



Archbishop's Office
2699 Peachtree Road, N. E.
P. O. Box 12047, Northside Station
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Sept 8, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen-

Just a note to express my deep admiration and gratitude to you. That night, as we watched and listened and prayed, Atlanta seemed to grow. We have shown the nation a new stature. And you have been the source.

It is foolish to say to a conscientious man, "Be more careful!" There are hours when a man, a leader, knows what he must do. He does it, and wins the hearts of men everywhere. May God bless you and defend you. Your friend - Sincerely yours,
Archbishop Hallinan

Sept. 10, 1966

Dear Mayar Allen,
Just a note to
say that we think
you're just great!

Sincerely,
Dr. & Mrs. Ivin
Blumenthal

CHB



Fri

Dear Anne -

My heart has really been with you, Susan and all the Thayer's staff.

You want to add my thanks and congratulations for the courage and sheer guts displayed by Susan. I know you have had a week of turmoil and wish there had been something I could have done to help other than a few prayers.

Much love

Marion

3245 NANCY CREEK ROAD, N.W.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

Dear Ivan -

Hooray for you!

Your courage and integrity
are lights in a dark spot.

We are for you 100% and
want to help you.

devotedly,

August 5

Ditto to August 5. You be
careful and take care of
yourself!! Fred



Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

200 3ae Prado NE

30309

September 27th

Dear -

For a man your age
you do a great work
also an automobile!

We were proud of you
but regret losing
man were here to

rescue you if necessary.

Caroline Bethea

Dear Ann -

We are so grateful "Our Hero"
was not injured.

from

JWJ 9-10-66

J. W. Jones

P. O. Drawer 1734

Atlanta 1, Georgia

Int'l editor
N.Y. Times

The New York Times.

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Ollie's Barbecue and

By TOM WICKER

WASHINGTON — "There is latitude enough in the Constitution to embrace within its four corners these advances." Senator Everett McKinnon, Republican, he explained support. Right

Fiscal Policy at Last

The immediate impact of President Johnson's new anti-inflationary program is mainly psychological. It should help to calm and reassure the nation's financial markets, which have been undergoing convulsions in recent months. During this time the markets have appeared distressed and disheartened in reacting to the Federal Reserve's increasingly tight money policy and to the uncertainties posed by the Administration's failure to make use of its own fiscal weapons.

Now Mr. Johnson has ended his self-imposed paralysis. In asking for a temporary suspension of both the 7 per cent investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation benefits, he is hoping to slow the boom in business spending. He also promises to limit Federal outlays and has asked the Treasury to cut down on sales of participations in Government assets, which were originally designed to reduce the budget deficit but which have had the unfortunate effect of reinforcing the money squeeze.

The President thinks that these fiscal measures will serve to curb demand for credit, enabling the Federal Reserve to follow a more moderate monetary policy, one that does not carry the risk of tightening credit to the point where it could choke off the expansion in business. To clarify his position he has called on the Federal Reserve as well as the nation's commercial banks to cooperate "to lower interest rates and to ease the inequitable burden of tight money."

Now that monetary policy does not have to carry the whole burden of opposing inflationary pressures, there is a good chance that the fears that have plagued the marketplace will subside. Money may still be tight, but once fiscal policy begins to play a part, however modest and belated, the psychological threat of a monetary panic becomes much less a danger.

But the practical effect of most of the President's program will not be felt until next year. There is no stopping the current rise in business investment. Nor is there an effective brake against price and wage increases. The dose of inflation that is now infecting the economy will go unimpeded.

These weaknesses stem directly from the overly expansive fiscal and monetary policies pursued by Washington long after stimulation was needed.

What has been done cannot be undone by the President's program. But by acting now, Mr. Johnson may help to minimize the damage wrought by too much reliance on monetary policy and too little use of fiscal policy.

A Nod to Peking

Confusion now engulfs the remarks that Chen Yi made to Japanese members of Parliament on their visit to Peking, but the United States has taken the correct course in publicly welcoming the mild version originally published in Tokyo.

Some of the legislators apparently thought Communist China's Foreign Minister had said his country was "not necessarily dismissing" the possibility of talks with the United States about the war in Vietnam. This would indeed represent a

sharp turn in Peking's policy. Instead of denigrating the report, the State Department was right to respond promptly and positively to the remarks attributed to the Foreign Minister, a response echoed by President Johnson at his press conference Thursday. His response underscores Washington's recognition that mainland China has a legitimate stake in resolving the conflict and bringing peace to Southeast Asia.

There is, of course, a more dramatic, more constructive, way for the United States to demonstrate, in the President's words, that it will use "every means available" to improve relations with China and bring that country into responsible participation in international affairs: Washington could drop its opposition to the admission of Peking to the United Nations, provided a separate membership were retained for Nationalist China on Taiwan.

At a time when Peking is steadily alienating even the other Communist regimes in Asia and frightening most of its neighbors, the temptation for Washington to sit tight and bar the United Nations door for one more year will be great. But a period in which Peking is maintaining its truculence toward much of the world, while undergoing the internal convulsion of Mao's "cultural revolution," might be the best time to open the United Nations door. There must be elements in China—Foreign Minister Chen could be among them—who fear China's growing isolation.

A "two-China" solution is certainly favored by a big majority of United Nations member Governments, however they finally vote in the Assembly. And this policy would remove from the United States the heavy onus of keeping out of the only functioning peace-keeping organization a Government that rules, however badly, more than a fourth of the human race.

The Riot in Atlanta

An artificially induced riot involving a few hundred susceptible Negroes shattered the calm of an Atlanta afternoon, and it may have shattered much more. There is no way of gauging fully its effect on a Southern community that had been deservedly considered a model in race relations.

Particularly dismaying was the abusive treatment accorded Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. when he rushed to the scene and tried to calm the rioters. They had been whipped to frenzy, reportedly by the so-called Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which espouses the separatist and inflammatory slogan of "black power."

Such was the mood of the mob, hastily recruited after a Negro suspected of stealing a car had been wounded while fleeing from the police, that Mayor Allen was jarred from the top of a police car and subjected to a barrage of bricks, bottles and verbal abuse as he courageously stood his ground and tried vainly to restore sanity.

This was an ironic reward for one of the few Southern officials who supported the Civil Rights Act of 1964. To the degree that S.N.C.C., in its new militancy was responsible for this violence, it has done a gross disservice to the evolution of racial harmony and the progress of the Negro in Atlanta and elsewhere in the South.

ATLANTA MAYOR TOURS RIOT AREA

He Says Negro Section Now
Calm—Warns Outsiders

ATLANTA, Sept. 8 (UPI)—Mayor Ivan Allen personally toured the riot-scarred Summerville Negro section of Atlanta today and pronounced it "calm and peaceful". He warned that the police would smash any new attempts to "inflame the people."

Mr. Allen told a news conference following his return from the Summerville section, near the City Hall and state Capitol, that he was grateful for the peace efforts of a "summit leadership conference" of Negroes and a community "good neighbor" organization.

The Mayor, who risked being hit by flying bottles and rocks in a riot in Summerville Tuesday, reiterated that the trouble was "artificially provoked" by outsiders on a hot day.

"What we need now is about three days of cold rain," Mr. Allen said.

He again singled out Stanley Carmichael, chairman of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, as being much of the riot blame.

He said the police would seek to prevent agitators from entering the trouble area.



Associated Press

PEACE FRIENDS! Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen stands atop a police car in an attempt to disperse Negroes who gathered to protest a policeman's shooting of a Negro man. But just moments later a barrage of rocks and bottles chased the Mayor from his perch.



CLIPPER CLUB

PAN AMERICAN



Mrs. Ann Moses
Mayor's Office
City Hall
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
U. S. A.

30301



EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DEAN OF EMORY COLLEGE

7 Sept. 1966

Mr. Ivan Allen
Mayor
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Allen:

Thank you for your courage
& vision. You have my
warm & firm support.

I believe that Atlanta can
overcome this temporary mad-
ness, & I appreciate your
leadership.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Stevenson



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Honorable Mayor Allen.
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga.

9/7/66

Hon. Mayor Allen:

Many thanks for tall Standing.

We are proud of You.

Respectfully Yours,
A Fellow Attention



CHARLES R. YATES
270 PEACHTREE BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303



9/7/66

Dear Colonel,

I salute you with pride + appreciation
for the courage and dedication you showed yesterday.

Warm regards,

Cheslie

Sept 15, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen,

I felt I should tell you verbally that my husband and I stand behind you in your handling of our racial disturbance. We feel you have done a wonderful job.

We pray God will guide and direct you and all of us — black and white — to a better understanding.

If either of us can be of any help please call us.
Sincerely, Mrs. D. G. Stone

Mr. and Mrs. G. Allen Stone



Mayor Joan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga.

2255 Capehart Cir, NE
Atlanta, Ga
30329

ed by that date.

HUMPHREY

Continued From Page A-1

gotten out of hand, Humphrey said.

He said in reply to a question that polls indicating a decline in popularity of the Johnson administration probably are accurate.

But, he said, polls are something like the weather in Minnesota—"in the fall and in the winter, it gets a little cool."

"We're not going to be taking our political temperature every-time we get a little hick cough or when we don't look too good," he said.

Speaks to Iowa Farmers

In an earlier speech yesterday at Jefferson, Iowa, Humphrey said the United States must have an arsenal of food as well as military weapons to keep its place as a world leader. He spoke at the national plowing matches just outside the West-Central Iowa town.

"Our position of world leadership requires that we maintain an arsenal of food and fiber just as we maintain an arsenal of military weapons. But your government has no intention of calling upon the American farmer to provide that arsenal at the sacrifice of fair price and a decent income," Humphrey said.

controversy over the Merrywood
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Weather Forecast

District and vicinity—Fair tonight, low near 60. Partly cloudy tomorrow and a bit warmer, high in the upper 80s. Chance of rain near zero through tomorrow. High yesterday, 83, at 3:20 p.m.; low today, 58, at 6:50 a.m.; high today, 78, 11 a.m.

Full Report on Page A-2

The Evening Star

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*S WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1966—42 PAGES

9 Men Indicted In Zoning Bribe Probe by Jury

**Supervisor DeBell,
Ex-Fairfax Officials
Charged in Scheme**

By JERRY KLINE
Star Staff Writer

Charges of taking part in a scheme to bribe Fairfax County officials in a rezoning matter have been leveled against a member of the county board, two former supervisors, a former head county planner, three lawyers and two businessmen.

Defendants in a five-page indictment handed down late yesterday afternoon by a federal grand jury in Alexandria are:

County Supervisor Stuart T. DeBell, a Democratic member of the board since 1952 and the chairman in 1959.

Former Supervisor Robert C. Cotten Jr., a Republican board member from 1960 to 1963.

Former Supervisor A. Claiborne Leigh, a Republican board member from 1956 to 1963 and chairman in 1963.

Falls Church attorney Lytton Gibson, one of Northern Virginia's most prominent zoning lawyers.

William C. Burrage, head planning director for Fairfax County from 1953 to 1963.

Nathan Wechsler, attorney and certified public accountant with offices in the 1400 block of K Street NW.

Sigmund Goldblatt, an attorney with offices in the 2900 block of Fessenden Street NW.

George and Seymour Faigen, brothers who own cleaning establishments in Alexandria.

Investigation to Continue

U. S. Atty. C. Vernon Spratley Jr. said the jury has not completed its investigation into rezoning cases. It will resume Sept. 19.

Each of the nine defendants was charged under the Racketeering Act of 1961 with conspiring to use interstate facilities to carry out "an unlawful activity by the bribery of officers of the state of Virginia" between Jan. 1, 1961, and



HUBERT HUMPHREY



EVERETT DIRKSEN

'IT'S IN HIS HANDS...'

Humphrey to Dirksen: Save the Rights Bill

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. (AP)—Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey says that Senate Republican Leader Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois has a chance to make history in the field of civil rights by breathing life back into the stymied bill now before the Senate.

Commenting on a recent statement by Dirksen that the rights bill is dead so far as this session of Congress is concerned, Humphrey said last night in a news conference:

"Sen. Dirksen could bring it back to life, it's in his hands to breath life into it. If he wants the responsibility for its death, then he will have to live with that responsibility.

"But if Sen. Dirksen will just say the word from his side of the aisle . . . we can break any filibuster and pass a good civil rights bill."

Commenting on bill yesterday in Washington, Dirksen said "it needs a few friends in the Senate because it has a lot of enemies." But he did not repeat his declaration that the bill is dead.

Dinner Honors Sen. Anderson

In a speech at a \$100-a-plate dinner honoring Sen. Clinton P. Anderson, D-N.M., Humphrey said the United States will be "delighted to work with any Vietnamese government produced by the constitutional process that begins with Sunday's elections."

He cited the importance of the elections and said "every single

Senator's Voice Fear Rights Bill May Collapse. Page A-17

voter is a hero, because he will take his life into his own hands."

The Communists are determined "to smash and crush this coming election," he said.

Talks of Social Programs

On another matter, Humphrey said the social programs of the administration keep faith with the goals of the late President Kennedy.

The social programs of the Democratic administration, including the war on poverty, federal aid to education and medicare, he said, are intended to give every American a chance to be a first-class citizen.

In his press conference, Humphrey lauded Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. for his handling of the riotous civil rights demonstrations this week in Atlanta, Ga.

American Negroes have been "a long suffering, patient people" whose cause now is being hurt by a small group which has

See HUMPHREY, Page A-3

Dear Louise and Ivan -

Fred and I just
must let you two know
we are thinking about
you during these trying
days - we are so proud
of both of you - and
send you our love -

Fondly -

Paul

September eleventh

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Tradewell Davis

2820 Habersham Road, N.W.

A. F. W.
3003 HOWELL MILL ROAD, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30327

Dear Louise:

My thoughts for you and Ivan during what, I know,
is a deeply trying and frustrating time. We are
all grateful for all that you are doing and
simply renew a spirit of loyalty and affection.

Warmest regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "A. F. W.", written in dark ink.

The Delta Democrat-Times

Greenville, Miss., Sunday, September 11, 1966

Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.

—Thomas Jefferson

The Second Battle Of Atlanta

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee may still have public supporters somewhere outside the extreme fringe of the civil rights movement and deep within the ghetto, but they will be hard to find after the incredibly blatant job of incitement to riot its leadership pulled off in Atlanta last week. The organization's very name is now a bad joke, as the Atlanta disgrace demonstrated. Sending a sound truck into an area to whip up a mob against the police and the city administration can be put in many categories, but "non-violent" is not one of them.

There is apparently no end to the lengths SNCC will go in order to create a suitable climate for its operations. First its workers went to great effort to eject whites working to alleviate poverty from Negro areas in Atlanta, using the sound truck technique to smear a dedicated man they contemptuously referred to as a "white Jesus." Then they helped whip a mob into the streets, culminating with an attempt to maul Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen as he sought to disperse the group. Mayor Allen responded in the only possible way, instructing the Negro and white police to break up the hoodlums with whatever force was necessary.

IT IS bitter irony that SNCC should now choose Atlanta as the target for deliberate creation of civil disorder. No city is perfect, and behind its image of progressivism Atlanta has troubles like any other municipality. But again and again it has been demonstrated there that Negro and white leadership could work out accommodations acceptable to both sides. Mayor Allen himself was one of the few Southern politicians to testify in favor of the civil rights bill.

But SNCC does not like to see change proceed in this way. It must be able to claim complete credit. Anything done by others is categorized as sell-outs by Uncle Toms and "Whitey." Peaceful change must be converted into snarling anarchy.

There is only one answer to that kind of approach. Mayor Allen utilized it by telling the police to crack down. Many more responsible Negroes also understood what damage was being done and worked against SNCC on the street corners.

Mayor Allen is right. If Carmichael and Company want to make Atlanta the new battleground, the fight should begin now. The time is past when open invitations to chaos can be tolerated, in Atlanta or anywhere else.

Revelation

JUSTUS C. MARTIN, JR.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

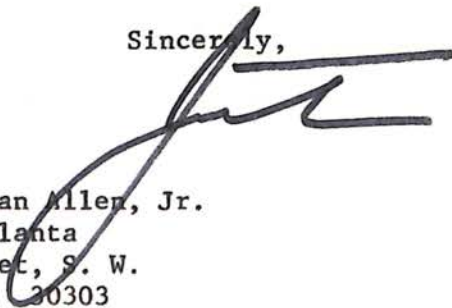
September 8, 1966

Dear Ivan:

I want to join with the local newspapers and national media in praise of the gallant performance on your part in the recent unpleasantness.

Congratulations on a job well done.
I am proud to know you.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor City of Atlanta
56 Mitchell Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ROBERT H. WHITE
710 FAIRFIELD ROAD, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30327

September 8, 1966

Dear Ivan,

Would like to add our expression of gratitude to you as the Mayor of Atlanta. You have had many problems recently, especially the one last Tuesday afternoon.

It is needless to say that we feel that you acted sympathetically, with understanding and great personal courage.

It is a pleasure to be your friend and neighbor.

Most sincerely

Paul & Bob

The Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor
City of Atlanta
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Mrs. Thurston R. Hatcher, Sr.
5 Collier Rd., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

My dear Mr. Allen - Sept 7 - 66
Please accept
my deep gratitude for your
act of bravery during
recent civil rights
If my husband were still
with us - I am sure
that he would be at your
office with a big
thank you -
Sincerely
Thurston R. Hatcher

The National Bank of Georgia
Atlanta

Joseph Earle Birnie
President

7 September 1966

Dear Ivan:

Congratulations on the admirable and
courageous stand which you have taken with both
the Firemen's Union and the SNCC crowd.

All of us are proud of you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'JEB', written over a horizontal line.

The Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Joseph H. Dimon, III
61 Palisades Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Mayor Allen,

Let me commend
your act of personal
courage in staying
with the troubled area
of our city last night.
I can think of nothing
more terrifying than
being in the midst of a
frenzied irrational mob.

Dr. Dimon and I
wish to extend our thanks
for ourselves, our family,

our city.

Perhaps you will let
us help you should
you decide to stay in
this demanding, harrowing,
vital position. We
perceptibly hope you will.

Very sincerely,
Ann Dimon

TRUST COMPANY OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA, GEORGIA - 30302

September 8, 1966

Dear Mr. Mayor:

Congratulations on your personal stand
Tuesday night. It took a lot of courage, and
others I have seen since join with me in appre-
ciation of your outstanding efforts.

Sincerely,



George W. Kennedy

Hon. Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia



HENRY L. BOWDEN

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

September 8, 1966

Dear Ivan:

Just a short note to tell you that I am proud to be called a member of your team.

You are performing tremendously in these trials, and you must know how very proud I am of you and your leadership.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'H. Bowden', with a long vertical line extending downwards from the end of the signature.

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Robert and Company Associates

September 8, 1966.

Dear Area,

*Thanks for a job
well done. This shows
we have the best
Mays in the
country -*

*Sincerely -
"A.P." Almond.*

In their ^{2.} transformer plant
as we are proud to be
citizens of Georgia (formerly
of Mass.) Our oldest son also
chose Atlanta for his home.

Thank you again -

Remain Sincerely

Mr Patrick F. Lombardi

Sept 8-1966



Dear Mr Allen

Just a little note to let
you know how proud we
are to have you as "Mayor"
of Atlanta - Our prayers will
be with you during all
your days ahead - We
are thankful - The General
Electric Co - Chase ^{Rome} Georgia





My dear Mayor Allen,

On behalf of my family
let me tell you we're proud of
you this is your finest
moment! We are grateful for
your fine representation of the
City of Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Roy A. Free

September 7, 1966



1805 White Oak Hollow
Atlanta, Ga. 30324
Sept. 7, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen:

In the text books our city government may be known as the "weak mayor system" — but believe me our Mayor Allen is ten feet tall!

Our family has always supported you politically and admired you personally but

this week our feelings
are positively extravagant.

Be take care!

Sincerely,

Sara Owen

(Mrs. Hugh Owen)

HAROLD P. McDONALD, M. D.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Sept 7-66

Joan - I was proud
of you last time -
I shudder to think
of what might have
happened. Who needs
those out sides? -

best regards
Harold



Mayor Ivan Allen
City Hall,
Atlanta, Ga.

Wednesday
September 7

Dear Mayor Allen,

I just want to tell you how proud I am to have you as my mayor. It is you - not the violence orientated agitators of Tuesday night - who represents Atlanta, the great city of the South. If you will just continue to be as courageously progressive as you were last night, and have been, Atlanta will shine in spite of those who wish it otherwise.

Sincerely,

Emily A. Lightower
Sophomore at Hollins
College, Virginia



Mayer Juan Allen, Jr.
City Hall
Atlanta
Georgia

2073 Golf View Drive, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

JOE W. GUTHRIDGE
Georgia Institute of Technology
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

September 8, 1966

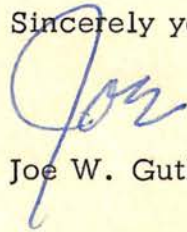
The Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor of the City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mayor Allen:

May I commend and congratulate you for the very positive influence you exerted on Tuesday night.

I realize these are very troublesome times for you, and I want you to know that there are many thousands of your constituents who want to say "thank you" for the outstanding leadership you have given us in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,



Joe W. Guthridge



"ABCD" MAIL FOR
BETTER BUSINESS SERVICE



To the Mayor of Atlanta
Mayor Ivan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta Georgia

Att to the Mayor

W E Fisher #
743 Piedmont Ave NE
Atlanta 8, Ga 30308

Sept/7/66/

Dear Sir.

The city of Atlanta Ga. has a MAN for MAYOR.
In these troubled days, that is good to know.

Sincerely.

Ada-Meier



1206 Peachtree St. N.E.

Atlanta, Ga. 30309.



Mayor Allen. City Hall. Atlanta. Ga.



Dear Mr. Mayor,

Just wanted to express
a citizen's pride our fine
leadership. Your display of
courage and fortitude yesterday
gave all of us renewed assurance
that Alameda is in the hands of
the best! Thank you

Jean Hendrey

CHARLES P. PHILLIPS, C.L.U.
270 PEACHTREE STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

September 7, 1966


The Honorable Ivan Allen
Mayor of Atlanta
Georgia

Sir:

Just a note to compliment you on your courage, tact and understanding in the handling of Atlanta's unfortunate incident yesterday. Without your leadership, this situation possibly could have been even worse.

It is gratifying indeed to a private citizen like myself to see a man of your caliber in the Mayor's Office.

Very truly yours,



Regional Manager
Metropolitan Life Insurance
Company

September 7, 1966

Dear Ivan,

I want you to know that Bill and I are thankful for you. For your extraordinary courage, for your leadership, for your sense of justice, we thank you.

These are difficult times. I realize that it is people like me who have "waked up" late to the bitterness in the Negro race (I have started a sentence that I can't handle grammatically!)—anyway I know we've brought this about by not listening sooner to their feelings.

We are fortunate to have a
Mayor who is committed to
bringing about harmony and
dispelling discord and strife.

I just can't let this day go
by without telling you that we
are praying for you and we
are grateful to you. I hope that
we can do our small part
in bringing about peaceful
relationships with all people -
thereby helping you in this
great task of being Mayor of
all Atlanta.

Sincerely and
with love,
Alice Presley

Dear Sam and Louise,

I purposely have not
called for I know the phone
has been ringing greatly.

However I had to
express to you each of
us our concern for our
sweet neighbors and
friends. I know the
burden you carry is very

CARTER
3800 NORTHSIDE DRIVE, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30305

WDL

Ex. 9 Mrs. Juan Allen Jr -

Dear Joan and Louise,

I purposely have not called for I know the phone has been ringing greatly.

However I had to express your lack of us our concern for our sweet neighbors and friends. I know the burden you carry is very heavy these days and our thoughts and prayers are with you.

I hope by tomorrow things will be quiet and you can enjoy the brighter side of your responsibilities - the Falcon dinner. Thank you for our invitation and many thank you's for seeing Frank's ability to attend. I hope it wasn't

NOEL

asking to much but being
housewife & unable to attend
the games, this mother,
perhaps selfishly, entered
the picture! He's truly
excited about it.

With love to you both

Jane

Wednesday -

JMA

Wed

Daddy -

No one could have been more proud of you last night than your family. Without your steady hand things would have gotten out of control. You kept me in - possible situation from the result it was headed towards. I have

more admiration for you than
you can know.

John

Sept 7, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen,

My family and I
wish to express our deep
appreciation and gratitude
for your fine Christian
leadership of our city.

Your courage and
stamina is a constant source
of inspiration to us. We are
proud of you, Mayor Allen.

I want my children
to love and respect their

city. I also want them
to love and respect its
leaders. We are indeed
thankful for your
leadership.

We shall continue
to pray for you and our
city.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Ernest P. Pierce

2446 Wilson Dr, SW.
Atlanta, Ga. 30311

September 7

Dear Mayor Allen -

Having just finished my morning paper and the account of yesterday's riot, I felt I had to write a personal note of appreciation to you.

I've lived in Atlanta ten years, it's now my home and I love it! Our good fortune in having such splendid city leadership is often evident, but never more than yesterday.

This particular citizen of Atlanta is

very grateful indeed
that we have a good
and courageous man
guiding the affairs of
our city.

Very sincerely.

Arlene DeBevoise

2222 Peachtree Rd. N.W.
A-5
Atlanta 30309



THARPE & BROOKS
INCORPORATED
MORTGAGE BANKERS

ROBERT THARPE
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

728 WEST PEACHTREE ST., N.W.
873-1211-ATLANTA, GA. 30308

September 7, 1966

Dear Ivan:

You are a Great Mayor and a Great
Leader!

Sincerely,



Robert Tharpe

His Honor the Mayor
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Sep t ~~er~~ 14, 1966

Mayor Al len

Mimi just mailed me the attached clip of
Miami Herald Publisher Jack Knight's Sunday column .
Jack is a very keen reporter as well as successful
publisher . This column also is published in the
other Knight papers .

Bill H

Atlanta Riots Unmask Agents Of Anarchy

Carmichael & Co.:

THE RECENT riots in Atlanta offer convincing evidence that most, if not all, of the racial violence in our large cities has been organized and led by a small minority bent upon the destruction of our society.



Knight

ment of the Negro citizen as provided by law and the Constitution of the United States.

McGill places responsibility for the Atlanta disturbances squarely upon the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (Snick) and its leader, Stokely Carmichael. Snick, according to McGill, has no more than 300 members. These have been the agents of anarchy in Watts, New York, Chicago, Cleveland and other major cities.

Snick's beginnings were auspicious. Its early student leaders were motivated by high dedication to the civil rights cause. Now the John Lewises and other responsables are out. Control of Snick is held by the extreme radicals, of which Carmichael is the dominant figure.

As McGill says, Snick is no longer a civil rights organization but an anarchistic group which is openly and officially committed to the destruction of existing institutions.

Though small in membership, Snick appeals to all haters of the white man. Its slogans of defiance intrigue the very young as was shown in Atlanta where the mob was largely composed of youngsters in the 12-to-18 age range.

There appears to be no question but that Snick's funds are supplied from abroad. One of its lawyers is a registered Castro agent. Its agitators shout Havana slogans to the effect

The Publisher's Notebook

that we must live through violence. "Black Power" is but the rallying cry.

A Stand-Up Mayor

FORTUNATELY for Atlanta, it has a mayor who confronted the mob with rare courage. Though physically manhandled and taunted with shouts of "white devil," Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. remained upon the scene until the crowd had been dispersed.

Mayor Allen gave short shrift to charges of police brutality. "I saw plenty of brutality," he said, "but it was all directed against police officers." At his press conference, Mayor Allen stated that "If Stokely Carmichael is looking for a battleground, he has created one, and he will be met in whatever situation he chooses."

Atlanta's Negro community leaders were quick to decry the rioting and violence. The Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, a Negro organization, denounced both Snick and Carmichael, while calling for constructive measures designed to alleviate problems which directly concern the Negro.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Executive Director Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young, who heads the Urban League, have all repudiated Stokely Carmichael and his tactics.

The Truth Is Out

THE CITY of Atlanta has long enjoyed an enviable reputation for



Marching Through Georgia

racial amity. Ironically, it was Atlanta's splendid image that the destroyers sought to tarnish.

And yet, unwittingly, Stokely Carmichael and his followers performed a useful service not only for Atlanta but for the entire nation.

For here was stripped away the myth that Negroes are always incited to riot over poor living conditions, lack of employment and denial of civil rights.

Mr. Carmichael has now revealed himself for what he is — a scheming fomenter of disorder, a mad dog who attacks all whites indiscriminately, a revolutionist who seeks to burn and destroy, a terrorist who defies law and spits upon our flag.

Good Start Made

THE RIGHT to peaceable assembly is guaranteed by the Bill of

Rights, as is the freedom to demonstrate and to seek redress of grievances.

Together and in a spirit of constructive cooperation, the Negro and white communities must find solutions and answers to the problems which beset our cities. For they are both numerous and difficult.

A major start has been made in many areas. Where failures have occurred, the Negro is usually as much at fault as his white brother. Suspicions, distrust and fear of association have worked against the Negroes' best interests.

But the effort must go ahead if we are to enjoy the fruits of a compatible society in which there is mutuality of purpose and respect for all.

Senatorial Views

THIS NATION will not, however, permit the destroyers of society — the Carmichaels and his ranting radicals — to tear down what we have built, to burn and destroy, to defy law and order with rocks and Molotov cocktails or to hurl anarchistic

slogans and imprecations at our public officials.

The Ribicoffs and the Kennedys who continue to deplore "our tragic conditions" from comfortable seats in the U.S. Senate should visit riot areas and seek to quiet the mob, as did Mayor Allen.

If nothing else, the experience might leave them better informed and not quite so sure that all social ills can be cured by dispensing a few hundred more millions from Washington.

Plus Ca Change . . .

TODAY'S election in South Viet Nam is largely an exercise in propaganda.

Its purpose is to elect a 117-member assembly charged with writing a new national constitution. When that is done, a legislature is to be elected next year.

The election has been neatly rigged by the ruling junta. Premier Ky's generals can change any part of

the new constitution unless two-thirds of the constituent assembly objects. This means the junta could control the assembly with a third of the votes plus one, or 40 votes.

So despite efforts of the Viet Cong to disrupt the election by acts of violence against those who participate, the outcome is assured. It will be acclaimed in Washington and Saigon as a triumph for representative government.

Check The Facts

IT IS, of course, a first tentative step in that direction. But lest we attach too much significance to the election returns, these facts should be kept in mind.

1. The balloting is not a test between the Viet Cong and the non-Communist nationalists, for the Viet Cong have been excluded, as far as possible, from the candidate and voter lists.

2. Charles Mohr, correspondent for The New York Times, reports that in two weeks of campaigning, the candidates have not discussed the war, how to win it or how to negotiate its end.

3. While there are no prohibitions against debating government war policy, the candidates are wary of standing laws that could punish those who "hamper" the war effort.

In Saigon's election district 3, some 200 persons heard speakers from 11 slates of candidates. "Not one," according to correspondent Mohr, "mentioned the war, inflation, the American impact on Saigon or how soon the ruling junta should step down."

The wariness of issues was rationalized by one candidate who said: "We must have a constitution as a legal base for our government. With a legal base, we can solve all problems."

So when you read the optimistic post election pronouncements to the effect that democracy is thriving in South Viet Nam, leave a little room in your mind for some wholesome skepticism.

The old French saying — the more things change, the more they remain the same — has specific application to Viet Nam.

JOHN S. KNIGHT

Telefax

WESTERN UNION

Telefax



722P EST SEP 14 66 AB552
NSB43 NS GVA097 NL PD GREENVILLE MISS 14
MAYOR IVAN ALLEN JR

Return

ATLA

BLESS YOU, IVAN AND LOUISE FOR YOUR STATESMANSHIP AND FORTITUDE
AND THANK GOD THAT THROUGH YOU ATLANTA'S INDOMINTABLE SPIRIT
LIVES ON. MAY OUR ADMIRATION FOR YOU AFFORD SOME COMFORT AND
STRENGTHEN YOUR PURPOSE IN THESE HOURS OF TRAVAIL

DOROTHY AND GILLY KIMBELL.

Mrs. Robert Leak MacDougall
4141 Club Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Wednesday

Dear Ivan,

This is to say
how much I admired
your courage in handling
the riot. You showed
good judgment and your
patience was colossal.

All Atlanta is
indebted to you. We
are proud of you.

Sincerely,
Margaret MacDougall

It is true that you gave us some
uneasy hours when we feared
that you would be harmed, we
do feel that your show of strength
and fortitude helped greatly to
eventually disperse the crowd.

This is the first time that
we have felt great pride in the
leadership of our city. We remember,
paddy, your reaction to the
Orly crash, when you immediately
flew to Paris to lend assistance
to the stricken families. And
again last week we endorsed
your firm stand with the firemen.
All good wishes to you.

Sincerely,
Julia Greenfield Kellman

Mrs. Herman M. Kulman
2309 Montview Drive N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30305

8 Sept 1966

Dear Mayor Allen,
My husband and I want
to join the many people who
are commending you on your
courageous stand against the rioters.

PARKHOTEL SCHOENEGG

Grindelwald

Fam. Stettler, Propr.
Tel. (036) 328 88
CH - 3818 Grindelwald

Sept 17-1966

"Sehr geehrter Herr Bürgermeister -
und Rats -

Human and I have been traveling
through Rome and now in Switzer-
land -

We have been distressed at the
news of the trouble in Atlanta
which has been in all European
papers.

The fine way in which you and
the Atlanta police, as well as the
press, have handled this distressing
matter has been strongly stressed
in all papers -

Inclosed is one of the
clearest descriptions of our problems
we have read so far.

It is also very surprising to
learn that Atlanta and our
"Birmingham" Comm and such
report all over Europe -

If you can't find anyone
to translate this for you, German
will be best to do so when
we return about Sept 23rd -

The paper from which this
article is clipped is ^{one of the} most re-
spected and widely distributed
papers in Germany and Europe.
I think it would give our

Atlanta paper a great lift if the
article would appear in our local
paper because of our place
ourselves, they worry about the image
being created abroad due to all
these distortions and mis-
uses. We hope by now every thing is under
control - ^{nothing from St. Louis}
to you and Louise - ^{Dr. & Herman} Bert

Brandt, Erier und Wehner sprechen.
(F.A.Z.)

Johannes Dieckmann, der Präsident der „Volkskammer“, hat in Leipzig auf einem Empfang für eine guinesische „Parlaments-Delegation“ die sich „ständig weiter vertiefenden Beziehungen zwischen der DDR und der Republik Guinea“ gewürdigt.
(F.A.Z.)

Todor Schiwkoff, der bulgarische Ministerpräsident und Erste Sekretär der Kommunistischen Partei Bulgariens, wird auf Einladung der französischen Regierung am 10. Oktober zu einem sechstägigen offiziellen Besuch in Frankreich eintreffen. (dpa)

In Berlin ist der „Achte Deutsche Technikertag“ der Deutschen Angestellten-Gewerkschaft eröffnet worden. 120 stimmberechtigte Delegierte aus allen Bundesländern nehmen daran teil.

Die Devisenhilfe-Verhandlungen zwischen der Bundesrepublik und Großbritannien werden am Montag in München fortgesetzt. (dpa)

Der Deutsche Entwicklungsdienst in Bad Godesberg hat einen jungen Berliner Techniker als 5000sten Bewerber für eine Aufgabe in einem Entwicklungsland registriert. (AP)

Einem ungarischen Ehepaar und einem 25jährigen Arbeiter ist am Freitag im Burgenland die Flucht nach Österreich gelungen. (AP)

Pakistan und Malaysia haben ihre diplomatischen Beziehungen wiederaufgenommen. Diese Übereinkunft ist durch die Vermittlung des Schahs von Persien zustande gekommen. (UPI)

Zwischen „Schwarzer Macht“ und weißen Herrenmenschen

Atlanta sucht auf den Weg der Vernunft zurückzukehren / Sabina Lietzmann berichtet

Vor fünf Jahren hat Präsident Kennedy der Stadt Atlanta Dank und Anerkennung für die Würde und Gesetzestreue ihrer Bürger ausgesprochen, die allen Gemeinden des Südens zum Vorbild dienen könnten. Hatte doch die rassenbewußte, bürgerstolze Kapitale des tiefen Südens den Eintritt von Negerkindern auf bisher rein weiße höhere Schulen trotz ängstlicher Erwartungen schmerzlos und ohne Zwischenfall vollzogen, weil Stadtverwaltung, Presse und eine Vielzahl kommunaler Gruppen von den Pfadfindern bis zur Handelskammer in idealem Zusammenwirken die Bevölkerung über Monate hin darauf vorbereitet hatten, sich in das Unvermeidliche mit Einsicht zu fügen.

Es gab in Atlanta damals keinen Skandal wie in anderen Städten. Auch in den Jahren seither hat Atlanta sich den Ruf einer liberalen Stadt, einsichtig regiert und zum konstruktiven Zusammenwirken weißer und farbiger Bürger stets bereit, bewahrt. Atlanta hat eine einflußreiche Zeitung unter Leitung des im ganzen Lande bekannten und geachteten Redakteurs und Leitartiklers Ralph MacGill, es hat einige gut geführte Negeruniversitäten in seiner Umgebung, und es ist seit zwei Jahrzehnten Sitz einer regionalen Organisation, in der Farbige und Weiße an der Verbesserung des Negerchicksals arbeiten.

Seit den fünfziger Jahren ist Atlanta auch Hauptquartier von Martin Luther Kings Organisation, der Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Seit 1960 schließlich beherbergt es die Zentrale noch eines weiteren Farbigenverbandes: des „Student non-violent Committee“ (Gewaltloses Studenten-Komitee), das sich unter seinem neuen Führer Stokely Carmichael in diesem Sommer zum Bannerträger der neuen Losung „Black Power“ (Schwarze Macht) macht und Einfluß für die Schwarzen entwickelt hat.

Der Zusammenstoß zwischen liberalen und militanten Kräften hat Atlanta in der vergangenen Woche seine erste Krise seit langem beschert. Ihre Bewältigung ist für Stadtverwaltung und Bevölkerung ein Test wie damals, 1961, die vom Obersten Gericht befohlene Zulassung von Negerkindern auf die höheren Schulen. Der Zwischenfall entwickelte sich aus der Verfolgung eines schwarzen mutmaßlichen Autodiebes durch einen Polizisten, wobei der flüchtige Neger von dem Polizisten angeschossen wurde. Es folgte ein Straßenaufruhr in dem schwarzen Viertel.

Stokely Carmichael und andere Mitglieder seines „Komitees“ erschienen mit Lautsprecherwagen auf der Szene und wiegelten die Bevölkerung zum Angriff gegen die Polizei auf. Es entwickelte sich eine jener Straßenschlachten, die es diesen Sommer in vielen amerikanischen Städten gegeben hat,

mit Flaschen und Ziegelsteinen als Wurfgeschossen. Der Bürgermeister Ivan Allen, ein liberaler und allseits geachteter Mann, fuhr in das Aufruhrgebiet, wollte vom Dach eines Polizeiwagens aus die Bevölkerung zur Ruhe mahnen und wurde vom Auto in die Menge geschleudert.

Mit Tränengas trieb die Polizei schließlich die Massen auseinander, doch das Ereignis, das die einen eine rüde Straßenschlacht, die anderen „Atlantas schwarze Revolte“ nennen, wirkt nach: Die Stadtverwaltung hat Carmichael der Anzettelung von Unruhen angeklagt und ihn verhaften lassen. Man prüft, ob man ihn nicht nach einem alten Gesetz des Staates der Verbreitung aufrührerischer Schriften beschuldigen kann, ein Vergehen, das eine Höchststrafe von zwanzig Jahren Zuchthaus nach sich ziehen könnte.

Die schwarze Bevölkerung von Atlanta ist über das Ereignis fast mehr betroffen als die weiße. Carmichael und sein Studentenkomitee, das nicht nur in der Theorie, sondern neuerdings auch in der Praxis die Gewaltlosigkeit aus seinem Programm gestrichen hat (im Titel wird sie allerdings noch geführt), stößt bei dem wesentlichen Teil der farbigen Bürger von Atlanta auf wenig Gegenliebe, ja auf heftige Ablehnung. In den letzten Tagen haben sich mehrere schwarze Nachbarschaftsorganisationen gebildet, die in den Negervierteln Schilder mit dem

Aufdruck „Ich bin ein guter Nachbar“ verteilen und an Haustüren kleben, damit ihre friedlichen Absichten bekundend. An einer Stelle wurde bereits von Negern ein Werbetisch mit Literatur des Studentenkomitees verbrannt.

Weniger auffällig gehen andere Gruppen, darunter Geistliche, von Haus zu Haus und arbeiten an einer Bestandsaufnahme der farbigen Bevölkerung. Bürgermeister Allen hat alle arbeitslosen Neger aufgerufen, sich im Rathaus um Stellen zu bewerben, die reichlich zur Verfügung stünden. Eine andere Farbigengruppe, ad hoc gebildet, arbeitet mit der Behörde zusammen an der Beseitigung der ärgsten Übel in den Slums.

Aber auch die Gemäßigten unter den Schwarzen haben bereits einen militanten, sozusagen rechtsradikalen Flügel erhalten, der sich, durch den Schock der Straßenschlacht beschleunigt, aus rund hundert schwarzen Schülern und Studenten gebildet hat und erklärt, es sei nun an der Zeit, daß eine verantwortliche schwarze Jugend sich gegen die These von der schwarzen Macht ebenso Gehör verschaffe wie gegen weiße Theorien von Herrenrassen. In der Gegnerschaft gegen schwarze Extremisten sind farbige und weiße Bürger von Atlanta gemeinsam bemüht, der Stadt und ihren Ruf als liberalste Kapitale des Südens zu erhalten.

Vereinten Nationen Pläne für die Wiedervereinigung des Landes. Eine neue Konferenz sei deshalb unnötig.

Prader bei Malinowski

F.A.Z. MOSKAU, 11. September. Der österreichische Verteidigungsminister Prader ist zu einem einwöchigen Besuch in Moskau eingetroffen. Prader folgt einer Einladung des sowjetischen Verteidigungsministers Malinowski, der ihn auch auf dem Flughafen Scheremetjewo begrüßte. Der sowjetische Verteidigungsminister hatte vor einem Jahr Wien besucht.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung Frankfurter Zeitung

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Am schönen Rhein!

Im Herzen dieses frohen Landes, in Rüdesheim am Rhein, wird der Asbach Uralt mit liebevoller Geduld gehegt und gepflegt, bis er herangewachsen und ausgereift ist zur Vollendung: zu seiner vollen Blume, seinem sanften Feuer und dem weinigen Geschmack - jenen drei unverkennbaren Merkmalen, welche seine edle Art deutlich bezeugen!

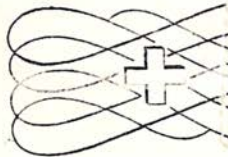
Asbach Uralt

Im Asbach Uralt ist der Geist des Weines!

DIE PFALZ BEI KAUB

1992

LUFTPOST
PAR AVION VIA AEREA



The Honorable Ivan Allen,
Mayor
City Hall



1992

Atlanta, Ga.

PARKHOTEL SCHOENEGG

CH - 3818 Grindelwald

U.S.A.



The Evening Bulletin

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22 B THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1966

Planning to Plan

The \$26,000 federal grant made available to help the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission "define" its job is a necessary first step. But it hardly "refutes" all of the recent criticism of the Commission by the Governors' Interstate Advisory Committee, as Commission Secretary Lawrence G. Williams hastily insisted it did.

Even when matched on a one-third basis by state and local governments represented on the commission, the federal grant will pay only for a very modest professional and clerical staff—big enough, perhaps, to draft some preliminary outlines of the Commission's enormous tasks but certainly not equipped to begin any real nuts-and-bolts work.

More or less theoretical notions of what the Commission should undertake will be no substitute for a beginning on

concrete regional planning of land use and resource development. If such planning is to have the necessary backing, if it is to have an impact on the actual operations of government in the Delaware Valley area, the fuller involvement of the governors and other ranking officials of the region, as proposed by the Advisory Committee, will indeed be necessary.

Planning Commissions, local and regional, have a long history of ivory tower labors that too often result in plans that have little or no chance of implementation because the responsible officials of government are not involved. All the good intentions and professional competence in the world cannot make a politically sterile or impotent organization an effective force. The Commission will truly come to life when this is recognized.

Some Lessons From the 'Pros'

Professional politicians can learn several things from the results of Tuesday's primary election balloting.

One, made obvious in the returns from New Jersey's Democratic Party primary, is that the war in Viet Nam is indeed an issue in congressional voting—whenever anyone sets out to make it an issue.

A slate of Democratic Party "peace candidates" was defeated down the line by party regulars who supported President Johnson's conduct of the war as well as his continuing efforts to bring about a negotiated peace. The Viet Nam dissidents, who sought a U. S. Senate as well as several U. S. House nominations, fared badly—very badly—in the voting.

The lesson here, and one supported by previous primary contests, is that while the American voter may not be a Viet Nam "hawk," neither is he attracted by pleas for the unilateral withdrawal of U. S. troops, by demands for an immedi-

ate halt to all bombings or a cease-fire by South Viet Nam and its allies.

The other lesson, and this one is to be learned from the results in Minnesota, is the danger of "over packaging" a political product with bright-young-man wrappings.

Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party leaders decided more than a year ago that Governor Karl F. Rolvaag, 53, should be placed on the political scrap heap. Rolvaag, these leaders reasoned, lacked political "oomph" and had to be replaced by someone younger, more attractive. Thus, the Democratic-Farmer-Labor endorsement went to Lt. Gov. A. M. (Sandy) Keith, 37, who is in the Robert F. Kennedy image—including hair styling.

The party leaders figured everything—except voter reaction. A tremendous sympathy vote was generated for Rolvaag and carried him to renomination. It left the party leaders alone with their wrappings.

New Battle of Atlanta

Atlanta, Ga., is a part of the old South well worth the consideration of northerners. It has close to a half-million population. It is the hub of transportation in that quadrant of the country, as it was more than a century ago. It is also a town which seems really to believe that the Civil War was a long while ago, and that what has gone with the wind never blows back.

Atlanta, therefore, integrated its schools with much less strain than elsewhere in the Old Confederacy. This year there was violence as school resumed, because there are impassioned but senseless people in every city, and of every race. Atlanta's mayor, risking his neck quite literally, went through the streets of a Negro district reminding his fellow-Atlantans of their duty to uphold the law. An out-of-state Negro whom some would describe as a demagogue was arrested

for violation of a local law. But so was a white man accused of wanton shooting of an Atlanta Negro.

Both arrests make sense; the point being to uphold the law without partiality. This Atlanta seems to be attempting to do, much better than some of its backward sister towns such as Grenada, Miss., where naked white power seems to have the support of policemen who ought to be ashamed to wear a badge; where the crippling of children for the "sin" of being black appears to be the accepted code.

Atlanta is the place to look, for Atlanta is one of the most successful cities in the South. Its culture and industry, and its unusually articulate press have made it a leader. What Atlanta does in civil rights will be copied, though perhaps grudgingly. On the record so far, the vigorous city in the red hills deserves the mantle of leadership.

Twice Blessed

Kickoff might be a bad word for such things as the United Fund, since the last thing that happens is that anybody gets kicked. Everybody gets helped; contrib-

figure was \$7.85 per person, while the Philadelphia average was \$4.90.

Since then we have done better. But what Mr. Seltzer had to say goes a long way to explain why Cleveland

Mrs. Haines Hargrett
355 Hillside Dr., N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30305

Dear Joan,

Haines and I want you to
know we think you are doing a beautiful
job and are behind you a hundred
percent.

Sincerely,

Frances Hargrett

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

447A EST SEP 14 66 AB030

A LLF 18 PD DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM ATLANTA GA 12 1109PMEST
IVAN ALLEN JR

MAIL 3700 NORTHSIDE DR NW ATLA

MY ADMIRATION FOR YOU AND YOUR COURAGE IS BEYOND BELIEF

SKEE PRICE

(40)•

DATA EST SEP 24 06 4830
A LETTER PO DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM ATLANTA GA 12 110012
IVAN ALLEN JR
MAIL STOP NORTHSIDE DR NW ATLA
MY ADMIRATION FOR YOU AND YOUR COURAGE IS BEYOND BELIEF
BREE PRIZE
(40)

A- 68578



Mayor Iwan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga.

PERSONAL



MRS. GEORGE BEATTIE - 857 WOODLEY DRIVE, N. W. - ATLANTA 18, GEORGIA

Honorable Mayor.
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

You have been most courageous during this past week in an effort to calm our racial troubles and you are to be commended.

Now as a last resort I would suggest that you recruit the services of Mr. Ralph McGill since he has been so closely allied with the Negro people in this fair City. A few words from Mr. McGill directed to the participants in any of these disturbances will carry tremendous impact.

Sincerely,

A Well Wisher.



HONORABLE MAYOR
CITY HALL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

A Negro highschool
principal called to say
he is organizing a
group of Negro leaders
to back you up 100%

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr Allen

Name Mrs. Marie Jones

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Is here to see you
- Returned your call
- Came by to see you
- Left the following message:

with you 100%

Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

Curtis Clark
344-1523

*Called to offer
his assistance —
he said you are
familiar with his
work —*

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
PHONE 522-4463

From Mrs. Ann M. Moses 

Hick Ledger 

Wall St. Journal 

admire your courage.

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE JA. 2-4463

Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor

James Hampton
called to
congratulate you
for your
stand -

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr Allen

Name Harry Andrew

Telephone No. _____

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wants you to call | <input type="checkbox"/> Is here to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Returned your call | <input type="checkbox"/> Came by to see you |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Left the following message: | |

You did a
great job

Date: _____ Time 9:05 a. m. / p. m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

Ben Moore called
to say congratulations

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

Bill Ebersole ~

Your actions helped
City image ~ He
admires your
courage ~

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

Ed Shukraft

*Appreciate what
you did ~*

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
PHONE 522-4463

From Mrs. Ann M. Moses

Harlee Branch disturbed
about indignity you
were subjected to in spite
of your efforts -

If he can help
in any way - He will stand
with you + behind you
you have pursued good
policies - stick with them -

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To _____

Name *Dan Wood*

Telephone No. *Covington, Ga.*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wants you to call | <input type="checkbox"/> Is here to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Returned your call | <input type="checkbox"/> Came by to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Left the following message: | |

*He's glad he's a
Georgian & lives
close to you &
Atlanta*

Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By _____

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To _____

Name W. A. Steed

Telephone No. _____

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wants you to call | <input type="checkbox"/> Is here to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Returned your call | <input type="checkbox"/> Came by to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Left the following message: | |

Congratulations

Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By _____

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To _____

Name Mrs. Webb

Telephone No. _____

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wants you to call | <input type="checkbox"/> Is here to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Returned your call | <input type="checkbox"/> Came by to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Left the following message: | |

proud of you

Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By _____

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr Allen

Name Sen Salgado

Telephone No. 225-3643

- Wants you to call Is here to see you
 Returned your call Came by to see you
 Left the following message:

Apr 31

Mark Salgado

202

Fed 7-2394

Congratulations

[Signature]

Date: [Signature] Time 1:10 a. m. / p. m.

By _____

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To C. A. Jr.

Name A. C. Arnold

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Is here to see you
- Returned your call
- Came by to see you
- Left the following message:

You have shown the
greatest display of courage
he has seen since
World War II . . . he's
behind you 100%.

Date: 9/9/60 Time 11:45 a.m./~~p.m.~~

By Linda

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To LAOJr

Name W. G. Morgan Sr.

Telephone No. 4055 Northside Dr.

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

Concerned for your
safety

Date: 9/9 Time 4 a.m./p.m.

By B

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To D.A. Jr.

Name Mrs. Tomkin

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

Very proud of you.

Date: 9/9 Time 3:20 ~~am~~ / p. m.

By Lynde

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

Ben *Ohlert* - *Senior*
Coca Cola

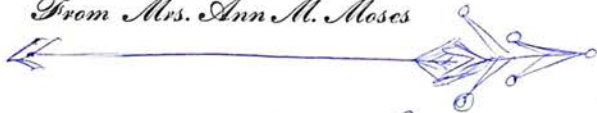
inquiring about your
health + offer to
be of assistance

Called from
Washington.

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
PHONE 522-4463

From Mrs. Ann M. Moses



Mr. Ralph Latimer

Limon, Ohio →

Linea



Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To C.A. Jr.

Name Paul Baertner

Telephone No. 233-2727

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

He is proud of you.

Date: 9/7 Time 7:00 ~~a.m.~~ / p.m.

By B

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To *et al.*

Name *Mrs. Henry Ogden*

Telephone No.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wants you to call | <input type="checkbox"/> Is here to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Returned your call | <input type="checkbox"/> Came by to see you |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Left the following message: | |

She's glad you're our Mayor.

Date: *9/7/66* Time *2:30* ~~a.m.~~ / p.m.

By *Linda*

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

Helen Bullard
Called to say she
is real proud of
you —

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To C. A. Jr.

Name Mr. Gordy - The Varsity

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call Is here to see you
 Returned your call Came by to see you
 Left the following message:

You're a great man -
did a fine job -
both the situation last
night and the firemen.

Date: 9/7 Time 1:00 a.m./p.m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

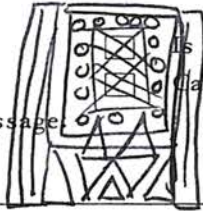
TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Ann

Name Betty Carleton

Telephone No. 2025050

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:



is here to see you
come by to see you

Said you were
just wonderful

Date: _____ Time 9 a. m. / p. m.

By _____

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr.

Name Leon Hay & Mrs. Hay

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Is here to see you
- Returned your call
- Came by to see you
- Left the following message:

In their opinion "you
grew 3 feet taller last
night".

Date: 9/7 Time 1:55 ~~am~~ / p. m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
PHONE 522-4463

From Mrs. Ann M. Moses



County German
never admired you
more than he did
last night

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
PHONE 522-4463

From Mrs. Ann M. Moses

Joan - you have
had 25-30% of the
calls today complimenting
you from the press

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To So.

Name Karl Anthony

Telephone No. So. Reg Council

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

Greatly respect your
performance

Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

Mrs. West -
of Sandy Springs

"you are superb"

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

Ep - Atlantam —

You were wonderful
& dynamic —

Certainly to be
Commended —

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

A sweet little
old lady said she
is real proud
of her mayor —

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

Howard Haire —

You've been too good
a mayor to take
a chance on a
bunch of baboons
killing you —

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Jay

Name Mrs Sue Crank

Telephone No. 577-1351

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

Sennachie
Jer - 20A
Cent.

Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By _____

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

Tom Pettles ~
Ivan Allen Co. ~

Congratulations on
your work yesterday ~
proud of you ~

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr Allen

Name Chas. Curry

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

He is with you -
be careful -

Date: _____ Time 9:30 a.m./p.m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr Allen

Name Supt. Silces

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

You are a great
guy -

Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr Allen

Name Ching Hildesheim

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

Jan got guts!

Date: _____ Time 9:15 a.m./p.m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr Allen

Name Harbor Green

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

Green Bro

He is back of

you 100%

Date: _____ Time 8:40 a.m./p.m.

By _____

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr Allen

Name Geo Catsakis

Telephone No. _____

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wants you to call | <input type="checkbox"/> Is here to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Returned your call | <input type="checkbox"/> Came by to see you |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Left the following message: | |

Anything he can
do - let him
know

Date: _____ Time 8:25 a. m. / p. m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr Allen

Name Miss Bauer

Telephone No. _____

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wants you to call | <input type="checkbox"/> Is here to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Returned your call | <input type="checkbox"/> Came by to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Left the following message: | |

Will help any.

way she can

Date: _____ Time 9:10 a. m. / p. m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr Allen

Name Mrs. Huffman

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

You have the support
of Plum + North-
Mr Austin in Ny - said
give you his best -
will talk to RWW

Date: today Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE JA. 2-4463

Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor

J. F. Harrison

522-0644

w/ Post Office Dept

wants to help any -
way he can -

2
830

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Ivan -

Name Dr. McLondon

Telephone No. _____

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wants you to call | <input type="checkbox"/> Is here to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Returned your call | <input type="checkbox"/> Came by to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Left the following message: | |

utter request over
what happened)

commend you
for your stand

full page in Const.
Apologizing for

Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By _____

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To _____ *Mr*

Name _____ *Jack McDonald*

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

_____ *He's proud of*
_____ *you*

Date: _____ *9/7* Time _____ *3:15* a. m. / p. m.

By _____ *B*

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr Allen

Name Jack Burnett

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

He is providing
you -

Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By [Signature]

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr. Allen

Name Chas Rawson

Telephone No. _____

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wants you to call | <input type="checkbox"/> Is here to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Returned your call | <input type="checkbox"/> Came by to see you |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Left the following message: | |

He is with you

Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By [Signature]

To Mayor Allen

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

From Bill Howland

Date ~~Sept~~ Sept 7, 1966

Congressman Jamie MacKay justphoned (3: 20 p.m.) to say that he was very proud of your action yester ay and that he stood at tour command to do~~any~~ anything he could to be of assistance.

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE JA. 2-4463

Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor

Mr. Boyles - call
to congratulate -

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To LA Jr

Name E. D. Smith

Telephone No. First Natl Bank

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

Call him if you
need him

Date: 9/7 Time 11:50 a. m. / p. m.

By B

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
PHONE 522-4463

From Mrs. Ann M. Moses

Miss Julia Clifton

Capital Ave School

principal - you

are so brave and

she is so proud of

you -

(she taught you at

Spring Street School)

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To Mr. J.

Name Mr. Storey

Telephone No. 355-0211

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

Cupola

Date: 9/8 Time 11:20 a.m./p.m.

By E.D.

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To A.P. Jr.

Name Jim Cherry

Telephone No. DR 3-4471

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

 Carpet cleaner

Date: 9/8 Time 10:05 a. m. / ~~p. m.~~

By J

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

The Negro postman
who delivered the
11 o'clock mail
(not Mr. Moore) said
he is very proud
of you —
✓

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE


To _____

Name Malone Gresham, Sr.

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

Handled matter nicely



Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By _____

Office of the Mayor

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

To _____

Name *Sidney Jewett*

Telephone No. _____

- Wants you to call
- Returned your call
- Left the following message:
- Is here to see you
- Came by to see you

Navy message:
"Well done"

Date: _____ Time _____ a. m. / p. m.

By _____

20-26th Street, N.W.
Apt D-2
Atlanta, Ga 30309



The Honorable Josu Allen
Mayor of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga.
30303

Sept. 12, 1966

The Honorable Ivan Allen
Mayor of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Allen:

This is my first time
to write a letter of this
type but I felt compelled
to write and tell you what
a grand job you have done
in the recent race riots.

I think you and the
Atlanta Police force are
to be commended.

Sincerely,

(Mrs) Josephine Vace

J. H. HILSMAN & CO., INC.
MEMBER PHILADELPHIA BALTIMORE WASHINGTON STOCK EXCHANGE
1410 CITIZENS AND SOUTHERN BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

C. C. COVEY

September 13, 1966

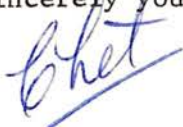
Hon. Ivan Allen, Jr.
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ivan:

I want to be counted among those who stand squarely behind you in your handling of the present emergency. Every one of us who has the privilege of calling you friend undoubtedly is tremendously proud of your conduct during this crisis. You have exhibited a level head, extraordinary courage, and dedication. You have had the courage to face the problem and to face the trouble makers on their own ground. We are all very, very proud of your actions.

I have read of the Vice President calling you. I would feel a lot better about him if he hadn't stood up in New Orleans and encouraged just the sort of thing that has happened here. It occurs to me that he has been trying to carry water on both shoulders. Nevertheless, realize we are all with you and proud of you.

Sincerely yours,



C. C. Covey

CCC:ag

RS

Sept 10

Dear Susan -

Just a note to say that we are "proud to know you" - I know what a strain these past few days & weeks have been for you. You have done

a very remarkable job.
Your handling of the
riots was especially
courageous.

Wanted you to
know that you have
my support and admiration.

Sincerely -

Betty Hauerty Smith

Atlanta, Ga. 30305-
Sept 12 - 1966

Hon. Owen Allen,
Mayor of Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir -

Just to express my
great appreciation for your
courage & fortitude in
our great trials -

I voted for you and
always will - you have
endeared yourself not only
to me but throughout the
City of Atlanta.

God bless you - please
be careful. Sincerely

Miss Helen W Adams
2795 Peachtree Rd NE, 30305

Dear Ivan,

I am so proud and happy
to know you and call you
friend. Bless you for trying!
I feel you have done and
are doing your best. That's
all anyone can ask.

My very best wishes to
your dear wife who has
set an example for us all.

With all good wishes, always.

Judy Niman



D NEIMAN
3640 CLOUDLND NW
ATLANTA GA 30327



Mayor Swan Allen, Jr.
City Hall
68 Mitchell Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Encl. Wheeling Wta. Clippings



JOHN H. BENNETT
DIRECTOR
AVIATION DIVISION

100 STATE CAPITOL

ATLANTA, GA. 30334

577-3450

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Jalen

Conspicuous

*Read this
on way here
they*

W. KING GRANT

874-4427
~~TRINITY 5-6661~~

PRESIDENT
SOUTHERN DISCOUNT COMPANY

919 WEST PEACHTREE ST., N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Clipping
Head



Ira H. Hardin
PRESIDENT

IRA H. HARDIN COMPANY
CONTRACTORS & ENGINEERS

TELEPHONE 525-5336 — AREA CODE 404

174 Mills Street, N. W.



Atlanta, Ga. 30313

Was in Washington
Thursday + Friday
Thought you might
be interested in these
clippings. Jan

Telefax

WESTERN UNION

Telefax



1300 EST SEP 13 66 AB447
A KPA012 PD KP ATLANTA GA 13 1995A EST
MAYOR IVAN ALLEN
CITY HALL ATLA GA

ALL WELL-THINKING CITIZENS ARE DUE YOU THEIR THANKS AND APPRECIATION
FOR THE LEADERSHIP YOU HAVE SHOWN, PARTICULARLY DURING THE LAST
FEW DAYS. YOU HAVE BEEN COURAGEOUS UNDER DANGEROUS CIRCUMSTANCES
AND HAVE CERTAINLY SHOWN WONDERFUL INTEREST IN YOUR CITY AND
STATE BY YOUR UNDERSTANDING. SOME OF THE CAUSES DEFINITELY
SHOULD BE REMOVED AND I AM AT YOUR COMMAND IF I CAN BE OF ANY
ASSISTANCE. HOPE WE MAY HAVE YOUR LEADERSHIP WITH US FOR
MANY YEARS TO COME. PERSONAL REGARDS

ABE GOLDSTEIN

142P

177)

Sept. 12, 1966
Box 4715 station C
14th St. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mayan Ivan Allen, Jr.
68 Mitchell St.
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayan Allen:

Michael Saper, the son of
Mr. Norman Saper and myself -
is copy desk editor of the
Charlotte Observer in
Charlotte, N.C. He sent me
an editorial from this
Charlotte paper which was
complimentary to you and
the Atlanta police. We are
all proud of you, sir.

2.

I cannot understand these riots; why negroes demand that we uphold every detail of the Civil Rights law while they break the laws, fight police, kill, break bottles, do damage and generally act like African savages. I wish they'd act like the cultivated educated people they claim to be.

I work at Grady hospital nursing babies so I am in the middle of the riot belt. Most of the negroes I have to work with are nice.

God wishes to you, mine,
from both of us. Sincerely
Mrs. Gene D. Sawyer

The Charlotte Observer

JAMES L. KNIGHT, *President and Publisher*

C. A. McKNIGHT, *Editor*

BRODIE S. GRIFFITH, *General Manager*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1966

Atlanta's Mayor And Police Handled Bad Situation Well

Stokely Carmichael of the now-misnamed Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee apparently got what he wanted in Atlanta Tuesday — a riot by Negroes protesting the shooting of a man pursued by police.

Carmichael has gone to great lengths to explain his idea of "black power" in terms of political strength, insisting that it is not a call to violence. But the real fruits of his call for "black power" fell in Atlanta.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., displaying supreme personal courage and great concern for his city, went into the midst of the mob to plead for law and order. It was only after he had been knocked from the top of a car, where he was urging the crowd to disperse, that Mayor Allen gave orders to police to return force with force.

That was the only course left to the mayor and the police in the absence of cooperation from Carmichael and other Negro leaders who had worked the crowd to an emotional pitch. The airing of grievances must be tolerated, but the imposition of a state of anarchy in a city is out of the question.

Atlanta police showed considerable restraint in handling the crowd as they were being pelted by rocks, bottles and bricks. This restraint kept the number of injured to a minimum. The police also reflected the department's effective riot-control training when the mayor gave the orders to move against the mob.

It is regrettable that such an incident took place in progressive Atlanta. It again demonstrates that some elements of the Negro community in most cities are easily aroused against the police by the incitement of extremists. It serves to remind us, too, that police must always act with extreme care in the use of firearms during arrests in racially-tense areas.

All who heard and saw reports of the Atlanta riot at the height of the action were shaken by its savageness. Except for the courage and decisiveness of Mayor Allen and the professional conduct of the police in the face of the mob, the bloodshed and destruction would have been far worse.

Sept. 8, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen,

I am white and both my grand fathers were in the Confederate army - I voted for you and I commend you for taking charge of the recent disturbance and I appreciate that you and the TV cameras were on ^{hand} in full view as it kept the police from gunning down any number of our innocent negroes -

As for inciting a mob you have said nothing about the policeman shooting a man for suspected car theft - Since when is it a death penalty to be suspected of car theft - Even the worst prejudiced judge and jury would not meet out the death sentence for car theft or resisting arrest. I think the policeman should be in -

dicted for attempted murder and never be allowed to carry a gun again. He should be jailed immediately - A great many of us abhor the way the papers (and thank goodness for them) from time to time report that a fifteen year old boy was killed because he was suspected of burglary - What colored person wouldn't try to escape the Atlanta police. I know you are highly protected from any knowledge of what goes on.

I hate violence but the very morning I saw you on TV refusing to meet with a colored group a policeman shot a negro that very afternoon.

I am sure V-P Humphrey didn't see the poor people in a gas bombed house.

Please do something about the police -
Sincerely yours Mrs. J.C. Caldwell

September 12, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen,

My pride in being an Atlantan has never been greater than it is now in spite of the serious problems we are facing. The credit for that pride can be laid only at the feet of our Mayor.

Please allow me as a citizen and an employee to say "Thank you".

Sincerely,

Gilbert A. Dillman

William Underwood

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

1375 PEACHTREE STREET, ATLANTA

September 9, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen:

Your personal demonstration of courage and integrity in handling the uprising on Tuesday deserves recognition from each of us here who care about Atlanta. I admire you for what you did and support you in your continuing efforts to deal with these complex problems in a firm and fair manner.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "W. Underwood".

The Honorable Ivan Allen
Mayor of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

*Dean
University of Penn's
awareness to
urban
problems
In*

A Call for Concern about Cities

THIS age of protest and participation has coined its own jargon—"activism", "Vietnik", "freedom marcher." For many of this year's American college graduates, picketing has become the valid, and therefore leading, answer to conventional problems. But Pennsylvania commencement speaker (and U. S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development) Robert C. Weaver offered an alternative for this generation of "activists" and their restless social consciences.

Addressing 2,900 degree recipients on May 23 in Convention Hall, Weaver said: "Our need is to be concerned with urban values and translate them into equal opportunity, attractive communities, and the good life for ourselves and our neighbors." The new member of President Johnson's cabinet said he is "sometimes concerned lest we underestimate or misinterpret the implications and potentialities of urbanization." We need to "raise the horizon of expectations of the American people" in order to accomplish this great goal. "It cannot be that the complexity of the issue deters us," he said. Nor can it be that "we shy away because the issues involved yield to no simple, single, sure solutions, for that is equally true of so many other problems.

"Perhaps it is that urban problems are so immediate and so much a part of our daily existence that we accept them as immutable. If so, I want to disabuse you of that delusion. Man has created cities and man can change them. The fundamental issue," he continued, "is, of course, whether or not urban democracy will work, truly, for all Americans. Stated another way, the highest goal of our national efforts in urban development is to maximize options, to insure the highest possible level of opportunities for all our people, at the same time that cities provide comfort, security, excitement, and satisfactions for their occupants." The Federal government is "stressing

experimentation, innovation, and demonstration," he said, "... not to fend off radical change in cities, but to foster it." Government is seeking compromise solutions which it feels are inevitable. This process calls for planning and decision making, with the implicit belief that "if people and institutions can agree on common problems, become involved in common solutions, and learn to work together for specific, though limited, objectives, then there is the basis for wider joint action."

Citing his aspirations for urbanization and the complexities awaiting the graduates of 1966, Weaver said: "I believe in cities. I welcome an urban America. But I know both can be much better than they now are. To achieve the urban potential that is ours is the domestic challenge of your generation.

"It is my hope," he told his audience, "that this will be your commencement to identify with this crucial issue. You are urban America. What you and others in our society dream can become a new environment that maximizes choices, reduces inconvenience, demands and achieves beauty, and establishes a viable system of local and regional government."

Sharing Weaver's platform of beliefs, President Harnwell said: "Commencement implies the beginning of new activities and new goals, and offers new achievements. The challenge today for this potential energy assures an opportunity for each individual to contribute significantly toward the revitalization of contemporary society." Noting many changes and improvements made by governmental programs, the president pointed to society's current "process of dramatic evolution" and the role of educational institutions in that process: "The great urban universities, as communities of concerned and knowledgeable people, are meeting the challenges of urbanization at an increas-

ing pace... The university, as a non-political, non-profit establishment, is in a position to experiment with programs of innovation and to provide a medium for action on the part of the private citizen, the philanthropic foundation, and the government."

Pennsylvania's involvement is "witnessed in the enterprising community efforts of our divisions of law, medicine, education, city planning and its environmental institute, regional science, and the department of labor and industry.

"More recently this thrust of the University toward assisting our urban neighbors in seeking experimental solutions to long neglected and rapidly emerging social problems is represented by our Human Resources Program, a nationally acclaimed segment of the University which is involved in seeking solutions to the problems of breakdown in community relations. The student involvement in this University effort, the Community Involvement Council and its Tutorial Board, have demonstrated that our undergraduate students care deeply about the human and social problems of our Philadelphia community. Over 600 of our students under the coordinated efforts of their own leadership actively engaged in performing a variety of community services on a regular basis in the Philadelphia area throughout the past academic year including tutoring elementary and high school students. Clearly this University," the president concluded, "stands ready and willing to implement the efforts of those already engaged in compounding a remedy for the problems of the city."

At the 210th Commencement, the University also awarded honorary degrees to ten distinguished men:

- Walter H. Annenberg, '31 W. editor and publisher of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* and president of Triangle Publications, Inc., doctor of

WASHINGTON, D. C., SEPTEMBER 11, 1966

Dead End Awaits the Black Power Road

EDITORIAL

The arrest of Stokely Carmichael and two of his SNCC lieutenants on charges of inciting last week's riot in Atlanta may mark a turning point in what appears to be a struggle for supremacy between the moderate and the extremist elements in the civil rights movement.

The importance of the decision by Atlanta's Mayor Allen, who has taken a strong lead in behalf of Negro rights, lies in one simple fact. Public officials, assuming that the requisite proof is in hand, must be willing to prosecute a Carmichael or anyone else where a serious offense is involved. If for a political reason or some other reason they will not take firm action against a leader, how can they expect those in the lower echelons to respect and obey the law? And, of at least equal importance, why should anyone suppose that the moderate civil rights leaders will speak out and act against violence if the civil authorities are unwilling to do so?

This is a testing year, a year in which events may determine whether good sense or "black power" in its extreme manifestations will carry the day. It will be tragic if, because of weak knees in city hall, it should be made to appear that the rock-thrower and the Molotov cocktail are the wave of the future.

There is risk of oversimplification in discussing the moderate as opposed to the extremist wings. There is good reason to believe that a very large majority of Negroes do not support and are even opposed to the extremist tactics. This does not necessarily mean, however, that all moderates will condemn the extremists out of hand. Some of them may even derive a certain vicarious satisfaction from the excesses of a Carmichael or an Adam Clayton Powell, even though they know in their hearts that an appeal to black power, for example, can eventually lead only to a dead-end street as far as any perma-

nent advancement of civil rights is concerned.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the results of a recent survey conducted by a respected polling agency in Watts, Harlem, Chicago and Baltimore. The questions were asked by trained Negro pollsters. And the responses revealed that most Negroes, even in the ghettos, want pretty much

the same things that most white people want. They want better housing. Not surprisingly, since they are the principal victims, they are worried about crime, and they are more interested in adequate police protection than in talk about police brutality. They want their children to have a sound, disciplined education. In Harlem only 2 percent of those interviewed said that school integration was their greatest problem. The real educational problem, in the majority opinion, is the pressing need for better neighborhood schools.

Again, a cautionary note is in order. It does not necessarily follow from the survey findings that most of the people in the ghettos are against violence in pursuit of their reasonable objectives. In Watts, for example, 48.4 percent of those interviewed think the rioting there helped their chances for equality in jobs, schools and housing. Only 23.8 percent believe the rioting was harmful to attainment of this objective.

The obvious inference from this is that the demagogue, the racist-in-reverse, will find his best opportunity in the ghettos and that this is why he makes his major pitch there. It should be borne in mind, however, that the ghetto is not synonymous with the Negro community in the United States. Many Negroes do not live in ghettos. The moderate Negro leader, however, has a responsibility to help alleviate the conditions in the ghetto. And he also has a responsibility to stand up and be counted in opposition to those who seek to exploit the distress in the ghettos for purposes of their own—from motives which are at best dubious and which in the long run can only retard the drive of the Negro for his equal and rightful place in the American society.

Here in Washington, the investi-

gation of last month's trouble in the Anacostia area is a case in point.

That affair, involving a clash between Negroes and police, has been under study by a group of prominent citizens appointed by Commissioner Tobriner. Its co-chairman is Sterling Tucker, a respected Negro leader.

The study group has reached no conclusions. In fact, it is just beginning the job of drafting its report. Yet Adam Clayton Powell, whose position in Congress entitles one to expect something better from him, has charged into print with the accusation that the investigation is a "whitewash" and that the committee has too many "mild-mannered Negroes." Following this lead, Julius Hobson, who heads the group known as ACT, paid his respects to "pasteurized Negroes" on the committee who, he said, would sell other Negroes short "for a few pieces of silver." To the extent that anyone in Washington takes Powell and Hobson seriously, this sort of demagogic prejudice is as harmful as it is outrageous. And it should not be allowed to go unchallenged.

Although not aimed specifically at the Powell-Hobson combination, the executive board of the District chapter of the NAACP has just approved a resolution which is a reflection of responsible thinking by moderate leadership.

The resolution, offered by H. Carl Moultrie, president of the local branch, said that the NAACP "must condemn with equal vigor the gathering of crowds to protest the arrest of an individual, or individuals, as it does any form of police brutality." If witnesses think the police are guilty of brutality in making an arrest, the resolution continued, there are appropriate avenues, including the NAACP, through which corrective action can be sought. But "violence on the part of a person, or persons, or groups of persons, must be unequivocally condemned." The resolution ended with an expression of hope that "all other organizations do the same as we in calling for law and order."

So far the call from other organizations has been considerably less than deafening. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, however, has just denounced "black power" in any context of violence. As the struggle within the civil rights movement shapes up, and if public authorities follow Atlanta's example in cracking down on violence and incitement to violence, the country should hear before long from other moderate voices.

For if one thing is clear, it is that future progress in civil rights depends upon co-operation within the framework of law by whites and Negroes whose dedication to equal treatment and equal opportunity is genuine rather than opportunistic. If anyone doubts this, let him look at what is happening to the 1966 civil rights bill in the Senate.

There certainly is nothing to be gained in the future by following those who think or who pretend to think of progress in terms of black power, and who talk nonsense about burning down the city to get what they want.

An important thing for everyone to remember is that gains can be lost. And one way to reverse the national mood which has produced so many very substantial civil rights gains is to enlist an army under the racist banner of hot-heads who want the Negro to go it alone.



'Trouble I got, man—what I want is progress!'

The Riot in Atlanta

An artificially induced riot involving a few hundred susceptible Negroes shattered the calm of an Atlanta afternoon, and it may have shattered much more. There is no way of gauging fully its effect on a Southern community that had been deservedly considered a model in race relations.

Particularly dismaying was the abusive treatment accorded Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. when he rushed to the scene and tried to calm the rioters. They had been whipped to frenzy, reportedly by the so-called Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, espouser of the separatist and inflammatory slogan of "black power."

Such was the mood of the mob, hastily recruited after a Negro suspected of stealing a car had been wounded while fleeing from police, that Mayor Allen was jarred from the top of a police car and subjected to a barrage of bricks, bottles and verbal abuse as he courageously stood his ground and tried vainly to restore sanity.

This was an ironic reward for one of the few Southern officials who supported the Civil Rights Act of 1964. To the degree that S.N.C.C. in its new militancy was responsible for this violence, it has done a gross disservice to the evolution of racial harmony and the progress of the Negro in Atlanta and elsewhere in the South.

number of them could be brought home without weakening Europe's defenses.

It is long past time that Europeans make a larger contribution to their own defense. Furthermore, excessive American troop commitments to Europe are very costly in tax dollars and in dollar exchange.

It is one of the main causes for the continuing unfavorable balance of payments which permits foreign governments, such as France, to build huge dollar claims against the United States.

Dramatizing the need to bring substantial numbers of our troops home from Europe is the latest drop in our gold stocks of \$116,000,000 in July, the biggest monthly decrease in more than a year.

As often has been the case, France was the biggest purchaser of United States gold, converting about \$98,000,000 of its dollar claims into gold.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I also ask unanimous consent that an editorial published in the New York Daily News of September 8, 1966, entitled "Guest Editorial" with respect to the actions of General de Gaulle, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GUEST EDITORIAL

By Senator STUART SYMINGTON, Democrat, of Missouri, during Senate debate Tuesday on a proposal to reduce U.S. forces in West Europe:

"Paper gold we have been printing in increasing quantities for a great many years. At the same time, these European countries our troops continue to protect have been quietly collecting our real gold . . . If we sit back and do nothing, and Gen. de Gaulle continues his political and economic onslaughts against this country, he could place in jeopardy the integrity of the dollar."

RIOTING IN ATLANTA

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Rioting in Atlanta," published in the Washington Evening Star of Thursday, September 8, 1966.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIOTING IN ATLANTA

The most surprising thing about the riot in Atlanta is that it should have happened there. For Atlanta, by general agreement, has been a model for southern cities in its race relations.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. has walked the last mile in search of racial peace. He had almost solid Negro support when elected. He was one of the few southerners to testify in support of the 1964 civil rights bill. He has added Negroes to the police force. Atlanta's schools and city facilities are totally integrated. Many Negroes are employed by business establishments and the city has sent eight Negroes to the state legislature.

All of this counted for nothing, however, when a suspected Negro car thief was wounded while trying to escape from arresting police officers. When some 500 or more Negroes took to the streets the mayor climbed on top of an automobile and tried to reason with them. He was shouted down. Taunts of "white devil" and "black power" greeted him. Finally the mob surged around the car and the mayor was jarred loose from his perch and fell to the street.

No, this didn't happen in a Birmingham or a Selma. It happened in Atlanta. Little wonder that the Rev. Martin Luther King

Sr., who lives in Atlanta, was heard to ask: "What do they want? The mayor came down. He tried to speak to them and they wouldn't listen. What do they want?"

It was a good question, but hard to answer. For most of the members of the mob may not have known themselves what they wanted—unless it was an excuse to throw rocks and rant about police brutality.

The mayor says the riot was deliberately caused by some of Stokely Carmichael's SNCC henchmen, and he may be right. For the mob began shouting "kill the white cops" after SNCC representatives, according to the police, spread the false word that the suspected car thief "had been shot while handcuffed and that he was murdered."

Whatever may have been the case with the rioters, it seems clear that what the SNCC people want is trouble, trouble, trouble. And that is what they are going to get, though not in the form they want, if this sort of madness keeps up.

DOUGLAS BOOK RECEIVES RAVE REVIEWS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois, Senator DOUGLAS, not only has the most thorough economic background of any man in this body, he also has the marvelous gift of being able to convey his vast store of wisdom to his colleagues in the Senate as well as the public at large.

Despite a hectic Senate schedule and the increasing pressures of a major reelection campaign he has found the time to write a comprehensive and scholarly work on trade, tariffs, and the balance of payments. Furthermore, this book, "America in the Market Place," has been greeted with virtually unanimous acclaim. Let me quote a representative comment from the New York Times review written by economist Robert Lekachman:

This admirably written exposition of America's place in the world economy effectively mingles lucid exposition, personal experience and policy prescription. I have seen no clearer account of the reasoning that underlies the traditional attachment of Anglo-Saxon economists to free trade. . .

Not only is the book given top grades by the academic community, but it has won the important accolade of being completely relevant to the debate carried on in the Nation's newspapers and magazines over the important economic issues of the day. For example, the Wall Street Journal, in an editorial, cites the book in arguing against certain types of international commodity agreements as a means of promoting the economies of underdeveloped nations.

Senator DOUGLAS' book stands as a tribute to the brilliance and industry of one of the finest lights of the Senate. To find time among one's Senate duties to write a major book is rare. To find the energy to create a work that has both popular and academic appeal while maintaining Senator DOUGLAS' high standard of Senate activity is rarer still. My hat goes off to my good friend from Illinois.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the New York Times book review and the Wall Street Journal editorial be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the review and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 8, 1966]

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK: THE ROAD TO DEVELOPMENT

Despite the many billions of dollars of aid from the U.S. and other nations, the economies of the world's less developed countries are growing more slowly than in the 1950s.

The authority for that discouraging assessment is Paul Prebisch, secretary-general of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Even more discouraging, however, are some of his organization's proposed attacks on the problem.

Under the UN group's plan, more of the exports of developing countries would be brought under international commodity agreements, of the sort that now covers coffee. Moreover, poorer nations would get preferential treatment for their exports even while they were increasing tariffs against goods from the richer countries.

Superficially, this program may seem to have some appeal; at least the less advanced nations would be trying to lift themselves mainly through trade instead of endless grants and loans. Yet as Senator Paul H. Douglas indicates in a new book, "America in the Market Place," it's questionable whether this combination of price-fixing and protectionism is really the best approach to the poorer nations' problem.

Though the commodity agreements supposedly are aimed only at "stabilizing" markets, the Senator notes that their true goal usually has been to push prices upward. While increased profits on a product such as coffee, for example, may be of some general benefit to the economy of the producing nation, in the past they have chiefly aided a rather small group of wealthy planters and traders.

Furthermore, coffee consumption does not normally rise with income, so a price boost is a relatively greater burden on lower-income consumers. Senator DOUGLAS comments: "What a price increase of this type does, therefore, is to compel the poor and those of moderate means in the United States and other consuming countries to subsidize, among others, the rich planters in the producing countries."

The subsidy, though, may be shortlived, since the price-pegging pacts are prone to eventual failure. In the case of coffee, the Senator says, it's doubtful that the African countries will long be satisfied with their allotted 22% of the market. If they withdraw and start exporting more, the producing nations may wind up worse off than they were before the cartel was set up.

For our part, we find the plan to discriminate against imports from industrial countries equally unencouraging. The obvious aim is to develop more manufacturing in the less advanced lands. Unfortunately, where this approach has been and is being tried, the poorer nations have tended too often to waste their scarce resources on uneconomic steel mills and other "prestige" projects—meanwhile denying their people the chance to buy much cheaper manufactured goods from more advanced countries.

A more promising effort of Mr. Prebisch's group is its campaign to reduce or eliminate tariff barriers among less developed countries. Perhaps the poorer nations would begin to see the many-sided benefits of broader free trade if some of the industrial countries would do more to open their markets to goods from abroad.

If the less advanced nations really intend to speed their development, though, they need to make changes in internal as well as external policies. For one thing, many of them need to place more stress on private

we obtain as many pleas of guilty accompanied by a confession or admission as we did without such additional evidence.

Of the 223 defendants who had either court or jury trials 85% were found guilty. Of those found guilty there were one-third who had made an admission or confession. Admissions were present in 45 of those guilty verdicts and in only two of these matters were the admissions excluded because of Dorado. The trial deputies indicate that in only three of those cases where they obtained a guilty verdict did they feel that the admission was essential in order to obtain such conviction.

There were no court or jury acquittals in which a confession was admitted. There were no acquittals in any case where there was a confession even though one confession was excluded because of Dorado.

There were four acquittals in cases where an admission was excluded but there were also seven acquittals wherein admissions were admitted.

Again because of the limited sample and the limited nature of the questionnaire it would be difficult to arrive at any significant conclusion except to venture the view that Dorado is not presenting a difficult problem in the prosecution of current cases.

If there is any further information or explanations of these figures that you desire, please let me know.

(Copies: Evelle J. Younger, District Attorney; Harold Ackerman, Chief Deputy District Attorney.)

WORK SHEETS: CONFESSIONS AND ADMISSIONS
EFFECT OF DORADO
COMPLAINT STAGE

- (a) Total defendants, 616.
- (b) Defendants no confession or admission, 367.
- (c) Defendants confession or admission, 249.
- (d) Complaints issued—no confession or admission, 236.
- (e) Complaints issued—confession or admission admissible, 202.
- (1) Sufficient evidence without confession or admission to sustain conviction, 149.
- (2) Insufficient evidence without confession or admission to sustain conviction, 53.
- (f) Total rejections, 178.
- (g) Rejections—insufficient evidence without confession or admission and confession or admission inadmissible, 2.
- (1) Dorado,¹ 2.
- (2) Delay, 0.
- (3) Involuntary, 0.
- (4) Other, 0.
- (h) Confession or admission admissible, rejection for other reason, 45.
- (1) Rejection—no confession or admission, 131.

PRELIMINARY STAGE

- Total defendants, 363.
- Defendants no confession or admission, 165.
- Defendants confession or admission, 198.
- Confession or admission introduced and received, 139.
- Confession or admission introduced and not received, 2.
- (1) Dorado, 0.
- (2) Delay, 0.
- (3) Involuntary, 0.
- (4) Other, 2.
- Confession or admission not introduced, 52.
- (1) Dorado, 0.
- (2) Delay, 1.
- (3) Involuntary, 0.
- (4) Other,² 51.

¹ One of these is not completely certain—information sheet incomplete.

² Most not introduced if not needed to hold defendant to answer—office time saving policy at preliminary level.

- Confession or admission and plea of guilty, 4.
- Confession or admission and dismissal for refile, 1.

TRIAL STAGE (1)

- Total defendants, 318.
- Total pleas of guilty, 96.
- (1) Accompanied by admission, 18.
- (2) Accompanied by confession, 31.
- (3) Unaccompanied by extrajudicial statements, 47.
- Total dispositions of guilty, no confessions or admissions involved, 126.
- Total confessions, 49.
- Total admissions, 74.
- Court or jury disposition of guilty accompanied by admission, 45.
- (1) Effect of admission on guilty disposition: Surplusage, 1; enhance, 36; essential, 3; unknown, 3.
- (2) Guilty disposition accompanied by admission excluded by Dorado, 2.
- Court or jury disposition of guilty accompanied by confession, 18.
- (1) Effect of confession on guilty disposition: Surplusage, 0; enhance, 12; essential, 3.
- (2) Guilty accompanied by confession, excluded because of no intelligent waiver, 1.
- (3) Guilty accompanied by confession excluded by Dorado, 1.
- (4) Guilty accompanied by confession excluded by Aranda, 1.

TRIALS (2)

- Court or jury disposition of not guilty, no confessions or admissions, 22.
- Court or jury disposition of not guilty accompanied by admission, 11.
- Court or jury disposition of not guilty accompanied by admission admitted, 7.
- Court or jury disposition of not guilty accompanied by admission excluded, 4.
- (1) Reason for exclusion: Aranda, 2; unknown, 2.
- Court or jury disposition of not guilty accompanied by confession or confession admitted, 0.
- Total confessions excluded, 3.
- (1) Dorado, 1.
- (2) Aranda, 1.
- (3) No intelligent waiver, 1.
- (4) Effect of exclusion on disposition: different result, 0; no effect, 3.
- Total admissions excluded, 6.
- (1) Dorado, 2.
- (2) Aranda, 2.
- (3) Unknown, 2.
- (4) Effect of exclusion on disposition: different result, 4 (Aranda and unknown); no effect, 2 (Dorado); unknown, 0.

[ENCLOSURE 3]

STATEMENT BY DISTRICT ATTORNEY EVELLE J. YOUNGER IN RE: DAN CLIFTON ROBINSON

We have now tried the murderer of Lewis Grego three times. Grego was shot by confessed-murderer Dan Clifton Robinson in a robbery on February 3, 1962, at the Fox Hills Country Club. The first trial, Robinson was convicted and sentenced to death. The Supreme Court reversed because of an error in instructing the jury that Willie Hickman, a co-defendant, who did not appeal and is serving a life sentence, was an accomplice. Again, Robinson was tried and this time, the jury gave him life. He appealed and the District Court of Appeals reversed because the police did not advise him of his rights before he confessed. This time, the District Attorney was forced to go to trial without the confession and the jury acquitted him. The confession was voluntary and admissible under the law as it then existed. The defendant now goes free because the law was changed after the crime. The result is a by-product of the Supreme Court's tendency to change the ground rules and apply the new rule retroactively. Ironically, Robinson, who was the trigger man, now is free. His two accomplices (Willie Warner Hick-

man and Fred Gullex) are in prison, one serving a 20-year maximum, the other serving life.

JULY 14, 1966.

TROOP REDUCTION IN EUROPE

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two constructive editorials from newspapers in my State, one of September 3, 1966, from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch entitled "A Force Cut in Europe?" and the other from the St. Louis Globe Democrat of September 8, 1966, entitled "Cut U.S. Forces in Europe" be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Sept. 3, 1966]

A FORCE CUT IN EUROPE?

The White House has said "No" to Senator MANSFIELD's proposal for a Senate resolution favoring a "substantial reduction" of United States forces in Europe. But it said so in a rather faint voice, and we hope the Senate will not be dissuaded from expressing its own opinion on the question.

It has long been clear that such a reduction could be made without serious impairment of European security. The benefits, both to our balance of payments and to the cause of *detente* with the Soviet Union, would be great. The Russians might be encouraged to withdraw some of their own troops from Eastern Europe, and further steps toward establishing a new security relationship might follow.

The President does not always seek the "advice and consent" of the Senate on foreign policy initiatives, but in this case he might well find a troop-reduction resolution a useful warrant for doing what he may some day want to do without taking full responsibility himself. The facts that Senator MANSFIELD has the support of 13 members of the Senate's Democratic policy committee, and that he has taken care to consult Chairman RUSSELL of the Armed Services Committee and Republican Leader DIRKSEN, argue that more is involved than the personal disposition of a Senator who has long questioned the need for maintaining such a large military establishment in Europe.

In any case the Mansfield proposal deserves a sympathetic reception. At a time when Europe itself acknowledges no need to meet its original NATO troop commitments, when the conditions that gave rise to those commitments have sharply changed, and when we are spending far more dollars abroad than we are earning, it does not make sense to go on supporting 400,000 troops and nearly a million of their dependents in Europe. Even if the Administration is not ready to say so, there is no reason why the Senate should not.

[From the St. Louis Globe Democrat, Sept. 8, 1966]

CUT U.S. FORCES IN EUROPE

The United States troop commitment to Europe is much too heavy in light of Europe's dramatic recovery and renewed capability to take over the greater part of its own defense.

The commitment, made 15 years ago, is woefully outdated. It should be substantially reduced as recommended by 13 Democratic Senators.

Under vastly changed conditions of today there is no reason to maintain some 400,000 to 450,000 American troops and their 1,000,000 dependents in Europe. A substantial

point in her early visits to Japan and India. She was not only a radiant rebel, admired for her charm and disarming modesty, but also a practical idealist whose contribution will be realized by future generations.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN ATLANTA

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, all responsible and thinking Georgians—and I am proud to say they constitute an overwhelming majority of the people of my State—were shocked this week by the racial riot that erupted in Atlanta last Tuesday.

It was an appalling display of the same brand of lawlessness we have witnessed on many occasions in recent months in a number of cities throughout the Nation. It was the kind of mob violence which can only result in chaos unless steps are taken to restore respect for law and order. And, just as in other places where racial agitation and disorder have resulted in rioting, the Atlanta riot can be laid at the feet of irresponsible leaders who have gone about the country preaching disrespect for authority and calling mobs into the streets, with no other purpose than to create strife and disorder.

I am truly sorry that Atlanta, whose record for peaceful and sensible race relations is second to no other large metropolitan area in the country, has been made a victim of rioting and disgraceful chants of "black power." However, I am pleased to note that because of positive and responsible leadership on the part of the mayor and the city police, as well as that of respected members of the Negro community, the riot was quelled and handled overall in a most commendable manner.

There appeared in the September 7 edition of the Atlanta Constitution an excellent column by Editor Eugene Patterson, giving an account of the rioting and the courageous and firm part of Mayor Ivan Allen and responsible Negro leaders in dispersing the rioters.

There also appeared fine editorials in the Atlanta Journal and the Washington Evening Star commending Mayor Allen and rightly placing the blame for the disorder where it belongs.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Patterson's column and the editorials be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Sept. 7, 1966]

A DAY TO FORGET

(By Eugene Patterson)

A fume of tear gas still stung the eye occasionally. It made Ivan Allen look as if he had been weeping.

The mayor stood in a pool of glass fragments in the middle of Capitol Avenue with his shoulders slumped wearily. A police car with blue light flashing passed on one side of him, and a Grady Hospital ambulance with a red light passed on the other.

He lifted his reddened eyes to the porches and looked at the Negro men, women and children whose rights he had long fought for at the risk of his own political life. They looked back at him.

On the upstairs balcony of a bleak apartment house—"four rooms, will redecorate, \$59.50"—a girl of about 15 perked and shook idly in a silent dance.

"They don't know," Mayor Allen said gently. "They just don't know."

But the SNCC leaders knew. When Stokely Carmichael's crowd finally got a police shooting to play with, they stirred up those men, women and children as skillfully as white demagogues used to get a night ride going.

Like the old white mobs, the rock-throwing Negroes didn't have a very clear idea what had hold of them Tuesday. Demagogues had hold of them. SNCC was in charge.

SNCC comes in on a scene of trouble like an ambulance. But not to heal any fractures. It had been a long, chilly summer in the Vine City slum. SNCC's sound trucks had failed to stir riots. Maybe Vine City residents got toughened to the black power demagoguery and immune to it. Here, almost in the shadow of Atlanta's new stadium, was a fresh neighborhood with a built-in incident. And here was SNCC.

As Allen said, the people just didn't know. But SNCC did. To say past white injustices to Negroes was fair provocation for what the black power zealots did to Atlanta Tuesday is about like justifying white bombers and burners on grounds some Negroes are criminal.

The major understood what was going on, even while the Negro rock throwers who literally threatened his life did not. He gave them their target. He walked in the open down the middle of the street while some policemen were taking cover behind an armored car under the hail of stones. His courage was remarked by every tough cop present. He acted like a man who didn't want to be safe if his city wasn't.

ALMOST—BUT NOT QUITE

For a while it looked as if the mayor might pull it off. He waded into the middle of the riotous crowd at Capitol and Ormond (you go past the stadium on Capitol, and across Georgia, and across Little and Love—that's right, Love—and there's Ormond) and tried to lead them out to the stadium. They followed him for a block. Then SNCC got hold of the thing again, yelling black power.

They weren't gonna go to any white man's stadium. Pretty soon they had the crowd back at Ormond and Capitol. Allen got up on a police car and tried to talk to them. Demagogues knew what to do about that.

They rocked the car violently until he was shaken off it. Encircled and shoved, he simply bored deeper into the black crowd, demanding order, exhorting peace.

Rocks flew. Windshields and windows crashed in. Police cars had their glasses smashed. A white woman's car was hit; she paused at the stadium parking lot to shake the glass out of her hair. People were getting hurt. While Allen stood between them, Negroes threw rocks and policemen fired into the air.

Tear gas finally broke that one up. The police ran out of tear gas. But they stood on the street corners with their gas guns at the ready and nobody knew they were empty until new supplies came.

Policemen are always targets in mobs like these. The strain showed in their faces and you couldn't blame them. Shotguns, pistols, gas guns, bilbies—the tense brandishing of so much hardware was imposing. They had seen too many cars smashed, too much anger, to be easy. They were as tight as coiled springs, looking all about. There in the middle of them, unarmed and unrattled, was Mayor Allen.

"I wish I could slow that guy down," said Capt. George Royall, his police aide and bodyguard, sprinting up Little Street. The mayor had suddenly walked up there to insist that a crowd of Negroes disperse and go to their homes. The crowd moved slowly.

Two policemen were assigned to herd the crowd back up that side street. They were white, though many of the policemen on the scene were Negro. The two white policemen

had company. "This is the Rev. Sam Williams," Capt. Royall told the pair of policemen. "He is going with you and he is going to ask the people to go to their homes peacefully."

The Rev. Williams did. A tough, smart NAACP militant, the Baptist minister and college professor had been fighting for his people against white oppressors all his life and he did not hesitate to go to the scene Tuesday and fight against their being hurt by SNCC. It took great courage. He went up the street with the policemen, commanding respect.

Like Sam Williams, the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. was there, deploring violence and laying the blame on those who incited it. "We have got to have law," the old man said. "If I only had my strength, I would tell these people we have got to have law. Else we have no protection."

"You've got your strength, old friend," Ivan Allen said, taking his hand in the street.

NEGRO LEADERS GAME

Negro politicians like Q. V. Williamson and John Hood were there, laboring to lead their people out of folly. Clergymen like the Rev. William Holmes Borders were there, and leaders like Jesse Hill. The Negro leadership turned out to do what it could, just as staunchly as the white leadership used to do when the Klan mentalities threatened violence. But the violent and the disorderly always have an advantage in seizing leadership of a crowd. They are unhampered by responsibility and they have emotion going for them. Responsible leaders, rational men, often look vulnerable and even futile in such a setting. But they have to go.

Dusk was falling. "Are you hurt? Did any of the rocks hit you?" Allen was asked in the lull. He looked at his friend Sam Williams there in the street and laughed. "Man," he kidded, "you know they can't throw anything as fast as I can run."

"I've got great peripheral vision. Blind to color, blind to class. I've got to be blind, haven't I, Sam?"

The Rev. Williams smiled. "That's right," he said quietly. The two strong men, one white, one black, looked at each other for a second in the gathering night, then moved off to see if they could calm and disperse some more of the silent, staring spectators.

Walking along the center of the Capitol Avenue sidewalk, a tall, thin Negro man wearing a striped sport shirt and a wisp of beard met a policeman and deliberately confronted him head-on, refusing to yield room for him to pass. The policeman held a shotgun at port arms and stood there of a minute. He jerked his thumb to the side but the Negro did not move.

Blind hatred contorted his face into a furious mask.

The policeman shrugged and walked on around him. The thin goateed Negro walked on, muttering, looking over his shoulder and hating the white man with a passion that seemed to be consuming him like some foul, fatal fever.

Shattered glass lay in the street. Flickering lights glinted on the police guns. Night was falling and the mayor was thinking about opening up the schoolhouse at the corner of Capitol and Little and inviting everybody in to talk instead of fight, burn, stone and shoot.

It was almost as if the mayor, after half a day of presenting his body in the street, was as intent on willing peace and a return to normality as he was in building up his forces of police to crush any renewed disorder.

In the gathering darkness, somebody said to the tired mayor, as he stood there in the street, that he ought to go on home and leave the night peril to his policemen and the people on the porches.

"Listen," he snapped, "if anything is going to happen here tonight, it's going to happen over me."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Sept. 8, 1966]

RIOTING IN ATLANTA

The most surprising thing about the riot in Atlanta is that it should have happened there. For Atlanta, by general agreement, has been a model for southern cities in its race relations.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. has walked the last mile in search of racial peace. He had almost solid Negro support when elected. He was one of the few southerners to testify in support of the 1964 civil rights bill. He has added Negroes to the police force. Atlanta's schools and city facilities are totally integrated. Many Negroes are employed by business establishments and the city has sent eight Negroes to the state legislature.

All of this counted for nothing, however, when a suspected Negro car thief was wounded while trying to escape from arresting police officers. When some 500 or more Negroes took to the streets the mayor climbed on top of an automobile and tried to reason with them. He was shouted down. Taunts of "white devil" and "black power" greeted him. Finally the mob surged around the car and the mayor was jarred loose from his perch and fell to the street.

No, this didn't happen in a Birmingham or a Selma. It happened in Atlanta. Little wonder that the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., who lives in Atlanta, was heard to ask: "What do they want? The mayor came down. He tried to speak to them and they wouldn't listen. What do they want?"

It was a good question, but hard to answer. For most of the members of the mob may not have known themselves what they wanted—unless it was an excuse to throw rocks and rant about police brutality.

The mayor says the riot was deliberately caused by some of Stokely Carmichael's SNCC henchmen, and he may be right. For the mob began shouting "kill the white cops" after SNCC representatives, according to the police, spread the false word that the suspected car thief "had been shot while handcuffed and that he was murdered."

Whatever may have been the case with the rioters, it seems clear that what the SNCC people want is trouble, trouble, trouble. And that is what they are going to get, though not in the form they want, if this sort of madness keeps up.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal, Sept. 7, 1966]

WHO RUNS THE CITY?

Magnificent work on the part of the police, the personal courage and leadership of Mayor Ivan Allen and the cooperation of responsible Negro political and religious leaders kept Atlanta out of murderous trouble Tuesday evening.

There was major trouble as it was, in response to an invitation to trouble promoted by SNCC and its irresponsible new leader, Stokely Carmichael, to protest a case of alleged police brutality.

There was rioting in the streets south of the Stadium (where a detachment of state patrolmen stood by), but the coalition of those devoted to the welfare of the city prevailed. May it continue to hold together and prevail for years to come.

The trouble followed the demagogic pattern the country has now come to recognize since this no longer is one of those peculiar Southern problems.

But the familiarity of the pattern does not make it any less shocking.

Atlanta so far has maintained a reputation for law and order, and the determination of the mayor to keep this reputation could not be more obvious.

Tuesday night proved who was running the city, and it is not the mob.

It is Mayor Allen, and the magnificent backing given him by the police and by sane and responsible Negro leaders pulled us through this time.

But it is too much to expect that Tuesday night is going to be the end of it.

There are irresponsible white people, seekers after public office included, as well as irresponsible promoters of "black power" who find this sort of dangerous idiocy helpful.

Certainly we'll see other attempts to pit race against race, make a smoking shambles of Atlanta and set back orderly progress for years to come.

But the combination which pulled us through Tuesday night can do it again with the help and the backing of the decent, law-abiding citizens of all Atlanta, and run the inviters to riot out of town.

This has been a week of crisis in Atlanta, with a good part of the Fire Department on strike, and the police on extended duty.

It's the sort of occasion which separates the wheat and the chaff rapidly, and makes us appreciate the value of the kind of good citizenship shown by those who stay on the job when trouble comes. These are the mayor, the police, the loyalists among the firemen, and the Negro leaders who kept the faith with their city and truly with their people.

SCHOOL MILK PROGRAM SIGNIFICANT CHILD HEALTH MEASURE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, fiscal 1967 appropriations for maternal and child welfare activities went from \$187 million in fiscal 1966 to a House-approved figure of \$228,900,000. This is a whopping increase of almost \$42 million.

Every bit of this increase is necessary. Most of it would provide for an expansion of the program in accordance with the 1965 amendments to the Social Security Act. But it is significant that while we are providing an additional \$41,900,000 for child welfare activities in fiscal 1967 we apparently can afford to boost the special milk program for schoolchildren by only \$1 million from last year's appropriation level of \$103 million to \$104 million this year. Yet if ever a program were important to the welfare of our children, the school milk program is.

The milk program helps most those who can least afford to help themselves—the children from poor families living in depressed areas and the slums of our Nation's cities. It helps them by providing a Federal payment toward the cost of a half-pint of milk once or twice a day, between meals. Often the local community provides the remainder of the needed funds. Furthermore the cost to the taxpayer is minimal, because milk not purchased under the program would probably have to be bought and stored under the price support program at Government expense.

At least \$110 million is needed for the school milk program this year if last year's 10 percent cut in the Federal reimbursement rate is to be restored. I intend to fight hard for an additional \$6 million for the program in a supplemental appropriation bill. I fully believe that this program is essential to the health and welfare of our children as the maternal and child welfare program. I intend to see that it is properly funded.

THE NEED FOR REGULATING THE WIDE-OPEN TRAFFICKING OF FIREARMS IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the records of this Congress include volumes of testimony on the need for regulating the wide-open trafficking of firearms in interstate commerce.

The bulk of those volumes are public hearings conducted by the Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency of which I am chairman. The purpose of those hearings was to determine whether or not there was a need for the Federal Government to strengthen its own gun laws, and if possible, to aid the several States in making their statutes more enforceable.

The results of our inquiry, Senate bill 1592 is now awaiting the action of the Judiciary Committee.

I had hoped that the full Senate would have had the opportunity to vote on the measure before now, but the minority opposing any improvement in our gun laws has succeeded in blocking Senate action.

The gun lobby has been most effective. Leading the opposition to a law that would thwart criminals, drug addicts and mental patients hell-bent on arming themselves is the National Rifle Association, a tax-free group of some 750,000 members whose most recent slogan is "America needs more straight shooters."

In easy-to-understand language a lobbyist is any person or group who seeks the passage or defeat of any legislation in the Congress of the United States.

However, though not a lobby under the law, the NRA's antigun legislation philosophy is adopted and followed by registered lobbyists among them, for instance, the gun industry.

On August 14, 1966, on the Frank McGee Report on the NBC Television Network, an NRA spokesman described its nonlobbying activities of the NRA in this way:

A teletype in the legislative suite receives reports from state capitals. Whenever a state lawmaker introduces a gun control bill the information is quickly fed to this office.

By "this office" the spokesman meant the upper reaches of the multi-million-dollar national headquarters of the National Rifle Association in downtown Washington, D.C.

Mr. President, at the conclusion of my remarks, I would like the text of the Frank McGee report printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, consistent with the nonlobby image it spends into the seven figures each year to project, on September 1, 1966, the NRA shelled out almost \$10,000 for full page ads in the Washington Post and the New York Times throwing its weight behind "enforceable measures to keep firearms from irresponsibles, incompetents, and criminals," amongst other things.

The advertisement was discussed at some length in the September 9, 1966,

Mayor Ivan Allen J.
from

BENJAMIN H. OEHLERT, JR.

CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER
FIFTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1724 LONGWORTH BUILDING
TELEPHONE: 225-3801

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEES:
BANKING AND CURRENCY
UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES
SMALL BUSINESS

DISTRICT OFFICE:
327 OLD POST OFFICE
ATLANTA 30303
TELEPHONE: 523-5041

House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1966

ATLANTA STRIFE

(Mr. WELTNER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, I join with other citizens of Atlanta in commending the prompt action and courage of Mayor Allen in quelling the disturbances of recent hours. Once again, he has demonstrated that high caliber of leadership which has earned for him a national reputation.

I am certain that all but a minute fraction of our citizenry view with abhorrence the strife and violence that has marred our city. No grievance—real or fancied—can justify mob action and insurrection. No conditions—however grim—can justify massed assaults upon law enforcement officers and fellow citizens.

The question comes in determining proper courses of public action to prevent future outbreaks. Obviously, the first duty is the protection of the persons and property of innocent citizens by the prompt and full application of the police power. Again, Mayor Allen deserves credit for his personal direction of the matter. Second, all persons guilty of law violations—in fomenting disorder, or in committing assaults—must be prosecuted and, upon conviction, punished.

Lastly, our need is leadership. We need leadership for constructive action in the extension of opportunities. And we need leadership against the destructive action of "black power." For despite quibbling over meanings, that term is consistently used as a call for violence and a summons to disorder.

Thus our need is for leadership throughout our community, and particularly among elected Negro officials. Men and women of good will, determined to continue the remarkable achievements of Atlanta, will not be deterred from that goal by the few in our midst who would halt progress in the name of demagoguery—be it white or black.

*Give a hand
Man,
[Signature]*

3527 Woodhaven Road, N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Joan,

Congratulations on a job
well done. We are enormously
proud of you.

Most sincerely yours,

Anne Wynn and Bruce Montgomery
over

Thursday

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

| SYMBOLS | |
|---------|---------------------------------|
| DL | = Day Letter |
| NL | = Night Letter |
| LT | = International Letter Telegram |

The filing time shown in the decline and date in telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination.

357A EST SEP 10 66 AA155
A LLA41 NL PD ATLANTA GA 9
MAYOR IVAN ALLEN JR
CITY HALL ATLA

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM VACATION WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT YOU ARE HIGHLY RESPECTED IN NEW AS WELL AS AT HOME FOR YOUR COURAGE AND RESTRAINT HOPE YOU WILL VISIT WITH US AGAIN ON "DATELINE-ATLANTA"

JACK WALSH WAI I TV ATLANTA

Mrs R
(2) By 145 p will Mon Am

(2) WC By 140p

SF1201(R2-65)

(1) MRS ANN DRUMMOND 688-2659 - DAFS1135A SEP 10-DAT
(2) MRS BETTY ROBINSON PL 5-3365 - DAFS1135A SEP 10-DAT

ATLANTA, GA
MAYOR IVAN ALLEN JR
CITY HALL
ATLANTA, GA

AND REGRET THAT YOU WILL VISIT WITH US AGAIN ON DATE
ARE HIGHLY REGRETTED IN NEW AS WELL AS AT HOME FOR YOUR
HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM VACATION AND TO WISH THAT YOU

JACK WALSH VICE PRESIDENT

B- 21402



Dear Louise —

Warmest congratulations
on the superb job that
Ivan did to calm the
angry rioting downtown
last evening. This took
great courage, dignity
and know-how and we
are thankful that our Mayor
is so richly endowed in
all of these attributes.

Affectionately, Penie Shuckloff

S.M.C.

Dear Louise,
I'm sure that your mail
box has been packed with postals
from proud Atlantans. Kirk and
I expect you to add our
names to the list! It is

Thrilling to live in a city with
a courageous leader at the
helm. I am in awe credit, not
only to Alberta, but to the
age in which we're living!

Fondly,

Rosal Malpin

Sept 9th 1966

September 7-

Dear Louis and Iren -

I am writing to both of you, because to wait and wonder is often more difficult than to be where the action is taking place - and my thoughts during those uncertain hours were turned to each of you.

Great leadership is as rare as is greatness in any other field. We have had enough of it in this country to build a remarkable civilization - but in this world of today we need it as never before -

and the quantity hasn't seemed
overwhelming!

You have demonstrated this
gift - we are proud of you - grateful
to you - and our confidence in
you and the future is unlimited!

With deep affection
Trinquie

Mrs. T. Erwin Schneider

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF ATLANTA
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Sept 7, 1966

JAMES D. ROBINSON, JR.

Dear Joan,
Words are not adequate to express
the admiration and pride of all
our citizens for your courage-
ous action last night. Your
patience and determination to
maintain control had much

to do with the outcome. Many other areas of our country could improve their own position if they emulated your actions.

I join with your many thousands of Atlanta friends in saying "thanks". We are all for you

Regards
Jemi

Telex

WESTERN UNION

Telex



1123A EST SEP 12/66 AC127

A LLC162 PD ATLANTA GA 12 1048A EST

MAYOR IVAN ALLEN

CITY HALL LL ATLA

THANK YOU AND MRS ALLEN FOR THE VISIT YOU PAID MR AND MRS NORA
VORNER AND ALSO MRS NORA WRIGHT THINK IT WAS SO KIND OF YOU

BILL BLAKE

(20)

1132A

God Bless You Today



I couldn't say it better in words of my own
Than these beautiful words whose
author's unknown!



"When good friends walk beside us
On the trail that we must keep,
Our burdens seem less heavy,
And the hills are not so steep,
The weary miles pass swiftly,
Taken in a joyous stride,
And all the world seems brighter
When friends walk by our side!"

And, you have
many new friends
since last week.
We pray all people
will be Christian.
M. Mann

*A
Parchment
Card*


BUZZA / CARDOZO
ANAHEIM • CALIFORNIA

15 R 4695 K

HERBERT R. BORGES
2102 LENOX ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA, GA. 30324

September 12, 1966

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mayor:

I want you to know how much I admire your actions and personal **courage** during these last few days. I ~~am~~ grateful indeed that Atlanta has you to guide her through the present difficulties.

If there is any way in which I could be of assistance, please let me know.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Herbert R. Borges". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "H" and "B".



ALWAYS
USE ZIP
CODE



Mayer Ivan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta Ga

SEX and CIVIL RIGHTS

ONE
DOLLAR



THE TRUE SELMA STORY



Several hundred demonstrators were forced to stand on Dexter Avenue in front of the State Capitol at Montgomery. On the night of March 10, 1965, these demonstrators, who knew that once they left the area they would not be able to return, urinated en masse in the street on the signal of James Forman, SNCC Executive Director. "All right," Forman shouted, "Everyone stand up and relieve yourself." Almost everyone did. Some arrests were made of men who went to obscene extremes in exposing themselves to local police officers.

The True SELMA Story



Albert C. (Buck) Persons has lived in Birmingham, Alabama for 15 years. As a stringer for LIFE and managing editor of a metropolitan weekly newspaper he covered the Birmingham demonstrations in 1963. On a special assignment for Congressman William L. Dickinson of Alabama he investigated the Selma-Montgomery demonstrations in March, 1965. In 1961 Persons was one of a handful of pilots hired to support the invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. His story on this two years later led to the admission by President Kennedy that four American flyers had died in combat over the beaches of Southern Cuba in an effort to drive Fidel Castro from the armed Soviet garrison that had been set up 90 miles off the coast of the United States. After interviewing scores of people who were

eye-witnesses to the Selma-Montgomery march, Mr. Persons has written the articles published here. In summation he says, "The greatest obstacle in the Negro's search for "freedom" is the Negro himself and the leaders he has chosen to follow.

CONTENTS

Black Knight of the Civil Rights Movement Page 2

In ten short years Martin Luther King has risen to a position of leadership and political influence never before approached by a Negro in America. Many people in both races today question his associations and his ultimate goals. Down what road is King leading his race in the United States — is it toward freedom, or is it back into slavery?

Sex and Civil Rights — The True Selma Story Page 4

Was the widespread misbehavior prevalent on the Selma-to-Montgomery march only-to-be-expected youthful protests against established mores, or was it an integral part of the planned demonstration, calculated to provoke and to incite. Here are sworn statements of eye-witnesses.

Bayard and Ralph, Just a Couple of the Boys Page 13

In a so-called Christian movement morality would seem to play an important part. Here are the unsavory police and court records of the leaders of the civil rights movement.

How "Images" Are Created Page 16

A photograph, which stops a split-second of action, can say anything an editor wants it to say. Here is the story, by a LIFE "stringer" of how the Birmingham "image" was created.

Martin Luther King and Communism Page 20

The complete files of a Communist front organization were taken in a raid in New Orleans. These files are a documented record of more than 25 years of subversive activity, mostly in the field of civil rights. They offer conclusive evidence of Martin Luther King's long and intimate association with known Communist Party members working in an organization which was set up by the Communist Party of the United States for the express purpose of subverting the civil rights movement in the South.

Black Knight Of The Civil Rights Movement

Selma and Montgomery, Alabama, were visited in March, 1965 by thousands of sincere people who believed that they participated in a holy crusade for human dignity and civil rights. Among these thousands were priests, nuns, ministers and religious leaders from throughout the nation. They came, they believed, to bear witness to Christ's admonition that "In as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my bretheren, ye have done it unto me."

* * * * *

Selma, however, was neither inspired nor created by these well motivated and sincere thousands. The fact that they believed they were right, the fact that a civil rights cause, per se, which inspired their presence in Selma may be just, the fact that their motives were beyond reproach, does nothing to mitigate the fact that they were misguided. Selma and Montgomery were targets chosen by the leaders of civil rights organizations in a long range campaign to exploit the travails of a minority group in this country. The leadership, the direction and the control of the civil rights movement is in the hands of those who organize and run the communist conspiracy to subjugate the entire world. This conspiracy we recognize as a threat to the peace and security of the world—and we fight hard against it all over the world. It is also a threat to the peace and security of this nation, and it operates among other places here in this country behind the cover of the civil rights movement. It is a good cover. Dr. Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, one of the sponsors of the

Selma - Montgomery demonstration, has even persuaded the President of the United States to parrot the catch-phrase "we shall overcome" before a joint session of the U. S. Congress. King has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Any attack on King today is almost automatically assumed to be an attack on the Negro's search for justice, freedom and equality. The truth is, however, Martin Luther King is tied directly to a communist conspiracy which is aimed at destroying every vestige of human dignity, individual freedom and, incidentally, civil rights.

* * * * *

When an Alabama Congressman, William L. Dickinson, attacked the moral degeneracy which characterized the behavior of a hard-core element of demonstrators who participated in the Selma-to-Montgomery march, he was, himself, widely attacked for his protest. When he said that men dressed as clergymen participated in these activities, he was attacked for smearing the church. He was called a liar and accused of spreading "garbage." The "garbage" was not of the Congressman's making, but it was there. It was there by design. It was an integral part of the whole operation, and it was calculated to incite and to provoke. These are not simply youthful protestors against established mores. These are professional and semi-professional agitators who know what they are doing. If they, and the insufferable indignities they inflict on the decent people in the communities where they appear, were not desired in the civil rights movement it would take only a word from Dr. King

to have them removed. Dr. King did not give the word in Selma. Nor will he in Boston, Washington, San Francisco or wherever he decides to strike next. People in towns and cities which are future targets for King and his "movement" should prepare themselves for the debauchery, drunkenness and open, promiscuous sexual activity which occurred in Selma and Montgomery.

* * * * *

What the people of the United States must learn is that no honest person in the South today will deny that Negroes in this country have been the victims of prejudice, discrimination and injustice. No honest person in the South today will deny the Negro's right to full citizenship, equal opportunity and an end to personal indignities they have been subjected to in the past because of their race and color. And no one in the United States today should fail to recognize that because the Negro's cause is just and his protest legitimate, both he and the white Southerner are particularly attractive victims for those who would use this cause, and this protest, for their own divisive purposes. Dr. Martin Luther King is one of these. This black knight sits astride the white horse of the civil rights movement. And Dr. King, if he is not checked, will ride it to its death.

* * * * *

"Non-violence" is not Dr. King's weapon. Non-violence would actually destroy King—if he allowed it to prevail. Violence is King's weapon. He must have it. Violence and civil disorder are King's meat and bread. It is what sustains him. He uses it to divide the South

from the rest of the nation. And in his efforts he has had a big assist from the national press and other communications media. Today, almost anywhere in the world, the name "Birmingham" automatically calls to mind vicious police dogs, thug cops, bombs, and firehoses mowing down innocent Negro children on the city streets. This "image" is as phony as a three-dollar bill. In Birmingham, and Alabama, there are violent uncontrollable elements of society. These are not peculiar to Alabama. There are large prison populations in every state in the Union which attest to the fact that there are violent and uncontrollable members of society in every state. The problem is one which involves frailties of human nature, uncontrollable itself. It is not a problem created by some basic bestiality confined to members of the white race who live below the Mason-Dixon Line.

* * * * *

According to the results of recent polls only, a small percentage of people in the United States outside the South believe that Negroes can register to vote in the South. Martin Luther King says Negroes can't register and, unfortunately, most of the nation's press media goes right along with him in support of his "voter registration drive"—without attempting to learn the facts. The truth is King's drive in Selma and the Black Belt counties of Alabama is a drive to register every illiterate in the state—which happens to be a violation of the laws of the State of Alabama, just as it is a violation in many other states outside the South.

King is already beginning to talk



Martin Luther King and James Forman, Executive Director of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee during the Selma-Montgomery demonstrations. The hand at the right is that of a demonstrator who is attempting to unfurl for clearer identification the United Nations flag. Many people object to King's use of the United Nations flag in his demonstrations as reflecting his new emphasis on the civil rights movement as a world-wide "class struggle."

about the civil rights movement as a part of a world-wide "class struggle." He also suggests we should pull out of Viet Nam. Next he will probably have something to say about the Dominican Republic and Cuba. When he does, it's a safe bet that his recommendations will follow a line which serves best the interests of the communist conspiracy. But then why not? For years King has been on intimate terms, and has worked closely, with people and organizations dedicated to the communist cause.

* * * * *

The churches and churchmen, (the biggest single threat to communist ambitions throughout the world) when they lend their support to King, should consider carefully the garden path down which they are being led. In a time of much physical insecurity and spiritual uncertainty, clergymen must often feel a sense of inadequacy to meet the growing demands of their calling. The place to correct this, however, is at home—

not in the ranks of King's marchers in Selma, Alabama.

In Montgomery, late in February, 1964, Nobel Peace Prize winner Martin Luther King had this to say: "To the State of Alabama and its people, you had better fasten your seat belts. There will be no peace or tranquility until the Negro has had his conquest. . ."

In Birmingham, in the summer of 1963, Martin Luther King was asked by a young white man (one of King's supporters who feared for his physical safety in forthcoming planned demonstrations) if he, King, thought it would be necessary for him to take an active part in the planned demonstrations. Dr. King said it was not necessary. "You don't have to demonstrate," King said. "We don't want you to. We have enough idiots out there to take care of all that."

* * * * *

For sheer hypocrisy there has been nothing equal to Dr. Martin Luther King since Judas Iscariot.



NO BOOZE?

NBC commentator Charles Quinn testified at length on the Huntley-Brinkley program that there had been no drinking in evidence on the Selma-to-Montgomery march. Quinn said that he had accompanied the marchers all the way. The only evidence he saw was one beer can—and that was his own. Not that it makes all that much difference, but just to keep the record straight, and Mr. Quinn along with it, the pictures on this page were taken at the Montgomery Municipal Airport on the night of March 28 (following the departure from Montgomery of thousands of demonstrators who had gathered in front of the State Capitol earlier in the afternoon. The case of Scotch Whiskey, incidentally, was empty.



? ? ?

Here, however, for those who are willing to accept the kind of evidence which is accepted in our courts, are some of the affidavits of people who were on the spot and have taken oath that what they state is the truth.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

My name is Mrs. Nettie Adams, and I live at 3555 Prince George Drive in Montgomery, Alabama. I am now and have been a member of the City Police Department of Montgomery for over five (5) years.

On March 15, 1965, at about 9:30 P.M., my husband and I were returning home from my mother's home at 622 South Hull Street. We knew that there had been some trouble with demonstrators at High and Jackson Streets. We took Adams Street to avoid this, but as we approached Adams and Ripley Streets, we noticed a crowd of people. We stopped to see what was going on. There were white and Negro people all over the Ripley Street side of St. Margaret's

Hospital and across the street, between Price's Drug Store and Powell Electric Company. They were all kissing and hugging. This one particular couple on St. Margaret's lawn was engaged in sexual relations, a white woman (a skinny blonde) and a Negro man. After they were through, she wiggled out from beneath him and over to the man lying to the left of them on the lawn and started kissing and caressing his face. At this point, a detective's car pulled up next to the group over by Price's Drug Store, and my husband said, "Let's get out of here; this is no place for a man to have his wife." We left immediately.

* * * * *

The day they marched on the Courthouse, the policewomen had to work traffic downtown, and after a few hours my husband came down and he and I went into Chris' Hog Dog Stand for a coffee break. When we came out, two of the other ladies went in for a break. Just as they went inside, a group came

from the Courthouse, hollering and carrying on, saying, "We are Communists and we belong to the John Birch Society." They stopped in front of Chris' and this red-haired woman and Negro man started making love and embracing one another, as if they wanted someone to try and stop them. I stayed there because I was afraid they were going in Chris' and I wanted to be able to call for help. I didn't want our two policewomen or anyone to get hurt.

On March 31, the day they had the funeral to place the ten coffins on the Capitol steps, I was placed at the intersection of Wilkerson and Montgomery Streets to hold the traffic. As they passed me, they started laughing real loud and some of them hollered, "She's a segregationist, you can tell; she just looks like one." At one time during the day, before the parade started, there was a crowd gathering on the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church steps and in front of the church. A Negro boy was lying backwards across the hood of a



The interesting thing about the human race is that it comes in so many different sizes and shapes. Here is a good cross section at Montgomery in the persons of some of the demonstrators who took part in the march from Selma. The boots are not recommended hiking equipment.

car parked in front of the church and a white girl was leaning over him from the other side of the car, kissing him about the face.

About 5:30 that evening, March 31, a group of Negroes coming from the demonstration was in the second block of Dexter Avenue. They started yelling all together, "Them white sons of bitches, we will cut their asses off." I called for a patrol car. They were headed for the first block of Dexter, and just as they got to the corner they started singing real loud, "We Shall Overcome," and "We Want Our Freedom, and We Want It This Year." The officer working the first block of Dexter, M. E. Furr, noticed them and began to follow them. They split up. He followed a group of four into H. L. Green's and back out. By this time, the patrol car was there and we approached them and told them they were under arrest. There were three (3) juveniles and one adult, Babette Hadley, 26 years old, who lived on Ludie Street in Montgomery. Babette Hadley started fighting Officer Rodgers, saying that she wasn't getting in that damned car; he would have to kill her first and she was ready to die for the cause. She had an umbrella and was swinging it at him. He took it away from her and put her in the car. After she got to jail, they discovered that she was drinking. I called the jail to see if she had made bond or if I would have to go to court the next morning. I talked with Security Officer Lawrence, who said that she had not made bond. I told him that it looked as though I would be in court the next morning. He said, "Yes, if she sobers up enough." I stated that I had not known that she was drinking, since I had been warned by my supervisors not to get close and risk getting hurt, but that I knew that she was acting strangely. He said that she was drunk. I called Chief Lackey, because I knew that he had been tied up at the Capitol that day and probably did not know about this arrest. He said that he didn't know about it and would call the jail. I later called the jail and talked with Sgt. Grady Arnette. He told me that Chief Lackey had called and that she had quieted down and made a phone call, and that she would probably make bond. I asked him if she was drunk, and he told me that she was drinking quite a bit. She didn't make bond and was charged with disorderly conduct and fined \$25 and costs in court the next morning.

I also worked at the jail two nights when we had to make quite a few arrests. I shook down the women pris-

oners, and most of them had no under-pants on.

(s) NETTIE ADAMS

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3rd day of April, 1965.

(s) Albert Marvin, Sr.

Notary Public

My commission expires 1-18-67.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

My name is I am a Negro thirty-two years old and a life-long resident of Montgomery, Alabama. I live at Street in Montgomery. I am employed at

During a three-day period which I believe to be around March 8, 9, and 10, 1965, a great many people began to arrive in Montgomery to demonstrate here and to get ready for the march from Selma to Montgomery. During this period, I was frequently in and around the Ben Moore Hotel, a Negro hotel at 902 Highland Avenue, which was headquarters of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee on the corner of Jackson and High Streets. Many of the outside demonstrators stayed at the Ben Moore Hotel and in the neighborhood. One man whom I saw frequently during this period was dressed as a priest. I was later told by a SNCC staff worker, whose name was Randy, that this priest's name is Lennon Sweat, and that he is from Philadelphia. When I saw him he was usually drinking wine or whiskey in company with Negro boys and girls. On one occasion, I saw him go into the back room at SNCC headquarters with a Negro girl. I saw them begin to take their clothes off. I did not see what they did. Later the girl told me that this priest, Sweat, had paid her \$12. I, myself, had seen this priest hand the girl some money before they went back.

SNCC headquarters was located in a building with a large room up front which was used for an office. Off this room, in back, was a smaller room in which were about twelve to fifteen canvas cots. During the period I am talking about, men and women used this room for sex freely and openly and without interference. On one occasion, I saw James Forman, Executive Director of SNCC, and a red-haired white girl whose name is Rachel, on one of the cots together. They engaged in sexual intercourse, as well as an abnormal sex act which consisted of each of the two manipulating the other's private parts with their mouths simultaneously. Forman and the girl, Rachel, made no effort to hide their actions.

During this same period, March 8, 9 and 10, a large number of young dem-

onstrators of both races and sexes occupied the Jackson Street Baptist Church for approximately forty-eight hours. These were not members of the church, or at least most of them were not, but people who had come from out of town. I would estimate that there were at least two hundred involved. In spite of pleas from the minister and other members of the church, these people would not leave. I saw young boys and girls drinking beer and whiskey in the church and having wild parties in general. They left the bottles and cans all over the church. I saw numerous instances of boys and girls of both races hugging and kissing and fondling one another openly in the church. On one occasion, I saw a Negro boy and a white girl engaged in sexual intercourse on the floor of the church. At this time the church was packed and the couple did nothing to hide their actions. While they were engaged in this act of sexual intercourse, other boys and girls stood around and watched, laughing and joking.

This statement, which I make freely and of my own accord, and which has been read back to me, represents incidents which I have personally witnessed.

Subscribed and sworn to this day of April, 1965.

Signed.

Notary Public.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

My name is James Duke. I am a Captain in the Sheriff's Office of Montgomery County, Alabama, and I reside at 516 Forest Hills Dr., Montgomery, Alabama. On March 10, 1965, at approximately 1:20 p.m., I, in my official capacity as a Captain of the Sheriff's Office, along with other law officers of the City of Montgomery and the State of Alabama, was on duty on Dexter Avenue in Montgomery, Alabama, in the block as it ends at the front door of the Alabama State Capitol Building. A group of demonstrators arrived and were prevented from going any further in their march to the State Capitol than this particular block. These demonstrators, numbering more than two hundred, were told to leave and disperse but they sat down and laid down in the street. For the next few hours a good many of the demonstrators began to drift away, singly and in small groups. By 8:00 p.m. that night some 100 were left. The group was composed of a racially mixed crowd of both sexes, and included adults as well as juveniles. At approximately 8:00 one of the leaders, a colored man whose name I can not recall but



It's fifty miles from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. The road is paved, and hard, all the way. This group of marchers looks as if they had walked every inch of the way.

whom I believe myself able to identify from existing photos if necessary, stood and announced in a loud voice to the crowd "Everyone stand and relieve yourselves." Practically the entire crowd in every mixture of age, sex, and color rose and a large number exposed themselves and urinated in the streets. I would like to point out that this area is within the State Capitol complex and at the head of the main street of Montgomery, Alabama, and is fairly well lighted. Urine began to course down the street in small streams and into the gutters and ran almost to the next block. Two colored men were arrested for indecent exposure for particularly lewd and offensive exposure of their private parts. The demonstrators found it necessary to take their placards and signs to sit on after this conduct. The resulting odor became so offensive in a few hours that we had to get up-wind in order to escape the smell. I might add that I saw kissing, hugging, and fondling between mixed sexes and races. At around 1:35 a.m. on March 11, 1965, more than 12 hours after their arrival, a cold drizzling rain began and the entire crowd dispersed.

(s) JAMES DUKE

Sworn and subscribed to before me, George W. Dean, Jr., a Notary in and for said State and County, this 5th day of April, 1965.

* * * * *

STATE OF ALABAMA,
COUNTY OF DALLAS:

Before me, undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared Harold Sewell and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

On March 5, 1965, and several days thereafter, my waitress in our dining room did serve several mixed drinks to priests and ministers in our restaurant. This was a mixed group of Negroes and whites from out of town. Over about two and one half hour period, this group was louder than the ordinary with their conversation.

This is a true statement to the best of my knowledge.

(s) HAROLD SEWELL

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 7th day of April, 1965.

(s) JUD ERNEST HEWSTON, JR.
Notary Public.

A F F I D A V I T

My name is Cecil H. Atkinson, and I reside on Allenville Road in Prattville, being employed with the Continental Gin Company in Prattville. I do hereby swear under oath and under penalty of perjury that the following facts are true and accurate in every respect to my own personal knowledge:

My wife and I drove to Selma on Sunday, the day the march was to begin. We saw many people taking pictures of the church, and it appeared that everything was very orderly and nice. We tried to drive by Brown's Chapel where the Negroes were assembled, but the street was blocked off. We parked at the corner of Broad and Water Streets and sat and waited for the march to begin. At approximately 11 a.m., we observed an ambulance arrive at Brown's Chapel and depart shortly thereafter, going toward Montgomery, with sirens and blinking red lights in operation.

The people in the car next to ours were very distressed about the condition of the nuns who were taking part in the march. These people were Episcopalians and from St. Louis, Missouri,

and had heard that some of their own church people were taking part in the march. The general appearance of the marchers was disgraceful, most of the marchers which we saw were Negroes, but the white men and women who were mixed in with them were holding hands and arms with them. We watched for King to come by, but never did see him walk by. When he came by he was riding in a station wagon, and the station wagon rode along with the marchers and I observed King getting out of it several times.

Between Selma and the first stop I observed both men and women relieving themselves in public, all together and making no attempt to conceal themselves at all.

At the rest stop, I saw King sitting by the side of the road. A man walked up to him and handed him a slip of paper, which seemed to concern King greatly. He said, "We'll take care of this at the next rest stop."

At one point I observed a young

beatnik-type man with his collar turned around to resemble a priest. He told me that it was "the way to get along." Another told me that he had been offered \$15 a day, 3 meals a day, and all the sex he could handle if he would come down and join in the demonstration from the North.

It appeared that the demonstrators were making every effort to stir up some sort of trouble. At one point, one of the marchers said to me, "Get out of the way, you white bastard." They were making other similar remarks to others standing along the street.

(s) CECIL H. ATKINSON

Subscribed to and sworn before me this 10th day of April, 1965.

(s) Chauncy D. Wood

Notary Public, State at Large
Expiration date Nov. 17, 1965.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

I, Lionel Freeman, a Captain in the Alabama State Troopers, in Huntsville, Alabama, do swear and affirm, under

oath, and under penalty of perjury that the following events happened or actually occurred in my presence and to my own personal knowledge while on duty out of Huntsville in Selma, Alabama, from March 9th through March 16th:

During the march, or attempted march, from Selma to Montgomery on March 9, 1965, myself and the men under my command were stationed along the north side of the road just east of Pettus Bridge. While the march was stopped in the highway, one of the white beatniks, with a goatee, told one of my troopers who was standing only a few feet from me that he was being paid \$10 per day, 3 meals, and all the Negro p--- he wanted." This same beatnik was observed for the next eight (8) days in Selma acting as some sort of leader around Sylvan Street, where the street demonstration was going on. He was in the company of a white girl part of the time and a Negro girl part time. The next time I saw him after



The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, one of the organizations sponsoring the march from Selma to Montgomery, works on campuses throughout the nation to influence students and young people to become active in the civil rights movement and in participating in demonstrations. Here are some of the students who participated in the demonstrations in Alabama last March. The undergraduate in the center carries a school sweater with the letter "H" emblazoned on it. Perhaps he is a Harvard undergraduate.

Selma was when he came up Dexter Avenue on March 18th.

While at the Sylvan Street "Berlin Rope," I and many others observed smooching and lovemaking between Negroes and whites. A news reporter called me over to the side of the street and pointed to a couple just to the rear of the group standing in the street, a mixed couple, were in the act of having sexual relations. About this time, a priest broke it up and had the couple come up to the "Rope." It didn't seem to bother any of the three and soon were all gone from the front of the line.

On Saturday, March 13, they had an extra large crowd of both white and Negroes in the streets. They attempted to scatter and go around the blockade. One Negro who was standing beside a priest, and both standing about three feet from a line of Troopers, made several attempts to provoke a Trooper into hitting him. The Negro waved three dollar bills in the Trooper's face and then dropped them, saying "Why don't you pick them up, I know you need it." During this time, the priest just grinned. The Negro man then said "I'll sleep with a white woman tonight." The priest seemed to think this was real funny. The priest and Negro would whisper back and forth and then laugh out loud. I overheard three beatniks talking, saying that they had been in Cleveland, Berkley, California and Harlem, and had come directly to Selma to join in the demonstrations there.

On the afternoon of March 8th, at about 6 p.m., as we were turning onto U. S. 80 at the intersection of Alabama 21, which is in downtown Selma, I, along with 30 of my men saw two men dressed as priests and four young Negro girls walk across U. S. 80. The priests were holding hands with two Negro girls each. The Rev. Reeb was beaten about two or three hours later.

One tall priest was observed for several days around Sylvan Street, always in the company of a Negro girl of about sixteen years of age. Anytime you saw one you saw the other, and usually they were holding hands. They were in the march to the Courthouse in Selma on Monday, March 15. They went to and from the County Courthouse in Selma on Monday, March 15. They went to and from the County Courthouse holding hands.

On the night of March 16, at 10 p.m., a group of thirty-four (34) men, mostly dressed as priests, came from a Negro church in Montgomery to the front of the Capitol. They stated that they wanted to get on the Capitol steps to hold a "Prayer-Service." They were told

that they could hold their service on the walk but not on the steps. They stayed until 3 a.m., insisting that they be allowed up on the Capitol grounds. After about thirty minutes, the news media were told to get out of the street and they moved across the street. Some of the men claiming to be priests cursed like sailors during these five hours. At 3 a.m., when they started to leave, two photographers, apparently in their employment, came running across the street. One of the men dressed as a priest said, "You stupid son-of-a-bitch, after all this time here you didn't get a picture of us saying a prayer on the bottom step." They were allowed to kneel on the bottom step in attempt to get rid of them.

During the eight days in Selma, several newspaper men who were allowed

to go to the rear of the demonstration came back up to the front and told us they observed white and Negro couples in the act of sexual relations. They told us that they had sent the story and pictures home to their papers. One told me that the only thing he recognized about his story when it was printed was his name. He had asked to be allowed to leave the Selma area but was refused by his paper.

A Jewish rabbi who was on the five hour stand at the Capitol was contacted by a Trooper in a barber shop the next day. The rabbi stated that the leaders had lied to him. He stated that, "They told me we'd only be at the Capitol forty-five minutes at the most, but after getting there they wanted to remain all night." He said further, "They want

(Continued on Page 28)



This gentleman marched all the way from Selma to Montgomery—accommodating himself to the unseasonably hot weather. He is a Canadian student who took advantage of the civil rights march to accomplish some research for the Ph.D. he is working on.

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Bayard and Ralph

Just A Couple Of The Boys



Negroes in Birmingham were asked to kneel as Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy walked past during demonstrations in Birmingham in 1963. Assistants preceded the two Negro leaders with exhortations, "Here he comes. Here comes the King of Kings."

When the march from Selma to Montgomery started on Sunday, March 21, it was joined by clergymen and church leaders from across the land. They had come to join a crusade for human dignity and civil rights. They, and thousands of others, believed that their participation in this massive demonstration helped to dramatize a long overdue protest by Negroes against injustice, discrimination, suppression of their constitutional rights as citizens, and a denial of their fundamental dignity as human beings. For many it was an exalted and emotional experience without parallel in their lives.

Perhaps it is only natural, therefore, that when voices are raised in protest against these demonstrations. They seemed to be raised in defense of "police brutality," discrimination, suppression of human rights and denial of civil liberty. This is not true.

Churchmen, who have been called to devote their lives to the teachings of Christ, may want to ask themselves this question: If their efforts over the past 2,000 years have been inadequate to the task of eliminating man's inhumanity to man, how do they think marching from Selma to Montgomery is going to get the job done? Whatever the answer, the fact is there remains a faint and distasteful residue of doubt in many minds concerning the propriety of the widespread participation by clergymen in the Selma-Montgomery activities. For many, no doubt, Selma was a form of self-expression, an outlet for their own frustrations—which is entirely understandable. What they fail to understand, however, is that their presence and participation in Selma not only adds substance and dignity to the civil rights cause itself, but also to those who use the cause, and the cloth, for basically evil purposes of their own. Two of these are Bayard Rustin and Ralph Abernathy, the one a homosexual who solicits on city streets, whose life's work is the subversion of the moral fibre of the youth of America, and who led Martin Luther King from obscurity to a position of such eminence in the eyes of many of his followers that they actually kneel when

he walks past. The other is a minister, the "dear and abiding friend" of Martin Luther King and his most intimate associate in the civil rights movement, and a man who hides behind the cloth to seduce a 15-year-old member of his church congregation.

One of the men who sat with Martin Luther King on the stand at the Capitol in Montgomery is Bayard Rustin. Rustin was an organizer for the Communist Party for 12 years. Later he became head of the War Resisters League, the U. S. branch of War Resisters International. The efforts of this world-wide organization are devoted entirely to persuading and assisting young men to avoid military service to their governments — which activity, if not a direct attempt to overthrow the government, is at least an indirect effort which, if successful, will accomplish the same purpose.

Rustin had already reached a posi-

tion of prominence in his chosen field of subversion in 1955 when he was called on to go to Montgomery and lend assistance to an obscure young Baptist minister who had organized a bus boycott in that city. Just who "called upon" Rustin for this assignment is not clear. Rustin did leave New York and for three years gave counsel and advice to Martin Luther King. There is a widely held misconception that Bayard Rustin rose to eminence through his efforts as Martin Luther King's executive secretary. Exactly the opposite is true. Rustin made King.

Bayard Rustin is a homosexual with a long police record. In this enlightened age we are neither surprised nor concerned with a person's private sex practices. When they cease to be private, however, they become offensive and call into question a person's mental balance and standards of values. This

sort of thing was widely in evidence throughout the Selma-Montgomery demonstrations. Small wonder—if Rustin's influence can be seen here. Rustin himself was jailed in Pasadena, California for soliciting two men on the street and then engaging in a homosexual act while parked in a car on one of the city's main thoroughfares. The Pasadena Police report of this incident is reproduced on page 14.

We are not concerned with Ralph Abernathy's private sex life. It should be an entirely private and personal matter. However, when a person's standards of personal behavior are such that he can be found being chased down Dexter Avenue in Montgomery, Alabama by an outraged husband with an axe in his hand; and we learn further that this person seduced the wife of the outraged husband when she was a 15-year-old member of his church congregation, and that he has continued to annoy her ever since—then there would seem to be legitimate cause for concern about the man's moral character and personal standards, particularly if he is one of the leaders of what purports to be a Christian movement. Such a man is Ralph Abernathy. Here is a transcript from the trial of Edward Davis, a school teacher in Butler County, Alabama. This is case number 8741, State vs. Davis, in the Circuit Court of Montgomery County, Alabama, November Term, 1958, before Judge Eugene W. Carter. Davis was tried and acquitted on a charge of assault with attempt to murder. Following is a transcript of the testimony of Vivian McCoy Davis. It is not pretty reading but it should be instructive to any who are interested in knowing in what direction the civil rights movement may be moving.

* * * * *

VIVIAN MCCOY DAVIS, having been duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

Direct Examination

BY MR. KNABE:

Q. This is Vivian Davis?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. And what was your name before you became Davis?

A. Vivian McCoy.

Q. Did you see the girl who was on the stand just before you got on?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Now, who was she?

A. Bernice Cooper Davis.

Q. Could you speak louder so these gentlemen over her can hear it?

A. Bernice Cooper Davis. She was Bernice Cooper at that time.

| | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|--|--------------------|
| PC 888-A (Sex Perversion) REPORT | | Case No. 66350 | |
| Classification of Crime | | | |
| Victim (First) | If Business Firm List Firm Name | Where Committed Public Street, S. Pasadena, Cal | Day Committed Wed. |
| Victim (Person) | | Date Committed 1-21-53 | Time 2:30am |
| Res. Address | | Date Reported 1-21-53 | Time 2:40am |
| Bus. Address | | Reported To Pasadena PD | |
| Bus. Phone | Res. Phone | Reported by On View (Heath & Stornie) | |
| Investigating Officer Heath & Stornie | | Address 44431, PD | |
| Person Attacked Two male whites-Adults | | Phone | |
| Property Attacked Sex-organs (Penis) | | Suspect Bayard Rustin | |
| How Attacked Hands & Mouth | | Hair Color Black | Eye Color Brown |
| Means of Attack Mouth | | Height 5-1 | Weight 177 |
| Object of Attack Sexual gratification | | Nationality Negro | Built Med |
| Trade & Moved at subjects and asked same if they were looking for a good time. Climb into vehicle. | | Occupation Lecturer | Age 40 |
| Vehicle Used 1940 Olds, 4 Dr. Cal. 4N 3361 | | Suspect Mervin Wayne Long | |
| Persons Arrested | Date | Hair Color Brown | Eye Color Blue |
| Louis Russo M-4-23, 5-11 1/2, 170, Slend, Brun Hair & eyes (Carp.) | | Height 5-10 | Weight 147 |
| This subject and the above named suspect arrested this date on the aforementioned charge. | | Nationality Cauca. | Built Med. |
| Give details of crime, additional victims, and description and value of property: | | Occupation Labor | Age 23 |
| While on routine patrol Officer's Heath and Stornie observed the above mentioned vehicle parked just south of Green st. on the south west corner of So. Raye road. Upon closer inspection by Officer Heath the above #2 subject and #1 were sitting in the back seat of this car and #1 suspect was bent down over #2. #3 sus out at this time was sitting in the front seat of this car. | | Marked Tattoos, Left for arm (scalloped head, 2 shoulders) rope arm and wrist-scars with flag right forearm. | |
| Both Officer's observed suspects #2 attempting to zip up his pants which were open at this time, and his penis out. Subjects at this time stated that they were merely sitting there. All subjects were taken out of the vehicle and separated and subject #2 stated that they had just met #1 and that he had propositioned them, in regards to copulating their private parts, which in fact was carried out by the three above sus. acts #2 & 3 taking the passive parts. (See statements and recordings's) | | Booked marks | |
| All subjects at this time admitted their parts in this case. | | | |
| Subjects were transported to this station where statements and recordings were made of their action in regards to this matter, they were at that time booked on the above charge. Suspect #2 & 3 transported by Sgt. Olson. | | | |
| The aforementioned vehicle was completely searched at this time, during the course of the search a blood stained mattress cover was found in the trunk of this vehicle (these Officer's unable to determine type of blood, Animal or Human suggest test) Vehicle does not belong to any of these parties, Ref. to Ford V. Jamison, 8257 N. Gene St. Van Le City. This party contacted by Officer Heath and same stated that he had loaned this vehicle to subject #2. | | | |
| B/T Concas to; 3 Det., 1 Ctl. 1 Vice. | Officer E. Stornie 1304 | | |
| Page 1 | (Cont.) | Officer R. Heath 1371 | 1-21-53 |

Pasadena, California police report on arrest of Bayard Rustin and two men at 2:30 a.m., January 21, 1953.

he walks past. The other is a minister, the "dear and abiding friend" of Martin Luther King and his most intimate associate in the civil rights movement, and a man who hides behind the cloth to seduce a 15-year-old member of his church congregation.

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tion of prominence in his chosen field of subversion in 1955 when he was called on to go to Montgomery and lend assistance to an obscure young Baptist minister who had organized a bus boycott in that city. Just who "called upon" Rustin for this assignment is not clear. Rustin did leave New York and for three years gave counsel and advice to Martin Luther King. There is a widely held misconception that Bayard Rustin rose to eminence through his efforts as Martin Luther King's executive secretary. Exactly the opposite is true. Rustin made King.

Bayard Rustin is a homosexual with a long police record. In this enlightened age we are neither surprised nor concerned with a person's private sex practices. When they cease to be private, however, they become offensive and call into question a person's mental balance and standards of values. This

sort of thing was widely in evidence throughout the Selma-Montgomery demonstrations. Small wonder—if Rustin's influence can be seen here. Rustin himself was jailed in Pasadena, California for soliciting two men on the street and then engaging in a homosexual act while parked in a car on one of the city's main thoroughfares. The Pasadena Police report of this incident is reproduced on page 14.

We are not concerned with Ralph Abernathy's private sex life. It should be an entirely private and personal matter. However, when a person's standards of personal behavior are such that he can be found being chased down Dexter Avenue in Montgomery, Alabama by an outraged husband with an axe in his hand; and we learn further that this person seduced the wife of the outraged husband when she was a 15-year-old member of his church congregation, and that he has continued to annoy her ever since—then there would seem to be legitimate cause for concern about the man's moral character and personal standards, particularly if he is one of the leaders of what purports to be a Christian movement. Such a man is Ralph Abernathy. Here is a transcript of the trial of Edward Davis, a school teacher in Butler County, Alabama. This is case number 8741, State vs. Davis, in the Circuit Court of Montgomery County, Alabama, November Term, 1958, before Judge Eugene W. Carter. Davis was tried and acquitted on a charge of assault with attempt to murder. Following is a transcript of the testimony of Vivian McCoy Davis. It is not pretty reading but it should be instructive to any who are interested in knowing in what direction the civil rights movement may be moving.

VIVIAN McCOY DAVIS, having been duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

Direct Examination

BY MR. KNABE:

Q. This is Vivian Davis?
A. Yes, I am.
Q. And what was your name before you became Davis?
A. Vivian McCoy.
Q. Did you see the girl who was on the stand just before you got on?
A. Yes, I did.
Q. Now, who was she?
A. Bernice Cooper Davis.
Q. Could you speak louder so these gentlemen over her can hear it?
A. Bernice Cooper Davis. She was Bernice Cooper at that time.

Q. Now, you say at that time, what time do you mean?

A. When she was living with me.
Q. Did she used to live with you?
A. Yes, she did.
Q. Did she know Abernathy at that time?
A. Yes, sir, she did.
Q. Did Abernathy know her?
A. I am sure he did. He come to our house and he was acquainted with her.
Q. Now, did Abernathy date you at any time?
A. Yes, sir, he did.
Q. Did he ever have physical or sexual relations with you?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. Did he have normal relations or abnormal relations?
A. Both.
Q. Both?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. Now, did you ever tell him that you wanted him to stop getting in touch with you?
A. Yes, sir, I did.

Q. Now, when was the last time? Let us just take the summer of 1958. I believe your husband went off to school, did he not?

A. Yes, sir, he did.
Q. Now, before he went off to school were you with him at any time when he had a conversation with Abernathy?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. Can you tell us where that occurred?
A. It occurred at his house, and it occurred in—out at Loveman's in Nor- mandale.

Q. You say that there was a time out at Loveman's?

A. Yes, sir, it was.
Q. Was it inside of Loveman's or out in front?
A. It was out in front.
Q. Now, who was there at that time?
A. His wife.
Q. And by his wife you mean Rev. Abernathy's wife?
A. Rev. Abernathy's wife.
Q. Abernathy's wife and Abernathy and who else?
A. And my husband.
Q. Edward and you?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. You four?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. Were you all standing together talking?
A. No.
Q. Well, how were you arranged?
A. Well, we met up in the store and he spoke, and I went over to look at some women's apparel and my hus-



Bayard Rustin in New York where he directs activities of the War Resisters League, an organization whose only purpose is to persuade and aid young men to avoid military service to their country.

band went outside. Apparently Rev. Abernathy went outside and I started out the door. His wife and myself, we were inside talking, and they were on the outside, and when I started out he was talking to Rev. Abernathy and I looked and went back inside.

Q. Did you come up to them as they finished their conversation?
A. No, I didn't.
Q. And did you talk to anybody while they were talking, or did you just stay inside?
A. I was inside talking to his wife, and she went outside.

Q. Now, at the time that he married; that is Abernathy, I believe you were in the wedding, were you not?
A. Yes, sir, I was.
Q. Who asked you to be in the wedding, did he ask you or did his wife ask you?
A. He asked me first.
Q. Did you know his wife?
A. No, I didn't.
Q. Did she live here in Montgomery?
A. No, she did not.
Q. Now, when he first started going with you and having these relations both proper and improper, how old were you?
A. I was fifteen.
Q. Fifteen at that time?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. Now, after this conversation that occurred out in front of Loveman's in Montgomery when was the next time

that he contacted you or that you got in touch with Abernathy?

A. He contacted me during the summer of '58 when he was in town this past June, July and August.
Q. Now, when is the last time he contacted you before this occurrence?
A. He contacted me on August 29th.
Q. That is the day . . .
A. That is the day that this incident occurred. The incident took place.
Q. Now, about what time of day did he contact you?
A. He called me approximately at two o'clock in the afternoon.
Q. And now, what went on in that conversation?
A. He called and said he had been trying to get in touch with me, and asked me where I had been and I told him I had been out of town, and at that time I told him, I asked him kindly not to call me again. And I said, "I told you, I told my husband, and he had told you also that I told him," and at that time I hung up in his face.
Q. And what happened after that?
A. My husband was at a meeting.
Q. Your husband was not home at that time?
A. No, he was not at home.
Q. And when did he come home?
A. He came home about fifteen minutes after, about two-fifteen.
Q. Then what did you and your husband do?
A. He called me during the summer of '58 when he was in town this past June, July and August.

Q. Now, when is the last time he contacted you before this occurrence?
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Q. Then what did you and your husband do?
A. He called me during the summer of '58 when he was in town this past June, July and August.

(Continued on Page 25)

PG 288-A (Sex Perversion) REPORT Case No. 66350

Where Committed Public Street, S. 3rd St. & 1st St. Pasadena, Cal.

Victim (Person) (Business Firm Last Firm Name) _____

Where Committed _____ Day Committed _____ Date Reported 1-21-53 Time 2:30am

Reported To Pasadena PD. Reported by On View (Health J. Stornie) Address 444 N. 72nd Phone _____

Person Attacked Two male white-Adults Suspect Bayard Rustin

Property Attacked Sex-organs (Penis) Hair Color Black Eye Color Brown

How Attacked Hands & Mouth Height 5-11 Weight 177 Age 40

Means of Attack Mouth Nationality Negro Build Med Occupation Lecturer Marks None

Object of Attack Sexual Gratification Suspect, Marvin Wayne Long

Trade & Vehicle Used at subjects and asked some if they were looking for a good time. Climb into vehicle. Vehicle Used 1940 Olds, 4 Dr. Cal. 4N 3381

Arrested Louis Banno 2-4-23, 5-11, 170, Slend, Brun Hair & eyes (Garp.) This subject and the above named suspect arrested this date on the aforementioned charge.

Give details of crime, additional victims, and description and value of property: While on routine patrol Officer's Heath and Stornie observed the above mentioned vehicle parked just south of Green st. on the south west corner of So. Raye road. Upon closer inspection by Officer Heath the above subject and #1 were sitting in the back seat of this car and #1 suspect was bent down over #2. #3 sus out at this time was sitting in the front seat of this car.

Both Officer's observed suspects #2 attempting to rip up his pants which were open at this time, and his penis out. Subjects at this time stated that they were merely sitting there. All subjects were taken out of the vehicle and separated and subject #2 stated that they had just met #1 and that he had propositioned them, in regards to copulating their private parts, which in fact was carried out by the three above suspects #2 & 3 taking the passive parts. (See statements and recordings)

All subjects at this time admitted their parts in this case.

Subjects were transported to this station where statements and recordings were made of their action in regards to this matter, they were at that time booked on the above charge. Suspect #2 & 3 transported by Sgt. Glass.

The aforementioned vehicle was completely searched at this time. During the course of this search a blood stained mattress cover was found in the trunk of this vehicle (these Officer's unable to determine type of blood, Animal or Human suggest test) Vehicle does not belong to any of these parties, Reg. to Ford M. Jamison, 2237 N. Reno St. Torle City. This party contacted by Officer Heath and same stated that he had loaned this vehicle to subject #2.

B/C Conroy to: S Det., 3 Cal. 3 Vica. Officer J. Stornie 6354
Page 1 (Cont.) Officer R. Heath 6371 1-21-53

Pasadena, California police report on arrest of Bayard Rustin and two men at 2:30 a.m., January 21, 1953.

How 'IMAGES' Are

BY ALBERT C. PERSONS

Almost anywhere in the world today the name "Birmingham" calls to mind vicious police dogs, thug cops, bombs that explode in the night and fire hoses mowing down innocent Negro children in the streets. If this were a true "image" of Birmingham then it would almost have to go without saying that the general populace (some 600,000), who are responsible for the city's government and actions of city officials, is some kind of breed apart from the rest of the human race. Since this is not true, it follows that the world-wide

image of Birmingham must be the artificial creation of some outside agency.

More than any other one, single thing, the Birmingham image is a product of two publications with worldwide readership numbering in the ten's of millions. They are LIFE and TIME. I worked for LIFE during the period of the Birmingham civil rights demonstrations in the Spring of 1963.

In the May 10, 1963 edition of TIME their story covering the Birmingham demonstrations carries this descriptive passage: ". . . furious, the Commis-

sioner (Bull Connor) roared for his police dogs. The crowd in the park edged back; some hurried away. "Look at 'em run," yelled Bull. He saw a police officer holding back a crowd of white people nearby. "Let those people come to the corner, Sergeant," shouted Connor. "I want 'em to see the dogs work. Look at those niggers run."

No matter what else anyone might want to say about how Connor handled the Birmingham demonstrations, the one thing every reporter who covered



Here is a picture that will look familiar to many readers. It is almost identical with one taken by the Associated Press and widely distributed. TIME's caption with this picture in their edition of May 17, 1963 read: Birmingham Cops Manhandling Negro Woman. The building in the background is on the corner directly across the street from the 16th Street Baptist Church —Martin Luther King's command post for the Birmingham demonstrations. A short time before this picture was taken the last of several hundred little children had marched quietly up the sidewalk where the woman lies, to waiting school buses at the end of the block. The buses took the children to "jail" at the city fairgrounds. Most reporters, photographers and police were at that end of the block when the woman above came out of the doorway in the background. A lone policeman stood on the sidewalk by the door. The woman spat in his face and struck out at him. She is a very large woman. She fought and fell to the ground. She also took a large bite out of the leg of the squatting policeman. Several other officers came to his assistance. It took four to subdue her—without hurting her. The Associated Press photographer and I each took a picture. The captions used on his picture were not written by him, of course.

Created

this story knows is that Connor at no time allowed white spectators within one city block of the park where Birmingham city police attempted to confine (and disperse) the several thousand Negroes who congregated there every day. Knowing this, and having rubbed elbows with Connor almost every day throughout a several weeks period, I questioned the TIME correspondent who had filed the report. He was Dudley E. Morris, at that time based in TIME's Atlanta office. Morris got quite hot under the collar, but he finally admitted that he had not heard Connor make the statement, but that someone else told him Connor made it. Our argument took place in a motel room in downtown Birmingham. Present were several LIFE photographers and LIFE associate editor David Nevin.

In spite of Morris' admission that he had not actually heard Police Commissioner Connor invite the whites down to "look at the niggers run," the following week LIFE picked up the quote and ran it as part of this passage—which is from their May 17, 1963 edition.

"ATTACK DOGS. With vicious guard dogs the police attacked the marchers—and thus rewarded them with an outrage that would win support all over the world for Birmingham's Negroes. If the Negroes themselves had written the script," (they did) "they could hardly have asked for greater help for their cause than City Commissioner Eugene ("Bull") Connor freely gave. Ordering his men to let white spectators come near, he said: "I want 'em to see the dogs work. Look at those niggers run."

This statement attributed to Bull Connor by LIFE and TIME is absolutely false—and they know it. Both magazines have a perfect right to their opinions of Connor and they have an equal right to tell their readers what this opinion is. They do not have the right, under any normally accepted standards of responsible journalism, to put words into the mouth of Connor which he did not utter. By doing so they falsely contrive to have Connor create an image of himself which is in fact entirely their own.



The woman in the picture above was drunk on Easter Sunday afternoon in Birmingham in 1963. She and hundreds of others had joined with a group which left a church deep in a Negro residential area. They were bent on streaming into town. Birmingham police had orders to prevent this. A stand-off developed and the crowd of chanting Negroes soon numbered more than a thousand. Police were almost helpless in efforts to disperse the crowd. The situation became explosive. The only whites were the police and a handful of reporters. The woman in the picture struck out of the crowd at a police officer. He went after her. She fought. It took the five policemen pictured here to get her into a wagon and off to jail—without hurting her. She could, of course, have been subdued quite easily if any of the police had wanted to use his club.

Here is more of TIME's view of the Birmingham demonstrations. In the May 10, 1963 edition TIME says: "Birmingham saw a small civil war: whites against Negroes," (it never happened) "cops against children" (oh, come on now) "dogs against humans." (Just like ancient Rome where they used to let the lions eat Christians every Saturday afternoon, eh?)

And this: "It began when Rev. Martin Luther King decided to throw school children into the battle lines." (That King is a real soldier). "Police Commissioner Eugene ("Bull") Connor,

arch segregationist, viciously retaliated with club swinging cops" (you see, they can swing straight down on kids) "police dogs," (they let the dogs eat the six-year-olds) "and blasts of water from the fire hoses."

"Blackbooted firemen" (the good firemen always wear white boots) "turned on their hoses. The kids fell back from the crushing streams. The water pressure increased. Children fell and lay there bleeding."

Had enough? This would all be funny if it were not so tragic. The tragic part of it is that millions of

TIME readers actually have a picture of bleeding Negro children spread like limp, wet rags all over Birmingham's city streets. Morris must have waited until after the bar closed to write that one.

And so, today, "This is Birmingham." The fact that it isn't is something millions of people around the

world will never know. TIME and LIFE, and all other journals, have a right (I'm sure they believe it is even a responsibility) to express their attitudes on any subject they care to approach editorially. These magazines make no pretense of being objective—so they are not deceiving their readers on that count. It is unfortunate, how

ever, that their readers have so little way of determining what is straight fact and what is, shall we say, only "editorial license." (If you can think of another word, go ahead and use it.)

There is a lot of talk these days about "police brutality." Martin Luther King and his civil rights leaders use the phrase constantly—usually only in connection with "white southern cops." The elimination of "police brutality" is almost always one of the demands they make as a price for an armistice in communities where they are campaigning. Somehow they have managed to sell much of the national press on the idea too, as witness the preceding excerpts from news stories coming out of Birmingham. The job the police had to do in Birmingham was to control the mobs, numbering in thousands, which gathered in Kelly Ingram Park. These mobs were not organized demonstrators with specific projects in mind—like a march on the courthouse for a prayer session. They were Negroes who gathered every day to see what the real demonstrators inside the 16th Street Baptist Church were going to do. The real demonstrators, for their part, simply stayed inside the church until the mob had formed outside, thus creating the real problem for the Birmingham police force. How is a mob, particularly an emotionally charged mob, handled? Do you start shooting them? Do you just wade in clubbing right and left? Most certainly not. A trained police force handles and disperses a mob as gently, and with as little physical force as possible. You squirt them with fire hoses, which have a limited range. Then you get police dogs, on leashes, and move through the crowd. People always move away from a police dog—and no one gets hurt. That's the way it was handled in Birmingham. The only issues involved as far as the police are concerned is simply to properly perform a tough often hazardous job. Reporters who were in Birmingham know this to be the truth.

Police forces are small forces. The main thing that makes it possible for a police force to function is the generally widespread respect that people have for the law. Efforts to discredit law enforcement agencies are dangerous. National news media of the stature of LIFE and TIME do law enforcement agencies and law abiding citizens everywhere a great disservice when they allow themselves to be recruited into such efforts.



The first time police dogs were used in Birmingham was on Sunday, April 13, 1963. They were used late in the afternoon to disperse a mob that had gathered in Kelly Ingram Park. Shortly after I arrived on the scene I heard shrieks and dogs snarling near the corner of 17th Street and 6th Avenue. I ran over and took the picture at the top left of police officers shackling a Negro man on the ground. In the top right picture, Leroy Allen, handcuffed, is being led off by a police officer. The left sleeve of his sweater is torn and his arm has been gashed by a police dog. Negro leaders at the Gaston Motel, where I went that night with LIFE reporters, said that Allen had stepped between a dog and a woman with a baby in her arms. Then they said police knocked him to the ground where he was kicked by Police Chief Jamie Moore. Later it was learned that Allen had attacked a dog with a knife. The dog was pulled off and Allen was subdued. When I developed the pictures at the top it was obvious that Police Chief Moore was nowhere around. The story about Moore received wide circulation, nevertheless. Thus are "images" created.



Police dogs—in Birmingham, Chicago or San Francisco—are not used to “attack” anyone. They are used to control and disperse crowds of people who cannot otherwise be persuaded to move. The attitudes expressed by the Negroes in the picture above is not that of people who are being attacked. The fact is they are entirely unconcerned. All that’s happening here is that they are being moved out of Kelly Ingram Park.



When the Negroes in Birmingham learned that police dogs were not going to be allowed to attack them they became quite blasé about the whole thing. Many of the youths pulled off their shirts and used them as capes in mock “bullfights” with the dogs. The boy in the center of the picture, shirt in both hands, is playing “toreador” with one of the dogs out of the picture to the right. When I took all of these pictures I was in company with a LIFE photographer. LIFE must have many of the same kinds of pictures; But such pictures do not reflect LIFE’s own attitude. Therefore, 30 million readers of LIFE never saw pictures like this.

Martin Luther King

And Communism

There is an old saw that goes like this: "If it looks like a duck, quacks like a duck, and lays an egg like a duck—the chances are very good that it is a duck."

To insist that Martin Luther King is not a Communist, or at the very least, dominated and controlled by Communists, it is necessary to deny completely all the evidence of one's senses. He looks like one, talks like one, acts like one, and has been intimately associated with Communists throughout his entire career as a leader in the civil rights movement. If he could lay an egg it would be a Communist egg, for certain.

Apologists for Communists in the civil rights movement like to point out how natural it is that Communists would be attracted to such a movement; that there probably are Communists in the civil rights movement; that needing all the help they can get,

civil rights organizations accept help, but not control, from anyone, including Communists, and that the leadership of civil rights organizations, including Martin Luther King, is free of influence by any Communist conspiracy to subvert the movement. This sounds good but it is not true.

A joint committee of both houses of the Louisiana State Legislature was created in 1960 to find out if there is any Communist infiltration into the State of Louisiana, and if so, what form it has taken. At the conclusion of hearings held in Baton Rouge on March 19, 1964 the Louisiana Joint Committee on Un-American Activities had this to say: "The infiltration of the Communist Party into the civil rights movement through the Southern Conference Educational Fund is shocking and highly dangerous to this state and to the nation. The evidence is quite conclusive that the civil rights

movement has been grossly and solidly infiltrated by the Communist Party. Those persons in the civil rights movement who deny this, deny overwhelming evidence that it is so. The evidence clearly shows that Martin Luther King has very closely connected his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, with the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This has been going on for years. By thus connecting himself with the Communists, Martin Luther King has cynically betrayed his responsibilities as a Christian minister and the political leader of a large number of people.

"The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, from all the evidence, is substantially under the influence of the Communist Party through the support and management given it by the Communists in the SCEF. However the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee may have started, it is now getting strong financial aid from the SCEF and its policies are substantially influenced by the SCEF. Many innocent students have been and are now being recruited by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee to unknowingly carry out the instructions and policies of the Communist Party, dictated to Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee by the SCEF."

What is the "conclusive evidence" that this committee gathered, and what is the Southern Conference Educational Fund itself?

The evidence comes in part from hearings of the U. S. House Committee on Un-American Activities and of the Senate Internal Security Committee. But most of the evidence concerning the Southern Conference Educational Fund and its connections with civil rights comes from the files of the SCEF itself—files which were taken in a raid on SCEF Headquarters in New Orleans. These files and records are a completely documented record of



Photograph of Martin Luther King and Dombrowski, Anne and Carl Braden. The notes on the back of the photograph in the handwriting of James A. Dombrowski say: "The 6th Annual Conference of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Birmingham, Alabama, September 25 to 28, 1962. Martin Luther King, Jr. responding to Anne Braden's speech; in background AB, Carl Braden, JAD."

over twenty-five years of successful subversive activity, primarily in the field of civil rights.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund is the new name for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was conceived, set up, and financed by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote Communism throughout the Southern States. It was exposed as a Communist front a few years later by a government committee and simply changed its name—continuing in business as the SCEF with the same old address, same telephone number, substantially the identical leadership, and it continued to print the same official organ, "The Southern Patriot" which was cited as a subversive publication by the U. S. Government.

At a hearing of the Louisiana Joint Committee on Un-American Activities Dr. William Sorum, New Orleans physician, for six years an active member of the Communist Party, testified as follows:

Q — I believe you also testified in 1957 (before the Senate Internal Security Committee) while you were in the Communist Party, you were told to work in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, is that correct?

A — That's right, it was one of the main organizational outlets, and it was considered one of the most important things that we had. When the Southern Conference for Human Welfare had their national meeting down here, about 12 of the top Communists in the South were here . . ."

These are some of the people who direct the activities of the Southern Conference Educational fund:

Fred Shuttlesworth, was responsible for the formation of the Montgomery Improvement Association which gave Martin Luther King his start on the road to prominence in the civil rights movement. At one time the resignation of some of the leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association followed a disclosure of discrepancies in the organization's books amounting to approximately \$100,000. In 1941 Shuttlesworth was arrested and pled guilty in District Court in the State of Alabama to the illegal distillation of whiskey, commonly known as moonshining. Fred Shuttlesworth is currently vice-president of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Conference. He is also president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Aubrey Williams, deceased: Williams was president of SCEF before

Shuttlesworth. In April 1954 at hearings held in New Orleans by the Senate Internal Security Committee he was identified as a Communist Party member by one witness who had been in the party, and was identified by another witness at the same time as one who had accepted Communist Party Discipline.

William Howard Melish: Melish was a minister and has been identified in sworn testimony as a Communist Party member. Melish is on the staff of the SCEF as the Eastern representative of the organization, primarily as a solicitor of funds in the New York area.

Benjamin Smith: Smith is an attorney in the city of New Orleans. He was treasurer of the SCEF and was a member of the board of directors of the National Lawyers Guild—which has been cited by the U. S. Government as the "foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, which has rallied to the defense of Communist law-break-

ers, and violators of the Smith Act, and has never failed to rally to their defense." Smith is registered with the U. S. Justice Department as a representative of semi-official agencies of the Communist Cuban Government. Smith's picture appeared in the March 11, 1962 edition of "The Worker," official publication of the Communist Party of the United States. The accompanying article described his presentation of an award by the National Lawyers Guild for his "anti-bias struggle in the South."

Dr. James A. Dombrowski: Dombrowski was identified as a Communist at hearings of the Senate Internal Security Committee by Paul Crouch and John Butler. Crouch held many major positions in the Communist Party. According to his own testimony he was at one time head of the Communist Party's department for infiltration of the Armed Forces. He was a representative of the Communist Party of

4153

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
New Orleans, LA

March 7 1963

14-17 850

\$ 167.74

***** One hundred sixty-seven dollars and 74/100 *****

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Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
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Ben Smith

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Check paid to Martin Luther King by SCEF. Check is signed by James Dombrowski and Ben Smith and endorsed on the back by King.

the United States to the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale in Moscow, and he was a member of the commission in Moscow to draft plans to infiltrate and subvert all of the armed forces of the world. Crouch testified that he was one of three Communists who had originally planned the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to set up in the South a mass "organization through which the Communist line could extend over all of the South, and through which intellectuals, professionals and ministers could be brought within the scope of the Communist Party influence. Mr. Crouch was asked about James Dombrowski in connection with the Communist Party. He said this: "I should like to add for the record that Dr. Dombrowski told me on several occasions that he preferred to be called a 'Left Socialist' rather than a Commu-

nist; that he could serve the Revolutionary movement better under the Socialist label than he could under the Communist label." Then the question was, "Was that a customary practice of the top-flight operators?" Mr. Crouch says, "Yes, sir."

At another place in the record of this hearing the witness named John Butler swore that, "James A. Dombrowski had been a party member." He was introduced by another party member, Alton Lawrence. At that time John Butler was in the Communist Party himself. Butler swears that Lawrence told him that Dombrowski was one of the upper ten Communists in the United States.

On page 25 of his Doctoral thesis, written at Columbia University, Dombrowski says: "Proletarians who have suffered at the hands of ruthless power in an industrial system, and who have

tried all of the avenues of moderation and of moral suasion, conclude that such power will continue to utilize its control of society to increase its advantage until final justice can only be achieved by a violent revolution, in which the sources of power are brought under the control of the workers." On page 189 of his thesis Dr. Dombrowski says: "Thus it is the first duty of all religious people to destroy Capitalism without regard for their own welfare." Dr. Dombrowski is the Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and has been since its inception as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1938.

Carl and Anne Braden: The Bradens are both field organizers for the SCEF, Carl Braden is also editor of "The Southern Patriot." They were both identified as Communist Party members by Alberta M. Ahearn, who was an FBI informer surfaced for the purpose of testifying against the Bradens. She testified that she was recruited into the Communist Party by Anne Braden. Carl Braden was convicted of sedition and received a 15-year sentence in Kentucky. He served several months on this sentence, and it was voided under the old Nelson Case decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, which voided State Sedition Laws. Subsequent to this Braden served a year in the Federal Penitentiary for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In the files of the SCEF, all taken in the raid on their headquarters in New Orleans, there is a voluminous correspondence, stretching over a period of many years, between leaders of the SCEF and leaders of civil rights organizations. Here is an excerpt from a letter from Martin Luther King to Anne Braden. King writes: "It was certainly good to have Carl in Columbia last week. He added a great deal to the meeting. I hope both of you will find it possible to become permanently associated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. . ."

In a letter to James Dombrowski Martin Luther King writes: "This is just a note to acknowledge receipt of your letters of recent date. We, too, were more than happy to have you in our home. The fellowship was very rewarding."

In the SCEF files there is correspondence between Dombrowski and King and Wyatt Tee Walker (King's Executive Secretary) concerning the layout of a full page newspaper ad

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Ebenezer Baptist Church

407 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta, Georgia

Murray 8-7263

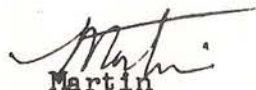
August 16, 1960

Dear Jim:

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I will expect to hear from you when Bishop Love returns to the country. At that time we can set the date for an Atlanta meeting.

Very sincerely yours,


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**Dr. James Dombrowski
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana**

MLK:mlb

the United States to the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale in Moscow, and he was a member of the commission in Moscow to draft plans to infiltrate and subvert all of the armed forces of the world. Crouch testified that he was one of three Communists who had originally planned the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to set up in the South a mass "organization through which the Communist line could extend over all of the South, and through which intellectuals, professionals and ministers could be brought within the scope of the Communist Party influence. Mr. Crouch was asked about James Dombrowski in connection with the Communist Party. He said this: "I should like to add for the record that Dr. Dombrowski told me on several occasions that he preferred to be called a 'Left Socialist' rather than a Commu-

nist; that he could serve the Revolutionary movement better under the Socialist label than he could under the Communist label." Then the question was, "Was that a customary practice of the top-flight operators?" Mr. Crouch says, "Yes, sir."

At another place in the record of this hearing the witness named John Butler swore that, "James A. Dombrowski had been a party member." He was introduced by another party member, Alton Lawrence. At that time John Butler was in the Communist Party himself. Butler swears that Lawrence told him that Dombrowski was one of the upper ten Communists in the United States.

On page 25 of his Doctoral thesis, written at Columbia University, Dombrowski says: "Proletarians who have suffered at the hands of ruthless power in an industrial system, and who have

tried all of the avenues of moderation and of moral suasion, conclude that such power will continue to utilize its control of society to increase its advantage until final justice can only be achieved by a violent revolution, in which the sources of power are brought under the control of the workers." On page 189 of his thesis Dr. Dombrowski says: "Thus it is the first duty of all religious people to destroy Capitalism without regard for their own welfare." Dr. Dombrowski is the Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and has been since its inception as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1938.

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which was a joint project of SCEF, SCLC, and SNCC.

A letter from James Farmer, National Director of CORE says: "Let me acknowledge with pleasure the good wishes which you extend on behalf of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and to assure you that they are reciprocated. It is a good fight we are in, and one which will call forth all the dedication we can muster."

A letter from Dombrowski to the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee discusses the pattern of placing SNCC personnel on grants from the SCEF, paid not to the students themselves, but to SNCC, allowing the SCEF to control the field workers and organizers of the SNCC without their being any way identified with the SCEF. James Forman, Executive Director of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee wrote to Dombrowski as follows: "We sincerely thank you for the last installment on the grant to Robert Zellner made by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. May we take this opportunity to thank you for the other services rendered to the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee by SCEF. The cooperation we have received has made it possible to carry on a program despite many obstacles we have encountered this past year. Specifically, your efforts in raising money for the McComb students and members of our staff will long be remembered. The fact that SCEF has made available to us certain channels of communication has been vitally important to the movement in general. It is our hope that our actions further advance the cause for which we are all working."

In one eighteen month period, from December, 1961, to June of 1963, the Southern Conference Educational Fund gave the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee over ten thousand, three hundred dollars (\$10,300). The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee has been the spearhead of violence used as a tool of the SCEF and the Communist Conspiracy throughout the United States, particularly in the South.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has said that Communist "front organizations exist not only in isolation, but as a part of a vast, interlaced front system." To all but the dedicated, full-time anti-Communist these interlocking connections become quite overwhelming in their complexity. This, of course, is by design, not by accident.

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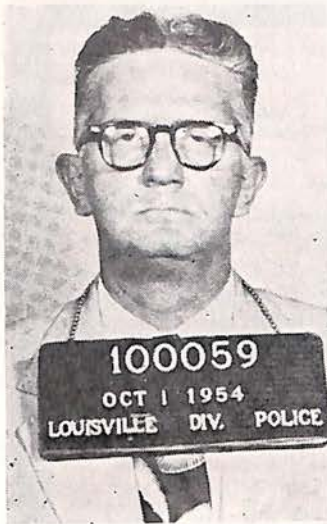


Checks from the SCEF to the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

One of the interlocking connections of SCEF with another Communist organization will serve as an example of how it works. The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, itself intertwined at the top level of leadership with the militantly revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, has close connections with SCEF. In May, 1961 the Senate Internal Security Committee established that Carl Braden was one of the main speakers at a banquet in New York given by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee on April 28, 1961. His expenses had been paid to come to the banquet from wherever he was at the time. In ad-

dition to this, and more important, the Senate Committee established that Carl Braden is one of the national directors of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Both Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the SCEF publicly supported a man, Robert Williams, who fled the United States to escape prosecution for kidnapping in North Carolina. He went to Cuba and set up a powerful broadcasting station from which he beamed violent exhortations to Southern Negroes to use razors and lye bombs against Southern whites. Robert Williams is now in Communist China. A half page book review in



CARL BRADEN



ANNE BRADEN



JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI



BENJAMIN E. SMITH

"The Southern Patriot" commented favorably on Williams' book "Negroes with Guns," another vicious piece of inflammatory propaganda. The review was written and signed by Anne Braden.

In the SCEF files were two letters from and to an identified Communist, Corliss Lamont. One letter is from Lamont to Dombrowski enclosing a check for \$1,000 to the defense fund of the SCEF. The other is from Dombrowski to Lamont asking for additional contributions to help with printing costs for a pamphlet defending Braden who had been sentenced to a year in the Federal Penitentiary. It is interesting to note that Lee Harvey Oswald, the assassin of President Kennedy, is reported to have made the statement that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee literature that he handed out in New Orleans came to him from Corliss Lamont.

The planned program of the Communist Party to use the racial issue to further its goal of revolution in the United States is definitely being carried out. The SCEF is an obvious and effective part of that program. Through the operations of the SCEF the leadership and influence of known Communists is transmitted into civil rights organizations. Obviously everyone in the civil rights movement is not a Communist, but the act of Communist infiltration of the movement is a fact, and not conjecture. Through its manipulation and control of the civil rights movements Communist prey upon one of the best human motives—idealism toward a better world. Their programs are particularly effective with better educated and more cultured people, who see that there are,

in fact, some things wrong in our society but are unable to see the proper remedies for the problems. These victims simply refuse to recognize and accept certain obvious facts, and delude themselves as to the true nature of all manner of people and organizations that seek to exploit them.

As far as Martin Luther King and other leaders of the civil rights organizations are concerned, it is impossible to accept the proposition that they, too, are unwitting dupes of an obvious Communist conspiracy within the civil rights movement. King and Forman, whose respective organizations sponsored the march from Selma to Mont-

gomery know that Carl Braden, who was on the march, is a Communist of long standing. They know that Anne Braden, James Dombrowski, Aubrey Williams, et al are Communists. They have worked with these people and accepted all manner of assistance from them for years. Yet, last summer in Mississippi Martin Luther King made a public statement that there are more Eskimos in Florida than there are Communists in the civil rights movement."

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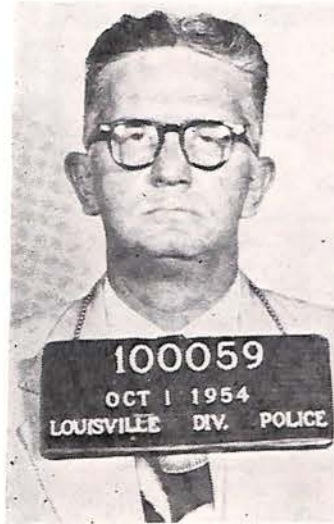
VAL-KILL COTTAGE
HYDE PARK, DUTCHESS CO.
NEW YORK

I have heard from many people that the Conference, perhaps because of necessity, was devoting itself to the raising of funds instead of concentrating on the real job.

I tried working with American communists, as you know, and have long since given up trying. I can not work with any one who is not completely honest and American communists are not honest. I know that often they work for the same objectives, and do good work, but that does not alter my opinion.

Very sincerely yours,

Even Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a noted liberal, couldn't stomach the SCEF after she discovered who was behind it. Reproduced above is a part of a letter written to James Dombrowski, a known Communist.



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Vivian Prosser

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Bayard and Ralph — Just A Couple Of The Boys

Continued from Page 15)

A. We went out on a picnic.

Q. And did you during that picnic any time during the afternoon tell him about this call?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Now, referring to that time, prior to August the 29th, when is the last time before that he called you?

A. He phoned me approximately about the 4th of August, I imagine.

Q. And at that time what was your conversation?

A. He asked me what was going on between me and my husband, he wanted to know, and how I had been getting along, and why can't I see him. Well, I didn't want to discuss with him those things because I had asked him not to contact me again and I didn't have any further use to talk to him.

Q. I show you a picture that is marked for identification the Defendant's Exhibit No. 4 and ask you if you recognize that picture?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. What is that a picture of?

A. That is a picture of a house, and that is the house that we went to.

Q. Is that house located in the City of Montgomery?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. Do you know about where it is located?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. And where is it located?

A. It is located on Clark Street.

Q. Now, then, you say you went there? Who went there?

A. Rev. Abernathy and myself.

Q. Did he take you or did you take him?

A. He took me.

Q. I see. And now what happened at that house?

A. That is where these affairs took place.

Q. That is where all three . . .

A. That is right.

Q. All of these affairs you mentioned took place?

A. That is right.

Q. And at that time how old were you?

A. Fifteen.

Q. And at that time you were a member of his church?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know who was in charge of the house at that time?

A. A lady by the name of Mrs. Davis.

Q. Do you know whether that is Mrs. C. D. Davis, or not?

A. I am pretty positive.

Q. Is she a little woman, middle sized woman, or what?

A. She is large.

Q. You recognize this picture?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. What is that picture of?

A. That is a picture of a convention in Birmingham that I attended.

Q. Where did you get this picture?

A. I received that picture from him on the night we went out in Birmingham.

Q. The night you went out in Birmingham?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, tell us what happened that night when you went out in Birmingham.

A. On the night we went out in Birmingham I was on my way home, Rosemond Lowe and myself, we were asked to go out on a dinner date with the Rev. Abernathy and the Rev. James Dixon. That night they came and picked us up at the house where we were living, and we went to the Afro Club in Birmingham.

Q. Afro Club?

A. That is right.

Q. Where is that located?

A. It is in some part of Birmingham.

Q. Go right ahead. Now, what happened then?

A. We went in and we had a couple of beers.

Q. Now, that was the time when you were in Birmingham?

A. Yes.

Q. And you say that Abernathy was with you at that time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, when you came back from Birmingham did he very shortly after that or immediately after that get in touch with you again?

A. No. He asked me to go out to a tea with him that night. This all was the night we got in from Birmingham.

Q. The night when you got in from Birmingham, that was when you were fifteen years old?

A. Yes.

Q. He asked you to go out to a tea with him?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. All right. Now, what happened then, did you go?

A. Well, I thought it was supposed to have been a tea, he said it was to have been a tea, and he and Rev. James Dixon and Walter Parker came

by to pick me up. Walter Parker came up to the door for me, and we put him out at the Derby Supper Club.

Q. You say Walter Parker came to the door to get you?

A. That is right. He and his girl friend was in the car.

Q. And you went with them and got in the car and Abernathy was already in the car?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. All right. And then you and Abernathy after that?

A. We went over, Walter Parker and Walter Parker's girl friend, and Rev. James Dixon and we went over and put Walter Parker and Gloria Thompson out at the Derby Supper Club, and then he went over to Rosemond Lowe's and picked her up. She was ill at the time and couldn't go. So in turn he took Rev. Dixon home and we rode out on the Atlanta Highway, and I haven't seen him since.

Q. How late did you stay out that night?

A. It was ten-thirty about.

Cross Examination

BY MR. THETFORD:

Q. Vivian, you say Bernice is named what now?

A. Bernice Cooper Davis.

Q. Now, is she kin to this defendant?

A. No, she isn't.

Q. Is she related to him, or is her husband any kin to him?

A. No, sir.

Q. Now, you testified, I believe, that—I don't know whether you did testify—when did you first knew Rev. Abernathy, what year?

A. It was '52 or '51, I imagine, when he came to the First Baptist Church. I am not sure what year it was he came there. But the first time he made approaches to me was in Birmingham in '52, July of '52.

Q. Now, how old were you in 1952?

A. I was fifteen then at that time.

Q. Fifteen?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, you testified that you had intercourse or sexual relations with Rev. Abernathy on several occasions?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When and where did you first have relations with him?

A. At the house on Clark Street.

Q. The house where?

A. On Clark Street.

Q. House on Clark Street?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that the house that you . . .

A. That picture I just testified, the first picture I identified.

Q. Is that the picture you pointed out?

A. Yes, sir, it is.

Q. Do you remember what month that was in?

A. It was in August of '52.

Q. August of '52?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, did he come to your house and get you?

A. No.

Q. Did you meet him there?

A. No.

Q. How did you happen to get there?

A. He called my mother and asked her to let me do some typing for him, which was the excuse, and I went up to the church, and in turn we went over there on Clark Street.

Q. You and he went together?

A. That's right.

Q. How did you go?

A. In his car.

Q. And he parked his car in front of this house?

A. No, he didn't.

Q. Where did he park it?

A. He parked it in the driveway.

Q. In the driveway?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then the two of you went in the house?

A. That's right.

Q. Was there anybody in the house at home?

A. Yes, there was.

Q. Who was there?

A. Mrs. Davis.

Q. What is her first name?

A. I said Mrs. Davis. It is C. O. Davis.

Q. Well, what did you and Reverend Abernathy tell her?

A. Well, he had already made the reservations.

Q. Made the reservations.

A. Advance notice.

Q. What do you mean by advance notice?

A. He had already contacted her.

Q. He had already contacted her?

A. Yes, sir, he had.

Q. Did he say anything to her when you walked in, did he knock on the door?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. And when you walked in what happened then, what did he say to her?

A. He asked her how was she getting along.

Q. What did she say?

A. She said she was fine.

Q. Then what did he say?

A. Well, he just told her that he came there, he had brought me over there.

Q. He brought you over there?

A. Yes. And he introduced me to her.

Q. He introduced you to her?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. All right. What did you all do then?

A. We went in the room.

Q. Living room, bedroom?

A. No. Bedroom.

Q. In the bedroom?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, did you know what you were going over for?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, when did he first ask you to go over there and have intercourse with him?

A. He asked me the night we went out when we came from Birmingham to this so-called tea, but I didn't go and we went out riding.

Q. He asked you would you have intercourse with him when you went out riding, you tell us, on the Atlanta Highway?

A. Yes, sir. He wanted to take me over there then.

Q. He wanted to take you over there then?

A. He wanted to take me on Clark Street that night but I didn't go, and in turn we went out on the Atlanta Highway riding.

Q. Did you have intercourse with him out on the Atlanta Highway?

A. No, sir, I didn't.

Q. Then did he ask you that night to go to the house on Clark Street with him?

A. He asked me that same night to go to the house on Clark Street.

Q. Well, what did you tell him?

A. I told him no.

Q. All right. When did you tell him you would go?

A. Well, I didn't tell him I would go that night. It was three times during that month.

Q. Do you mean he asked you three times during that month?

A. No, he didn't. On several occasions on the telephone and several times coming to my house asking me.

Q. Asked you to go with him to this house on Clark Street.

A. Yes, sir, he did. And finally we got together, and he called my mother and asked her could I do some typing for him, and which was an excuse.

Q. So you and he went in the bedroom?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you knew what you were going in there for?

A. I guess so.

Q. And did both of you get undressed?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Get in bed?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have normal sexual relations with him on that occasion?

A. Well, he did, yes.

Q. What?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long were you at the house on this occasion?

A. About an hour, or an hour and a half, something like that.

Q. And then did he take you back to the church, or where did he take you?

A. He didn't take me back to the church, he took me — I got out of the car to the corner of Union and Alabama.

Q. Now, how close is that to your house?

A. My house is the second from the corner, the second house from the corner.

Q. Let you out around the corner from your house?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Let me ask you this. Were you going with the defendant at that time?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. In 1952?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you get married?

A. I got married in December of '55.

Q. That is three years later?

A. About that.

Q. Two years later?

A. Yes.

Q. All right. Now, you testified that you had a normal intercourse sometime in August at this house on Clark Street. That was the first time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you go back to that house again?

A. Yes, sir, I did.

Q. When?

A. That same month, in August. I went there three times that August.

Q. You went there three times that August?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Went into the same house?

A. Same house.

Q. Was he expected, were both of you expected by the owner of the house each time?

A. I imagine so. He had always called her to tell her that we were coming.

Q. Each time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In other words, she didn't seem surprised to see you?

A. No, sir, she didn't seem to be surprised.

Q. Did she know who you were?

A. Yes, sir, she did. They were very close friends.

Q. Now you say that you have had both normal and abnormal intercourse?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you have the abnormal intercourse with him?

A. The three occasions.

Q. On all three occasions?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, now, what do you mean by abnormal sexual intercourse?

A. Pervertedness. He used his mouth.

Q. He used his mouth?

A. Yes, sir, he did.

Q. On your private parts?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, did he do that, you say on each of the three occasions?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, was that after he had a normal intercourse with you?

A. No, sir, it was before.

Q. It was before he had a normal intercourse?

A. That's right.

Q. In other words, each time he used his mouth on you before and then had a normal intercourse?

A. That's right.

Q. Now, that happened three times in August of 1952?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, has he ever had intercourse with you since then?

A. No.

Q. None whatever?

A. No, I haven't.

Q. Have you ever been out with him alone since August of 1952?

A. No, I haven't been out with him.

Q. You haven't been out with him?

A. No, sir.

Q. Now, when did you first tell your husband about this?

A. I told my husband about it approximately a year after we were married.

Q. About a year after you were married, I believe you told us, you would say in 1956?

A. That is right. I remember vividly we went to New Orleans on a second honeymoon.

Q. Well, now, according to your testimony did Rev. Abernathy start running after you again, telephoning you again?

A. He hasn't ever stopped.

Q. He hasn't ever stopped?

A. No, sir. He has been to my house. He came there in '52 and came there in '54 when Bernice Davis Cooper



Charles Moore, LIFE photographer, holds ankle which has just been struck by a brick hurled at him by one of the mob in Kelly Ingram Park off to the right of picture. On Moore's left is LIFE correspondent Mike Durham. In the background is the three-story hotel from which a piece of concrete block was hurled, almost tearing off one side of a Birmingham fireman's face. Large pieces of brick and concrete block can be seen in the street in this picture. They have all been hurled by Negroes at police officers and reporters, who were the only whites allowed in the area. Most of the injuries received during the demonstrations in Birmingham were by police officers and firemen.

was living with me, and she was in bed one night, her mother was in Washington, and he came by and I was ordering him out of the house and she awakened and found him there, and he had his arms around me.

Q. And that was what year?

A. And that was in '54 or '53 — '53 because she went to Washington both times twice, and during that period he was coming by here and he would come down there and try to get me to go out with him, but I told him that I had made the mistake, and I realized the mistake and that I didn't intend ever to go out with him again.

Q. All right. Now, let's get down to the picnic that you and your husband went on. You went out and got drunk, didn't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you got real drunk, didn't you?

Q. I wasn't out.

(Objected to. Objection overruled)

Q. How much beer did you drink out there on the picnic? (Objected to. Objection sustained)

Q. Where did he get that pistol he pulled on Rev. Abernathy?

A. Well, I don't know.

Q. Where did the hatchet come from?

A. I don't know.

Q. Have you ever seen this pistol before?

A. No, I haven't ever seen it until — it was in the car pocket.

Q. It was in the car pocket?

A. It was in the car. My husband traveled, you see.

Q. Did he have a license to carry it?

A. Well; I don't know. (Objection sustained.)

Q. Have you ever seen that hatchet before?

A. No.

Q. Never have seen it?

A. No, sir. I saw it in Police Court.

Q. You had never seen it before that?

A. No, I haven't seen it either.

Q. I ask you if that is the pistol, you know that is his pistol don't you?

A. Yes, sir. He traveled, and he had it in the car pocket.

Re-Direct Examination

BY MR. KNABE:

Q. You tell the jury there when you reached the age of fifteen you haven't had anything to do with Rev. Abernathy?

A. No, I haven't.

Q. You haven't been with him in public since then including August 29th, 1958?

A. No, sir, I haven't.

—O—

I hereby certify that the proceedings and evidence are contained fully and accurately in the notes of testimony taken by me upon the trial of the above case, and that this transcript is a true copy and correct copy of the same.

W. Halowell Lewis
Official Court Reporter
Fifteenth Judicial Circuit
of Alabama

—O—

Edward Davis was acquitted for chasing and striking Rev. Abernathy with the hatchet. He and his wife now live in Montgomery.

Sex and Civil Rights

(Continued from Page 12)

bodies and blood in the street, our bodies," and "I am going home today and tell everyone how I've been lied to."

(s) LIONEL FREEMAN

Subscribed to and sworn before me this 5th day of April, 1965.

(s) George N. Dean, Jr.,
Notary Public.

My commission expires _____, 19____.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

I, Samuel M. Carr, a First Lieutenant in the Alabama National Guard, Battery C, 117th Artillery, Alabama do hereby swear under oath and under penalty of perjury the following facts are true and accurate in every respect to my own personal knowledge:

The National Guard unit of which I am a member was activated on March 20, 1965. We were assigned the task of guarding camp sites of the Negro Voter-Protest Marchers on their march from Selma, Alabama to Montgomery, Alabama. This duty we commenced to perform on Tuesday, March 23, 1965 at 1:00 PM picking up contact with the marchers on HiWay 80.

I hereby further swear and attest that during such time of duty with my National Guard unit I personally saw one case of sexual intercourse between a young white boy and a Negro girl. I further swear and attest that I saw occasions of public urination in and near the camp sites.

I further solemnly state that many of the Negro marchers, most especially the young ones, made remarks and statements to members of the National Guard which were, in my opinion, for the purpose of inflaming the emotions of said members of the Guard.

(s) SAMUEL M. CARR

1/Lt Battery C

117th Artillery

Subscribed to and sworn before me this 3rd day of April, 1965.

(s) J. D. Smyth, Jr.

Notary Public

Alabama, State at Large

My commission expires 5-20-68

* * * * *

STATE OF ALABAMA,
COUNTY OF DALLAS

Before me, undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared J. E. Crowder and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

I, James E. Crowder, Selma Police Department, do make the following



The picture above was taken a few minutes before the picture at the lower right. Annie Lee Cooper, 265-pound bouncer at a Selma motel landed a surprise right to the eye of Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark. Then she snatched a billy club from Deputy Sheriff Leo Nichols. She hung onto the billy club for dear life and with both hands as shown above. With effort Sheriff Clark managed to wrest the club away from Mrs. Cooper. Two deputies got handcuffs on her. The picture at the lower right is a part of this action. Newsweek described it differently.

Newsweek

"With that, Mrs. Cooper wheeled on Sheriff Clark — eleven years her junior and six and one half pounds lighter — and landed a solid . . . right on his eye. While three deputies helped wrestle her to the ground, Clark scrambled astride her stomach and brought his billy down on her head with a resounding crack"—Newsweek, February 8, 1965



statement. I saw several Negro males, that I know by sight, in a drunken condition. One Negro was there most of the time and was drunk every time that I saw him. The others came and went at intervals. I also saw a short Negro in a green sweater come to the front of the line stretched across the street

on three different occasions and rub up against white girls, feeling their breasts and other parts of their bodies and then taking them off to the rear of the crowd and on to different apartments. One of the white girls was a short fat girl with a white sweat shirt on; another was a medium tall girl, wearing a green coat and carrying a camera bag. This second girl also made several passes at some of the other Negro men on the front line on other occasions. I do not remember what the third white girl looked like that the short Negro carried off as I only saw her that one time.

On one occasion I saw a white man and a Negro female laying side by side beneath a blanket in the middle of the street just before daylight. There was a good deal of movement by both parties beneath the blanket. The white man, the day before, was wearing a priest robe. The next day he was wearing a sweat shirt and dungaree pants. That man is still in town or was on Saturday, March 3, 1965.

(s) J. E. CROWDER

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 7th day of April 1965.

(s) Jud Ernest Hewston

Notary Public

My commission expires: 7-18-67

* * * * *

STATE OF ALABAMA,
COUNTY OF DALLAS

Before me, undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared V. B. Bates and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

I, V. B. Bates, Deputy Sheriff of Dallas County, Alabama was assigned to special duty of observation in the area of Sylvan Street and Brown's Chapel during the preparation of Civil Rights March to Montgomery, Alabama.

What I state here is what I actually saw from a distance of 40 feet and less.

To begin with I saw white females from other counties, other states I believe, building up their sexual desires with Negro males. After a few minutes of necking and kissing, the Negro male would lead them off into the Negro housing project. I watched this procedure many, many times.

On another occasion, I saw a white male meet a Negro male on the front porch of Rev. Lewis' parsonage: they embraced and kissed each other mouth to mouth.

On Friday afternoon before the Sunday of the march to Montgomery, Officer Hewston and I were parked across

the street in front of Brown's Chapel. We noticed a big, heavy set Negro male near a small tree in front of the Parsonage; he was talking to a white female. They were talking, laughing and slapping each other on the back. They moved in closer to the tree, he had one hand hanging on a limb; she would move in very close to where she would rub on his legs and stomach. He was acting like he had ants in his pants. He would put his hands in his pocket attempting to control his sexual impulses.

Finally they locked lips together as if they were sucking each other's tongue, this lingered for 2 or 3 minutes; he then took her by the arm and they walked down the sidewalk towards the Baptist Church.

(s) V. B. Bates

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 5th day of April, 1965.

(s) Jud Ernest Hewston

Notary Public

My commission expires 7-18-67.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned Notary Public, Richard Perrino Emmet, who by me being first duly sworn, deposes and says as follows:

My name is Richard Perrino Emmet. I presently serve as Judge of the 15th Judicial Circuit of the State of Alabama. I formerly presided over the Family Court of Montgomery, Alabama. The Family Court is charged with the responsibility of handling all juvenile matters. All boys and girls who have not reached their 18th birthday are considered juveniles.

During the recent disturbances in Montgomery, the present Family Court Judge was called out of town and inasmuch as I had formerly presided over the Court, I assisted in handling all demonstrators who fell in the juvenile category.

Several white females still seniors in high school from various northern cities were taken into protective custody. Their parents were notified and they were released to their parents. Several college freshmen were also taken into protective custody who were 17 years of age or under.

One white female from the midwest who is attending college in Florida as a national merit finalist was taken into custody when she was found with three Negro men at night on the grounds of the State Capitol in a state of partial disrobement.

I contacted her father, a minister in a

mid-western community, informed him of the circumstances in which his daughter was found, that she was in Montgomery unchaperoned and apparently with no place to stay.

He informed me that he had encouraged his daughter to come to Montgomery and that she was there with his approval. He did not seem to be shocked upon learning the circumstances of his daughter's apprehension.

(s) RICHARD PERRINO EMMET

Subscribed to and sworn to before me this 5th day of April, 1965.

(s) Walter E. Graham

Notary Public, State at Large

My commission expires January 21, 1967.

* * * * *

(Letterhead)

STATE OF ALABAMA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC
SAFETY

Grove Hill, Alabama

STATEMENT

TO: Major John W. Cloud

Commander, Ala. State Troopers

FROM: Lt. J. L. Fuqua

DATE: 2 April, 1965

SUBJECT: Observed Obscenities
during Recent Selma and
Montgomery Racial Problem

This writer was in Selma from March 8 until March 16 and then in Montgomery until March 29. During the time I was in Selma I was assigned to the 10PM to 6AM shift and stayed in the vicinity of the Brown Chapel Church.

One night about 200 demonstrators were singing in the street while I observed a limp wrist white male standing in the front row with a blanket over his shoulder and a black male's shoulder. This white man had his arm around the Negro and at one time he kissed the Negro in the mouth with a long lingering kiss. A few minutes later these two men walked out of the line together, arm in arm, toward the church.

On another occasion in Selma Lt. Jeffries and myself were making a round around the blocked off area of the church and we stopped a 1957 Ford driven by John Calhoun, a Negro man from Montgomery. There was another Negro man in the front seat and a Negro man and a white girl about 24 years old in the back seat. The girl tried to conceal her race by pulling a coat over her head. This writer got both of these people out of the car, the white girl and the Negro man and observed their appearance. The Negro

man's pants were unzipped in the front and the girl had on dungaree pants. They were unzipped on the side. The girl said she was from California.

On several occasions I saw white girls rubbing up against Negro men and kissing them on the street in this demonstration. I also saw Negro men feel the breast and butt of white girls, making no attempt to hide this but rather appearing like they wanted everyone to see them.

I noticed prophylactics on the ground near the church several different times.

(Signed) Lt. James L. Fuqua

* * * * *

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

On March 13, 1965, while on duty at Selma, Alabama in the afternoon while standing on the front line at the colored project on Lawrence Street where the colored people and white people were demonstrating, there was a colored man arm in arm with a white priest. The odor of whiskey was very much on the Negro's breath. From this writer's experience and opinion the Negro man was very much under the influence of alcohol.

(s) M. D. TUCKER

Birmingham District

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 6th day of April, 1965.

(s) Virginia C. McCoy

Notary Public, State at Large

My commission expires November 15, 1966.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

Before me, undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared Mrs. John J. Ather-ton and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

Of the many marches on the Dallas County Courthouse, the one which impressed me as being the most disgusting display of the manifestation of the close association of the motley crew that had been camping day and night for several days on Sylvan Street, was the demonstration held on the afternoon of March 17, 1965. Most probably by design to incur the wrath of any onlookers, the marchers came to the courthouse two by two, each being a mixture either of older white man with adolescent colored girl or colored man with white woman. A display of so-call 'affection' - hand holding, entwining-arms, waist encircling — all overt acts of familiarity have long — and I realize until recently — been looked upon as in the poorest taste. All of these were flaunted in a sup-

posedly religious service on a public street before a public building, an open display for any one who would look on.

After the demonstrators had been assembled before the courthouse for a few minutes, rain began to fall. Those of the crowd who had on coats or rain-coats began to share their wraps with their partners or neighbors in the group. Aging, balding men wearing clerical collars spread their coats and

gathered in youngish colored girls; others made tents of their coats and several stood huddled close under these improvised umbrellas. Putting their actions down in print cannot begin to convey what went on in the way of numerous physical contacts between members of the two races and of the two sexes. Perhaps this behavior was not 'immoral' in our modern day when the accepted ideas of morality are so

**CONFERENCE ON
THE DEEP SOUTH:
WAYS AND MEANS TO INTEGRATION
FRIDAY-SATURDAY, APRIL 13-14, 1962**



HEADQUARTERS:

St. Paul Methodist Church

1500 Sixth Avenue, North

Birmingham, Alabama

Rev. J. C. Wilson, Pastor

SPONSORS:

**ALABAMA CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.**

HOST:

**THE ALABAMA CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

THEME:

**"RELIGION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
AND CIVIL LIBERTIES."**

Cover of Brochure on April 13 - 14, 1962, Birmingham "Conference"
sponsored by the SCEF.

lax, but it most certainly was immodest and distasteful. We very soon closed our blinds against the scene and have tried to erase the memory from our minds.

As my husband is on the staff of a local Southern Baptist Church, I spent much of the time the demonstration above described was in progress trying to defend "men of the cloth" against the criticism being brought on them by the men attired in "the cloth" who were taking part in this public spectacle.

Signed: Mrs. John J. Atherton.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 8th day of April, 1965.

(Signed) Jud. Ernest Hewston

Notary Public

My commission expires: 7-18-67.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

Before me, the undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared Charles R. McMillian, and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

I am a City Policeman and was on duty during the demonstration in front of Brown's Chapel Church. Due to the fact that it was raining, the demonstrators attempted to put up tents in the middle of the street which was furnished by one of the Negro funeral homes in the city. They were told that they could not pitch tents in the middle of the street so they moved the tents and put them up on the lawns of G. W. C. Project.

After tents were put up, they made sides for them out of polyethylene, which is a plastic that you can see through. When night came the demonstrators started making their beds on the ground inside the tents. Both Negroes and white demonstrators were bedding down side by side. A young teenage Negro boy and girl were engaged in a sexual intercourse that was interrupted by a newsman who attempted to take a picture of the act. I was at the barricade when I saw the above. Also during the time spent guarding the demonstrators there was constant kissing and hugging, and rubbing up against each other and pairing off and leaving the group that was in the street. The above mentioned demonstration took place in March 1965.

This statement is true to the best of my knowledge.

(s) CHARLES R. McMILLIAN

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 7th day of April 1965.

(s) Jud Ernest Hewston, Jr.

Notary Public

My commision expires 7-18-67

A F F I D A V I T

STATE OF ALABAMA,
COUNTY OF DALLAS

Before me, undersigned authority in and for said State and County, personally appeared Mrs. Frances W. Martin, and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

This is to certify that I, Mrs. Frances W. Martin, and 50 years of age, and I am employed in the Courthouse, Selma, Dallas County, Alabama, with an office on the third floor. I have witnessed the demonstrations in, and about the Courthouse, since their beginning both from my office windows and going in and out of the Courthouse. I have seen young Negro men and young white women walking down the street holding hands or with their arms around each other's waists. I have also seen young white men and young Negro women doing the same thing and I also saw on one occasion, a white man with both arms around a Negro embracing her, hugging and caressing her bosom, and all this in full view of anyone and everyone who might chance to look their way.

(s) FRANCES W. MARTIN

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 6th day of April 1965.

(s) Jud Ernest Hewston, Jr.

Notary Public

My commission expires 7-18-67.

* * * * *

STATE OF ALABAMA,
COUNTY OF DALLAS

Before me, undersigned authority, in and for said State and County, personally appeared Frank Barr and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

On March 12, 1965, I was working the night shift and was stationed on Sylvan Street near Brown's Chapel. I saw white girls and Negro boys, and white boys and Negro girls pair off and go into the dark areas of Brown's Chapel. They would disappear in the dark areas for as long as 45 minutes at a time. I do not know for sure what they were doing but I did see these couples with their arms around each other and kissing.

(s) FRANK BARR

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 7th day of April, 1965.

(s) Jud Ernest Hewston, Jr.

Notary Public

My commission expires 7-18-67.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

Statement of K. W. Jones, Captain, Montgomery Police Department, concerning the sit-in demonstration in front of the Capitol on March 10 and

11, 1965, and the indecent incidents connected with the demonstration.

This statement is made of my own free will, with no pressure from any source being exerted.

On March 10, 1965, at about 10:00 p.m. we had a march to the Church, Columbus and Ripley, and a parade permit had been issued for this march for this date. About 1,000 people participated in this march.

The march was orderly and the demonstrations in front of the Capitol was orderly up to the point of the marchers dispersing. The leaders of the march, who had gotten the parade permit, wanted to disperse like they had promised to. James Forman and about 300 of his group who was in the march, refused to disperse and sat down in the street. About 700 dispersed and was escorted back to the church, First Baptist.

The remaining, about 300, huddled up as a small group as possible and sang and made speeches. They used the street for a bathroom, they urinated until it ran down the street for about half a block. We could not see everything that was going on in the center of the group and this is where they would go to urinate. Two walked to the edge of the group and proceeded to urinate and were arrested. These were men. There was no mistaking the smell of urine even though we couldn't see them urinate. This went on until about 2:00 a.m. when they dispersed.

This is a true and correct statement and I freely sign my name below.

(s) K. W. JONES

Captain, Montgomery Police
Department

Notary: Mary B. Newberry (s)

Date: April 5, 1965

My commission expires on August 1965.

* * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

I, James E. Farris, member of the State Troopers of the State of Alabama, do hereby swear and attest and under penalty of perjury, that from Monday, March 22nd, 1965, through Wednesday, March 24th, I, among many others, was assigned duty with the other officials in connection with the march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

I further swear and attest that during this tour of duty I personally saw many, many cases of drunkenness, sexual promiscuity, and urination in the streets and other public places.

I further swear and attest that on March 24th, Wednesday, we were assigned duty in front of the Capitol

Building in Montgomery where a large number of marchers had gathered. These marchers stayed in front of the Capitol until approximately 3:00 a.m. Thursday morning and so many of them had urinated in the street (Dexter) that it actually ran a city block down the street. This I saw myself and do not report this as heresay.

I further swear and attest that on numerous occasions the marchers would walk close to myself, as well as troopers, and actually curse us, and make most obscene remarks to us. As stated, this happened on many, many occasions.

I further swear and attest that traffic was blocked all the way from Dannelly Field into the city of Montgomery when the marchers arrived in the Dannelly Field vicinity on March 24th, 1965. I was on duty that day and saw

this myself. The entire march caused a traffic hazard that just simply could not be adequately guarded against.

(s) JAMES E. FARRIS
 State Trooper
 State of Alabama
 Subscribed to and sworn before me this 3rd day of April, 1965.
 (s) J. D. Smyth, Jr.
 Notary Public
 Alabama, State at Large
 My commission expires 5-20-68.
 * * * * *

A F F I D A V I T

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I, Marlon J. Bass, did, on the night of the 23rd of March, 1965, see, at the camp site of the Selma to Montgomery marches, a young white girl and a colored man having sex relations. They were on the ground out in the open and did not try in any way to hide as

I walked within six or eight feet of them.

There were many colored girls and white boys laying in the same sleeping bags. I also saw a white girl about 17 years old and 4 colored boys get into the back of a truck and close the doors. This was before dark on the 23rd day of March 1965. They were in the truck about 45 minutes and when they opened the door to get out the girl was dressing.

This is a true statement.

(s) MARLON J. BASS
 Route 6
 Andalusia, Alabama
 County of Covington
 Sworn to and subscribed before me on this 7th day of April, 1965.
 (s) Neil L. Coplin
 Notary Public
 My commission expires 3-21-66



It was a hot Spring in Birmingham. Negro youths in Kelly Ingram Park appreciated most the efforts of the Birmingham Fire Department. This is a scene typical of most any day during the demonstration. Negro boys playing in the streams of water from the fire hoses. There don't seem to be any "children bleeding on the ground."



Here are four of the marchers from Selma to Montgomery who seem to be feeling the effects of the heat—or the miles—or something. There was always a helping hand or a shoulder to lean on if the boots began to feel heavy along the way.

