten; they have suffered to bring to the attention of this nation, the indignities and the injustices Negro people still confront in interstate travel. It has, therefore, had an educational value. But not only that—signs have come down from bus stations in Montgomery, Alabama. They've never been down before. Not only that—the attorney general of this nation has called on ICC to issue new regulations making it positively clear that segregation in interstate travel is illegal and unconstitutional.

And so this method can bring results. Sometimes it can bring quick results. But even when it doesn't bring immediate results, it is constantly working on the conscience; it is at all times using moral means to bring about moral ends. And so I say we must continue on the way of creative protest. I believe also that this method will help us to enter the new age with the proper attitude.

As I have said in so many instances, it is not enough to struggle for the new society. We must make sure that we make the psychological adjustment required to live in that new society. This is true of white people, and it is true of Negro people. Psychological adjustment will save white people from going into the new age with old vestiges of prejudice and attitudes of white supremacy. It will save the Negro from seeking to substitute one tyranny for another.

I know sometimes we get discouraged and sometimes disappointed with the slow pace of things. At times we begin to talk about racial separation instead of racial integration, feeling that there is no other way out. My only answer is that the problem never will be solved by substituting one tyranny for another. Black supremacy is as dangerous as white supremacy, and God is not interested merely in the freedom of black men and brown men and yellow men. God is interested in the freedom of the whole human race and in the creation of a society where all men can live together as brothers, where every man will respect the dignity and the worth of human personality.

By following this method, we may also be able to teach our world something that it so desperately needs at this hour. In a day when Sputniks and Explorers are dashing through outer space, and guided ballistic missiles are carving highways of death

through the stratosphere, no nation can win a war. The choice is no longer between violence and non-violence; it is either non-violence or non-existence. Unless we find some alternative to war, we will destroy ourselves by the misuse of our own instruments. And so with all of these attitudes and principles working together I believe we will be able to make a contribution as men of good will to the ongoing structure of our society and toward the realization of the American dream. And so as you go out today, I call upon you not to be detached spectators, but involved participants, in this great drama that is taking place in our nation and around the world.

Every academic discipline has its technical nomenclature, and modern psychology has a word that is used, probably, more than any other. It is the word *maladjusted*. This word is the ringing cry of modern child psychology. Certainly all of us want to live a well adjusted life in order to avoid the neurotic personality. But I say to you, there are certain things within our social order to which I am proud to be maladjusted and to which I call upon all men of good will to be maladjusted.

If you will allow the preacher in me to come out now, let me say to you that I never did intend to adjust to the evils of segregation and discrimination. I never did intend to adjust myself to religious bigotry. I never did intend to adjust myself to economic conditions that will take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few. I never did intend to adjust myself to the madness of militarism, and the self-defeating effects of physical violence. And I call upon all men of good will to be maladjusted because it may well be that the salvation of our world lies in the hands of the maladjusted.

So let us be maladjusted, as maladjusted as the prophet Amos who in the midst of the injustices of his day could cry out in words that echo across the centuries, "Let justice run down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Let us be as maladjusted as Abraham Lincoln who had the vision to see that this nation could not exist half slave and half free. Let us be maladjusted as Jesus of Nazareth who could look into the eyes of the men and women of his generation and cry out, "Love your enemies. Bless them that curse you. Pray for them that spitefully use you."

I believe that it is through such maladjustment that we will be able to emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man into the bright and glittering daybreak of freedom and justice. That will be the day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty, we are free at last!" ■

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon of light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination.

One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be granted the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check—a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is time to lift our nation from the quick sands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the movement and to underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. 1963 is not an end but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will

I Have a Dream

Delivered by Martin Luther King Jr. at the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963 in the March on Washington, D.C. for Civil Rights.

have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual.

There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds.

Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny and they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. This offense we share mounted to storm the battlements of injustice must be carried forth by a bi-racial army. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one.



We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating "for whites only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of excessive trials and tribulation. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi; go back to Alabama; go back to South Carolina; go back to Georgia; go back to Louisiana; go back to the slums and ghettos of the Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can, and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

So I say to you, my friends, that even though we must face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed—we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day, even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream my four little children will one

day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by content of their character. I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, that one day, right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places shall be made plain, and the crooked places shall be made straight and the glory of the Lord will be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith we will be able to hear out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.

With this faith we will be able to work together to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning—"my country 'tis of thee; sweet land of liberty; of thee I sing; land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride; from every mountain side, let freedom ring"—and if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

But not only that.

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and hamlet, from every state and city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants—will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual. "Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

EDITORIALS FROM NEWSLETTER

Martin Luther King Jr.,

400 Years Of Bigotry And Hate

St. Augustine, Florida—A beautiful town, the nation's oldest city, recently was the scene of raging tempers, flaring violence and the most corrupt coalition of segregationist opposition outside of Mississippi.

Here the Klan has made a last-ditch stand against the nonviolent movement. They flock to St. Augustine's Slave Market Plaza from all across North Florida, Georgia and Alabama. In St. Augustine they find welcome from Sheriff L. O. Davis, who deputized many of them and give them the cover of law in their ruthless terrorization of Negro citizens.

Sheriff Davis is supported in this by the local power structure who reflect a strong John Birch Society influence.

St. Augustine has been the nonviolent prelude to what may be a long, hot summer. The Negro population has been struggling alone for more than a year. Stall-ins in New York streets and the U.S. Senate threatened the nation. Violence seemed tragically close. Only the nonviolent movement could give the release and hope that millions of Negroes needed to maintain their faith in the American Dream and the democratic process.

Once in St. Augustine, SCLC uncovered a sore of hatred, violence and ignorance which spread its venom throughout the business and political life of Florida and reached subtly into the White House.

Florida responded out of a concern for tourist trade. But when Governor Bryant realized that justice was the price to be paid for a good image, he resorted to the old South line of attempting to crush those seeking their Constitutional rights. Only Judge Bryan Simpson of the Federal District Court, and a Republican appointee proved to be free enough of the "system" to preserve Constitutional Rights for St. Augustine's Negroes.

For the past month, St. Augustine's 3,700 Negro citizens waged an heroic campaign in the midst of savage violence and brutality condoned and committed by police. Night after night they marched by the hundreds amidst showers of bricks, bottles and insults. Day by day they confronted restaurants, beaches and the Slave Market where they spoke and sang of their determination to be free.

SCLC came to St. Augustine at the request of the local unit which was seeking: 1) a Bi-racial Com-

mittee; 2) desegregation of Public Accommodations; 3) hiring of policemen, firemen and office workers in municipal jobs; and 4) dropping of charges against persons peacefully protesting for their Constitutional Rights.

The Civil Rights Law will give some relief to this situation. It will give a body of law to support the persons of goodwill in this city. But the law is only a beginning to meet the needs of the Negro. Demonstrations are the only way to convince local power structures that these needs must be dealt with if there is to be peace and prosperity. Demonstrations alone, unearth the corrupt police state methods.

St. Augustine has been a testing ground. Can the deep South change? Will Southern states maintain law and order in the face of change? Will local citizens, black and white, work together to make democracy a reality throughout America? These are the questions the nonviolent movement seeks to answer with a resounding: "Yes—God willing!"

The Negro Revolution In 1964

As I look toward 1964, one fact is unmistakably clear: the thrust of the Negro toward full emancipation will *increase* rather than *decrease*. The immediate assessment against the backdrop of the summer of 1963 could easily be one that anticipates less activity because some measurable gains have been made in hundreds of individual communities as well as across the nation. However, closer scrutiny of the Negro revolution will reveal that the awareness of his gains has only whetted his appetite for more gains and more quickly. An ancillary force is the fact that whereas a year ago, only a sprinkling of cities, South and North, had been involved in demonstrations, picketing, etc., there are now nearly one thousand cities where, under the banner of non-violence, some baptism of fire has taken place. The Negro, as a community, has increased his skills tremendously in quantity and quality.

The civil rights legislation now before Congress will feel the intense focus of Negro interest. It was born in the streets of Birmingham amid snarling dogs and the battering of fire hoses. It was fashioned in the jail cells of the South and by the marching feet in the North. It became the order of the day at the great March on Washington last summer. The

Negro and his compatriots for self-respect and human dignity will not be denied. If a filibuster occurs, the nation might well fasten its safety belt. Once the bill is written into law, there will still be the matter of implementation, state by state and community by community. Then, of course, there is the matter of wider use of the technique of selective patronage as popularized in Philadelphia and Atlanta. There is at this moment an elaborate plan to broaden the base of selective buying in order that the power of the Negro consumer market can be used as a lever to pry open the door to wider employment opportunities. The Negro has learned his lesson well: "If you respect my dollar, then you must also respect my person." The advent of monstrous automation coupled with the Negro comprising the largest segment of Amer-

ica's semi-skilled and unskilled labor force, makes equal employment opportunities one of the priority concerns of the Negro community in 1964. The innovation for this year will be largescale selective buying programs aimed at the giants in the consumer industry.

I do not foresee any wide-spread turning of the Negro to violence. This will perhaps be a glowing commentary on the success of the nonviolent method in bringing about social transformation that produces tangible results. The last year's record has demonstrated that non-violence is more than pious injunctions to do good for evil, that it is a practical technique that has maintained a sense of hope in the American Negro community that America can realize the dreams of the founding fathers. 1964 should compound the gains realized in 1963. ■

from the Birmingham jail

An excerpt from Martin Luther King, Jr.'s letter from the Birmingham jail showing "why we cannot wait".

I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize, and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has been just advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos: Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?; when you take a cross-country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading 'white' men and 'colored'; when your first name becomes 'nigger' and your middle name becomes 'boy' (however old you

are) and your last name becomes 'John,' and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title 'Mrs.'; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of 'nobodyness';—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience. ■

Dr. King, (right) and Dr. Abernathy (left), are placed under arrest by police chief Virgil Stuart (right) when they sought to be served at the Monson restaurant.



The Acceptance Speech of Martin Luther King, Jr. of the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, 1964

Your Majesty, your Royal Highness, Mr. President, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I accept the Nobel prize for peace at a moment when 22 million Negroes of the United States of America are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice. I accept this award in behalf of a civil rights movement which is moving with determination and a majestic scorn for risk and danger to establish a reign of freedom and a rule of justice.

I am mindful that only yesterday in Birmingham, Ala., our children, crying out for brotherhood, were answered with fire hoses, snarling dogs and even death. I am mindful that only yesterday in Philadelphia, Miss., young people seeking to secure the right to vote were brutalized and murdered.

I am mindful that debilitating and grinding poverty afflicts my people and chains them to the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

Therefore, I must ask why this prize is awarded to a movement which is beleaguered and committed to unrelenting struggle: to a movement which has not won the very peace and brotherhood which is the essence of the Nobel prize.

After contemplation, I conclude that this award which I received on behalf of that movement is profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time—the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression.

Civilization and violence are antithetical concepts. Negroes of the United States, following the people of India, have demonstrated that nonviolence is not sterile passivity, but a powerful moral force which makes for social transformation. Sooner or later, all the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace, and thereby transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood.

If this is to be achieved, man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love.

From the depths of my heart I am aware that this prize is much more than an honor to me personally.

Every time I take a flight I am always mindful of

the many people who make a successful journey possible, the known pilots and the unknown ground crew.

So you honor the dedicated pilots of our struggle who have sat at the controls as the freedom movement soared into orbit. Your honor, once again, Chief (Albert) Lithuli of South Africa, whose struggles with and for his people, are still met with the most brutal expression of man's inhumanity to man.

You honor the ground crew without whose labor and sacrifices the jetflights to freedom could never have left the earth.

Most of these people will never make the headlines and their names will not appear in Who's Who. Yet the years have rolled past and when the blazing light of truth is focused on this marvelous age in which we live—men and women will know and children will be taught that we have a finer land, a better people, a more noble civilization—because these humble children of God were willing to suffer for righteousness' sake.

I think Alfred Nobel would know what I mean when I say that I accept this award in the spirit of a curator of some precious heirloom which he holds in trust for its true owners—all those to whom beauty is truth and truth beauty—and in whose eyes the beauty of genuine brotherhood and peace is more precious than diamonds or silver or gold.

The tortuous road which has led from Montgomery, Ala., to Oslo bears witness to this truth. This is a road over which millions of Negroes are travelling to find a new sense of dignity. This same road has opened for all Americans a new era of progress and hope. It has led to a new civil rights bill, and it will, I am convinced, be widened and lengthened into a superhighway of justice as Negro and white men in increasing number create alliances to overcome their common problems.

I accept this award today with an abiding faith in America and an audacious faith in the future of mankind. I refuse to accept the idea that the "is-ness" of man's present nature makes him morally incapable of reaching up for the eternal "ought-ness" that forever confronts him.

I refuse to accept the idea that man is mere flotsam and jetsam in the river of life which surrounds him. I refuse to accept the view that mankind is so tragically bound to the starless midnight

SPEECHES BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Martin Luther King, Jr., in a speech in 1965. I tried to love and serve

The only way we can really achieve freedom is to somehow conquer the fear of death. For if a man has not overed something that he will die for, he isn't fit to live.

Deep down in our non-violent creed is the conviction that there are some things so dear, some things so precious, some things so eternally true, that they are worth dying for.

And if a man happens to be 36 years old, as I happen to be, and some great truth stands before the door of his life, some great opportunity to stand up for that which is right and that which is just, and he refuses to stand up because he wants to live a little longer and he is afraid his home will get bombed, or he is afraid that he will lose his job, or he is afraid that he will get shot . . . he may go on and live until he's 80, and the cessation of breathing in his life is merely the belated announcement of an earlier death of the spirit.

Man dies when he refuses to stand up for that which is right. A man dies when he refuses to take a stand

that which is true. So we are going to stand up right here . . . letting the world know we are determined to be free.

A drum major for justice

In a sermon early in February at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. discussed his own eulogy.

Every now and then I guess we all think realistically about that day when we will be victimized with what is life's final common denominator—that something we call death. We all think about it and every now and then I think about my own death and I think about my own funeral. And I don't think about it in a morbid sense. And every now and then I ask myself what it is that I would want said and I leave the word to you this morning.

If any of you are around when I've to meet my day, I don't want a long funeral, and if you get somebody to deliver the eulogy tell him not to talk too long. And every now and then I wonder what I want him to say.

Tell him not to mention that I have a Nobel Peace Prize—that isn't important. Tell him not to mention I have three or four hundred other

awards—that's not important. Tell him not to mention where I went to school. I'd like somebody to mention that day that Martin Luther King, Jr. tried to give his life serving others. I'd like for somebody to say that day that Martin Luther King, Jr. tried to love somebody. I want you to say that day that I tried to be right and to walk with him. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try to feed the hungry. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe the naked. I want you to say on that day that I did try in my life to visit those who were in prison. And I want you to say that I tried to love and serve humanity.

Yes, if you want to, say that I was a drum major. Say that I was a drum major for justice.

Say that I was a drum major for peace. I was a drum major for righteousness. And all the other shallow things will not matter.

I won't have any money to leave behind. I won't have the fine and luxurious things of life to leave behind. But I just want to leave a committed life behind. And that is all I want to say.

If I can help somebody as I pass along, if I can cheer somebody with a well song, if I can show somebody he's traveling wrong, then my living will not be in vain.

If I can do my duty as a Christian ought, if I can bring salvation to a world once wrought, if I can spread the message as the Master taught, then my living will not be in vain.

Live together as brothers or perish together as fools. (Washington's National Cathedral, March 31, 1968)

"One day we will have to stand before the God of history and we will talk in terms of the things we've done. Yes, we will be able to say we built gargantuan bridges to span the seas, we built gigantic buildings to kiss the skies. Yes, we made our submarines to penetrate oceanic depths. We brought into being many other things with our scientific and technological power.

"It seems that I can hear the God of history saying, 'That was not enough! But I was hungry and ye fed me not. I was naked and ye clothed me not. I was devoided of a decent sanitary house to live in, and ye provided no shelter for me. And consequently, you cannot enter the kingdom of greatness. If ye do it

unto the least of these, my brethren, ye do it unto me.'

"We must all learn to live together as brothers. Or we will all perish as fools. We are tied together in the single garment of destiny, caught in an inescapable network of mutuality. And whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. For some strange reason I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be. And you can never be what you ought to be until I am what I ought to be.

"With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair the stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood."

At the mountaintop April 3, 1968.

When Martin Luther King arrived in Memphis, he addressed a rally in words that turned out to be prophetic. He said:

"I left Atlanta this morning and as we got started on the plane there were six of us. The pilot said over the public address system, 'We're sorry for the delay but we have Dr. Martin Luther King on the plane, and to be sure that all of the bags were checked and to be sure that nothing would be wrong on the plane, we had to check out everything properly and we've had the plane protected and guarded all night.'

"And then I got into Memphis and some began to say the threats . . . talk about the threats that were out, of what would happen to me from some of our . . . ck white brothers.

"Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it really doesn't matter with me now, because I have been to the mountaintop. I don't mind.

"Like anybody, I would like to live a long life; longevity has its grace. But I am not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain and I've looked over. And I have seen the promised land.

"I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight that we as people will go to the promised land.

"So I am happy tonight. I am not worried about anything. I am not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord."

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EULOGY

Given by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president emeritus of Morehouse College, at a memorial service for Dr. King, Jr.

Although there are some who rejoice in his death, there are millions across the length and breadth of this world who

are smitten with grief that this friend of mankind—all mankind—has been cut down in the flower of his youth . . .

Let it be thoroughly understood that our deceased brother did not embrace non-violence out of fear or cowardice. Moral courage was one of his noblest virtues. As Mahatma Gandhi challenged

the British Empire without a sword and won, Martin Luther King Jr. challenged the interracial wrongs of his country without a gun. And he had faith to believe that he would win the battle for social justice. I make bold to assert that it took more courage for King to practice nonviolence than it took his assassin to fire the fatal shot.

He was severely criticized for his opposition to the war in Vietnam. It must be said, however, that one could hardly expect a prophet of Dr. King's commitments to advocate nonviolence at home and violence in Vietnam. Nonviolence to King was total commitment not only in solving the problems of race in the United States, but in solving the problems of the world . . .

We all pray that the assassin will be apprehended and brought to justice. But make no mistake, the American people are in part responsible for Martin Luther King Jr.'s death. The Memphis officials must bear some of the guilt for Martin Luther's assassination. The strike should have been settled several weeks ago.

If we love Martin Luther King Jr., and respect him, as this crowd testifies, let us see to it that he did not die in vain; let us see to it that we do not dishonor his name by trying to solve our problems through rioting in the streets.

But let us see to it also that the conditions that cause riots are promptly removed, as the President of the United States is trying to get us to do. Let black and white alike search their hearts; and if there be any prejudice in our hearts against any racial or ethnic group, let us exterminate it and let us pray, as Martin Luther King Jr. would pray if he could: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."

If we do this, Martin Luther King Jr. will have died a redemptive death from which all mankind will benefit . . .

I close by saying to you what Martin Luther King Jr. believed, that if physical death was the price he had to pay to rid America of prejudice and injustice, nothing could be more redemptive. To paraphrase the words of the immortal John Fitzgerald Kennedy, permit me to say that Martin Luther King Jr.'s unfinished work on earth must truly be our own. ■



Life—Lynn Palham

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BIOGRAPHY
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**EDITED BY
CHARLES MORITZ**



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the Society of Experimental Biology and Medicine, the American Medical Association, the New York Academy of Sciences, and the Sigma Xi honorary science society.

Newsmen from all over the country flocked to Dr. Kelsey's office in the wake of the thalidomide "scare." As related in *Good Housekeeping* (November 1962), "They found a tall, severe-looking woman in sensible tweeds and low oxfords with straight, short, graying hair and a face untouched by makeup. But the severity of the first impression was belied by the quickness of Dr. Kelsey's smile and the lively sparkle of her eyes." She plays tennis for recreation and likes to read. Most of her time outside the office goes into keeping house for her husband and teen-aged daughters, Susan Elizabeth and Christine Ann.

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KEM, JAMES P(RESTON) Apr. 2, 1890-Feb. 24, 1965 Lawyer; former Republican United States Senator from Missouri (1947-53); opposed federal aid to education and housing and post-war foreign aid programs. See *Current Biography* (October) 1950.

Obituary

N Y Times p32 F 25 '65

KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR. Jan. 15, 1929-Clergyman; civil rights leader
Address: b. Ebenezer Baptist Church, 413 Auburn Ave. N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30312

NOTE: This biography supersedes the article that appeared in *Current Biography* in 1957.

Nonviolence has been the most effective weapon in the Negro fight for justice in the United States and may prove the answer to the need of all humanity—this is the contention of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., whose beleaguered efforts as a civil rights leader won him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. He was the third Negro and, at the age of thirty-five, the youngest man to be awarded the prize. To the occasional bewilderment of the nation and to the scorn of the more militant Negroes who call him an Uncle Tom, King has preached the goodwill doctrine of Christianity and the Gandhian tactics of civil disobedience in "a moral crusade" against the embattled strongholds of racial segregation in the South. Arrested on more than fifteen occasions, often assaulted, continually threatened, King symbolizes the courage, sacrifice, and suffering of the struggling Negro. With his father he serves as co-pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, and since 1957 he has channeled most of his civil rights activities through the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which he is president.

The prophetic name of Martin Luther was given to King not at birth but at the age of six, about the time that his father also changed his name. He was born Michael Luther King, Jr., on January 15, 1929 in Atlanta, in the twelve-room home of a middle-class family at 501 Auburn Avenue. His mother, Alberta (Williams) King, a schoolteacher before her marriage, is the daughter of the Rev. Adam Daniel Williams, who was pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church for seventeen years. After his death in 1931 his son-in-law, the Rev. Martin Luther King, succeeded him as pastor of the church and also continued his pioneering work in resisting discrimination against Negroes. There were two other children in the family: an older sister, Christine, and a younger brother, Albert Daniel.

Although King personally experienced none of the economic deprivation of his race, he suffered the emotional deprivation of segregation at the age of six when two white boys with whom he had made friends were forbidden to play with him. At his all-Negro school, the Young Street Grade School, he learned more about the hardships of a closed society. He later attended the private laboratory school at the University of Atlanta and then returned to public school, this time the Booker T. Washington High School, from which he graduated at the age of fifteen after skipping the ninth and the twelfth grades.

King had no intention of entering the ministry when he enrolled in 1944 in Morehouse College in Atlanta, the alma mater of his father and grandfather. He has said that he felt embarrassed by the emotionalism that he saw in Negro churches. At Morehouse, however, he was inspired by the college's president, Benjamin Mays, and by his philosophy professor, George Kelsey, both ordained ministers whose learning showed him that a career in the church could be intellectually satisfying. He was ordained a minister in his father's church in Atlanta in 1947 and named an assistant pastor in the church. Still an undergraduate at Morehouse, he kept up a B average, sang in the glee club, and was active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Leaving Morehouse with the B.A. degree in 1948, King went on to the racially integrated Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, where he was one of six Negroes in a student body of 100. He won the Plafker Award as the outstanding student and the J. Lewis Crozer Fellowship for graduate study and was elected president of the senior class. In 1951 he obtained his B.D. degree and decided to use his fellowship at Boston University. While at Crozer he had taken supplemental courses in philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania, and while at Boston he attended special classes in philosophy at Harvard University. He completed the courses for his doctorate in 1953 and then concentrated on his dissertation, "A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman." He was awarded his Ph.D. degree in systematic theology in June 1955.

For whatever he might chose to do in his profession, therefore, King had a solid educational background. He had been receptive in his reading to varied influences: Walter Rauschenbusch, Hegel, Thoreau, E. S. Brightman, Tillich, and

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Reinhold Niebuhr, among other philosophers and religious leaders. His most persuasive teacher, besides Jesus of Nazareth, proved to be Mohandas K. Gandhi, whose passive resistance movement had helped to free India from British domination. "From my Christian background I gained my ideals," King once said, "and from Gandhi my operational technique."

During three summers while a student at Boston University, King had preached at his father's church. He was still working on his dissertation when he accepted a post as pastor of the 400-member Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama and took up residence in that city in September 1954. To encourage an interest among his parishioners in community problems, he organized a social and political action committee, which stressed the importance of their becoming registered voters. He urged them to join the NAACP, of whose executive committee he was a member.

December 1, 1955 is an historic date in the civil rights movement and was a turning point in the career of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. On that day a Montgomery Negro seamstress with tired feet, Mrs. Rosa Parks, refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white person. Her arrest sparked a citywide Negro boycott of buses. The boycott, which lasted 382 days, was directed by the Montgomery Improvement Association, formed in early December. When King accepted the presidency of the organization he had to face, as he has said, the problem of making "a speech that would be militant enough to keep [his] people aroused to positive action and yet moderate enough to keep this fervor within controllable and Christian bounds."

On many occasions throughout 1956 the Montgomery boycott made heavy demands on King's self-restraint and on his capacity to restrain others. He was arrested for the first time on January 26, 1956, on the charge of driving thirty miles an hour in a twenty-five-mile zone. The bombing of his home four days later incited the Negro community to a blood bath, but when protesting crowds gathered he quieted them with pleas to forget bitterness and to forgive. The methods of the Montgomery Improvement Association were increasingly compared with the Gandhi tradition of nonviolence.

In November 1956 the United States Supreme Court upheld a decision made earlier in the year by a district court that had declared unconstitutional the Alabama laws requiring segregation on buses, and on December 21, Negroes and whites for the first time rode Montgomery buses on an unsegregated basis. From his victory in one Alabama city, King emerged a national hero of the resistance movement. Negro leaders from ten Southern states met at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in January 1957 to form the organization later known as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The following month King was elected its president. At first the organization concentrated its attention on discrimination in transportation facilities and voter registration. King reiterated the civil disobedience policy of the Montgomery boycott: he placed limitations on passive resistance but did not prohibit disobedience of local segregation laws.



Wide World

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

As a prominent figure in the Negro protest, King traveled some 780,000 miles and made 208 speeches during 1957. On one of his trips from Montgomery he attended the independence celebration in Ghana as an official guest of the new government. He also completed his first book, *Stride Toward Freedom* (Harper, 1958), an autobiographical account of the Montgomery boycott. In September 1958, while visiting a Harlem bookstore to promote sales of his book, he was stabbed by a deranged Negro woman. He saw this act of violence as an expression of "a climate of hatred and bitterness" that permeated the nation.

Fulfilling a lifelong dream to visit the country of Gandhi, King made a trip to India in early 1959. He spent much of the rest of the year taking part in demonstrations throughout the United States in behalf of desegregation. The routine tasks of his pastorate in Montgomery restricted his contribution to the national struggle, and feeling that the psychological moment had arrived for accelerating action on equal rights for Negroes, he left Montgomery for Atlanta in January 1960 to become co-pastor with his father in the Ebenezer Baptist Church.

King has been called the "father" of the sit-in not because he originated that form of protest against discrimination at lunch counters, theaters, department stores, colleges, and libraries, but because he inspired and encouraged the civil disobedience type of demonstration. Eager to provoke the federal government into greater involvement in the civil rights cause, he supported the Freedom Rides of whites and Negroes, which tested the willingness of the national government to protect the rights of Negroes in the South, and he was on hand to insist upon calmness in May 1961, when violence broke out in Alabama. In October 1962 he met with President John F. Kennedy to press for a more decisive stand on civil rights from his administration.

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The Southern Christian Leadership Conference suffered a defeat in late 1961 in Albany, Georgia, where King's "nonviolent army" marched in vain against segregation. Later in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963, profiting by mistakes in timing and organization made in Albany, King led a mass protest in an appeal for fair hiring practices, the establishment of a biracial committee, and the desegregation of facilities in downtown stores. Defying a court order barring demonstration, he was arrested in April 1963, and during his confinement he wrote "Letter from Birmingham Jail" in reply to white religious leaders of Birmingham—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—who criticized him for his "unwise and untimely" action.

"Letter from Birmingham Jail" has become a classic statement of the Negro revolution. Almost as eloquent were photographs, eyewitness accounts, and editorial comment that appeared in newspapers and magazines throughout the world in reporting the police use of fire hoses and dogs to suppress demonstrators, many of them children. The crisis lessened when white and Negro leaders negotiated an agreement of a phased program of desegregation, and although occasional bombings of Negro houses and churches and other forms of violence continued for a time, the battle for civil rights staged in Birmingham had been won. The Birmingham boycott is the subject of perhaps the most dramatic chapters of King's book about the civil rights movement, *Why We Can't Wait* (Harper, 1964).

What had happened in Birmingham then began to happen on a less spectacular scale in some 800 other cities and towns throughout the United States. Many hitherto indifferent white people began to sympathize with Negro grievances. On August 28, 1963, in the largest civil rights demonstration in the history of the United States, about 250,000 people, 60,000 of them white, took part in the March on Washington, mainly in behalf of the civil rights bill then pending in Congress. The highlight of the march was the address that King made near the end of the day at the Lincoln Memorial. His "I Have a Dream" speech echoed the Bible, the Constitution, and the National Anthem to assure the multitude of pilgrims that the prophecy of equality and freedom for Negroes would yet all come true.

Congress passed in the summer of 1964 a civil rights bill that King has said goes far, but not far enough, to help solve the problems of minority groups. Also during that summer racial riots broke out in Harlem, New York and other Northern urban centers. Many observers of the racial conflict believe that the rioting in the North, which King's missionary efforts in the South had not prevented, served to demonstrate to both white and Negro communities the tragic alternative to King's doctrine of nonviolence. The summer of 1964 also brought King, at first hesitantly, directly into the political arena. After testifying in behalf of civil rights before the platform committees of both the Republican and Democratic national conventions, he decided to campaign against the candidacy of Senator Barry Goldwater.

Many universities have awarded honorary degrees to King, and religious and civic organizations have showered him with medals and citations. *Time* magazine chose him Man of the Year for 1963. During a visit to Europe in September 1964 he was honored by West Berlin's

Mayor Willy Brant and by the Lutheran Bishop Otto Dibelius. Later, at the Vatican, he discussed racial and moral problems in a special audience with Pope Paul VI. It was just after his return home in October that he learned that he had been chosen the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize winner.

National and international endorsement of King as the Nobel award winner was overwhelming, but not unanimous. Having become a controversial figure in other sections of the United States besides the South, he had acquired many detractors. One of them was J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who in November 1964 called King "the most notorious liar in the country" and accused him of having maintained falsely that FBI agents would take no action on civil rights complaints in Albany, Georgia because they were Southerners.

When he was notified of his winning the Nobel prize, King said that it was not merely an honor to him personally, but a tribute to Negro and white people of goodwill who had followed the course of nonviolent resistance to injustice, and he announced that he would use the \$54,123 award to finance civil rights activities. In his acceptance speech in Oslo in December 1964 he spoke of the prize as an award to a movement, in recognition that "nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time—the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression."

King returned from Norway to receive further accolades, such as an official welcome from New York City, to launch new civil rights offensives, and to resume his pastoral duties in Atlanta. Early in 1965 he led a massive voter registration drive throughout the state of Alabama. On January 18 he successfully registered at the Hotel Albert in Selma, a formerly "white" establishment in a city that has served as a symbol of Deep South intransigence in the civil rights movement. While registering he was assaulted by James George Robinson of Birmingham.

After leading a march to the Dallas County Courthouse on February 1 to protest discrimination against Negroes in voter registration, King was accused of parading without a permit and was arrested and jailed when he refused to post \$200 in bail. Released a few days later, after posting bail, he was free to confer in Washington, D.C. on February 9 with President Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, and Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach on voting rights for Negroes. Emerging from the conference, King told reporters that Johnson had made it clear that he was determined to remove remaining obstacles to the right of Negroes to vote.

Although King's efforts to lead 1,500 Negroes and whites in a march from Selma to Montgomery on March 9 ended in failure when the marchers were turned back only one mile from their point of origin, King said, "We had the greatest demonstration for freedom today that we've ever had in the South." Leaving only once to fulfill a speaking engagement in Cleveland, King led 3,200 Negroes and whites in a five-day march from Selma to Montgomery that ended in victory in the state capital on March 21.

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On the platform or from the pulpit, a power of King's personality was expressed. *Time* (January 3, 1964), "he has an incredible capacity for empathy that is the touch of leadership." The cadence of his delivery and the earnestness of his tone tend to obscure occasional imperfection in metaphor. Several of his sermons have been published in *Street to Love* (Harper, 1963).

Lerone Bennett, Jr., King's biographer, described him in *What Manner of Man* (Johnson, 1964) at the beginning of his career: "Though his five-foot-seven frame was hardly impressive, his broad shoulders and muscular neck told of enormous power. There was, moreover, in the oblong, mel-colored face and the unexpectedly oval something that audiences found piquant. All these physical gifts must be added to the thrust of his persuasiveness of his baritone voice."

When he was studying at Boston University, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., met Coretta Scott, a talented soprano from Marion, Alabama, who was taking vocal lessons in Boston. They were married on June 18, 1953, and they have four children: Yolanda Denise (born in 1954), Martin Luther King 3d (born in 1957), Dexter (born in 1961), and Bernice Albertine (born in 1963). The family lives in a red brick house on Auburn Street in Atlanta, not far from King's church. For all his easiness in his relations with people, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., has a detached elusive quality that some of his admirers see as his center of quietness and strength. He is not an ascetic. He enjoys sports and opera, and he likes to eat. Bennett has suggested that he would wear less conservative clothing if he felt his position permitted him such an indulgence. On December 7, 1965 King received the Judaism and World Peace Award of the Synagogue Council of America.

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NEW YORK TIMES
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Decade of Black Struggle: Gains and Unmet Goals

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 1—A decade after the death of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., blacks in the South find their lot not greatly different from the lot of blacks elsewhere in the United States.

They can eat in any restaurant and sleep in any motel. They can register and vote. They can go to school with whites. They can sit in the front of the bus.

The South has changed so much since Dr. King was slain that blacks who once fled north to escape racism are now returning to the region, reversing one of the country's greatest migrations. Upon returning they find vestiges of racism, such as resistance from voting registrars

But increasingly blacks are concluding that they need more to make use of that freedom. Blacks in the South, like those in the North and the West, have not achieved economic parity with whites, and this leaves the movement that Dr. King led in the 1950's and 1960's with major unfinished work in the 1970's: breaking the vicious circle that has kept so many blacks everywhere in poverty.

As some civil rights workers have said, "What good is a seat in the front of the bus if you don't have the money for the fare?"

"We're in a new stage of the movement," Dr. King's widow, Coretta Scott King, said the other day, discussing civil rights developments over the last 10 years. "The issue now is jobs and money. In many ways, that's a harder nut to crack than the blatant discrimination that we were struggling against back in the old days."

Atlanta, Dr. King's hometown, is a case in point.

Because of the political pathways

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or real estate agents, but they do not find a racial atmosphere substantially different from that in the rest of the country.

The far-reaching change in the region helped make Jimmy Carter a viable Presidential candidate, the first from the Deep South in more than a century. It permitted him to carry the South while asserting that the civil rights movement was "the best thing that ever happened" to the region. No one seriously disputed him when he said that freedom for blacks also meant freedom for whites.



The New York Times/Mike Kinos

Unemployed blacks lining up in Atlanta, waiting to get a day's work

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A Decade of Black Struggles: Gains and Inmet Goals

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opened up by the civil rights movement, the city now has a black Mayor, Maynard Jackson. But within sight of the Mayor's office there are clusters of blacks lounging on street corners, many out of work for weeks and months, particularly the men in their late teens and early 20's. Their unemployment rate hovers around 35 percent.

Or consider the lingering poverty picture in Alabama, even as Gov. George C. Wallace grows more moderate on race and as the state has obtained a conviction in the 1963 bombing that killed four young black girls in a Birmingham church.

According to a recent survey by the American Friends Service Committee, which keeps track of human rights developments in the South, seven of 10 black-occupied houses in rural Alabama have no indoor flush toilet. The survey is entitled "Kind of Tough Living Here."

And in South Carolina, despite political changes that have put more than a dozen blacks in the State Legislature and Senator Strom Thurmond's child in an integrated school, blacks still have the most menial and lowest-paying jobs. They are 25 percent of the population, but they hold 55 percent of laborer jobs and 5 percent of managerial positions.

Census Bureau statistics indicate that blacks in general and Southern blacks in particular are beginning to make some economic gains. But the figures also show, and Atlanta's lounging unemployed and Alabama's outdoor privies illustrate, that the struggle for economic equality is far from over.

Lower Median Income

In 1975, the latest year for which statistics are available, the median income for black families in the South was \$7,696, or 59 percent of the \$13,078 earned by Southern white families. For the United States as a whole that year, black families had \$8,779, or 62 percent of the \$14,268 earned by white families.

In 1965, three years before Dr. King was assassinated in Memphis while leading a drive to raise wages for garbage workers, Southern black families had an average income of \$2,979, or 49 percent of the \$6,141 that Southern white families had. For the United States as a whole that year, black families earned \$3,971, or 55 percent of the \$7,170 earned by white families.

"What the civil rights movement has got to figure out now is how to go beyond statutory guarantees of equality," said Steve Sultz, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-based research group that has been active in civil rights for almost 40 years.

"It's not enough just to have a voting rights act and an accommodations law and people no longer living in fear" he continued. "People also have to have something that they can put their hands on, a decent living standard. You have to follow through on laws that you pass. We've had progress since Dr. King died. Yes. But nowhere near enough."

The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, who was one of Dr. King's closest aides, is turning the efforts of his Chicago-based organization, People United to Save Humanity,

back to the South. This month, according to his plan, the organization will open 10 offices in South Carolina, Mr. Jackson's home state.

"Despite all the publicity of the new South," he said in announcing the plan, "the election of a Southern President, no more riots, no more demonstrations, there is still hostility."

The South's progress has been particularly notable in the three areas that were the initial concerns of Dr. King and other civil rights activists—public accommodations, voting rights and school desegregation. Problems remain. But the advances are impressive.

Complaints about exclusion from hotels, motels and restaurants have almost disappeared. "There's plenty of civil rights work left in the South but not in the public accommodations field," said Laughlin McDonald, director of the southern office of the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation.

Most private restaurants and clubs continue to maintain racial barriers, however. Few blacks have gained membership in the South's more prestigious business and social organizations.

Full Potential Unrealized

A measure of racism can still be found in Southern churches, too. This was dramatically demonstrated when a black minister tried unsuccessfully to gain membership in the Baptist church in President Carter's hometown, Plains, Ga.

And integrating housing remains a problem for blacks, though most cannot afford housing in white areas anyway. Some real estate agents deliberately steer well-to-do blacks away from white neighborhoods, a practice by no means limited to the South. Some bankers make it unusually difficult for blacks to get mortgages for homes in white neighborhoods, also a practice seen in Northern states.

In politics, blacks' progress in the South since Dr. King's death has been dramatic. But the full potential of black political power is far from realized.

More than half of all Southern blacks eligible to vote have now registered, a huge jump from the days of poll taxes and literacy tests. By comparison, however, three-fourths of all eligible Southern whites are registered, and they tend to vote more often than blacks.

In 1968 there were only 250 black elected officials in the South. Today, there are about 2,200, almost a tenfold increase.

But this figure can be misleading. Blacks account for 20 percent of the Southern population but hold only 3 percent of the region's 79,000 elective offices. Most black elected officials, including the Mayors of Atlanta and New Orleans and 21 of 24 blacks in the Georgia Legislature, represent majority black jurisdictions. And two-thirds of the 100 or so predominantly black counties in the South still do not have a single black elected official.

Problems With Registration

Vivian Malone Jones, the director of the Voter Education Project, an Atlanta-based group that seeks to increase black participation in Southern politics, offered examples of the problems still seen in some areas.

"Sometimes," she said, "it's difficult to register people because whites put the registrar's office in an out-of-the-way place, schedule registration hours during inconvenient periods, then put economic pressure on blacks who dare to show up anyway, like getting them fired or having their credit cut off."

"Economic pressure also is used to keep blacks from voting or running for office. And if none of that works, there's always gerrymandering and running candidates-at-large to dilute the black vote. Of course, there's some apathy, too."

Still, the black vote in the South is frequently the swing vote, a force that can nudge a racist or extreme conservative toward moderation. It has opened up the Southern political process.

The black vote was the main reason



The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. during march on Washington in 1963

that Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, once a die-hard segregationist, put blacks on his staff and his child in an integrated school. It is the main reason that Governor Wallace now speaks of "all Alabamians."

"The black vote hasn't been able to elect a lot of blacks or push through a lot of legislation," Mrs. Jones said, "but it has forced white politicians to stop going around calling people 'nigger.' That's no small accomplishment."

Mrs. Jones is one of the blacks whom Governor Wallace tried to bar from the University of Alabama when he took his stand in the schoolhouse door in the early days of the civil rights struggle. Today the University of Alabama has more black students than half a dozen Northern universities combined, including Harvard. Other Southern universities also have enrolled significant numbers of blacks, though not enough to satisfy most of the region's civil rights activists or Federal officials who monitor such matters.

The South's secondary schools, a decade after Dr. King's death, are more integrated than secondary schools elsewhere in the country. There are many problems including disciplinary breakdowns, deteriorating test scores, white flight to the suburbs and "tracking" of blacks and whites into different classes. But sharp racial clashes are steadily diminishing, and over all, the region probably deserves high marks for its efforts to get blacks and whites together in the classroom.

Statistics compiled by civil rights organizations and Federal education officials indicate that only about half the South's black students remain in predominantly black schools. By contrast, almost two-thirds of all black students in the North and West are in predominantly black schools.

Rural Areas Ahead

There is more integration in the South's rural areas than in its urban areas. Many urban whites have fled to suburbs to escape desegregation, with particularly heavy flight from Atlanta and Richmond. Some whites in rural areas have retreated to private academies, but most cannot afford them and have accepted integration.

"Desegregation in the South's rural schools has gone about as far as it can go for the moment," said Winifred Green, a desegregation specialist for the American Friends Service Committee. "Some of the academies seem to be here to stay, unfortunately. But there's still been a lot of desegregation."

"The South's cities are where the region has failed most notably to desegregate. Schools in Southern cities are almost as segregated today as schools up North."

Miss Green worries that Southern schools may re-segregate if civil rights groups and the Federal authorities do not monitor progress more closely. She also thinks that a "new segregation" is taking place.

"You can see it in the tracking of disproportionate numbers of whites into classes for 'gifted' students and in the unusually harsh disciplinary penalties given many black students," she said. "And it becomes obvious when you notice how many principals are white and so many assistant principals are black."

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THE NEW YORK TIMES

Revolution in South: Blacks
in the Polls and in Office

By HOWELL RAINES

James O. Eastland, Mississippi's Senator for 36 years and the owner of a vast Delta cotton plantation, had never been accustomed to hearing bad news from black men. But bad news was what he heard in January from Aaron E. Henry, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, when they met to discuss Mr. Eastland's prospects for re-election.

"Your chances of getting support in the black community are poor at best," Mr. Henry, a pioneer of the civil rights movement, told the 73-year-old Senator who led Mississippi's "massive resistance" to integration. "You have voted against the issues that the black community is interested in. You have a master-servant philosophy with regard to blacks."

Mr. Henry recalled recently that at this, to his surprise, "the old man just burst into tears. He said, 'Son, you criticize me for not being involved in the black community. Did you realize you never did invite me?' He finally asked if I would do the act of helping him get audiences in the black community."

Mr. Eastland's tears, and perhaps his subsequent decision not to seek re-election, tell a lot about the revolution wrought in Southern politics by the civil rights movement and by the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the last of the great legislative victories crafted by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. before his death.

That law did away with virtually all white electorates of the sort that first sent Mr. Eastland to the Senate in 1942 and maintained in office his generation of Southern segregationists. As late as 1964, only 29,000 of Mississippi's 918,000 blacks were registered to vote. This year,

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Mr. Eastland would have faced 325,000 registered blacks, one vote in four in Mississippi. Two weeks ago, despite Mr. Henry's intercession for him with black groups, Mr. Eastland decided that his health was not up to the campaign before him and announced his retirement from the Senate.

The civil rights movement has done far more than bring to bay the old lions of segregation. Since 1965, more than two million new black voters have registered in the South, most of them in the seven states where the Voting Rights Act outlawed literacy tests and put the registra-

tion process under Federal control. Today, almost 2,200 black politicians hold office in the old Confederacy, 11 states that before 1965 had fewer than 100 black officeholders.

Many of the South's black politicians hold office in courthouses they once

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Black Political Revolution in the South

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marshaled around. They represent a frequently overlooked part of Dr. King's legacy to his native region, a new generation of black leaders drawn directly from the ranks of the civil rights marches of the 50's and 60's.

The movement also created a new biracial coalition politics that, at its most effective, has installed black Mayors in New Orleans and Atlanta and, in Birmingham, a progressive white mayor whose early career was blunted because he was accused of being "soft on race."

With black victories, however, have come bitter lessons in the limits of political power. Blacks remain the poorest of Southerners, to the dismay of activist veterans who saw the ballot as a ticket to economic equality. Most whites still seem to vote for blacks only when compelled to do so by political trade-offs.

Even so, the South's new force of black voters, as much as any single factor, probably shaped the outcome of the 1976 Presidential campaign and may have permanently altered the arithmetic of national elections.

Certainly, black politicians and black voters have transformed Southern campaign politics and methods of governance, not to mention the behavior of white officeholders.

"Whites are appealing to blacks for votes in a respectable manner now," said Tom Gilmore, the black sheriff of Greene County, Ala., from the courthouse office where his white predecessor once camed him during a sit-in. "Ain't nobody in the Alabama trying to out-nigger the other one. Ain't nobody in the South playing those nigger games anymore."

Opposing Forces

Mr. Gilmore's career illustrates the two forces, white oppression and the civil rights movement, that shaped many blacks in his generation. In 1965, Mr. Gilmore had already decided to move North in search of work when he was accosted at a filling station by an Alabama state trooper, who mistook him for one of the scores of demonstrators flocking to nearby Selma. "He put me up against a gas pump and frisked me and unbuttoned his gun," Mr. Gilmore recalled. "He said, 'I'm going to be in Selma tonight and I'll see you again, I'm going to blow your brains out.' That's really when I decided to stay in Alabama. He made up my mind for me."

In Greens County, Mr. Gilmore soon found work as a field director for Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a job that put him in conflict with the white sheriff. By 1970, Mr. Gilmore had won his rival's job; he has attracted support from both races and is now accorded a chance of someday becoming the first black Congressman from the Black Belt, the heart of the Old South plantation country.

"The Rest of Our Lives"
"Many of us have committed the rest of our lives to making Dr. King's dream come true," Mr. Gilmore said of those who followed the same path to public office. "We've tried to do another kind of politicking, to appeal to the goodness in men and the honesty in men. A lot of us who were in the civil rights movement are politicking in this way, like we did in the old mass meetings. This is a new order."

Other black elected officials join Mr. Gilmore in acknowledging their debt to the movement and Dr. King's leadership. "None of us would be there had it not been for the movement of the 60's," said Chris McNair, one of the 13 blacks in the Alabama legislature. "The movement," affirmed State Senator Julian Bond of Georgia, "created a new black leadership class in the South."

All of that is pretty much what Martin Luther King Jr. said would happen if Southern blacks were allowed to vote. As early as 1957, Dr. King's eye was cast on the voting booth. "Give us the ballot and we will fill the legislatures with men of good will," he said at the 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington, in a speech that marked his full emergence as a national leader.

Desegregation Battle

But the fight to desegregate the South's buses, lunch counters and rest rooms, rather than the struggle for voting rights, was to occupy him for the next seven years, until the tumultuous demonstrations he led in Birmingham resulted in passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The next year, Dr. King and the S.C.L.C. staff moved into Selma, Ala., where blacks attempting to register to vote were being turned back by Sheriff Jim Clark's posse and later by state troopers answering to Gov. George C. Wallace. On March 25, 1965, at the end of the violence-plagued march from Selma to Montgomery that created the mood for passage of President Johnson's Voting Rights Bill, Dr. King sounded again the call first voiced at the Prayer Pilgrimage. "Let us march on ballot boxes . . . until the race baiters disappear from the political arena," he called to a vast crowd outside the Alabama Capitol. "Let us march on ballot boxes until the Wallaces of our nation tremble away in silence."

"Let us march on ballot boxes until we send to our city councils, state

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legislatures and the United States Congress men who will not fear to do justice, love mercy and walk humbly with their God."

A Measure of Change

Mr. Wallace, who was inside the heavily guarded Capitol as Dr. King spoke, did not tremble away in silence, of course. Nor have all the politicians elected by the South's new biracial electorate measured up to Dr. King's lofty prediction. But as Federal registrars added Alabama blacks to the rolls—50,000 of them in one three-week period, said an S.C.L.C. official—Mr. Wallace's rhetoric and actions did change. The man who "stood in the schoolhouse door" to keep blacks out of the University of Alabama later crowned a black homecoming queen there; he learned to court such black politicians as Mayor Johnny Ford of Tuskegee.

Meanwhile, all across the South, in one of those morally asymmetrical developments in which the region's history abounds, the very people who had followed Dr. King into the streets found their way into public office, beneficiaries of the voting rights law they helped to create by defying the old Jim Crow laws.

Andrew Young, former executive director of the S.C.L.C., won election to Congress from Georgia in 1972 and in 1976 became, by appointment from President Jimmy Carter, the United States ambassador to the United Nations. The Rev. A. L. Davis, one of the band of preachers who joined Dr. King in founding the S.C.L.C., became the first black councilman in New Orleans.

From Boycott to Capital

Rufus Lewis, a key figure in the bus boycott led by Dr. King in Montgomery in 1955-56, was elected to the Alabama legislature. The former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, John Lewis, who was clubbed until he saw double by Alabama troopers at Selma, now is associate director of the Federal volunteerism agency ACTION in Washington. Another former S.N.C.C. chairman, Marion Barry, is a Washington councilman and is running for mayor.

But some of the most striking examples of the impact of the Voting Rights Act are to be found far from the centers of power, in Black Belt towns which have only twice, in the Civil War and in the civil rights movement, earned a glance from the world.

In Selma itself, for example, the Rev. F. D. Reese and three other black men who were involved in the movement serve on the city council. They work alongside Mayor Joe Smitherman, a white man who was also mayor on March 7, 1965, when Mr. Reese and several hundred other marchers were "bombed" with tear gas at Edmund Pettus Bridge in the "Bloody Sunday" incident that focused national attention on Selma.

"We Tamed Him"

"Of course, we tamed him," Reese said happily of Mayor Smitherman who has since taken the populist stance of other progressive Southern politicians. "He is actually engaged now in looking after the rights of blacks in the town, because of the voting strength that we have. Sometimes that vote can make them behave. It can make them smile when they want to frown."

Biracial government has changed Selma,

physically and socially. The dark, dirt streets trod by the marchers are now paved and lighted. A black directs the city's public services department, and there are a few black foremen in city work crews, as well. Recently, three white councilmen voted with the four black members to pass a controversial ordinance renaming in Dr. King's honor the street in front of Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church, the headquarters of the Selma movement. The measure was passed, Mr. Reese noted, over the objections of some white homeowners who were disturbed by "the idea of receiving their mail on Dr. Martin Luther King Street."

A street named for Dr. King in Selma, racial harmony in Birmingham, burgeoning black power in Atlanta: These are the triumphs of political change in the South. There are also stories of personal frustration, of black politicians emulating the corrupt ways of whites who preceded them, of the vast economic gap between white Southerners and those whom a former S.C.L.C. organizer, Leon Hall, quoting Dr. King's biblical phrase, calls "the least of these."

"On the Threshold"

"We are on the threshold of real political power," observed Mr. Hall, an official of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Social Change in Atlanta. "You're living in a society that has 200 years of experience in the political process, and you're talking about a people that have barely 20 years of experience."

"Politics has been very frustrating to me," lamented State Representative Hoses Williams of Georgia, the S.C.L.C. firebrand who, with John Lewis, led the marchers in Selma on "Bloody Sunday." Mr. Williams, who has cast himself as the gadfly of Atlanta's black political community, complained bitterly of blacks "trying to accomplish the same thing that white officials had, which was to get rich and to gain power, to control and exploit the masses."

Mr. Williams cited the career of former Georgia State Senator Leroy Johnson, once called "the single most powerful black politician in Dixie" in a story in The New York Times Magazine. Mr. Johnson went from being the South's first black legislator of the modern era, to promoting the Muhammad Ali-Jerry Quarry fight in Atlanta in 1970, to being a legislative ally of former Gov. Lester Maddox, a segregationist, and finally to Federal prison on income tax charges.

Mr. Bond fears that black voters may be too tolerant of political corruption among black officeholders. "I have heard people say, 'White people have done this for years, now it's our turn.' I'm just incredulous when I hear this, but I hear it all the time."

"Ceiling on Ambition"

Mr. Bond's own plan to abandon politics for television journalism illustrates another problem, that of the "ceiling" imposed on black politicians, the Georgia State Senator says, by the "extremely fragile" nature of the vaunted biracial coalitions of the New South. "There's this whole range of talented guys," he said, "who will never be more than a member of the United States House or state legislature. There's a ceiling on their ambition. It's part of the old truism that while black voters vote for white candidates

in every election, white voters seldom have an opportunity to—or given the opportunity—vote for blacks."

It is true that no black candidate has yet won a statewide race in the South. In South Carolina, where blacks account for 26 percent of the vote, James Clyburn, state human affairs commissioner, is trying to break that record in his race for the Democratic nomination for secretary of state this year.

"If racial fears are played upon, it could spell trouble," said Mr. Clyburn. "I've worked hard to play down the racial angle, but it could be resurrected at any time by anybody, so I have to hedge on the outcome. But I'm out front."

Entrenched Power

The entrenched power of special interests in Southern capitals frustrates black politicians who discover they can't "slow down the machinery that is there," said Mr. McNair, the Alabama State Representative. "When they're looking for someone to carry the ball, the controllers don't care if the ballplayer is black or white. They would prefer that he be white, but they don't care."

Mr. McNair, whose daughter was one of four children killed in the 1964 bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, indicated that the old racism has a way of hunkering down in the annually renewed battle over the state budget. Even with the help of sympathetic white legislators, Mr. McNair says, he and his black colleagues have failed to get money to improve the campus of predominantly black Alabama A&M in Huntsville.

"We don't have a white school in the state that is as rundown," he said. "You can't make them turn loose the money. They don't care anything about A&M. If it was a white institution, it just wouldn't be that way."

Impressive Picture

Whatever blemishes appear on close examination, the larger picture in the South remains impressive to Ben Brown, the Democratic National Committee deputy chairman who was one of Georgia's first black legislators and a leader in the Atlanta sit-ins of 1960. The election of the racially moderate Southern governors who came to be known as the "Class of 1970," Mr. Askwew in Florida, John West in South Carolina, Dale Bumpers in Arkansas and Mr. Carter in Georgia, signaled the working of a "new chemistry" in Southern politics and the approach of a new era in national politics, Mr. Brown said.

"What I say when I speak nowadays,"

he concluded, "is that Jimmy Carter's election can be looked at as a culmination of a period which was really ignited by the student movement and the Martin Luther King Jr. activism of the 50's and early 60's."

Looking back over that period reveals one overwhelming irony: Where segregation seemed most entrenched, there it crumbled most completely. In Birmingham, for instance, which Dr. King called the most segregated city in America, the new public library will include an archive of the civil rights movement. In 1963, the only black who could legally sit down in the public areas of the Birmingham library was the black woman who, with a Bible on her lap, occupied a stool in the elevator that she ran.

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MONDAY, APRIL 3, 1978

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Dr. King Leaves Legacy to 2 Races

His Courage Brings Changes in Spirit of U.S. Blacks

By ROGER WILKINS

Now, 10 years after the death of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., it is possible to look back and see clearly that his legacy to blacks and to the nation was considerably more than the residue of sentiment for a martyred leader of the flame-scarred streets in more than a hundred American cities where enraged people rioted after he was slain. Conversations with blacks of both high and low estate, with those who knew him and those who did not, indicate quite clearly that his principal legacy was the changes that his life, his force, his programs and his courage wrought in their minds and in their spirits. There were other legacies, of course, but a broad spectrum of opinion holds that this, of all his gifts to black Americans, was the most precious.

Before the bus boycott that Dr. King led in Montgomery, Ala., beginning in 1955, the South was still legally segregated except for the schools, which were in the violent turmoil of early desegregation. In many places in that region, blacks attempted to register to vote only if they were willing to risk their lives for the franchise. In the North, humiliations in public places, though often illegal, were not uncommon experiences for blacks.

Harmful Stereotypes

Stereotypes picturing blacks as indolent, violent, impious and stupid informed the racial attitudes of much of the nation, both North and South. Blacks were not immune to the pervasive hold of this characterization in the white American mind, and the circumstances of their own lives and those of their neighbors reinforced that message. Many, and probably most, black Americans internalized the white view of their race to one degree or another. People crippled by such a self-evaluation were poorly situated to battle for their rights against the most powerful society on the face of the earth.

The movement Dr. King began to lead in Montgomery started to change all that. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, now executive director of People United to Save Humanity, who was there at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis when Dr. King was shot, explained in a recent interview what the movement had meant to him.

"When he started in Montgomery," Mr. Jackson said, "I was 14. His willingness to stand up against the odds impressed me very much.

"Self-Fulfilling Prophecies"

"At the time we were unable to defend ourselves intellectually, because whites had the professors and the professional people who could use words to subjugate us and make us feel

inferior. They also had the power to limit our opportunities and thus make their views become self-fulfilling prophecies."

"Martin," Mr. Jackson concluded, "had the intellectual force and the oratorical ability to counter that and to help us begin to change our minds about ourselves."

Bayard Rustin, the president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a longtime associate of Dr. King, agreed with that assessment.

"Just as Gandhi taught the Indians," he said, "Martin taught us to stand up with courage, not to be afraid; to stand up with dignity even in the face of jail and the grossest indignities."

Though blacks were quick to understand the message, many whites were not. The standard Justice Department response to the crucial demonstrations Dr. King led in Birmingham in 1963 was that it was wrong to keep children out of school and expose them to the dangers of the marches.

When blacks in the Administration responded that those black youngsters were learning more about self-determination on the marches than they would learn in a semester in Birmingham's segregated school system, their white colleagues simply did not get the point. But a man in a Harlem bar at the time of the demonstrations got it.

"King is brave," the man said, "and he's showing that blacks don't get anything without courage in the face even of the worst harassment and intimidation."

There were other legacies, of course, for whites as well as for blacks. Mr. Jackson pointed out that if the racial stereotypes were not entirely demolished by the movement in the 60's, they were at least severely dented.

"There was the myth," he said, "that we are more violent than we are, that we don't work as hard as we do and that we are less intelligent than we are. Martin embodied the realities in black life that gave the lie to those myths. That's one of the reasons he was so charismatic."

Economic Implications

The broad legacy for Americans of both races surely includes the fact that the country no longer humiliates itself by humiliating a large segment of its population at places of public accommodations, by denying them the right to vote or by pretending that the struggle for equal justice is narrowly a civil rights issue, excluding economic considerations entirely.

"When Martin went to Memphis to help the garbage workers," Mr. Rustin said, "he called attention to the fact that segregation and discrimination had profound economic implications. He said to me then, 'We've gotten them the right to go in and buy a hamburger, now we've got to get them the right to buy it.'"

One other aspect of the King legacy is the imprint it left on black leadership in the nation. Stanley D. Levison, one of Dr. King's advisers, said that his death left an enormous vacuum, despite the

emergence of a number of very able new leaders, in that no one with his moral force—no one whom people would follow to beatings or death, if necessary—has appeared in his place.

But Dr. King left his mark on a generation of blacks whose consciences were forged at the time of his movement. Jesse Jackson put it this way:

"He taught us that the freedom struggle is a marathon, not a sprint. A lot of people marched in Birmingham, then left, or marched in Selma, then left. But some of us learned that you've got to be there for a lifetime and be consistent, mountain high or mountain low. That gives you moral authority."

In the recreation room of his home in Gary, Mayor Richard G. Hatcher, who has struggled for a decade with that city's problems, mountain high and mountain low, has three different pictures of Dr. King. That is a rich and enduring part of the legacy.

Whites Gain Release From the Burdens of Past Racism

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—When the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his non-violent armies were traveling the Deep South, inflicting misery on white officials with demonstrations and sit-ins, he would frequently say that the purpose was not only to free blacks from bondage but also to free whites from the burden of racism. Blacks have gained a lot of freedom since then. Yet some students of South believe that whites have gained more, in a number of ways.

There has been a reformation of Southern politics, a direct result of the infusion of black voters under the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Political dialogue has moved almost completely away from race.

For that reason, there's no longer the stigma that had barred many of Southern whites from full participation in national politics. Those who knew the South in the 1960's still find it difficult to believe that a white politician from the vicinity of Americus, Ga., a center of violent resistance to desegregation, is President of the United States. Jimmy Carter, among others, has acknowledged his indebtedness to the civil rights movement for his place in the nation.

An Ebbing of Fear

Many more Southern whites gained freedom in a more personal way. In the 60's one could go into the courthouses, the state capitals, the restaurants and public meetings and hear the bitter out-

News Analysis

News Analysis

Dr. King Leaves Legacy to 2 Races

NYT Apr 3 1968

pourings of whites of all ages who were obsessed by fears of black control or of "foreign" ideologies that were perceived as a threat to Southern stability and honor.

Now that defensiveness and preoccupation with race seems to have gone out of the public speech. It is still the Deep South, and there are still people who see no good end to the progress that blacks have made. But they are isolated and can find no sounding board to spread their fear.

In Jackson, Miss., the other day, for example, on television station WJTV, owned by whites who were once leaders of massive resistance, a black newscaster interviewed a white candidate for Governor who apologized for having belonged to a citizens' council that stood for white supremacy.

On the same program, blacks from across the state were shown marching on the state welfare office to protest the system of distributing food stamps. The white welfare director felt obligated to stand in front of the camera and explain the situation.

Change Despite Resistance

Those areas of the South that put up the most resistance now have almost everything that the white leaders said could not be accepted—school integration, public accommodations open to all, wide-scale black voting, elected and appointed officials who are black, blacks in jobs once closed to them.

How this came about is another story. At some point between the height of the movement and now, many Southern whites discovered that all those things could be done without the white society's having to give up very much, if anything. Generally, whites held a majority and controlled the economy; they could treat blacks as citizens, lead their own lives with other whites and think about things other than race, as is done in the rest of the nation.

But in view of the intensity of this resistance that existed, a deeper explanation is required. The challenge that Martin Luther King put to the white South and the quiet influence of white Southern women have to be considered.

That the challenge was a serious one was indicated by the hatred Dr. King

engendered, hatred that could be seen on the faces of men and women on the streets and behind the windows as Dr. King led his marchers.

King's Challenge

Southern whites could dismiss other black leaders as too radical or irrelevant. Dr. King presented a challenge in terms of their own values. He was a middle-class black preacher, with the same soft manners of black ministers and educators who fit politely into the segregated pattern of every community. His nonviolent approach of opposing injustice, not those who perpetrated it, under the creed of "liberty and justice for all" that every white had repeated daily since the first grade, could not be accommodated without anger.

But after the anger there had to be a reckoning, as new laws brought change year after year, and in this the role of women was important.

It was women, the wives of sheriffs and lawyers and church leaders, who had brought an end to the worst of the lynchings earlier in the century. They simply demanded of their husbands that the practice cease and persisted until it did.

At the height of the civil rights movement, in almost every community, one or more native women would be working quietly or openly for change. It was largely women who organized the "save the schools" movements that permitted integration without destruction across the South.

Men, too, were usually involved, but as Florence Mars pointed out in a book published last year, "Witness in Philadelphia," about the Mississippi town where three civil rights workers were slain in 1964, the only residents who did not insist that the case was all a giant hoax on the community were blacks, several white women and a couple of white male ministers.

Theirs were the only rational voices asserting, as was later proved in court, that the workers were killed by local people with the help of the white authorities.

Southern whites are not building monuments to Martin Luther King or doing public penance for their anger, but a lot of the myths have been destroyed and there is a more rational discussion of the differences between blacks and whites. For the most part, Southern whites seem to be enjoying their freedom from fear and ~~hatred~~ ^{hatred}.

These 8 pages are copied from the originals on file with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Background:

Martin Luther King, Jr., is a well-known southern Negro leader who is President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and is Copastor with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia. He was born in Atlanta on January 15, 1929. King became nationally prominent during 1955 and 1956 when he organized a protest that ended bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama. As a result of his activities in racial matters, he has been arrested on numerous occasions by local officials and charged with misdemeanors. Throughout his efforts in the racial field he has stressed nonviolent action.

Subversive Connections and Associations:

"The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, issue of November 6, 1960, carried an article entitled "Sobell Parley Called." According to this article widespread appeals on behalf of freedom for Morton Sobell were scheduled and would be climaxed at a national gathering in Washington, D. C., from November 19, 1960, through November 21, 1960. Among those who sponsored the national gathering was Martin Luther King, Jr.

"The Worker" issue of November 27, 1960, carried an article entitled "1200 Clerics urge Ike Free Sobell." The article listed King as one of those sponsoring an appeal to the President to urge a new trial for Morton Sobell or grant him clemency by commutation of sentence.

Morton Sobell was convicted on April 5, 1951, in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, for violation of Espionage Conspiracy statute and was sentenced to 30 years in prison.

The January 16, 1961, issue of the "National Guardian" carried an article entitled "Abolish The Un-Americans." This article indicated a petition was directed to the 87th Congress asking for the abolishment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Among the signers of this petition was the name of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

The "Atlanta Journal," a daily newspaper in Atlanta, Georgia, on February 23, 1961, carried an article entitled "Highlanders and Dr. King Join Forces." This article stated that the Atlanta SCLC, headed by Martin Luther King, Jr., and the "Tennessee Controversial Highlanders Folk School" had joined forces to train Negro leaders for the southern civil rights struggle. This article indicated that a Tennessee State Court revoked the school's charter after a legislative investigation charged that communists had lectured there.

The "New York Post," a New York daily newspaper, in the issue of May 2, 1961, carried an article which indicated the name of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., of Atlanta, Georgia, was listed on a petition requesting President John F. Kennedy to invoke executive clemency for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson.

Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, a self-admitted member of the Communist Party, Louisville, Kentucky, in testifying on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Criminal Court, in a State Sedition prosecution against Carl Braden identified Braden as having been known to her as a member of the Communist Party from 1951 until the time of her testimony. The "Courier-Journal," Louisville, Kentucky, a daily newspaper, on February 3, 1959, carried an article indicating that Carl Braden had been sentenced to one year in prison on a charge of contempt of Congress for his refusal to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"The New York Times," a daily newspaper, in the issue of January 24, 1959, carried an article to the effect that Frank Wilkinson was sentenced by the United States District Court, Atlanta, Georgia, to a year in jail for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The August 25, 1961, issue of "New America," an official publication of the Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation, carried an article entitled, "Prominent Americans Seek Pardon Junius Scales." He was sentenced to six years in prison under the Smith Act. Among those who joined this effort and who signed the petition urging suspension or reduction of Scales sentence was Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

On September 7, 1961, a testimonial dinner was held in honor of Henry Winston in the Skyline Ballroom of the Hotel Theresa, 125th Street, 7th Avenue, New York, New York. One of the speakers at this testimonial was Martin Luther King, Jr. At the time of the testimonial Henry Winston was publicly known as a member of the Communist Party, USA, National Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party, USA.

The November, 1963, issue of "Through to Victory" published in Ridgecrest, California, carried an article by Carl Prussion entitled "Communist Planned Tactics of King, N.A.A.C.P." In this article Prussion made the statement that Martin Luther King, Jr., and the N.A.A.C.P. were being influenced by communist generated revolutionary tactics. Prussion identified himself as a former counterspy for the FBI from 1947 to 1960. He made the statement that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was always set forth at communist meetings as the individual to whom communists should look and rally around in the communist struggle on the many racial issues. In a sworn affidavit Prussion made the statement "I hereby also state that Martin Luther King, Jr., has either been a member of or wittingly has accepted support from communist fronts, individuals, and/or organizations which gave aid to or espouse communist causes, numbering over 60."

The March, 1963, issue of the "Southern Patriot," the official publication of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which is the successor of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an organization cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist Party front group, has several pictures of Martin Luther King, Jr., at an affair described as an annual reception for New York friends of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The main speaker for this affair was Martin Luther King, Jr.

The "National Enquirer," published in New York, New York, on April 5, 1964, carried a column entitled "Washington Pipeline" by John Henshaw. This column contained a paragraph as follows: "Martin Luther King, Jr., isn't happy about the detailed report that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has compiled about some of his past associations with communists. In order to limit the FBI's future role in civil rights investigations King has launched a backstage campaign to get President Johnson to transfer the authority to U. S. Treasury Department Law Enforcement Agencies and to especially established Corps of U. S. Marshals."

The "Atlanta Constitution," an Atlanta, Georgia, daily newspaper, on July 25, 1963, carried an article entitled "Onetime Communist Organizer Heads Rev. King's Office in N.Y." This article indicated that Jack H. O'Dell was Director of the New York office of the SCLC. This article identified O'Dell as being in the Communist Party as late as 1958. It was indicated that O'Dell was also known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell at one time and that he had been identified as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA.

The "Washington Post and Times Herald," a Washington, D. C., daily newspaper, on April 15, 1964,

carried a column entitled "Matter of Fact," by Joseph Alsop. This article stated, "The subject of real head shaking is the Rev. Martin Luther King. His influence is very great. His original dedication to nonviolence can hardly be doubted. Yet, he has accepted and is almost certainly still accepting communist collaboration and even communist advice."

"In 1962-63 the issue of the communist role in the King organization was raised because of Hunter Pitts O'Dell commonly called Jack O'Dell: This man, a known communist, held posts in the Southern Christian Leadership Council, first in the South and then in the New York office, until the late Spring of 1963. King finally dropped him when he was warned by United States Government officials that O'Dell was the genuine communist article."

"Official warnings have been given to King about another, even more important associate who is known to be a key figure in the Covert apparatus of the Communist Party. After the warning, King broke off his open connections with this man, but a secondhand connection nonetheless continues."

The "Jackson Daily News" printed in Jackson, Mississippi, on May 18, 1964, carried an article entitled "Charges King Accepted Money From Group Labeled Subversive." This article indicated that in a speech to the North Jackson Exchange Club, Erle Johnston, Jr., Director of the State Sovereignty Commission said Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had accepted money from an organization labeled as subversive in spite of his claims that his SCLC "investigates any leaders" charged with communistic associations. Johnston showed members of this club a photostatic copy of a check made out to King by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated, of New Orleans. He pointed out in his speech that this was the successor organization to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which had been branded as subversive by both the House Committee on Un-American Activities and Senate Internal Security Committee.

One of the associates of Martin Luther King, who was publicly identified as one of the leaders of the "March on Washington," was Bayard Rustin.

According to an article in the August 30, 1963, Washington, D. C., "Evening Star," a Washington, D. C., daily newspaper, captioned "Rustin Rights Actionist, Press On," Bayard Rustin joined the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1936 while attending the College of the City of New York. This article continued that he quit the YCL after four years and he later "served 28 months in prison for being a conscientious objector."

The "New York Herald Tribune," a New York daily newspaper, for August 14, 1963, is an article entitled "Thurmond Assails a Leader of March," reports that in addition to Rustin's past communist activities he was "convicted in 1953 for sex perversion." Rustin reportedly "declined to comment on the morals charge which was lodged against him in California and which involved two other men."

~~STRICTLY PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

A female marshal was raped at Resurrection City by three or four men and two days later two Negro female visitors were raped there. The boyfriend of one victim went to the city to confront the rapists and was met by campaign official Hosea Williams and marshals. The boyfriend was told to leave or he would be beaten.

A white female, approximately 22 years old, came to the fence at the city at night and said she wanted to do whatever she could to support the campaign. One Negro male suggested she enter the camp and engage in sexual relations with the participants. She entered Resurrection City, stayed two hours, and engaged in sexual relations with six or seven Negro men.

Current Situation

Between 800 and 900 participants remain at Resurrection City, which was built to hold 3,000 people. The permit to occupy the park originally scheduled to expire June 16, 1968, has been extended to June 23, 1968. Most of the legitimate poor people have left and in the main only "black nationalists" remain. Reverend Abernathy said on June 10 that evicting residents of Resurrection City when the permit expires would "infuriate those who would like to resort to violence" and would "only disturb those in cities around the country to the point where violence would break out."

The Poor People's Campaign has scheduled a mass demonstration, called "Solidarity Day" for June 19. This demonstration is to include sympathizers from all over the country besides residents of Resurrection City.

The Mexican-American contingent still refuses to move into Resurrection City and the city is still working on its housing and sanitary facilities. A Negro plumber who volunteered to lay pipe there was quite critical over the refusal of residents of the city to assist him in his work.

Hosea Williams spent the night of June 16, 1968, at the Williard Hotel, Washington, D. C., in a room occupied by a white female, age 20-22, who claimed to be a secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

A white female who had resided at Resurrection City advised that one of the Poor People's Campaign marshals had pointed to Lincoln's statue in the Lincoln Memorial and said to her, "See that bastard? We're going to paint his skin black and make him look like a nigger." This individual also made an obscene reference to the Washington Monument. This female stated that several attempts were made by Negroes to have intercourse with her both voluntarily and forceably.

Another individual described the leadership of the Poor People's Campaign as chaotic and described the campaign as "Sodom and Gomorrah all over again."

An individual reported that a gang of young Negro youths from Chicago called the Rangers was stealing goods at Resurrection City and selling the items. This gang prefers white women and uses its authority to procure them.

Over \$60,000 have been spent by the Poor People's Campaign staff residing at the Pitts Motor Hotel, Washington, D. C.; \$7,000 reportedly were paid to Hosea Williams to cover cash and property stolen from him at Resurrection City. Campaign officials also have reportedly been cheating on travel vouchers.

Ralph Abernathy and his family have been living recently at the Howard Johnson Motor Hotel in Washington, D. C., without the knowledge of campaign participants.

Calendar Reform
Political Action Group

THE
BARLOW



CALENDAR

301-229-6066
6210 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016

Executive Director
Wallace D. Barlow

Subject: Cost of National Holidays

April 14th

The Hon. Edward Kennedy, Chairman
Senate Judiciary Committee
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy,

During the testimony on S. 25 a Library of Congress statistic was introduced which gave the cost of a national holiday as \$192 million. This is probably accurate, as far as it goes, i.e. the cost of the salaries of Federal employees.

We wish to present a cost estimate based on the loss of production:

A reasonable estimate for the Gross National Product in 1980 is \$2,604 billion or \$50.08 billion per week. The best estimate we have for the loss of production during holiday weeks comes from Mr. Araujo Jorge of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies. He states that industrial production falls by 40%, sales by 30% and absenteeism increases by 15%. During a Monday Holiday, industrial production in that week falls by 17%. We have tried to confirm these figures from sources within the U.S. but we find that production figures on a weekly basis are very scarce.

COST OF A FEDERAL HOLIDAY ON JANUARY FIFTEENTH STARTING IN 1980

Cal. Year	Day of Week	Loss of Production in %	Loss of Production in Billions
1980	Tuesday	40%	20.03
1981	Thursday	"	20.03
1982	Friday	17%	8.51
1983	Saturday	"	8.51
1984	Sunday	"	8.51
1985	Tuesday	40%	20.03
1986	Wednesday	"	20.03
Total:			\$105.65 billion
Average Cost per Year			\$15.09 "

We conclude that a new federal holiday is not the best way to fight poverty or inflation. Our organization will consistently oppose holidays that honor persons rather than concepts. For example, we have proposed a Free Enterprise Day on the second Monday in June. (92% of the respondents in a 1978 poll supported this.) We also support the Barlow Calendar which would provide a six day Festival of Peace at the end of June and a four day Festival of Friendship at the end of August. See Enclosures (1) and (2).

If we compare Climatic Merit Factors for the proposed Martin Luther King Day and for our proposed Free Enterprise Day, we have the following:

January 15th	.3	(Worst weather of the entire year)
June 10th	95.4	(Best day in the year is June 3rd. Merit Factor = 98.7)

Many persons believe that Dr. Martin Luther King should be honored in some way. The Barlow Calendar does provide a National Heroes Day on February 29th. This would be a three day weekend with a merit factor of 20.6. Dr. King could share this holiday.

In closing, we present a table which compares the cost of a Barlow Calendar holiday with the cost of a Gregorian Calendar floating holiday. A column has been added which is labeled, "Gain in Production". We will explain how this will originate:

(1) Forty-eight unbroken weeks are the equivalent in time worked to fifty-two Gregorian weeks, since 3.62 weeks are lost due to the observance of holidays and semi-holidays such as Election Day, the Friday after Thanksgiving, etc.

(2) All weeks, months and quarters will be identical in length under the Barlow Calendar. This will simplify accounting, scheduling, transportation, the setting of quotas, etc. We have estimated that these factors will result in an increase in productivity of about 8%.

COST/BENEFIT ANALYSIS OF THE LEADING PROPOSAL FOR CALENDAR REFORM

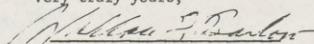
THE BARLOW CALENDAR - 29 1/4 HOLIDAYS AND 48 UNBROKEN WEEKS

<u>Cal. Year</u>	<u>No. of Holidays</u>	<u>Loss of Production Per Holiday</u>	<u>Total Loss</u>	<u>Gain in Production (8% of \$2,604 Billion)</u>	
1980	30 (Leap Year)	\$8.51 Billion	\$255.3 Billion	\$208.3	Billion
1981	29	" "	246.8	" "	" "
1982	29	" "	" "	" "	" "
1983	29	" "	" "	" "	" "
1984	30 (Leap Year)	" "	255.3	" "	" "
1985	29	" "	246.8	" "	" "
1986	29	" "	" "	" "	" "
		<u>Totals:</u>	<u>\$1,744.6</u>	<u>\$1,458.1</u>	
Net Loss of Production:			\$286.5 Billion		
Net Loss per Annum:			40.9 "		
Net Loss per Holiday			1.4 "		

Footnote: The net loss per holiday of \$1.4 billion compares with the loss of \$15.09 billion for Martin Luther King Day.

We respectfully request that this letter with its two enclosures be included in the record of your hearings on S. 25.

Very truly yours,


Wallace D. Barlow, P.E.
Exec. Director, CRPAG

WDB:tg

Encl. (1) CRPAG Press Release of November 30, 1978
Encl. (2) THE BARLOW CALENDAR

CC: Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee

NEWS from:**CALENDAR REFORM POLITICAL ACTION GROUP**

Wallace D. Barlow, Executive Director
 Triple the Holidays • Create Five Million Jobs
 6210 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20016

FOR RELEASE: November 30, 1978

CONTACT: Wallace D. Barlow 301 229 6066

The results of the SHARE THE WORK COALITION poll of the candidates for Federal office in the '78 elections are now available. Nine questions dealt with the Barlow Calendar, currently the leading plan for reforming and rationalizing the Gregorian Calendar. (The Barlow Calendar would separate the year into two parts. Part One would be the work year, consisting of twelve identical 28-day months. Part Two would consist of 29 month-end holidays, all contiguous with the last week end of the work months and positioned according to climatic merit factors as well as according to tradition. The work year would be shortened by 6%, thereby creating five million new jobs, i.e. sharing the work.)

An amazing 100% of the respondents voted Yes on Question 17: "I understand that each broken week - a holiday falling on a Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday - causes a 40% loss of production during that week; also a 30% reduction in sales; also a 15% increase in absenteeism. The SHARE THE WORK COALITION has calculated that a broken week costs \$7 billion more than a Monday Holiday. Since the Barlow Calendar would eliminate all broken weeks and make all holidays contiguous with weekends, I will support the adoption of the Barlow Calendar."

All of the respondents also voted Yes on Question 8: "Do you agree that a system of time measurement invented 6,000 years ago might benefit from a critical analysis?"; and Question 10: "Would you support a bill to authorize the Federal Government to coordinate the timing of holidays? (It would not require the states to change the names of holidays such as Maryland Day or Patriots Day.)

Ninety-two per-cent would support a new Monday Holiday - Free Enterprise Day, on the second Monday in June.

Only 75% supported the conversion of Independence Day and Thanksgiving to Monday Holidays. (Three years ago this percentage was 65%).

The average affirmative vote was 92.0%.

We read this as saying: FULL SPEED AHEAD! We shall proceed.

The Barlow Calendar

January

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
				29		

Winter Festival

February

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
				29		

National Heroes' Day

March

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
				29		

Spring Festival

April

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
		29	30	31		

Easter Holiday

* Easter Sunday

May

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	29	30	31	32	33	

Summer Festival

* Leap year only

June

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	29	30	31	32		

Festival of Peace

July

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
		29	30	31		

Festival of Independence

August

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
				29	30	

Festival of Friendship

September

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
				29	30	

Autumn Festival

October

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
				29		

Music Festival

November

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
				29	30	

Thanksgiving Holiday

* Thanksgiving Day

December

Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	29	30	31	32	33	

Christmas Holiday

* Christmas Day



