

MR. POWELL: Yes.

MR. AGRONSKY: —through the House and the Senate——

MR. POWELL: Yes.

MR. AGRONSKY: —and couldn't.

MR. POWELL: Well, he got it under me.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, the point I'm making is that the administration—and I would say that Mr. Johnson has demonstrated it—this is not in terms of defending the President but responding to your point that the white power structure, in effect, doesn't care—has done everything it can to advance the cause of civil rights programs. You certainly would give the President that.

MR. POWELL: Civil rights doesn't mean anything. That is one thing every white man hangs his hat on.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, let's talk about the poverty program——

MR. POWELL: Civil rights doesn't mean anything.

MR. AGRONSKY: —and the economic——

MR. POWELL: All right.

MR. POSTON: What do you mean, "civil rights doesn't mean anything"?

MR. POWELL: All right. What does civil rights mean in the North, Ted?

MR. POSTON: I'm asking the question.

MR. POWELL: All right, I'm answering you. The Civil Rights Act, for instance, is an act to do away with de jure segregation, but in the North it is de facto. It doesn't——

MR. POSTON: You're talking about civil rights law. I mean civil rights themselves.

MR. POWELL: Oh. Oh, I agree. We haven't gotten to that in our legislative history yet, real civil rights and real human rights.

MR. DEAN: You have condemned Congress for failing to live up to the promise of the Great Society, but don't you agree with what many observers say, that Congress is simply reacting to the riots in the streets of Negro communities by becoming more fiscally conservative as far as antipov-erty programs are concerned?

MR. POWELL: Well, that is what they've done and all they are doing is opening up a Pandora's box and they think they've won a victory by doing that. It is going to be a big victory because the more you keep the black man and black woman, especially the young men and young women, in the ghetto and keep them socially ostracized, economically exploited and miseducated and politically disfranchised, the more trouble you are going to get in the United States of America.

MR. POSTON: But to come back——

MR. POWELL: And nobody can stop it.

MR. POSTON: To come back to you for a minute——

MR. POWELL: Armored cars, for instance, now.

MR. POSTON: Let me come back to you and your particular case. Representative *John Conyers*, of Detroit, has appeared to be one of the most ardent supporters for your re-instatement.

MR. POWELL: Yes.

MR. POSTON: He put out a minority report, he opposed your expulsion. He opposed your loss of chairmanship and the \$40,000 fine. *Yet, when the Detroit riots occurred and he was beaten and his office was burned, you said, "No wonder he was hit by a rock, no wonder black people burned his office. He was a black Judas."* Why?

MR. POWELL: All right. Number one, Conyers has been very clever. He puts out a minority report but he voted for the report. He gets five minutes in the course of the debate on one named Adam Powell and he devotes three minutes of it praising Claude Pepper for being a great man. *Claude Pepper was one of the number one racists on Manny Celler's committee against me.* He's being very clever. But, you see, the man in the street knows the story, baby, even though the press may not tell him. He knows the story. Why would they have done that to him?

MR. DEAN: A number of Negroes have threatened to close down the Democratic National Convention in Chicago this summer. Will you be there to join with them? Do you agree that this is perhaps a proper way of advancing the cause of what Negroes want for themselves?

MR. POWELL: I don't know whether I am going to go to either of the conventions.

MR. DEAN: But do you agree with——

MR. POWELL: But I do say that there should be no demonstrations at either convention unless they are positive demonstrations with specific goals spelled out.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, then, are you against the proposal to close down the Democratic Convention?

MR. POWELL: I am against the proposal until they have specific goals spelled out.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, they have not spelled out those specific goals.

MR. POWELL: All right. For instance, I would say the Mississippi delegation of black people should be seated and not the whites.

MR. DEAN: Dick Gregory says unless the City of Chicago passes an open housing law, that, at the risk of his life, there will be no convention in Chicago.

MR. POWELL: Well, that is his personal opinion. That is his personal dedication. That is his personal conscience.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, does it make sense to you? Would you advocate that kind of policy?

MR. POWELL: I would not advocate in those terms but I—you see, the breaking point has come, there is no longer any more room in the timetable of the forward march of black people for gradualism, for the old shibboleth “education is what we need.” The breaking point has come and it is, they say, now. We’re dieing in Vietnam and why should we not die in the streets of America, if necessary.

MR. AGRONSKY: Okay. You say now and you ask that question. Do you recommend people go out and attempt to overthrow this government by force and violence? Is that what you’re talking about?

MR. POWELL: Not overthrow the government.

MR. AGRONSKY: What do you mean?

MR. POWELL: I recommend that if you have been slapped on the cheek twice, as Jesus once said, and you’re not getting anywhere with your peaceful negotiation, then you’ve got to go ahead and do what you can do by other methods, whatever they may be, to get what you want.

MR. AGRONSKY: To use your analogy, do you feel that the slapping on the cheek has taken place twice already and that the time has come to undertake the other methods?

MR. POWELL: I say it has taken place, 300 years of slavery, 100 years of quasi freedom—yes, it has taken place 400 years now.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, let’s not shilly-shally, let’s get down to what you’re really talking about, the nitty-gritty, if you like.

MR. POWELL: Yes, let's go.

MR. AGRONSKY: Are you telling people that the time has come in this country to go into the streets and to get what they seek by violence, that they no longer should wait?

MR. POWELL: I'm telling them the time has come for the administration in Washington and everywhere else to stop fooling around with these programs, stop paying huge salaries on the poverty program, get rid of Sarge Shriver or let him resign from the Peace Corps, the poverty program needs one person to direct it, and get down into the poverty areas and let the poor—let the poor administer their programs.

MR. AGRONSKY: But when you say——

MR. DEAN: I think Martin's point was, earlier in the broadcast you said violence as a very last resort——

MR. POWELL: Correct.

MR. DEAN: —and self-defense. A moment ago you said that perhaps the Negroes had been slapped twice, as long ago as 300 years——

MR. POWELL: Correct.

MR. DEAN: —indicating that perhaps you do advocate violence now.

MR. POWELL: I do not advocate violence and never will, but I understand it when it happens. I understood it in Watts the other day when I talked to the people there, the grass roots people. Nothing has happened in Watts . . . except a picnic. The jobs haven't been obtained. The manpower development training has not gone in there en masse to train these young teenagers that practically tore me apart when I walked down the streets the other day. In other words, these programs are not getting down to the

poor black or white. You know, we have 1,500,000 white families in Appalachia—white families—making \$1,000 a year or less?

MR. AGRONSKY: What is your point? Would you have them go into the streets?

MR. POWELL: Them go in the streets? No. My point is that the administration should have the proper people in charge to get down with them and get these programs into the hands of poor people.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, is your point also that the administration isn't trying that, that they've ignored the problem, that they are not aware of it? Are you the only one who knows about it and is trying to do anything about it?

MR. POWELL: Oh, you know that is not true. Everybody looking at that program today knows that.

MR. AGRONSKY: Yes, but that is what you're indicating. I know it is not true and you know it is not true.

MR. POWELL: All right, then. Why aren't they doing it, then? You can't blame it on Washington. *Edith Green's new phony amendment*—the program has gone to pieces.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, they must do it within the fabric of the system that we have to do these things.

MR. POWELL: Under Edith Green's amendment, which was carried the other day, the program has gone to pieces. This now has given the controls to the local counties and cities. Can you imagine black people in Mississippi getting a fair break, which they didn't get before, now the control is in the hands of Mississippi?

MR. DEAN: Isn't this what people back in Harlem are saying when they urge you to come back, settle your score so that you can get back to Washington and do——

MR. POWELL: I can't—you want me to go to prison for three months *for an indecent, obscene, illegal, unilateral order by one named Matthew Levy?*

MR. DEAN: Well, certainly some arrangement should be made to keep your congressional——

MR. AGRONSKY: That has nothing to do with it.

MR. POWELL: It has a lot to do with it.

MR. AGRONSKY: No. Let's talk——

MR. POWELL: *I would go to prison for three months for a cause but not for an obscenity.*

MR. AGRONSKY: But you're turning it to a different point.

MR. POWELL: I am not turning to a different point.

MR. AGRONSKY: What we're talking about is you're going——

MR. POWELL: You may be thinking differently but I am not turning to a different point.

MR. AGRONSKY: We were talking about you're going back to the House of Representatives. We're not asking——

MR. POWELL: I am not going back and accepting the low man on the totem pole.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, that's different.

MR. POWELL: That's correct. But, you see——

MR. AGRONSKY: You're not now talking about an obscenity or three months in prison.

MR. POWELL: That's right.

MR. AGRONSKY: I want to make that clear.

MR. POWELL: All right.

MR. POSTON: But, Mr. Powell——

MR. POWELL: And I want to know when the courts are going to stop filibustering on democracy.

MR. POSTON: Looking at the court case, if——

MR. POWELL: Which one, now? Which one? There are three.

MR. POSTON: Well, I was speaking about your suit for reinstatement.

MR. POWELL: Suit for reinstatement.

MR. POSTON: If they fight on up to the Supreme Court——

MR. POWELL: Yes.

MR. POSTON: —should be turned back——

MR. POWELL: Yes.

MR. POSTON: —and you would decide, maybe, eventually, that you wouldn't return to Congress——

MR. POWELL: Yes.

MR. POSTON: —who, among the hopefuls that are springing up so rapidly in Harlem, would you support as the best man to replace you?

MR. POWELL: I don't know yet.

MR. AGRONSKY: Would you accept that someone should replace you under those circumstances?

MR. POWELL: If the Supreme Court says no and the Supreme Court therefore has relegated themselves to a second-class position in the tripartite system we have of government, then I say sorry about that, baby, you're finished. Now I want to rest the rest of my life.



MR. DEAN: On another topic, Mr. Powell, the most militant of the young Negro leaders have urged young Negroes not to submit to the draft. Do you subscribe to this?

MR. POWELL: That is a matter of conscience. I am a pacifist always have been a pacifist. And if I was of draft age now I wouldn't submit to it.

MR. POSTON: Just one other thing, Mr. Powell—

MR. AGRONSKY: Would you say that it should be matter of conscience rather than a matter of color, I mean let's put it that clear?

MR. POWELL: Conscience. Conscience.

MR. AGRONSKY: It should not be an appeal to Negroes not to register, an appeal to those who are against whatever the policy is.

MR. POSTON: Just one other quick question.

MR. POWELL: It's just that we have Negro leaders that the white people don't have. White young people do have leaders like Dr. Spock and my good friend, young Sloan Coffin, Jr., who were indicted by a federal grand jury because they believed moral law was greater than any law.

MR. POSTON: Mr. Powell, just this.

MR. POWELL: Yes.

MR. POSTON: Recently SNCC, which you've praised on this program, put out a newsletter in which they assailed Israel and the Jews in the June war and also accused the Israelis of practicing genocide. Do you share this view?

MR. POWELL: No, indeed, I do not share the attack of any of the minority because the attack of any minority eventually will revert upon me.

MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Powell, I regret we have run out of time. Thank you very much for being here to FACE THE NATION.

ANNOUNCER: Today on FACE THE NATION, New York Congressman-Elect, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., was interviewed by CBS News Correspondent Morton Dean, and Ted Poston of the New York Post. CBS News Correspondent Martin Agronsky led the questioning. Next week, another prominent figure in the news will FACE THE NATION. FACE THE NATION was recorded on Saturday at Station KPIX, in San Francisco.

**Commission's Summary of Programs Attached to the  
Commission's Ruling in *Times-Mirror Broadcasting  
Co.*, 24 Pike & Fischer, R. R. 404, 409-412 (1962)**

*August 27, 1962*

DUGGAN—stated that the Democrats have cried “smear” over everything Nixon has said but now it was Nixon’s turn. “It is an amazing thing how much mud the Democrats have thrown.”

With respect to a labor convention held at Long Beach, California, Duggan stated that Brown had called Nixon a “coward” for not attending when Brown knew that Nixon could not have attended even if he so desired.

With respect to the Birch Society, Duggan stated that: “why don’t they [the Democrats] keep the Communists out of their party”?

PUTNAM—stated that George Miller, a Democratic State Senator, was quoted as saying “at best we have no more than thirty-five Communists in California’s Democratic organization”.

With respect to the Hughes loan from the Hughes Tool Company to Mr. Donald Nixon, Duggan quoted a Nixon spokesman who stated that “this is old, very tired and unproductive Brown and if this is all Brown and his henchmen have to talk about they are in serious trouble”.

With respect to certain automobile bumper strips which apparently read “is Brown pink?”, Putnam quoted a Republican spokesman who stated “I can’t recall anyone ever asking Dick Nixon if he is pink.”

*September 1, 1962*

DUGGAN—devoted a substantial amount of time (about three pages of a single spaced typewritten script) to the Institute of Pacific Relations. Duggan stated that the Institute is headed by Frederick V. Fields, whom Duggan

calls "a known Commie" and Owen Lattimore, whom Duggan considers a leading member of the Communist conspiracy. After attacking the Institute at great length, and attacking those organizations (such as Time-Life, Inc., Rockefeller Foundation, etc.) and persons who support the Institute, Duggan stated that anyone who supported the Institute or who held stock in a corporation that supported the Institute, was selling out the United States. Duggan stated that the Institute is in part responsible for the image that Nixon is a man who can't be trusted and that the Institute has smeared Nixon's character.

*September 4, 1962*

DUGGAN—interviewed John Rousselot, Member of Congress, concerning the connection between the Americans for Democratic action and Governor Brown, and Stanley Mosk, the Attorney General of California. During the interview it was stated that ADA "pulls the string on Brown and Mosk".

*September 5, 1962*

DUGGAN—states he is supporting Nixon and refers to Brown as the "portly, panting Governor".

*September 7, 1962*

DUGGAN—supports Nixon on loan from the Hughes Tool Company to his brother. States that the loan is "only used as a smear" against Nixon.

*September 8, 1962*

DUGGAN—conducts interview with telephone callers. In answer to question whether Governor Brown is a native Californian, Duggan stated that he was, which "just shows

you that lots of things can happen in California". Duggan further stated that "if he's got some sort of program I wish he'd tell us about it, instead of mentioning Nixon constantly and what Nixon is doing to him". Finally, Duggan stated that Nixon is attacked for what others can get away with.

*September 10, 1962*

DUGGAN—interviewed an alleged former member of the Communist Party of the United States who spoke of alleged Communist infiltration of the California Democratic Clubs. The interviewee stated that he attended meetings of the Communist Party where infiltration tactics were discussed and that infiltration had been accomplished.

*September 11, 1962*

DUGGAN—implies strongly that California Democrats are un-American and that their views are "foreign".

*September 13, 1962*

DUGGAN—"he [Brown] has a nice record. He's never been in jail."

*September 15, 1962*

DUGGAN—discussing Harry S. Truman's campaign visit to California, states that Truman, in his remarks about Nixon, has behaved like a spoiled brat and a poolroom thug. Duggan sees this as a reflection of the Democrats' wish to see Nixon destroyed. Duggan says the reason for this feeling is: "because the longer he stays in public life—and God help the liberals if he is ever elected President—because then perhaps we will have some investigations that will show them for what they are". He implied that Nixon was the only candidate concerned with preserving the Constitution, institutions and sovereignty of the United States.

*September 17, 1962*

DUGGAN—quotes an article printed in the Citizen's United Press, Inc. This article, ostensibly signed by three former undercover agents for the FBI, attests to the fact that they have personal knowledge of members of the Communist Party as well as those furthering Communist causes actually joining and acting as officers, delegates and members of the California Democratic Council. Duggan names several persons who have acted as agents for the FBI and says "they [the Democrats] can go to these persons—who can identify—have identified the various members of the Democratic Council as members of the Communist Party . . . and that's a definite testimony that they have infiltrated the California Democratic Council". He states that it seems every time Nixon criticizes the Democrats they yell "smear". As an example of this, he cites the reaction of the Democratic Party to Nixon's comments on the California Democratic Council Convention and its rejection of a bill, brought up at the Convention, which "would kick the Communists" out of the party.

*September 20, 1962*

DUGGAN—comments that Brown is mad at Nixon because of Nixon's treatment of Helen Gahagan Douglas. He states that if Mrs. Douglas was not soft on Communism she was ignorant of it and that ". . . she wasn't really capable of holding the office for which she was aspiring". He then states that Brown, as Attorney General of the state, issued a pamphlet intended to be a guide for all peace officers in the state on race relations. Duggan says that the bibliography for this guide contained a large number of works by "Communists, fellow travelers, pro-Communists . . . wild eyed liberals". States that Brown was either soft on Communism when he issued the pamphlet or couldn't spell Communism.

Concludes by saying "he is one of the greatest ignoramuses on Communism that ever lived or he is soft on it". During the program, Duggan quoted State Assemblyman Louis Francis as saying "the Governor's position is not surprising in view of his background of apathy and unconcern about Communism and subversion".

*September 21, 1962*

DUGGAN—quoted Nixon as saying "I want the government to take less from the people so that the people will have more to spend on themselves". Then deprecates Brown's response which sets forth the reasons for taxation. Concludes by stating that if Brown is elected the state will require additional mental health clinics.

*September 22, 1962*

DUGGAN—quoting Nixon's attitude toward Brown's feelings on subversives states: "Nixon feels Brown wouldn't know a subversive if one came up and bit him". States that during Brown's four years as Governor some "... highly questionable people that have been—refused to answer questions before an investigating committee on Communism ..." have given speeches on University campuses.

*September 24, 1962*

DUGGAN—commenting on Brown's requests for federal aid in dealing with the California crime problem and Mayor Yorty's conference with Robert Kennedy on the Moslems in Los Angeles, Duggan wanted to know what Brown and the others had been elected for if they were going to go whining to Washington for help. He notes that a group had been formed to run Adlai Stevenson for Governor. He asks what it would be like with Stevenson as Governor and

answers the question by stating that it could be another Cuba.

*September 25, 1962*

DUGGAN—states that the California Democratic Party is not really a Democratic party. It should be more properly called a liberal party. He compares it to the Illinois Democratic Party and says although that state party was not so “holy” at least it wasn’t international minded. He states that the CDC group in California is actually an Adlai Stevenson group and this was demonstrated by the fact that half the California delegation to the Democratic National Convention voted for Stevenson.

*October 1, 1962*

Concerning Richard Nixon’s remark that State Assemblyman Burton was present at the San Francisco riots, a charge which Burton denied, Duggan stated that he believed Burton was present at the riot and that Brown had stated that Burton’s work in the Legislature was excellent. “He was for the sick and the lame and the lazy and he likes ‘em.” And “if Burton says he wasn’t there, why, we’ll have to find out who was”.

*October 3, 1962*

DUGGAN—states that he is presenting a member of the State and County Democratic Parties in order to maintain a non-partisan position. The Democrat was a Mr. Robert Kiberhall. Upon being questioned, Mr. Kiberhall stated that he was critical of Brown’s attitude toward the Mexican-American community in California because, despite the fact that this group has been loyal to the Democratic Party, Brown had appointed only 22 Mexican-Amer-



icans to positions in the state government. Mr. Kiberhall stated that he is urging the Mexican-American community in his district to abstain from voting for Pat Brown although he is asking them to support every other Democratic candidate.

*October 8, 1962*

Commenting on the ACLU'S position with respect to the release of General Walker from a Federal Hospital, Duggan says that it is amazing how Pemberton (John Pemberton, Jr., Executive Director of the ACLU and a Republican), Pat Brown and the CDC and others can equate the John Birch Society with Communism or fascism.

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