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NELSON

**HOSEA WILLIAMS**  
HAS THE TIGER  
CHANGING  
ITS STRIPES

The Atlanta Journal and The Atlanta Constitution

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Atlanta Weekly

May 24, 1981

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Hosea Williams speaking at Atlanta's Bethel Church.

**This Sunday** When David Morrison began work on a profile of Hosea Williams for *Atlanta Weekly*, he not only uncovered a revealing strata of the history of Atlanta and the civil rights struggle, but excavated deep into his own memories. Morrison was in high school in Birmingham, Alabama, in the early sixties, when "Hosea Williams" was the fear-laden name of one of the loudest of radical activists and social agitators. Later, as a candidate for a masters degree in journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, Morrison wrote extensively about Williams in his thesis, a dissection of Atlanta's 1973 mayor's race. The two first met when their paths crossed at demonstrations in Atlanta when Morrison was reporting city and state politics for *The Atlanta Constitution*, where he is now an assistant national editor. Over the years, Hosea Williams had gone through some changes of his own. He had started a chemical business, incurred a reputation as the terror of Georgia's highways, locked horns with many of his own friends

from the days of civil rights demonstrating, and most recently, embraced a conservative Republican candidate for president. When Morrison buttonholed Williams in the halls of the state legislature for the first of his interviews for this profile, he discovered a man who was considerably more complex than his reputation allowed. In all, there were many interviews, with Williams' allies and detractors, with friends turned enemies, and enemies turned friends, and with Williams himself, who at their last meeting engaged Morrison in an eight-hour marathon conversation inside the windowless, yellow-brick offices of Williams' Southeastern Chemical Company. Williams, recounts Morrison, was one of the most candid subjects he has ever worked with, never once saying the familiar words "off the record" or "don't quote me on this." The result of that openness, and of Morrison's dedication to his subject, is "The Pro and Con of Hosea Williams," beginning on page ten.

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*The Pro  
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# HOSEA WILLIAMS

*He once was a gadfly on the rump of racism, but even his closest friends wonder where he is headed now.*

**T**here is talk these days that he is mellowing. His wife sees him more frequently and is not at all surprised to find him home for dinner as often as twice a week or catch him puttering around in the yard. He talks of resuming his interest in golf, of slowing down, and

the southeastern United States, doing time in more than one hundred cells by his count, while fighting for the cause of Everyman's rights (and for less noble reasons relating to his arrests for attempting to board an airplane with a pistol or for multiple traffic offenses), has come once again into his own. An exile from the ranks of President Carter's black

## By David S. Morrison

Ed C. Thompson



*Hosea Williams confers with Tyrone Brooks in the legislative chamber.*

about purging the poison from his system with prune juice and fasting.

Publicly, he sits quietly at his desk near the side door of the chamber of the Georgia House of Representatives reading scraps of paper or documents that pertain to one or another piece of legislation, sorting telephone messages he intends to answer from the ever-increasing sheaf, fondling correspondence on White House letterheads about evaluations and policy decisions that will be necessary before the implementation of programs that he has proposed since January.

He is partial to three-piece suits — navy blue with a pinstripe that is a shade lighter — and the once-bushy black goatee, which helped editorial cartoonists capture his devilish, lead-with-the-chin style of political combat, has given way to muttonchop side-whiskers reminiscent of the black Republican politicians depicted in Reconstruction-era daguerreotypes.

In short, it seems Hosea Williams has turned another corner. Bastard child of a blind girl from Attapulgus, Georgia, Hosea Williams, who threw off the shackles of a successful, middle-class, social-climbing existence to embark on a twenty-year career as a rabble-rouser and gadfly on the rump of racism and injustice and who toured the jails of

the ranks of President Carter's black supporters, he has been resurrected as a lonely black voice in the kitchen cabinet of a conservative Republican administration. Hosea Williams, the leader of Martin Luther King's shock troops, the agitator's agitator, the one man in America who — as one wag put it — "could scare the sheet out of a Klansman," whose legions of picketers and demonstrators were the bane of Atlanta businessmen in the 1970's, has become the champion of free enterprise and of President Ronald Reagan, who in one budget-writing session threatens to dismantle many of the legislative gains that the civil rights movement had secured.

But if his new role seems contradictory, it is that much more in character. Hosea Williams is a man who could, in the space of a month, be courted by the White House and be sentenced to a year in jail for a traffic violation, and take it all in stride. Since his youth, he has embodied complexity, personified the controversial and flamboyant to a degree that has made him an enigma even to those who know him well: his friends, his family. "He's just as surprising to me as he is to everybody else," says his wife, Juanita, of his latest transformation. "He's a whole different person."

ace-in-the-hole of a rheumatic heart, reported for his physical.

To his surprise, the ace was trumped, and he was drafted. The Army treated his heart and sent him to serve with General George Patton's Third Army in Germany as an automatic weapons carrier.

Thirteen of his buddies from basic training went with him and in one battle all were killed except him. While he was being carried away wounded from the field of battle, a German grenade exploded beneath his stretcher and both bearers were killed. After his days in a British hospital, he was left with some life-long souvenirs: a leg-full of purple scars, bridgework in his mouth, and a metal plate in his head.

Sergeant Hosea Williams headed home with a walking cane and "a whole chest-full of medals." His bus stopped in Americus, Georgia. It was a hot day and Sergeant Williams asked the clerk if he might leave the cramped colored waiting-room where the water fountain was out of order to get a drink from the white fountain. She refused. So he bought a cup of coffee, drank it down, and walked to the front of the terminal, leaned in the door and tried to fill his cup at the white fountain without violating the sacred white waiting-space.

"They beat me until I was unconscious," he says. "They thought I was dead. A funeral home came and picked me up in the limousine and it wasn't till they got me to the funeral home that they realized I

bridge and Cheney Griffin was his white counterpart. When the Army Air Force closed its base there, it left its airfield to the city and its officers' club to the Jaycees, whose president was the up-and-coming Mr. Cheney Griffin. He got Williams a job running the place, and Williams recalls that together they connived ways to stick Cheney's guests with big checks and spent many an afternoon tapping the establishment's illegal slot machines.

Soon Cheney began to encourage Hosea to complete his education, to go to college. "Cheney Griffin," Williams recalls, with his voice for once

from Morris Brown College, and became a full-time Atlanta University student working on his master's degree, teaching school in Douglasville and, later, Conyers. He worked nights at the post office sorting mail and on weekends at the East Lake Country Club in southeast Atlanta, just up the street from where he and Juanita now live.

"We needed the money," she remembers, "but it wasn't just that. He had all this energy that had to be put in some direction. He never could just relax. At that time of his life, he just put it into work."

In the early 1950's, Williams took

owned a collection agency and an income tax service, both of which he used, he says now, to "rob more poor people than I care to remember." As a bill collector with the liberal use of a local judge's wage attachment and garnishment orders, he enthusiastically applied service charges, interest, penalties, and other fees to the debts he collected. And the tax service was little more than a simplified loan-sharking operation in which Williams would prepare the tax return, advance the taxpayer about half of what he was entitled to in refund, and have the full refund check signed over to him.

But Hosea Williams' life was destined to change. In the late 1950's Martin Luther King Jr. was winning his battles in Montgomery, Alabama, and elsewhere. By 1961 the civil rights movement was about to come to fruition with the full backing of the youthful President John F. Kennedy and his crusading attorney general, brother Robert. A combination of motives was pulling Hosea Williams out of his complacency and into the maelstrom of the civil rights struggle.

In an emotional speech to the House of Representatives this year, he referred to the first of two events that led directly to his abrupt switch from token Negro to leader in the movement for equality. It began in frustration, he said, when his children, seeing white kids spinning around on stools at a drugstore soda fountain



General Home that they realized I wasn't dead. I spent the next five weeks flat on my back in the Veteran's Hospital in Thomasville with one thought on my mind — that I'd fought on the wrong side."

Foundering in his hometown, doing odd jobs, having a wife and a child and no education, Hosea Williams was not at all certain what he wanted out of life. It was at about that time that he fell in with a young Bainbridge hellion named Cheney Griffin, whose brother Marvin would go on to become governor of Georgia and one of the most infamous of the segregationists of the 1950's and 1960's.

"There was never two brothers who were more different," says Williams. "Marvin Griffin was a racist to the core. White superiority was an obsession with him. Racism was a way of life, a philosophy. Cheney was more like Lester Maddox and George Wallace. They were segregationists because it was politically expedient. Cheney was much more willing to accept a person for what he was."

The two became fast friends. Hosea Williams was president of the black American Legion post in Bain-

### *Williams' endorsement of Reagan proceeded from a belief in his economics.*

dropping to an emotional whisper, "sent me to college. He paid my way. I'd have never gone if he hadn't sent me."

**H**osea Williams left his ex-wife and child at home in Attapulugus and went to Atlanta to become a student at Morris Brown College, majoring in chemistry. In the state's capital city, he met the woman who was to be his second wife, Juanita Terry. She considered herself to be a somewhat sophisticated young lady who had worked in Washington, D. C., for the federal government and was holding down a good job as a secretary for the black-owned Citizens Trust Bank in Atlanta.

"He came into the bank just being his own self," she recalls. "Just flirtin' and carryin' on like he does now. Those college boys thought since I worked in a bank that I was rich. And I thought that they were somethin' since they were going to college."

They were married in 1951. Williams received his bachelor's degree

his family to Savannah, where he had won a job as a reasearch chemist for the Bureau of Entomology of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Enscenced on Gilbert Street, neighbor of the city's prominent black professionals, he rose steadily in his job to what he describes as the "nigger ceiling" while at the same time becoming, in his words, "the first black in Savannah with a zoysia lawn; the worst social climber imaginable."

By 1955, he was able to pay sixty-five thousand dollars for his brick, ranch-style house, twelve hundred dollars for a coat for his wife, and he adds, "I took a lot of pride in buying the first Cadillac that came off the line every year." It wasn't unusual for Hosea and Juanita Williams to hop over to the islands for a weekend of fun and frolic in those days, the money was so plentiful.

At times Williams' government job seemed almost a sideline compared with the number and variety of his other activities. He ran a barbecue stand, an ice cream parlor, and an exterminating company. He also

and wanting to join the fun, fell to the floor crying when their father told them they could not.

"I found myself kneeling down over my two kids and saying to myself, 'I cannot tell you the truth — that I can't let you because you are black.' That's when I got out of the chemistry lab and started marching. I left there with my two sons crying and I promised my two sons one thing: 'One day I will bring you back.'"

But the transmogrification of Hosea Williams was rooted not only in indignation, but in a deeper and more personal force: his own guilt. It was largely his desire to atone for his affluence, his elevated circumstances over others of his own race, that thrust Williams into the movement with all the vigor of a born-again Christian just moments out of the baptistry, with all the confidence of a reformed drunk touting the virtues of a new-found temperance.

As an adolescent, Hosea Williams used to wander the streets of Bainbridge, always winding up at the same place — the well-kept house and grounds of a prominent white







**H**osea Lorenzo Williams was a grown man with children of his own before he met his father, a blind broom-maker named Willie Wiggins. It was a strange meeting, as he tells it. Once, as a boy of about ten who'd been regaled about how much he was like his absent father, young Hosea wrote a letter to Jacksonville, to the only address he knew, asking for a new sharkskin suit for Easter. There was never a reply. But it was something that haunted him and once with wife and

white-owned turpentine plantation and an entrepreneur who ran a barber shop, cut and hauled firewood for the white folks, and sold whiskey to the blacks.

Although Hosea's mother had shamed the family, she and her child were taken in by her father. Later she died giving birth to her second child, and Hosea and his sister, Teresa, were raised by Turner Williams as his own. After his mother's death, Hosea Wiggins took his grand-

*Hosea in action: speaking to followers and being arrested during demonstrations against Police Chief John Inman in the summer of 1974.*



...and one, with wife and kids loaded in the car headed for a football game in Jacksonville, Williams stopped at a fruit stand. Curiosity more than anything prompted him to ask the vendor whether he knew a man by the name of Willie Wiggins. "You mean blind Willie?" came back the reply. "He lives about three houses down the road."

The subject of the sharkskin suit never came up until several visits after that first one, when the old man took his oldest son aside and showed him a crumpled letter from a boy of ten in Attapulgus, Georgia. "He told me that it broke his heart when he got that letter," Williams recalls. "He said he had wanted nothing more than to send me that sharkskin suit, but he didn't have any money, and he wanted to know if I'd forgive him."

His mother had run away from a school for the blind in Macon after she'd discovered she was going to have a baby, never giving Willie Wiggins a chance to be its legitimate father. She was the daughter of Turner Williams, a fierce and hard-working black man in Decatur County, Georgia, a woods rider on a

father's name and became Hosea Williams.

Turner Williams, the grandson recalls, "was the most sinful, evil, mean man who walked," a hard-drinking man who by the time Hosea reached young adulthood had put at least three men in their graves with his .38 caliber Smith & Wesson pistol — a terrifying weapon built with a six-inch barrel on a .45 caliber frame. One man died beside a camp fire that he'd pushed Hosea's sister into. Another died on Turner Williams' front porch when he made the mistake of trying to settle an argument with his own gun. The third was killed on the steps of a church on a Sunday morning.

In contrast to her husband, Hosea Williams' grandmother was a saint. "People would come from miles to hear her pray. If there is anybody in heaven 'cept God, it's that woman," he recalls. "When that woman died, it just bust Papa's heart strings. . . . We's at the funeral and the preacher started preaching about how evil Papa was. Everybody knew Papa carried that gun with him always and, when he got up in the back of that room, they thought that preacher

was dead. Papa walked right up to him and put out his hand and said, 'I want to join the church.' He became a deacon, then treasurer, the chairman of the ushers' board. He became the biggest Christian in the world."

Hosea Williams lived with his grandfather until he was about fourteen, when wanderlust coincided with an accusation that he'd been paying too much attention to a poor white girl who lived nearby. Although Turner Williams stood off the lynch mob with his own ferocity and, later, with the help of the county's white patriarch, Wonnie Miller, young Hosea thought it was time to set out on his own.

He picked up odd jobs across north Florida and also somehow acquired an ability to get into trouble and get out again with his life. While working in a kitchen on an Army post, he incurred the dislike of an older man who one day attacked him with a kitchen knife. Williams retaliated with the first implement he could lay a hand on — an ice pick. "I must have stuck him fifty times," Williams recalls with some glee. "He was bleeding out of little holes all over him. Looked like a sprinkler."

He ran away to the coast where he landed another kitchen job and Williams recalls one night in another altercation hitting a man with a liquor bottle squarely in the face. "I honestly don't know whether he lived or died," he says. "I didn't stick around to find out."

Eventually the young man fell in with A. C. "Red" Cummings, a tall, light-skinned Negro gambler who had just spent ten years in prison for murder. Cummings trained Williams in the art of cards, then used him as a decoy as they worked the orange grove work-camps and citrus towns of central and south Florida in the late 1930's.

"I'd get to a place a day early and then Red would come in," Williams recalls. "We'd get in a card game and I'd win a fellow's money and then Red would win it from me. We'd split fifty-fifty. The fellow couldn't get mad at me because I'd lost my money, too."

Hosea tired of this life and returned home. After he had had a bout with rheumatic fever, the war came, and Hosea, wanting to prove to his buddies that he was man enough to be in the Army but holding the

ace-in-the-hole of a rheumatic heart, reported for his physical. To his surprise, the ace was white counterpart. When the Army bridge and Cheney Griffin was his from Morris Brown College, and became a full-time Atlanta University student working on his master's degree. Air Force closed its base there, it left used, he says now, to "rob more poor owned a collection agency and an in-

doctor. Taking up virtually a whole city block, the estate was surrounded by a large iron fence.

"I used to look at that house through that fence and I could see the people in the house looking out at me," he remembers. "For them to invite me in would have been the height of my ambition."

There was a fence in Savannah, too. It separated Hosea Williams' yard from those of the poor blacks who lived along the bluff beside the river.

"One day," says Williams, "I was sitting in my den looking out through this big sliding-glass door ... watching my kids playing in the yard and I saw some of the fishermen's kids come toward the fence. They were dirty, looked like they had syrup all in their hair, raggedy. I said to Juanita, 'Lord, I hope those kids don't come up to the fence. ... They might teach Hosea Jr. some bad habits.'

"I guess Juanita had had a drink of scotch or something, otherwise she'd never have said it, but she lit into me and said, 'Maybe you ought to hope that Hosea Jr. can teach those kids some good habits!'

"It dawned on me then that all those years, I'd been running from my past. I did not see those little fishermen's kids out there looking through my fence. I saw little Hosea Williams walking around the fence in Bainbridge wishing only that he could get inside. I was ashamed. I was really ashamed."

**T**he first time that Williams spent the night in jail was one of the longest times. He'd been leaving his job at the Department of Agriculture on his lunch hour, rushing downtown to the Tomochichi Rock in Wright Square where he would make a quick speech, then hurrying back to work. Evenings, he would lead a collection of teenagers and a few older blacks through the streets of Savannah protesting all forms of discrimination. His new militancy caused him to be ousted from the local branch of the NAACP. Municipal Judge Victor Mulling had Williams arrested until he could post a thirty-thousand-dollar peace bond to insure that he would not

intrude on others' civil or property rights with his demonstrations. Williams stayed in jail thirty days, until C&S's Mills B. Lane Jr., speaking for the city's power structure, agreed to the integration of Savannah's public facilities.

During his incarceration, Williams says, "I came as close to breaking as I've ever come." But he didn't, and in December 1963 he left his lab job and returned to Atlanta to work as one of King's field lieutenants in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Before he was edged out of his position a few months before King's death in the spring of 1968, he was running the largest of the SCLC's staff contingents, supervising hundreds of college students who had come south to help with the voter registration drives.

"Hosea was always ready when something needed to be done," says John Lewis, who headed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. "When no one else was ready to organize a march or conduct a movement, Hosea was." He could inflame passions within people as effectively as anyone and calm fears as well. "Hosea liked to sing," says Lewis. "You'd get real scared at the height of the tension and old Hosea would just bellow out, 'Oh, Freedom! Ain't gonna let anybody turn me around.' It would give us a lot of solidarity and at the same time, it would confuse and bewilder the opposition."

Lewis, who was beaten bloody by Alabama State Troopers after walking shoulder to shoulder with Williams up to the Edmund Pettus Bridge outside Selma on March 7, 1965, calls the Selma march Hosea Williams' finest hour as a leader but adds that Williams' work in places like Americus, Sandersville, and Hancock County became more significant in the long run. While the smaller towns did not provide the large numbers of people registering to vote that would have attracted immediate attention in the late 1960's, Williams' organizational efforts led to the creation of political organizations of black people, some of which still are active and effective.

To a large extent, Williams was the fiercest of King's

tigers, a perfect foil for King's more moderate lieutenants such as Andrew Young, whose stock-in-trade was negotiating with whites after they'd had a taste of Hosea Williams, his marches, and his singing. "They'd agree to anything with Andy," a member of the movement once said, "just to get Hosea out of town."

**T**he years following King's death were hard ones for the civil rights movement, and were even harder for Hosea Williams. It was a time during which he ventured out into some of his more bizarre escapades — traveling to Libya to award its leader, terrorist sympathizer Moammar Khadafy, the Martin Luther King Jr. Peace Medalion — and faced some of his more severe personal problems. The SCLC seemed on the verge of falling apart. The debt-ridden chemical company he took over collapsed into bankruptcy when C&S, according to Williams, foreclosed his loan because its management objected to his tactics in a dispute with city hall over taxicab regulation. Williams was sued by a book publisher for breach of contract after he accepted a ten-thousand-dollar advance on his memoirs, only to spend it to finance demonstrations. It was a time, his friends say, when he was battling the bottle, when his body began showing the years of wear and abuse. His name began appearing in the paper more frequently for traffic offenses than for his demonstrations. His problems climaxed in 1978, when he checked into the exclusive Uppergate Pavilion at Emory University Hospital for a three-week stay to help him pull it all back together again. The cure was not permanent. On April 24, 1981, the most recent of Williams' misadventures came to a resolution when he was convicted in Superior Court in DeKalb County of driving without a license and leaving the scene of an accident in which a person was injured. Although he is appealing, he was sentenced to a year in prison.

But while his life seemed at times in disarray, his activities in the movement continued unabated. With King dead, the diversity of personalities among his followers

had become more apparent. Those, like Williams, who insisted that the movement continue in the same vein — in the streets, in the jail houses — were shunted aside. The King family, officially headed by the leader's widow, Coretta, set about the task of building a multimillion-dollar memorial, the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Social Change. Williams was publicly resentful, complaining that continuation of the SCLC and its work was the kind of monument that Martin Luther King Jr. needed. Also, says one movement leader, "there was a lot of personal bitterness, too, about Coretta's being thrust into the limelight as the leader of the movement. People like Hosea felt, and probably rightly so, that it was a role she had not earned. They either said or thought, 'She just stayed home and took care of the kids while it was all going on. But I was there. I was with him.'"

Dr. Ralph Abernathy, who had personally ordained the Reverend Hosea Williams into the ministry, succeeded King as SCLC president. He gave Williams what amounts to the only franchise SCLC has ever allowed. The Metro Atlanta SCLC has since evolved into an independent body not responsible to the national organization. It has been a source of great pride for its leader, Hosea Williams, who states that its target is the "only city in America that Martin Luther King could not crack, would not crack," King's hometown, Atlanta.

To have challenged Atlanta, Williams explains, King would have had to challenge his father, Martin Luther King Sr., and the remainder of the city's so-called black power structure, a group typified in the early 1970's by insurance man Jesse Hill, then-State Senator Leroy Johnson, contractor Herman Russell — people who had given King's movement great support, as long as it was in the streets of other cities.

Williams believed that the group had subscribed to the philosophy of the white power brokers which, put succinctly, was "What's good

for business is good for Atlanta." Civil rights demonstrations were not good for business.

More than other leaders, Hosea Williams believed that the future of the civil rights struggle lay in assaulting economic injustice. From his tiny base, Williams attacked the pillars of Atlanta's business community. He took to the streets against Sears, Roebuck and Co., against Citizens and Southern National Bank, Mead Packaging, Church's Fried Chicken, and Atlanta Newspapers, Inc. He demonstrated against evangelist Billy Graham; and Rich's department stores, an action which in April of 1973 prompted then-chairman Richard Rich to describe Williams as "a charlatan, a drunkard, and an extortionist." (Williams is reported to have responded that he might take a drink every now and then, but not enough to be classified a drunkard, and he might pass the collection plate every now and then, but not enough to be called an extortionist. "And I ain't never been to Charlotte.") Williams filed suit against Rich for the comment, which the board chairman had made at a meeting at Emory University when he mistakenly thought he was out of earshot of the press. The action dragged on for about three years, past Rich's death, until it finally was thrown out of court.

In his controversial opposition to Atlanta's business establishment, Williams carved some notable successes. Sears agreed to a lengthy list of affirmative-action measures, such as keeping an average daily balance of four hundred thousand dollars in a black-owned bank, purchasing ads in black-owned newspapers, such as Hosea Williams' own *Crusader*, increasing its business with black subcontractors, and reviewing its policy concerning hiring of "one-time offenders who have paid their debt to society."

In 1973, Williams had an opportunity to take on both the white business establishment and the city's black power structure. It was a fight that propelled him into becoming a surprise entry in the race for the newly

created post of president of the Atlanta City Council. Maynard Jackson, who had been vice mayor, was in a head-to-head mayoral campaign against white incumbent Sam Massell. Although Jackson was considered the favorite, he could not afford an all-out campaign against the well-financed Massell. So, Williams relates, Jackson's political mentors Jesse Hill and Herman Russell went to the "white power structure," and proposed the following deal: if the captains of banking, business, and industry in the city would provide Jackson with the kind of money he needed to run a good campaign, they, the "black power structure," would see to it that no black with a chance of winning would enter the race for the council presidency. Furthermore, they promised to give full support to the white council-presidency candidate, alderman Wade Mitchell, and to endorse him on "the ticket," a flyer signed by Hill, Leroy Johnson, "Daddy" King, and other prominent blacks, to be distributed prior to election day in the black community.

Williams says he had no motivation for entering that campaign except calling attention to and "busting the deal." He says he met with Jackson and some of his other advisers (lawyer David Franklin, airline executive John Cox, who then was director of the Butler Street YMCA, and A. Reginald Eaves) in the offices of Fleetwood Dunston, a black office-equipment dealer, to discuss the race.

Williams recalls he proposed a deal of his own. "I told Maynard, 'Unless that ticket comes out with your name on top and mine second, I'm going to bust you wide open.'" The ticket came out, without Williams' name, just as had been planned, and Jackson, for whatever motive, repudiated it. When the votes were counted, Alderman Wyche Fowler was in first place for a runoff spot with Williams about one hundred votes behind him. Nobody was more surprised at the outcome than Hosea Williams. The standing joke of the day was that, should Williams win the runoff, he'd immediately demand a recount. He did not win, of course, but he put up a good fight those last three weeks. He moderated his rhetoric and started talking about a wide range of campaign issues, with only an occasional flare-up at Fowler on the stump. At the request of advisers, he even borrowed a suit and started wearing it for public appearances.

"We didn't know I had that kind of support from the people of this city," he says now. "They [his opponents] never thought that those middle-class Negroes would ever get out and vote for me. Well, I never thought they would get out and vote for me either."

The next time, however, Williams was more confident of his support. He ran for a seat in the Georgia General Assembly in 1974 and won.

The legislature has become Hosea Williams' metier. After a shaky start and a poor attendance record, he has become an adept politician, aware — as he puts it — that "the art of politics is compromise."

House Speaker Thomas B. Murphy Jr. of Breman praises the one-time antiestablish-

ment agitator's "conservative" politics. "I wish," Murphy whispered in an aside as he watched hawklike over the proceedings on the floor of the House during the recent session, "that I had one hundred eighty who voted just like him. He'll vote conservatively on just about every issue. He's never caused us any problems up here.

He's been a perfect gentleman. Don't let anybody tell you that he doesn't know what he's doing or that he ain't smart. Hosea Williams has got a whole head full of brains."

Representative Crawford Ware, a Hogansville Democrat who with Murphy was present during the 1967 session when the House re-

fused to seat black legislator Julian Bond because of his anti-Vietnam War politics, says of Williams, whom many at that time considered more of a radical than Bond: "On a scale of one to ten, with ten being the best legislator, I'd have to rate him about an eight overall. I'd heard a lot about Hosea Williams before he came up here and

I did not know what to expect. I had reservations, but he soon cured those.

"I was surprised that, in spite of all his demonstrating against business, he was really free enterprise oriented. His background is business and he is always looking for the free-enterprise angle on something. . . . I find that he and I

think a lot alike on a lot of things."

Williams' own experience as entrepreneur and a certain knowledge of and respect for some Atlanta businessmen he had gained when he opposed them over civil rights issues had combined to give Williams a profound belief in conservative, free-enterprise, anti-wel-

fare economics. It is partly for this reason that conservative Democratic politicians like Murphy and Ware are not the least surprised about the support that Williams, who insists that he still is a Democrat, has given the Republican President. Even close friends of Williams, like Representative Tyrone Brooks, an Atlanta Democrat

who was Williams' protege in the movement and who now occupies the seat next to his old friend in the House chamber, insist that Williams' supporting Reagan in the election, and supporting him now, is a correct thing to do. "He believes, and I think he's right about this, that black people and poor people have to be smart enough to be bipartisan," Brooks explains. "Our salvation does not rest in one party. Sure, we may have differences with the Republican administration. But he had differences with the Democratic administration as well. The difference is that Williams had no redress of grievances with the Democratic administration because he was on the outside, not in the inner circle. Now he is in the inner circle, or at least as close to the inner circle as any other black man in America. If Ralph and Hosea had not gone to Reagan, we black people would not have had our ambassadors to the Republican administration."

Juanita Williams does not attribute the endorsement entirely to pragmatism, citing in addition a new twist in her husband's familiar idealism. "Hosea had this obsession that God put him on this earth to look after people who didn't have the sense or courage to look after themselves," she explains. "But this political thing is part of a new attitude he's got: that he's not going to be around forever and the people have got to stand on their own two feet and not depend on him, white folks, the government, or anybody. . . . He sees in Reagan a chance for people to get some economic security."

But what if Reagan's promises are empty?

"Hosea is not going to be looking for any fights," says the woman who knows him best. "But he's no Uncle Tom. If a fight comes, he'll take it on." Her estimation concurs with the school of thought that holds that no matter what motivated Williams to endorse Reagan, no matter how mellow he has become, it is only a matter of time before an inevitable Armageddon. Some recall the ringing in his voice and the tears of outrage in his eyes when Hosea Williams spoke to his colleagues in the House one day during the last session, denouncing them for their defeat of an amendment that would have helped black businessmen do more business with state government. His words echoed back through the chamber to his first days as a leader atop Tomochichi Rock in downtown Savannah. "Equal access to opportunity, that's all I want," he lamented. "We ask for some crumbs from your table when you owe us a loaf of bread. You deny us those crumbs and still expect us to buck-dance and smile. . . ."

"What you've done up here this afternoon you ought to try and correct it. I'm going to pray for you. I ain't never going to hate you. But I ain't ever going to let you make a boy out of me, either."

There was a suspicion, among those in the room that day, that Hosea Williams, who marched in Selma in 1965, who led the mule train to "Resurrection City" in Washington, D. C., in 1968 against civil rights-minded President Lyndon Baines Johnson, will eventually march on Ronald Reagan's Washington as well. ■

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR CRAIG FULLER

FROM: ED GRAY

RE: PRESIDENT'S NAACP SPEECH

Pursuant to your request, attached are suggestions for the  
NAACP speech from OPD staffers.



MEMORANDUM


THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 1981

JUN 5 1981

TO: ED GRAY

FROM: MEL BRADLEY 

SUBJ: President's speech to the NAACP

The following is a random list of issues that should be discussed by the President. This was put together rather quickly, but I'm continuing to meet with the speechwriters.

I. THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY PLAN AND ITS IMPACT ON BLACKS

The President should be in a teaching mode for this part of the presentation. He should show how the percent of families below the poverty level fell during periods of economic growth, and how it rose during periods of economic decline. The effects of inflation is disproportionately adverse to poor families --- families who spend 70-80% of their income on essentials. Adjusting for inflation, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) benefits have actually declined over the last 10 years. Industries in which blacks had made significant gains in employment (auto and steel) have been particularly hard hit. In 1960, for example, the American auto industry produced nearly half of all cars in the world. Today, it produces barely more than a fifth.

Blacks are looking for jobs. A significant part of the Reagan campaign was JOBS, JOBS, JOBS...Put America Back to Work. The President should stress that jobs will be created as a result of this economic program. It's important also that the President emphasize that he is committed to blacks getting a fair share of those jobs.

Responding to the Congressional Black Caucus' budget, David Stockman said "My overall reaction is that the alternative shows more concern for Federal programs than it does for what really determines the income and well being of Black Americans--this Nation's economy. Individual programs within the budget have been shown to have relatively little impact, while the size and financing of the budget have a major impact on the economy and thus the well being of millions of Black Americans.

II. BLOCK GRANTS

Allay fears regarding block grants. Discuss the civil rights component of the grants. The President may want to quote Shirley Chisholm who said it was clear that the old programs did not work and she was willing to give the President's program a chance.

III. ENTERPRISE ZONE CONCEPT

Commitment to minority business development...specifically the Section 8(a) program.

The President must say something about the Voting Rights Bill...to say nothing would be saying a lot.

Commitment to the survival of black colleges. The President may want to slightly chastise the NAACP for the apparent silence regarding the Legal Defense Fund's efforts to destroy the integrity of the black colleges.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 1981

JUN 5 1981

TO: RON FRANKUM  
FROM: DAN J. SMITH *DJS*  
SUBJECT: President's Speech to the NAACP

The following topics are suggested for the President's speech:

1. The importance of the Economic Recovery Program and its affects upon the Black community
2. Administration efforts to assist minority businessmen
3. Black appointees

I am working with the speech writer on the address and will be giving him detailed remarks next week.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 1981

JUN 5 1981

FOR: ED GRAY  
THROUGH: RON FRANKUM  
FROM: SHANNON FAIRBANKS *S*  
RE: PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO THE NAACP

There is an intense isolation and fear in the black community about this Administration and its programs.

The fear is built in part on an historic link between Southern conservatism and racism, and in part by the success of Jimmy Carter's campaign strategy to politicize fear.

To meet this problem, I suggest that the President announce his desire to form a panel of black leaders to create a permanent communication link for his Administration.


A bridge must be built.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 4, 1981

TO: MARTIN ANDERSON  
VIA: ED GRAY  
FROM: DAN J. SMITH   
SUBJECT: PROPOSED ATLANTA LEG OF DENVER TOUR

Should a decision be made to make the stop in Atlanta I recommended as part of the Presidential trip to Denver for the NAACP address, I would further recommend that in Atlanta:

- 1) The President attend the Sunday morning service at Rev. David Abernathy's West Hunter Street Baptist Church. Four minutes of Presidential remarks would be appropriate, perhaps centered around Federal efforts to end the Atlanta murders.
- 2) The President meet with local officials to get a briefing on law enforcement efforts to solve the case.
- 3) The President accompany State Representative Hosea Williams to the home of one murder victim (two of the victims resided in Rev. Williams' district). The President should personally convey the sympathy of the nation to the family and give assurance that all is being done to bring those responsible to justice.

As both Abernathy and Williams are experiencing increased local criticism for their continuing support of the President, we need to take the aforementioned steps to shore up their prestige. (I would note that Major Charles Evers of Mississippi, who also endorsed the President last October, was recently defeated in his bid for reelection.)

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 9, 1981

TO: MARTIN ANDERSON  
VIA: ED GRAY  
FROM: DAN J. SMITH *DJS*  
SUBJECT: Requests from Rev. Hosea Williams

The Rev. Hosea Williams has made four requests of the White House via the Office of Public Liaison. Mrs. Dole's office has asked for our recommendation. The requests are:

- 1) Provide a letter of introduction from the President to Prime Minister Suzuki of Japan endorsing Rev. Williams efforts to obtain Japanese investment in black communities in the U.S.
- 2) Provide a high-ranking Embassy Tokyo officer to accompany Rev. Williams and a small group of black businessmen during their appointments in Tokyo while on a Japanese-sponsored economic goodwill mission.
- 3) White House assistance, subsequent to their visit to Japan, in inviting Japanese industrialists to the U.S. to explore Japanese/Afro-American economic partnership.
- 4) Prior to the implementation of their program Rev. Williams wishes to have a brief visit with the President along with several high-ranking Japanese officials (including their foreign trade representative Okita) on Friday, June 12 to discuss how Williams Japanese initiative can support the President's economic program.

The National Security Council has reviewed these requests and have endorsed them. The State Department provided a inscrutable response. Mel Bradley and I have discussed these as well and believe that they are reasonable if properly managed.

*Norman  
Bailey*

Proper management means:

- 1) Replacing the letter of introduction with a conversational reference between Ambassador Mansfield and the Prime Minister several weeks before the visit.
- 2) Providing the Embassy officer.
- 3) Have the White House informally seek a nonprofit organization to serve as the sponsor of a Japanese-Black American Business Conference.
- 4) Strictly limiting the time, topics and publicity on the Friday meeting.
- 5) Requiring that Rev. Williams take on a volunteer legal and diplomatic advisor to help him properly handle all of his Japanese and White House contacts.

An immediate decision is required about the Friday meeting.

cc: Mel Bradley

Ed Gray

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 9, 1981

*Don Smith  
- clear with NSC -*

TO: MARTIN ANDERSON  
VIA: ED GRAY  
FROM: DAN J. SMITH *(initials)*  
SUBJECT: Requests from Rev. Hosea Williams

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- 1) Provide a letter of introduction from the President to Prime Minister Suzuki of Japan endorsing Rev. Williams efforts to obtain Japanese investment in black communities in the U.S. *no*
- 2) Provide a high-ranking Embassy Tokyo officer to accompany Rev. Williams and a small group of black businessmen during their appointments in Tokyo while on a Japanese-sponsored economic goodwill mission. *It's maybe*
- 3) White House assistance, subsequent to their visit to Japan, in inviting Japanese industrialists to the U.S. to explore Japanese/Afro-American economic partnership. *ok*
- 4) Prior to the implementation of their program Rev. Williams wishes to have a brief visit with the *NO:* President along with several high-ranking Japanese officials (including their foreign trade representative Okita) on Friday, June 12 to discuss how Williams Japanese initiative can support the President's economic program. *?*

The National Security Council has reviewed these requests and have endorsed them. The State Department provided a inscrutable response. Mel Bradley and I have discussed these as well and believe that they are reasonable if properly managed. *not so*



Proper management means:

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- 5) Requiring that Rev. Williams take on a volunteer legal and diplomatic advisor to help him properly handle all of his Japanese and White House contacts.

An immediate decision is required about the Friday meeting.

cc: Mel Bradley

*Talk to Bauls  
o state government  
o don't do 4.*

REV. HOSEA L. WILLIAMS  
Representative, District 54  
8 East Lake Drive, N.E.  
Atlanta, Georgia 30317  
Telephone: 404-373-5751  
522-8285



## House of Representatives

Atlanta, Georgia

### COMMITTEES

INDUSTRY  
Tourist Relations,  
Secretary  
INSURANCE  
Health, Life & Accident,  
Vice Chairman  
SPECIAL JUDICIARY  
Inquiry & Investigation,  
Chairman

June 10, 1981

Dr. Martin Anderson  
Assistant to the President for  
Policy Development  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Dr. Anderson:

For your information, please find enclosed a copy of the recent article done on me by the Sunday magazine section of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION.

The author, Mr. David Morrison, attempted to expose me as an individual rather than concentrating on my political and civil rights accomplishments.

Hoping to visit you some time in the near future.

In God we trust,

*Hosea L. Williams*

Hosea L. Williams

HLW/tlr  
Enclosure

P.S. Don't believe the several "chins" in the sketch (smile).

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 10, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM:

JANET COLSON *JC*

SUBJECT:

Hosea Williams' Requests Re: Japan

The following may come up at one of your morning meetings today:

Martin Anderson called me yesterday to say that Hosea Williams was requesting White House Assistance with respect to arranging a meeting with Prime Minister Suzuki, Embassy red carpet treatment during his proposed visit to Japan, and White House assistance in arranging for Japanese businessmen to come to the US for discussions of Black/Japanese business deals.

Martin indicated that the NSC had concurred with all of the above requests.

I called Don Gregg, who was at CIA most of the day. Before I could talk with him, Martin called back to say that his staff had told him that it was Norm Bailey of the NSC staff who indicated NSC approval.

I called Norm, who indicated that Dan Smith had been discussing the issue with him and who said his response simply had been "sure, why not?"

After talking with Norm, Don returned my call and said he was aware of Hosea Williams' request, that he thought it was a touchy one, and that State was looking at it carefully.

*Marky -  
I am not enthusiastic  
It would be <sup>misguided</sup> to do this  
if we try to do this  
Anke*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: Marty Anderson <sup>7/8</sup> 61 JUL -9 A8:45

FROM: KARNA SMALL

Here's the latest episode  
in the continuing saga  
of Hosea Williams and  
his band of travelers.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 25, 1981

FOR: JAMES A. BAKER  
VIA: MARTIN ANDERSON  
FROM: DAN J. SMITH *DJS*  
RE: JAPANESE TRIP OF REV. HOSEA WILLIAMS  
cc: Elizabeth Dole, Richard Allen, Thelma Duggin,  
Don Gregg

The following is a status report on the arrangements being made by the White House to aid Rev. Hosea Williams' in his forthcoming visit to Japan. Rev. Williams' visit has as its purpose the fostering of economic ties between black American and Japanese businesses. The trip will be funded by the nonprofit International House of Japan and is tentatively set for July 10 to July 20.

On May 2, 1981, Rev. Williams made four requests of the White House:

1. A brief letter of introduction from the President to the Prime Minister of Japan.

Status: It was decided, after consultation with Martin Anderson and Richard Allen, that more appropriate means of introduction were available. Accordingly, the State Department has been requested to cable our Embassy in Tokyo requesting that Ambassador Mansfield inform both the Japanese Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Rev. Williams' visit and indicate that any courtesies extended to Rev. Williams to make his trip a success would be appreciated. A similar effort would be made by the third-ranking Embassy officer with the Japanese Minister for International Trade and Industry.

Rev. Williams' Japanese hosts, however, continue to press for some type of introductory letter from the President to the Prime Minister in order to make the visit a "100 percent success." Rev. Williams, in turn, continues to press for such a letter from the White House despite careful explanations of adequacy of aforementioned approach, the admission by his Japanese hosts that the alternative approach has an "80 percent probability of success", and the explanation that such a letter is specifically prohibited by White House policy (see point 1 on page 2 and point 6 on page 3 of the June 18th memorandum on Presidential Message Guidelines).

Rev. Williams can be expected to voice his concerns about such a letter in the strongest possible terms in phone calls or telegrams today to Mr. Baker and Mrs. Dole.

2. That a high-ranking officer of the American Embassy in Toyko accompany the Williams group to their various Japanese appointments.

Status: The State Department recommended that our Economic Minister in Toyko, William Barraclough, be called upon by the group. Mr. Barraclough will be alerted by cable.

3. That the White House assist in inviting Japanese industrialists to the U.S. to explore Japanese/Afro-American economic partnerships.

Status: The State Department is reviewing existing nonprofit American organizations concerned with Japanese or international cooperation to determine which could be approached to host a return visit by Japanese businessmen. This effort is not expected to be concluded before the July visit.

4. That the President invite Rev. Williams and certain Japanese businesspersons to the White House for a brief discussion as to how this initiative can best support the President's economic program.

Status: Rev. Williams attempted to have such a meeting occur on Friday, June 12. Richard Allen and Martin Anderson recommended against such a meeting. As an alternative, it was decided that the group visiting Japan receive a series of Federal briefings on U.S. Japanese relations, the Japanese economy, trading with Japan, and other topics prior to their departure. The cooperation of staff from the National Security Council, the Departments of State, Commerce, Agriculture, and the U.S. Trade Representative have been secured for such briefings during the week of July 6.

The status of these efforts have been communicated to Rev. Williams and with the exception of the first request, he appears to be satisfied with the progress to date, though he regrets the meeting with the President (request 4) did not occur.

On the first matter, however, he feels that his sacrifices on behalf of the President last Fall as well as a recent conversation with Mr. Baker justify a letter being written. This matter together with Rev. Williams' feeling that White House staff have been dilatory in responding to these and earlier requests threaten a breach in our relationship with this supporter of the President.

MEMORANDUM

02 JUL 1981

*file*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 2, 1981 (1:30 p.m.)

FOR: MARTIN ANDERSON

FROM: DAN J. SMITH *DJS*

RE. Japanese Trip of Rev. Hosea Williams

I have just been informed that a meeting took place this morning, attended by James Baker, Elizabeth Dole and others in which it was decided that a letter of introduction from the President to the Prime Minister of Japan on behalf of Reverend Hosea Williams will be written.

*To ask ambassador*

cc: Ed Gray  
Don Gregg

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 2, 1981

FOR: MARTIN ANDERSON

FROM: DAN J. SMYTH *DJS*

Re: Japanese Trip of Rev. Hosea Williams

cc: Ed Gray, Richard Allen, Thelma Duggin

I have been informed by Hosea Williams that the letter they requested of introduction is still required and is now considered a precondition to the trip by Hosea Williams and his group. Hosea Williams has sent a mailgram to James Baker requesting the letter of introduction.

As an alternative to the letter, I have persuaded Hosea Williams to accept the following alternative approach and to insist that his Japanese host accept or an alternative host will be sought.

1. Postpone the trip for two to six weeks.
2. Introduce Hosa Williams to the Prime Minister in Ottawa during the Summit Conference.
3. Arrange for the courtesy call for Hosa Williams with the Prime Minister while he is in Toyko.
4. Arrange for a high embassy official in Toyko to communicate the final arrangements to Hosa William's host.



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE


WASHINGTON

July 2, 1981

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FROM: DAN J. SMITH *DJS*  
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cc: Ed Gray, Richard Allen, Thelma Duggin

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- 

file:  
H. Williams

# Williams Still Planning Trade Missions To Japan

By Carole Ashkinaze  
Constitution Staff Writer

State Rep. Hosea Williams, D-DeKalb, said Tuesday that there is "no rift" between him and President Reagan and that he still plans to visit Japan at the head of a black-enterprise trade mission despite critical remarks attributed to him in a recent combined edition of The Atlanta Constitution and The Atlanta Journal.

He "did say" that he was going to postpone the trip, that the White House had "moved too slow" and that Reagan "might be a one-term president," Williams told reporters in a news conference on the steps of the state Capitol.

"But I prefaced that by saying President Reagan is doing what some American president must do if our nation is to be saved from economic bankruptcy," Williams added.

One of three nationally known blacks who publicly endorsed Reagan for president last fall, Williams charged that the July 3 article, hinting that the honeymoon was ending, was "part of a continuous effort to belittle and berate me for having endorsed Ronald Reagan."

The newspaper reported that Williams, who had planned to leave July 9

on a mission aimed at persuading Japanese industrialists to invest in black-owned U.S. business, had decided to postpone the trip because the White House had, in his words, "moved too slow."

Williams said Tuesday he had postponed his trip primarily "because I wasn't ready. I had not done all the research. . . . Yes, the White House did act slow, but if it had acted much more speedily I still would have postponed my trip."

Williams now plans to take off Sept. 4 for Japan and to meet Sept. 7 with Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, aided by some "very distinguished Japanese gentlemen" who would pay his way and make the arrangements, in spite of Reagan's reluctance to provide him with a formal letter of introduction.

The White House had, he said, "agreed to everything else" suggested by Williams. Williams' plans call for meetings with business leaders, farmers, religious leaders, educators, and government officials in Japan, accompanied by a high-ranking member of the U.S. Embassy; and for Reagan to extend a "reciprocal" invitation to a Japanese group, culminating with a "press conference at the White House," he said.



"I WASN'T READY"  
Rep. Hosea Williams

White House deputy press secretary Karna Small was unable to confirm that Tuesday; no decision has been made with respect to a "reciprocal visit," she said. However, the U.S. State Department "routinely provides an appropriate member of the U.S. Embassy to accompany U.S. travelers" on missions such as this, she said.

"And of course, we have no objection to this trip," she added.

MEMORANDUM

THIS IS A COPY

*file*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
July 17, 1981

FOR: RICHARD ALLEN  
FROM: DAN J. SMITH  
SUBJECT: Presidential Letter for Hosea Williams

Martin Anderson has asked me to solicit your recommendation concerning whether the attached letter from the President to Ambassador Mansfield should go forward.

As you may know, the letter was approved by James Baker on July 2 but was delayed as a result of a press conference Rev. Williams held the same day in Atlanta during which his difficulties with the White House over the letter were surfaced.

My memorandum to Marty on this subject is attached. For your information, Mrs. Dole has just recommended the letter go forward over the President's signature.

We are attempting to resolve this matter quickly as Rev. Williams has been calling this week to ascertain what is the status of the letter.

cc: Martin Anderson ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1981

Dear Mike:

Reverend Hosea Williams will be visiting Japan as a private citizen in conjunction with plans of joint interest to the International House of Japan. He is hopeful the trip will provide him with the opportunity to further explore the potential of his Japanese/Afro-American economic development partnership plans with Japanese officials

Reverend Williams is a strong supporter, and I would appreciate your informing the Japanese Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of his visit and indicating that any courtesies extended him to help make the trip a success would be appreciated.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
July 17, 1981

FOR: MARTIN ANDERSON  
FROM: DAN J. SMITH *DS*  
SUBJECT: Hosea Williams

Rev. ~~Hosea~~ Williams has called the White House several times this week to inquire as to the status of the promised letter from the President to Ambassador Mansfield regarding his upcoming trip to Japan.

Thelma Duggin, of OPL, and I have discussed his request in light of the recent articles in the Atlanta Constitution and have the following recommendations:

1. Send the letter as originally planned.
2. Invite Rev. Williams to Washington to discuss his upcoming trip.
3. During his visit convince him of the need to keep publicity about his Japan visit to a minimum.
4. Find ways of demonstrating to Rev. Williams our goodwill as a way of reducing the tension in our relationship with him. (i.e., assist him in setting up a nonprofit trade organization to sponsor future trips, take him to lunch in the White House Mess, have him set in the President's box at a concert, etc.)

I believe such steps are desirable for the following reasons:

1. As the Presidential letter has already been promised to Rev. Williams and the Japanese have made it clear that it is key to his visit, any move away from the letter, such as having someone else sign it, would lead immediately to Rev. Williams breaking openly with us.
2. Rev. Williams recent hardball approach with us on his requests came about, in part, because his original request of May 4 was processed by the White House in a very slow manner. He changed his tactics with us as a way of getting our attention. I believe had we been more attentive this problem would not have arisen.
3. There is a clear need to reestablish the level of trust and faith we have had with Rev. Williams. Such a "new beginning" is needed for several reasons:

- a. The current relationship is unstable and threatens to disintegrate altogether. The public loss of Rev. Williams support for the President would be a very unfortunate event.
- b. Rev. Williams is a friend the President will need in the future as Administration relations with the black community continue to be poor.

I urge immediate action on these recommendations as the letter seems to be back in limbo. Continued White House silence on the letter will send the wrong message to Rev. Williams.

With your permission, I will communicate the aforementioned recommendations to Mrs. Dole's office.

MARTIN ANDERSON:

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Hold \_\_\_\_\_

MEMORANDUM

THIS IS A COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
July 17, 1981

*File*  
*Williams*

FOR: RICHARD ALLEN  
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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1981

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MARTIN ANDERSON:

Approve           

Disapprove           

Hold

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON  
August 4, 1981

81 AUG 20 P5:15

*file*

FOR: MARTIN ANDERSON  
FROM: DAN J. SMITH *DJS*  
SUBJECT: Japanese Response to Alternative Letter  
Suggestion

Per your request to be kept informed, attached is a copy of a telegram Hosea Williams' Japanese hosts sent in response to the idea that a letter from the President to the Ambassador would serve as an effective alternative to a letter from the president to Prime Minister Suzuki.

The telegram is highlighted by the Japanese urging Hosea Williams attempt to meet with the President in an attempt to win such a letter and only then accept the alternative approach.

As even this alternative approach is not acceptable to you or Richard Allen, it is my observation that absent a letter from the President to the Ambassador, the Williams-Japanese initiative is dead. Rev. Williams' reaction to this will be interesting to behold.

cc: Ed Gray



# TELEGRAM

KOKUSAI DENSHIN DENWA CO., LTD.

国際電報発信紙

国際電信電話株式会社

番号

送信時刻

送信者

CUSTOMER'S NO 利用者コード

受付者

点検者

パイロット・ライン

科目コード

記事コード

B-0108

発信局

語数

受付日付時刻

局用記事

TOKYO

158w.

12:05p.m., July 24

SERVICE INDICATION

取扱指定

TO 宛て名

CHARGES 料金

LT

REV. HOSEA WILLIAMS  
AFRO-AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL ENTERPRISES  
1959 BOULEVARD DRIVE, S.E.  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30317  
U. S. A.

¥9,322

TEXT 本文

THANK YOU FOR LETTER OF JULY 11. YOUR SUCCESS OF PROPOSED TRIP TO JAPAN DEPENDS ABSOLUTELY ON PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PERSONAL SUPPORT. THEREFORE WE URGE YOU TO MEET PRESIDENT REAGAN REQUESTING TO WRITE LETTER INTRODUCING PERMIER SUZUKI. IF PRESIDENT REAGAN CAN NOT WRITE A LETTER TO JAPANESE PREMIER DIRECTLY INTRODUCING HOSEA WILLIAMS, OUR ALTERNATIVE WILL BEST BE THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN CABLE TO AMBASSADOR MANSFIELD TO THE EFFECT THAT PRESIDENT STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE FUTURE ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION BETWEEN JAPANESE AND AFRO-AMERICANS, PARTICULARLY KEENLY INTERESTED IN HOSEA WILLIAMS TRIP TO JAPAN, AND THAT PRESIDENT EAGARLY REQUEST AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO INTRODUCE WILLIAMS TO PREMIER SUZUKI AND TO SEVERAL BIG SHOTS IN JAPANESE BUSINESS CIRCLE AND FINALLY THAT PRESIDENT HOPES THAT JAPANESE BUSINESS LEADERS WILL TRY TO COOPERATE WITH THE BLACKS. CONFIDENTIALLY DROP COPY TO DAN SMITH, EXECUTIVE OFFICE.

MATSUMOTO & TAJIRI

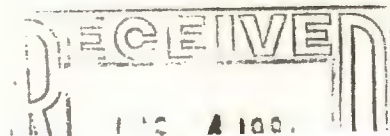
SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS  
(NOT TRANSMITTED)

発信人居所氏名 (伝送されません)

TEL.NO. 電話番号

※ Please fill in columns in the thick frame only

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
August 28, 1981

*file:  
Hosea Williams*

'81 AUG 28 P4:10

MEMORANDUM TO : JAMES A. BAKER, III  
FROM: RED CAVANEY  
SUBJECT: Hosea Williams' Japan Visit

Hosea Williams is preparing to leave for Japan soon to advance his Japanese/Afro-American Economic Development venture, however he will be forced to cancel unless the earlier promised Presidential letter of introduction to Ambassador Mansfield is immediately forthcoming. Dick Allen's reservation about such a letter, now supported by Martin Anderson, has precluded issuance of the Presidential letter approved by you on July 1st and supported at that time by Elizabeth and Marty.

The Japanese, to whom form is very important, do not want Hosea without a Presidential letter. Since his trip has received a great deal of advance publicity, cancellation would be a great personal embarrassment to Hosea and a clear signal to the black community that Hosea's endorsement of the President was for naught. While only speculation, it is assumed that once the trip is cancelled, Hosea will be forced to blame the Administration to save face in the community. Dan Smith feels that media attention given to this will be extensive. Hosea's denunciations coming immediately before Solidarity Day will provide additional fuel to the fires that proclaim the Administrations insensitivity to minorities, the poor and the needy.

I recommend that we go forward with a Presidential letter to Ambassador Mansfield, as had been earlier agreed upon and committed to Hosea (July 1; 1981 memo attached).

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Hosea will be in Washington next week to handle final preparations for his trip. A suggested draft of letter is attached

cc: Dick Allen  
✓ Martin Anderson  
Dan Smith

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 1, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES A. BAKER III  
FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE  
SUBJECT: HOSEA WILLIAMS

Discussions to date have failed to deter Hosea in his efforts to obtain a letter of introduction from the President for his forthcoming visit to Japan. The Japanese have convinced him that his efforts to meet with the Prime Minister and advance his Japanese/Afro-American Economic Development venture hinge on obtaining the Presidential "imprimatuer".

Hosea is frustrated by staff. He is in town and wants to meet directly with the President. Paraphrasing Hosea, the matter is quite simple: he stuck his neck out for the President and still believes in him but the bottom line is that, if the President wants his continued support, he is going to have to help him on this matter. Hosea is committed to this venture. He does not want anything else. No job. No title. He wants the President's letter of introduction or to be sent over in some official capacity.

I think Hosea is somewhat "hung out" publicly on this matter, and his trip is ready to start. Attached is a non-verified idea of Hosea's public announcements on the subject.

{ If our decision is to help but not go as far as a letter of introduction, we may wish to consider a "personal" letter from the President to the U.S. ambassador informing him what a good friend Hosea is and how pleased the President would be for any courtesies extended him.

I remain concerned about getting the President involved with Hosea's venture without a good deal more work and study on the proposal.

Please advise guidance as soon as possible.

July 23, 1981

Dear Mike:

Reverend Hosea Williams will be visiting Japan as a private citizen in conjunction with plans of joint interest to the International House of Japan. He is hopeful the trip will provide him with the opportunity to further explore the potential of his Japanese/Afro-American economic development partnership plans with Japanese officials.

Reverend Williams is a strong supporter, and I would appreciate your informing the Japanese Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of his visit and indicating that any courtesies extended him to help make the trip a success would be appreciated.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Michael J. Mansfield  
American Ambassador  
APO San Francisco  
San Francisco, CA 96503

Dole/Duggin:shs

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

'81 SEP -2 P5:33

September 1, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RED CAVANEY

FROM: DICK ALLEN *DA*

The matter of the Hosea Williams visit was settled by decision of Jim Baker and Ed Meese. The decision was to introduce Reverend Williams via a letter from me to Ambassador Mansfield.

I have some understanding of what Japanese form and custom require, and have taken this into account.

A copy of the letter to go, electronically (with a copy for Reverend Williams) is attached.

If you wish to pursue the matter, give me a call.

Attachment

cc: Ed Meese  
Jim Baker  
Martin Anderson ✓  
Dan Smith



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

The President has asked that I write to you concerning the upcoming visit of Reverend Hosea Williams to Japan. Reverend Williams will be visiting Japan as a private citizen in conjunction with plans of joint interest to the International House of Japan. He is hopeful the trip will provide him with the opportunity to explore the potential of his Japanese/Afro-American economic development partnership plans with Japanese officials and with representatives of the private sector.

We would appreciate very much any assistance which the Embassy can provide Reverend Williams in connection with his important project. In this connection, contacts should be made with the appropriate Ministries, and I would think the Prime Minister's office should also be informed of Reverend Williams' visit.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

Richard V. Allen  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable  
Michael J. Mansfield  
American Ambassador  
Tokyo