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REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING: MAN OF PEACE OR APOSTLE OF VIOLENCE?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, one of the most incredible cases of American naivety can be found in the strange story of Rev. Martin Luther King. While alert Americans generally seem intent on discovering the facts, discussing the issues, and developing a dialog in scores of social, economic, political, and religious areas and debating the pros and cons of the Bishop Pikes, the Rap Browns, and the George Lincoln Rockwells, there is a strange silence and lack of debate when it comes to Martin Luther King.

It is almost as if he is being consciously protected by the press which normally accepts accolades for presenting both sides of a story and piercing with rays of informative reportorial light all proper facets of national life. King is a national figure, this cannot be denied. He is one of the only men who can go from jail cell to a conference with the President of the United States. His name is known; his cause is said to be civil rights. For one reason or another, however, very little is known about the real Martin Luther King. I believe that if his true character were known, he would not be able to command a corporal's guard to follow him.

While preaching nonviolence, I believe the record clearly shows him to be an apostle of violence. While gaining major support from clergymen, I believe he has preached an expedient, totally materialistic line which is the antithesis of religious teachings. He has openly associated with the most radical elements in our society. I believe he has done more for the Communist Party than any other

person of this decade. These may sound like strong words, Mr. Speaker, but the facts are even harsher. I have heard Reverend King speak. On one occasion he may have a soulful melancholy that is, without doubt, most impressive. On another, he can rant with the best of the demagogs, and while more sophisticated than Stokley Carmichael or Rap Brown, he says, in effect, the same thing. He makes no pretense at keeping his skirts clean or his house in order. He does not have to because the past 10 years have demon-strated that the liberal community and the news media of our country will either not note or meekly forgive his indiscre-

THE ALLEN-SCOTT REPORT

King Plan: Blame Congress

WASHINGTON-In singling out Congress as their principal scapegoat for the big city riots, militant civil rights leaders are setting their sights on obtaining more than massive

federal funds for the Negro ghettos and job-training programs. The attacks against Con-

gress spearheaded by Dr. Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership conference, and Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph institute, are part of an over-all campaign to establish a political "third force" by 1968.

Immediate objectives, which will he advanced by demonstrations and mass meetings here this fall, are to drive a deep wedge between Congress and the other two branches of government and to develop a multiparty system.

Long-range goals of King and Rustin are to use the proposed "third force" as a political movement to bring about basic changes.

Cover-up for Stokely, Brown

In telephone calls around the country, King and Rustin outlined these plans while urging other civil rights, peace, student, and labor groups, and friendly politicians to center the blame for the riots on Congress.

By adopting this strategy, King and Rustin are saying that a "united front" could be built up to attack Congress, especially the House of Representatives. These attacks also would draw public attention and criticism for the riots away from such advocates of violence as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, according to King and Rustin.

Both Brown and Carmichael are connected

At a time when the incendiary statements of Brown and Carmichael were sparking the riot-prone tensions, did King emerge as a national leader seeking to soothe these passions? No, he attended as keynote speaker the most radical as-

with the so-called Student Nonviolent Coordinating committee and have been preaching violence and black power thruout the country. Carmichael is now in Cuba.

The King-Rustin plan calls for the "united front" to be operating as soon after Labor day as possible in order to begin organizing for the coming battle to seat the former Harlem congressman, Adam Clayton Powell.

The second round in this historic constitutional battle should take place in early October, when Powell's petition to regain his House seat reaches the Supreme court. His petition, denied in federal court here, is on appeal to the United States Circuit court.

By uniting these forces behind Powell, King and Rustin hope to create a national political issue to stir up Negroes in all the large cities and encourage them to become active with peace groups in the new "third force."

Expect Favorable Ruling

According to information gathered by House Democratic leaders, the King-Rustin strategy is being based on the assumption that the Supreme court will rule in favor of Powell and the House will again refuse to seat the Harlem Democrat.

Should a constitutional deadlock of this magnitude develop, the House leaders admit it could cause one of the gravest internal power struggles in this nation's history.

"Under the explosive racial conditions in this country," one House Democratic leader warned during a recent private discussion on the Powell case, "demonstrations in this country could easily lead to a riot that would set everything afire here."

It was the consensus of the House leaders taking part in the discussions that Powell, who was reelected in a special election this spring, was delaying his return as part of the King-Rustin strategy.

ican doctrine that could be imagined and yet the August 29-September 4, 1967, confab had the supposed "man of peace" Mr. King as their keynoter. It represented a major breakthrough for the Communist Party and King helped. For years, the



Robert S. Allen

There is no escape for you and when white people try to tell that good niggers can get through this golden door of integration, don't believe it. We don't even want that door because that's destroying us.

Cleage went on to say:

We are dealing with an enemy who is not going to accept us into American life.

In extolling King, he noted:

Dr. King led black people to understand that integration could never come to pass. He helped black men understand that "the man" is an enemy.

In his flagrant disregard for law and order, Reverend King has given credibility to one of the most dangerous dogmas that can be promoted in an orderly society. He simply arrogates to his own inspiration the whim to disobey any law which he loosely terms unjust. Court orders, State, and Federal laws, municipal ordinances—they must all fall in front of his supposition that he has a divine right to break the law. His conduct is clearly criminal in this regard and certainly has helped develop the idea among rioters and looters that they can obey their own concepts of good and bad laws and act accordingly.

Like most power-hungry tyrants, he has gone one step too far. In disobeying a court order, he was sentenced to jail. On appeal to the Supreme Court, he was surprised to find that a usually supine and hopelessly liberal Court rose up in indignation and slapped his wrists in a strong indictment of his illegal activity. Said the Court in affirming his jail sentence on June 12, 1967:

This Court cannot hold that the petitioners were constitutionally free to ignore all the procedures of the law and carry their battle to the streets. One may sympathize with the petitioners' impatient commitment to their cause. But respect for judicial process is a small price to pay for the civilizing hand of law, which alone can give abiding meaning to constitutional freedom.

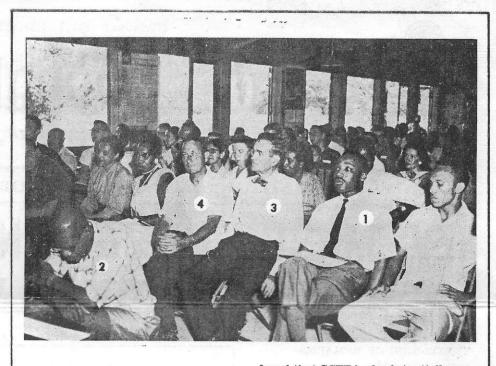
Mr. Speaker, this succinct statement should be burned into the consciousness of all of those who have at one time or another fallen for the pious pronouncements of Martin Luther King. Carrying the battles to the streets, as the Court phrases it, is not a constitutional right. It is, in reality, criminal conduct and should not be condoned by any thinking American. I repeat again the Court's most emphatic statement:

But respect for judicial process is a small price to pay for the civilizing hand of law, which alone can give abiding meaning to constitutional freedom.

At the height of the rioting fury which was sweeping the country, King joined three other civil rights leaders in issuing a cautious call for an end to violence because, among other things, it is selfdestructive to the Negroes' interest. This was on July 26, 1967. Two days later King was visiting Cleveland, Ohio, on an inspection tour. He tersely expanded on his theme of violence being self-destructive when he said:

I can't recommend burning down Cleveland. We end up getting killed more than anyone else and our businesses get burned.

No statement, Mr. Speaker, could more clearly expose the irresponsible, cynical nature of the subject of these remarks. This is typical of the manner in which he advocates "nonviolence." Burning, looting, and killing are not immoral or wrong, it would seem. Merely destructive



This well-circulated picture places Martin Luther King at a subversive training school. Four well-known leftists are shown and identified by number. No. 1. Martin Luther King, Jr.

No. 2. Abner W. Berry, long-time Communist Party functionary; as early as 1938 he gave the report of the Negro Commission of the CP at the 10th National Convention of the Communist Party; later was Negro affairs editor of Daily Worker. His column in the Daily Worker of September 10, 1957, page 5, described the seminar which both he and King attended.

No. 3. Aubrey Williams, board member of Southern Conference for Human Welfare—SCHW—a cited Communist front and president of Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.—SCEF which replaced SCHW. Senate report found that SCEF had substantially same leadership and purposes of predecessor organization, SCHW. Also affiliated with Highlander Folk School. Identified as a Communist Party member by one witness before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; another witness identified him as one who accepted the discipline of Communist Party. He denied both charges but admitted that he had been connected with a member of Communist-front organizations.

No. 4. Myles Horton takes credit for starting Highlander Folk School. Like Williams, was a board member of SCHW and became a director of SCEF. One former Communist organizer testified before congressional committee that Horton once remarked, "I am doing you just as much good now as I would if I were a member of the Communist Party."

est purveyor of violence in the world today," and likened our Nation to Hitler's Germany. He condemned the late President Diem as "one of the most vicious modern dictators" and threw out wild charges like the United States may have killed 1 million children in Vietnam. He conjured up an American napalm war in Peru so he could denounce it. He said we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam and our minimal expectation is to occupy it as an American colony. These are but a few of the wild accusations of the Nobel Prize winner many people have been led to believe is a man of peace.

Even the ultraliberal Washington Post could not stomach King's blatant lies and propaganda. In an editorial entitled "A Tragedy," they roundly condemned King by saying:

A TRAGEDY

Dr. Martin Luther King's Vietnam speech was not a sober and responsible comment on the war but a reflection of his disappointment at the slow progress of civil rights and the war on poverty.

It was filled with bitter and damaging allegations and inferences that he did not and could not document. He fiatly charged the Government with sending Negroes to fight and die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. But Negro troops constitute 11 per cent of the enlisted personnel in Vietnam (10.5 per cent of the population was Negro in 1960). Negro casualties are higher than this (22.5 per cent of killed in action) because of higher Negro enlistment for elite corps and higher rate of Negro re-enlistment. No doubt these figures reflect in part the fact that civilian employment opportunities are not as great for the Negro. But they also reflect in part, the China into a war so that we may bomb her nuclear installations." It is one thing to reproach a government for what it has done and said; it is quite another to attribute to it policies it has never avowed and purposes it has never entertained and then to rebuke it for these sheer inventions of unsupported fantasy.

He has even conjured up an American napalm war in Peru so that he could denounce it.

Dr. King is right to reproach America for not ending discrimination and poverty. But these are failures for which every Administration in the history of the United States deserves more reproach than this one. It is strange irony indeed that the Government which has labored the hardest to right these ancient wrongs is the object of the most savage denunciation, the most unreserved criticism and the most unfair blame.

Dr. King has done a grave injury to those who are his natural allies in a great struggle to remove ancient abuses from our public life; and he has done an even graver injury to himself. Many who have listened to him with respect will never again accord him the same confidence. He has diminished his usefulness to his cause, to his country and to his people. And that is a great tragedy.

To those liberals and bleeding hearts who have not intelligently discerned what King has been saying and doing, during his decade of prominence, this may have come as a tragedy. To those of us who have followed him closely and have been aware, by both public and confidential documentation, of his questionable activity, it comes as no surprise at all. In 1967 the real King surfaced and yet where is the criticism he should be getting?

These are but a few highlights Mr

above the law.

In early April 1966, a circuit court judge enjoined King and his associates from entering the building, interfering, or collecting rent from the tenants, all of which they had done. There can be no denial of King's influence and the results of his "nonviolent" demonstrations and "direct action" programs.

The New York Times of July 16, 1962, stated that Reverend King "threatened a new drive for Negro rights" in Albany, Ga. Ten days later, leader King, according to the Times, set a day of penance following a night of rieting during which Negroes were arrested as they marched on city hall, hooting, laughing, and throwing bottles, bricks, and rocks at law officials. August 11, the police chief of Albany testified that the situation had been under control until King returned to the city to be tried for an illegal demonstration.

Another example of the "nonviolent direct-action" programs of Dr. King was exposed in July 1966 in the syndicated column by respected columnists, Robert Allen and Paul Scott. Their exposé reported that King and company were contacting, and enlisting, Chicago street gangs and "bringing them into the civil rights movement to fight "the power structure".

From a report said to be circulating the U.S. Department through Justice, the columnists quoted these statements: King's lieutenants telling gang leaders that "the real foes are Mayor Daley, policemen, slumlords, bankers, businessmen, and school administrators"; or haranguing that this is an "unjust society"; and that "the gang members are being incited to violence instead of being taught nonviolence"; that "gang leaders have little or no understanding of civil rights, but do know how to use force." King, they said, had personally met several times with gang leaders who have a combined following of 1,000.

During the same month that King was reported to be enlisting the gangs, Chicago police battled some 300 Negroes for 2 straight hours of rioting.

Some time later, August 9, the Chicago Tribune reported that:

The Chicago Lawn area was the scene Friday night of civil rights disorder as the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., led Chicago marchers into the community to promote open housing for Negroes.

The Chicago riots of July 1966 deserve elaboration. Here is a selected sequence of events: The July 12 riot broke out just 2 days after King's mass civil rights rally. The Baltimore Sun, July 10, 1966, reported:

In an interview . . Dr. King acknowledged that his "end slums campaign in Chicago is an implementation program for the concept of 'black power'," but under a more palatable name.

Dr. King acknowledged that his presence in Chicago, the street rallies, sit-ins, marches, and door-to-door campaign to sign up members of protesting [units] have more farreaching aims than the immediate dramatization of problems of improverished Negroes.

The next day King and Mayor Daley held a "showdown" meeting in the mayor's office. On July 14 the New York Times reported that the near West Side was tense after a police car was stoned by more than 100 Negro youths. Martin Luther King attributed the disturbance to the Mayor's refusal to make concessions to his civil rights program. This is his typical style. Rarely has Reverend King chastized looters, arsonists, and conspirators for violence. He always justifies their actions and, directly or indirectly, encourages them.

The report continued:

Dr. King . . . spoke at the headquarters of the West Side Organization, where a sign on the wall said: "Burn, baby, burn, boycott, baby, boycott." Roving bands of youths and some adults . . broke windows, looted stores, and stoned police cars and small It is doubtful that the city officials

made the final choice. Chicago's Mayor Daley, as reported in the New York Times "asserted apguily

the New York Times, "asserted angrily that the strife was 'planned!' Dr. King's aides were in here for no other reason than to bring disorder to the streets of Chicago," he concluded.

Following contact with the gangs mentioned earlier, it is disturbing to note that press accounts of the rlots stated that Negro street gangs fanned the flames in the rlot and were given credit for spreading violence to greater limits.

for spreading violence to greater limits. The Chicago Tribune reported that prior to the riots, King had shown films detailing the violence of Watts. Asked by the Tribune about this, King replied: The films showing the Watts riots were to demonstrate the negative effect of riots.

The films add another dimension to the activities of King that are well known by law enforcement officials. Their general reaction to King is summed up by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in this statement:

Unfortunately, some civil rights leaders in the past have condoned what they describe as civil disobedience in civil rights demonstrations.

Martin Luther King, Jr., for example, after arriving in Chicago, Ill., early in 1966 in connection with the civil rights drive there, commented about the use of so-called civil disobedience in civil rights demonstrations and said:

"It may be necessary to engage in such acts... Often an individual has to break a particular law in order to obey a higher law."

Such a course of action is fraught with danger for if everyone took it upon himself to break any law that he believed was morally unjust, it is readily apparent there would soon be complete chaos in this country.

When the riots broke out on July 12, did Martin Luther King enter the scene as a moderating influence? Absolutely not. On the second day of the riot, July 13, a rally was held at a local church and King appeared with one Chester Robinson, executive director of the West Side Organization, who made highly flammatory accusations about the Chicago police. King's respectability added to the occasion. Robinson, incidentally, is an exconvict with an extensive arrest record dating back to 1949. Such are the men King finds himself with time and time again.

The first amendment guarantees the right to assemble peaceably and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances, but it does not allow any latitude for disobedience. It is absurd to even imagine a situation where a law protects the right to disobey a law. To only gross violations of law during riots and marches, but in the opinion of Justice Whittaker, encompasses a general furthering of lawlessness throughout the country. "Toleration and appeasements" of the "many misguided preachments and activities of Dr. King are heavily contributing causes of the general disrespect for law and hence of the crime that is now rampant throughout our Nation."

I believe it is fair to conclude that Martin Luther King has been an apostle of violence and lawlessness, not peace and nonviolence. His method has been criminal conduct and conspiracy, not civil disobedience. To call it anything else would be the same perversion of the truth that King has engaged in for years.

A MINISTER BUT OF WHAT?

Although DF. King asks the world to believe that he is a man of God and appeals to "higher laws" in justifying his acts of law breaking, it is incredible that he should expect the people of the United States to be so gullible as to accept the Biblical and historical precedents he conjures up as valid. They are not.

To use Biblical passages as a pretext for his call to lawlessness, King must first deny the context in which the Apostles lived and preached. They had no system of appeals. There was no guarantee of freedom. There was no free speech. The parallel is invalid.

In the opinion of the dean of Talbot Theological Seminary, Rev. Dr. Charles L. Feinberg:

Those who point to Biblical examples of resistance to authority forget the spiritual principles involved there, and are unmindful that they in that day had no such legal provisions for redress for their grievances such as we have today.

That Dr. King should disregard the total context of the New Testament, and the Book of Acts in particular, can hard-ly be believed.

It is also incredible that King would attempt to compare the civil disobedience of today with the Boston Tea Party. To make this comparison is, again, to forget that there were no channels of appeal or meaningful democratic reniedy available to those American patriots. It is interesting to note that the Boston Tea Party and other acts against authority by the colonists were the beginnings of the overthrowing of a foreign government. We must assume that Dr. King knows this basic historic fact. His views and tactics on this point are hardly American.

Dr. King uses these methods to push into areas and communities where the



Martin Luther King is shown above with Anne Braden, Carl Braden and James Dombrowski, identified Communists, at a SCEF meeting.

Martin Luther King Enlists the Gangs OR Violence Planning H

By ROBERT ALLEN & PAUL SCOTT WASHINGTON — Dr. Martin Luther King may be preaching the doctrine of non-violence for his coming "vivil right" disobedience cam-paign in the big cities, but he and his aides ap-pear to be organzing for violence. Federal authorities keeping a close watch on his Southern Christian Leadership Confer-

ence report that lientenants of King are contacting Chicago street gangs and bringing them into his civil rights movement to fight "the power structure."

King, whose organization is studying the King, whose organization is satoring one Buddhist use of street gangs in Saigon demon-strations, has put Rev. A. R. Sampson in charge of enlisting gang leaders in SCLC's new militant youth movement.

According to an investigative report being circulated inside the Justice Department, King plans to organize the teen-age gangs into pro-test and marching groups in all major U.S. cities

if his Chicago experiment is a success. The report reveals that King personally has attended several meetings with gang leaders,

AOTH YEAR

including one early in June at a downtown Chi-cago hotel, where 50 groups held their "first

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cago note, where ou groups held their "Inst annual gangs convention." Attending this gathering were the "Black-stone Rangers," "The Disciples," "Del Vikings," "Peacemakers," and "Vice Lords." They are estimated to have a combined membership of ALLEN & SCOTT Page 11

The Reader's Digest SEPTEMBER 1967

An article a day of enduring significance, in condensed permanent booklet form \$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$**\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$**

NEW HAMPSHIRE CHICAGO TRIBUNE, SUNDAY, AUGUST 27, 1967 24 - Section 1 • 'New Politics' Convention to Open Here

Dr. King Will **Be Keynote** Speaker

Speaker BY CHESLY MANLY Approxi aley 2,000 revolu-tionaries from all parts of the gather in Chicago over the Labor day weekenin for a con-venue of the eventmose ender the second second control of the overthrow of the existing "power structure" in this country by "creative dioorder."

The source of the second transformation of the executive subscription of the executive subscrip Massive Civil Disobedience

By PAUL HATHAWAY

By FACL HATHAWAY Star Barl Writer ATLANTA, Ga. — Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. today called for civil disobedience demonstra-tions on a mass scale in North-ern cities, saying that an unsym-pathetic power structure has left Negroes no other choice.



In North Urged by Dr. King



Negro Pastor Urges King to T

CHICAGO (D – A Negro pastor in a West Side slum area said yesterday that D. Martin Luther King Jr. should 'get the hell uot of 'Cheage The Rev. Henry Mitchell



"get the hell out of "Chicago The Rev. Henry Mitchell minister of North Star Mitchell sionary Baptist Church, made the suggestion at a news of the suggestion at a news of the appartment King resident of the support of the suggestion at a new of the suggestion at a new of the appartment king resident of the the appartment king resident of the support of the suggestion at a new of the suggestion at a new of the support the appartment king resident of the support of the suggestion at a new of the support the support of the support the support of the support of the support of the support the support of the support of the support of the support the support of the support of the support of the support the support of the support of the support of the support of the support the support of the support of the support of the support of the support the support of the support of

With these and other pr tices, without burning a ma or firing a gun, the impact of movement will have King also

King's Riverside speech is a hideous perversion of fact, a perversion nearly without limits. He said that Americans "poison the water" of the South Viet-namese. He stated that "we kill a million acres of their crops" and that American bulldozers "destroy their precious trees" and that "they wander into the hospitals with at least 20 casualties from American firepower for each Vietcong-inflicted injury." These are King's words. To this array of absurdities he added:

We test out our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps. of Europe.

These are a few of the Communistline invectives which King delivered on April 4. Since they were spoken, various "transcripts" of the speech have ap-peared, "cleansed" versions brought forward in an apparent attempt to soothe the irate response of the great majority of Americans.

For all his vocal attempts to keep his anti-Vietnam stand and civil rights separate, and on a "personal" basis, these attempts have not worked. There is a joining of the two and King has helped direct it.

At the 1966 annual meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the group condemned the war, called it mass murder and authorized King to "throw the resources" of the organization behind efforts to end the war. It was at this time that King said rite to the load ನೆ ಹ 10 DT

Edgar Hoover called Reverend King the most notorious liar in the country. Mr. Hoover spoke with no small amount of authority or knowledge. King has avoided a direct encounter with the famed public servant because the record is clearly unfavorable to the civil rights leader. Mr. Hoover is privy to many confidential reports on Mr. King's activities just as I am, and while their nature cannot be disclosed, I can say without equivocation that Martin Luther King does not want nor can he stand a public airing of his record. I can rest my case against King with the public utterances and actions of this man and any revelation of confidential matters is entirely unnecessary.

Why has he been immune for so many years and, in the parlance of the day, 'allowed to get by with murder?" There is a peculiar double standard which the liberal community consistently applies. If any prominent person, particularly a conservative, were to identify with or share a speakers' platform with a mem-ber of the John Birch Society or some group the liberals might currently be attacking, he would be maligned forever. Let Martin Luther King openly identify with Communists and radicals, have a Communist as an adviser, engage in criminal activity, appear at the most way-out meetings in the Nation and advocate racism, revolution or civil disobedience and these same people look the other way.

In the long run, Mr. Speaker, I am

whatever that means. This is the enigma of Martin Luther King. He preaches nonviolence but somehow this can end up in illegal or violent actions. Then he says he is not responsible, although he himself has often participated in illegal acts.

He has thrust himself into community after community where even the Negro leaders have asked him to stay away. Only this year, King again foisted himself into the Chicago turmoil and announced his own brand of solutions to their ills. Rev. Henry Mitchell, a leader in the area King chose as a "target" asked him to leave and charged that King "created hate." King has thrust himself onto the Cleveland, Ohio, scene and promoted a boycott of a local dairy. In that particular case, he cited as some demands on that firm actions which could be a violation of the civil rights law. He also said the firm must advertise in Negro newspapers and put money in Negro savings and loan associations to avoid a Negro boycott. All in all, this is the blackmail tactic of a would-be dictator and power-hungry demagog, not a responsible leader.

By word and deed, he has been a potent force for lawlessness in our country. He has been a scofflaw. He has arrogated to himself the right to pick and choose the laws he will obey. He has set a poor example for others to emulate. He has countenanced draft evasion. He has been disloyal to his own country.

In an age when our country needs

