

*And what the Commission was thinking and what they were doing is still hidden from us, of course. The minutes of the Commission meetings are locked up in the National Archives and no one can see them. A vast amount of the evidence, F.B.I. reports, C.I.A. reports, which may be directly related to the information we should have, are also locked up in the Archives. No one can see that.*

*The photographs and X-rays of the President's body, taken at the autopsy in Bethesda, Maryland, taken just before the autopsy was begun, taken by Naval technicians, which in and of themselves might resolve the whole question as to whether or not there was a conspiracy, cannot be seen by anyone today and, in fact, not one member of the Warren Commission ever saw the most important documents in the case, the photographs and the X-rays. And not one lawyer for the Commission ever saw—was curious enough to examine the most important evidence.*

*I think the villain was the desire of government officials to be nice, to see to it that nothing would upset the American people, that the apathy which has seized us for all of these years be permitted to remain uninterrupted by a factual presentation of what happened. The American people would have been upset surely if they were told there was a conspiracy which took the life of your President.*

*Cronkite: But Mr. Lane, who accuses the Commission of playing fast and loose with the evidence, does not always allow facts to get in the way of his own theories. In "Rush To Judgment," for example, he writes: "The statements of eyewitnesses close to the President tended to confirm the likelihood that the shot came from the right and not from the rear." Lane then quotes Associated Press Photographer James Altgens, and another eyewitness, Charles Brehm, as giving testimony that would support the idea of a killer on the grassy knoll. Yet Mr. Altgens,*

*as we saw Monday night, is entirely certain that all of the shots came from behind, a fact that Mr. Lane does not mention.*

*As for Mr. Brehm, Eddie Barker discovered that he holds no brief either for the grassy knoll theory or for the use of his words by Mark Lane.*

*Eddie Barker: Well now, some critics of the Warren Report have taken your testimony, or interviews with you, to indicate that you thought the shots came from behind the fence over there, what about that?*

*Charles Brehm: Well, as I say, it was not a number of critics. It was one critic, Mark Lane, who takes very great liberties with adding to my quotation. I never said that the—any shot came from here like I was quoted by Mr. Lane. Mr. Lane would like me to have positively identified the—what I saw fly over here—his skull—although I told him I could not—I did not—I thought it was but I could not. So, he has added his interpretations to what I said, and consequently that's where the story comes from that—that I said that the shots come from up there. No shot came from up there at any time during the whole fiasco that afternoon.*

*Cronkite: Nor are these the only examples of Mr. Lane lifting remarks out of context to support his theories. Perhaps the most charitable explanation is that Mark Lane still considers himself a defense attorney for Lee Harvey Oswald—and a defense attorney's primary duty is not to abstract truth, but to his client.*

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*Cronkite: Despite Mr. Specter's defense, it is the opinion of CBS News that the role of the F.B.I. as well as the Secret Service, both in the assassination and its aftermath, has been less than glorious. And, to some extent, the performance of these agencies weakens the credibility of the*

*Warren Report. As to what the F.B.I. and the Secret Service did wrong before the assassination, we need look no further than the Report itself.*

*It notes the Secret Service agents assigned to protect the President had been drinking beer and liquor into the early hours of the morning, that no search was made of buildings along the route, and that, quote: "The procedures of the Secret Service, designed to identify and protect against persons considered serious threats to the President, were not adequate prior to the assassination," end of quote. That is, the Secret Service should have known about Lee Harvey Oswald.*

*But the Report goes on to point out that if the Secret Service did not know about him, the F.B.I. did, and did not see fit to mention his existence to the Secret Service. The report issues a mildly phrased yet devastating rebuke to the F.B.I., charging that it took an unduly restrictive view of its responsibilities. Knowing what the F.B.I. knew about Oswald, the Report says, an alert agency should have listed him as a potential menace to the President. Yet, after the assassination, the Commission itself relied heavily on these two agencies as its investigative arms.*

*Did their performance improve? We know that some of the tests conducted by them for the Warren Commission were unsatisfactory. In the first of these broadcasts we pointed out that to simulate Oswald's problem of hitting a moving target from a sixty foot high perch, the F.B.I. conducted its firing tests on a fixed target, from a 30-foot height. Certainly, if CBS News could duplicate the conditions of the actual assassination for a firing test, the feat's not beyond the capability of the F.B.I.*

*Rather: There is also the case of the famous exhibit 399, the bullet which the Commission thought wounded both the President and Governor Connally, winding up on*

*the Governor's stretcher in Parkland Hospital. Critics of the Report, you will remember, insist it couldn't have hit both men but must have been found on the President's stretcher. Yet, part of the now permanent confusion surrounding the bullet and where it was found, must be charged to the cavalier attitude of agents of both the F.B.I. and the Secret Service at Parkland Hospital.*

*On Monday night, hospital attendant Darrell Tomlinson described how, in shoving a stretcher into place, he dislodged a spent rifle bullet. Mr. Tomlinson quite properly sent at once for the hospital's chief of security, O. P. Wright. Mr. Wright describes what happened then:*

*Wright: I told him to withhold and not let anyone remove the bullet, and I would get a hold of either the Secret Service or the F.B.I., and turn it over to them. Thereby, it wouldn't have come through my hands at all. I contacted the F.B.I. and they said they were not interested because it wasn't their responsibility to make investigations. So, I got a hold of a Secret Serviceman and they didn't seem to be interested in coming and looking at the bullet in the position it was therein.*

*So I went back to the area where Mr. Tomlinson was and picked up the bullet and put it in my pocket, and I carried it some 30 or 40 minutes. And I gave it to a Secret Serviceman that was guarding the main door into the emergency area.*

*Barker: Mr. Wright, when you gave this bullet to the Secret Service agent, did he mark it in any way?*

*Wright: No, sir.*

*Barker: What did he do with it?*

*Wright: Put it in his lefthand coat pocket.*

*Barker: Well now, did he ask your name or who you were or any question at all about the bullet?*

*Wright: No, sir.*

Barker: *How did the conversation go? .Do you remember?*

Wright: *I just told him this was a bullet that was picked up on a stretcher that had come off the emergency elevator that might be involved in the moving of Governor Connally. And I handed him the bullet, and he took it and looked at it and said, "O.K.," and put it in his pocket.*

Cronkite: *There is little to praise in such treatment by the F.B.I. and the Secret Service of perhaps the most important single piece of evidence in the assassination case. Moreover, the Warren Commission seriously compromised itself by allowing the Secret Service, the F. B. I. and the C.I.A. to investigate questions involving their own actions.*

Rather: *The Commission had before it the hard fact that Oswald's notebook contained the name, phone number and license plate number of Dallas F.B.I. agent, James Hosty. The F.B.I.'s explanation was that Hosty had asked Ruth Paine, with whom Marina Oswald was living, to let him know where Oswald was staying, that he jotted down his phone number and that Marina under prior instructions from her husband, also copied down Hosty's license plate.*

Cronkite: *The question of a link between the killer and the F.B.I. was indeed a legitimate part of the investigation. The Commission's handling of that question is scarcely justifiable. What it did was to accept as conclusive sworn affidavits from J. Edgar Hoover, and other F.B.I. officials, that Oswald was never employed in any capacity by the F.B.I.*

*The Commission says it also checked the F.B.I.'s own files, but mentions no other investigation. It followed the same curious procedure with the C.I.A., taking the word of top C.I.A. officials that Oswald had no connection with that agency either. The Commission then came to the*

*sweeping conclusion that there was absolutely no type of informant or undercover relationship between an agency of the U. S. Government and Lee Harvey Oswald at any time.*

*Now, elsewhere, the Warren Report argues persuasively the difficulty of proving a negative, of proving in that case that Oswald was not a member of a conspiracy. You will remember that it hedged its conclusion, saying only that there was no evidence of a conspiracy.*

*Yet the Commission had no hesitation in asserting another far reaching negative: that Oswald was not involved with any agency of the U. S. Government ever. Oswald's mother, Marguerite, has always maintained that her son was a government agent—she favors the C.I.A.—and that he was innocent of the assassination.*

*Barker: Mrs. Oswald, what sort of proof do you have that your son was an agent of this government?*

*Marguerite C. Oswald: Now, proof, Eddie—that's a very strong question. I think the Warren Commission members themselves gave Marguerite Oswald the proof. They want us to believe that Lee Harvey Oswald went to Russia as a defector. And yet he got out of the Marine Corps three years before his hitch was up on a Dire Need discharge. Now, this is documented. This is what they tell the American people. They go into great details, that Lee Harvey Oswald got out of the Marine Corps three months ahead of time because his mother had an accident—which was the truth, and it all went through the Red Cross legitimately.*

*And when he came home, he stayed with his mother three days. We sort of know that story. And then he left for Russia. And, so, this is supposed to be all cut and dried. But when you read the Warren Report, and when you know the case—and this is my case, and my son's—*

*so I know it, then you see a little part where the Warren Commission says, the documentation says, that Lee Harvey Oswald was given a passport by the State Department to travel to Russia, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and et cetera; and at that time these countries were not restricted.*

*Now, how can Lee Harvey Oswald get out of the Marine Corps three months ahead of time on a Dire Need discharge, and at the same time be issued a passport to travel?*

*Cronkite: The evidence is overwhelming that Mrs. Oswald is wrong as to whether her son did assassinate the President. Yet, there remain disturbing indications that she may not be quite so wrong about some kind of link between Oswald and various intelligence agencies of the United States. The question of whether Oswald had any relationship with the F. B. I. or the C. I. A. is not frivolous. The agencies, of course, are silent.*

*Although the Warren Commission had full power to conduct its own independent investigation, it permitted the F. B. I. and the C. I. A. to investigate themselves—and so cast a permanent shadow on the answers.*

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*Rather: Right now, long after the fact of the Commission Report being out, right now, what bothers you most about the Report? Are there any—is there a central question, or central questions that bother you most?*

*Epstein: There is one central question that does bother me, and that is—involves the autopsy that was performed on President Kennedy. And there was a conflict—really, a contradiction, between the F. B. I. report on the autopsy, which the F. B. I. says they received from the autopsy doctors—at least they said in these reports, and the autopsy report published by the Warren Commission. And I don't*

think we have to get into the exact details, but it wasn't absolute—if one was true, the other couldn't be true. It concerned the path of the bullet through President Kennedy's body. The F. B. I. said it didn't go through, it only went in a short distance. The Warren Report said it went—or the autopsy in the Warren Report said it went clean through and exited.

*There was evidence, evidence that I think any lawyer or law court would have demanded, and that is the actual photographs of the autopsy and the X-rays.*

Cronkite: *Almost from the day the Warren Commission published its report, its decision to omit those vital X-rays and photographs has been under attack. Only that physical evidence, say the critics, can finally resolve the debate over how many bullets struck the President, where they came from, and where they went—the central questions in the argument over how many assassins opened fire in Dealey Plaza.*

*More than one critic has charged that the autopsy record in the Warren Report is not the original autopsy, but has been changed to conform with the Commission's theories.* You will remember that after a silence of three and a half years the doctor who headed the autopsy team at Bethesda Naval Hospital agreed to re-examine those disputed photographs and X-rays, and review his findings for these broadcasts. And here is what Captain James Humes told Dan Rather.

Humes: The Report, as I stated, is exactly the way it was delivered, and the way it was written.

Cronkite: *Yet it seems to CBS NEWS that one of the most serious errors made by the Warren Commission was its decision not to look at those photographs and X-rays, an error now compounded.* For the Kennedy family, which had possession of the autopsy pictures, agreed last year to



donate them to the National Archives, but only with the stipulation that the pictures be locked away for five years—with only certain authorized government personnel allowed to see them.

Now, no one would propose that those grim and tragic relics be made generally available, to be flashed across television screens and newspaper pages. But in view of their crucial bearing on the entire assassination we believe that those films should now be made available for independent examination by expert pathologists, with the high qualifications of Captain Humes—but without his status as a principal in the case.

*There is one further piece of evidence which we feel must now be made available to the entire public: Abraham's Zapruder's film of the actual assassination. The original is now the private property of LIFE Magazine. A LIFE executive refused CBS NEWS permission to show you that film at any price, on the ground that it is, quote, "an invaluable asset of Time, Inc." unquote. And that, even though these broadcasts have demonstrated that the film may contain vital undiscovered clues to the assassination.*

*LIFE's decision means you cannot see the Zapruder film in its proper form, as motion picture film. We believe that the Zapruder film is an invaluable asset, not of Time, Inc.—but of the people of the United States.*

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CBS Reports, "Black Power, White Backlash," September 27, 1966

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Wallace: That was Ivan Allen, the Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia . . . a leading moderate on racial matters in his native South. He strongly favored, and testified in behalf

of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill. His city has long been looked on as remarkable for its progress in relations between the races. It is also the home of the National Headquarters of SNCC—The Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee.

(Black Power chants)

*The head of SNCC is Stokely Carmichael, a twenty-five-year-old revolutionary, born in the West Indies, educated at the best high school in New York, a college graduate, with a degree in Philosophy. It was here in Mississippi this summer that Carmichael—with his cry for “Black Power”—became a national figure, and . . . to many . . . a frightening one.*

(Black Power chants)

I talked with Stokely Carmichael one night earlier this month, in Atlanta. He wore an African toga given him by Sekou Toure of Guinea . . . a reminder—he said—of his African heritage.

Carmichael: I think that there's a realization that black power is not just a mere slogan, nationally or internationally. It is real that black people can come together and start determining for their lives how they're going to live and controlling their economic and political lives.

Wallace: But why talk about dynamite sticks if Molotov cocktails won't work? When you talk of black power, building a movement that will smash everything that Western civilization has created, when you say that black power should bring the country to its knees any time it messes with the black man, and these are quotes from Stokely Carmichael, the picture has got to be, in the minds of white men and black men, one of a man who threatens violence.

Carmichael: On the contrary, if you say that you have to bring the country to its knees if it messes with the black man, you're saying that the only protection for black people is that they unite, so that when one black man is touched because he's black there's some protection for him. Now, it's obvious that that protection does not exist in this country. It does not now exist. And the only people who can have that protection are black people, and black people know that. Now, white people may not know that. So it means that you have to build a movement so strong in this country that if one black man is touched every black man will rise up and let this country know that they're not going to tolerate it.

Wallace: If one man—if one black man is touched?

Carmichael: That's right. Because he's black. I mean, if a black man is walking down the streets of Mississippi, down the highway with a Bible in his hand, he is shot because he is black.

Wallace: That's one incident . . .

Carmichael: I can name you a lot others, and you know that yourself.

Wallace: In the Northern ghettos.

Carmichael: *If one black man in California is driving his pregnant wife to the hospital and he is shot by a white racist policeman.* I can name you more incidents.

Wallace: Then, you're saying, "Fight violence with violence?"

Carmichael: I'm saying that we must build a movement of black people that will protect ourselves so that we are willing to stop that by any means necessary. Now, I'm not concerned about the question of violence. It seems to me that that will depend upon how, in fact, white people respond. If white people, in fact, are willing not to bother with black people because they are black, then there's going to be no question of violence.

Wallace: When you read stories about difficulties, riots, in Omaha or Cleveland, or Brooklyn, or Chicago, or wherever . . .

Carmichael: I call them rebellions.

Wallace: They're rebellions, and you see nothing wrong with them?

Carmichael: I think that it is people who are rebelling against a system that has locked them inside tight ghettos, that exploits and oppress them and they have no means of redress to break that system down. We intend to build within black people the realization that that problem is not theirs, that it was created by white society. It's purposely created by white society and then they throw it back on us and blame us.

\* \* \*

Wallace: You're one man, you're one black man who went to a good, essentially white high school in the City of New York . . . You obviously have had a good education. A good many of the people who work with you here in SNCC can say the same thing . . . And you're a black man who came from a New York ghetto.

Carmichael: And we're saying that there's a system that allows for one or two black people to get out. And that that's the rationale for keeping the other black people down.

Wallace: *And it has nothing to do with the unwillingness or inability of the Negro to help himself and to work hard?*

Carmichael: *That's the rationale, that the reason why black people are this is because they're lazy, unambitious, stupid, have rhythm and eat watermelon.*

Wallace: You call on the black man to refuse to respond to his draft call.

Carmichael: That is correct, and we will continue to do so while there is breath in our bodies.

Wallace: Do you really believe that the military policies of the United States are designed to exterminate the black man, as you've said?

Carmichael: I most certainly do. I look at the recent statement by *racist McNamara*, who says that thirty percent of the people that are going to be drafted now under his new system are going to be black people, and that's nothing more than black urban removal.

Wallace: The white liberal, who supported civil rights for so long with time and effort and money . . . what is your feeling about him?

Carmichael: Well, I think that there's no reason they should stop supporting the movement now. I certainly feel that if they're genuinely interested in black people, and since black people have charted a course, if they believe in that program they will continue to give to it.

They need more white people to civilize whites. *They need them to civilize the savages in Cicero who throw rocks and bricks at a peaceful and lovable black man like Dr. Martin Luther King, who would not even hurt a fly. That's very important . . . because our uncles and our fathers and our older brothers died in World War I fighting Nazism to protect the Poles and those same Poles turn around and throw rocks and bricks at us after we died to save their lives. And people talk about we are savages.*

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Watts: . . . I feel that at this juncture, because over a period of a hundred years *the white establishment has built a barrier between the white power structure and the black community, this barrier being a wall consisting of neurotic white liberals and their house niggers that they draw from the community with their various lame-brain schemes to integrate us.* The first thing that we have to do is knock this wall down forcibly, in order to confront the white power structure with our demands.

Wallace: *Who are the house niggers you are talking about?*

Watts: *Roy Wilkins. Your Martin Luther Kings. Your Whitney Youngs.*

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Wallace: If there was a symbol of white anger at Negro protest in the North this summer, it was Cicero, Illinois, a town chosen by Dr. Martin Luther King as the pressure point in his open housing drive. *Cicero is a town with an inferiority complex. It winces at public attention because, back in prohibition days, it was notorious as the home of Al Capone, of bootlegging, B-girls, gambling.* Today, it just wants to be left alone. But Dr. King had other ideas.

King: *I think Cicero in the North symbolizes the same kind of hard core resistance to change as Selma in the South. And I think it will in fact eventually be the Selma of the North in the sense that we've got to have a confrontation in that community.*

Wallace: *Cicero is no stranger to racial violence.* Fifteen years ago, a Negro family tried to move into this apartment dwelling there. An angry mob tossed the family's furniture out a third floor window and made a bonfire that blazed 10 feet high. The National Guard had to be called in to restore order. No Negro family has tried to move in since.

But late in the summer, Negroes marched on Cicero . . . led by militant organizations. And once again, the National Guard had to be called out, to prevent bloodshed. The reaction of some of the residents of Cicero and many whites from surrounding areas was predictable. Bricks, bottles, taunts and catcalls were aimed at the marchers. The hostility was mutual . . . bitter . . . and undisguised. The question was why? Why Cicero? And is this the kind

of reaction we can expect all across the North, as Negroes press to live in white communities?

Cicero is a town of first and second generation Americans . . . mostly Czechs, Poles, Lithuanians, Italians, plus a late sprinkling of whites up from the United States South. Mostly blue collar workers, hardworking, law-abiding, overwhelmingly Republican, overwhelmingly for Goldwater in the last election. Homes are built one hard upon the other, scarcely a step apart. There is little vacant land in Cicero, virtually no slum, and there is fierce pride in property.

The average person out here—he's not a bank president, he's not a wealthy industrialist—he's an \$80, \$90, \$100-a-week man. Maybe now, when times are good . . . he's making a hundred and twenty. The biggest investment he'll ever make in his life is that house. That house to him means . . . it's everything in the world for him. When someone is going, is going to bring down the value of that home or destroy it or his neighbor is going to live in such a way that it may affect his property, this hits him right in the heart and in the pocketbook both, and he'll fight for it.

Wallace: I walked down 25th Place, an attractive if modest residential street, picked at random . . . houses worth \$15,000 to \$25,000. Why, I wondered, is it so important to keep Negroes from living here? As you listen to the answers, ask yourself how different is the reaction in your own community.

Man: Well, I'll tell you. *Property depreciates when Negroes move into a certain neighborhood. They'll buy one building, and there'll be a dozen families move in that building . . . and you got a mess.*

Wallace: Of course, these are just one-story, one-family buildings here, most of them . . . some of them two families.

Man: Well, if they bought this building here, which is a six room apartment, they might have two families living in there. They might put another family down in the basement—maybe two families down in the basement. There, you take and have a messed area.

Wallace: So, it's just because you think they might be messy neighbors. That's the only reason?

Man: That's all. That's the only reason. If there was one family in one building and they took care of their place, I don't see why people wouldn't tolerate them.

Wallace: How would you feel about Negroes moving in here to Cicero?

Little Girl: Well, I really don't know. Some Negroes are clean and some aren't. If they moved in on this block and they were clean, I would play with them.

Wallace: What does your Mom and Dad say about it?

Little Girl: Well, they say—well, I really don't know. They don't say too much about it.

Wallace: Are they enthusiastic or no?

Little Girl: No. My Dad said that if they do . . . well, we're just going to have to move . . . maybe.

Wallace: Is that your Mother up there working?

Little Girl: Yes, it is.

Wallace: Let's see if I can't talk to her for just a moment. Ma'am, I wonder if I could ask you to come down the stairs just for a minute and talk to me. There's been so much talk recently about Cicero and Negroes and property values, what's your view?

Woman: Well, I'm perfectly satisfied with the neighbors we have. We have old homes here; we take very good care of them.

Wallace: I see that you do.

Woman: And, when it would come right down to it, I don't think we would object to other neighbors if they would come up to our standards of living.



Wallace: Do you think that the fact that a man is a Negro, or a woman is a Negro—on the face of it simply makes them an undesirable neighbor?

Woman: No, not really. I have known so many colored people that are so nice, but like I say, *I think they have to learn to live the way we do, and take care of things.*

Wallace: How do people learn to live that way?

Woman: Out of hard work. We have worked very, very hard for what we have. We've been here thirty years and we didn't get anything for nothing. We worked very hard for what we have, and we're still working hard to maintain it.

Wallace: How would you feel, truly, if a colored family were to move in over there where the wash is hanging on the line?

Woman: Well, I don't know . . . I really couldn't say. I'd probably get along very good with them. If they leave me alone, I leave them alone. *I'd probably be afraid to go out at night* (She Laughs )

Wallace: *Afraid to go out at night?*

Woman: *On account of the colored people living around here.*

Wallace: *Do you mean—do you think they're a violent people?*

Woman: *Some of them are. There are some that really would be like that. And there are some good ones too. You really couldn't trust any of them.*

Young Boy: There are many good coloreds, and I worked with some of them and I like them, and I like this person that I said works at the lounge over there. But the ones that are going to march, I don't like, and I can't stand. I got no use for it.

\* \* \*

White Woman: *But I don't want to live with them.*

Wallace: *Why?*

White Woman: *Because I moved out of a neighborhood that was colored. I had to move. Everybody that lives with the colored has to move.*

Wallace: *Why?*

White Woman: *Because you're not safe walking the streets at night. You cannot leave the house.*

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CBS News Special Report "Civil Rights: The View from the South," July 12, 1966

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Mike Wallace: But how can you—how can there be a reconciliation in Mississippi unless the responsible civil rights leaders and the responsible leaders in the white community establish a dialogue as, for instance, they have in Arkansas, as they have in Louisiana? I'm certain that you want that as much as anybody——

Governor Johnson: We have a dialogue in our state. You have a dialogue between the Governor and any responsible Negro citizen of the State of Mississippi.

Mike Wallace: Who determines whether that citizen is responsible or not? The Governor?

Governor Johnson: I would, as you would, as to who would come and visit you at your home or at your office, but I would like to point out to you that *we have very very few, if any, real Negro leaders in the state who have taken a non-violent attitude.* Now, the one thing that we're going to insist on in our state——

Mike Wallace: *Certainly the N. A. A. C. P. has, Governor Johnson. Certainly they have, and certainly S. C. L. C.*

Governor Johnson: *No, they have not. They laid down in the middle of the highway. They chucked rocks, bottles, at people, down at Alcorn College, in the middle of the highway——*

Mike Wallace: *Without provocation, sir?*

Governor Johnson: *Yes. Without provocation, because they were—they were being led by a group who did, to a great extent, believe in violence.* If they had not, they would have had a group that they could—could control and would take orders, do as they said. Now, the people who come into my office are Negroes by the thousands. I have appointed on many commissions in my state outstanding Negroes who are serving on commissions and on boards now that pertain to education, that pertain to the food stamp program—

Mike Wallace: *But you won't sit down with the civil rights leaders, any of them, Aaron Henry, Charles Evers.*

Governor Johnson: *No. I don't, because I don't consider them as the responsible leaders of the Negro community in my state.*

\* \* \*

Mike Wallace: Black power in Mississippi, Governor Johnson?

Governor Johnson: Black power, of course, this phrase was begun in Mississippi about two weeks ago during this march. *This chant came from Negroes in this country who class themselves as civil rights leaders, who are—have shown great irresponsibility.* I think that the black power slogan that they have come out with certainly points up to the rest of the people of this country, both black and white, that what they would do, if they are irresponsible as citizens, what would they do if they had power? So this black power structure that you hear so very much about is more or less the chant of the irresponsible Negro and irresponsible white of this country.

Mike Wallace: They would say to you that the Negro is frustrated by his inability to crack the barriers of white power, the economic barriers, the political barriers, the

social barriers, and that really all they want to do is where they are in the majority have the right to control their own destiny, economically, politically. Isn't really that what—what black power means?

Governor Johnson: I don't think that that is what these people believe that black power means, because they are the irresponsible, violent-type persons in this country, and people, whether they are white or whether they are black——

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CBS Reports, "Murder and the Right to Bear Arms,"  
August 7, 1966

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*. . . This senseless killing of two policemen, which left six children fatherless, was committed, authorities say, by a man carrying a concealed weapon.* How he legally bought the gun and how he used it was traced by David Lowe of CBS NEWS.

Lowe: *In November 1963, Leaman Russell Smith, after serving a sentence for robbery, was conditionally released from Leavenworth Penitentiary in Kansas. Warden John C. Taylor said:*

Taylor: *Smith has lived a life of violence and, of course, he relies on weapons and the first thing he would think of when he gets out is to get a weapon so he could enforce his will, and Smith could have purchased a gun within thirty minutes after we released him if he had not been released in custody. There's no law in the city of Leavenworth or the State of Kansas to my knowledge that would prevent a prisoner being released from an institution walking in and buying the gun over the counter just like a pound of coffee.*

Lowe: A month later, on December 19th, in Flagstaff, Arizona, it is claimed the ex-convict, using an alias of Lawrence Parker, bought a gun in Andy's Liquor and Sporting Goods Store. Proprietor Andy Buntin recalls the sale.

Buntin: Well, to the best of my recollection, Mr. Lawrence Parker came in and wanted to buy a .38 snubnosed Smith & Wesson, which is this gun right here. They call this the airweight. It's a very light model of the .38-caliber gun.

Lowe: Could you tell me about the laws concerning the sale of pistols here?

Buntin: Well, anyone can buy a pistol but I have to register the pistol at the time he purchases it. By that I mean that I have to record the serial number and the man's name and address.

Lowe: You don't have to ask him if he's an ex-convict?

Buntin: No.

Lowe: You don't have to ask him any question whether or not he was in a mental institution?

Buntin: No.

Lowe: On the evening of February 1st, authorities charge that Smith, carrying the .38-caliber concealed weapon he bought in Flagstaff, Arizona, entered a Sears Roebuck store in Los Angeles. Reportedly, he tried to cash a fraudulent check. The cashier became suspicious. Approximately 8:21 P. M., police officers Endler, Monaghan and Jurman arrived. There were five shots and seconds later Officer Endler and Sergeant Monaghan were dead, Jurman wounded.

Police learned the suspect got out of Los Angeles on a freight train the night of the killing. The next day he was reported seen in Denver, Colorado and the Denver police broadcast an alarm.

Bulletin: . . . reportedly is always in possession of two .38-caliber revolvers, one of which he carries on the left front inside his trousers. Considered extremely dangerous.

\* \* \*

Maxwell: If you want to buy a gun, why, you could just go in and buy it. There's no—he could ask you questions, but you wouldn't necessarily have to tell him anything. You can buy a gun under any name you wanted to buy it under. *As I say, these people are in business to sell guns and they don't care whether they sell it to John Doe, or Joe Blow, or whatever the name is, as long as they get their money.*

Lowe: *Andy's Liquor and Sporting Goods Shop bought the weapon from Babbitt Brothers, a wholesaler in Flagstaff, who in turn purchased it from the manufacturer, Smith & Wesson in Springfield, Massachusetts.*

\* \* \*

Trout: Whether they are for a mentally ill woman in Virginia, a playful child in Texas, a juvenile delinquent in California or for a criminal in Illinois, millions of guns are available and easy to buy by mail or in stores.

The selling of guns by mail has become a multi-million dollar business. To reach buyers dealers use trade magazines, newspapers and catalogs. *One well-known dealer, the Service Armament Company in Ridgefield, New Jersey, issues a colorful inventory of items with advertising geared to entice the reader. The Persian Mauser Carbine is advertised to be "short, deadly and compact." The catalog says, "The Shah himself test-fired each gun." If you'd rather not trust the Shah, you can buy a Beretta automatic pistol advertised as "the choice of soldiers of fortune everywhere." A Nazi P-38 pistol sells for less than forty dollars, and ammunition to fit is available at five dollars a hundred rounds. For the man who wants something heavier there*

*is a goodly selection of machine guns. A German bazooka is available for twenty dollars. And for the man who has everything—an anti-tank gun. This handy item was recently purchased by two fun-loving young men from New Jersey, who hauled it to a hilltop and shot up a tractor a mile away. Inside the back cover of the catalog, the Service Armament Company warns: "Firearms and dangerous weapons not sold to minors; parents may order for them."*

\* \* \*

Trout: Last month near Wapella, Illinois, Treasury Agents seized a stockpile of weapons—enough to outfit a small army—including submachine guns, a flame thrower, aerial bombs, mortars, automatic pistols and rifles. Arrested was a one-time regional leader of the Minutemen.

*The Minutemen—a self-styled guerrilla force of extreme views—train with weapons for the day they fancy they will be called on to fight in the streets. Some members were filmed on maneuvers in another state. According to a recent ruling by the United States Attorney General's office: "There is no evidence that the Minutemen organization has violated any Federal laws."*

\* \* \*

Senator Ralph Yarborough: The opposition of the National Rifle Association of which I am a member and have long been a member is one of the main factors that's organized to fight this. I think they are utterly wrong. *I think they almost join the frenetic fringe in the type of lobbying they do.*

\* \* \*

CBS Reports, "Robert F. Kennedy," June 20, 1967

\* \* \*

Mudd: One of the obvious disadvantages is that most of the John Kennedy haters of the early sixties—some

Southerners, businessmen and conservative suburbanites—have now become the Bobby-haters of the late sixties. *And even some anti-Kennedy Democrats—such as maverick Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles—resent what they regard as the Senator's deliberate attempt to capitalize on the memory of John Kennedy.*

Mayor Samuel Yorty: *I think so. I think he's trying to ride on the—on the name of President John F. Kennedy and the good will that the people feel toward him, especially since he was a martyr, and I doubt very much if he could have been a Senator without his father's fortune and his brother's fame.*

\* \* \*

Mudd: Perhaps Kennedy's dissent is designed to establish himself as the alternative leader of the Democratic party. Whatever his motives, his dissent has broken the President's seeming ownership of every phase of Washington life. He has made the capital a two-man town. *Los Angeles Mayor Yorty has no doubt that every Kennedy move is calculated.*

Yorty: *I think he has this all figured out. His stand on the bombing does endear him to pacifists and the left wing, those who are dupes of the Communists, those who are Communists and some people who just, of course, have been misled and I think his feeling is that if the war ends well, that it will all be forgotten and if it doesn't end well, he could say, "Well, I told you so, we should have stopped the bombing."*

Mudd: *Sam Yorty, who was subjected to a rugged Senate interrogation by Kennedy after the Watts riots, is convinced of the fitness of the word most commonly applied to Robert Kennedy—the word "ruthless."*

But for members of the Senator's family, who claim they know him best, the word has an amusing ring.



(Mudd Talking to Senator Edward Kennedy:) But you're competitive and you have strong feelings, and I don't hear Edward Kennedy described as ruthless. What's the difference?

Edward Kennedy: Well, I suppose you couldn't have two ruthless brothers.

Mudd: *But it is no joke to those who harbor resentment at their treatment by Kennedy: The tv producer who got pushed too hard in the 1960 Wisconsin primary; the Democratic Senatorial candidate in Nebraska who got scorched because he couldn't pull the party together; the over-worked Justice Department lawyer during the Hoffa prosecution; the New York voter who still sees Kennedy as a power-grabbing carpetbagger. And it is no joke to those who have only read about Kennedy's reputation and who are eager to believe everything bad about him. The word "ruthless" was probably first applied to the Senator ten years ago when he was the combative, bird-dogging chief counsel for the Senate Rackets Committee; it gained currency during 1960 when he managed his brother's presidential campaign, and when his style came across to the old-line Democratic pols as too tough, too self-confident, too sophisticated.*

It became established in the early sixties when as Attorney-General he pursued the demons of segregation, racketeering, and price-rigging in a way many thought *too zealous*; and it was kept alive in 1964 when he switched allegiance from his native state of Massachusetts to New York simply because there was a political opening. Today the "ruthless" reputation is not any longer a matter of proof or disproof; it is, whether justified or not, a fact of life for Robert Kennedy, and there seems little he can do to change the minds of those who do not want their minds changed.

In listening to the next six persons, remember they are all talking about the same man.

Gore Vidal: *He's much too abrasive. He's much too rude.*

Pierre Salinger: He is terribly concerned about people around him. He is terribly concerned about people in general.

Mayor Yorty: *He's been built up with this almost idolatry around him and I guess he just feels that everybody should defer to what he wants and to accept his judgment on all problems.*

Edwin Guthman (Former RFK Assistant): I think it stems mostly from the fact that he's had the courage of his convictions, and the courage to do what he thinks was right and to take it head on, and so people who don't like what he's done have said, "Well, he's ruthless."

William Manchester: I would describe Bob as dedicated and loyal. *I would qualify that by saying that Bob believes so strongly in the ends he is pursuing, that he is not over scrupulous about the means that he employs.*

Joseph Dolan (RFK Administrative Assistant): He's a strong individual, in the sense of character and determination, but I don't think he's ruthless if that's—if that's what you mean. He's determined and persistent.

\*   \*   \*

Mudd: The Senator has three legislative assistants: 36-year-old Wendell Pigman, graduate of Cornell, Princeton, the Budget Bureau, the Space Agency, and the expert on science and natural resources.

Twenty-nine-year-old Peter Edelman, a graduate of Harvard Law, who clerked at the Supreme Court, and worked briefly for the Justice Department. Edelman does most of the research on poverty and labor legislation.

And Adam Walinsky, 30-year-old Yale School graduate, also up from the Justice Department, *known as brash and cocksure*, but undeniably talented. He works mainly on foreign affairs.

\* \* \*

Mayor Yorty: I think he's trying for the Presidential nomination, yes. I think he has tried to build his political image for 1968 or 1972. I think he's—he was trying to keep himself in the position of having alternatives, being flexible. I think he is—*he's almost insidiously clever about the way he figures the political possibilities*.

Pierre Salinger: Well, it's very hard, I suppose, for a person who is as much in the forefront in political life as he is—who is, for example, constantly pitted in polls against various candidates—not—I mean, the thought has got to—crosses his mind . . . but if you asked me whether I thought that every single deliberate act of his life was aimed at getting to the Presidency, I would say no, because I know—I've talked about this subject with him.

Gore Vidal: Yes I think he's consciously and deliberately running for President. How could he not? *He has this sense—this family sense that it is written in stars that they be first, and he's doing everything possible*. I think the signs of gloom that you get in some of his statements when he says—"How can you plan ahead—who knows if one is going to be alive"—I think that's quite sincere, but we all feel that if we are at all thoughtful. But you always act as though you will be alive and you make the movement toward what you want. What he wants is the Presidency.

\* \* \*

CBS Reports, "The New Left," September 12, 1967

\* \* \*

Stout: The Mississippi project more than doubled Negro voter registration from 25,000 to 68,000. But even

with that, the Negroes had no voice; so the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was formed. Fannie Lou Hamer, a leader in the voter project, explains.

Fannie Lou Hamer: We didn't have no other choice except being a Freedom Democratic Party because what had happened—we tried from the beginning, from the precinct level to go into the regular party. And after we wasn't accepted, we decided to have something of our own—not just for black people in Mississippi, but for white as well.

Stout: Bob Moses, Mrs. Hamer, and Aaron Henry led the Freedom Party delegates before the Credentials Committee of the Democratic National Convention, summer 1964, Atlantic City. Their demand to replace the segregated, all-white Mississippi delegation was a critical test of the values of American liberalism and it was posed, above all, in moral terms.

Aaron Henry: We don't think that there can be any compromise with what we consider a wrong position or a wrong element. We don't think that the Mississippi Democratic Party espouses the philosophy of the national Democratic Party and we think that we do. And we don't see why there should be any compromise between an issue that is involved in this much of being right or being wrong.

Stout: The settlement worked out by Hubert Humphrey with White House approval was a political compromise offering two seats to the Freedom Party, the rest to the segregationist delegates. To party politicians, it was just one more compromise needed to hold together hostile groups making up the Democratic coalition. But to members of the Movement, it was something else.

Fannie Lou Hamer: *But I think what happened to us in Atlantic City made people really aware that the government is not really with the people, for the people, by the*

*people but for a handful of folk. And the people don't have anything to say.*

*We were told there if we kept up what we was doing, that the Vice President wouldn't be nominated that night. And that's when I asked Mr. Humphrey: Was his position, one man, more important than black peoples' lives in Mississippi that was suffering through what they had gone through. And then after that, I wasn't allowed to go to no other meetings with the big, top leaders.*

Stout: In the literature of the New Left, Atlantic City is described as conclusive evidence that for the young radicals, liberalism could no longer serve as a vehicle for social reform. *The New Left's opinion of liberals was reinforced nearly three years later when Hubert Humphrey publicly embraced Lester Maddox who, before becoming Governor of Georgia, had waved a pistol and prescribed axe handles as the answer to demands for racial equality.*

Lester Maddox: Say, you customers, go get some more axe handles.

Stout: To the young radicals, black and white, who had been in Mississippi, Atlantic City was the turning point. It proved to them that they could trust no one over 30, certainly not on moral issues and especially not liberals.

In the fall of 1964, students of the New Left went back to the campus carrying with them some of the hard lessons of civil rights and political reality. They claimed the right to continue their political activity on campus and the moral clash of the summer now became a battle against bureaucracy.

Peter Paul and Mary (Singing): "How many roads must a man walk down before they call him a man . . ."

Stout: At the University of California in Berkeley, the square in front of the Student Union was traditionally open to speeches, discussion, and debate. Then without notice,

the University ordered a ban on all political recruiting and fund-raising in the square.

Peter Paul and Mary (Singing): "The answer is blowing in the wind . . ."

Stout: To students like Mario Savio, who had already been bruised in the civil rights battle, it was another move by the faceless bureaucrats to enforce their decisions without consulting those directly involved. But this time the students fought back. *Their Free Speech Movement quickly evolved into a larger indictment of the university as a knowledge-factory.*

Jack Weinberg: *This is mass production. No deviations from the norms are tolerated. Occasionally a few students get together and they decide that they are human beings. Some students get together and they decide that they are not willing to be products. They decide they're not willing to be another thing produced by the university.*

Policeman: Have you identified yourself? You would be disciplined by the Dean's Office. If you're not identifying yourself, we're arresting you because you must be an outsider.

Weinberg: What—what section?

Stout: The university said the state's authority to regulate political activity on state property could not be challenged. Three months of conflict between the students and the administration finally brought an announcement of concessions by President Clark Kerr.

\* \* \*

Stout: Carmichael's early definitions of black power seemed no different than the calls for Irish, Polish, or Italian power that resulted in ethnic bloc voting in the cities.

Carmichael: Black power is not just a mere slogan nationally or internationally. It is real that black people can come together and start determining for their lives how

they're going to live and controlling their economic and political lives.

Stout: *But the scare-headline potential of black power proved irresistible both to Carmichael and to reporters.* They prodded him repeatedly to redefine black power closer to terms of the defensive violence he advocated to Negroes when they were attacked.

Mike Wallace: Then you're saying, "Fight violence with violence?"

Carmichael: I am saying that we must build a movement of black people that will protect ourselves so that we are willing to stop that by any means necessary. Now I'm not concerned about the question of violence. It seems to me that that will depend upon how, in fact, white people respond.

Stout: Carmichael has been touring Communist nations. The deepening Negro radicalism is seen also in the Black Panthers' armed march on the California Capitol as well as in RAM, the pro-Chinese Revolutionary Action Movement. The increasing identification of the U. S. Negro with the plight of colonial colored peoples climaxed with SNCC support of the Arabs against Israel. *The most violent extremism has been urged by the new head of SNCC, Rap Brown, who has been charged with inciting to riot.*

Rap Brown: We stand on the eve of a black revolution, brothers. Masses of our people are in the streets. They're fighting tit for tat, tooth for tooth, eye for an eye, and a life for a life. The rebellions that we see are merely dress rehearsals for the revolution that's to come. We'd better get ourselves some guns and prepare ourselves.

Stout: But many Negroes feel that Brown, Carmichael, and SNCC, are only scapegoats to absorb official anger and frustration.

\* \* \*

Stout: *The Newark Democratic city administration generally ignored the SDS organizers, except to brand them troublemakers.* Far bigger trouble erupted the night of July 12th of this year. We talked to Hayden three weeks before the riots. His awareness of what could happen was coupled with a sense of inevitability.

Hayden: If things are as bad as we think they are, if the schools in Newark where I live are, in fact, on the average 75 years old, if unemployment is 15 per cent, if all these problems exist, then you have to ask yourself the question: Why have the leaders not been able to do something about this and are the leaders the people to organize if you want to make change?

*The War on Poverty may have had decent Democratic intentions at some point, but has turned out to be a very serious fraud.* And it is not stopping racial violence at all, but encouraging it because *it's one more promise that's not being kept by the Federal Government.* So I would say it is—it is an attempt to—an artificial attempt to restore law and order to a situation that is basically unjust and until you deal with the injustice in the situation, you won't be able to have any peace.

Stout: While civil rights and social justice for the poor had been the main causes engaging the young radicals, the steadily escalating war in Vietnam soon became the overriding issue. Indeed, it joined all the scattered elements of the New Left and it drew in from the outside many people, including some of the liberals whom the radicals blame for starting the war.

Student Demonstrators: Go. Go. Go.

Stout: Again student dissent first brought the issue to the attention of the country. Young people from the Berkeley campus tried to stop troop trains and marched on the Oakland port of embarkation to protest the war. It was



the start of a series of protests culminating in New York and San Francisco last April 15th.

Phil Ochs (Singing): "Now the labor leader's screaming/when they close the missile plant/United Fruit screams at the Cuban shore/Call it peace or call it treason/Call it love or call it reason/But I ain't a-marching any more. No, I ain't a-marching any more."

\* \* \*

Stout: But the general distrust felt by the New Left for all shades of liberalism includes the Senator.

SDS Member: Kennedys and Hatfields are not the vehicle. Now what we don't have—"the ideology" yet. I think we have learned from experience that perhaps committees for new politics, perhaps third party movements are what are necessary in this country, and that if it takes us 10 to 15 years to build a constituency, perhaps it's worth it. But if we, in a sense, transfer our allegiances to Kennedy, as many have suggested, where are we to go from there? Once Kennedy has co-opted us, in a sense, and told us about "his new Frontier," what's to prevent him from pulling off another Guatemala or another Cuba?

Stout: *That kind of suspicion among the young has been fed by two exposés in the San Francisco magazine, "Ramparts"—one about Michigan State University's role in building a secret police force for the Diem regime in Vietnam, the other revealing the C. I. A.'s penetration of student organizations.* "Ramparts" editor-in-chief, Warren Hinckle.

Warren Hinckle: *The central point about the C. I. A. which its—its defenders just will not discuss, is that the C. I. A. is out of hand.* It is, you know, not only the worst example of Parkinson's Law, but it's—it's the most rambling, well-fed bureaucracy in America today. It has

essentially no congressional controls on it, on how its money is spent, on what it does. Take that criticism for whatever you may—that you shouldn't expose those sort of things—but you notice that the President and the leaders of Congress jumped as soon as we exposed that thing and had a commission and reported three weeks later this was a bad thing to do and that they were going to stop it.

Stout: If the young radicals are suspicious of the liberal Establishment, they are frankly bored by communism.

Tom Hayden: Communism as a force domestically in this country is virtually non-existent. *The traditional Communist Party in this country in my own view—and I'm speaking here primarily as an individual—has really adjusted itself, accommodated itself to the—to the American way of life too deeply to be considered radical or revolutionary.*

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IN THE  
**United States Court of Appeals**  
FOR THE SEVENTH CIRCUIT

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**No. 16,498**

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<p>COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC., <i>Petitioner,</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>vs.</i></p> <p>UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, and FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION, <i>Respondents.</i></p>	}	<p>Petition for review of an order of the Federal Communications Commission</p>
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**SUPPLEMENTAL EXHIBIT TO REPLY BRIEF FOR  
PETITIONER COLUMBIA BROADCASTING  
SYSTEM, INC.**

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## NOTE

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Collected below (pp. 1-54) are examples of news documentary programs which would be subject to the Commission's revised personal attack rules. Statements in these programs which are at least arguably "personal attacks" have been italicized. We are setting forth the entire scripts for these examples of news documentary programs in support of the contention in Point II (1) (a) of our reply brief that the Commission's revised rules will make it impractical to produce programs of this type.

Also printed in this Supplemental Exhibit (pp. 55-74) is the full script of a *Face the Nation* interview with Representative-elect Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Again we have italicized those statements which are at least arguably "personal attacks." We have set forth the script of this interview in support of our contention (reply brief Point III) that, while this interview is exempt from the personal attack rules, the Commission's new fairness doctrine obligation for exempt programs will inhibit discussion of controversial issues in such programs.

**CBS REPORTS,**  
**“Ku Klux Klan: The Invisible Empire”**  
**September 21, 1965**

KURALT: The driver of this car was Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, mother of five children. Twenty miles from Selma, Alabama, on Route 80, a red and white sedan overtook her car. Several shots were fired. The driverless car veered off the highway and came to a stop at a cattle fence. Mrs. Liuzzo was dead. *Arrested and charged with murder were three alleged members of the Ku Klux Klan.* One was tried and the jury was unable to reach a verdict.

This is an earthen dam, the temporary grave of three civil rights workers, two white, one Negro—Mickey Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney—beaten and shot to death. *Among those indicted for this triple slaying were six men identified as members of the Ku Klux Klan.* None has been brought to trial.

In this automobile, Reserve Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel Penn was killed by a shotgun blast while riding through Colbert, Georgia. *Arrested for this crime were four Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.* Two Klansmen were tried and acquitted.

*In a few short months: five murders, thirteen alleged members of the Ku Klux Klan said to be involved in the killings.*

ATTORNEY GENERAL RICHMOND FLOWERS OF ALABAMA: When such an order as this moves in and takes over the police power, you are completely at their mercy, *and their atrocities and their violence* can be visited on anybody that disagrees with them in any given situation.

KURALT: *What started as a joke a hundred years ago when a group of men donned bedsheets for a romp has over the years attracted to it persons charged with acts of harassment, intimidation and violence throughout the South. Even though the nation has been outraged for many years, the Ku Klux Klan persists with its bizarre ritual and trappings. But a hundred years is a long time for a joke.*

ANNOUNCER: CBS REPORTS presents "The Ku Klux Klan—The Invisible Empire." Here is CBS NEWS Correspondent Charles Kuralt.

KURALT: Good evening. The Ku Klux Klan is a secret organization which, for one hundred years, has been allowed to exist in this country. Virtually every president of the United States in the past century has said *the Klan has little regard for constituted authority. President Johnson, following the murder of Mrs. Liuzzo in Alabama, defined the Ku Klux Klan, as a "hooded society of bigots" and warned Klansmen to get out of the Klan and return to a decent society before it is too late.*

After the President's warning, the House Un-American Activities Committee started a full-scale investigation of the Klan and open hearings are scheduled for next month. The hearings will present witnesses—not only Klansmen but also victims of Klan activity. However, the Committee will not attempt to show the Klan in action. For the next hour, we will take a close look at the Ku Klux Klan from the inside out—examine its leadership, its ritual, its secret initiation, *its record of violence*. First, let us look at Klansmen without their robes.

It is Sunday, the morning after a Ku Klux Klan meeting in Durham, North Carolina. These men are members of the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, one of the most exclusive organizations in America.

*It excludes many Protestants, all Roman Catholics, Jews, Negroes, Spanish Americans, Puerto Ricans and anyone else who, according to the Ku Klux Klan, is not 100 per cent pure American.*

J. ROBERT JONES: I don't hate niggers, man. I don't—I don't—I don't associate with niggers. But on the other hand, I don't associate with common white trash or Jews or Catholics if I can help it.

KURALT: This is the Grand Dragon of the North Carolina realm of the United Klans, J. Robert Jones. Former sailor, bricklayer, lightning-rod salesman, he now reportedly rules over more than 50 Klaverns or chapters and their 7,000 dues-paying members.

JONES: I think the nigger has rights in this country. He should have equal rights, but separate rights. It's worked for a hundred years in the South and I think it will work now. But if you was the nicest fellow in the world and Lyndon Johnson said I had to associate with you every day, I'd tell Lyndon Johnson to go straight to hell because I would not associate with you.

KURALT: This is the Grand Klonsel, the late Matt Murphy, who until his recent death was chief legal counsel of the United Klans. His favorite targets were the Negroes, the Jews, the Federal Reserve System and international bankers.

MURPHY: I had made speeches before the United Klans of America and they were the only organization that ever went on record, after I had talked for two solid hours, *on the viciousness of the Federal Reserve Corporation and how it has bilked the taxpayers and the American citizens out of all their money* and that Great Britain has removed the bank from the international bankers and their bank is back under the Crown.

KURALT: This is a Night-hawk of the United Klans in North Carolina. A Night-hawk is responsible for the security of a Klavern.

REPORTER: Why did you join the Klan?

NIGHT-HAWK: Well, I've got a wife, five kids, and I think that's enough reason. I want them to be—have a country to raise, be raised up in like I was. I wasn't forced to go to school with niggers. I wasn't forced to eat with them. And I want them to have at least the right that I had.

KURALT: This is Mr. Outlaw. Wherever Jones goes, Mr. Outlaw, the Grand Klexter or guard, is at his side. In the group are *the three defendants indicted for the killing of Mrs. Liuzzo: Eugene Thomas, William Eaton, and Collie Leroy Wilkins*. These men had little to say. They preferred listening to their counsel, Matt Murphy, Jr.

MURPHY: *I read in my history books that the Negro man, the Negro race was an inferior race. And that was the history that was taught me when I was in school. And that hasn't been too long ago.*

JONES: *They always have been. They always will be.*

REPORTER: *Well, where do you think the money is coming from behind the civil rights movement?*

JONES: *From the Communist party. From the Zionist, Christ-killing Jews. And I say Christ-killing Jews because they have not been affluent since they—since they crucified Christ and their relatives can be traced back to the ones that's running in the streets today.*

REPORTER: What about the role of the Catholics in this, Mr. Jones?

JONES: *The reason the Catholic cannot get in this organization, his first allegiance is not to the United States of*



*America, his first allegiance is to the Pope. They believe that the Church should rule the government with the Pope at the head. And if they're right, there's a bunch of people in this country who are wrong.*

Let me say this. We have never had a drop of blood spilled between a white man and a black one in any town in North Carolina that we have the Klan organized. And we're doing our best to keep down trouble. But my people are—everybody in this country is organized with the exception of the white Protestant gentile. Your niggers have your Knights—your NAACP and CORE, along with your sorry white trash. You've got B'nai B'rith for your Jewish people. Your Knights of Columbus, which is a secret fraternal order, as they say, and nobody's ever talked about investigating that, which they should in here. But the white Protestant gentile, the only hope and the only salvation that they have left in this United States today, is the United Klans of America, Incorporated. We've saved the South twice—or the Klan has—and it looks like we're going to just have to do it again.

KURALT: One important Ku Klux Klan official was not at this meeting, the Klan Kludd or chaplain. But there was a Kludd in action the night before.

ROY WOODLE: You got a bunch of people standing right over here with their cameras and their news things. Half of them ain't got enough backbone to get them a job and go to work, but there's might be some good ones in the crowd. I want to tell you fellers—I, I'm just telling you, you fellows right over here—they'll print half of the story. They ain't got enough backbone to tell the truth. So anybody that lies with the devil, you're going to die and go to hell without God. If all you F.B.I. agents want to check the Klan and investigate them, I live on 209 Mendota Avenue, Lexington, North Carolina, and my name is Roy Woodle and I'm not ashamed to be a Klansman. Amen.

KURALT: *This is the Klan Kludd in action, the preacher, evangelist, the hell-fire speaker, the rabble-rouser. He entertains with a mixture of comedy and Christianity, but above all, he preaches racial hatred.*

WOODLE: Now do you think the children is brought up to mix the black and white together? Do you know your horse won't mix with your cow, your dog won't mix with your hog? And you tell me white people has got a mind and can't think no clearer than that? Listen, friend, we need to turn to God. We need to wake up with God. We had forefathers died to give us freedom. Our forefathers walked barefooted in the snow and fought and died to give us freedom. *And now here we sit back because we got a dictator in the White House a-dictating* and you sending your money down now to pay it and ain't willing to stand up and be counted like a man or a woman. It takes a man to stand and be a man. *Anybody can go down to niggertown and commit adultery with a nigger*, but it takes a Christian, a man to stand for God.

Let me call you farmers to attention to a few things. You've raised hogs and you know when those hogs has a gang of little pigs, she'll try to protect them. You'll know the dog. When they have a gang of pups, they'll try to protect them. And you tell me you got a gang of white children running around in your yard and you're going to stand by and see them sold out to a bunch of niggers. God help you to wake up and try to do what God will have you do. Protect your own. Act like a decent person. And then if you don't want to do that, don't be a half-hazard hypocrite, don't be one-sided, go into niggertown and forget about it.

KURALT: The Klan was born a hundred years ago in Pulaski, Tennessee, as a six-member social club. But six years later, the Klan had a half a million members and the

burning cross, the Klan trademark, become a symbol of the violence it used to keep the newly freed Negroes in their place.

In 1915, D. W. Griffith produced and directed what has been called the first great feature-length motion picture, "The Birth of a Nation," whose subject was the Ku Klux Klan. Today this film, made 50 years ago, is still shown to Klansmen as the classic example of what other generations of Southerners did to protect white supremacy. These are some scenes from "The Birth of a Nation."

A chance witnessing of two white children under a bed-sheet scaring a group of Negro children is depicted as the birth of the idea for the Klan. The idea is successful. Robed and masked Klansmen are able to frighten the Negroes. In a fight, the Negro sought for scaring a white girl and causing her to jump from a cliff to her death kills a white man. Captured, the killer is taken into the woods and put on trial. The Klan passes judgment. The culprit is killed and his body deposited at the door of the Lieutenant Governor.

In the same year "The Birth of a Nation" was first released, a new leader rose to head the Klan. William Joseph Simmons, one-time salesman of ladies' garters, in this rare newsreel film leads his followers up Stone Mountain in Georgia for the first initiation ceremony of the reincarnated Klan. Simmons added something new to the Klan uniform—a stylized face mask, which he alone could wear. He also insisted the Klan operate in total secrecy. The Klan's sinister power grew as new recruits joined, some through coercion, and its clandestine activities increased. In the first fourteen months after World War I, seventy Negroes were lynched, fourteen burned.

In 1922, Imperial Wizard Simmons could not overcome intra-Klan difficulties and was replaced by a dentist from

Dallas, Dr. Hiram Evans, who inherited a depleted treasury from Simmons as well as his title of Imperial Wizard. In 1923, Evans established headquarters in Washington to be closer to Congress, the Klan's next target.

The Klan was so powerful in Oregon in 1923 that it was able to elect the President of the State Senate and the Speaker of the House. In Ohio, Klan-supported candidates became mayors of Toledo, Akron, Columbus, and other cities. At the National Democratic convention in New York in 1924, it is estimated that at least 350 delegates were Klansmen and they were responsible for the defeat of Governor Alfred Smith as the Democratic nominee.

By 1925 the Ku Klux Klan was big business. Almost six million Americans now belonged to the Klan and the organization was grossing \$75 million a year. Some 40,000 Klansmen and Klanswomen crowded into Washington on August 8, 1925 to parade down Pennsylvania Avenue. To help the Klan coffers, a flag was used to catch money thrown in by spectators.

In the 1920's, the Imperial Wizard of Indiana, David C. Stephenson, was indicted on charges of assault and battery, rape, mayhem, kidnapping and murder, and found guilty. This scandal caused a sharp drop in Klan membership.

In 1940 there was a mild flirtation between the German-American Bund, the believers in the master race, and the Ku Klux Klan, the believers in the supremacy of the white race. They joined up in a rally at Camp Nordland, New Jersey. *Twenty-five years later there is evidence that Klan-Nazi friendship is being revived. This year in Houston, Texas, Jerald Walraven, claiming membership in the United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was interviewed by Radio Station KTRH and was paid by check for his appearance. When the cancelled check was returned to the radio*

*station, it had been endorsed by Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party, with a swastika stamped beneath his signature.*

In 1944 Imperial Wizard Dr. James H. Colescott received a bill from the U. S. Collector of Internal Revenue for \$685,000 for the Klan's back taxes. Unable to pay, Dr. Colescott disbanded the Klan. But four years later, Colescott's former partner, Dr. Samuel Green, reactivated the Klan and many new converts were initiated into Klandom, motivated by a desire to keep the Negro in his place. At a rally in Macon, Georgia, Imperial Wizard Green defended the new Klan.

GREEN: We don't hate the Negro. God made him black and He made us white and you will find this laid out in the Eleventh Chapter of Genesis, in which He segregated the races. And we, knowing that for 5,000 years the white man has been the supreme race, we, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, intend to keep it the white race.

KURALT: Today the organization differs from the past in that Klansmen are willing to appear in their robes and hoods in daylight. With the advent of the civil rights struggle, the Klan has become more militant. Some groups have para-military units, such as this one in North Carolina. Grand Dragon Jones' security guards are trained to take care of anything that might happen at Klan rallies.

The Klan also sponsors softball teams. Since softball can't be played in robes, KKK letters appear on the uniform to remind the spectators that this team is made up of 100 per cent pure white American Protestant ball players.

Sometimes Klansmen engage in more bizarre sport. *The letters KKK were carved with a pen knife on the chest and stomach of this man in Houston, Texas after he had been hanged by his knees from an oak tree and flogged with a chain.*

The Attorney General of Alabama, Richmond Flowers, who is currently investigating the Ku Klux Klan in his state, told us:

FLOWERS: *The Klan to me is a group primarily of thugs that would use the civil rights issue to foster an organization or a Klan, as they are, and will take the law into their own hands. They have become more or less—more or less their own police power. They are a police group within themselves, dedicated to defiance of law and violence. They are, as I have expressed it before, they are a hooded bunch of killers and night riders and floggers that this nation and this state has no use for whatsoever.*

KURALT: The strength of the Ku Klux Klan is difficult to estimate. Among its many secrets is the actual membership total. Students of Klan affairs say there are at least 30,000 to 50,000 active members. But there are probably as many as a million or more Americans who are strongly sympathetic to the aims of the Klan and who, if pushed to a decision, would join the Klan. When a 100 per cent pure white American citizen applies for membership, his application is carefully checked. If accepted, he can then leave what the Klan calls the "alien world" and become a member of The Invisible Empire.

For the first time in Klan history, CBS NEWS cameras filmed part of a secret initiation ceremony at a Klavern in Georgia. Filming had to be done with available light and the only parts of the ritual we could not film were the secret handshake, the password by which Klansmen identify themselves to each other, and the secret oath of allegiance to the Imperial Authority of the Klan. This is the ceremony we filmed.

KLANSMEN: For my country and my Klan, our fellow Klansmen and our home, I pledge allegiance to the flag of

the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

KURALT: Five initiates appeared before an Exalted Cyclops, a Klokard, Kludd, and Kligrapp, corresponding to a president, lecturer, chaplain, and secretary. The men were presented by the Klokard and they had been checked out by the Klokann or investigating committee.

On a makeshift altar before an electrified cross are placed a sword, representing ancestral courage, and a flag, the emblem of pure patriotism. An open Bible is laid on the flag. A glass of water, which is used to consecrate the initiates, completes the symbolic array. A Klarogo or inner guard sits at the door. On the other side is a Klexter or outer guard. The Klokard and two assistants report to the Exalted Cyclops.

KLOKARD: Your Excellency, sir, five men in waiting have equally and duly qualified in our Klavern during and through the mysticating quest for citizenship in The Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

CYCLOPS: Faithful Klokard, you and your assistants will resume your stations.

KLOKARD: We have, your honor. Follow me and be proven.

KLAROGO: Forward march. Halt. You will stand in silence and take heed to a Klansman's prayer.

KLUDD: God, give us Men! . . .

Men who can stand before a demagogue  
And damn his treacherous flattery . . .  
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog  
In public duty and in private thinking;

For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn  
creeds,  
Their large professions and their little deeds,  
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,  
Wrong rules the land and waiting justice sleeps.  
God, give us Men!

NIGHT-HAWK: Right face. Halt. Left face. Left face.

KURALT: This is the "eyes of scrutiny" part of the initiation ceremony. Klan members pass by the initiates for one last searching look.

CYCLOPS: You may pass on.

NIGHT-HAWK: Right face. Forward march.

KURALT: In this room the initiates swear allegiance to the Klan above all things. The secrecy and ritual of these meetings, which seem almost laughable to the outsider, have a grimly serious purpose. Because of its secrecy, the Klan can hold sway over a community. When men are initiated into Klandom, in rituals such as this one, their neighbors will not know they have become Klansmen. If some of the initiates are policemen or sheriffs' deputies, their fellow officers will not know. If they are jurors, their fellow jurors will not know. Under the cloak of this secrecy, the Klan can take over positions of influence and power.

KLUDD: I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God that you present your body as a living sacrifice. Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind that you may prove what is that good and acceptable in perfect will of God. We recognize our relations to the Government of the United States of America, the supremacy of its Constitution, the Union of States thereon, and the Constitutional laws thereof. And we shall ever be true and faithfully maintain



white supremacy and will strenuously oppose any compromise thereof in any and all things. Are you a native-born, white, gentile, American citizen?

INITIATES: Yes.

KLUDD: Do you believe in the tenets of the Christian religion?

INITIATES: Yes.

KLUDD: Do you esteem the United States of America and its institutions above any other government, civil, political or ecclesiastical in the whole world?

INITIATES: Yes.

CYCLOPS: Kneel on your right knee. Klansmen, one and all, let us pray. Sirs, you may now rise. Sirs, you are no longer aliens or strangers among us, but are citizens with us. And assuming that you haven't foresworn falsely or deceitfully in assuming your oath and now on behalf of all Klansmen assembled, welcome you to citizenship in The Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

KURALT: The five new Klansmen are no longer part of the "alien world." Now they are members of The Invisible Empire, entitled to wear the robe and the hood, the proud possessors of the secret handshake and the secret password. And now they can attend Klavern meetings and Klan rallies, such as this one in Dunn, North Carolina.

A Klan rally has many elements of a carnival. It's an outing for the family. Children start attending these outdoor meetings at an early age. Robes for the youngsters are made by mothers and follow the pattern of adult robes. Rallies always have entertainers and their material is Klan-tailored for the audience. This entertainer recites a poem:

KLANSWOMAN: "The Saddest Story Ever Told."

*When a white girl marries a Negro,  
Her sun of light goes down  
And glaring spots of sin  
Appear on her wedding gown.*

And white and black men stand aghast  
While viewing this strange role  
And mutter, "They will wreck themselves  
And damn each other's soul."

Three days and nights she felt black lips  
Pressed smug against her own  
And on the fourth her troubled soul  
Let out a frightened groan.

And so I stagger through my days  
Far from God's love and grace,  
Till now I know no black man lives  
Can take a white man's place.

Thank you.

KURALT: The featured speaker is usually a well-known personality. At this rally it was the late Matt Murphy, Jr., Imperial Klonsel or chief legal counsel of the United Klans.

MURPHY: And I'll tell you this, and go to your Congressman, ask him what to do, and tell him what to do because they're about to pass a bill up there that if you strike a civil rights worker, it's a federal offense and they'll haul you before a federal court and take you to the most favorable county they can find and cut your head off if they can. And when I say cut your head off, I mean they'll send you to the federal penitentiary. That's the way they're doing it. That's the way they call the shots. So for God's sake, get

your Congressman and if he doesn't do it, elect somebody that will fight such a bill as that.

KURALT: As extra added attraction, Matt Murphy introduced *the three men indicted for the murder of civil rights worker, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo.*

MURPHY: *Mr. W. O. Eaton. Mr. Eugene Thomas. And the boy who stood under the battle guns, Collie Leroy Wilkins.*

KURALT: And befitting the occasion of a Ku Klux Klan rally, the three men were beseiged by autograph hunters and they willingly obliged.

Klan members accused of crimes must be defended. Their Klonsels or attorneys must be paid. In addition, money is required for operating expenses and leaders' salaries, which run as high as \$1,500 a month. The Invisible Empire needs a treasury. But where the money comes from and how much is a secret. What is known is that initiation fees are between \$10 and \$25 and yearly dues for assessments range from \$3 to \$15. A conservative estimate is that the Klan is a million-dollar-a-year enterprise. The money comes from initiation fees, dues, robe and hood sales, individual contributions, and from what can be raised by a Klan Kludd at a rally.

KLUDD: There might be a businessman that's prosperous and you can afford to give a thousand. You can afford to pay one of the men's salary. There might be a businessman. There is. There may be some company that can write a check for one man's year's salary to do nothing but set up units throughout North Carolina. Whatever you have. \$10, \$5, walk down with it. Will you do that? Is there others? You know, we ought to be able tonight, we ought tonight to be able to come way on up the ladder. We're going to

count this just as soon as I leave the platform and let you know how much there is.

KURALT: The men and women in robes receive torches and the parade around the Kuklos or circle begins. What you are watching—700 robed and hooded men marching around a burning cross—took place in the United States in 1965.

ANNOUNCER: CBS REPORTS: "The Ku Klux Klan—The Invisible Empire" will continue in a moment.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

ANNOUNCER: CBS REPORTS: "The Ku Klux Klan—The Invisible Empire" continues.

KURALT: Klan leaders are sensitive about the reputation the Klan has for intimidation and violence. In an attempt to erase this image, they have adopted a new policy which, in effect, says: "Look at us. We are a fraternal organization. We have nothing to hide." Imperial Wizards and Grand Dragons no longer avoid the press. Klan leaders sport crew cuts, button-down collars and well-tailored suits. The most publicized and best-organized Klan leader is Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton of the United Klans, Knights of the KKK. Shelton spends much of his time in his Tuscaloosa, Alabama office, constantly listening to tape recordings of Martin Luther King, Jr. while he examines pictures of civil rights demonstrators. Those he can identify are circled and filed. Shelton explains why.

ROBERT SHELTON: We have a division in our organization called the K.B.I., the Klan Bureau of Investigation. And I might add, it is pretty effective. We are able to uncover a lot of evidence that other departments might miss.

KURALT: It is estimated that Imperial Wizard Shelton is the highest-paid officer in Klandom. He has a private airplane, a limousine, and he travels constantly. As Imperial Wizard, Shelton has several Grand Dragons or State Governors under his command: Grand Dragon of the Georgia realm, Calvin Craig; Grand Dragon of South Carolina, Robert Scoggins; Grand Dragon of Mississippi, E. L. McDaniel; Florida's Grand Dragon, Don Cothran; Grand Dragon of Tennessee, Raymond Anderson.

*Klan leaders constantly preach race hatred. Every Klan speaker warns against mongrelization of the races. And hearing this theme of white supremacy repeated over and over again, some Klan members come to believe their status is threatened and commit acts of violence. Immediately Klan officials deny responsibility for the criminal acts of their members. In rare cases in which Klansmen are arrested, the leaders even deny these men are members of their group.*

*Yet it is known that there are approximately 5,000 hardcore members of the Klan who are obsessed and fanatical—fanatical enough to set fires, bomb, dynamite, and even kill. The question is : How can Klan leaders avoid responsibility for violence when they themselves repeatedly whip up their members to action? Go to any Klan meeting, this is what you'll hear :*

KLANSMAN: White man, is this your country or does it belong to the niggers?

VOICE: White man.

JAMES VENABLE: If you want your daughter, your son to marry a nigger, hold up your hand and let me look you in the eyes, if you're a white man or a white woman in this great nation there.

ROBERT CREEL: "We're on the move." That's what the Negroes are hollering. "We're on the move. We're on the

go. We're going to run the white people down. We're going to kick them in the teeth. We going to take our place in society." I got news for nigger, for you niggers. We're on the move too. I don't believe in segregation. I believe in slavery.

KURALT: *The Klan says it does not advocate intimidation, harassment or violence, that it is a peaceful organization. Let us take a look at some proven Klan activities.*

*In the small community of Gray, Georgia, the only movie theater in town permitted Negroes to sit in the balcony. The Klan decided this was not a healthy thing for the white people and every Friday night, 50 carloads of robed Klansmen circled the theater. Today the movie house in Gray Georgia is closed, a victory for the Klan.*

*Further examples of Klan intimidation were uncovered in an injunction lawsuit in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. The hearings revealed that in Bogalusa, Louisiana, sometimes called Klantown, U. S. A., some of the city's estimated 1,000 Klan members were auxiliary policemen. The City Attorney, who is responsible for prosecuting charges against Klansmen arrested for violence against civil rights workers, was himself identified as a Klansman.*

*The powerful Bogalusa Klan moved this year against Radio Station WBOX, whose owner was one of a group which invited former Arkansas Congressman Brooks Hays to make a speech in Bogalusa on race relations. Klansmen made hundreds of anonymous phone calls to the station's sponsors. The effect was immediate; 75 per cent of the commercials were cancelled. WBOX is still broadcasting, but at a loss.*

*Although the Klan says it has respect for law and order, there are records of countless crimes which some Klansmen performed for reasons they deemed proper.*

*Judge Daniel Duke, who has fought the Klan for 25 years in Georgia, tells how the Klan administered its own kind of justice.*

DANIEL DUKE: *They'd have a—the Klokann Committee, the committee that administered the floggings. One would get on one side of this man, who was doubled up with his wrist handcuffed to his ankles, who had been taken from his home, he thought by a legal warrant, and who had, unknown to him, been reported by someone to be a labor organizer. And they equated that to communism. And then they equated that to race-mixing. And they would usually equate that to say some Jewish person was back of it and a multiplicity of things—anything that appealed to hate, prejudice. They'd take this man and they would beat him unmercifully.*

KURALT: *The Ku Klux Klan does not stop at floggings. Eight years ago in Birmingham, Alabama, a group of Klansmen committed the most heinous crime short of murder. As a warning to civil rights leaders, they abducted this man and castrated him.*

MAN: *They hit me in the back of the head and told me to lay down and they all grabbed me and stretched me out. One stood on this arm and one stood on this one and one caught my leg and spread it apart. Then he got help from the other one and they spread my leg apart. The boss ordered him to “do your work” and they went to cutting on me. When they got through cutting me, they put turpentine on me and said I wouldn't holler—put turpentine on to make it hurt more. I don't believe they're human.*

KURALT: *But not only individuals suffer at the hands of the Klan. Sometimes whole cities are victims. In one large city, there is evidence that Klan-inspired violence touched off one of the most vicious racial riots in recent history.*

*The place was St. Augustine, Florida. This Klansman was primarily responsible for what happened. Reverend Connie Lynch is probably the most effective rabble-rouser and preacher of bigotry the Klan has to offer.*

LYNCH: *Most people would kill you if you put a Jersey bull in among their white-faced Herefords. They'd shoot you. But to tell me that I don't even have the right to fight to protect the white race . . . let these black bucks come in. They said it was going to be settled in the bedroom. Well, I got some news for them. There may be some bedroom cases all right. But when the smoke clears away, there won't be no bedroom cases.*

KURALT: *Little Rock, Oxford, Birmingham, Albany, Georgia, Bogalusa, Louisiana—Connie Lynch was there. And when racial violence was predicted for St. Augustine, Florida, Connie Lynch went there too. Negroes were trying to integrate the bathing beaches and the Florida Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission warned that the city was becoming a racial "super bomb" with a "short fuse."*

WOMAN: When the police stand up on the corners and hit the white fellers in the stomach with the blackjacks for standing on the corners and the white people going to march through and take it.

KURALT: The tempo of violence increased rapidly in St. Augustine. The Klan paraded in the streets, unmindful of the rain.

LYNCH: And I'll say this to the stooges that want to take this back to the enemy camp, to the niggers and all their cohorts, that we white people are going to rise up a hundred and forty million strong and . . .



KURALT: *On the night of June 25, 1964, the fuse burned down and the racial bomb exploded. St. Augustine was the scene of a frightening riot. Scores of people were injured, 19 hospitalized. Connie Lynch had done his work.*

LYNCH: *I spoke for the white people. The white people rallied behind it and we kicked the living hell out of the niggers, sent the out-of-town niggers to the hospital and out of the state back to their own home towns where they ought to have been, and the niggers in St. Augustine got quiet and went back over to niggertown where they belong.*

KURALT: These examples of Ku Klux Klan activity are not unusual. For the past 100 years, The Invisible Empire, this self-proclaimed second national government, has reserved to itself police authority and the right to correct what it considers wrong. Although some Klansmen have been apprehended and tried for their crimes, *the fact remains that the perpetrators of more than 225 bombings and 1,000 acts of racial violence, reprisal and intimidation in the last ten years have not been arrested. The problem is that law enforcement itself is often in the hands of authorities who either belong to or sympathize with the Ku Klux Klan.* The publisher of *The Atlanta Constitution*, Ralph McGill, explains why citizens are powerless to protest in such situations.

McGILL: In the small community you too often find that the sheriff is a member or that the deputies are members. *And the poor white man, or more particularly the poor Negro in a small community, he well knows that he has no protection at all. The law isn't going to help him because the law is, more often than not, in the Klan or sympathetic with it in the small Southern community.*

KURALT: The Grand Dragon of Georgia, Calvin Craig, confirmed that law enforcement officers are Klansmen.

CRAIG: We have policemen. We have sheriffs. We have farmers. We have mechanics. And myself, I'm an operating engineer.

KURALT: *One law enforcement officer sympathetic to the Klan, Sheriff Lawrence Rainey of Neshoba County, Mississippi, was charged in the death of civil rights workers Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney.* Recently Sheriff Rainey was introduced at a Klan rally by the Grand Dragon of Mississippi, E. L. McDaniel, and offered a testimonial to members of the Klan.

MCDANIEL: I would like at this time to call Sheriff Lawrence A. Rainey from Neshoba County to the platform for a statement. Are you proud he's here?

RAINEY: Thank you.

VOICE: Where's your Red Man?

RAINEY: It's in the car. Can't do without that. No, I was just down here. I've been accused by the F.B.I., by the Klan and everything and so I come down today to see the head man and investigate it and see what there was to it. And I found it so far to be mighty good. They just done a lot of lying about it. I've met some of the best fellows I think there are in Alabama and Mississippi and other places. And I've had to lay some deputies out that's been investigating it and they reported to me a while ago, they'd met some fine people and thought it was a mighty good organization. Thank you.

MCDANIEL: Let's give him a hand if you're glad he got on this platform. A true, great, white American.

KURALT: The Klan is not a single, strongly organized group. It is composed of splinter groups fighting each other for

new members and new territory. On Memorial Day weekend, Robert Shelton's chief rival, James Venable, head of the National Knights of the KKK, took his Klan north to a site 25 miles from Cincinnati, Ohio. Both Venable and Shelton believe the whites in the North, worried about Negro civil rights demands in their own communities, are ready to embrace the Klan. This was the first open Klan rally in Ohio in more than 30 years. The fact that the Klan is getting bolder was demonstrated by the site which was selected, right alongside superhighway 75. Klan robes, many of which had been stored away for years, were put out for an airing. Since the building of a cross for the Klan ritual requires skill, out-of-staters volunteered to hammer the cross pieces, wrap the burlap carefully, and then soak their handiwork with a mixture of gasoline and motor oil—a half gallon of gasoline and five pounds of oil for every foot of the cross.

MEN: This side. Look out. All right. Hold it. Hey, fellow, get off those wires.

KURALT: The Klan added a new touch to attract crowds, a skydiving show with parachute jumpers releasing Klan flags and then landing on Klan-blessed land.

*The northernmost penetration of the Klan took place last month near Cleveland, Ohio. All cars headed for the rally were searched for weapons and police confiscated high-powered rifles, shotguns, and pistols.* There were the usual preparations, including the raising of the cross. At a nearby restaurant, men lined up to get applications for membership in Imperial Wizard Venable's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. That evening 25 men and women, kept at a safe distance, picketed the meeting. The burning of the cross was the high point of this rally, only 21 miles from Cleveland.

Does The Invisible Empire have a right to continue its activities either in the North or the South? In our democ-

racy freedom of speech must be accorded this organization. Klansmen have a right to meet and wear uniforms. If the Klan is a fraternal order, it should enjoy the privileges of other orders. But the truth is that among all such organizations, *only the Klan has a history of violence.*

Lawmakers have not ignored the Klan. 22 states have passed laws prohibiting the wearing of masks in public and 52 southern communities have outlawed masks and cross burnings. But even these laws have been ineffective. Klansmen can still legally wear masks and burn crosses on private property. *They still intimidate and harass citizens.*

Now the office of the Attorney General is working on new anti-Klan legislation for submission to Congress. Attorney General Katzenbach was asked what form this legislation might take.

KATZENBACH: Well, I think it could take a number of forms. One would be to follow the analogy with respect to the Communist party and to seek full disclosure of their membership and a listing of the Klan and its members and its officers as a sort of glare of publicity. Another approach, perhaps a better approach, would be to follow the pattern of the existing laws, but to expand their scope of federal jurisdiction under them and to increase the penalties under them so that the federal government could get a more deep involvement.

KURALT: We've put up with the Klan for a hundred years in this country. How long is it going to take for us to see the end of the Klan?

KATZENBACH: I don't know when we'll see the end of the Klan. I think the end of the Klan as any kind of an effective organization of any sort at all is within sight. I doubt that the Klan is going to be a very effective force anywhere ten years from now.

KURALT: Today still another investigation of the Klan is being conducted in Washington by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Committee has issued more than 200 subpoenas. The Chairman, Representative Edwin Willis of Louisiana:

WILLIS: *It is certainly a clear and present danger to communities and to areas within which they operate. There's no question about it. It's perilous. It's terroristic.* Now, I wouldn't want to dignify them into believing that they're a clear and present danger to our Government of the United States. I hope we can extinguish the flame before the fire reaches such proportions.

KURALT: One of the subcommittee members, Representative Charles Weltner of Georgia, was asked how the Klan could be curbed.

WELTNER: One of the reasons it's difficult to convict a Klansman is because nobody knows who else is a Klansman. Nobody knows whether jurors are Klansmen. *They're under mandate to lie about their Klan activity when they're examined. That's a mandate higher than the oath that is required of all jurors. One of the reasons it's hard to convict Klansmen is because of the secrecy, the terror, the unknown quantity, the mystery of the Klan.* Now when we strip this organization of those elements, then the Klan becomes a group of small, willful men who have devoted their activities to hatred and they are simply not going to be accepted for what they really are when the people know what they really are.

WILLIS: I predict that there's going to be weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. And all the protestations about how great and how dedicated the Klansmen are and how attached they are to Christianity—I'm afraid a few

little balloons are going to be bursted before this thing is over.

KURALT: The impending Committee hearings will focus the national spotlight on the Ku Klux Klan and it is possible that part of The Invisible Empire may become visible. Defections have been noted. Earlier in this program we showed Reverend Roy Woodle, a Klan Kludd, in action. A few days ago, Woodle quit the United Klans Incorporated. Last week at his home near Lexington, North Carolina, we asked him why.

WOODLE: Well, if people would just check the record and see just now what, who is leading the Klan and what are they and what do they stand for—that would be a logical question. So take any individual, what if he be in the Klan or out, check the leadership. Say, for example, we have people was painter-contractors. Far as I know, failures. We have people was insurance agencies. Far as I know, failures. We have people was concrete business. Far as I know, failures. And such as that—just failed out and flunked out. Come promote leadership and just lost out everything they had and then, well, when they couldn't find nothing else to do, the fellows said they made them a Klan leader.

Take, for instance, you make a man a security guard and pin a little old bar or something on him, he thinks he's a big wheel and a deal and, therefore, he'll follow it till he spend all of his money every weekend for gas; run up and down the road right—just that he can get out there and strut with them bars on, think he's a big shot of some kind. If he go back home and check his home, no doubt he wouldn't have no decent food in his house to eat.

KURALT: Is there immorality in the Klan, un-Christian kind of activity?

WOODLE: Now if a man will go to a Klan rally professing to be a preacher—let me put emphasis on that, professing to be a preacher—gets up and bows his head and says he's praying to the Lord for people to help give and then plant a man out in the crowd with a \$100 bill, one with a \$50, and say: "Now who will give a hundred dollars?" and ask it, then that man will come forth and try to bewitch somebody else to come. Now that's deceiving the people.

KURALT: Do some of the Klan leaders misuse the people's money?

WOODLE: If he's going to promote leadership, why ride around in a big car, telephone in it, jump out at rallies, which you fellows know does—everybody does—and gets up on the platform, makes his speech, holds his rally, they take up the money, then they're off. And they have no more leadership from there. The next year they'll come back with the same thing: another rally, big Cadillac, a big speech and away again.

KURALT: *At every Klan meeting, Reverend Woodle, they go around and collect money. What happens to that money? Where does it go?*

WOODLE: *Well, far as we know, it all finds its way in the pockets of the leaders.* Now if you know where any else, but I don't myself as an individual. I just couldn't tell you. Now we know that they do take up money every rally. Now we know that. The news knows it. Everybody there knows it. They pass the buckets around and they do take up money. But far as we know, that's the end of it. We don't have no record or nothing else, as far as I know now. Somebody else may know something I don't know. But all we know is people rides around, lives in their motels, drives their Cadillacs, eats their rib-eye steaks, and laughs at the poor people as they go by.

KURALT: When the House Un-American Activities Committee begins its hearings, the confrontation between Committee members and Klan leaders and followers should provide interesting answers. If an Imperial Wizard is asked at these hearings to name members of his Klan group who may be judges, police chiefs and legislators, what will happen? *Will he do so or will he choose to plead the Fifth Amendment? What will happen when a Klan Kludd is asked where the money he collects at a rally ends up? What will the array of Kleagles and Kladds and Kludds say when they are asked about the reports of secret Klan bank accounts in the names of Fish and Game Clubs in the South? And how does a check to a Klansman end up in the accounts of the Nazi party? What will happen when a Grand Dragon is asked to give the names of Klansmen who may have participated in acts of racial violence? What will the traveling ministers of the Klan faith say if they are asked how race riots start? Will they plead the Fifth Amendment? And if certain sheriffs are asked under oath whether they are Klan members and whether they know the details of unpunished crimes, how will they answer?*

Those House Committee hearings on the Klan begin next month. The Attorney General's recommendations for new laws may be expected by the end of the year. Washington is moving against the Klan. But whatever happens to the Ku Klux Klan will not, finally, happen in Washington. It will happen in those small towns of the South whose natural spirit of generosity and justice have been damped and whose leaders have fallen silent. If the Klan prospers, it will draw its strength from such communities. If the Klan falls, it will be because one man, and then another in such places, have made up their own minds that a free society cannot coexist with an Invisible Empire.



**CBS REPORTS,**  
**“Biography of a Bookie Joint”**  
**November 30, 1961**

ANNOUNCER: The report which follows is a document of fact regarding crime. No actors or re-enactments are used.

CRONKITE: *The focus of our report is a key store in Boston, Massachusetts. Address: 364 Massachusetts Avenue. Until recently, this was the busiest store in the neighborhood, perhaps one of the busiest key stores in the world, open for business six days a week; nine hours a day in the winter, twelve hours a day in the summer. During business hours, cars double parked in front, and in some days, more than one thousand customers entered this door. Many proceeded to a room in the rear of the store. We followed with a concealed microphone and camera.*

FIRST MAN: *Give me number 6 in the fifth.*

SECOND MAN: *Number 1.*

CRONKITE: *The men behind the counter are called “bookies.” They’re taking off-track bets on horses and dog races, and selling chances on the numbers game—a form of lottery. What they are doing is illegal in every state of the Union—except Nevada. They are among thousands of bookies engaged in a nationwide, multi-billion-dollar-a-year business. A business that has been called “The Treasure Chest of the Underworld.”*

How does organized gambling operate? How does this business continue despite laws against it? And *when the laws are not enforced by police officers, how does this affect the community and the nation?*

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

ANNOUNCER: CBS REPORTS: "Biography of a Bookie Joint."

CRONKITE: This is Walter Cronkite. Experts agree that organized gambling is the most lucrative, most corrupting and the most widely tolerated form of crime in the nation. This huge business pits the government of the underworld against the government of the people. The corner bookie, to be found in most American cities, is at the base of the problem. He is the so-called "little man," but he is the funnel through which billions of dollars a year flow into the underworld. It is our purpose tonight to examine the consequences of the nickels, the dimes and the dollars wagered with the corner bookie. He and his associates might operate out of a hotel room in New York, or a tavern in San Francisco, or as in the case of this report, a key store on Massachusetts Avenue.

Boston's Massachusetts Avenue is a main thoroughfare—six lanes wide. Here, it passes through Back Bay Boston, a predominantly white area, to the South End section, predominantly colored. The Swartz Key Shop is in Back Bay near the dividing line. Its customers come here from both neighborhoods. The dome of this Christian Science Church is the dominating landmark in the area. It is three blocks from the key shop. One block away is the Boston Sports Arena. Boston's Symphony Hall is two blocks away; and the nearest Precinct Police Station is a half a mile from the key shop. This report continues in the words of Producer-Reporter Jay McMullen.

McMULLEN: We found that at least one lookout usually was posted near the front door of the key shop. Most of the time, he stayed inside keeping watch through the front window. Across the street, we found an apartment. Here we could watch the key store without being seen. We moved in our cameras at 11:00 P.M. on the night of May

31st, 1961. By early morning, our cameras began to observe the key store close up, but CBS REPORTS was not the first to investigate the activity here.

CRONKITE: In 1951, the key store was brought to the attention of the New England Citizens Crime Commission. Dwight Strong, Executive Secretary of the Crime Commission, received the complaint.

STRONG: A former State official came to my office. He'd been in the key shop, had keys made, and suspected illegal gambling activity. I went there, went into the place, saw several customers at a counter toward the rear. Behind the counter were two men who were writing on 3 x 5 pads. The customers had slips and money in their hands. I could not see what were on these slips. They looked up and wondered what I wanted. I said, "I'd like some keys made." One of the men came and took my key, went to the key machine, and made the keys for me, and I left the shop at that time.

McMULLEN: What happened after that?

STRONG: Well, we were unable to start a full-scale investigation for shortage of manpower. We did bring it to the attention of the Massachusetts State Special Crime Commission, which was created in 1953 by the State Legislature to investigate gambling activities throughout the state.

CRONKITE: *State Crime Commission agents investigated the key store—observed illegal gambling here and found evidence that this was more than a local operation.* Tom McArdle, former Chief Counsel of the Massachusetts State Crime Commission:

McARDLE: We checked on the telephone toll calls of this establishment, and we found a great deal of inter-state telephone toll activity to various places in the country.

McMULLEN: What did that imply to you?

McARDLE: Well, we concluded that bets were being laid off.

McMULLEN: What do you mean by "laid off?"

McARDLE: Well, a lay off is a device whereby a bookie balances his book. If he has too much bet on a given horse, let us say, he doesn't want to carry the entire risk—he will call to some bookmaker elsewhere—very frequently outside of the Commonwealth, and is able to find one who will take part of the risk that he has on that particular horse.

CRONKITE: The State Crime Commission found that toll calls from Massachusetts bookies went out to more than fifty cities across the nation, including such major lay-off centers as Newport and Covington, Kentucky; and Chicago, Illinois. The calls went as far north as Montreal; as far south as New Orleans and Miami; as far west as Las Vegas and Los Angeles.

In August, 1961, testimony at McClellan Committee hearings on illegal gambling alleged that Boston itself is one of the major lay-off centers in the nation. This map, displayed at the hearings by the Internal Revenue Service, shows a network of major lay-off pipe lines throughout the country. The map does not include a maze of so-called minor connections between the gamblers. Even a small store may be part of a network. *Evidence that the key store was engaged in inter-state gambling activity had been found by the State Crime Commission.* Jay McMullen asked Tom McArdle what happened to this evidence.

McARDLE: When the Crime Commission was terminated, we turned over our files to the Criminal Information Bureau of the State Police. *I do know that the Massachusetts Police Chiefs' Association made a public statement some several*

*months later, that the—all of the information that we had, had been examined by many of its members, and that they found nothing of interest to them as law enforcement officers.*

McMULLEN: They said there was nothing of interest in the information you supplied?

McARDLE: In substance, that's what they said, yes.

CRONKITE: The State Crime Commission investigating organized gambling was terminated by the legislature in 1957. *At the key store, business continued. It is a violation of the City Ordinance to burn trash on the sidewalk, but here the smoke of burning betting slips remained a common sight—a beacon for betters.* In June, 1957, some of the betters turned out to be agents of the Internal Revenue Service. This is H. Alan Long, Director of Intelligence, Internal Revenue Service.

McMULLEN: Mr. Long, on June 21st, 1957, treasury agents raided the Swartz Key Shop in Boston, but no arrests were made. Why?

LONG: Because, at that time, the only individual we found taking bets there was a man who had a Federal Wagering Tax Stamp; therefore, there was no violation and no basis for an arrest.

McMULLEN: In other words, no Federal law prohibits off-track betting. Is that right?

LONG: That is correct. But the law does require an off-track bookie to buy a fifty dollar Wagering Tax Stamp and to file an excise tax return with which he pays a tax of ten per cent of his gross bets.

McMULLEN: Suppose he does all of that? Suppose he buys the wagering stamp, registers, pays his excise tax. Can this

be construed as a license to break the state anti-gambling laws?

LONG: No. Absolutely not.

McMULLEN: Well, after a bookie registers, is this information available to the local police?

LONG: Yes. The copy of his application is public record in the District Director's office. The local police—the newspaper reporters—any one who is interested, can go there and look at it.

McMULLEN: They can see that this bookie is registered and where he is operating—the address?

LONG: That's right.

McMULLEN: Well, doesn't the law also require the registered bookie to display a gambling stamp on the premises where he operates, as further notification to the police and to the public that he's in business?

LONG: Yes, it does.

McMULLEN: Why do you think that most bookies fail to register?

LONG: Probably because the law is self-defeating in the fact that when a bookie registers and announces that he is engaged in this business, and where he is engaged in it, he is openly inviting investigation and possible prosecution by the local police.

CRONKITE: *It was a matter of public record that one operator at the key store was a registered bookie. This man, carrying the trash can, had purchased a Federal Wagering Stamp. He could continue his activity as a bookie and could openly dump charred betting slips on the street without fear of Federal interference. He remained in business—and*

*business at the key store continued for the next three years. In September, 1960, the State Police received a complaint about illegal gambling at the key store. This is Carl Larson, Executive Officer, Massachusetts State Police.*

*LARSON: As a result of receiving this complaint, a survey was conducted at this location by State Police officers. Evidence of illegal gaming was observed, and as a result of this observation, a letter was sent by this Department to the Boston Police Commissioner, advising him of our findings.*

*McMULLEN: Why did you pass on this information instead of taking direct action, yourselves, against the key shop?*

*LARSON: It has been our policy to forward information of this nature to the local Police Department, so that they may take action on these offenses.*

*CRONKITE: Boston Police Commissioner Leo Sullivan's reply to the State Police letter alleged that Abraham Swartz, owner of the key store, had been arrested by the Boston Police on July 7th, 1950, for promoting a lottery—that in Roxbury Court, on July 10th, 1950, Swartz paid a fifty-dollar fine, on that lottery charge. "Since that time, this location," said the Boston Police Commissioner, in his letter to the State Police, "has been under surveillance; search warrants have been obtained on several occasions, but no evidence of illegal gaming was found."*

*In November, 1960, after receipt of the Boston Police Commissioner's letter, State Police conducted another investigation of the key store.*

*LARSON: On November 18th, 1960, the State Police made another surveillance of illegal gambling at Swartz's Key Shop and evidence of gaming was again found. As a result of finding this evidence, another letter was forwarded to the Boston Police Commissioner.*

McMULLEN: *Well now, this was the second complaint that you had sent to the Boston Police Commissioner regarding the key shop. What was the reply to this letter?*

LARSON: *We received a reply from the Boston Police Commissioner stating that, on the same date, November 18th, the Boston Police officers had entered this building and that no evidence of gaming was found.*

McMULLEN: *Now, on November 18th, your men were also in the key shop investigating?*

LARSON: *That's correct. This was the same date that our men made the survey.*

McMULLEN: *And found evidence of gambling?*

LARSON: *Yes.*

CRONKITE: *By the fall of 1960, the New England Crime Commission also was investigating the key store.*

STRONG: *We'd had many complaints of illegal gambling at the key shop. I had manpower available and assigned agents to investigate this complaint. We went into the shop and placed bets—over fifty of them.*

CRONKITE: *For almost a year, agents of the New England Crime Commission gathered evidence of illegal gambling at the key store. In the spring of 1961, CBS began documenting the Commission's observations with microphone and camera. We present a composite of picture and sound recorded during the course of our investigation. First, we wanted to know how the bookies operated, and how much business they handled in the course of a day. Reporter McMullen and our cameras began observing the store on June 3rd, 1961, at 5:30 A.M.*

McMULLEN: *The two men waiting in the doorway are bookies who operate at the key store. This is the man they*



*are waiting for—the owner of the store—Abraham Swartz. The tall man with glasses, walking behind Swartz is also a bookie who works on the morning shift. The others are either customers or helpers.* At 5:30 A.M. the door is unlocked and the key store is open for business. These pigeons appeared out of nowhere, within two or three minutes after they key store opened. We learned that this was a morning ritual. From 5:30 to 8:00 A.M., the number of people who entered the key store totaled, by our count, one hundred and sixty-seven persons. Many of them probably stopped off here on their way to work. Most remained inside for only a few minutes. By 8:05 A.M., this trash can had been placed outside the door. During the day, the bookies brought it out five different times. Inside it, they burned carbon copies of betting slips—their receipts of bets already won or lost. The evidence went up in smoke. These youngsters were on their way to school. By 10:00 A.M., two hundred and seventy-five persons had entered the key store. Persons carrying in satchels or paper bags were of special interest to the New England Crime Commission. Dwight Strong explains why.

STRONG: We suspected that some of these men were pick-up men. A pick-up man is one who goes around and picks up from bookies the various slips and money that have been taken in a tavern, in a store, or a hotel, a factory, or an office, and bring them to some central place. Some of these pick-up men may have a hundred or more slips in one of these bags. At this place, these slips are turned in, and of course, we cannot tell the volume of business by the number of persons who enter through the door of a place like the key shop.

McMULLEN: By 12:00 Noon, six hundred and fifty persons had entered the door of the key shop. The cars of

customers blocked traffic on Massachusetts Avenue. The owners of these cars came from all walks of life—a postal clerk, a factory worker, a certified public accountant, an engineer.

CRONKITE: A CBS Reporter also entered the key shop—Jay McMullen.

McMULLEN: This reporter was dressed informally when he entered the key shop with a lunch box at 2:30 P. M. To place a bet you pass beneath these signs—advertising keys and locks. You head toward a small room in the rear of the store. As many as thirty people crowd into this room at one time; to place your bet, you have to wait in line. *This is one of four bookies who works the afternoon shift.*

VOICE: *Missiles from heaven, George.*

McMULLEN: Notice the small child. “Stick ’em up” is what she said to the bookie. *The betters are not breaking the law—the bookies are. But if the bookies have any anxiety about a raid, they certainly do not show it. Most of their business in the afternoon is in bets on horse races. The minimum you can bet on a horse race at a race track is two dollars. Here, the minimum is one dollar and fifty cents. We watched some of the customers bet as much as fifty dollars—were told that a one-hundred dollar bet is not unusual. The bookies claim that they pay the same betting odds as the race tracks. It’s generally reported that most bookies pay lower odds than the track. According to some of the customers, bookies at the key shop have never been known to welch on a bet. As one customer put it, “This is a first-class bookie joint.”*

By 2:45 P.M. this reporter had placed his bet and was on his way out of the key shop, past counters where keys are seldom sold. My betting slip was in my hand. I was just one of eight hundred and seventy-five customers who

had entered the key shop by 3:00 P.M., when as usual, it closed for the afternoon. Elsewhere, betting on the horses continued.

CRONKITE: Here, the bettor who has the time and the inclination can bet his entire bankroll, legally. Pari-mutuel horse tracks are licensed in twenty-five states. Total attendance at these tracks last year: forty-eight and a half million persons. The handle, or total amount of money bet: three and a half billion dollars—one billion dollars more than the nation spent last year on new schools, classrooms and text books. From the three and a half billions in bets on horses, the states received two hundred and fifty-eight million dollars in tax revenue. For every bet made here legally, it is estimated that at least three bets are made off-track, illegally, at places like the key store.

We resume now with the activity at this store during the day of June 3rd, 1961.

MCMULLEN: The door of the key store has been locked since 3:00 P.M. At 6:45 P.M. the store once again is open for business. *These people are here either to collect on winning bets made earlier in the day, or to bet on dog races which are run at night.* The customers flocked in in such numbers that it was difficult to keep a count on them. Nine hundred and seventy-three customers had entered the door by 7:30 P.M.

CRONKITE: By 7:30 P.M. Boston's "Wonderland"—the world's largest dog track—is open for business. Here, gambling on dog races is legal. Attendance at this track during the racing season averages twelve thousand persons a night. Total attendance during the 1960 season: one million, two hundred and fourteen thousand. Pari-mutuel wagering on dogs is legal at thirty-five tracks in eight states. At Wonderland, more than six hundred and eighty-

three thousand dollars was wagered in one night. The total amount wagered at dog tracks throughout the nation exceeded two billion dollars in 1960. Two hundred million dollars of this went to the states in tax revenue. It has been estimated that for each bet made at a pari-mutuel dog track, at least one other bet is made off-track. The states receive no tax revenue from off-track bets made with bookies at places like the key store.

MCMULLEN: In the evening, you see new faces among the bookies at the key store. The day men have gone home. This is the night shift at work. Here, the betting odds on the dog races are based, as in horse race bets, on the pari-mutuel odds at the track.

CRONKITE: At 8:30 P.M. wagering on the dog races was continuing here at Wonderland dog track.

MCMULLEN: At 8:30 P.M. the key shop closed for the day. In this one day, June 3rd, 1961, a total of one thousand, two hundred and forty-six customers had passed through the door.

CRONKITE: Evidence to be detailed later in the program indicates that the gross income of the key store may have exceeded twenty-five thousand dollars a week. That's a million and a half dollars a year, and that's no penny-ante operation, by any means. And yet, it seems small in contrast to some of the largest bookie establishments uncovered by the Internal Revenue Service. A bookmaking operation in Louisiana grossed twenty-three thousand dollars in a single day; another in Indiana grossed more than one million dollars in three days; and still another in California, three hundred and seventy-four thousand dollars in seven days, according to the Internal Revenue Service. Now some of these bookies operated out of taverns and stores like the key shop. In Evansville, Illinois, this tote board used by

bookies was found in the back room of a tavern. Here are adding machines and bags of lottery slips seized in a Miami home. These rifles, shotguns, pistols belonged to a bookie in San Francisco. And this is the cash drawer of a bookie who operated in a small room in Albany, New York. The Internal Revenue Service is the agency best qualified to know how much money the nation's bookies gross each year. H. Alan Long, Director of Intelligence, answered this question.

McMULLEN: Estimates of the gross handle of illegal gambling have ranged from five to fifty billion a year. Has your department made any such estimate?

LONG: No, we have not. We have tried to arrive at a figure, but we have not been able to determine any logical basis for making an estimate.

McMULLEN: Why is it difficult?

LONG: Because the amount of activity varies enormously from place to place, and from time to time, and it is very difficult to determine how many people are actually engaged in business as professional bookies, and how many customers they have, and what volume of business they do.

McMULLEN: Do you think it would be inaccurate to say that illegal gambling is perhaps a multi-billion-dollar-a-year business?

LONG: That may be correct, although I would not want to estimate that it runs very high in the billions.

CRONKITE: The experts may disagree on the total amount of money wagered illegally in the nation each year. But on one point they do agree—and that is that illegal gambling cannot flourish for long unless it is protected. Reporter Jay McMullen discussed this point with Tom Mc-

Ardle, former Chief Counsel, Massachusetts State Crime Commission.

McMULLEN: You told me that during your investigation, you spoke off-the-record with quite a number of bookies. Did they indicate to you how they were able to avoid arrest and stay in business?

McARDLE: *They said that they paid protection.*

McMULLEN: Did they say how much that would be?

McARDLE: No. That was a very difficult matter to discuss with any number of the individuals involved. However, I have seen figures from crime investigations in other states, which unhesitatingly put the figure at fifty per cent of the net profit of the gaming operation.

McMULLEN: *Did the bookies ever tell you that they thought they were paying too much money for protection to the police?*

McARDLE: *Yes, several of them told us that the costs were getting so high that it was becoming more a police business than a bookie business.*

CRONKITE: We'll continue this "Biography of a Bookie Joint" after this message.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

ANNOUNCER: CBS REPORTS: "Biography of a Bookie Joint" continues. Here again is Walter Cronkite.

CRONKITE: Up to now, we have heard that the key shop had been investigated by two Crime Commissions—the Boston Police, the State Police—and the Internal Revenue Service. *From June the 1st to June 3rd, 1961, we filmed ten members of the Boston Police force entering or leaving*

*the key store. We don't know why they came to the key store, or what they did inside. We only know that they were there, as Jay McMullen now reports.*

*McMULLEN: June 1st, 1961. This motorcycle policeman entered the key store at 9:17 in the morning. Same day, 11:18 A.M., while this policeman remained inside, betting slips were dumped into the bookies' trash can.*

*A few minutes later, another policeman arrived. The man pushing the trash can out of his way is a bookie. Ten minutes later, the same officer departed. 7:00 P.M., same day—June 1st. This is one of the policemen seen on June 2nd, 1961. He entered the key store at 8:58 in the morning. At 9:42 A.M., also June 2nd, this officer drove up in a prowl car. He did not leave the store until ten minutes later. It is now June 3rd, 1961. This officer getting out of the squad car entered the key shop at 8:24 in the morning. The same officer left the store and drove off in a squad car at 8:35 A.M. One hour later, at 9:27 another squad car arrived. The officer stayed inside five minutes. The man coming out of the door now is a detective. We found that he comes from Central Headquarters, Boston Police Department.*

*CRONKITE: Other Boston Police officers were seen entering the key store during the course of our investigation. We must emphasize again that we do not know the nature of their business in the key store. Dwight Strong, of the New England Crime Commission, on the subject of the Boston Police:*

*STRONG: I think most of the policemen in the Boston Police Department are honest and want to do their sworn duty. However some of them have been in touch with me by calls and letter and have written on Police Department letter-head, although unsigned, suspected illegal gambling operations which they hope we will do something about.*

McARDLE: We had a Lieutenant of the Police of a town outside of Boston who testified on the witness stand that he had procured a warrant for—to raid a gaming establishment in his community, and that as he came down the street with the police, for the purpose of making the raid, he saw his Police Chief pull up in front of the place, and then beckon and drive down the street. And the gaming operator came out, and went down, and had a very brief conversation with the Police Chief. When the raid was made, there was nothing there.

CRONKITE: It has been said that police corruption can be found in every state where illegal gambling flourishes. The story has been told in headlines from cities across the nation time and time again. It is, in part, an answer to the question: “What harm can there be in a little two-dollar bet at the corner bookie?” It is not only the police that the bookie may attempt to corrupt. When he was Chief Counsel of the Massachusetts State Crime Commission, Tom McArdle was approached by a bookie who said that he and twenty-four other bookies would like to give McArdle some money as a good-will gesture. Even when McArdle refused and got angry, the bookie continued to press him.

McARDLE: He said to me that he thought that my reaction of anger indicated that I was going to come at a pretty high price. And he said that he thought I probably was thinking of twenty-five thousand dollars for each of these contributors. And then, later, by implication, he indicated that what he had had in mind was that ten thousand would be about—from each—would be about as far as he was thinking.

McMULLEN: Ten thousand from twenty-five bookies—two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Is that . . .

McARDLE: Yes. Those are all round numbers. He said about twenty-five people.



McMULLEN: And that would be put away for you if you would lay off the investigation?

McARDLE: Well, he didn't ask me to do a thing. He just asked me if he could figure out a way to put some money some where that I could get later, would I do it.

McMULLEN: But wasn't that the implication?

McARDLE: I can't think of any other reason why he would be offering me anything.

CRONKITE: If an opponent of the bookies cannot be bribed, there is another way to handle him. Here is what happened to Dr. Charles Cataldo, a Boston physician, who formed a Citizens' Committee to fight illegal gambling in his community, and who gave evidence of gaming operations to the Massachusetts Crime Commission.

DR. CATALDO: Two days later, when I went out to my car, I saw on the trunk, written in white crayon, the words: "I will shoot you through the face and through the back."

CRONKITE: A reporter seeking information about illegal gambling must be careful—even when talking to officials and employees of the State. For, as we discovered during our observations of the key shop, the employee may turn out to work for the bookie, or be a bookie himself.

McMULLEN: *The man getting out of that car at 5:45 A. M. on the morning of June 1st, 1961, worked at two different places during the day. Early in the morning, he worked as a bookie at the Swartz Key Shop. In a moment, he will be taking illegal bets on the numbers game, on horse and dog races. He will remain inside about three hours. Usually, he left the key shop at 8:30 A. M., in order to be on time for his second job in another section of the city. It took him about fifteen minutes to drive to his office here at the*

*Metropolitan District Commission, a State agency, that supervises the State parks, and handles construction contracts.*

CRONKITE: It is difficult to know where bookies may be working or where they have influence. The State Tax Department is in this building. Tom McArdle, of the Massachusetts State Crime Commission, sent a State detective here to get some information on a bookie-racketeer.

McARDLE: Before the State detective got back to our office, which was only a few hundred yards from the State House, a newspaperman called me, and said to me that he had heard that I had a man at the Income Tax Bureau, who was inquiring about Mr. X. And he said, "Just as a friend of yours, I want to tell you that you should be careful who you ask about certain persons and certain things." Another indication was the—what I learned from a conversation with the then Police Commissioner of Boston, who told me that he had made special arrangements, or had to make special arrangements as to certain places for procuring warrants for gaming raids. And what he meant by "special arrangements" was that he would make arrangements either directly with a judge, or in some other way, so that warrants could be obtained rather surreptitiously, or without the general knowledge of those in the court.

McMULLEN: Why would he have to do that?

McARDLE: Well, as he said, *the fear that if they were careless about requesting warrants, the word would get to where they were going before the warrant did.*

McMULLEN: *In other words, leak?*

McARDLE: *Yes. From somehow—somewhere—those who would learn of it in the court house.*

CRONKITE: *It would appear that the bookies may have contacts even in the legislature of a State. Jay McMullen talked with Representative Harrison Chadwick, a former member of the Massachusetts State Crime Commission.*

McMULLEN: Is it not true that many of the legislators are lawyers who carry on a private law practice when the legislature is not in session?

CHADWICK: Yes, that's true. They carry on their law practice, both when we are and when we are not in session.

McMULLEN: *Have any of these legislators who also practice law ever told you that they represented bookies or illegal gambling operators?*

CHADWICK: *Oh, yes. Yes, they do. Several have stated that they had bookies among their clients.*

McMULLEN: How did they happen to tell you that?

CHADWICK: This came out in the conversation that we had about the Crime Commission and its work.

McMULLEN: Do you recall anything specific that they said?

CHADWICK: *Well, I recall one who said that he would be glad if we were out of business, because he wanted active bookies for the reason that he got good fat fees.*

McMULLEN: What's your reaction to this statement printed in *The Boston Herald*: "The bulk of votes against the Crime Commission and its recommendations have come from legislators representing districts in which there is heavy off-track betting. They fear the bookies and their customers. They fear the kind of dirty campaigning that the bookies and their overlords can put on against any one who openly fights this kind of organized crime. To such legislators, bookies speak louder than decent citizens."

CHADWICK: *There's a great deal of truth in the statement which The Boston Herald has made. I would like to distinguish between a wholesale condemnation of legislators, and the fact that relatively few are actively involved in any of the illegal operations of the booking business.* However, it is true that most of us follow the path of least resistance. And in many instances, the bookies are able to throw organizational workers and very considerable finances into a campaign to defeat some one whom they feel is hurting their operations. And consequently, many an honest legislator prefers not to stir up a situation which can only cause him, as he sees it, very likely to come to grief.

CRONKITE: Mr. McArdle on the bookie in politics:

MCARDLE: One of our investigators had under surveillance a prominent gaming operator—a man who had been previously charged with murder. And he followed him into a barroom one day and saw him paying twenty dollars, each, to several persons for helping in the campaign activities of a man who was running for the nomination for District Attorney in one of our counties.

CRONKITE: Dwight Strong.

STRONG: *Recently, we have had an Assistant Attorney General of the Commonwealth, who turned out to be a business partner of a registered bookmaker, a man registered with the Federal Government as a bookie. He has been suspended and removed from office.*

CRONKITE: A two-dollar bet with the corner bookie may result in fear, intimidation, violence, corruption. Some authorities say, and others disagree, that the problem of illegal gambling can best be met by legalized off-track betting. The question of legalized gambling will be examined on a future CBS REPORTS program.

ANNOUNCER: Tonight's report will continue with the attempts to close up this bookie establishment immediately after this message.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

ANNOUNCER: CBS REPORTS: "Biography of a Bookie Joint" continues. Here again is Walter Cronkite.

CRONKITE: By 1961, the key shop had reached its tenth year of operation. It had survived all efforts to put it out of business. In the summer of 1961, State Police again investigated the key shop. Colonel Carl Larson, Massachusetts State Police:

LARSON: *On August 4th, 1961, the State Police again made a survey of this key shop, and evidence of gambling was found. We again forwarded a letter to the Boston Police Commissioner, informing him of our findings; and a reply received from the Boston Police Commissioner, stated that on August 4, 1961, the Boston Police officers had entered this establishment with search warrants, and made a diligent search of the area, and that some evidence of gaming had been found, but insufficient for prosecution.*

McMULLEN: *Now, your own men had gone in on August 4th, also, and found evidence. Is that correct?*

LARSON: That is correct.

CRONKITE: CBS presented to the Department of Justice, in Washington, its evidence of illegal gambling at the key store. CBS was informed that the Department of Justice would investigate the matter—that if the circumstances warranted, a raid would probably be made, but under no circumstances would we or any other news media be apprised in advance. CBS continued to film and observe activities at the key store, in the hope that if a raid did occur,

we would be in a position to record it. Our hopes were realized. Jay McMullen reports what happened.

McMULLEN: It is 2:35 P.M., September 29, 1961—one of the busiest times of day at the key store. Suddenly, we noticed that customers were turning away from the door. What we did not know, at the moment, was that Internal Revenue Service agents had entered this store—and a raid was in progress. When these three gentlemen walked up to the door, there was no doubt that T-men had already acted. A few minutes later, a large crowd had assembled. I questioned this man.

You live right here, don't you?

MAN: I have the property here right next door. I own the property next door.

McMULLEN: Have you noticed a lot of activity going on here?

MAN: Oh, of course, there is a continuous—it's amazing, the hundreds of people, each day, going in and out of the place. It's almost ludicrous to watch a key shop and see so many, many, many people walking in and out, and cars double parked here. It just becomes a picture that's so obvious to everybody.

McMULLEN: Did you ever think of reporting it?

MAN: *I've even seen police officers go in and out of the place, and it's so obvious that all of them, even the detectives, know about this. And it's so wide-open—I have marveled that the place can be so wide-open in a state like Boston—or a city like this, and have it go on with everybody knowing it.*

McMULLEN: And how did that affect you insofar as whether or not to report this place?

MAN: Well, it certainly—it showed that there was little use of reporting it, because everybody knew it. And so that there was little reason for my reporting it, and . . .

McMULLEN: How long has this place been open, as far as you know; that is, engaged in this activity?

MAN: Well, I have had this property for better than two years, and it was going full swing, I'm sure then, and has been going ever since—even when this state gambling—when there was a raid here, oh, back a year or two back, and the police closed down other places, this place continued to stay open.

McMULLEN: It did stay open?

MAN: It did.

McMULLEN: Right through it all?

MAN: Yes. In fact, a person that I knew went in and warned them, of something about it coming, and they didn't bat an eyelash. They stayed right open.

McMULLEN: What would that infer to you?

MAN: *Well, that there was a payoff somewhere. That they paid off.*

McMULLEN: How do you think the payoff, as you call it, affects this community? How do you think it affects what other people feel about it?

MAN: Well, I think the idea of law and order, as far as that is concerned, the people would have little respect to the actual law and order. I think it has a tendency to make the citizens not uphold the law, like they might ordinarily do.

McMULLEN: So that it may work in other directions? If a place like this is protected, then there may develop a certain cynicism, you think, toward the law?

MAN: That's right. Of course, this is a thing for our children and for people in general, that—this, of course, is the attitude. I would say this is one of the ramifications of this type of operation going on.

CRONKITE: *The Federal raid also hit three other alleged gambling establishments in the area, including this dry cleaning store.* The Treasury agents had obtained seventeen arrest warrants. Eight bookies at the key store were among those arrested. The charge: failure to register as bookies under the Federal Wagering Stamp Law. *This bookie who had registered could not be arrested.* He walked to his four-thousand-dollar automobile and drove to his home in a fashionable Boston suburb. Later that afternoon, this was the scene in the corridor of the Federal Court House. *These alleged bookies were arraigned before the U. S. District Commissioner.*

*At the Swartz Key Store, the Federal agents seized four thousand dollars in cash; apparently, part of the money bet with the bookies on the day of the raid from 6:30 A.M. to 2:30 P.M.* How much more might have been on hand at the usual closing hour of 8:30 P.M. is just a matter of speculation. But even four thousand dollars a day, six days a week, comes to one million, two hundred thousand dollars a year.

But the story of the key store does not end with the Federal raid. *Within a week after the raid, the store was reported again open for business.* Jay McMullen counted the number of persons who entered the store in an hour-and-a-half period.

McMULLEN: *It is the morning of October 20th, 1961. This same key store, recently raided by Federal agents, is back in business. The bookies are operating again at the same*



*location.* Between 6:30 A.M. and 8:10 A.M. we counted one hundred and twenty-five persons who entered the door.

CRONKITE: The State Police also noticed that the key store was back in operation. Colonel Carl Larson, State Police.

LARSON: *On October 23rd, 1961, information was received by our department that the key shop was back in operation.* I then discussed this matter with the Commissioner of Public Safety, Frank Giles, and he in turn discussed this entire matter with His Excellency, Governor John A. Volpe. As a result of their conference, I was directed by Commissioner Giles to take direct action against the key shop.

CRONKITE: Then, on October 27th, 1961, for the first time in twenty years, the State Police raided a gambling establishment in Boston. They raided the key shop at 7:10 in the morning. The State Police seized two thousand dollars inside the store. The raid resulted in the conviction of two persons. *One of the persons convicted was this man, whom the Federal agents could not arrest, because he had registered as a bookie.* Jay McMullen asked Colonel Larson why the State Police had changed their twenty-year policy of not raiding gambling establishments in Boston.

LARSON: *We have forwarded considerable information of this nature to the Boston Police on many occasions, and they had taken action on this information. However, on information forwarded, pertaining to this key shop, our surveys indicated that no action was taken by the Boston Police.*

CRONKITE: Three days after the State Police raid at the key shop, there was a shakeup in the Boston Police Department. Two of Boston's three Deputy Police Superintendents were demoted to Captain, and five Captains were transferred to different jobs. A Boston Police announcement

said the changes were made to promote the efficiency of the Boston Police Department. At a press conference, Governor John A. Volpe said he expects the Boston Police Commissioner to fulfill his responsibilities in full compliance with the law.

We extended an invitation to Boston Police Commissioner, Leo J. Sullivan, to appear on this program, to comment on the difficulties facing local police departments in coping with illegal gambling, as reflected by the history of the key shop operation. Commissioner Sullivan has replied to our invitation with a letter, outlining problems confronting local police. He points out that legalized on-track betting stimulates illegal off-track betting; that placing a bet off-track is not an offense, and that bookmaking is only a minor misdemeanor. He went on to say that the local police administrator has limited manpower and funds, and that the combined efforts of all law enforcement agencies have failed to dent the framework of illegal gambling. "It would, therefore, be a grave injustice," said the Police Commissioner, "to downgrade an entire Police Department, and to destroy the public image created by the fine accomplishments of many dedicated police officers on the basis of one such gambling establishment. In the final analysis, the people of this and every other community must come to the realization that it is their small, individual bet that finances the illegal gambling empire, and complete enforcement is not possible without the active assistance of all good citizens." Those were the words of Boston Police Commissioner Leo Sullivan.

At this point, you may be inclined to say: "Well, those people in Boston certainly have their problems." Don't deceive yourself. The chances are very great you have the same problem in your community. This is Walter Cronkite. Good night.

# **FACE THE NATION**

**Representative-Elect Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.**

**January 14, 1968**

ANNOUNCER: The following program was recorded yesterday.

MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Powell, you haven't represented the 400,000 people of your Harlem Congressional District since you were elected in November of '66. When are you going to fulfill your responsibilities to represent Harlem in the House of Representatives or stand aside and permit someone else to take over the congressional duties you've chosen to ignore?

MR. POWELL: I will never stand aside. I am going to force the judicial system of the United States to prove that it is equal to the legislative or executive or step down. They will step down. And that is what my lawyers are fighting for now, under Edward Bennett Williams' direction.

ANNOUNCER: In San Francisco, California, in color, FACE THE NATION, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview, with New York Congressman-Elect Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Mr. Powell will be questioned by CBS News Correspondent Morton Dean, Ted Poston of the New York Post, and CBS News Correspondent Martin Agronsky.

MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Powell, you told my colleague, Morton Dean, in Bimini, at the beginning of last month, that you were thinking of discussing with Floyd McKissick the possible choice of a successor to your seat in the House. Why the change of heart in the last few weeks?

MR. POWELL: Well, I thought that I ought to have someone to back me up *in case the courts don't have the guts to rule correctly*, then there should be someone ready.

MR. POSTON: Mr. Powell, you won a smashing reelection victory last April 11th.

MR. POWELL: Yes, seven-to-one.

MR. POSTON: Yes, it was. Why didn't you go back then and claim your seat?

MR. POWELL: You see, if I had taken my seat in the April election I would be the youngest freshman in Congress. My court case is based on the November election, which would establish my seniority.

MR. DEAN: Mr. Powell, from our tours through Harlem, the chorus seems to be getting louder and louder, that Adam Clayton Powell should return or bow out, that "we need representation and we're not getting it." Even some of your old supporters are saying that perhaps you're being selfish, putting your own self-interest above that of your own constituency. How do you answer these calls for you to return now even if it means arrest?

MR. POWELL: I don't know who you see in Harlem, but my mail is the exact opposite. My mail in Bimini, my mail in Washington, my mail in New York, my club house in New York is as packed as it ever was. My church is as packed as it ever was. And so you probably talked with the wrong people.

MR. DEAN: Well, some members of the Urban League of Harlem, CORE. People suggest that the services of the Abyssinian——

MR. POWELL: I'm talking about the people. You're talking about the Urban League. That's not the people.

MR. AGRONSKY: How are you in touch with the people in Bimini?

MR. POWELL: Well, my mail in Bimini runs around 2,000 2,500 letters a month. And as I left to come here there were five people from my district down there. There will be more down next week. They come down to see me. In the meantime, my offices at the church, the club house and in Washington are servicing the people and not one complaint in one year has been made.

MR. DEAN: Do you think you might be unfair to the constituents in Harlem who desperately, because of conditions there, desperately need personal representation in Washington?

MR. POWELL: Personal representation in Washington does not help the conditions of the people. The conditions of the people are helped by the handling of their complaints. Personal representation means only the vote and the voice on the floor.

MR. AGRONSKY: You certainly wouldn't deny the importance of that.

MR. POWELL: Of course not. That is why I am fighting——

MR. AGRONSKY: If you are going to take a position or propose legislation which will be helpful to the people of your district you have to be there to do it and yet you're not there, you are in Bimini.

MR. POWELL: That's correct. I am trying to point out that the people are being serviced. Furthermore, I believe that the black people of this country, the great majority, including my district, want to see whether this is really the land of the free and the home of the brave or whether it is

a second-class government for black people and first-class for whites.

MR. DEAN: Mr. Powell, last month, *eleven Congressmen* introduced a bill which would set up a permanent office on Capitol Hill for your district and have four staff members to service it while you are in these difficulties. And I think you called it at the time a bill—a *cute form of liberalized racism*.

MR. POWELL: *And colonialism and the plantation system.*

MR. DEAN: But don't you think that there should be someone there to take care of the day-by-day complaints?

MR. POWELL: Well, I have two ladies there, Mrs. Dolores Gillespie and Miss Cleo Lewis.

MR. DEAN: Well, would you object to four?

MR. POWELL: Yes. If Pat Jennings, of Virginia, is going to take over Harlem and hire who he wants to hire and fire who he wants to fire and fix their salaries, yes, because Harlem then becomes a plantation in Virginia.

MR. AGRONSKY: Yes, but none of these opportunities for Harlem to become a plantation in Virginia, as you put it, would arise if you would go back and take your place in the Congress of the United States or see if you are going to be denied that place.

MR. POWELL: I will go back.

MR. AGRONSKY: When?

MR. POWELL: I will go back whenever Bennett Williams tells me to go back. *I will go back when the Supreme Court gets enough guts to rule one way or the other.* I am not going to subject myself to becoming a freshman, the lowest one on the totem pole, after twenty-four years

of service and six years as the best chairman in the house, according to Jack Kennedy, in writing, Lyndon Johnson, in writing, and John McCormack, in writing, "You are the best chairman that we have in the House of Representatives."

MR. AGRONSKY: Yes, but now you're nothing in the House of Representatives.

MR. POWELL: Oh, yes, I am. I am the great enigma that is going to put the white man on the spot in this Nation and in Congress *as to whether they are going to keep Negroes down and let a person like Tom Dodd go unscathed.*

MR. DEAN: Mr. Powell, in past conversations and interviews we've always talked rather frankly about all subjects, I think it is proper to bring this up at this time, a point that has never really been made clear. Your estranged wife, in a magazine article last year, quoted you as admitting that you were not Negro and then, if I remember correctly, back in 1963 you told a wire service reporter that you were a Negro by choice. And I was wondering if you could explain your background to solve what is a mystery about you.

MR. POWELL: In the first place, *anyone that has an estranged wife is automatically inherited a liar.* In the second place, I don't recall telling any wire service that. All you've got to do is read my father's book, *Against the Tide*. My grandfather was a branded slave. My father was born in a log cabin in Franklin County, Virginia, a family of seventeen. And one thing, you see, that white people especially don't understand, the color is not what you are. Walter White, for instance, the great Secretary of the NAACP, is much more white-looking than I, blue eyes and blond hair. But he was a fighter. Black is a

way of thinking, a way of love, a way you live and a way you act.

MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Powell, at the University of California campus at Berkeley, you said to the students that violence should be used if necessary by black power advocates. You call on the white students to follow black leaders. Is that correct, sir?

MR. POWELL: Correct.

MR. AGRONSKY: Right. Now, the chief spokesman of the black power movement, men like Stokely——

MR. POWELL: I don't know who that is.

MR. AGRONSKY: —men like Stokely Carmichael——

MR. POWELL: He is?

MR. AGRONSKY: —men like Rap Brown, you would not regard them as chief spokesmen?

MR. POWELL: Spokesmen?

MR. AGRONSKY: Spokesmen.

MR. POWELL: Oh, I thought you said spokesman. I would say Rap and Stokely and Floyd McKissick, those are the three now.

MR. AGRONSKY: Okay. Now, they have expelled the whites from the civil rights movement. How can you call for the whites to follow black leadership and at the same time deny them participation in the civil rights movement?

MR. POWELL: Deny them participation at what level?

MR. AGRONSKY: In any level.

MR. POWELL: No, sir.

MR. AGRONSKY: As followers, advocates, where?



MR. POWELL: Followers, yes.

MR. AGRONSKY: But not as leaders?

MR. POWELL: No sir. That day is gone. The day that a black man is put on the board of the American Jewish Congress or the Federation of Italian Society or the Polish-American Congress, the Sons of St. Patrick, black men on the board of directors, then I will change my position.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, that is one way of putting it. Let's take however, a——

MR. POWELL: That's the only way of putting it.

MR. AGRONSKY: —let's take a contradiction, perhaps, in your position, what seems to be one, in any case. Throughout your career in the Congress of the United States, in the House of Representatives, you became famous for the Powell amendment——

MR. POWELL: That's correct.

MR. AGRONSKY: —for full intergration, which you added to every piece of legislation that came before the House of Representatives.

MR. POWELL: Correct.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, if you believe in full intergration, how would you deny whites participation in the civil rights movement?

MR. POWELL: The Powell amendment was not full intergration. The Powell amendment was the denial of funds from schools that refused to accept Negro, black boys and girls. That is the Powell amendment. That is the Powell amendment. That is the law now.

MR. POSTON: On this mater of leadership, you told the students at San Diego the other day that, whether they liked it or not, the black people are their leaders.

MR. POWELL: That's correct.

MR. POWELL: That's correct.

MR. POSTON: And you listed——

MR. POWELL: Stokely——

MR. POSTON: —Stokely——

MR. POWELL: —Rap——

MR. POSTON: —Rap——

MR. POWELL: —McKissick——

MR. POSTON: —McKissick——

MR. POWELL: —and the old man of the sea.

MR. POSTON: —and the old man of the sea, Adam Clayton Powell.

MR. POWELL: That's right.

MR. POSTON: Was there an oversight on your part? Are you saying in that that men like Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King are not Negro leaders? You didn't list any of those.

MR. POWELL: They are not leaders of the surging, incoming, black masses composed mainly of the young people. Even Martin Luther King came to see me a week ago in Bimini—a week and a half ago—with Bernard, his assistant, and a secretary, and for three days discussed that he believed that it was time for him to change his course of action.

MR. AGRONSKY: To do what?

MR. POWELL: He has already announced that he believes that he is going to—this coming summer—have a strong

social action program that is not going to be as peaceful as it was in the past.

MR. AGRONSKY: Are you advocating violence, Mr. Powell?

MR. POWELL: I am advocating that if I see my wife or my son, my sister or my mother and father being kicked around, then I am going to do my best to kick around whoever is doing anything to them. That's the violence.

MR. DEAN: But does that answer the question whether you advocate what *Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael have been advocating, guerrilla-type warfare in the cities of our country?*

MR. POWELL: I do not advocate guerrilla-type warfare but I do advocate self-defense.

MR. DEAN: Well, do you think that the riots in the cities in the past several years have been out of self-defense?

MR. POWELL: No, indeed, because the casualties—you see, I walked through Watts the other day, Charcoal Alley. Forty-eight people were killed there, all Negroes except for two or three Mexican-Americans.

MR. DEAN: Then you disagree with what has taken place in those cities, then, if you don't believe——

MR. POWELL: Oh, I am a pacifist, always have been. I disagree with anything that causes the death of a man. But I totally disagree with the death of black people just without any thought, without any plan. *We had policemen in Harlem, for instance, use live ammunition without first trying teargas in the last riot we had. That is inexcusable.*

MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Powell, are you suggesting that the—what ones might call the white power structure, the admin-

istration, for example, in Washington, the municipal administrations in various cities where we've had racist problems, are dedicated to the principle of keeping down the black people, that they are turning on—that they are precipitating this violence, that in every instance it is their fault?

MR. POWELL: All right, now the White House just concluded a conference of top police people in Washington, teaching them new methods to cope with the riots. Why couldn't they have had a conference of grass root black men and black women, to teach them how to better themselves and get the jobs they need? That is number one.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, they are trying that all the time.

MR. POSTON: Wasn't there a White House conference—

MR. POWELL: No, no, no, no. I was the author, of my committee, of the Manpower Development Training Act, and the poverty bill, and those gradually became—lost the thrust, that you know as well as I do that the poverty program is a flop.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, you know as well as I do that the President of the United States, Mr. Johnson, never wanted it to be a flop, that he sought—

MR. POWELL: That's correct.

MR. AGRONSKY: —to get it through the House of Representatives.

MR. POWELL: That's correct.

MR. AGRONSKY: —and couldn't.

MR. POWELL: What did you say?

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, certainly he sought to get what he needed in the poverty program—