

# THE SUMMER

Of Communist Malcontents

*by*

Gary Allen

### ABOUT THIS ARTICLE

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# THE SUMMER

## Of Communist Malcontents

Gary Allen is a Los Angeles journalist who has covered for AMERICAN OPINION such affairs as the Watts insurrection, the pro-Vietcong protests at Berkeley, and the Delano grape strike. A graduate of Stanford, he is now employed in the preparation of film-strips on current affairs and is finishing a new book on Communist revolution in the streets. To get this story, Mr. Allen spent the summer watching, recording, and parading with Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, James Meredith, Floyd McKissick, and other revolutionaries.

■ THIS SURVEY is a random sampling of the mood and direction of the "Civil Rights" movement and of some of its personalities and some of their accomplishments over this summer. It does not purport to be a complete survey of civil turmoil over the last few months. That would take a book. In another year it may take an encyclopedia.

### I

SUMMER is vacation time for college students; students who have for the previous nine months been the carefully tutored subjects of "Liberal" pedagogy. Such young people are often eager, vulnerably idealistic—and impressionable. And, after a course or two from a professor of the breed of Yale's Staughton Lynd, few can resist the opportunity to demonstrate that they are "socially conscious" by helping other people to run their lives. That is why the National Student Association (N.S.A.) this year provided direction for the "socially conscious" by publish-

ing a catalogue of organizations that could be contacted to arrange summer "work."

The N.S.A. booklet, called *Scope*, is virtually a handbook of revolutionary organizations. It was printed with funds donated by the Ford Foundation and illustrated with photographs from the avowed revolutionaries of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.). It even contains an introduction by Vice President Hubert Humphrey—who recently declared that if he were a Negro he would lead the revolution. Here, too, is an encouraging declaration from the avowed Marxist and acknowledged father of the War on Poverty, Michael Harrington. And Sargent Shriver concludes the *Scope* catalogue by asking students for a "total commitment."

What sort of organizations have Hubert Humphrey, Mike Harrington, and Sargent Shriver recommended to the "socially conscious" student for a summer of "total commitment"? Well, it says here that you should spend your summer with the Congress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.), which has now rejected non-violence and adopted the Black Power slogan; or you should work for K.P.F.A., "radio revolution" in Berkeley, whose news analyst is Communist William Mandel and whose chairman is Communist Longshoreman Archie Brown. If the California climate appeals to you, you can even be trained in the Alinsky street tactics as applied to agriculture by Cesar Chavez of the avowedly revolutionary National Farm Workers Association (N.F.W.A.).

For the student who wants to sample Southern hostility, *Scope* recommends Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the radical Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Black Nationalist S.N.C.C., or an organization for young white revolutionaries, the Southern Student Organizing Committee. If you would like to work behind the scenes in the revolution, *Scope* suggests the Southern Conference Education Fund, cited by both the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as the "Communist transmission belt for the South." And no program for the "socially conscious" young would be complete without the Marxist Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.)—which also qualifies for a "total commitment" from Sargent Shriver. If you happen to want to learn in the *homeland* of the "socially conscious," *Scope* even tells you five ways you can get to the U.S.S.R. (and then lists about 105 ways you can get the U.S.S.R. here).

Yes, there was a wide variety of opportunities for the young revolutionary this summer. And it was all so respectable. After all, if Sargent Shriver and the Vice President are for it, it must even be patriotic.

And, being "socially conscious" is fun. There were even gala celebrations.

For example, the W.E.B. Du Bois Club this summer celebrated moving its national headquarters from San Francisco to Chicago by holding a national convention from June sixteenth to nineteenth in the Windy City. Approximately 350 Du Bois Club members were in attendance, plus guests from the Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance (Y.S.A.), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, Progressive Labor (P.L.), and the senior Communist Party, U.S.A.

The convention was held in the an-

cient and decaying Chicago Coliseum, site of numerous Black Nationalist gatherings. In the center of the hall stood a platform above which hung a banner bearing the slogan, "For the freedom to build our future in peace." And there was a ten-foot portrait of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, the Negro Communist and founder of the N.A.A.C.P. in whose honor the clubs were named.

On Friday evening, June seventeenth, national Du Bois Club chairman Hugh Fowler addressed the convention as the TV cameras of C.B.S. and N.B.C. recorded the speech for posterity. Fowler fits the early image which the Du Bois Club set out to establish for itself. He resembles a young Bobby Kennedy—even to the New England accent . . . though he resides in Oakland. In front of the microphone Fowler is suave and polished, giving off an air of sincerity and humanitarian idealism.

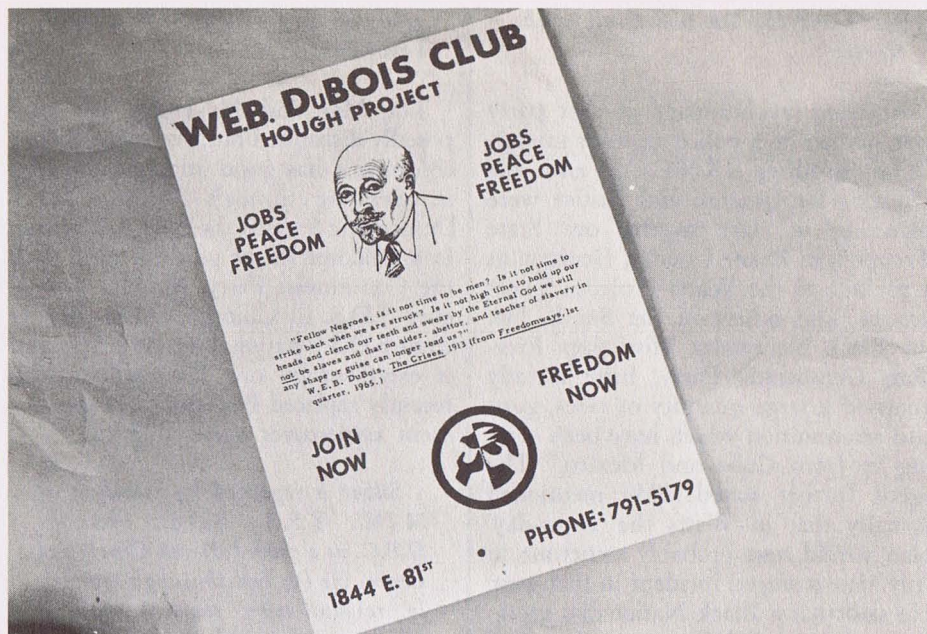
After the meeting on Friday, at a party for the hard-core, a young Communist remarked to a government counter-intelligence agent, whom she believed to be a Communist, that she was surprised when the TV people recorded only Fowler and not the more vehement speakers\* whose actions might have been used to put the Du Bois Club in a bad light. The agent told me that he had to suppress a desire to guffaw.

American culture was one of the main topics for discussion on Saturday. In his report on the convention, a police-trained undercover agent operating in the Du Bois Club for a government agency reported to his superiors:

*It was mentioned that one reason the Beatles and other folk-rock groups received such overwhelming success in the music field was because*

\* Sample: In a speech by a Dominican Communist, reference was made to "imperial bastards of U.S. Capitalism." The speech ended with the audience chanting "Viva La Revolución!" The cameras, which remained off during this episode, resumed recording when Fowler returned to the rostrum.





The Communist Du Bois Club distributed this during the riots in the Hough section of Cleveland.

*they were backed by the entertainment section of the Communist Party . . . and that music was a weapon used to win children and young adults to Marxism. It was also stated that Paul McCartney of the Beatles was a member of the (Y.C.L.) Young Communist League.*

One of the featured speakers on Saturday was Dr. Herbert Aptheker, official theoretician of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Another was Donna Allen of Women Strike for Peace. The final speaker on Saturday was Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and sometime top administrative assistant to Martin Luther King.\*

Saturday night was entertainment night at the Du Bois convention, presenting "An Evening of Music For A

\* You may recall that King has gone through a situation comedy routine to "fire" O'Dell whenever local newspapers expose the fact that the former District Organizer for the Communist Party in New Orleans has been closely associated with, and employed by, Mr. Non-violence himself.

New America." As the last entertainer for the evening, Barbara Dane, was finishing up, the audience began drifting away in small groups. Barbara quickly regained command of the show by leading the "Civil Rights" song, "We Shall Overcome." This hypnotic song was sung over and over again. We almost found ourselves singing along with the comrades—until the lyrics were changed to "We Shall Overthrow."

After the musical program on Saturday a party was held for top level Du Bois Clubbers on the third floor of a building at 2059 N. Larabee. A government undercover agent, who was there, described the party conversation in his report:

*He (a young man from New Jersey) said that he was in Chicago for the past week doing organizing for the "Job Corps" for which he was being paid. He mentioned that he had been in the movement for 4 years and said that he had the most kicks working with S.N.C.C. in the*

*South and the Du Bois Club in the North.*

Another revolutionary at that party was quoted by a police agent as saying: "The Brothers [S.N.C.C.] and the Deacons for Defense and Justice were planning to start wiping out State Troopers in Baker County, Georgia, as a prelude to the Watts Projects. These groups, and others in the South, like the Black Nationalist Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, have already amassed a large quantity of rifles, guns and ammunition which have been coming in from Cuba and Mexico." The agent further stated: "He mentioned casually that in Watts the 'cop-a-day' plan would start probably sometime in July after a staged incident in that area. He said that a Black Nationalist group there planned to kill a cop a day until all their demands were met."

One of our contacts within the Du Bois Club, who is an undercover agent for a major metropolitan police force and supplying information for the F.B.I., described for us the site of the Saturday night party:

*The "Apartment" turned out to be some kind of headquarters. In one room there were stacked neatly against the wall picket signs of all types and descriptions. There were hundreds of newspaper clippings pasted to the wall depicting demonstrations of S.D.S. students at Chicago schools and strikes of various unions. I found boxes of mimeographed copies of S.D.S. material, Progressive Labor, N.F.W.A., and various Chinese Communist publications stacked everywhere. . . . Through conversations with several beatnik types I found out that this wasn't an S.D.S. headquarters like it appeared to be—it was the North-side Headquarters of the May 2nd Movement (M.2M.)—a violent*

*group of the Communist Progressive Labor Party.*

The May 2nd Movement has supposedly disbanded but, according to our contacts, it has gone underground and is operating through Students for a Democratic Society, the New Left group least affiliated in the public's mind with the Communist Party. M.2M.'s control over S.D.S. in Chicago comes directly from S.D.S.'s national headquarters and is exercised by one Earl Silbar, who recently replaced Paul Booth. A government undercover agent told us:

*Silbar is regarded by members of M.2M., Y.S.A., S.D.S., and the D.B.C. as a cross between Christ and Lenin. He has had thorough training in revolutionary tactics, such as sabotage and crowd control. He has plans which he expects members of M.2M. to follow which include dynamiting chosen buildings when the time comes to act. He is regarded by some as a machine, not a human.*

On Sunday, the Du Bois Club held its national elections — results of which revealed a change in the image it wishes to project. Now that the farce that it is independent of the Communist Party has been publicly exploded by J. Edgar Hoover and the Attorney General, the D.B.C. is turning its emphasis away from the campus and towards the so-called "ghetto." It is going to leave the campus primarily to the equally radical S.D.S. whose members are being actively recruited into government work. Many D.B.C., Y.S.A., P.L., S.N.C.C., and C.O.R.E. members now work through the supposedly respectable Students for a Democratic Society. Indicative of the image change, the D.B.C. elected Franklin Alexander of Watts, California, as the new President to replace Kennedyish-looking Hugh Fowler. According to one of my



informants inside the Du Bois Club:

*The officers are picked in advance in a secret meeting and then open elections are held to give the effect of being democratically elected. When the rank and file, who don't know the election has already been decided, make a nomination, the people just decline.*

Two Negroes, one Puerto Rican, and two whites were elected to offices replacing five whites. The Du Bois Club has been about twenty percent Negro and now plans to put on a drive for increased Negro and Spanish membership by establishing "Freedom Houses" in colored and Spanish-speaking neighborhoods.

Following the election of officers, the convention was concluded with an address by lawyer William Kuntsler of the National Lawyer's Guild, a Communist Front. Kuntsler, who is also an attorney for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, will be in charge of the D.B.C.'s defense against Attorney General Katzenbach's order to register as a subversive organization with the Subversive Activities Control Board. Kuntsler assured D.B.C. members that the entire "movement" was behind the Du Bois Club and roared into the microphone: "We will destroy the McCarran Act once and for all. . . . If the McCarran Act goes, there will be no chance of passing more such laws." Among those named by Kuntsler who have joined the fight as plaintiffs are Martin Luther King's assistant James Bevel, Professor Staughton Lynd of Yale, and Norman Thomas.

As we left the hall, we were handed one of the Communist Du Bois Club's recruiting brochures which asks:

*WHY have Staughton Lynd and other respected American fighters for peace and freedom joined the*

*Du Bois Clubs in the face of this persecution? WHY are organizations like S.N.C.C., S.D.S., Martin Luther King's S.C.L.C. . . . and other civil rights, peace, civil liberties, labor and church groups supporting our fight?*

That is a hell of a good question. Perhaps some enterprising reporter will ask Martin Luther King and the other leaders of these organizations to supply an answer.

## II

NOT ALL OF the startling events of the summer, of course, were as inadequately reported in the national Press as was the Du Bois Club convention. Earlier, on June seventh, Negro "Civil Rights" activist James Meredith was trudging through Mississippi on a publicity march from Memphis to Jackson. The trek looked for all the world like an African safari. The Bwana, Meredith himself, stood at the head of the column—wearing a pith helmet and carrying



Anti-American hate on the Meredith March.

a swagger stick. Within yards of him were fifteen federal law enforcement officers who were sent to parade by no less than Attorney General Katzenbach. On Meredith's right was his public relations man.

This parody on a Tarzan movie had been going on for two days. Hardly anyone noticed. Then, bang! Or, more accurately, Bang! Bang! Bang!

James Meredith, the hero of Ole' Miss, was assassinated. By the Rightwing extremists—just like President Kennedy, folks. Only, not quite. It is true that one national wire service did report that Meredith was dead. And N.B.C.'s Huntley and Brinkley did confirm it. But he wasn't. And the gunman wasn't a Rightwing extremist. In fact, he had never been known by his friends to express a political opinion.

The "assassin" was an unemployed hardware clerk, a Tennessean named Aubrey James Norvell. The non-political but unemployed Norvell conveniently shot Meredith with half-loads of bird shot, at a considerable distance. Now that's an awful thing to do to a man even for "the movement"—though twelve-year-old watermelon thieves have gotten off with less damage. As one federal officer told AMERICAN OPINION photographer Ken Granger: "If you want to kill a man, you don't shoot at him from 100 yards with half-loads of bird shot. I'd let someone shoot at me all day on that kind of a deal."

That is a little exaggerated. The beebees were painful, and did draw blood. Just enough to turn on the publicity. And maybe that was the idea.

Anyway, it was just enough to send the Press into a royal snit demanding the passage of a "Civil Rights" bill that wasn't doing too well in Congress. And just enough to provide a sufficiently publicized incident to send Martin Luther King, Floyd McKissick, Stokely Carmichael, and a plague of unbathed representatives of the New Left to

march in Mississippi—in front of the TV cameras and news photographers.

Now, the Meredith March without Meredith trudged southward, stopping at every town along the way to deliver inflammatory speeches. At Senatobia, Mississippi, the non-violent Martin Luther King told six-hundred assembled citizens at a Baptist church, "If you ever see a good fight, get in it." It was in Senatobia that the "Reverend" Fred Shuttlesworth, head of the Communist Front Southern Conference Educational Fund, joined his old comrade, King.

As we walked with the safari, one of the marchers told us at Grenada, "There are more freedoms in China and Russia than there are here. I think it's murder to kill a Vietcong."

At Greenwood, Mississippi, three "Civil Rights" marchers were arrested after a battle royal over where they would be allowed to pitch their tents. One of the three was Stokely Carmichael, an avowed revolutionary who had just taken over the reins of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Before the week was over, Carmichael would add another slogan to American colloquy, adding "Black Power" to "Kill Whitey" and "Burn Baby, Burn" in the lexicon of revolution. Carmichael, a founder of the all-Negro Black Panther political Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, told a thousand Negroes at Greenwood, "We outnumber the whites in this county; we want Black Power. That's what we want. Black Power!"

Another thousand curious colored people turned out in Belzoni to greet the approximately 150 marchers and hear S.N.C.C. worker Willie Ricks tell them: "We're letting the white folks know that for every killing, every black person they put in jail for nothing, they're gonna have to pay. From now on, it's not gonna be all black blood. We're gonna get some of that white blood." The crowd cheered and began chanting,



"Black Power! Black Power! Black Power!"

At Belzoni, too, another of the many fist fights broke out between members of the various "Civil Rights" groups. Glen Freedom X, a bearded member of S.N.C.C., fought with Lester Kankerson of King's non-violent S.C.L.C.

The next major stop was at Canton. It was Thursday, June ninth, only three days away from the grand finale in Jackson on Sunday. The safari had had its problems along the way. There had been many disagreements, and with Meredith gone there was a constant hassle over who was the chief Bwana. Also, though some voters had been registered, the marchers had not been able to entice many working people off of their tractors, out of their pick-up trucks, or away from their fields to join the trek down the Mississippi Delta. The numbers of marchers had averaged only about 150 to 200, and most of them were not Mississippians. Also, money was a problem. At one time there was not enough money to pay the "honey

bucket" truck and the driver threatened to leave the King without his throne.

What was needed now was an incident to climax the march into Jackson. Nothing of great magnitude had happened since Meredith had been tinkled with bee-bees. Time was running out. Maybe something could be stirred up in Canton.

The invaders were told by Canton's city officials that they could pitch their tents in a local park. The city would provide water and power. Needing an incident to regain the national headlines, the march leaders announced that they didn't want the area which the city provided for them. Now they had the city of Canton in a position where it would lose no matter what it did. The invaders insisted on pitching their tents on the grounds of a Negro school.

After all, since Negroes attended the school, it "belonged" to Negroes.

Right?

Right! That's Black Power, baby.

Now the city could either disregard its laws, back down, and surrender con-



Charles Sims, a founder of the para-military Deacons for Defense, with James Meredith in Mississippi.

trol over their town to the invaders—or use the police to keep the safari from camping on the school grounds. The marchers swarmed over the school property and began to set up their tents. Police surrounded the school, warned the marchers to move to the assigned area and, when they did not, used tear gas to evict the two-thousand trespassers.

Cries of “Po-lice Brutality!” were heard from Maine to Mexico. Headlines across the country screamed that women and children had been tear gassed by wicked racists, and it was made to appear that Canton officials were so heartless as to deny the “Civil Rights” marchers a place to sleep. The national Press made no mention of the park grounds and facilities provided for the outsiders. The publicity, the march leaders knew, would swell the ranks and fill the cash box to pay for the show.

Saturday morning James Meredith rejoined the marchers and they set out for Tougaloo College, eight miles from Jackson. Tougaloo is a Negro school, financed by the Ford Foundation, which has been a hotbed of racial agitation for the past decade.

Frank Sinatra, Marlon Brando, Sammy Davis Jr., Anthony Franciosa, and Burt Lancaster were scheduled to speak at a giant Saturday night rally at Tougaloo. Sinatra did not show up; ah Mia, he had other things to do. But, the other stars when combined with various rock and roll singers and the ubiquitous Dick Gregory provided a magnet for hordes of Negro teenagers from the Jackson area. Free entertainment was the come-on—followed by the pitch to get in “the movement.” Approximately 25,000 persons crowded the grounds in an evening highlighted symbolically by Sammy Davis singing “What Kind of Fool Am I?”

The master of ceremonies for the show was Dick Gregory. Gregory’s humor seemed intended to accomplish three things: (1) To create or fan the

flames of hatred for white people; (2) to ridicule any cooperation between Negroes and whites as “Uncle Tomming”; and, (3) to convince the Negro that he lives under a dictatorship in which all white people hate him and are engaged in a conspiracy to keep him impoverished. Here are several samples of the Gregory “wit”:

“White people ask us colored cats why we’re always cuttin’ people up with razors. Man, the reason is that the white folks won’t sell us no guns.” Another: “Man, you don’t have to tear gas me, baby. I was born black in America. I’ve got enough to cry about already.”

The biggest applause of the night was reserved for James Meredith. He told the jubilant audience: “The Black people in the state of Mississippi are going to carve out a state for themselves whether he (Governor Paul Johnson) likes it or not.”

And, of course, the evening wouldn’t have been complete without hearing from Stokely Carmichael. “People have asked me to use humor. Humor is all right after the march, but we never knocked out Hitler with no humor,” Stokely analogized. The inuendo was not lost on the crowd.

Sunday was the big day. A crowd of about ten thousand gathered at Tougaloo in ninety-six degree heat; the crowd would swell to fifteen thousand by the time it reached the capital.

The march was an hour late getting started for Jackson as the various “Civil Rights” leaders argued among themselves as to who would lead the parade. Stokely Carmichael, a comparative unknown before the Meredith March, had stolen the headlines and vaulted into prominence with his slogan of Black Power; a cry that apparently gave some of the other leaders visions of “Liberal” money drying up. Finally a compromise was reached and King, Carmichael, McKissick, and Meredith started down the road abreast; but be-



fore they had marched far, Stokely's musclemen put the squeeze on the others and shoved them into the second line. King was furious and it showed. Finally, King and McKissick finished the trek by automobile.

Your reporter marched with the safari. It was a strange lot. Some of the beatniks wore "peace" buttons, and "Huelga" buttons from Delano were also in evidence. Many were carrying signs or wearing shirts stencilled with "Civil Rights" slogans. And there were hundreds of placards identifying their bearers as members of Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers. As usual in these affairs the monitors, wearing red arm bands, were spread out about twenty feet apart and led the marchers in group singing. The "freedom songs" play a big role in the "Civil Rights" movement. The sad songs of the "down-trodden" are mostly myth, but they provide an aura—the mood of a religious people crying for freedom. The revolutionaries use that mood.

As we walked we asked Hal York,

who had been arrested in Canton two days before, how successful "the movement" had been in bringing in outsiders for the march. York, a member of the A.D.A. from New York City, replied, "There are quite a few. I've been down here for three weeks and they have come from Berkeley, California; Chicago, Illinois; Minnesota . . . a few here and a few there, but it adds up."

Marching on the other side of me as I talked to Hal was a young Negro S.N.C.C. worker named Harvey Frye, a graduate of Sacramento State College in California. Harvey described himself to us as a Leninist. He wore a blue-denim shirt, the symbol of being part of the workers' revolution, and had his hair "natural" (African) and sported a Castroite beard.

Hal gave his definition of Black Power in what can only be described as typical "Liberalese":

*I follow the philosophy of Dr. King. His version is the coalition of power with white and black people*



(L to R) McKissick, Carmichael, Meredith, the Kings, and Abernathy pose for our photographer.





The symbol and slogan of the Black Panthers.

*sharing in the reform of this country for the betterment of the Great Society. It's not a Black Nationalist state of mind. . . . There are some people who are extremists in "the movement" marching with us who believe in a Black Nationalist State.*

The Leninist laughed. He obviously thought Hal was ridiculous; the sheep thinking they run the wolves. Harvey Frye, the revolutionary, was a realist; he understood what was happening. Frye gave his description of Black Power:

*Why shouldn't we takeover in every way we can? When you talk about Black Power, most people think we mean political power. But Black Power also means economic and social power, too. We have to have a social consciousness, of wanting to be black. . . . You have your Uncle Toms; you can have your integrationists. [He looked meaningfully at Hal.] If they want to be*

*integrationists, fine. But they're not helping the masses of the black people.*

The sheep described himself as a social democrat; the S.N.C.C. worker said, "I am not a 'Liberal.' I am not a social democrat. I am far to the Left of that. . . . I'm more of a Leninist." But the sheep continued marching.

As the long line of marchers approached Jackson there was more and more chanting of "Black Power, Black Power, Black Power." The Black Power advocates were mostly young. Most of those to whom we talked expressed admiration for Stokely Carmichael. It seemed almost as though he had sold a complete generation of Negro Jacksonians on the idea that revolution\* is the only answer to their problems.

As the march continued, young whites stood on the curbs in Jackson waving Confederate flags. Someone passed out hundreds of small American flags to the marchers. It was an excellent psychological ploy and the mass media made good propaganda from it. But, the flying of the American flag made the S.N.C.C. leaders angry and they went through the crowd collecting the flags. One said to a marcher next to me, "Man that flag don't represent you." He said Negroes wouldn't be suffering "oppressions" if they weren't American citizens.

When we asked the marchers what they were trying to accomplish by the march, the standard answer was, "We want our rights," or "We wants freedom." Most could not be more specific than that. A few said they "want to vote," but earlier this year federal registrars went through counties in Mississippi specifically to register Negro vot-

\* The word *revolution* is constantly used by Carmichael's S.N.C.C. followers—just as it is used in Delano and Watts and Harlem. The word *Communism* is never used. First people have to accept the idea of revolution. The proletarians need never know which revolution they are instigating.

ers. Only about fifteen percent of registered Negroes turned out for the primaries. By and large the people we talked to were confused. They tried to parrot what they have been told by the revolutionaries. It is a movement of slogans and cliches, but slogans and cliches combined with singing and chanting and the appeal of the mob can be a very powerful motivator. The crowd chanted, "Black Power! Black Power! Black Power!" A group of young girls sang, "You can't kill all of us."

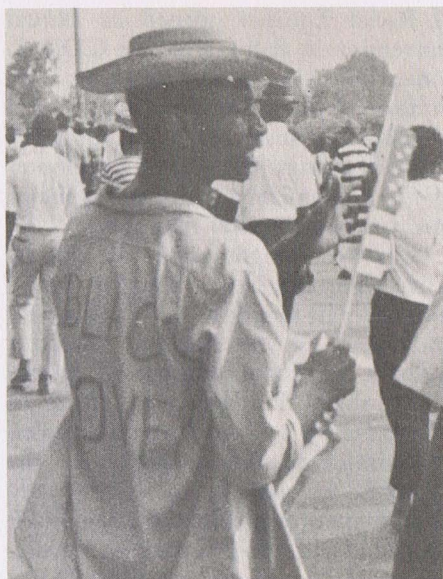
By the time the march reached the capital building everyone was nearly exhausted. The leaders fought for positions on the stage and the head of the N.A.A.C.P. in Mississippi was denied a seat because the revolutionaries decided on the spot that he was an Uncle Tom.

The speeches were spoken but the crowd was tired, thirsty, and restless. Few paid close attention. The spectacle was over.

\* \* \*

King, Carmichael, McKissick, and the other leaders had stayed in air conditioned motels while the proletarians slept on the ground. Monday, the day after the march concluded, a fight broke out at the luxurious motel occupied by the march leaders. C.O.R.E. and S.N.C.C. leaders engaged in a brawl when the "bag man" did not show up with the money to pay the motel bills. The next morning a big Cadillac rolled in and the driver, a white man, set up shop in one of the rooms to dole out the cash.

Stokely Carmichael was staying at the motel and we had an opportunity to engage in a conversation with his chief lieutenant, Cleveland Sellers. He was in the S.N.C.C. uniform—wearing bib overalls and a blue-denim shirt, and sporting long hair and a Castro-style beard. Mr. Sellers told us that the march was a tremendous psychological victory, particularly with the young peo-



S.N.C.C. agent collecting and destroying our flags.

ple in the Jackson area. He said that S.N.C.C. was leaving behind more organizers to follow up on the enthusiasm generated by the march. "Capitalism is our chief enemy," Sellers declared, "Capitalism has to be destroyed."

Later, we struck up a "conversation" with a particularly wild looking young Negro sitting beside the motel swimming pool. I asked him several innocuous questions to try to begin a conversation, and then inquired where he was going now that the parade was over. He waved his hand, pointing at some young men sitting to his right, and replied:

*Well, these guys are going back to Chicago to organize the gangs on the South Side. But, compared to me, they're non-violent. I'll kill the first M----- F----- that puts his hands on me.*

That concluded our conversation.

### III

ONE WEEK following the culmination of the Mississippi march, the Congress



of Racial Equality opened its annual convention in Baltimore. The C.O.R.E. convention was a model love feast with uniformed Black Muslim Guards—and speeches by Muslim fanatic Lonnie X\* and Communist Jesse Gray,† a promoter of the Harlem rent strike and a major instigator of the 1964 riots there.

Gray told the gathering that the decisive fight for Negro equality would ultimately be fought in the “back streets and alleys” of America and offered a formula for battle uniting all groups which share this approach. (It is of course merely a coincidence, but Stokely Carmichael, also a speaker at the C.O.R.E. convention, has since advocated a uniting of S.N.C.C., the Black Muslims, and the Communist Revolutionary Action Movement (R.A.M.).

It was at the convention that Floyd McKissick, C.O.R.E.’s National Director and an attorney for the Communist Du Bois Club, took up Stokely Carmichael’s call for Black Power. He told his audience that “the black man’s cup is close to running over. He isn’t going to turn in his gun. . . .” McKissick predicted that C.O.R.E.’s abandonment of non-violence would change the course of the “Civil Rights” movement. He said, “I think the philosophy of non-violence is a dying philosophy. I think non-violence in the future will only be a technique and a strategy. . . .” In an overt call for revolution, McKissick screamed into the microphone: “As long as the white man has all the power and money nothing will happen because we have nothing. The way to achieve meaningful change is to take power.”

The C.O.R.E. convention closed with a unanimous vote demanding with-

drawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and pledging assistance to Negro youths who refuse to be drafted into the “illegal” war in Vietnam. C.O.R.E. executives were instructed to begin an educational campaign explaining the “immorality” of the war. Another unanimous vote adopted a resolution calling for an end to non-violence in the “Civil Rights” movement, and urging Negroes to generate Black Power throughout the American political, economic, and social system.

You will not be surprised to learn that the C.O.R.E. convention got rave notices from the official Communist Press. *The Worker* was ecstatic over the conduct of the meeting, declaring: “The delegates did not let themselves be provoked. Nor did they try to appease their enemies by doing any red-baiting themselves.”

#### IV

MARTIN LUTHER KING, having in Mississippi been literally shoved from the position of acknowledged leader of the “Civil Rights” movement by Stokely Carmichael’s crowd of “violent” revolutionaries, attempted in early July to reassert himself as the leader of the revolution by staging a huge demonstration in Chicago, his new base of operations. King’s idea was to emulate his namesake by nailing a list of grievances to the door of City Hall. The event was to be preceded by a rally at Soldiers’ Field and a march to the City Hall.

On July tenth, nearly 35,000 persons gathered in the stadium at Soldiers’ Field in ninety-eight degree heat with seemingly equivalent humidity. The heat undoubtedly held down the crowd, for the event had tremendous prior publicity and Bishop John P. Cody of the Archdiocese of Chicago had required Catholic priests in Chicago to request their congregations to turn out in support of King.

Milling about the stadium field were

\* “X” on the end of a Black Muslim name means that he has drawn white blood.

† Gray was arrested on a traffic violation early this summer. In his wallet police found a \$12,000 cheque from the War on Poverty and a list of the home telephone numbers of some very important people—including Martin Luther King and Sammy Davis Jr.





Signs of the movement were carried at King's rally in Chicago by street gangs.

people dressed in every conceivable manner—from well-tailored suits and fashionable women's ensembles to African togas. The Black Nationalist culture was evident in the women's hair styles, large gold-hoop earrings, and multi-colored African raiment. A number of women had African-style haircuts and there were many men and women wearing Muslim skull caps. Hundreds of young people there wore blue-denim work shirts to signify that they are part of the revolutionary movement—in solidarity with the "working class." Buttons of all types adorned the shirts, togas, and dresses of the participants, including many declaring the wearers for "Black Power" and "Huelga"—and a number promoting the Republican Senatorial candidate, Chuck Percy.

One of the most unusual costumes was a take-off on the Batman garb. It was worn by a large and frankly fearsome-looking Negro. We asked him to describe his apparel:

*Yes, a black robe, and the color*

*itself indicates the power of black. The green cape indicates the color of the money you need to obtain the power that you want. I feel that the individual can gain control and gain power in anything he wishes to do through the politics, through the vote, and through the money.*

"Batman" told me that he is a member of a group called the West Side Organization, which has developed a welfare union: "We feel as though if the auto workers can have a union, then the welfare recipients can have a union too so they can have an organized voice in controlling the welfare program." His logic, you will have to admit, is overwhelming. Why shouldn't those who live off the sweat of someone else's brow have a say in how much that person sweats?

The Batman creature concluded by telling me: "I don't necessarily believe in violence, but if you lay a hand on me, I got to kill ya. That's just the way it is."

My next conversation was with Grady

Rucker, a founder of the International Black Movement in America. Grady wears a Nigerian robe, but maybe the Green Bay Packers missed a good prospect in this lad—he looks to have been carved from igneous rock. The object of Rucker's organization, he said, is "to build a black economics the same as the white man is trying to build a white economics." In the Black Movement in America, Rucker added, "We don't believe in no non-violence. . . . We are being successful because of the trend from non-violence to violence. My normal reported attitude would be—if a person strikes me—is to kill him. If he's got nerve enough to attempt to slap me, he's got nerve enough to die."

At one end of the playing field King's organization had set up a grandstand where entertainment was being provided while the crowd was building. Suddenly, about two-hundred members of Chicago's teenage gangs, mostly members of ACT, the Cobras, and the Blackstone Rangers, came marching up the field toward the grandstand behind a huge banner demanding "Black

Power." One of the signs carried by the street gangs read: "Black Lackeys Must Go-ACT." Yet another, "No More Reverends—Deacons Now." In the middle of the group a teenager in a turban carried a Deacons for Defense sign showing a hand holding a tommy-gun. A Chicago reporter told me that the turbaned youth was Cassius Clay's brother Rudolph (Rochmand Ali).

A musical group on the grandstand began to play the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" on the vibraphones in jazz time, and many of the teenagers standing around on the track began to Watusi. A number of young men congregated around the grandstand, however, did not dance. They were wearing hats with Deacons for Defense signs pinned to them. The para-military Deacons were used to provide escorts through the crowd for dignitaries coming and going.

Finally, the scheduled entertainment was begun. Once again the featured performer was the ubiquitous Dick Gregory, who was as usual full of comedy. "If anyone finds my lost blue-eyed, blond child, don't bring him back," he quipped. In another "joke" Gregory said, "The Chinese in San Francisco are getting restless and they got 700 million cousins to help them. If those Red Chinese start yelling 'We Shall Overcome,' they just might do it."

Following speeches by C.O.R.E.'s Floyd McKissick and a number of other dignitaries advocating "Black Power," Al Raby rose to introduce the King himself. It was no happenstance that Raby was selected for this honor. Al Raby was co-sponsor with King of the Chicago Freedom March and is head of the Chicago Coordinating Council of Organizations (C.C.C.O.), which is made up of forty-five separate groups known only half-jokingly within "the movement" as *Soviets*. Raby has come from out of nowhere in a relatively short time to become the Number One



Their intentions are very clear.



man in the "Civil Rights" movement in Chicago. You will get some idea as to what is behind Raby's meteoric rise by reading this excerpt, dated July 14, 1965, from the files of an official government intelligence bureau:

*Sometime back you submitted the name Al Raby to us. In reply we sent you a photostat of a brief report we had made earlier on this man and in which the name of HOUSE figured as follows: This Negro man is relatively new in this area,\* so I had to call one of our informants inside the COMMUNIST PARTY, who said: AL RABY was sent in here by the COMMUNIST PARTY to help LANDRY in his fight against DALEY, BEN WILLIS and the Democratic Party machine. He is quite powerful in party circles, and a pretty smart cookie. He works closely with a White Man by the name of HOUSE, also sent in by the Party to handle publicity and Public Relations. HOUSE is Program Director for Radio Station WAAF and an excellent speaker. Between them, RABY and HOUSE have had the BETTER GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION eating out of their hands. Their association with some of the prominent names attracted to the BGA label has served to dignify the COMMUNIST drive to levels we never dreamed possible.†*

\* The area of "Civil Rights." Raby is a native of Chicago.

† Further down the page of the intelligence report is the following quote: "There was a chance, for a while, that the Chinese wing of the COMMUNIST PARTY might break away from the Russian Wing, with the Negroes (such as Martin Luther King) supporting the Chinese wing, and with the old-line commies staying with the Russian wing, but that possibility faded when Russia announced that she would send troops to Viet Nam if they were needed. Then, RALPH HELSTEIN (of the Packinghouse Workers Union), Jessie and Ann PROSTEN (also of UPW), got together with MARTIN LUTHER KING, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, and other prominent Negro leaders, and ironed out their differences."



Dick Gregory: Humor to hate by?

Following Raby's introduction, Martin Luther King offered a masterpiece of incitement:

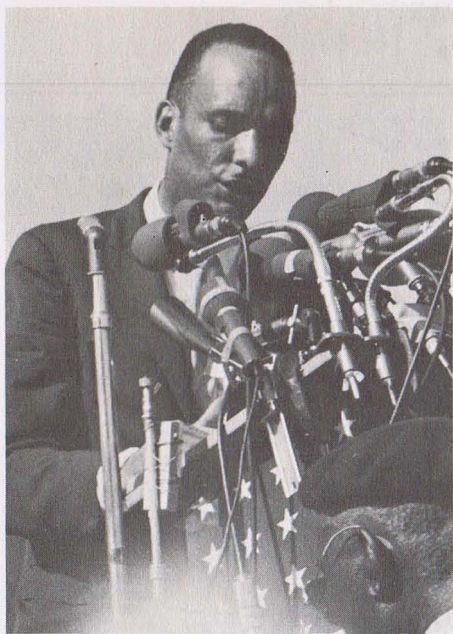
*We are tired of being seared in the flames of withering injustice. . . . We are tired of being lynched physically in Mississippi, and we are tired of being lynched spiritually and economically in the North.*

*This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. . . . Now is the time to have a confrontation in the city of Chicago. . . .*

*We will no longer sit idly by in agonizing deprivation and wait on others to provide our freedom. We will be sadly mistaken if we think freedom is some lavish dish that . . . the white man will pass out. . . . Freedom is never voluntarily granted by the oppressor. It must be demanded by the oppressed.*

*This day we must decide to fill up the jails of Chicago, if necessary, in order to end slums.*





Revolutionary Al Raby introduced King.

There is no way to end slums unless those who live there and create them decide to clean them up. Still, the wildly excited crowd loved the idea that riots create better living conditions. They were less pleased when King concluded his harangue by telling the assembled that, of course, he meant that the riots must be non-violent. A great many of the spectators giggled.

After the "Reverend" King terminated his non-violent diatribe, the crowd began its three-mile march on City Hall. As we emerged with the mob from the stadium tunnel and started the hike downtown, we tape-recorded the chanting of one of the participating organizations: "Black Power, White Blood; Black Power, White Blood; Black Power, White Blood." That particular group of socially conscious youngsters was flying a banner that identified them as "The New Breed." When a young lady noticed that we were recording the chanting, she shrieked and the crowd started hurling invectives. We hurriedly moved up the line to interview other

non-violents.

I continued to conduct interviews with the marchers as we hiked toward City Hall, recording their responses on my portable tape recorder. I asked a man in his late forties, *Must capitalism be replaced by socialism?* Answer: "It will." *Do most Negroes feel that way?* Answer: "Most of them, but they don't have the opportunity to express themselves. . . . Walter Reuther is a big help, they're giving us plenty of cooperation. . . ." *Are we making strides on the road to socialism?* Answer: "We are. We are. . . . Capitalism is the enemy. It is the tool of the power structure."

At this point a rotund lady leading a large group of teenagers screamed into the microphone, "We want Black Power! Black Power for the Black Man."

"What else do you want," I inquired?

"We want Black Power and get out of the slums and poverty for the Negro. That's what we need." I asked her if she thinks this requires socialism? "Yes. Yes, I do. I really do."

"Do most Negroes feel this way?"

"Yes, I do."

"O.K., fine, thank you," I said, and she continued walking up the street yelling, "Black Power! Black Power! Black Power!"

Along came a gang of about a hundred teenagers, marching in formation. They were all dressed in tattered blue-jeans that had been cut off above the knees, as if this were a uniform. They all carried heavy "walking sticks" and beat time as they chanted, "Non-violence must go. We say so. Non-violence must go. We say so."

In front of City Hall a man was waiting with a "Wallace for President" sign. The crowd booed and fifteen non-violent marchers jumped him, ripping his clothes and tearing up his sign. Then Martin Luther King arrived with his entourage. He had not himself marched, but came by automobile. After nailing

his fourteen demands on the door of the City Hall, the monarch of the "Civil Rights" movement was escorted back into his limousine and non-violently disappeared into the dusk.

The King and his cronies had done their job well. Now it was time for others to take over while the "responsible" leaders got out of the way. Negro Chicagoans had just been told how "oppressed" they were and that "the battle [was] in their hands." All that was needed for a full-scale revolt was leadership.

That leadership was provided by R.A.M., the illegitimate offspring of Communist Robert F. Williams, former N.A.A.C.P. leader in Monroe, North Carolina, who fled to Communist Cuba when the F.B.I. attempted to arrest him on a kidnapping charge. From Cuba, Williams broadcasted into the South over "Radio Free Dixie," urging that the "Civil Rights" movement adopt the "kill-in" as a more expedient way for the socially conscious to build a democratic society. Williams, who is reported to now be operating from Peking, is also publisher of *The Crusader*, a monthly newsletter which is a "how to do it" manual on urban guerrilla warfare. *The Crusader* is clandestinely smuggled via Canada into major Northern urban areas and is widely distributed among Negroes.

Tuesday the riots began as two-hundred Negroes ran through the streets of West Side Chicago screaming "Black Power" and breaking windows, looting stores, throwing firebombs, and crying about "police brutality." Within an hour after a minor incident resulting when Patrolman Frank Roberts shut off a fire hydrant in West Chicago at eight p.m. on Tuesday, July twelfth, a small cadre of professional Communists from R.A.M. had launched a master plan of rumor and agitation and turned an innocent dispute into a blood-letting riot.

The R.A.M. leader was Doug Andrews, age twenty-five, who has been successful in recruiting members of Chicago's teenage gangs into the Communist revolutionary movement. Last year, when Andrews was arrested for disorderly conduct in a West Side racial disturbance, a crowd of three-hundred Negro gang members ringed the Fillmore Police Station demanding his release. Police reported that Andrews "waved his hand in a signal" and the disciplined gang members left. It was Andrews who led two-hundred members of Chicago's teenage gangs to the Soldiers' Field rally behind a "Black Power" banner. According to a police report, Andrews is assisted by a former functionary for the War on Poverty.

During the riots, R.A.M. supplied the rioters with weapons, ammunition, instruction on construction of Molotov cocktails, and—when their spirits ran low—with wine and narcotics. On Friday, July fifteenth, the Chicago Police raided Andrews' basement home at 3838 Jackson Boulevard, where they arrested twenty-three people varying in



Members of the para-military Deacons for Defense.



age from seventeen to twenty-five, and confiscated a quantity of guns, marijuana, and "civil disobedience" leaflets.

Yes, the Communists' Revolutionary Action Movement had been very busy, indeed.

The Chicago Police report that there is a strong possibility that members of Chicago R.A.M. received instructions from their national leaders in New York and other cities while the riots were in progress. Federal and local undercover agents who have infiltrated R.A.M. in Chicago have compiled intelligence information which indicates that four men are the key R.A.M. leaders in Chicago. R.A.M.'s top Chicago agent, nameless in the police report, is a teacher who meets frequently with his top lieutenants but never with non-R.A.M. members or with members of the youth gangs. He attended R.A.M. policy sessions in Nashville in November of 1964, in Detroit in 1964, and in New York City last summer.

R.A.M., the Communist organization Stokely Carmichael wants to merge with S.N.C.C., has secret branches in every major American city and an estimated membership of one thousand—who magnify their effectiveness by inciting, leading, and arming mobs. According to police reports, the R.A.M. plan, developed for all American cities, was used in New York City in 1964 and in Chicago last summer, but got its first real test, which its leaders deemed successful, in the riots in Chicago this July. Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley told the Press, "Surely some of the people that came in here to Chicago have been talking for the last year of violence, and showing pictures,\* and instructing people in how to conduct violence."

For their part, Martin Luther King

\* Martin Luther King defended the members of his staff and refused to accept Daley's blame for the riots in declaring, "the films showing the Watts riots was [sic] to demonstrate the negative effects of riots."

and his organization have been making a detailed study of the Buddhist use of street gangs in Saigon demonstrations and have assigned the Reverend A.R. Sampson to head up King's enlistment of street-gang leaders into his S.C.L.C.'s new militant youth movement. At a June meeting in a downtown Chicago hotel, King met with representatives of fifty groups in a "first annual gangs convention." A police undercover agent who was present reported that King and his aides harangued the gang leaders about the "unjust society" and urged them to join their "Civil Rights" groups with his to fight against evils—"slums, poverty and police brutality." An S.C.L.C. speaker told the gang members, "The real foes are Mayor Daley, policemen, slumlords, bankers, businessmen, and school administrators."

The Chicago Police report that five-hundred guns a month are being purchased there in Negro neighborhoods, indicating that there is more trouble ahead in Chicago. The trouble is heightened by the fact that whites have begun to retaliate by throwing rocks and bottles at "Civil Rights" marchers invading their neighborhoods. The race war so desperately desired by the Communists is now a distinct possibility in Chicago.

Mayor Daley, an old-fashioned machine politician, is caught in a vise. While rioters ran through Chicago's streets, King blamed their actions on the Mayor, who refused to surrender to his demands. If the Mayor surrenders to everything King demands, King is in effect the Mayor of Chicago; if he does not surrender to King then R.A.M., the other jaw of the vise, will tear up the town until troops can be brought in. Daley knows what he faces; Chicago has an excellent police intelligence squad.

V

As CHICAGO sputtered, burned, and

AMERICAN OPINION





Reporter Gary Allen recorded as this group chanted: "Black Power; White Blood!"

smoldered, Communist activists moved openly and with self-confidence in Cleveland, Detroit, New York, and Los Angeles as act of violence followed act of violence. But the terror of it lies in the fact that the summer of 1966 has been but a stormy preview for what the revolutionaries promise will be a hotter summer next year. Next year, they say, will be *the* year. Why next year? Because the Communists have planned it that way to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

It is a characteristic of revolutions that they swallow their own children. It appears that Martin Luther King is to be cast as the Kerensky of this revolution. The revolutionaries are already fighting among themselves, at least in public. A test of strength, in which the most ruthless will dominate, is taking place. And, because young people are easily goaded into violence, the man who obtains the allegiance of the youth holds the cards. That man right now is Stokely Carmichael, the twenty-five-year-old leader of S.N.C.C.

Though born in the West Indies and schooled in New York, Stokely became an organizer for S.N.C.C. in Lowndes County, Alabama, and there founded the Negro Black Panther Party—which makes no effort to disguise its plans to seize political control of the area and then put such high taxes on white-owned businesses and farms that the County can seize them in foreclosure while, at the same time, seeking federal aid. That this very program, renamed the Freedom City Plan, is being proposed by S.N.C.C. and the Communist Du Bois Club as a scheme of action even in Watts, California, is indicative of its importance as a key Communist tactic. The Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance says in its booklet on Carmichael's Black Panther Party: "The Black Panther Party is setting an example that is clearly applicable not only in other rural black belt counties of the South, but in Birmingham, Watts, Harlem and other urban ghettos of the North and South."

Clearly, Carmichael's activity is

pointing the way toward the separate Negro nation advocated openly in America by the Communists for over three decades—a plan prepared as early as 1913 on orders from Lenin by no less than Joseph Stalin himself. Counter-intelligence people within “the movement” say that S.N.C.C. workers are armed and have even been promised the opportunity to execute whites in the South following the establishment of the “Black Soviet Republic” there. The Y.S.A. booklet cited above continues in this vein:

*S.N.C.C. workers and the Negroes in Lowndes are beginning to see things more as they were seen by Malcom X in the year before his assassination. Malcom X stated, “There were stones yesterday, Molotov cocktails today; it will be hand grenades tomorrow and whatever else is available the next day. There are 22 million African-Americans who are ready to fight for independence right here. When I say fight for independence right here, I don’t mean any non-violent fight. . . . Those days are gone. I say we need a Mau-Mau and I’ll be the first to join it.”*

Now listen to Stokely Carmichael, the man of the hour in the “Civil Rights” movement: “The Lowndes County Freedom Organization is not non-violent. Non-violence is irrelevant. We’re not a protest movement. We’re

out to take power; legally, but if we’re stopped by the government . . . we’re going to take it the way everyone else took it. . . .” On August fourth, in revolution-torn Cleveland, Carmichael declared, “When you talk of Black Power, you talk of bringing this country to its knees. When you talk of Black Power, you talk of destroying everything in Western Civilization.”

Does it surprise you that the Communist Press editorializes avidly in favor of Stokely Carmichael’s Black Power? In the coming race war, only the Communist Conspiracy can win.

\* \* \*

The “split” in the “Civil Rights” movement over Black Power serves the International Communist Conspiracy well. It will be used as an excuse to complete the legislation of America into a socialist dictatorship. The “Liberals” will tell us that we must pass this multi-billion dollar program, or that “Civil Rights” bill, or Negroes will be so disappointed they will join the Black Nationalists and burn the nation to the ground. We have now seen Martin Luther King turned overnight into a “moderate,” and we have already heard him declare, “Give me victories” or there will be violence. We are now witnessing the greatest blackmail game in history, perpetrated by the King and his crowned Prince, Stokely Carmichael, in collusion with the para-military efforts of the International Communist Conspiracy which is now so clearly running the show. ■ ■