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CIVIL RIGHTS MYTHS

and

COMMUNIST REALITIES

By

Medford Evans, Ph.D.

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By Medford Evans, Ph.D.



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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

MEDFORD EVANS, Ph.D.

Medford Evans, author of "The Secret War for the A-Bomb," was Chief of Training for the United States Atomic Energy Commission until he resigned in 1952. National defense is endangered, he believes, by the dominance in bureaucratic Washington of left-wing, "intellectuals" whose two main objectives are to deny the United States the use of nuclear weapons, and to revolutionize relations between the races. He sees a connection between events in various sectors of the globe. His view was indicated in a column which he published during 1961 in the Shreveport Journal under the heading, "The South: Soviet Target."

Though Evans once wrote a satirical article entitled "Why I Am an Anti-Intellectual," he might be called an intellectual himself. A Yale Ph.D. since 1933, he taught English and history in Southern colleges, and published articles and poems in learned journals and literary quarterlies. He went to Oak Ridge, Tennessee, during World War II as training instructor, a position from which he advanced in a few years to become AEC Chief of Training in Washington. Since leaving the bureaucracy, he has become widely known for right-wing activities: Editor of Facts Forum News, contributor to The Freeman, Human Events, National Review, American Opinion and The Citizen; speaker at Conservative rallies in the Midwest and South; recipient of a grant from the Historical Research Foundation, Inc. of New York; consultant to the Citizens' Councils of America; Secretary of the States Rights Party of Louisiana; Coordinator for the John Birch Society; member of the Advisory Board of the Conservative Society of America; consultant to former Major General Edwin A. Walker during the Hearings of the Senate Special Preparedness Subcommittee in 1962. Evans joined the permanent staff of the Citizens' Councils of America in May, 1962.

A native Texan, Dr. Evans is the oldest son of Dr. L.L. Evans, Methodist Pastor and District Superintendent. Medford Evans' first teaching job was at the University of Mississippi in 1928-30. There he met Josephine Stanton, of McComb, Mississippi, whom he married in 1931. They have two children: M. Stanton Evans, author of "Revolt on the Campus," and Editor of The Indianapolis News, and Mrs. Bill (Kate) Casey of Austin, Texas.

Dr. Evans is a member of the Citizens' Councils in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee; of the John Birch Society; and of the Graduates' Club of New Haven, Connecticut.

"Civil Rights Myths and Communist Realities" is the thought-provoking speech Dr. Medford Evans delivered at the Congress of Conservatives, held in Chicago on April 29, 30 and May 1, 1965. This national gathering of Conservatives was sponsored by The Independent American newspaper and The Conservative Society of America.

CIVIL RIGHTS MYTHS AND COMMUNIST REALITIES

By Medford Evans, Ph. D.

Myths are works of fiction attributable to no particular author, developed over a long period of time, independent of fact but in the style of fact, which survive and grow because they meet emotional needs -- sometimes obscure emotional needs -- of large numbers of people. The mythology of what is euphemistically called "civil rights" is one of the determining factors of contemporary history. White Americans and Negroes act today on belief in a set of myths about civil rights. The trend of this action is toward termination of the United States as an independent country, and of the civilization -- usually called Western or Modern European -- of which the United States is a political product. This trend is alarming to those of us who would like to see Western civilization and the independence of the United States perpetuated. Recalling that myths, which are recognized as being myths, lose much of their compulsive effect, we regard it as a measure of patriotic defense and cultural piety to anatomize -- at least in a rough preliminary way - the mythology of civil rights.

Without attempting systematic proof, let me offer a word of explanation of the statement that the civil rights movement, if unchecked, means the end of the United States and of Modern European civilization. Briefly, that civilization, which is Christian, scientific, commercial, and industrial, was developed by white men and spread by them to all parts of the globe. It has been to some degree forced on and to some degree voluntarily adopted by colored peoples. To the extent that One World has been achieved, the achievement has been due to the energy, inspiration, instruction, and leadership of the white race. One need not acknowledge the desirability of white supremacy -- perhaps the last five hundred years of history have been a mistake -- but one accepts the fact that the Modern World has been a white man's world.

A REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

Indeed, it is precisely that fact which the contemporary world revolution proposes to change. The analysis of the world situation is not materially in controversy between segregationists and

revolutionaries. The opposition is simply that between attackers and defenders of a mutually recognized stronghold. It is Bayard Rustin, described by Commentary as "the leading tactician of the civil rights movement," who said in the February, 1965 issue of that magazine: "I believe the Negro's struggle for equality in America is essentially revolutionary. While most Negroes -- in their hearts -- unquestionably seek only to enjoy the fruits of American society as it now exists, their quest cannot objectively be satisfied within the framework of existing political and economic relations." Plainly, Bayard Rustin's objective is the termination of American society as it now exists. He continues: "At issue, after all, is not civil rights, strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions. Last summer's riots were not race riots; they were outbursts of class aggression in a society where class and color definitions are converging disastrously. How can the (perhaps misnamed) civil rights movement deal with this problem?"

Such an admission, or declaration, by Rustin that "civil rights" is a means to a revolutionary end is virtually complete confirmation of the thesis that what is threatened is the overthrow of all existing institutions, and of the necessity for those of us who object to such an overthrow to examine more critically the concepts -- what I have chosen to call the mythology -- of "civil rights."

The first myth I shall mention is not strictly a civil rights myth, but underlies them. This is the myth that the South is the problem section of America, and that the rest of the country must do something about the South. That is a very old myth indeed -- expressed over a hundred years ago in Abolitionism, meaning then the abolition of slavery and expressed today in a new Abolitionism meaning now, really, the abolition of the United States. Both Abolition movements use the South as Hitler used the Jews -- to whip up feelings of righteous indignation. But it turned out that Nazism was more of a problem than were the German Jews, and I suggest that the attitude toward the South prevailing in the national press and contemporary literature is more of a problem than is the South itself.

THE FALSE IMAGE-MAKERS

The thesis that the South is the neurotic region of the country is documented largely from the works of such authors as Erskine Caldwell, Tennessee Williams and especially William Faulkner. Now it is perfectly obvious that these authors themselves are neurotic, and they depict a neurotic Southern scene. Promoted and ballyhooed by the New York manufacturers of literary reputations, these neurotic Southerners have become famous and, in varying degrees and ways, popular. But I suggest that this proves not that the South they affect to describe is neurotic, but simply that their own quite evidently neurotic approach to any sort of material whatever (and their material happens to be the Southern scene) finds a responsive chord in the neurotic New York critics who for reasons of their own find satisfaction and hope for profit in the distribu-

tion of prurient, macabre, or otherwise shocking pictures labeled "South." Some plays and novels allegedly about the South are simply pornography disguised as regional literature -- just as other pornography may be disguised as art or medical science. William Faulkner admitted that this was the case with "Sanctuary." Other supposedly realistic presentations of the South have a more sinister purpose -- that of political propaganda intended to destroy the South, and destroy America. But whether the motive is pornographic or destructive (and in sadism the two are united) the production and distribution of literature about the South proves less about the subject of such writings than it does about the authors, the critics, and to some extent the readers. And the last are mostly not in the South at all. William Faulkner is read less in Mississippi than in England -- not merely because there is in general more reading in England, but especially because a Mississippian reading Faulkner does not recognize the scene and will not, like the Englishman, assume that it must be true.

Exploitation of the South as a sort of Shangri-La for Freudian fantasies, with the perhaps incidental, perhaps calculated effect of damaging the reputation of the real South, is by no means limited to what is admitted to be fiction, but is a standard occupation among authors of nonfiction articles and books. A recent example is the "Special Supplement" of the April issue of Harper's -- "The South Today...100 years after Appomattox." The intellectual consistency of this potpourri may be gauged by the fact that one of the articles states that "The issue was settled once and for all" -- at Gettysburg! Then why, one may ask, is Harper's still agitating the issue 100 years after Appomattox?

The answer appears in what is by far the best of the articles, an essay by the historian C. Vann Woodward, entitled "From the First Reconstruction to the Second," which recalls that the Nation was reunited not by Lee's surrender at Appomattox, but by the so-called Compromise of 1877, which settled the Hayes-Tilden election dispute with an understanding that the Republican candidate would go to the White House while States Rights would be restored in the South. "The sections had never been far apart on race policy, anyway," observed Woodward, "only on slavery.... The twentieth century dawned on a new era of harmony between the dominant whites of North and South, East and West.... The Southern Way had become the American Way."

This analysis by Professor Woodward, which is of course correct as far as it goes, is essentially the same as that made by Citizens' Council Administrator W. J. Simmons in an address before the Sons of the Confederate Veterans a few years ago. Woodward, however, does not proceed to the logical conclusion that since the Southern Way has become the American Way, an attack on the Southern Way is an attack on the American Way.

WHITE AND BLACK NEUROTICS

Some of the leaders of the Negro revolution do have enough logic to say this. The notorious James Baldwin is quoted a few pages beyond Woodward as saying, ironically: "Segregation has worked

brilliantly in the South and, in fact, in the Nation..." The even further out Le Roi Jones, who has what is called a poem in this issue of Harper's, appears also in the contemporaneous issue of Negro Digest, where he says explicitly: "The Black Artist's role in America must teach the white eyes their deaths, and teach the black man how to bring these deaths about." It is only fair to add that in the same issue of Negro Digest, Langston Hughes deplores works by both Baldwin and Jones, among others, saying, "The last thing Negroes need now are black imitators of neurotic white writers who themselves have nothing of which to be proud." It is also only fair to add to that that Baldwin and Jones appear to be more in the mainstream of contemporary literature than does Langston Hughes, and to observe that a movement which leaves Hughes even apparently in a relatively moderate position is a movement which has indeed reached some kind of extreme. I agree with Hughes about the neuroticism of many authors now in fashion -- both white and Negro. Hughes himself, however, helped pave the way for them. And the underlying neuroticism is by no means confined to those who like Jones and Baldwin, William Styron and Norman Mailer, reveal it in their style. The malady may be even more deeply grounded in a respectable academic like Professor Woodward himself, who writes so sanely and so accurately as far as he goes -- who clearly understands what has made possible the historic United States of the Twentieth Century -- and who nevertheless, objectively speaking at any rate, joins forces with the Joneses and the Baldwins who make no secret of hating America and wanting to contribute to its destruction.

And now that I have used the hated word "hate," I must proceed to examine some of the myths specifically belonging to the civil-rights cycle. I have chosen three; The myth of prejudice, the myth of hate, and the myth of injustice.

THE MYTH OF PREJUDICE

Prejudice has come to be virtually a synonym for the Southern point of view on the race question. I recall some years ago when my son lived in Washington and my wife and I lived in Louisiana, he paid us a visit and returned to the Nation's Capital by train. He took a cab to his apartment, as he later told me. You may know that Washington cab-drivers talk a lot, and many of them do it very well. This one was voluble on the subject of Negroes, who -- he observed bitterly -- were taking over the District of Columbia. It was the first time I ever heard the joke that Washington is now called Hershey -- 70 per cent chocolate and 30 per cent nuts. The taxi-driver's diatribe continued so long and with such vehemence that finally my son felt emboldened to say, "Yes, it's a problem. You know, I've just got back from Louisiana, where they have lots of Negroes but don't have much trouble. Down there they have segregation."

"Yeah," said the cabbie rather sourly, "them Southerners sure are prejudiced."

By definition, nowadays, if you believe in segregation you are prejudiced. It is a singularly inappropriate semantic distortion,

in view of the better established meaning of the term. Prejudice properly means a judgment or a habit of judging without knowledge or admission or relevant facts in the case. I confess to a certain provincial prejudice against eating snails. This is pure prejudice, as I have never tasted them. On the other hand, when I say that I do not like sugar in my coffee, that is not prejudice at all. I know very well what coffee with sugar in it tastes like, and when I was young used to drink it that way.

Prejudice is, of course, often a relative term. Should I express summary opinions on the cities New York and Chicago, I should doubtless reveal some mixture of knowledge and prejudice. In the case of many important areas of human action we are all liable to be somewhat prejudiced, as we so often have to make decisions when enough facts to support a scientific judgment simply are not available. This is true in the matter of race relations in the United States today. The subject is vast, complicated, and obscure -- and often confused with skilful deliberation by professional propagandists. I wish to submit, however, that of all sections of the country only the South has a reservoir of experience from which a reasoned judgment might be drawn. I will not say at this time -- though I may say it later -- that the South is correct in its judgment. I say now only that the South is, necessarily, the least prejudiced section of the country in regard to the Negro, for it is by far the best informed. It may not be well enough informed, or it may err for other reasons than ignorance, but those possibilities do not alter the fact that it is a peculiar inversion of values for other sections of the country to call the South, in this one field of human experience, prejudiced.

THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NEGROES AND WHITES

What is prejudiced is the nowadays common assertion -- uttered in sincerity by the genuinely ignorant and with some desperate compulsion by many who know better -- that there is no difference between the races. Of course if there were no difference, we should have no race problem, and the whole history of America would be far other than what it has been and is likely to be. One might dispute interminably as to why there is a difference, but that profound differences exist is elementary to rational discussion of the problem. Surely nothing contributes more to the enormous spate of irrational emotionalism now current in this area than the obstinate, prejudiced reiteration of the patently absurd proposition: There is no difference!

Again I turn to my dialectical opposition for confirmation. Stokely Carmichael is a Negro born in Trinidad, reared in Harlem, and seasoned in the current guerrilla operations in Mississippi. He was interviewed for Commentary (April, 1965) by Robert Penn Warren, to whom he said, among a great many other things of similar import:

"There are a few white people in the Movement who are what

we call completely Negrotized. But there's still a difference: you can tell people who come into the Movement and try and say there is no difference. Also the other conflict, you get Northern whites, all committed to equality, on a humanitarian and intellectual level, but they themselves don't know a Negro, they don't even have Negroes in their own neighborhoods, have never known a Negro. They don't know a Negro is really different."

One gathers that the attitude of Negroes toward white integrationists may be analogous to that of women toward effeminate men -- willing to be friendly, but basically somewhat scornfully amused. Or like the attitude of children toward overly companionable grown-ups.

Oddly enough -- or perhaps it is not so odd -- disciples of the no-difference school impute differences where there are none, a point which Carmichael also brings out:

"I went out to the NSA conference. I took the floor and said just any ridiculous thing, you know, about Negroes, about the race conference. Here were students from all over the country, and they would never have attacked me no matter what I said, because I was a Negro. The whole thing is shifted so much, if you're a Negro and among a white group, you're good, you're great, you're -- but I am sure you know Negroes are bastards too. But you know, I was good no matter what I did."

Thoughtful non-Southerners might ponder one more psychological disclosure from Carmichael, who as a Freedom Rider spent some time in 1961 in jail in Jackson, Mississippi, where he got acquainted with his white jailer -- "an old man, early fifties" -- of whom he said, "We got to respect each other very well, sort of.... We finally came to some understanding, I guess a sort of unspoken understanding. I found out a lot from him, about Mississippi and the way of life, you know, how he used to go fishing with Negroes, and so forth. He thought it was on an equal footing. I don't know, it might have been, it's something that bothered me."

I should imagine the moral of this to be that a closer affinity may exist between two people who both recognize that they are of different kinds than between two who pretend that they are of the same kind when they are not. Genuinely unprejudiced white men and Negroes can deal with each other intelligently because they recognize and respect the difference between them -- including the difference that the America we know, North as well as South, is a country where the great decisions have been made by white men -- including the decision to end Negro slavery, and including the decision -- if you go through with it -- to commit white suicide. We segregationists are not going to commit white suicide, but, as white integrationists love to tell us, we are -- at today's decision-making level -- apparently in the minority.

The neurotic guilt-complex of white integrationists is suicidal in its effect. James Burnham, in his important book, "Suicide of the West," diagnosed this malady of our time both in its specific manifestation in the race question and in the more general form called Liberalism.

"The Liberal's feeling of guilt at the condition of the wretched and oppressed," says Burnham, "is irrational; and irrational

precisely from the point of view of the Liberal ideology itself.... It has lately become morally fashionable to say: 'The white people of the United States have exploited and oppressed the American Negroes for three hundred years and now it is the moral obligation of the whites to make up for all the suffering they have caused.' " Burnham waives discussion of whether American Negroes actually have been exploited and oppressed, or are now wretched -- a matter with which I shall deal briefly hereinafter. He merely goes on to show that, be the objective facts what they may, the sense of guilt cannot be logically connected with Liberal philosophy. "Liberal theory," Burnham points out, "is atomistic and quantitative, and in particular rejects 'organic' conceptions of society, which Liberalism believes to be correlated with reactionary and Fascist types of social regime.... In fact, the very concept of a 'race' of human beings is so difficult to reconcile with Liberal doctrine that many Liberal anthropologists and philosophers -- including the late Franz Boas and his pupils, who constitute the most influential American school of anthropology -- rule it out. If a race doesn't even exist, it is hard to see how it can be guilty. And there is a milder paradox, for Liberal theory, even in the idea of an 'integration' to be achieved through a struggle by Negroes for 'their rights': the struggle is conceived in terms that differentiate the Negroes from the rest of the population, but the goal, in terms that assimilate the Negroes within the population."

Burnham here states in philosophical language what has been more popularly put: If there is no difference between white and colored, how are we going to organize to advance the colored?

All activity and all discussion of the race problem depends on the practical assumption that important differences between the races exist. Thus it is sheerest prejudice to deny that differences exist, and prejudice to impute prejudice to those who recognize differences.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF HATE

As the myth of prejudice is born of prejudice, the myth of hate may be born of hate. Southerners of the old regime were often charged with arrogance. Whether Virginians and Carolinians were in fact of more aristocratic lineage than New Englanders need not be determined. The South had a Cavalier tradition, the North a Cromwellian tradition. What better way for the Puritan to humble the haughty gentleman than forcibly to put him down on an equal footing with his servant? That the servant in America happened to be a blackamoor would only add to the grim satisfaction of the righteous leveler.

That hatred of the South was an element of the old Abolitionism seems both obvious and understandable. A similar motive may very well still operate. White Southerners are by no means uniformly lovable, and when they are not, their superficially polite manner can only infuriate an honest Yankee all the more. What better way to bring Johnny Reb down a peg than to assure him he is no better than a Negro, and that as a matter of fact the only

reason he thinks he is, is that he hates Negroes?

The accusation of hatred is particularly skilful. For, as a rule we human beings do not hate our inferiors, nor our obvious superiors, but our rivals. Adults, as a rule, do not hate children, and little children seldom hate adults. But adults often hate other adults and children, alas, may hate children. Thus, to accuse the segregationist of hating the Negro is to beg the question of equality. It is to assume equality without argument. This accusation has one other advantage as a psychological weapon: it almost invariably provokes feelings of hatred -- actually toward the accuser -- which may then be pointed out as evidence that the accused is indeed a "hater."

Now, I am convinced in my own mind, on the basis of a lifetime of observation, that white Southerners do not generally hate Negroes, and that Negroes do not apparently hate white Southerners. The alleged "hatred" is a myth. I do want to make an incidental point, however, that if it were true that there is hatred between whites and Negroes, then it would be a very peculiar kind of peacemaking and brotherly love that insisted on throwing these antagonistic groups together. Some kind of separation seems advisable between groups that hate each other. So I do not understand why it is assumed to be such a labor of Christian love to break down the barriers between these potentially warring factions. It is like integrating cats and dogs -- which can certainly be done on an individual basis under carefully controlled circumstances (and there is a great deal of that kind of racial integration in the South) but is hazardous of the peace when attempted on a mass basis.

It is shocking to a Southerner to be told that he hates Negroes. As shocking as it would be to a parent to be told that he hates children -- because he puts them to bed early and will not let them drive the family automobile. Ah, you say, here is that paternalistic Southern attitude toward the Negro! How do these arrogant Southerners dare be paternalistic -- be patronizing (the words are etymological doublets) -- toward the Negro? I reply with another question: How does a father dare be paternalistic toward his children? (Some fathers do not dare.) Is not the child equal in the sight of God to the adult? Indeed he is, as we have abundant proof in the Scripture. It is not usually thought, however, that the equal value of children and grown-ups before God relieves the grown-ups of responsibility for and commensurate authority over the children. And most people do not believe that a completely "democratic" parent is actually motivated by respect for the equality of the child, but rather by unwillingness to assume parental responsibility. I suggest that the analogy holds to some extent in the racial situation, and that herein is an explanation of the familiar fact that a Negro in personal distress is more likely, given a choice, to approach a Southern segregationist than a Northern integrationist for help.

I am familiar with the claim that today there is a "New Negro" who is identifying himself fully as a man and asks no favors of any white man. When this claim results from wounded personal vanity we can only be sympathetic. But we cannot yield to immaturity

simply because it may be disappointed by our exercise of maturity. If the New Negro is all that is claimed for him, he needs no help from me, wants no help from me, and will get no help from me. I am sure that some of you are shocked by my statement -- but that only suggests that you do not fully accept the claims for the New Negro. Neither do I. He is just too tough to be true. I am glad to treat any genuine New Negro with respect. I feel respect for the Old Negro. I feel respect for children. I feel respect for women. I respect each for what he or she is -- not because I regard any one of them as identical with an adult white male. It may be that the key to the crisis of our time is abdication of responsibility by the adult white male. The subject might be worth pursuing further, but that would be in another context. Suffice it to say now that a normal white man who is familiar with Negroes does not hate them, nor does he identify with them. If he does not accept the authority which is natural to him, he is not normal. I would as soon draft women into the combat forces. And, of course, the Communists do that.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF RACIAL INJUSTICE

The third myth which I shall discuss is the myth of racial injustice. It is the most substantive, and possibly the least substantial. "Prejudice" and "hate," if they exist, are personal faults to be amended by education and repentance or perhaps psychoanalysis. If, however, it is true that "The white people of the United States have exploited and oppressed the American Negro for three hundred years," and are to a significant degree still doing so, then the situation does, indeed, cry aloud for correction. Even the logic -- such as it is -- of the contention that we are not accountable for the sins of our ancestors is inadequate to assuage the qualms which must assail us when we read of the brutalities of slavery and the horrors of the slave trade, mindful of the Biblical warning that God may visit the sins of the fathers upon the children to the fourth and fifth generations.

WHITE MEN DID NOT ENSLAVE FREE NEGROES

We observed earlier that white feelings of collective guilt toward the Negro are, from the point of view of those very Liberals who talk most of such feelings, logical nonsense. A non-Liberal, however, cannot let the matter rest there. From the traditional point of view, races do exist and racial responsibility is transmitted from generation to generation. If my forefathers enslaved the Negro unjustly, then I acknowledge a burden of guilt. I believe that most white Americans today share this sensitivity, and wince inwardly as they see in their mind's eye the white adventurers of the Eighteenth Century capturing poor Negroes in Africa like animals for the zoo, and carrying away these free and innocent savages to the rigors of slave labor in Virginia or Carolina.

Actually, the picture is false, and the moral indictment based on it is false. The white man never enslaved free Negroes. A moment's reflection would show you that he could not have done so. A trader going to Africa intending to return with a shipload of slaves would not be able, of course, to take so much as one platoon of fighting men capable of overcoming native resistance. In a climate and land even more hostile than the savage inhabitants, what chance would a handful of white men ever have to extricate themselves from the toils of any African jungle into which they might have been so foolhardy as to venture - much less to bring out with them kicking and screaming twenty times their own number of lusty freedom-loving savages scarcely less sinewy than the apes and leopards around them?

No chance. You can't do it today. Our ancestors couldn't do it two hundred, three hundred years ago.

How then did white men get Negro slaves? They bought them from other Negroes. Slavery is an African institution. The first white man ever to explore the interior of Africa was a Scotsman named Mungo Park, who made two expeditions in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century. From the second he never returned, but after the first he published an account of his explorations, in which he described the custom of holding slaves, and estimated that three-fourths of the West African Negroes were in bondage to the other one-fourth. Of course, no one needs so many slaves as all that; hence the tribal kings along the coast were glad to find in visiting European sea-captains a way to market for their only surplus property -- their poor relations or prisoners of tribal war whom they held in slavery.

The white slave-trader took no fighting men to Africa -- only rum, glass beads, and other items suitable for barter in exchange for the black gold of human flesh that the black brothers made of each other as first one then another gained the dominant position.

Now, we are not going to defend the moral virtue of the white men who bought these slaves, except to the extent of insisting that they were at any rate no worse than the black men who sold them. And if we generalize the matter to involve each race as a whole, then we may say, I think in all fairness, that whatever may be the white man's burden of guilt relative to the purity demanded by the Almighty, the white man has no burden of guilt relative to the Negro. For the Negro enslaved the Negro before the white man ever saw him.

I will add another point. While the horrors of the "Middle Passage" in the triangular slave trade have doubtless been exaggerated, (after all, the slaver had to get a good percentage of his cargo to the plantations alive and in reasonable health in order to come out financially on the deal) yet we can be sure conditions on a slave ship were rigorous in the extreme. Perhaps we can be more precise. The life of a slave on a slave ship must have been intermediate in hardship between the greater agony of the stockade where his African captor had kept him prior to sale -- to be eaten, no doubt, if he proved unsaleable -- and the comparative comfort of a cabin in the quarters of a Dixie plantation. Darkie sentimentality about life with Ole Massa and Ole Miss was not

created out of the whole cloth by Stephen Foster, but based on the fact that the Negroes never had it so good as they have had it since coming to North America. That is not to defend slavery as such. But all morality must be judged in the light of the circumstances in which it has to operate. Even Liberals do not unduly condemn Thomas Jefferson for holding slaves, for they consider that slavery was already an established institution when Jefferson was born. He, like other apostles of liberty, did the best he could within the limitations of his environment and his age.

Now that is just what the white man did as regards the Negro. The Negro had already made himself a slave and put himself on the auction block when the white man found him. The white man took him over, improved his condition, and eventually set him free. The Negro never freed himself. He enslaved himself, but he never freed himself. The white man did that. Allowing for enough over-simplification to make the ideas manageable, the historical accuracy of the foregoing summary is incontestable, and it makes an absurdity of the charge that the white man has been unjust to the Negro.

SEGREGATION PROTECTS BOTH RACES

Of course, the white man has been unjust to the white man, for it is whites who largely propagate the slander that we have mistreated the Negro in this country for three hundred years. The deadliest conflicts are intraracial.

If the charge be false that slavery constituted white injustice to the black, how much greater is the falsehood regarding segregation! Segregation is a means of protecting both races, but especially the weaker, just as segregation of the sexes in public places is helpful to both men and women, but especially to women. Or as segregation of prize-fighters or football teams by weight benefits all concerned, but especially the lighter-weight.

The French philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville said, writing before the Civil War, that wherever white and black have lived together -- if the white man predominated, he enslaved the black; and if the black man predominated, he exterminated the white. Now, whatever the morality of slavery may be, I do not think it can be accounted worse than extermination. When de Tocqueville wrote, it was difficult to find any exception to his rule. The island of Haiti furnished him strong support for what he said the blacks would do. (Le Roi Jones and the Muslims promise us the same thing would happen here if they just had a good chance.) The Americans, North and South, supported de Tocqueville regarding the characteristic conduct of the whites.

But since de Tocqueville's time, the United States has furnished a new approach to a symbiosis for the races. The North having destroyed slavery and preserved the Union, the South developed legal segregation as a means of keeping the peace between free white men and free Negroes, and the North, for 75 years, accepted this legal innovation of the South as a means of accommodating the disparate political pressures of the reunited sections.

The North, understandably, had a guilty conscience about its

military conquest of the South, and was willing enough to accede to the establishment of segregation under the rubric of States Rights -- the more because the basic right of a State to secede, which the South did not want *per se* but only *per quod*, had been abrogated. As C. Vann Woodward said, "The Southern way became the American Way." In race relations, not secession. And the former was the real issue.

The important thing for us is that from the point of view of race relations, the Southern Way was right. Segregation obviates both the enslavement of the blacks and the extermination of the whites, which were the horns of de Tocqueville's dilemma.

Justice is not the enforcement of procrustean egalitarianism. Justice is the administration of that which is appropriate: to each his own.

The Negro has more fully come into his own in the United States -- in the American Way, which is the Southern Way -- than anywhere else in the world at any time in history.

It is prejudice to charge the South with prejudice.

It is often hate which imputes to the South hatred.

And it is unjust to accuse the South of injustice, when in fact its system of segregation is an instrument of racial justice, a means to racial peace, the best solution to date of the race problem. Those who attack segregation are working -- objectively if not purposefully -- to exacerbate the race problem, destroy racial peace, and foster that total lack of discrimination which is the source of chaotic injustice. The "justice" of integration is the justice of the jungle.

THE DESTROYERS OF CIVILIZATION

Although I have barely scratched the surface of the civil rights mythology, it is time to move on, and what we have seen is perhaps enough to indicate the direction in which we should move. This mythology is not simply the natural accretion of related legends. It is to a significant degree contrived and systematically promoted. There is purpose behind these fabrications.

The positive purpose can only be that which would be served by the inevitable consequences of widespread acceptance of such mythology, and, as we observed at the outset, these consequences comprise the end of independence for the United States, and the dissolution of Modern European civilization. For some, this is a laudable objective. Let me again quote Le Roi Jones, who for all his limitations does, somehow, represent the leading edge of the revolution. "My ideas revolve," he says, "around the rotting and destruction of America....America is the source of Western culture....a culture whose time has come and which is rotting at the roots." As an objective statement (quoted from *Liberation*, Feb., 1965) this is absurd. Of course, America is not the source of Western culture, but simply its most successful political and economic product. Jones can tell us little or nothing about Western culture and America -- except that he can tell us a great deal as to how he and other currently fashionable litterateurs feel about the matter. We can surely get the message that he hates us.

Far more famous and influential, and almost equally virulent, is James Baldwin, who has written: "The Negro himself no longer believes in the good faith of white Americans... What the Negro has discovered, and on an international level, is the power to intimidate. ...White Americans have contented themselves with gestures that are now described as 'tokenism.' ...In any event, the sloppy and fatuous nature of American good will can never be relied upon to deal with hard problems.... The Negroes of this country may never be able to rise to power, but they are very well placed indeed to precipitate chaos and ring down the curtain on the American dream." (From "The Fire Next Time," Dial Press, 1963, pp. 99-102.)

Baldwin is not only anti-American, he is anti-Christian. "Christianity," he says, "has operated with an unmitigated arrogance and cruelty." And again, "The energy that was buried with the rise of the Christian nations must come back into the world; nothing can prevent it." (Ibid., pp. 58-9.) Summarizing his estimate of Western civilization in general and the United States in particular, Baldwin says, "The only thing white people have that black people need, or should want, is power." (Ibid., p. 110.)

Now, the important thing about James Baldwin and Le Roi Jones is that they are accepted and promoted by white, Christian Americans. Let us not too hastily despair over this. Perhaps the works of Baldwin and Jones are like horror movies, which may give some kind of Aristotelian purgation of pity and fear. But the grotesque should have limits. Undue or overprolonged attention to the fantastically ugly indicates and augments morbidity. I think it is morbid for Catholic colleges or Protestant churches to invite James Baldwin to speak -- unless for the specific purpose of refuting his wicked and absurd prevarications. I am afraid that the white arbiters of taste and morals who inflict Baldwin and Jones upon us are NOT mere thrill-mongers, and certainly NOT authentic critics of human society. They are, rather, as it seems to me, white men who, for various reasons, share with Baldwin and Jones a prejudiced hatred of the existing order and seek an overthrow of all existing institutions. If they are not this, then it is hard to understand why they are not fools. Objectively, in terms of historical action, they are fools or Communists. Now the Scriptures warn me that I had better not call them fools. I find nothing in the Scriptures, however, that prevents my drawing the only other logical conclusion.

Considered as exhortation, Lenin's theory of colonialism-imperialism has worked rather well. It no longer seems far-fetched to say that the road to Paris (from Moscow) lies through Peking and Calcutta, though today one might add Leopoldville, Havanna, and Atlanta. The system of imperialism which Lenin described was, of course, a system in which white Europeans (including white North Americans) administered colonies in the continents of Asia, Africa, and South America, populated largely by yellow, black, and brown peoples. These areas the Communists have long seen as a "blazing hearth of revolution," and they have never ceased to spray gasoline on the flames. Of special interest, not only to us in the United States but to all who are concerned

with the outcome of the struggle for the world, is the situation in the so-called Black Belt of this country, which includes a concatenation of counties from Richmond to Shreveport, shaped when drawn on a map like a scimitar or a sickle, with a crossbar which might be a hammer on either side of the Mississippi from New Orleans to the bootheel of Missouri. To this central slice of Dixie might be added now Harlem, the South Side of Chicago, and several other urban areas of the North and California.

To the Communists, the Negro areas of the United States are a colonial enclave of the imperial West, an inextinguishable focus of savage revolution within the heart of the most formidable of the reactionary powers - the United States of America. By historic coincidence, several of our major atomic energy installations -- for example, Oak Ridge, the Savannah River plant in South Carolina, and the diffusion plant at Paducah, Kentucky -- lie in or near the Black Belt, as do probably half the major military, naval, and air force bases. And, intersecting it irreparably is the power jugular of America, the oil and gas pipelines from the Southwest to the Northeast. Imagine the sheer salivation in Peking when Mao and Chou contemplate this conglomeration of revolutionary goodies virtually inviting ravishment through proximity to masses of suggestible, impulsive, passionate, and increasingly unemployed Negroes! No wonder Robert Williams, the black giant from Monroe, North Carolina, whose Havana-based, English-language Radio Free Dixie is beamed toward North America, has found welcome in Peking. This is the same Williams whose publication, *The Crusader*, advocating guerrilla civil war and giving instructions in the preparation of Molotov cocktails and other weapons appropriate for sabotage and insurrection, was confiscated last summer from the automobiles of militant integrationists in Mississippi. Williams was the subject of an article in *Esquire* last October, by one William Worthy, 42, Negro, sometime foreign correspondent for the *Baltimore Afro-American*, a friend of Williams. Entitled "The Red Chinese American Negro," the article is one you should read, even if you have to buy a copy of *Esquire* -- and to that extent support the revolution -- to do it.

In the Negro theatre of operations as elsewhere, Communists employ their own contrived thesis and antithesis to achieve, as they hope, a new synthesis. Paralleling the opposition between Russia and China, or peaceful coexistence and violent hostility, is the cooperative dichotomy between integration as promoted by the NAACP and black nationalism as aroused by the Black Muslims. One reason why Martin Luther King, Jr., enjoys such unique influence is that he is such a master of artful equivocation as to appeal simultaneously to integrationists and to black nationalists. Of course, the synthesis of those two opposites is actually achieved in their common hostility to the existing, white-dominated order. They are willing to postpone their own disagreement as to whether they want to amalgamate with the white man or destroy him until after they have succeeded in their common purpose of bringing him to unconditional surrender. King's ability to be all things to all men of course does not stop here, for he exerts charismatic charm over millions of white men as well. These are those suicidal ones

of whom we have spoken.

It is essential to remember that any natural sentiments of rebellion which Negroes might feel toward white men would be totally inadequate to sustain and guide the kind of revolutionary drive which we are witnessing today. Only an ecumenical movement such as Communism has the organizational resources to produce synchronized spectacles such as the absurdity in Selma and the horror in Viet Nam, obscenity in Berkeley and barratry in Mississippi. Mario Savio flies from the Bay Area to Alabama to insure constant employment of his talents. Martin Luther King, Jr., himself attests the unity of the revolution in the following AP story of last Friday (April 23, 1965): "What good does it do me to integrate a lunch counter, if the milk I drink there is loaded with strontium 90?" asks Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. King, in Boston to lead a civil rights march in protest against discrimination in schools, housing and jobs, was asked whether he had lost some workers in the civil rights movement to the 'ban the bomb' or 'end the war in Viet Nam' campaigns. He said he saw all such movements as having a common goal of peace and justice."

That would be Communist peace and Soviet justice.

The great danger, of course, is not King, and is not Communism. It is our own wickedness and folly, as illustrated, I suggest, by the conduct of those officials in Massachusetts who turn out to honor and bootlick this pious impostor who is nevertheless not such a hypocrite as not to have made plain to them that he has come to Boston to insult them now and destroy them at the first opportunity.

Communism has fostered the civil rights mythology and is vigorously perpetrating the civil rights hoax as a means of destroying the United States and the only civilization you and I have ever known. That nihilistic beatniks and other avowed enemies of the existing order should support the Communists is only to be expected, but let me plead with all men of good will who invoke the name of Jesus Christ to reconsider the course upon which far too many have embarked, some in His name, before they are led and lead others to a riot of ravage and bloodshed which will not be the less hideous for the insolence with which it may be labeled Peace and Brotherhood.

THE COMMUNIST ASSOCIATIONS OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

A Photographic Exposé

Three of the following photographs were taken by Edwin H. Friend, 4888 Jett Rd., N.W., Atlanta 5, Georgia, then an employee of the State of Georgia, at the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, during the Labor Day weekend of 1957. According to The Augusta Courier of July 8, 1963, the Highlander Folk School was later abolished by an act of the Legislature of the State of Tennessee because it was charged with being a subversive organization. These photographs establish that the school was attended and supported by members of the Communist Party, USA, as well as many front organizations for that subversive, Russian-controlled body.

Martin Luther King, Jr., stated over a national television network on April 4, 1965, that he was only at the school for one and a half hours. Edwin Friend, who took these photographs, certifies that King arrived in the morning, attended the morning sessions, then spoke in the afternoon.

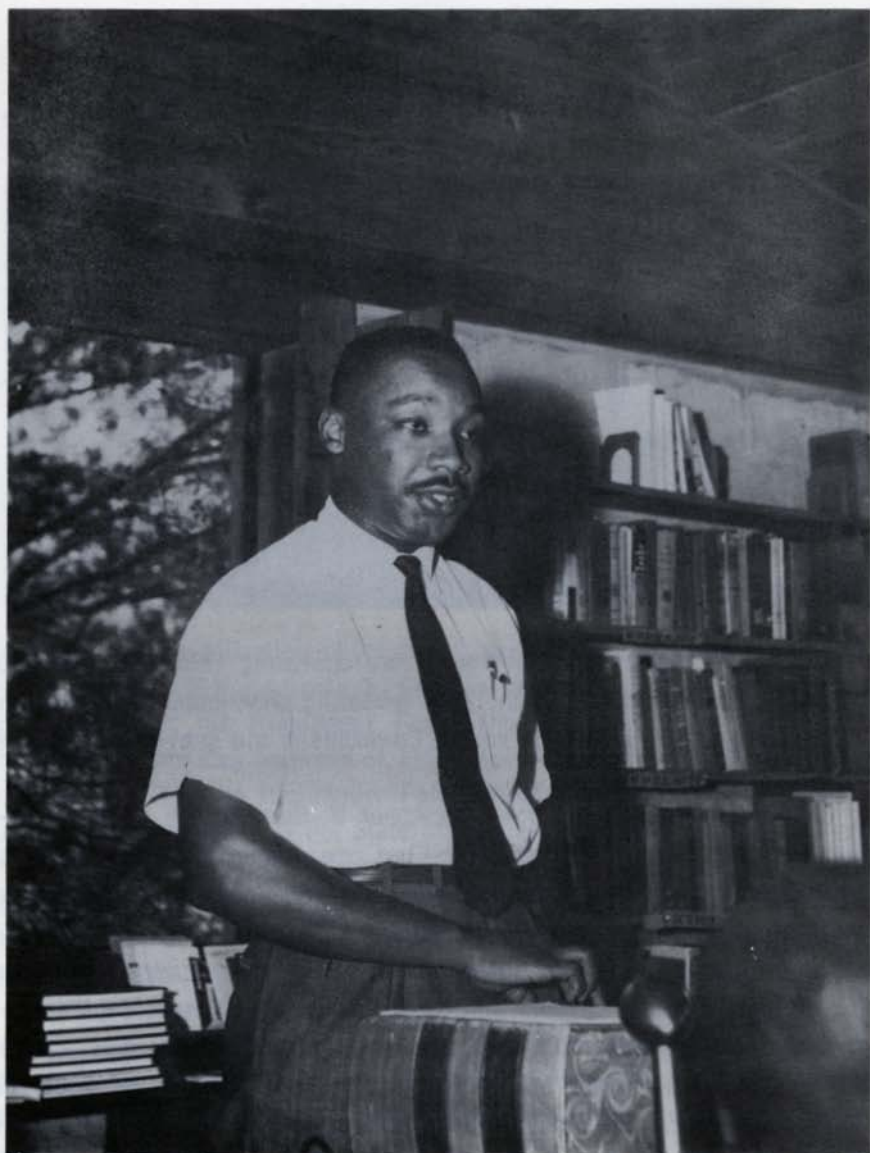
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., AT COMMUNIST TRAINING SCHOOL



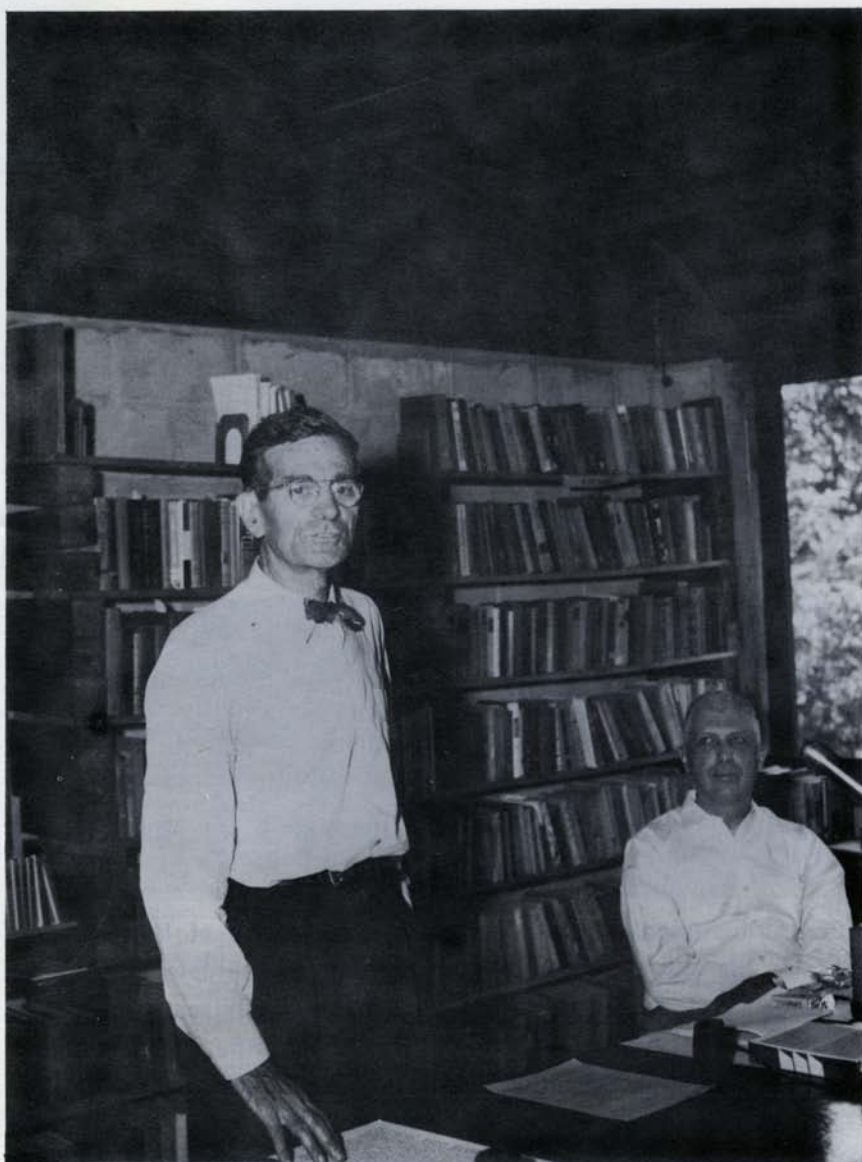
The above caption and photograph are appearing (1965) on over 200 billboards throughout the South. This revealing photograph shows Martin Luther King, Jr., seated with known Communists and subversives at the Highlander Folk School.

(1) Foreground, looking down, is Abner W. Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. (2) First row, second from the right, is Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Montgomery boycott, the Birmingham riots and the so-called voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in March, 1965. Karl Prussion, who served as a counter-spy for the FBI for 22 years, charges that King belongs to, or has accepted support from 60 Communist-front organizations. (3) To King's right is Aubrey Williams, then president and now president emeritus of the Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc., a Communist-front organization known as the transmission belt in the South for the Communist Party. (4) To Williams' right is Myles Horton, director of Highlander Folk School for Communist training, Monteagle, Tennessee.

Since attending this 1957 Communist training school, these four leaders of racial agitation have brought tension, disturbance, strife and violence in their advancement of the Communist doctrine of "racial nationalism."



Martin Luther King, Jr., is shown speaking at the Highlander Folk School. The sun shining through the window to the rear of King in this photograph indicates that he was speaking at approximately 3:00 P.M. Hanging on the wall of the Highlander Folk School lecture hall was a copy of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, which denies all human rights.



Aubrey Williams, standing, then president of the Southern Conference Education Fund, was also a speaker at the Highlander Folk School. The Southern Conference Education Fund has been officially identified as a Communist-front organization. Seated is John B. Thompson, Chaplain of the University of Chicago, who was chairman of this four-day Communist training seminar.



6th Annual Conference of S.C.L.C., Birmingham, Ala.
Sept. 25-28, 1962

M.L. King Jr. responding to Anne Braden's speech

In background: A.B. Carl Braden, Jr.

0299

For further proof of the Communist associations of Martin Luther King, Jr., the above photograph was furnished by the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, State of Louisiana. The picture was seized in a raid in 1963 on the New Orleans headquarters of the Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc., which has been identified as a Communist front. Below the photograph is a reproduction of the notation appearing on the back of the original photograph which indicates that the three identified Communists appearing in the picture with King, Anne and Carl Braden and James E. Dombrowski, were among the principal speakers, along with Martin Luther King, Jr., at the Sixth Annual Conference of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Birmingham, Alabama, on September 25-28, 1962. The handwriting is that of James Dombrowski.

COMMUNIST AGITATION AND COMMUNIST AGITATION AND RACIAL TURMOIL

— Introduction —

The following exposé of Communist infiltration in the civil rights movement was first published in pamphlet form (Tax Fax #46) by The Independent American newspaper on October 10, 1963. The documented facts put forth in this work are just as shocking today as they were when the pamphlet was first published. Other statements in the pamphlet, were, we realize now, quite prophetic, because the feared restrictions on Constitutional rights became law with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Even at this late hour, however, it is not too late to correct the Communist-inspired government control forced upon our citizens under the guise of civil rights. If millions of Americans begin demanding Congressional action to restore our rights of private property, private enterprise, and States Rights, the Congress of the United States will be forced to act. Therefore, please note the section of this article entitled "What You Can Do." Begin taking the recommended steps today, because the hour is already very late.

In our work among the Negro masses is to create a powerful proletarian movement which will fight and lead the struggle of the Negro race against exploitation and oppression."

William Z. Foster, Communist leader, in his book, "Toward Soviet America," published in 1922. Discussed the role of Negroes by stating:

"The Negroes constitute a great potential revolutionary

COMMUNIST AGITATION AND RACIAL TURMOIL

"The Negro situation is being exploited fully and continuously by Communists on a national scale."

--J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
January 16, 1958

Attorney General Robert Kennedy on July 25, 1963, issued a statement in which he said that "based on all available information from investigation and other sources" he had found no evidence that "any of the top leaders of the major civil rights groups are Communists or Communist-controlled." In his all-inclusive statement Attorney General Kennedy thus displayed his ignorance of the background of racial agitation in this Nation.

An editorial in the July 21, 1963, issue of *The Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A., has this to say:

"The Communist Party of the United States wholeheartedly and selflessly supports the just struggle of the Negro people for freedom and integration in the political, economic, and social life of the Nation."

In a statement before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee released on January 17, 1960, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover quoted Lenin's statement made in 1902 that:

"We (Communists) must go among all classes of the people as theoreticians, as propagandists, as agitators, and as organizers. . . ."

Mr. Hoover then went on to also quote instructions issued by the Communist Party, U.S.A., to its members as early as 1925, as follows:

"The aim of our Party in our work among the Negro masses is to create a powerful proletarian movement which will fight and lead the struggle of the Negro race against exploitation and oppression."

William Z. Foster, Communist leader, in his book, "Toward Soviet America," published in 1932, discussed the role of Negroes by stating:

"The Negroes constitute a great potential revolutionary

force. . . .The Negro masses will make the very best fighters for the revolution."

REDS PROPOSE NEGRO REPUBLIC IN SOUTH

As a means of enticing Negroes into the Communist revolutionary movement, Foster promised that in a Soviet America "the Negro will have the most complete equality -- economically, politically, and socially."

In his book Foster also stated that:

"The right of self-determination will apply to Negroes in the American Soviet system. In the so-called Black Belt of the South, where the Negroes are in the majority, they will have the fullest right to govern themselves, and also such white minorities as may live in this section."

A Communist pamphlet entitled "The Negroes In A Soviet America" by James W. Ford and James S. Allen, published in June, 1935, by Workers Library Publishers, discussing the proposed Negro republic in the Southern part of the United States, declared:

"A Soviet government must confer greater benefits upon the Negroes than upon the whites, for the Negroes have started with less. This is the real test of equality The actual extent of this new republic would be certain to include such cities as Richmond and Norfolk, Va.; Columbia and Charleston, S.C.; Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah and Macon, Ga.; Montgomery, Ala.; New Orleans and Shreveport, La.; Little Rock, Ark., and Memphis, Tenn."

NEGROES REJECT RED BAIT

Much to the disappointment of the Moscow-indoctrinated leaders of the Communist Party, Negro Americans did not fall for the bait of a Soviet Negro republic in the South because it soon became evident that the Communists were merely attempting to use the Negro. This was borne out by the late Joseph Kornfeder, former Communist, who appeared before the Joint Legislative Committee, State of Louisiana, on March 7, 1957, and testified:

"They (the Communists) aim to use the Negro -- preach a doctrine of racial nationalism -- in order to use the Negro for their purposes. Once they have used him, then they will do with the Negro what they have done in Russia with the peasant and the workingman."

Kornfeder's statement was corroborated by J. Edgar Hoover on January 16, 1958, when Hoover said:

"The (Communist) Party's objectives are not to aid the Negroes -- but are designed to take advantage of all controversial issues on the race question so as to create unrest, dissension and confusion in the minds of the American people." In his book, "Masters of Deceit," Mr. Hoover pointed out:

"The (Communist) Party's sole interest, as most American Negroes know, is to hoodwink the Negro, exploit him, and use him as a tool to build a Communist America."

THE NEW RED LINE ON RACIAL AGITATION

In view of continuing failure to "sell" the American Negro on a Negro Soviet republic in the South, the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in December, 1959, announced an about-face on its long-established policy which advocated the formation of a Negro nation within the United States. This marked a fundamental change in the line of the American Communist Party which had dated back to 1930. Moscow-trained Negro Communist leader James Jackson, in explaining to the party faithful the turn-about on Communist policy stated that "it has been misconstrued as a form of segregation."

Because of this policy change in the Red line, white and Negro members of the CPUSA reverted to an alternative official program of action regarding racial agitation which had been spelled out in 1932 by Communist leader William Z. Foster in "Toward Soviet America" as follows:

"The Communist Party actively promotes. . . organizations to defend the rights of Negroes. . . Where no mass organizations exist in these fields, the Party takes the initiative in forming them; where such are already in existence, and are headed by conservative officials, the Party follows the policy of building an opposition within them and fighting for the revolutionary program and leadership. This is the so-called boring-from-within policy."

A column by Ray Cromley, appearing in the Birmingham, Ala., Post-Herald of August 8, 1963, reveals that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is now sending out Communists with specialized training, instructing them to infiltrate local branches of Negro civil rights organizations and to arrange for Party members to participate in local demonstrations. According to Mr. Cromley, "this grass-roots attempt to infiltrate the civil rights movement is currently, at least -- one of the major activities of the Communist Party, U.S.A."

Despite the zigzags of the Communist Party which may at times appear to be a retreat from former positions, the Communist Party, U.S.A., never deviates from its prime objective, which is to overthrow the Constitutional government of the United States of America by any means possible.

In the September, 1962, issue of Political Affairs, theoretical organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A., is found a deceptively understated declaration of Red aims, as follows:

"In the Negro peoples' movement the major task (for Communists, that is) is to support the struggle to end Jim Crow in housing, education, franchise, etc., and to stress the fight for jobs and adequate wages and relief. . ."

REDS URGE NEGRO REVOLUTION

In a pamphlet entitled "Turning Point In Freedom Road," by Negro Communist Claude Lightfoot, published in October, 1962, the screws were turned tighter when Lightfoot, calling for a step-up in agitation, stated:

"The Negro movement has, by and large, broken with gradualism, and seeks revolutionary solutions to its problems."

This new Red line admittedly promoting revolution in the U.S. was accentuated by Negro leader Benjamin J. Davis, national secretary of the CPUSA, in the August, 1963, issue of the Communist publication, Political Affairs, when Davis, in an article entitled "The Times is Now!" screamed:

"The whole country -- north, east, south and west -- is in the throes of a peoples' revolution . . . The Negro Freedom movement -- American counterpart of the national liberation movements in Africa, above all, but also in Asia and Latin America -- has, since Birmingham -- entered a new stage."

Here is proof positive of Communist direction and control of such movements as the FLN (National Liberation Front) which took over Algeria, as well as Communist guerrillas such as the FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) in Venezuela.

Communist Davis, declaring that "the movement aims to demolish so-called moderation," went on to say that "the struggle" will be "fought out and won by the American people within the framework of the present capitalist system." Davis further said:

"Birmingham brought the simmering upsurge of the people to a revolutionary pitch . . . Communists believe that the 'freedom now' aims of the program answer the pressing democratic needs of the people and . . . (are) the central domestic issue before the country. At the same time, Communists believe the achievement of this program will lay an indispensable basis, not only for the further social program of the country, but for its Socialist and Communist future when U.S. imperialism . . . will be no more."

Promising Communist support of the so-called Negro Freedom movement led by organizations other than the Communist Party itself, Davis exulted:

"The Communist Party greets with boundless joy the present revolutionary freedom movement of the Negro people, and will spare no sacrifice to help bring about its total victory now . . . There is a wide area of agreement between the Communist Party and the Negro Freedom movement on program, aims and tactics."

NEGROES MARCH ON WASHINGTON, D.C.

Following several months of feverish planning which manifested itself in a solid front of cooperation between the most important Negro civil rights groups in the country, more than

150,000 Negroes marched on Washington, D.C. on August 28, 1963. The disciplined, placard-carrying marchers, swarming over Constitution Avenue, bore a sinister resemblance to May Day scenes in Moscow's Red Square.

Who were the leaders and participants of this tightly-organized show of strength with its threatening overtones?

Among the Negro leaders in the forefront were, of course, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL/CIO Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

At the beginning of the ceremonies in front of the Lincoln Memorial, one of the speakers, paying tribute to W.E.B. DuBois, who had just died in Accra, Ghana, asked for a moment of silence. The huge crowd immediately complied, with bowed heads.

Who was this man, W.E. B. DuBois, whom the speaker referred to as "the father of the modern freedom movement," and what were his views?

DuBois, who is listed by Congressional investigating committees as having had 96 Communist front affiliations, was a founder of the NAACP. In 1959, DuBois was a recipient of the Lenin Peace Prize.

The Communist official publication, *The Worker*, of September 1, 1963, in mourning the passing of W.E.B. DuBois, referred to a letter DuBois wrote to Communist leader Gus Hall when he, DuBois, joined the Communist Party, U.S.A., in 1961. Wrote DuBois:

"Capitalism is doomed to self-destruction In the end Communism will triumph. I want to help bring that day."

BACKGROUND ON N.A.A.C.P.

On more than two occasions in the past several years, listings of Communist affiliations of certain members of the NAACP have been entered in the Congressional Record. The NAACP, as could be expected, has attempted to whitewash such documentation, and on occasion has attempted to create the impression that it was an anti-Communist organization.

The shallowness of such professions of anti-Communism are clearly evident. For instance, in 1956, Leroy Watkins, then executive secretary of the NAACP, warned all chapters to guard against the "intensive efforts" of Communists to infiltrate the NAACP. At the same time, however, *The Crisis*, official publication of the NAACP, was recommending books by Negro Claude Lightfoot, then chairman of the Illinois Communist Party, and Doxey E. Wilkerson, member of the Party's national committee, as "must" background reading for Negroes.

Only two years later, in March, 1958, the NAACP leadership brought a court action in Florida seeking to halt an investigation by the Florida Legislature of Communist activity in that State.

The foregoing are examples of the so-called anti-Communist activities of the NAACP!

SUBVERSIVE CHARACTER OF N.A.A.C.P. LEADERSHIP*

Below are listed a few of the officers and directors, past or present, of the NAACP. The figure opposite each name represents the number of subversive organizations and/or activities with which these individuals have been officially identified as reported by Representative E. C. Gathings of Arkansas and appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD July 29, 1963.

1. Roy Wilkins, national administrator and executive secretary 7
2. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois 96
3. Arthur B. Spingarn, national president, member board of directors, 1961 4
4. A. Philip Randolph, national vice president, 1961 20
5. John Haynes Holmes, national vice president, 1954-1961 30
6. Dr. Ralph Bunche, national board of directors, 1961, Washington, D.C. 3
7. Thurgood Marshall, director counsel, legal defense fund and education fund, 1961 (New York) 3
8. Clarence M. Mitchell, director Washington bureau, 1961 2
9. Henry Lee Moon, director, public relations department, 1961, Washington, D. C. 4

**The list from which this information is excerpted contains 59 names, with a total number of 454 official Communist-front citations, as shown on pages 5531-32, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 28, 1963. For reference to the detailed list upon which this tabulation was based, see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 29, 1963, pages A4785-A4814.*

COMMUNIST PARTY SUPPORTS N.A.A.C.P.

Laying down the Party line, the January, 1956, issue of the Communist magazine, Political Affairs, stated:

"We must support the NAACP in this struggle with every ounce of energy at our disposal."

Abner W. Berry, in his column in the Daily Worker dated February 19, 1957, discussed a Communist Party convention resolution on the question of Communist cooperation and work with the NAACP, and commented:

"There was implied in the resolution that there would be no separate organizations set up by the Communists through which they would seek to steer the Negro people's movement, but rather they would support those organizations, such as the NAACP and similar groups in the South which were in the field . . . Communists in labor unions are thus pledged to get their unions to support the NAACP to better express the alliance of labor with the Negro people. Communists in com-

munities are pledged to aid in increasing the membership and financial strength of the NAACP, whether as members or not."

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

An article appearing in the March, 1935, booklet entitled "Party Organizer," issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., stated:

"In the United States there are five million of the Negro population organized in fraternal organizations, ten million in churches We must systematically study how to penetrate among the millions of organized Negro workers."

In "International Of Youth," published under the authority of the Young Communist International, headquarters in Moscow, March, 1935, appears the following:

"... In the South, especially for the Negro youth, the church is the center of all cultural and social activity. It is here that we must work. By building our units in the church organizations, we can improve our work . . . In Alabama there are certain places in which we can in a short while take over the church organizations of youth under our leadership, and these can become legal covers for our work in the South."

By a strange coincidence, the leader of the riots in Birmingham, Ala., in April, 1963, was a Negro minister by the name of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. According to an article appearing in the New Bedford, Mass., Standard-Times:

"Mr. King was quoted as telling a Chicago assembly last year, 'it (the Montgomery, Ala., boycott, in which there was much violence) is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression.'"

When Martin Luther King, Jr., draws a parallel between the situation of the American Negro and "oppressed people's" rights against "colonialism" and "imperialism" he is following exactly, to the word, the Communist line.

The Negro ex-Communist, Manning Johnson, appearing before the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of Louisiana on March 8, 1957, testified regarding Communist infiltration of Negro churches in the South, stating:

"They (the Communists) had two-fold purposes First, to be in a position to pressure the pastor of the church to participate in various Communist-front activities . . . The other was to give a coat of protection and responsibility to the Communists operating in the South. For example, in a number of the States, the police officials were constantly after the Communists. Well, the best place for hiding was in the church. So they cloaked themselves in religion, becoming active members in the church."

Again, it is no coincidence that with increasing frequency Negro churches are becoming the assembling areas for mobilizing the Negro masses to pour into the streets in Negro demonstrations.

The activities of Martin Luther King, Jr., have met with beaming

approval by members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. In the pamphlet entitled "Turning Point In Freedom Road" published in 1962, the Negro Communist Claude Lightfoot praises Rev. King by describing his activities as "the healthiest sign in the whole Negro struggle."

THE STRANGE ASSOCIATES OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

King conducts most of his racial agitation activities in his capacity as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The national secretary of King's organization is a Negro by the name of Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth. An article in the June, 1963, issue of the Cincinnati Enquirer identified Shuttlesworth as also the new president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. According to the article, both the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities have described the SCEF as an organization set up to promote Communism throughout the South. The field secretary of the SCEF is an identified Communist by the name of Carl Braden, of Louisville, Kentucky.

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., has a facility of attracting to his ranks men with highly questionable backgrounds. One of these is Jack H. O'Dell. An article appearing in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of October 25, 1962, stated:

"A Communist has infiltrated to the top administrative post in the Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He is Jack H. O'Dell, acting executive director of Conference activities in southeastern States... From his birth in Detroit in 1923, until as late as 1958, he was known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell. This O'Dell, by whatever name, operates as a concealed member of the national committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., according to a highly authoritative source."

On April 12, 1956, Hunter Pitts O'Dell invoked the Fifth Amendment when testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. However, Robert Morris, counsel for the subcommittee, said information had been received that O'Dell was, in fact, district organizer for the Communist Party in New Orleans. Hundreds of documents seized at O'Dell's home substantiated his position in the Communist conspiracy.

Shortly after the above-mentioned article appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat and in other newspapers throughout the country, King accepted O'Dell's resignation. When public attention was no longer focused on King and his relationship with O'Dell, King quietly rehired O'Dell. However, it soon became known that O'Dell was again in King's employ and, at a press conference in Atlanta on July 25, 1963, Rev. King admitted that on June 26 O'Dell had, "by mutual agreement," left the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for a second time.

King gave as the reason his concern that O'Dell's affiliation with the integration movement would be used against it by "segregationists and race baiters."

In other words, according to Rev. King, anyone who brings out the fact that a man with Communist affiliations is associated in a prominent position with the civil rights movement is a "race baiter."

BAYARD RUSTIN

Another strange former associate of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., is Bayard Rustin, a Pennsylvania-born Negro with a British accent. One of Rustin's activities during the period of five years that he served as secretary to Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was to organize King's 1958 march on Washington, which the Communist publication, *The Worker*, called "a Communist project."

Briefly, here is the sordid background of Rev. King's former personal secretary:

On January 21, 1953, Bayard Rustin pleaded guilty in Pasadena, Calif., to a charge of sex perversion and was sentenced to 60 days. Earlier, as a student at the College of the City of New York, in 1936, Rustin joined the Young Communist League. In World War II he served 26 months in Federal prisons as a conscientious objector.

When A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the August 28, 1963, March on Washington, was confronted with the background facts on the March's deputy director, Rustin, and was asked if such a record would cause the replacement of Rustin, Randolph replied "No, he's Mister March himself! We couldn't do without him."

It is not surprising that Martin Luther King, Jr., associates himself with characters tagged with Communist-front labels when King's own views are coming nearer and nearer to those of the Communist Party itself. In addressing the March on Washington participants in August, 1963, Rev. King promised that there would be "neither rest nor tranquillity in America" and that "the winds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our Nation" until his aims are met.

The "revolt" or "revolution" which was so frequently referred to by the speakers in Washington is not really one for so-called Negro "rights," but is, instead, a revolution to seize political power in this Nation in order to first hoist the flag of Socialism -- and ultimately, Communism -- over the United States of America.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

The Communist plan to use the civil rights movement as a vehicle for revolution in the United States must be fully exposed. The American people, both white and Negro, can defeat this plan to use racial agitation as a means to overthrow the Constitutional government of the United States.

If you wish to help expose the plans of the Communists, here

is what you can do:

(1) Send a copy of this booklet to your Congressman and two Senators demanding a full Congressional investigation as to the extent of Communist infiltration of civil rights organizations, such as the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), etc. In this way certain racial agitators can be officially identified as Communists or members of Communist-front organizations. Respectable Negro organizations can then guard against infiltration by such identified Communists.

(2) Use the documented facts contained herein in writing letters to the editor of your local newspaper proving the Communist influence behind racial agitation in the Nation or in your particular city. Be sure to send a copy of this booklet with your letter, thereby substantiating your statements.

(3) If the pastor of your church is unaware of the Communist influences in the civil rights movement, bring the facts in this booklet to his attention, as well as to the attention of the leading laymen in your church.

(4) Distribute copies of this booklet to department store owners, theater owners, hotel managers, etc., who are now affected by civil rights legislation which denies business owners the right to choose their customers. Also, distribute copies to owners of business establishments on whose premises racial demonstrations have taken place or have been threatened.

(5) Mail or distribute copies to members of your local School Board and local judges in order that they may have these documented facts which bring the real meaning of racial agitation into focus.

— ORDER EXTRA COPIES —

Every American should be alerted to the Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement, and the TRUE facts concerning racial problems in the North and South. You can play an important role in the struggle to preserve the Constitutional republic of the United States of America by becoming thoroughly familiar with these issues and being capable of discussing them, intelligently and calmly, with your friends, neighbors and before groups.

To have available all the facts, dates, and names necessary to document your position, you should have additional copies of "Civil Rights Myths and Communist Realities" for reference and for distribution to other interested parties.

To order your extra copies of this important booklet, merely complete the form below, clip it, and return it along with your check or money order to The Conservative Society of America.

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