

File #:

62-112-116395

Serial Scope:

Bulky 837

Released under the John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection Act of 1992 (44 USC
2107 Note). Case: NW 88248 Date: 11-27-2017

SSC LETTER 7/8/75
ITEM 1 a and b

RETTIN

Pa 837

62 116395-837.	5 encl. x 61	SFP:ihb 9/22/75
<p>The Attorney General. US DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE</p> <p>Senate Select. COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES</p> <p>Committee on Intelligence Activities</p> <p>Reprior FBI communctns which have, on continuing basis, efctd delvry to SSC of materials cncrng Martin Luther King, Jr., & respnsv to SSC reqs dated 7/8 & 7/14/75. Enclsd for ur aprvl & forwrdng to SSC is orig of memo in frthr respns to afmrntnd 7/8/75 req. Also enclsd for ur records is cc of memo which is being delvrd to u w/set of materials which being delvrd to SSC.</p>		

274-10/26

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan

1 - DeLoach
1 - Wick

DATE: 10/24/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - D. Wells

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

URGENT

BACKGROUND: On 10/19/66, AT 1387-S advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, had recently met with McGeorge Bundy, Director of the Ford Foundation. At this meeting, Bundy, on behalf of the Ford Foundation, offered King's organization a grant of three million dollars. Bundy explained that the Ford Foundation is extremely interested in various programs of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Also, the Ford Foundation is sympathetic with the financial problems of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. According to the source, the only concern of King and his associates is that if they accept this grant, whether the Ford Foundation will exercise control over the policies and operations of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. We do not know at this time if the Ford Foundation has made this grant.

OBSERVATIONS: Information has recently come to our attention indicating that King and his group are in need of financial support. This contact with the Ford Foundation would undoubtedly be of great assistance to him at this particular time.

It is felt that the Ford Foundation is not aware of the subversive backgrounds of King's principal advisers and that if the proper officials of the Ford Foundation were briefed concerning them, this might preclude any assistance being granted. Listed below are four principal advisers to King with subversive backgrounds:

Stanley Levison is a long-time communist whose membership in the Communist Party, USA, has been established as of July, 1963.

Clarence Jones has been identified as a leader in the Labor Youth League, a Communist Party front group, during late 1953 or early 1954.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

CONTINUED - OVER

61 NOV 10 1966
F129

100-106670-2759
REC-57
TO: Mr. DeLoach
FROM: Mr. Baumgardner
DATE: 10/24/66

Baumgardner to Sullivan Memorandum
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

Harry Wachtel's name appeared as an active member of the National Lawyers Guild in December, 1949, according to a confidential source. The National Lawyers Guild has been cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It should be noted that Wachtel is a New York City attorney. Another confidential source advised in March, 1944, his name appeared on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the Communist Party Headquarters of Kings County, Brooklyn, New York. Regarding Wachtel's wife, Leonora, a confidential source advised in March, 1944, that she was a newly elected officer of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, Brooklyn, New York.

Bayard Rustin, during the early 1940's was a member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated pursuant to Executive Order-10450. The records of this Bureau's Identification Division contain the following arrest record for Bayard Rustin: On 1/12/44 he was arrested for violation of the Selective Service Act and on 2/17/44 received a sentence of three years. On 9/15/48 he was arrested in New York City on a disorderly conduct charge and was sentenced to fifteen days. On 1/21/53 he was arrested in Pasadena, California, for offering to engage in an act of sex perversion of a homosexual nature, which he admitted and for which he was sentenced to serve 60 days.

D agree
10/25
Yes.

RECOMMENDATION: In an effort to preclude the possibility of the Southern Christian Leadership receiving Ford Foundation funds, it is recommended that a Bureau official be designated to contact John Bugas, former Special Agent in Charge of the Detroit Office and presently a vice president of the Ford Motor Company, concerning the above-set forth facts so that he might bring them to the attention of whomever he feels appropriate in either the Ford family or the Ford Foundation.

I doubt this will accomplish anything.

I doubt this will accomplish anything. D.

In the event the above recommendation is not approved, it is recommended that a Bureau official be designated to brief McGeorge Bundy of the subversive backgrounds of the advisers to King.

I Agree
10/25 *✓*
I agree.
D.

See if he will contact
Bundy.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Wick
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Baumgardner

DATE: 10/25/66

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Wick _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : MR. TOLSON

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Pursuant to the Director's instructions, I called John Bugas of the Ford Motor Company at 4:15 p.m., 10/25/66, and briefed him generally regarding the background of Martin Luther King as well as the fact that McGeorge Bundy, President, Ford Foundation, had been in touch with King relative to offering a sizeable grant to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from the Ford Foundation.

Mr. Bugas informed me that he was very grateful for the Director having me brief him concerning this matter. He stated he would personally contact Bundy in an effort to put a stop to King receiving any funds from the Ford Foundation. He advised that the Ford Motor Company had little control over the Ford Foundation yet the Ford Motor Company was always glad to receive information which could be of service in guiding the activities of the Ford Foundation.

Mr. Bugas also brought up the fact that I had recently called him, at the Director's instructions, relative to indicating that the Ford Motor Company was about to enter into a contract with officials of a company in Mexico who were deeply involved with Communists. He stated he had put a halt to this contract and that his company was very grateful to the Director and the FBI for receiving such information in sufficient time to cancel contract negotiations.

Mr. Bugas asked that his best regards be given to you and the Director.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

CDD: hmf
(5)

EX-103

REC-57

100-106670-2756

18 NOV 7 1966

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

56 NOV 10 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
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Mohr	_____
Wick	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 10/26/66

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

cc Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Wick

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING;
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)
POSSIBLE GRANT OF \$3,000,000 FROM FORD FOUNDATION
CONTACT WITH JOHN BUGAS, VICE PRESIDENT,
FORD MOTOR COMPANY

My memorandum to you of 10/25/66 reflected a call to Mr. Bugas, relative to confidentially advising him that McGeorge Bundy, President, Ford Foundation, had contacted Martin Luther King offering a grant of \$3,000,000 to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Mr. Bugas was grateful for the information I furnished him yesterday. He expressed alarm and indicated that, although the Ford Motor Company had little control over the Ford Foundation, he nevertheless would immediately attempt to get in touch with Bundy and do something about this matter.

Mr. Bugas called me back at 11:30 this morning. He stated he had contacted Bundy and had asked him for an appointment within the next several days. Bundy asked why he wanted to see him. Bugas replied he was in receipt of information concerning the fact that the Ford Foundation wanted to have dealings with the SCLC. Bundy asked for the source of his information. Bugas told him his source did not want to be divulged. Bundy stated under the circumstances he would refuse to talk to Bugas and would discuss the matter only with the source. Bundy then asked if the source was the FBI. Bugas refused to reveal the source and the conversation was terminated.

Bugas stated he thought Bundy had been rather high-handed in the conversation; however, he wanted to request that the Director give serious consideration to an FBI representative contacting Bundy, inasmuch as this matter represents one of great importance to the Ford Motor Company. Bugas indicated his company had had quite a number of "hard blows" from the Ford Foundation over the years and most certainly a liaison between this foundation and Martin Luther King would be a serious blow to the company.

REC- 61

100-106670-2754

CDD:CSH (4)

CONTINUED-----OVER

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61 NC

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

Mr. Tolson

I told Bugas that, in view of Bundy's attitude, it appeared rather doubtful concerning the advisability of our going further in this matter. Bugas stated he realized this; however, he wanted to express again the importance of this matter to the Ford Motor Company. He stated he did not know Bundy; however, Bundy had apparently been rather snobbish in dealing with the Ford people. He explained that when Bundy first took this job, Bundy had been invited to Detroit to meet Henry Ford III and the top people of the company. At that time Bundy was point-blank advised that he should be careful in administering the Ford Foundation, inasmuch as this Foundation had caused serious harm to the sales of the Ford Motor Company. Bundy allegedly stuck his nose in the air and stated "I have a social responsibility to fulfill."

Mr. Bugas once again stated that any liaison between the Ford Foundation and Martin Luther King would "set his company back to boat hell." He asked again that we consider contacting Bundy directly and stated he would appreciate knowing of any action taken in this regard.

ACTION:

I personally feel that Bundy is of the pseudo-intellectual, Ivy League group that has little respect for the FBI. He was friendly on the surface while at the White House and I met him frequently. Under the circumstances, it appears rather doubtful that contact with him by the FBI will convince him one way or another. It is, therefore, recommended that I advise Mr. Bugas that, while we appreciate his concern, there is some doubt that contact by us with Bundy would amount to anything. It will be suggested to him that he might desire to bring this matter to Mr. Henry Ford's attention, in the event Mr. Ford desires to attempt to exercise any control over Bundy. Mr. Bugas, during our conversation, noted that Mr. Ford was out of the country at the present time.

*Yes. We would get me
where with Bundy.*

*Handled
10/27/66*

H

RE - HOUSTUDY 62-116464-

OR

SENSTUDY: 62-116395-837

NOTE: THIS IS A PERMANENT CHARGE OUT FOR A XEROX COPY/COPIES OF "JUNE" MAIL THAT WAS INCLUDED IN COPIES OF FBI DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL BY MEMO/LETTER DATED 9-22-75 IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST(S) MADE BY EITHER THE U. S. SENATE OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEES ON INTELLIGENCE. THE COPY/COPIES OF THE "JUNE" MAIL DATED AS INDICATED BELOW HAS/HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM THIS ENCLOSURE MATERIAL TO BE FILED IN THE APPROPRIATE HOUSTUDY OR SENSTUDY "JUNE" FILE INDICATED ABOVE, LOCATED IN THE SPECIAL FILE ROOM OF THE RECORDS SECTION.

DATE(S) OF MAIL: 3-2-65REMOVED BY: Wardlaw DATE REMOVED: 7-28-76

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
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 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
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 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

L. Smith

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS* *10/24*

DATE: October 8, 1962

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Gregg
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Ware

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
 COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

NEW YORK

B. J. [Signature]

New York Office has suggested that public source information be made available to appropriate southern newspapers to expose the communist background of Hunter Pitts O'Dell, concealed member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA). Under the alias Jack H. O'Dell, he is currently Acting Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the organization of Martin Luther King, Jr., prominent southern Negro leader. He is in charge of the New York Office SCLC and has more recently been operating from Atlanta, Georgia.

Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, stated on 7/23/62 that O'Dell is a "brain trust" for "Luther King" and is doing an excellent job. Hall at this time mentioned that O'Dell is still representing the CPUSA and is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

New York Office observed that the exposure of O'Dell could cause other Negro organizations to clean out anyone who could cause them embarrassment because of communist affiliations or background.

Attached are copies of the following newspaper articles containing additional data about O'Dell's background and activities.

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------------|---|
| 7/5/50 | "Daily Worker" | Texas NMU Ousts Seaman for Circulating Peace Plan |
| 4/13/56 | "The New York Times" | Witness Accuses Red Inquiry Head |
| 7/31/58 | "The New York Times" | Witness Balked in Inquiry On Reds |
| 7/31/58 | "Atlanta Daily World" | Red Hunters Accused of Trying to Stall Integration in South |
| 7/31/58 | "Atlanta Daily World" | Hunter O'Dell, Montgomery Insurance Man Rips Probe |
| 9/26/62 | "The New York Times" | Dr. King Says Integration at Alabama University Is Next |

REC-16 / 100-3-104-31-306

13 OCT 25 1962

Enc. This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-3-104-34

OBSERVATIONS:

Although the activities of the SCLC are creating substantial controversy in the southern states, O'Dell's position in the Communist Party (CP) and close association with important CP members such as Stanley David Levison, New York attorney who is a secret CP member and source of Party funds, provide excellent reasons for his communist background to be exposed. Any influence which the CP may have acquired or may be trying to exert through O'Dell within the SCLC would undoubtedly be greatly reduced by such exposure at this time.

ACTION:

(1) It is recommended that the attached memorandum summarizing the public source information about O'Dell be forwarded to Mr. DeLoach for his consideration and possible use by his contacts in the news media field in such southern states as Alabama where King has announced that the next targets for integration of universities are located.

*Handled
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de...
F...
D10/19*

sent

(2) Attached for your approval is a letter to the SAC, New York, to advise him that this proposed counterintelligence plan is being handled at the Bureau.

Handled

[Signature]

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

Resorting to its typical methods of infiltration into any organization to carry out its primary objectives of building up controversy and widespread unrest, Communist Party, USA, has succeeded in getting one of its most experienced organizers in the south into the key position of consultant to the field staff of Reverend Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In an article reporting the news conference in Birmingham, Alabama, on 9/26/62 with Reverend King, "The New York Times" reported Jack H. O'Dell is the regional consultant to a staff of workers in at least six southern states engaged in helping community organizations to establish registration schools, work shops and public meetings. LA

O'Dell, who has been known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell since his birth in 1923 at Detroit, Michigan, attended Xavier University in Louisiana. He sailed as a seaman in the Merchant Marine Service until he was expelled from the National Maritime Union in 1950 at Galveston, Texas, for circulating pro-Soviet peace petitions attacking the United States Government.

During hearings before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on the scope of Soviet activity in the United States in 1956, O'Dell took refuge in the Fifth Amendment to answer questions relating to his activities as a Communist Party organizer for the New Orleans and Gulf Coast area. Hundreds of documents seized by the New Orleans Police Department at O'Dell's residence, 2319 Louisiana Avenue, in March, 1956, when they were attempting to find him to serve him with a subpoena to testify before the Senate Subcommittee, clearly established his key position in the communist movement in the South.

On 7/30/58 at Atlanta, Georgia, O'Dell again invoked the First and Fifth Amendments of the Constitution when answering questions about his communist activities upon his appearance as a witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

100-3-104-34-306

ENCLOSURE

Since the publicity in 1956 surrounding his activities on behalf of the Communist Party, O'Dell has attempted to remain quietly in the background and carry out his Party assignments through affiliation with such organizations as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The American people can solve their own problems more effectively and quickly if communists such as O'Dell are clearly identified and their aims and objectives fully understood by the public.

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TEXAS NMU OUSTS SEAMAN FOR CIRCULATING PEACE PLAN

HOUSTON, Tex. (AP) — The National Maritime Union (NMU) has ousted a seaman from the union for circulating a peace plan during World War II. The plan, which was prepared by the U.S. and USSR, called for a coalition government between the two nations and the abolition of the United Nations. The plan was distributed in Houston and other Texas cities. The NMU, which is the largest union of seamen in the United States, has a membership of about 100,000. The union's executive board has ordered the seaman, whose name has not been disclosed, to leave the union. The union's president, George J. Meek, said that the plan was "a direct challenge to the United States and the United Nations." The union's board also ordered the seaman to stop circulating the plan. The seaman, who is a member of the union, has been suspended from the union for 12 months. The union's board said that it will consider the seaman's appeal.

Daily Worker 7-5-50
 Wednesday NY
 The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 Date _____

106-3-1-1-34 306
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THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, APRIL 13, 1956.



Associated Press Wirephoto

REFUSES TO TESTIFY:
 Hunter Pitts O'Dell of New Orleans, who refused to say whether he was a district organizer in South for the Communist party. He appeared before Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

WITNESS ACCUSES RED INQUIRY HEAD

**New Orleans Waiter, Called
 Party Organizer, Urges
 Eastland's Expulsion**

WASHINGTON, April 12 (AP)—A Negro waiter from New Orleans, refusing to say whether he was a Southern district organizer for the Communist party, today accused the Senate Internal Security subcommittee of invading his rights as a citizen.

Hunter Pitts O'Dell accused the group's chairman, Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, of being anti-labor and anti-Negro. Occasionally he switched his attack to the subcommittee's counsel, Robert Morris. At one point he asked Mr. Morris if he was "some kind of dictator or something."

Mr. Morris said the subcommittee had received information that the witness was a district organizer for the Communist party in New Orleans, "giving directives to the professional group" there and operating under three different names.

Mr. O'Dell invoked the Fifth Amendment protection against possible self-incrimination in refusing to answer questions about this. He also refused to answer questions about what Mr. Morris described as a considerable amount of "Communist party literature and directives" found in a room he formerly occupied.

The witness accused the subcommittee of unlawful search

and seizure when asked about this material. He demanded to know who had authorized the group to take the documents.

Also found in the room, Mr. Morris told the subcommittee, were Social Security cards in the names of John Vesey and Ben Jones. He said these indicated Mr. O'Dell had been "operating under three identities."

Senator Eastland directed that the cards be referred to the Justice Department to determine whether any laws had been violated.

The subcommittee says it has found a small but active "Communist underground movement" in New Orleans.

Senator Eastland refused to let Mr. O'Dell read a prepared statement he had brought with him after Mr. Morris said it had not been submitted twenty-four hours in advance as required by subcommittee rules.

In the statement Mr. O'Dell accused the Senator of leading a conspiracy to promote lawlessness in the South and urged his expulsion from the Senate.

As the hearing ended, Mr. Morris told the witness:

"We have received information that you have been writing speeches of people running for public office in Louisiana."

"What is Eastland afraid of?" Mr. O'Dell said. "Is he afraid that the people will get to know him if I write speeches?"

The Washington Post and _____
 Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times 4-13-56
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 Date _____

106-3.104.34 306

ENCLOSURE

Tolson _____
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THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JULY 31, 1958.

WITNESS BALKED IN INQUIRY ON REDS

House Panel Bars Attempt by Alabaman to Discuss Negro Mistreatment

ATLANTA, July 30 (AP)—A Montgomery, Ala., Negro insurance man, called a "dedicated zealot of the Communist movement," tried unsuccessfully today to turn a Congressional committee hearing on un-American activities into a discussion of mistreatment of Negroes in the South.

Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who described himself as an insurance executive and a native of Detroit, argued heatedly with committee spokesmen in a packed and tense United States District courtroom. He tried repeatedly to read a two-page statement outlining what he said was un-American activity against Negroes but was ruled out of order.

A committee rule was read providing that such statements must be submitted twenty-four hours in advance of such hearings.

Mr. O'Dell countered that an explanation of communism by the committee staff director, Richard Arens, was not prepared in advance. But Representative Edwin Willis, Democrat of Louisiana, committee chairman, reminded the witness he had asked for a definition of communism when Mr. Arens posed the question of whether Mr. O'Dell ever had any Communist party connections.

Mr. Arens told the witness the Communist movement began with Karl Marx 100 years ago and that it "intends to destroy this Government, the last bastion of freedom in the world."

Communist Query Averted

He then asked Mr. O'Dell if he were a member of the Communist party and the latter said he wanted to call attention to about "300 years of slavery" in this country.

Mr. O'Dell and ten others subpoenaed for the hearing declined to answer the question of whether they were members of the Communist party. Only one witness questioned so far, William Matthews of 2802 Union Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., a 22-year-old camera plant employe, denied any present or past connection with the party. The other witnesses declined to answer on the basis of what they termed their constitutional rights under the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution.

The committee, on the second day of a three-day hearing, also questioned Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky., proponent of racial integration; Frank Wilkinson, connected with the Civil Liberties Union; a Greensboro, N. C., woman textile mill worker; a Chicago writer; a Greensboro, N. C., operator of a landscaping business, and a Philadelphia textile mill weaver.

Mr. Braden, field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, with headquarters in New Orleans, told the committee his business and associations were none of its business. He was freed of a sedition conviction in Kentucky as a result of a United States Supreme Court ruling in a parallel case involving Steve Nelson in Pennsylvania.

Inquiry into Violence Urged

The Louisville man, former copy editor for The Courier Journal, told the committee it should be inquiring into violence against Negroes and Jews in this section.

To a query whether he was a Communist, Mr. Braden said the question had no pertinency, and that he stood on "Supreme Court decisions protecting his rights to his own beliefs."

Mr. Wilkinson refused any information about himself other than his name.

Marge Spurny Cole of Greensboro told the committee she took jobs as a waitress in Boston and New York in 1946 after earning two college degrees, later worked in the Erwin Textile Mills in Durham, N. C., and now is employed at the Cong Mills in Greensboro.

Mrs. Cole refused to answer numerous questions, relying "on my rights" under the First and Fifth Amendments.

William Robertson of Chi-

cago, a writer, said he was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1918 and attended Washington and Lee University for two years before entering the Army in 1945.

The committee staff director asked why, in applying for work at the Erwin mills in Durham, he did not list his educational background.

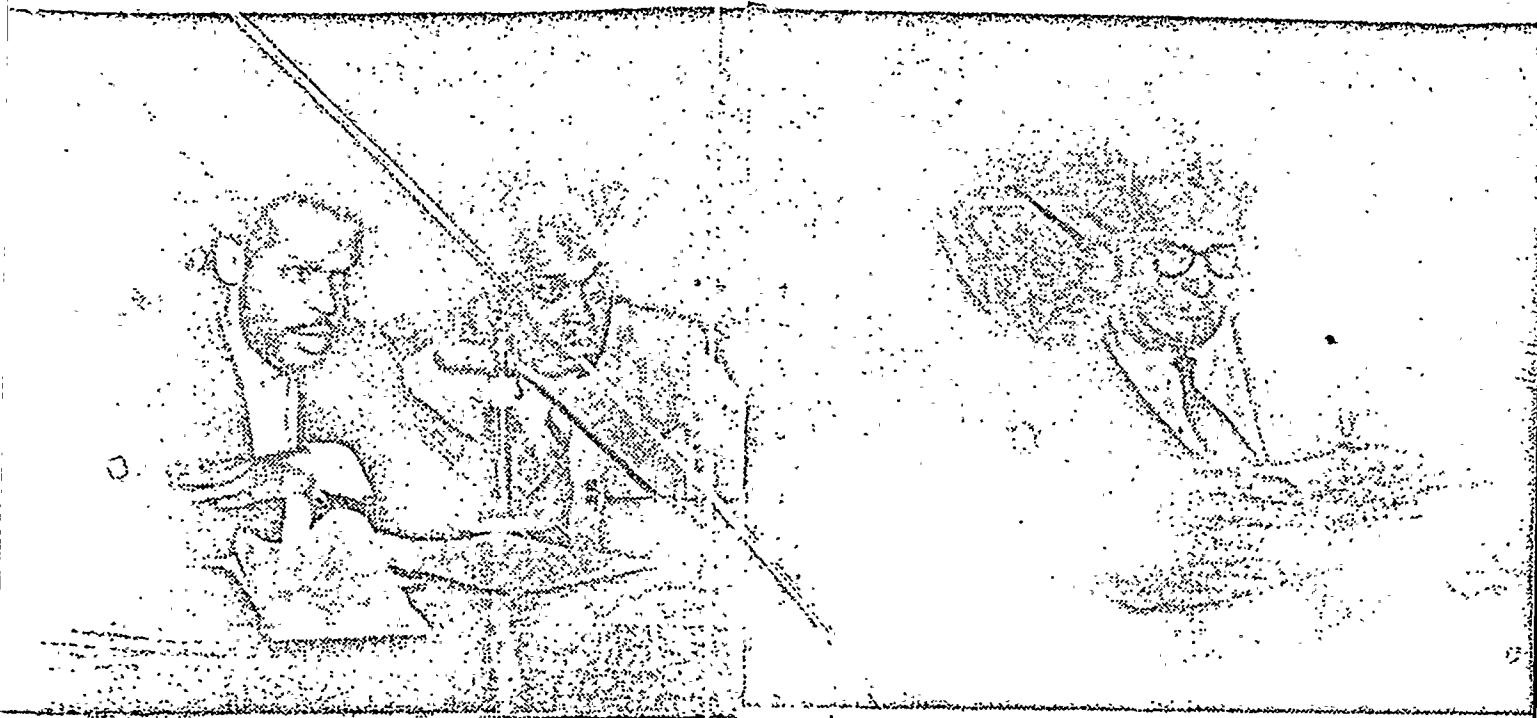
"Well, cotton mill owners don't like their employes to be too well educated and naturally I wasn't going to make it more difficult to get a job," he answered.

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times *Times* _____
~~The Worker~~ _____ *7-31-58*
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 Date _____

100-3-104-34 306

ENCLOSURE

[Handwritten signature]



SCENES FROM COMMITTEE HEARING INVESTIGATING UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES—In top photo Hunter O'Dell (l), Montgomery, Alabama insurance executive, addresses remarks to committee chairman doing interrogation session. His counselor, Orzell Billingslea is on the right. Bottom photo shows Carl Braden (l), a subpoenaed witness, conferring with Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, one of his two counselors.—(Photos by Perry)

THE ATLANTA DAILY WORLD
Atlanta, Georgia
July 31, 1958
Editor: C. A. Scott
Re: HCUA
HEARINGS AT ATLANTA DIVISION
Atlanta File 100-5762
Bufile 61-7582

~~100-5762-37~~
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JUL 31 1958
FBI - ATLANTA

100-5762-34-306
ENCLOSURE

Klud Hunters Accused Of Trying To Stall

Integration In South

House Un-American Activities Committee Hit For Refusing To Probe Anti-Negro Elements

The Congressional subcommittee investigating un-American activities in Dixie was severely criticized Wednesday for allegedly trying to halt integration in the South, for refusing to include in its schedule the investigation of anti-Negro elements, and for doing what is not supposed to do.

These complaints were aired by several witnesses appearing before the group on its second day in Atlanta. They were also presented in the first-day hearing which saw the first five of 15 or more witnesses summoned to appear before the subcommittee.

At least six of the 13 persons who have already testified have charged the three-member investigating group with persecuting white Southern liberals who are seeking peaceful integration. As far as these witnesses are concerned, this investigation is directed by Washington political elements who are seeking to halt integration in the South.

NEGROES ENSLAVED

A Negro witness, Hunter O'Dell, insurance executive from Montgomery, accused the group of looking into everything except what is right under its nose. He said un-American activities in this country began with the enslavement of Negroes "and has been going on for 300 years."

A counter-charge by those labeled Reds is expected. However, the fact that for years the leading proponents of keeping Dixie down South, or vice versa, have painted everybody, Negroes and whites, who failed integration as being communists, makes the hearing here in Atlanta, the hard core of segregation, of unusual interest.

Carl Braden, noted Kentucky integrationist, told the subcommittee that it ought to investigate maltreatment of Negroes and Jews in Atlanta and other Southern areas. He further stated that "all of the people subpoenaed here are integrationists." He asked: "Are you investigating integrationists?"

Braden, who has been released from a sedition conviction, later charged that this hearing is a "common technique of harassing white liberals in the South."

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Another witness, Frank Wilkinson, former assistant to the director of the Los Angeles, Calif., housing authority, said the committee is trying "to smear decent white liberals in the South . . ."

He told reporters this method is apparently attaining some success. A well-known worker with group purposes, Franklin charged that this subcommittee singles out a certain thing to smear in each area in which it holds hearings. "Here it is integration."

Wilkinson, who previously appeared before this group and who has been identified as an active communist, is accused of being sent to Atlanta to incite negative reaction to the subcommittee's hearings.

In a brief interview with the Press following his testimony, Wilkinson, who refused to answer pertinent questions, said:

"The stand I took was done in cooperation with the American Civil Liberties Union in an effort to make a basic legal test of the constitutionality of the mandate of the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

He said earlier that he challenged the committee and the authority of Congress to give it a mandate to harret out communists.

In a signed statement, which he tried unsuccessfully to present to the subcommittee while it was in session Wednesday, O'Dell advised the group to investigate such activities as Georgia's Rosa Lee Ingram case, "the murder of Isaiah Nixon," movements against the NAACP and the "reign of terror" in Dawson, Ga.

He labeled the investigating group as an "Fascist-type Committee" and described it as "arrogantly presuming authority which it does not have."

HARASSING DIXIE LIBERALS

Charges that the subcommittee is seeking to harass white liberals was refuted by the group's most eloquent spokesman, Rep. Donald Jackson of California. Jackson, at one point, said he supported Civil Rights legislation in the House and had perhaps done more to promote civil rights than any of the witnesses.

Hunter O'Dell, Montgomery Insurance Man Rips Probe

By EDDIE WILLIAMS

A 34-year-old American insurance executive and ex-marine, who has been cited by "responsible people" as a top communist in Louisiana, riled members of a House subcommittee probing Red activities in Dixie Wednesday when he persistently demanded that the group delve into un-American activities shrouding the suppression of Negroes in the South.

He was Hunter O'Dell, who said he is agency director for the Protective Insurance Co., in Montgomery, Ala., and who invoked the First and Fifth Amendments of the U. S. Constitution when queried about communist activities.

O'Dell, former student at Xavier University in Louisiana and former U.S. merchant marine, was one of eight persons appearing before the subcommittee for questioning in connection with the communist infiltration into the South. The investigating group learned little more than it already knew about the witnesses, seven of whom used the Constitution to avoid answering questions about any connections they may have had with the Communist Party.

NOT A COMMUNIST

One witness, 22-year-old William Matthews of Brooklyn, N. Y., testified that he was not a member of the Communist Party and that he was not under party discipline. However, he refused on Constitutional grounds to answer questions concerning his past employment. Matthews said he is presently employed at a Brooklyn N. Y., manufacturing company.

The subcommittee, which is seeking information concerning communist operations in the South with an eye to suggest to Congress more effective legislation for the purpose of halting "the communist conspiracy."

OUTSPOKEN WITNESSES

The most outspoken witness of the second day hearing was O'Dell, the Montgomery insurance man, who has been identified by an agent of the New Orleans, La., Antisubversive Squad as the top communist since 1950. House staff director Richard Arens said the Louisiana agent found on O'Dell premises in Louisiana a copy of a document on "Proposals On Southern Party Organization, 1955-56," relating plans and specifications for the infiltration of communists in the South.

O'Dell, appearing with his attorney, Orzell Billingsly, Jr., of Birmingham, said, "I don't recall ever seeing this document." The subcommittee said it had information that O'Dell had been connected with a number of other communist organizations and individuals.

CONSTANTLY CUT OFF

The group came to grips with the witness over his insistence that it be concerned with the plight of the Southern Negro. O'Dell persistently tried to introduce a document he had but was constantly cut off by members of the subcommittee who said he was not pursuing the regular channels.

Director Arens accused O'Dell of throwing "a facade" around himself by thrusting "up the racial question."

Others, cited as communist organizers and colonizers in the South, who appeared before the probing group were: Carl Braden, of Louisville, Ky.; Frank Wilkinson, of Los Angeles, Calif.; William J. Robertson III of Chicago, Ill.; Karl E. Korstad of Greensboro, N. C.; Jerome Van Camp, of Philadelphia, Pa.; and Mrs. Madge Spurney Cole of Greensboro.

All refused on Constitutional grounds to give answers to questions about communist activities. Braden, former copy editor for the Louisville Courier-Journal in Kentucky, accused the committee of probing into his personal beliefs and associations. He stated he was in Atlanta last December along with his wife, Mrs. Ann Braden, Aubrey W. Williams and James A. Dombrowski.

REFUSED TO TESTIFY

Braden, however, refused to testify on whether or not they were here for a meeting at the Atlanta Chapter of the American Red Cross. He and his wife, who has not appeared before the committee, are field secretaries for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., an organization which says it is seeking "the elimination of all forms of racial segregation in the Southern and border states." Williams is president and Dombrowski is executive director of the organization.

Wilkinson, former Los Angeles housing director, was accused by Arens of being a hard core communist who has worked in a number of Red organizations and who was dispatched to Atlanta to agitate about the subcommittee's hearings.

In refusing to answer the director's questions, Wilkinson said, "This committee stands in direct violation of the First Amendment of the U. S. Constitution."

THE ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

Atlanta, Georgia

July 31, 1958

Editor: C. A. Scott

Re: HCUA

HEARINGS AT ATLANTA DIVISION

Atlanta File 100-5762

Bufile 61-7582

100-3104-34.306
ENCLOSURE

100-5762-39
AUG 5 1958
FBI-ATLANTA

WORKED AS WAITRESS

Mrs. Cole, holder of a Master's degree in Science Education, testified she held jobs as a waitress in New York and as a spinner in a Durham, N. C., textile factory because they paid "good money." Arens indicated she was the type person FBI-man Amanda Pena referred to Tuesday when he said the infiltrating communists are a hard core of well-trained men and women.

Arens said Mrs. Cole has been identified as a communist colorizer in the South.

Robertson, a Chicago science writer, fell somewhat in the same category. He said he held degrees from the University of North Carolina and that he had worked in North Carolina textile mills in which Agent Pena said a communist group operates.

Asked if he were now a communist, Robertson said, "I am a loyal American," and later invoked the First and Fifth Amendments on the question.

Greensboro, N. C., businessman Karl R. Korstad, holder of the Master's degree and former teacher at Syracuse University was charged with being a member of a "Conference For Peace" which convened in Chicago in 1961 to urge the withdrawal of American troops from Korea. He denied this but said "I may have loaned my name and prestige" to a labor group which was behind this move.

Van Camp, 25-year-old former University of North Carolina student, was given a chance to receive immunity from criminal prosecution for any information he might give about communist activities in and about the state of North Carolina and the university he attended. The opportunity was promptly withdrawn when he indicated he would not cooperate with the investigators.

The House Un-American subcommittee goes into third and final day today with at least three witnesses remaining to be called to testify.

Dr. King Says Integration At Alabama University Next

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Sept. 25 (UPI)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today a "vigorous campaign" would be started this year to enroll Negro students in the University of Alabama and Auburn University.

The integration effort is the announcement shortly after praising the Kennedy Administration for insisting that James Meredith, a 29-year-old Negro, be admitted to the University of Mississippi.

"In the past other integration leaders and I have been critical of what we considered a lack of firmness by the Federal Government in prompting civil rights," Dr. King said. He said the "Freedom Rides" brought an end to segregated transportation terminals. "The rides could not have gone on without the conference," he said. "When they started in Washington they made stops in Virginia and South Carolina, where our affiliates boosted and supported them," he added. "The rides depended a great deal on the conference."

Called 'Firmest Stand' It was during the "Freedom Ride" period that the conference and Dr. King gathered the unanimity of many white persons in the South. Just as most Negroes see Dr. King as a good force in their lives, leading them toward a better living, many whites view the "movement" with alarm.

Dr. King said his decision to try to integrate the University of Alabama and Auburn University was a logical result of a meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and state leaders here. The conference is holding a four-day national convention here.

"It is unfortunate that Negro students now attend Auburn," Dr. King said, "because a district court order forcing them back to it is one of the signs of the university's failure to Negroes."

Dr. King told a news conference he would have headed integration forces if they resisted to stage demonstrations during the conference, adding in what he called "the report of the Negroes in America" in their own words.

He said the primary objective of the convention was to "study" and intensify the registration, voting, school integration and counter integration not only in Alabama but throughout the South.

"Alabama is still what we call a 'hard core' segregation state," he said. "And Birmingham is the hot spot of segregation among major cities."

Dr. King was elected in 1957 ATLANTA, Sept. 25 (UPI)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was elected president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference when it was formed in New Orleans in 1957.

NY
Times
Sept. 25, 1962

NY TIMES
9-26-62
Page 23

100-3-104-34-306

ENCLOSURE

SAC, New York (100-129802)

October 9, 1962

EX-100 REC-60
Director, FBI (100-3-104-34)

295

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Gregg
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Ware

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReNYlet 9/28/62 which suggested that the Bureau consider making available to southern newspapers public source information about the Communist Party affiliations of Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

Your suggestion has definite merit and further steps to carry out this counterintelligence plan will be handled at the Bureau. The Bureau appreciates the initiative and alertness demonstrated by your submission of this plan.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, same caption, dated October 8, 1962, ARW:cdb.

ARW:cdb
(10)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI

MAILED 25
OCT - 8 1962
COMM-FBI

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
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- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

FBI
OCT 16 1962

Handwritten signatures and initials:
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D
RWC
20 6/11/62
REC'D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-104)

DATE: 9/28/62

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-129802)

SUBJECT: CPUSA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS-C
(OO:NY)

RJK

File

Enclosed is one Xerox copy of the 9/26/62 "NY Times" (page 23) article "Dr. King Says Integration at Alabama University is Next." The third paragraph from the end states, "...Jack H. O'Dell is the regional consultant to the field staff..." JACK H. O'DELL is identical with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL.

NY letter to the Bureau 5/29/62, captioned "HUNTER PITTS O'DELL; IS-C," provided public source material concerning O'DELL.

Mobile letter, 6/11/62, and New Orleans letter, 6/28/62, captioned "HUNTER PITTS O'DELL; IS-C," also provided public source information re O'DELL.

It is suggested that copies of the 9/26/62 "NY Times" article, which mentions O'DELL, be anonymously sent to the Mobile Register, New Orleans States-Item, New Orleans States, New Orleans Times-Picayune, and the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, all of which have previously carried articles regarding HUNTER PITTS O'DELL or other Southern newspapers. It is suggested that a notation be made, "Isn't Jack H. O'Dell identical with O'Dell, the Communist leader in the South you wrote about?" It is suggested that these mailings be made from the areas of the newspapers. Perhaps only two or three newspapers would be selected.

- 1-Bureau (100-3-104) (Encl. 71) (RM)
- (1-100-358916) (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL) (Encl. 1)
- (1-100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (Encl. 1)
- 1-NY 100-91330 (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL) (414)
- 1-NY 100-136585 (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (412)
- 1-NY 100-129802 (41)

EJC:umh

(7)

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EX-100

REC-60

13 OCT 1962
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100-358916-1
100-106670-1

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29/5

INT. WA 2

100 in 812 RB

NY 100-129802

It is realized that there are many serious considerations to be made regarding this suggestion, particularly at this time. However, it is believed that Southern newspapers because it is timely, would possibly give a very full coverage to such material.

It is believed that such an exposure would cause other Negro organizations such as the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) to clean out anyone who possibly could cause embarrassment because of Communist affiliation or background.

Dr. King Says Integration At Alabama University Is Next

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Sept. 25 (UPI)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today a "vigorous campaign" would be started this year to enroll Negro students in the city of Alabama and Alabama State University. Dr. King, a minister at Ebenezer Baptist Church here, said in an interview here the campaign had had "tremendous influence in breaking down the barriers of segregation in public places."

The integration leader made the announcement shortly after brushing the Kennedy Administration for insisting that Negro be admitted to the University of Mississippi.

In the past other integration leaders and I have been accused of what we considered a lack of forcefulness by the Federal Government in promoting civil rights," Dr. King said.

Called "Finest Hour" But the action in the North and South Carolina, where the Kennedy Administration's program to desegregate the South, just as most Negroes from the beginning of the Government made it clear that Meredith would go to the university.

Dr. King said the decision to integrate the University of Alabama and Auburn University was made today at all three schools. He said officials of our Southern Christian Leadership Conference will integrate the university.

Dr. King said the drive for registration has become the chief focus of activity in many areas. The conference has workers spread throughout the South conducting big citizenship classes and assisting Negroes to vote.

The conference helps community organizations to organize voter registration drives, public school integration and lunch counters integration not only in Alabama, but throughout the South.

"Alabama is still what we call a 'hard core resistance' state," he said. "And Birmingham is the hot bastion of segregation among major cities."

Dr. King said he would back integration leaders if they desired to stage demonstrations during the conference meeting in what he called "the worst city in America" in recent years.

He said the primary purpose of the convention was to "map strategy and intensify voter registration drives, public school integration and lunch counters integration not only in Alabama, but throughout the South."

Atlanta, Sept. 25 (UPI)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was elected president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference when it was formed in New Orleans in 1957.

NY TIMES
9-26-62
Page 23

100-3744-34 295

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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Conrad	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tavel	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Trotter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holmes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 9-8-64

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Mr. Sullivan
FJB
SIPH

Reference is made to my memorandum to you in this matter dated August 31, 1964, in which the Director approved the recommendation to have Assistant Director Malone orally brief Francis Cardinal Spellman concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.'s communist connections and degenerate make-up to avoid the possibility of having the Pope grant an audience to King in connection with his proposed visit to Rome later this month.

Malone was briefed in this matter and told to stress two things in his contact with Cardinal Spellman, the first being that he should stress of course the confidential nature of our briefing so that the Bureau would not be drawn into the picture, and, secondly, to ascertain if Cardinal Spellman could take the necessary action in his relationship with the Pope so that if he could not, we could take appropriate steps through other channels.

Malone called today and stated that he had discussed the situation with Cardinal Spellman over the weekend and he said that the Cardinal took instant steps to advise the Vatican against granting any audience to King. He stated that Cardinal Spellman assured him that he would respect the confidential nature of the information and added that the Cardinal was most pleased and gratified that the Director thought enough of him to take him into his confidence and to rely upon him to handle such a delicate matter. Cardinal Spellman is going to Rome next week to attend the Ecumenical Council and thus will be on the scene personally and further insure that the Pope is not placed in an embarrassing position through any contact with King.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

V.
REC-52
100-106670-452
SEP 21 1964
W&J
Q
This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

68 SEP 28 1964
OB: pwc

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 9-17-64

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Mohr
- 1-Mr. DeLoach
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Bland
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

WCS
WCS
WCS

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" contained a small article in today's edition stating that Martin Luther King, Jr., had announced through his office in Atlanta that he had been granted an audience with Pope Paul VI to take place on Friday, 9-18-64, at which time he hopes to discuss the racial situation in the United States with the Pope.

You will recall that several weeks ago, when we first learned of King's intention to travel abroad, we anticipated the possibility of King's asking for an audience with the Pope and arranged to have Assistant Director Malone of the New York Office contact Francis Cardinal Spellman to see if appropriate action could not be taken to prevent such an audience. Malone did brief Cardinal Spellman in the matter and told us the Cardinal had in fact called the Vatican immediately after being contacted by Malone.

Malone was contacted telephonically today to see if he could shed any further light on the report that King was to have an audience with the Pope. He contacted Cardinal Spellman's office and was told that the Cardinal, who presently is recuperating from an operation, had spoken personally several weeks ago by telephone to the Secretary of State at the Vatican and had strongly recommended that no audience be granted King because of very serious but highly confidential information which had come to his attention but which he could not discuss in detail over the telephone.

Malone was asked to determine if there possibly could have been a slip-up so that the Pope did not actually receive Cardinal Spellman's warning. He was advised by Cardinal Spellman's office that with the information being furnished to the Secretary of State at the Vatican it would be mandatory for the Secretary of State to furnish the information directly to the Pope and that there was every assurance the Pope had received the information. Cardinal Spellman's office advised Malone today that it is possible that arrangements for such an audience had already been made and could not be

CDB:skw
(8)

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CONTINUED OVER

REC-35

OCT 8 1964

64 OCT 13 1964 339

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

canceled without embarrassment or it is equally possible that the Pope, viewing King's important role in racial matters in the United States, decided to overrule the recommendation not to meet with King.

Malone was advised through Cardinal Spellman's office that the matter would again be delicately brought to Cardinal Spellman's attention.

Malone is to keep us advised as soon as he learns anything additionally pertinent.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Handwritten signatures and initials:
J. J. [unclear] [unclear] ✓
[unclear]

Tolson ✓
 Belmont ✓
 Mohr ✓
 Casper ✓
 Callahan ✓
 Conrad ✓
 DeLoach ✓
 Evans ✓
 Gale ✓
 Rosen ✓
 Sullivan ✓
 Tavel ✓
 Trotter ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Holmes ✓
 Gandy ✓

UPI-95

(KING)

VATICAN CITY--THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., THE AMERICAN NEGRO LEADER, WILL GO TO THE VATICAN TONIGHT FOR A PRIVATE AUDIENCE WITH POPE PAUL VI.

VATICAN OFFICIALS THREW A CURTAIN OF SECRECY AROUND THE MEETING. THE VATICAN HAS A STANDING POLICY OF DISCRETION ABOUT PAPAL MEETINGS WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS OF OTHER DEMONINATIONS.

KING, A LEADER OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, IS A BAPTIST. IT WAS HE WHO FIRST DISCLOSED NEWS OF THE AUDIENCE. 9/18-DP138PED

1-cc Rm. 808 R.B.

Outstanding

ENCLOSURE

5. P. Allen

EX-102

600-106670-479

REC-35

4 OCT 8 1964

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

- Tolson _____
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- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
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- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

Dr. King to See Pope, Hopes for Racism Stand

VATICAN CITY, Sept. 18 (AP).—Dr. Martin Luther King said today he hoped Pope Paul VI would follow up their meeting with a statement reiterating the Roman Catholic Church's stand against racism.

The Pope was to receive the American Negro leader in private audience late today. Dr. King said in an interview with the Rome Daily American:

"Of course, I hope that the Pope will see fit to release a statement about our talk. The Roman Catholic Church has already let its opposition to racism be known and it has been of great help to us in our work.

"But I think if every individual Catholic were made aware of the church's stand by the Pope, it would be of great assistance to the civil rights movement in the future."

The Pope's response may never be disclosed by the Vatican. Often the Vatican issues statements after private audiences. Often it doesn't. But the fact that the Pope agreed to receive Dr. King will be taken in many quarters as a new sign that he sympathizes with the civil rights mission.

After Dr. King's arrival in Rome Wednesday, a statement issued in his name by his office in Atlanta, Ga., said he would discuss with the pontiff the role

of the church in creating an integrated community life.

Dr. King also said he was concerned with the large metropolitan areas in the Northern United States "where the Roman Catholic Church is a powerful factor in the attitude of the people."

Dr. King is a co-pastor with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. He also heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a militant civil rights organization.

Pope Paul—as well as the late Pope John—had repeatedly advocated racial equality and decried racial strife.

5. P/O [Signature]
[Signature]

File 5 work

1-cc Rom 8-28-63

- The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
- The Washington Daily News _____
- The Evening Star B4 _____
- New York Herald Tribune _____
- New York Journal-American _____
- New York Mirror _____
- New York Daily News _____
- New York Post _____
- The New York Times _____
- The Worker _____
- The New Leader _____
- The Wall Street Journal _____
- The National Observer _____
- People's World _____
- Date _____

SEP 18 1963

SEP 18 1964

100-107-75-479

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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Mohr	_____
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Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: September 11, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

We have just learned that Martin Luther King, Jr., and some of his advisors, including Bayard Rustin and Clarence Jones, are working on an article which is to be submitted over King's name for publication in "The Saturday Evening Post." The article would deal with such matters as the poverty bill, elections, riots and the so-called "backlash" that is cropping up in political circles. The only publication known to be considered for this article to date is "The Saturday Evening Post." We do not as yet know specifically what line King will take in the article or what its specific stands will be. The matter of this article is scheduled for further discussion by King and his advisors on 9/22/64 in New York City. This information is classified "Secret"

OBSERVATIONS:

Because of the communist influences on King it would be well to prevent any publication of his views. It is noted that earlier this year we had some advance information on the possibility of a King article being published by "The Saturday Evening Post." On that occasion Assistant Director DeLoach's office was able to take appropriate action to forestall the publication of the article. This was handled by Supervisor William Stapleton, who has an appropriate contact at "The Saturday Evening Post."

ACTION:

We have separately made appropriate dissemination of the information concerning King's intentions to have an article published in "The Saturday Evening Post" and have also written the Atlanta and New York Offices to remain on top of the situation so that the Bureau will be promptly furnished further developments in this matter.

RECOMMENDATION:

This memorandum be routed to Assistant Director DeLoach for appropriate action in accordance with the observations set out above.

100-106670

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

SFP:kmj

(9)

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE TWO

58 OCT 19 1964

100-442529-44
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

[Handwritten signature]

More recent information has just been received to the effect that a John Hunt of "The Saturday Evening Post" has already been in contact with King concerning material being prepared for the "Post." Also, King and some of his advisors are to meet briefly on the late afternoon of 9/11/64 while King is waiting at the airport in New York City for a flight overseas. They are to further discuss the article in question.

In light of the latest information, it is suggested that if any action is taken by Mr. DeLoach, it be done as soon as possible so that it would be less difficult for "Post" people to take the action desired.

B. FISB WGS
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

9/15/64
Culligan, Mr. Thompson advised
he is on vacation and not getting into
9/28/64 (Culligan as Chairman + President
Culligan Publishing Co.)
9/22/64
Spoke with Culligan. He will check into matter
and let me know just as soon as possible. W

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan
FROM : F. J. Baumgardner
SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - J. F. Bland
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

DATE: 2/1/65

- Tolson
- Belmont
- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
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- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

We have learned that Martin Luther King, Jr., is scheduled to appear in Davenport, Iowa, 4/28/65, at a banquet sponsored by the Davenport Chapter of the Catholic Interracial Council (CIC). King will reportedly be paid \$1,000 for his appearance and also be given the "Pacem in Terris" award, the second year such an award has been given by the CIC. The first such awards were given in 1964 to the late President Kennedy and to John Howard Griffin, a writer. The award is in memory of Pope John.

You will recall that in August, 1964, we recommended, and the Director approved, that Francis Cardinal Spellman be orally briefed concerning King's communist connections and moral degeneracy so that such information could be passed on to the Pope as it was anticipated that King would seek an audience with the Pope. Such briefing of the Cardinal subsequently was made by Assistant Director Malone in New York City.

It is shocking indeed that King continues to be honored by religious groups. Inasmuch as commitments have apparently been made by the CIC for the award in Davenport, there is little likelihood that anything can be done in this instance to prevent such an award. It is believed, however, that it would be desirable to have Assistant Director Malone recontact Cardinal Spellman and bring to his attention the information we continue to receive about King being given honors by Catholic groups, citing the Davenport CIC award as a current instance. It could be tactfully suggested that in the end it might well be embarrassing to the Catholic Church for having given honors to King. A discussion with the Cardinal might well suggest to him the desirability for the Cardinal to initiate such action as he deems appropriate, through church circles, to alert Catholic institutions and organizations concerning King. It would appear that the Cardinal would certainly be appreciative for the information we are giving him.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

SFP:jad
(9)

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan
From F. J. Baumgardner
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, this memorandum should be routed back to Assistant Director Sullivan who will telephone Assistant Director Malone and have him discuss the matter along the lines indicated above.

BJ

wjbb

[Handwritten mark]

[Handwritten mark]

[Handwritten mark]

*I see no need
to further
approach
Speelman*

[Handwritten mark]

*↑
Jensen.
J*

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11-16-64

This concerns information we furnished to the British concerning the background of both Martin Luther King, Jr., and Bayard Rustin. It was in connection with efforts being made by King to see the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson when King passes through London en route to Oslo, Norway, to receive Nobel Peace Prize.

[Handwritten initials]
SFP:fas

*Exempts to
protect foreign
intelligence
agency and
that country*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

FBI

Date: November 13, 1964

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: LEGAT, LONDON (100-3329) (P)

RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

SM - C
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

ReBucab 11/10/64, received London, 3:00 AM, 11/11/64.

Handwritten notes:
exclusion zone to
protect friendly foreign intelligence
agencies and that country
5- P [Signature]

Information contained in reBucab concerning subject and BAYARD RUSTIN was furnished on the morning of November 11, 1964, to Sir ROGER HOLLIS, British Security Service, MI-5. He was advised that this information was being furnished so that it might be given on a highly confidential basis to Prime Minister WILSON.

On the morning of November 13, 1964, HOLLIS said this information had been furnished to the Prime Minister. HOLLIS commented that he was indeed grateful to the Director for this information. He was not at the moment aware of the action to be taken by the Prime Minister, but that such information was of extreme value.

HOLLIS also advised that RUSTIN had arrived in London on the morning of November 13, from the United States. RUSTIN told the Immigration authorities that he was in England to see the Secretary of State for Colonies, and to make arrangements for KING's forthcoming trip. While in London, RUSTIN would be staying at Friends International Center, 32 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. MI-5 is covering RUSTIN's activities and this matter will be followed with MI-5 and the Bureau advised.

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Liaison Section (sent direct)
- 2 - London
(100-1535)

CWB:ec
(6)

REC-39

EX-103

21 NOV 16 1964

535

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

SUBV CONTROL

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

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JFK Law 10(a)1

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JFK Law 10(a)1

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

November 10, 1964

CODE

CABLEGRAM

NIGHT ACTION

Page 1 EXCLUSIONS to PROTECT FRIENDLY FOREIGN AGENCY AND THAT COUNTRY

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

TO LEGAT LONDON

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-106670)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WHO IS TO RECEIVE THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE IN OSLO, NORWAY, DECEMBER TEN, NEXT, PLANS TO BE IN LONDON, ENGLAND, DECEMBER SIX AND SEVEN, NEXT. ONE OF HIS ADVISORS, BAYARD RUSTIN, HAS CONTACTED PEGGY DUFF, A LONDON RESIDENT WHO IS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. RUSTIN REQUESTED HER TO ATTEMPT TO ARRANGE FOR PRIME MINISTER HAROLD WILSON TO RECEIVE KING. RUSTIN DESIRES IT NOT APPEAR AS THOUGH THIS IS KING'S IDEA AND PREFERS WILSON TO ANNOUNCE THAT WILSON IS INVITING KING. DUFF CHECKING INTO THIS MATTER.

RUSTIN IS DEPARTING FOR LONDON NOVEMBER ELEVEN, NEXT, FOR PURPOSE OF CLARIFYING A CONFUSION SURROUNDING KING'S TRIP IN DECEMBER. CONFUSION INVOLVES FACT THAT ARCHBISHOP OF

CANTERBURY DESIRES TO RECEIVE KING BUT HAS BEEN OPPOSED BY

VIA CABLEGRAM

SFP:bgc (13)

REC-23

106670-517
18 NOV 12 1964

NOV 10 1964

8:52 PM LCB

NOTE: See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 11/10/64, same caption, SFP:bgc.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

NOV 11 4 22 PM '64

JFK Law 10(a)1

country
CABLEGRAM TO LONDON
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

CONFIDENTIAL BASIS TO THE PRIME MINISTER. MI - FIVE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., BEING APPRISED. INFORMATION AS TO
KING'S COMMUNIST ASSOCIATIONS CLASSIFIED QUOTE SECRET
UNQUOTE; AS TO HIS MORAL DEGENERACY, QUOTE TOP SECRET UNQUOTE.

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED
APR 1964
FBI - WASH DC

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RECORDED BY
INDEXED BY
FILED BY
LOANED BY

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: November 10, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips
- 1 - Liaison

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

ELSUB

NY 4212-S* reported on the evening of November 9, 1964, Bayard Rustin was in contact with Andrew Young, Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed by Martin Luther King, Jr. Rustin told Young that he, Rustin, was leaving for London, England, November 11, 1964, for the purpose of clarifying confusion surrounding King's trip to Europe in December, 1964. (King is to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, December 10, 1964.) The confusion arises in that the Archbishop of Canterbury desires to receive King but has been opposed by certain elements inasmuch as King is a Baptist. Rustin is to also determine, while in London, whether King can have a meeting with the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson.

Rustin has already been in contact with Peggy Duff, a resident of London, England, who is Executive Director of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Rustin told her that King will be in London on December 6 and 7, 1964, and Rustin wanted to know if Prime Minister Wilson would be prepared to receive King then. She indicated that she would check into this. Rustin said that it should not appear as though this was King's idea, stating that it was preferred that Wilson announce that he is inviting King to visit him.

OBSERVATIONS:

It is believed that the British should be apprised of the foregoing information concerning King's efforts to see Prime Minister Wilson, along with information concerning King's communist connections and the fact that King is a moral degenerate.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That the attached cablegram go forward to Legat, London so that he can make pertinent information available to

100-106670
Enc.
SFP:bgc
(11)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

REC-56

CONTINUED - OVER

Phillips
Int. Sec. Section

SUBV. DIV.

79 NOV 27 1964

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

Foreign Foreign Intell. Agency

PROTECT COUNTRY

MI-5 for transmittal on a highly confidential basis to Prime Minister Wilson.

523

FFIA

FFIA

2. Attached for approval is a Stott memorandum which will be given to MI-5 here in Washington and they will be told that this information is being given to MI-5 in London by our Legat.

*1
FFIA*

*country
Handled
11-12-64
Washington*

3. We are separately making this information available to the White House, State Department and the Acting Attorney General by communications which are being expeditiously prepared.

S
JAP
OK - V.
H

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WC 8/31/64*

DATE: August 31, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1- Mr. Belmont
- 1- Mr. Mohr
- 1- Mr. DeLoach
- 1- Mr. Sullivan *S-P*
- 1- Mr. D. J. Brennan
- 1- Mr. Bland
- 1- Mr. Baumgardner
- 1- Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Martin Luther King, Jr., is to be in West Berlin, Germany, for the opening of that city's cultural festival 9/13/64. We have just obtained details of his itinerary for travel abroad which reveals that he will leave the United States either 9/11 or 12/64 and not return until 9/22/64. Included in his itinerary is a visit to Rome, Italy. He is to go there from Madrid, Spain, 9/18/64, and remain in Rome until the morning of 9/20/64 when he will go to London, England.

We have not as yet obtained any information indicating the purpose of his visit to Rome, but it is entirely likely that he may seek and be given an audience with the Pope. This likelihood is clearly evident when one considers that King is receiving more and more acclaim as a leader of the Negro people in this country, plus the fact that he is a clergyman. Further, King we know is being considered for the Nobel Peace Prize and his receiving an audience with the Pope would likely receive considerable publicity, especially in Europe, further enhancing his chances for the Prize.

It would be shocking indeed for such an unscrupulous character as King to receive an audience with the Pope. It is believed that if a plan to see the Pope is in the making, it ought to be nipped in the bud. We have considered different possibilities for meeting this problem and believe that the best one would be to have Assistant Director Malone of the New York Office personally contact Francis Cardinal Spellman and on a highly confidential basis bring to the Cardinal's attention (1) the fact that King is to visit Rome and the likelihood of his receiving an audience with the Pope and (2) the unsavory nature of King's character, both from a subversive and moral standpoint. Malone should be able to impress upon the Cardinal the likely embarrassment that may result to the Pope should he grant King an audience and King is later discredited. In this light it would hardly even be necessary for Malone to "suggest" what the Cardinal should do to forestall any possible audience. Malone should stress the highly confidential nature of this matter with the Cardinal, who is very friendly to the Bureau, and insure that the Bureau is in no

Enc.
1- 100-442529
100-106670

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CONTINUED - OVER

SFP:kmj

EX 101

SEP 16 1964

64 SEP 21 1964
ENCLOSURE

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

way associated with any action taken by the Cardinal or the Vatican. Malone should also obtain from the Cardinal a commitment that he will be able to block any attempt by King to gain an audience with the Pope. If the Cardinal is not able to give such an assurance, we must immediately know this so that we may explore some other avenue.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, Assistant Director Malone should personally orally brief Francis Cardinal Spellman in accordance with the attached "Top Secret" summary indicating King's communist connections and degenerate make-up. (This is the same summary we previously used in preventing King's receiving an honorary degree from Marquette University.) The attached summary should also be used for telephonically briefing Malone. This matter should receive most expeditious handling because of the time element involved.

S

*Mc
g*

W.E.S.

[Signature]

g/RC

OK.

H

JA

*Sullivan handling
1:30 PM
A*

JFK Law 10(a)1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)

DATE: 10/19/65

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-5718)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C

*BVD of NETHOLLANDS
TO BE EXCUSSED*

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated 9/16/65 captioned as above which forwarded a request received from the [redacted] relating to training material or directives of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

FRIENDLY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (FFIA)

There is enclosed herewith for the Bureau 9 copies of an LHM setting forth results of file review relating to KING's principles and reasons for the non-violent approach utilized in conjunction with SCLC. One copy of this LHM is to be furnished Legat, Bonn for transmittal to BVD, Netherlands.

Source one is Dr. GERALD REED, 1343 Peachtree St., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

COUNTRY
~~CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE~~

All pertinent data set forth in this LHM was excerpts from the publication "The SCLC Story in Words and Pictures" which was available to the public at the price of \$1.00 per copy which was copyrighted in 1963.

The enclosed LHM is classified Confidential because unauthorized disclosure of the contents of this LHM could seriously jeopardize the Bureau's investigative interest in subject KING and the SCLC.

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 9)
- 4 - Atlanta (1 - 100-5718)
 - (1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
 - (1 - 157-698) (EDWARD CLAYTON)
 - (1 - 157-639) (DOROTHY COTTON)

AFM:cmp
(6)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

EXP. PROC. UNRECORDED COPIED IN

REC-18
100-11-
OCT 21 1965
778

REDACTED...
SCLC...
AFFIA





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
October 19, 1963

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE

Atlanta confidential sources have been unable to furnish or make available copies of training material utilized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in projecting the ideas and thinkings of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

In a pamphlet published by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) depicting "The SCLC Story" which was published in 1964, basic ideas and convictions are set forth which obviously portray some of the ideas and teachings of SCLC which would have been projected to employees and workers on behalf of the SCLC. In this pamphlet which was edited by EDWARD T. CLAYTON, Public Relations Director, SCLC, an editorial note explained that the work of the SCLC was one of determination, sacrifice and dedication A passion for unqualified freedom through the moral fibre of non-violence and tenets of Christianity became the great task of SCLC.

Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. is quoted in this publication as follows:

"In these turbulent days of uncertainty the evils of war and of economic and racial injustice threaten the very survival of the human race. Indeed we live in a day of grave crisis. Yet, I am convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the philosophy of nonviolence will redeem the soul of America. There is a great temptation to accept nonviolence solely as a strategy, a device; this we must guard against.

100-44771-778

CONFIDENTIAL ENCLOSURE
GROUP 1

Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
Unauthorized Disclosure
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

"This is one of the chief aims of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference: to broadly disseminate through intensive training the heart of nonviolence, that our commitment to nonviolence will not only be a technique, but shall become for us a way of life with love and redemption as its center. Another chief aim of SCLC is in the area of voter registration. Here again it must be recognized that the right and proper use of the ballot is vital in our struggle for first-class citizenship."

This publication also carried an article written by L. D. REDDICK, Historian, SCLC, setting forth the history of SCLC and its development. In this article REDDICK pointed out that at the founding of SCLC it was agreed that civil rights were essential to Democracy and that the Negro should reject segregation absolutely but in a non-violent manner. The composition of the board of the SCLC in its founding convention reflected a strong church orientation of the organization, along with a sprinkling of intellectuals, laborites and lawyers. Dr. REDDICK identified the aims and purposes of SCLC as follows:

- "1. To achieve full citizenship rights, and total integration of the Negro in American life.
- "2. To stimulate nonviolent direct mass action to remove the barriers of segregation and discrimination.
- "3. To disseminate the creative philosophy and techniques of nonviolence through local and area workshops.
- "4. To secure the right and unhampered use of the ballot for every citizen.
- "5. To reduce the cultural lag through the Citizenship Training Program."

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Another article appearing in this publication by DOROTHY COTTON, Director, Citizenship School, SCLC, cites as one of the necessary factors in the program of the SCLC is to build a program around mass non-violent direct action and to prepare "soldiers" for the non-violent Army. In order to do this it is necessary to prepare these individuals as follows:

"Gathering Facts Before engaging in nonviolent direct action, we must have detailed facts about the unjust situation against which we are protesting. A nonviolent campaign must never be based on mere opinion and hearsay.

"Education Once all the facts and figures are known this information must be disseminated throughout the community involved. One goal of a nonviolent movement is to gain understanding, sympathy, and support for the changes we seek. In order to achieve this, the people (white and Negro) must be informed.

"Negotiation Nonviolent resistance to injustice presupposes the desire to win opponents to our cause, not to conquer or overthrow. We, therefore, talk directly with persons in charge of areas of our grievances before any action is taken.

"Purification Spiritual preparation is mandatory for those who would participate in Christian nonviolent direct action. Preparation requires studying nonviolence in workshops, role-playing, and making a commitment. When actual love is felt for our opponents, a direct-action campaign is then begun.

"Direct Action We show our love and dedication to truth by presenting our very bodies in places not opened to us. By such acts we confront segregationists with the issues and ourselves, and they are forced to make a decision. By such acts, we accept suffering rather than inflict suffering.

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

"Reconciliation Our white brothers often find it painful to change the teachings and habits of a lifetime. The nonviolent resister understands this pain and through love helps them to accept the new way of life. He is active in making the transition as easy and painless as possible.

"Direct action projects must always be nonviolent, for the goals we seek by such action are "pre-existent in the means". The ends we seek for our nation and for ourselves are love, justice and peace. There can be no love tomorrow without loving men today; there can be no justice without just men; there can be no peace in the end without peaceful men. The legions of the nonviolent disciple will only grow if we are able to love regardless of the cost. The cost of Jesus Christ was the cross. That cross, its cost and implications, holds our confidence and our future as free men."

There is also quoted in this pamphlet excerpts of a letter allegedly prepared by Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. when confined to jail at Birmingham, Alabama. This letter was written in answer to a letter prepared by eight white clergymen who publicly criticized KING for unwise and untimely demonstrations. KING, in answering this letter, sets forth some of his moral justifications for acts on the part of SCLC and pertinent portions of this letter are as follows:

"In your statement you asserted that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. Isn't this like condemning the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophy delvings precipitated the misguided popular mind to make him drink the hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because his unique God-consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to God's will precipitated the evil act of the Crucifixion?"

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

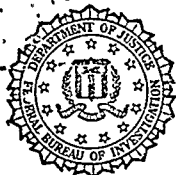
"The question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice - or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill, three men were crucified for the same crime - the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth and goodness, and thereby rose about his environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists."

Confidential Source One advised that about 1959 Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. visited India, briefly ostensibly for the purpose of studying the Ghandi concepts of non-violence.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

-5-

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
October 19, 1965

FD 323

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Character	
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SAC, Atlanta (100-5718)

9/16/65

Director, FBI (100-438794)

1 - Mr. Phillips

COMINFIL
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*EXCUSIONS to PROTECT FRIVOLOUS
FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY +
THAT COUNTRY*

Enclosed is a copy of a self-explanatory letter dated 9/2/65 from the Legat, Bonn, captioned "Relations with the Internal Security Service of the Netherlands (BVD - Binnenlandse Veiligheids Dienst)".

It is noted that the Internal Security Service of the Netherlands has requested of the Bureau any examples of training material or directives which have been used by Martin Luther King, Jr., in directing his movement through the SCLC. You are instructed to review your file concerning captioned matter as well as any other appropriate files in your office and furnish the Bureau material which may in turn be forwarded to the Legat, Bonn, for transmittal to the requesting agency. The material furnished should be part of a letterhead memorandum which will facilitate dissemination. Note particularly that no investigation is desired and this should be handled only through a review of your files.

Enclosure

NOTE:

The BVD is interested in pacifist groups particularly such as follow the non-violent tactics of the SCLC. Material that the BVD desires is to be handled on a confidential basis with that agency.

SFP:deh *dek*
(4)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

MAILED 25
SEP 15 1965
COMM-FBI

REC-31

EX-101

19 SEP 16 1965

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

<i>W.C.S.</i>	Belmont	_____
<i>at</i>	Mohr	_____
	DeLoach	_____
	Casper	_____
	Callahan	_____
	Conrad	_____
	Evans	_____
	Malone	_____
	Rosen	_____
	Sullivan	_____
	Tavel	_____
	Trotter	_____
	Tele. Room	_____
	Holmes	_____
	Gandy	_____

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *ABD*

DATE: 12/21/64

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips
- 1 - Mr. Rosack *B*

SUBJECT: "COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT--A CURRENT ANALYSIS"

By memorandum dated 11/27/64, which was approved, a paper captioned as above depicting the communist influence in the Negro movement, with emphasis on Martin Luther King, Jr., was disseminated to the heads of the intelligence community. We have received additional information concerning King's immoral conduct at Memphis, Tennessee, and at Oslo, Norway.

It is contemplated that dissemination of this additional information will be made, if approved, to the following individuals:

- The Honorable Dean Rusk, The Secretary of State
- The Honorable John A. McCone, Director of Central Intelligence Agency
- The Honorable Carl T. Rowan, Director of United States Information Agency
- The Honorable Robert S. McNamara, The Secretary of Defense
- Major General Edgar C. Doleman, Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Department of the Army
- Rear Admiral Rufus L. Taylor, Director of Naval Intelligence, Department of the Navy
- Colonel Joseph J. Cappucci, Director of Special Investigations, The Inspector General, Department of the Air Force
- Lieutenant General Joseph F. Carroll, Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
- Dr. Leland J. Haworth, Director, National Science Foundation

100-442529

Enc. sent 12-21-64

TPR:rbm
(11)

REC-21 100-442529-555

DEC 28 1964 *Phyllis*

CONTINUED - OVER

SENT DIRECTOR
12-21-64

ENCLOSURE *42*

DEC 31 1964
NW 55245 DocId:32989661

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont
RE: "COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO
MOVEMENT--A CURRENT ANALYSIS"
100-442529

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That the attached transmittal letters directed to those listed above be approved and sent, enclosing a copy of a memorandum entitled "Martin Luther King, Jr.: His Personal Conduct."

2. Also attached is a letter to the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President Elect, to be delivered by a representative of Mr. DeLoach's office, furnishing a copy of captioned paper and the additional information regarding the Memphis and Oslo incidents.

3. In addition, attached are letters to Mr. Moyers at the White House and the Acting Attorney General (copies to Deputy Attorney General and AAG's Civil Rights and Internal Security Divisions) advising of the Memphis incident. Both the White House and Acting Attorney General have already been furnished the captioned paper and information concerning the Oslo incident.

MOYERS
delivered
12/21/64

Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

J. Edgar Hoover
W. J. Ruckelshaus
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: September 2, 1965

FROM : Legat, Bonn (66-82)

ALL EXCISIONS TO PROTECT FRIENDLY INTELLIGENCE AGENCY FROM FOREIGN ITS COUNTRY

SUBJECT: RELATIONS WITH THE INTERNAL SECURITY SERVICE OF THE NETHERLANDS (BVD - BINNENLANDSE VEILIGHEIDS DIENST)

Under confidential classification on September 1, 1965, we received the following information and request from the BVD.

Certain activities of radical pacifist groups in the Netherlands are causing increasing concern to Netherlands Government authorities because of the possibility that they may constitute a threat to public order and safety. One of these groups which is particularly active is known as the "Comite 29 November 1962" which is actually the Dutch version of the "British Committee of 100." Exponents of this group are found in leading circles of the Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP). The Comite supports the principle of the so-called "non-violent defensibility" and it claims to derive its ideas from persons such as Mahatma Gandhi and the Reverend Martin Luther King.

The BVD said that it felt that it would be useful to them in analyzing and studying the activities of these groups if it had available some information regarding the methods and techniques used and expounded by Rev. King. They ask if the Bureau has any examples of training material or directives or the like which have been used by King in directing his movements. If so, the BVD would appreciate having copies for its confidential information.

Request Bureau advise whether it has any such material and furnish copies of it if available. The BVD, of course, is asking for only what we might have and is not in any way suggesting investigative inquiries to obtain material. I recognize the possible delicate situation involved in transmitting information on King's operations, but if any is available we will transmit this on a personal basis to our ranking contacts in the BVD.

- 2 - Bureau
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Bonn
- GAV:lc
- (4)

REC-4 66-82-102

SEP 7 1965

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Bland

DOWNGRADED TO

SECRET

Per CA 82 57132
 Date 5/24/2016

December 21, 1964

- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips
- 1 - Mr. Rosack

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.:
HIS PERSONAL CONDUCT

Confidential sources who have furnished reliable information in the past have advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., has the reputation among many of the country's Negro leaders of being a heavy consumer of alcoholic beverages and is known to certain Negro leaders to be extremely loose in his moral behavior. As an example, these sources cited an incident which occurred several years ago in Memphis, Tennessee, when King attended a Negro Baptist Convention. With King's knowledge, some of the ministers arranged to rent, from some families, apartments at a housing project. The permanent tenants were advised that the apartments were needed for "meditation." Actually, they were used for sex and drinking parties. These sources heard from other individuals, whom they believed to be reliable, that during the Convention King became so intoxicated that he caused a scene in the housing project, being unable to find the apartment he desired. Some of his colleagues had to physically restrain King lest he be recognized by some of the tenants and thus jeopardize the image of the ministers as well as that of the desegregation movement.

Bayard Rustin, in discussing King's recent trip to Oslo, Norway, to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, advised two acquaintances on December 16, 1964, that he was called by the police at 4:30 a.m. one morning because the police had caught a prostitute coming out of the room of A. D. King, Martin's brother. A. D. King attempted to evade the police by running into Martin's room. The police accused the prostitute of stealing money; however, she claimed she had been paid by the occupant of A. D. King's room. Rustin claimed that he talked the police out of arresting the prostitute in order to avoid besmirching the reputation of

100-442529

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
 Unauthorized Disclosure
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TPR:rbm
 (21)

~~TOP SECRET~~

GROUP 1
 Excluded from automatic
 downgrading and
 declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

ENCLOSURE

100-442529-555

~~TOP SECRET~~

Martin Luther King, Jr.:
His Personal Conduct

Martin Luther King, Jr. Rustin also stated that members of King's entourage had naked girls running up and down the corridors of the hotel where they stayed and that they were bringing white prostitutes into their rooms.

Bayard Rustin, one of King's key advisors, is a former member of the Young Communist League, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

NOTE:

See memorandum W. C. Sullivan to Belmont dated 12/21/64, captioned "Communism and the Negro Movement-- A Current Analysis," TPR:rbm.

This memorandum is classified "Top Secret" since it is an adjunct of the summary entitled "Communism and the Negro Movement--A Current Analysis," which is classified "Top Secret" due to the extremely sensitive sources involved. Sources furnishing information in this memorandum are also considered extremely sensitive sources.

- 2 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
 - 1 - Mr. Mohr
 - 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 - 1 - Mr. Rosen
- December 21, 1964

*To Mrs. Estlin
Hall 12/22/64
g m*

CIRM

BY LIAISON

Dr. Leland J. Haworth
 Director
 National Science Foundation
 1951 Constitution Avenue, Northwest
 Washington, D. C.

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips
- 1 - Mr. Rosack

DEC 21 19 03 PM '64
 FBI - FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Dear Dr. Haworth:

By letter dated December 18, 1964, you were furnished a copy of a study entitled "Communism and the Negro Movement--A Current Analysis." There is enclosed a memorandum containing additional information relating to the personal conduct of Martin Luther King, Jr. Copies of this document are being furnished to interested officials of the Government.

The sources utilized in the enclosure have furnished reliable information in the past and because of their sensitive nature the memorandum has been classified "Top Secret." Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this transmittal letter becomes unclassified.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION Sincerely yours,
 Unauthorized Disclosure
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

REC-11

100-4-529-552

DEC 23 1964

Enclosure

100-442529

UPGRADED TO
SECRET

Per CRW 57322
 Date 5/24/2016

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

~~TOP SECRET~~

TPR:jed
 (12)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

60 DEC 23 1964

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- mes _____

~~TOP SECRET~~

/ Dr. Leland J. Haworth

NOTE:

See memo W. C. Sullivan to Mr. Belmont,
dated 12/21/64, re "Communism and the Negro Movement--
A Current Analysis," TPR:rbm.

This letter is classified "Top Secret" since
the enclosure is so classified in order to fully protect
the extremely sensitive sources involved.

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 2 -

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Rosen
December 21, 1964

DOWNGRADED TO
SECRET

Per 198W57B32
Date 5/29/2016

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Phillips
1 - Mr. Rosack

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

(Cirm)

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed study entitled "Communism and the Negro Movement--A Current Analysis" as well as a memorandum captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr.: His Personal Conduct" which is an adjunct of the study. Copies of these documents have been furnished to interested officials of the Government.

The sources used in the enclosures have furnished reliable information in the past, and because of their sensitive nature, the documents have been classified "Top Secret." Upon removal of the classified enclosures, this transmittal letter becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Enclosures (2)

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

100-442529

TPR:lat;jed

(12)

JAN 5 1965

~~TOP SECRET~~

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

DEC 31 1964

F. B. I.
RECEIVED-DIRECTOR

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

NOTE:

See memorandum Sullivan to Belmont, 12/21/64, re
"Communism and the Negro Movement--A Current Analysis."
TPR:rbm.

This letter is classified "Top Secret" since the
enclosures are so classified in order to fully protect the
extremely sensitive sources involved.

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 2 -

Date: 12/15/67

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-149194)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL SCLC
IS-C
(OO: Atlanta)

RESUR
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

There are enclosed for the Bureau nine copies of a LHM containing information from NY 3810-S* on 12/13/67 concerning a conversation between STANLEY LEVISON and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., on that date, relating to KING's planned civil disobedience program.

1/17/68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
INFORMANT
NY 694-S*

The source used to characterize STANLEY LEVISON is

100-136675

RESUR
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This LHM is classified "Secret" because it contains information from NY 3810-S*, a source furnishing highly sensitive information about racial matters in the United States, and Communist influence therein, and because it contains a concentration of information from NY 694-S* in the characterization of STANLEY LEVISON.

NOT RECORDED
193-DEC-25

- 1 - Bureau (100-438794) (Encls. 9) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-5718) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - 100-5586 (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 1 - New York (100-111260) (STANLEY LEVISON) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-136385) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-149194) (41)

CONFIDENTIAL
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED
DEC 25 1967
FBI - NEW YORK

ENCLOSURE

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

57 JAN 10 1968

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/28/66

Bureau telephone call to Chicago 2/23/66 authorized by the Director instructed SAC Marlin Johnson to contact Archbishop Cody and brief him regarding the strong influence exerted on King by his key advisors with communist backgrounds, as well as King's immoral behavior.

Attached contains results of meeting between the Archbishop, a former confidential source of the St. Louis Office, and Johnson.

BPM:deh

+ NUCYS D

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

F B I

Date: 2/24/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL (Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTENTION: Assistant Director WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO

RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM-C (Security matter - Communist)

Re Bureau phone call from Assistant Director SULLIVAN to SAC JOHNSON 2/23/66.

Today I visited His Excellency, the Most Reverend JOHN P. CODY, Archbishop of Chicago, at his residence. We had a most pleasant visit concerning matters in general, during which time His Excellency expressed his very high regard for the Director and the work of the FBI. He indicated that he had had the opportunity during past years to cooperate with the Bureau representatives and he appeared most appreciative of my visit. He indicated that during the past six months, he has tried to become acquainted with the various problems which face his church in the Chicago area, but that a big part of the six months he has spent in traveling and, therefore, is not as well versed in the entire situation concerning Chicago as he would like to be.

He did point out that he is gravely concerned over the racial situation in Chicago and in strictest confidence advised me that he is having problems with many of his younger priests who become over zealous in some of their endeavors in the civil rights field. He told me that this presents a problem for him in giving them guidance in such a way that they use good judgment in their endeavors but not accuse His Excellency of being anti-civil rights.

3 - Bureau
1 - Chicago
MWJ/mrc
(4)

Excessive Bureaucracy
made search of Schuyler
requested copy of [unclear]
of this info which does
not pay to having
but in rather [unclear]
own [unclear]
some [unclear]

REC-16

100-106670-233

MAR 9 1966

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the contents may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

~~His Excellency spoke very frankly after obtaining~~
my assurance that our conversation would be retained in
strictest confidence, and commented that some of his younger
priests become so involved in civil rights matters and racial
matters that they "become a little nutty". He stated by
this he meant that they lose their sense of judgment and
rather than ease tense situations, they, at times, "stir
up and inflame" situations.

At this point he commented that he was worried
about the presence of Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING in
Chicago and stated that KING had visited him here in
Chicago some time ago. This gave me an opportunity to
ask him his impression of KING. His Excellency stated
that this was the first occasion he had talked with KING
and he was "not impressed". He stated that during the
conversation, KING exhibited a very glib tongue and His
Excellency could not help but question his sincerity. His
Excellency stated that he felt KING was not a truthful man
and gave as an example that KING agreed that the con-
versation between KING and His Excellency would remain in
strictest confidence. He pointed out, however, that the
press was "conveniently available" outside the Archbishop's
residence upon the departure of KING and KING spoke at
length to the press concerning his visit with the Arch-
bishop, even though the two men had agreed the conversation
was confidential.

I then, in strictest confidence, briefed His
Excellency along the lines discussed with Assistant Director
SULLIVAN. It was obvious that His Excellency sincerely
appreciated receiving this information and indicated to me
that he would be most circumspect in his dealings with KING.

His Excellency is a very forceful individual, and
from his comments and demeanor, I feel certain that he will
do everything possible to neutralize KING's effect in this
area.

I feel that this visit was highly productive. He
has accepted my invitation to visit the Chicago Office. He
gave me his private telephone number and asked that we
stay in very close touch on matters of mutual interest.

Bureau will be kept advised of developments.

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/12/64

By memorandum March 4, 1964, it was recommended and approved that on a confidential basis we advise Father O'Donnell of Marquette University of the background and general activities of King. Attached is Milwaukee's letter reflecting the results of the contact with Father O'Donnell.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-106670)

DATE: 3/9/64

FROM : SAC, Milwaukee (66-922)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM-C Security Matter-Communist

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Re Bureau telephone call 3/6/64.

Upon receipt of the Bureau telephone call it was determined that Father EDWARD J. O'DONNELL, Chancellor, Marquette University, was in New York City for that day and the succeeding weekend. He was contacted personally by me on Monday, 3/9/64, upon his return and a summary of the information furnished in referenced Bureau telephone call was orally related to him.

Father O'DONNELL stated that he did not know how he could adequately express his gratitude and that of the University for helping them to avoid a situation which obviously would have proven tremendously embarrassing and that the timeliness of this advice could not have been better since the committee which considers academic awards was meeting later the same day.

In this connection Father O'DONNELL advised that the awarding of an honorary degree to KING had been approved by the committee and an invitation extended to him for a date in June which KING was unable to make because of conflicting commitments. In such a situation, Father O'DONNELL related, the committee usually tables the matter with the possibility of considering it again for a subsequent occasion. He stated that he, Father O'DONNELL, had been opposed to awarding a degree from the University to KING since he disapproved of the tactics employed by KING in accomplishing his objectives and that of his group, but he was not in possession of other derogatory information concerning him.

Father O'DONNELL again expressed his appreciation for the Bureau's handling of this matter with them and assured me that as long as he had anything to do with the matter KING would not be further considered for such a degree. He, of course, agreed to keep the contact in complete confidence.

2-Bureau (100-106670)

1-Milwaukee (66-922)

RJB:mg

(3)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its release is limited to official proceedings and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

B. J. Barber
Phil B...

Ryck
5-7-64

De

REC-3

cc RB
REC-3

Memo Bureau answer to Sullivan 3/15/64
LTA/purd
FOI XEN
Records

cc-100-3-11b
5/9

MAR 20 1964

MAR 20 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *wcs*

DATE: March 18, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. DeLoach
- 1-Mr. Callahan
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Gurley

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Prompt, imaginative and aggressive action, tempered with the knowledge that full security is an absolute necessity, has resulted in preventing Martin Luther King, Jr., from receiving an honorary degree from Marquette University. Within 15 minutes after receipt of Atlanta letter 2-18-64 advising that negotiations were underway for Marquette to confer upon King an honorary degree on 3-6-64, the supervisor of captioned matter, Seymour Fred Phillips, brought to your personal attention the Atlanta letter with an urging that immediate steps be taken to prevent the action by Marquette provided it could be done with full security.

Subsequent negotiations between us, Assistant Director DeLoach and SAC Baker of the Milwaukee Office developed that the Chancellor at Marquette, Father Edward J. O'Donnell, is a very close contact of the Bureau and one who could be trusted with Bureau information given him. Supervisor Phillips prepared my memorandum to you 3-4-64 setting out the background in this matter and pointing out that the Director had received an honorary degree from Marquette in 1950, thus further indicating the necessity for taking positive steps to head off the action being contemplated by Marquette relative to King.

With the Director's approval, we telephonically briefed SAC Baker of information concerning not only King's communist associations but his moral degeneracy as well and authorized Baker to furnish to Father O'Donnell, orally and in the strictest of confidence, the necessary information.

It was gratifying indeed to review Baker's letter to the Director 3-9-64 advising of his contact with Father O'Donnell who expressed his appreciation for the Bureau's handling of this matter and assuring that as long as he had anything to do with the matter, no further consideration would be given to King's receiving an honorary degree from Marquette.

100-3-116

LTG:pwd (7)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
100-3-116

RECOMMENDATION:

While our action in this regard reflects teamwork not only within our own Division but with Assistant Director DeLoach and the field as well, it is believed that the very prompt and decisive action initiated by Supervisor Phillips which resulted so favorably from the Bureau standpoint should be recognized by a letter of commendation to him. This is recommended.

Done
LRR:et
3-20-64

J.S.

J. W. DeLoach

JFK Law 10(a)1

DeLoach to Mohr Memo
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

I told the Senator I preferred not to speak with Dr. Olds about this matter and that I wanted him, Senator Saltonstall, to know that under no circumstances should this information be attributed to the FBI. The Senator assured me that he would treat our information on a confidential basis; however, he might possibly have to take Dr. Olds into his confidence.

I had been back in my office approximately 30 minutes when Senator Saltonstall called me. He stated that Dr. Olds was in his office at the time, having dropped by as result of a trip to Washington to work on the President's poverty program. Senator Saltonstall inquired if I would see Dr. Olds right away. I told him that I was tied up on other matters and it would be impossible. He next inquired if I could see Dr. Olds at 8:00 a. m. on the morning of 4/8/64. I told Senator Saltonstall I couldn't do this inasmuch as I had a commitment to attend a breakfast meeting of a civic group. He then closed the conversation by stating Dr. Olds would call me and arrange an appointment. I asked Senator Saltonstall if he had disclosed the remarks made during our previous conversation to Dr. Olds. He stated that he had inasmuch as he wanted to make it absolutely certain that Reverend King did not appear at Springfield College. I told him that under the circumstances then that I would see Dr. Olds.

Dr. Olds, after making an appointment, came by my office at 4:00 p. m., 4/8/64. He opened the conversation by stating that he fully recognized the necessity to keep the information concerning King in strict confidence. He stated he wanted us to know that he would maintain this confidence and would not advise anyone of this information. He pointed out that he had been very shocked when Senator Saltonstall told him of these facts and had insisted that Reverend King be prevented from making the commencement address at Springfield College. Dr. Olds, who impressed me as being a very sensible, intelligent individual, stated that due to the fact that he will keep this information confidential, it would be impossible for him to "uninvite" King to make the appearance at Springfield College. He stated that the "liberals" on his Board of Trustees would probably tear him to bits if he now cancelled King's appearance. I told Dr. Olds at this point that any action he took in this regard was entirely up to him but that no information was to be attributed to the FBI and that we were to be kept strictly out of this matter. He stated he fully recognized this fact and no one would ever know that the FBI had given Senator Saltonstall this information. Dr. Olds did say that he would take immediate steps to prevent Reverend King from receiving an honorary degree. He said he wanted to think about the possibility of preventing King from making the address but at this step of the game he did not see how it could be done.

Dr. Olds expressed a desire to shake hands with the Director some day. He indicated he had issued the Director two invitations in the recent past to receive an honorary degree and make the commencement address at Springfield College. However,

DeLoach to Mohr Memo
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

the Director's schedule had caused him to not accept these invitations. I explained the Director's heavy schedule and the fact that he was reluctant to leave Washington while Congress was in session.

Upon leaving, Dr. Olds assured me that no information would be released and none would be attributed to the FBI. I told him that we would, of course, deny any such information had been furnished. At this point he advised me that, of course, his main reason for coming to the FBI was to determine if we could suggest any course of action he might take. I told him we could suggest nothing, that any action taken was entirely up to him.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

A4/9

✓
*From New York
SMB*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
 - 1 - Mr. Mohr
 - 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- DATE: 11-7-64

- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Evans
- Felt
- Gosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO : Mr. Belmont

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips
- 1 - J. F. Bland

Handwritten notes and signatures:
J.F. Bland
S.F. Phillips
F.J. Baumgardner

AT 1380-S* advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., plans to go to Chicago on 11-8-64 and that he will stay at the Chicago Sheraton hotel.

According to the information it is expected that King will entertain girls in his hotel room. SAC Johnson of Chicago, made a check and determined it would not be possible to assure full security in any effort to provide coverage of King's hotel room while he was in Chicago. SAC Johnson suggested that Sandy Smith of the "Sun Times" Chicago, an excellent contact of the Chicago Office be alerted to King's presence at the Chicago Sheraton hotel in order that Smith might determine if he could develop sufficient facts to cause an expose of King.

Mr. Wick advised that Sandy Smith of the "Sun Times" is an excellent, discreet, reliable contact of the Bureau. After consideration of this matter with Mr. Belmont and Mr. Wick, SAC Johnson of Chicago was told to go ahead with his suggested contact with Sandy Smith alerting him to King's presence on November 8, 1964, at the Chicago Sheraton hotel. SAC Johnson was instructed that he should insure Smith thoroughly understood that action taken by him would be on his own responsibility and that it would be necessary for Smith to dig up his own information. Johnson was told that the Bureau cannot and must not be tied into this matter in any way.

SAC Johnson stated that he would personally handle the matter with Smith and would absolutely insure that the Bureau did not become involved in any way.

Handwritten note: On 11/17/64 SAC Johnson adv. Insp. by way follows: King did not come to Chicago as planned. Bare minimum of info. was given to Smith; nearly that King was to be in Chicago & that if Smith was unable to get a photograph closely he could develop info. why not warning to King, leave, etc.

SAC Johnson advised that he would keep the Bureau informed concerning any developments.

JFB:epj
(8)

REC-102
SP-100

Handwritten notes:
on what King did not show up, Smith never did see no one in any way...
Bureau was to heat the matter.
100-1010-520

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

52 NOV 16 1964

NOV 16 1964

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

12/11/64

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - J. F. Bland
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

Airtel

To: SAC, Albany REC-10

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-106670) 643

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Enclosed is a copy of a letterhead memorandum dated 12/4/64 at Atlanta, Georgia, which reports the possibility that Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York may make a personal contribution of as much as a quarter million dollars to the civil rights movement and that the contribution may be made to Martin Luther King, Jr.

Also enclosed is a copy of a "Top Secret" memorandum dated 12/8/64 which summarizes information revealing the communist influences on King and the fact that King is a moral degenerate. Note particularly the caveat to the effect that the "Top Secret" memorandum is not for dissemination outside the Bureau and is to be used only for oral briefing purposes.

You are instructed to immediately personally contact former SAC Arthur Cornelius, head of the New York State Police, and orally brief him concerning King, using the information in the "Top Secret" enclosure. The purpose of your briefing of Cornelius is so that he will, in turn, brief Governor Rockefeller concerning King.

It must be clearly understood that your briefing of Cornelius and his briefing, in turn, of the Governor should be on a highly confidential basis and the identity of the Bureau as the source should not be volunteered by Cornelius to the Governor. If it becomes necessary to identify the Bureau as the source to the Governor, it must be with the understanding that the Governor will under no circumstances identify the FBI as his source.

Enclosures

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

SFP:jad
(11)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

JAN 5 - 1965

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

This matter should be given expeditious attention and the Bureau promptly advised of the results of your contact with Cornelius and of any additional information you may ever, in the future, receive from Cornelius concerning this matter. After your briefing of Cornelius the enclosure should be returned to the Bureau, attention Assistant Director William C. Sullivan.

NOTE:

Memorandum from Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, 12/8/64, (original attached) noted several courses of action open to us which would result in Governor Rockefeller being apprised concerning King. The Director approved the course of action whereby we would have former SAC Cornelius orally brief the Governor.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 12/8/64

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - J. F. Bland
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

AT 1379-S* has advised that on 12/3/64 Martin Luther King, Jr., conferred with one of his principal advisors, Harry Wachtel. They discussed an invitation which had been received by King from Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York to have King and his Party fly to Albany, New York, on 12/17/64 to have lunch in the executive chambers. Wachtel believes that the Governor may use this occasion to give his large personal contribution to the civil rights movement and that it would be a considerable amount, possibly a quarter million dollars. In a discussion of the pros and cons of accepting the invitation, it was decided that even though Rockefeller "is the only republican on the side of the civil rights movement," he is not big enough a figure to warrant the trip to Albany. Wachtel and King decided to have King meet with Rockefeller on either 12/17 or 18/64 in New York City or to work out some other date for a private lunch.

We know that in the past King has been very friendly with Rockefeller who has been a firm supporter of King and activities in the civil rights movement. We checked with our Albany Office this morning (12/8/64) and find that the Bureau's relations with the Governor are most friendly and that the Governor has been cooperative with the Bureau.

OBSERVATIONS:

It is believed that we should consider taking steps to orally brief Rockefeller, on a confidential basis, so that he may be fully apprised as to the communist influence on King and King's moral degeneracy. Such briefing may well change Rockefeller's intentions, if in fact he has such, to donate a large sum of money to or through King. There appears to be no reason why such action would work to the Bureau's detriment in any way; more likely, it would probably be received by the Governor with much thanks on his part. We have considered the following courses of action, listed in order of preference, any one of which would serve to implement the suggested action.

Enclosure

100-106670

Written to Albany
 12-11-64
 SFP jad

ENCLOSURE
 SFP:jad
 (9)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

REC-10

100-106670-643

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan
From F. J. Baumgardner
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

(1) The Director may desire to personally telephone Governor Rockefeller and brief him.

(2) We could have either Assistant Director Malone (SAC of the New York Office) or SAC Bailey of the Albany Office, acting as a personal representative of the Director, meet with the Governor and orally brief him.

(3) We could have former SAC Arthur Cornelius, who is head of the New York State Police, orally brief the Governor.

(4) We could have a responsible third party who is very influential with Rockefeller, such as New York's former governor, Thomas Dewey, orally brief Governor Rockefeller.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the Director consider orally briefing Governor Rockefeller, on a confidential basis, concerning King. Attached is a memorandum containing necessary pertinent information which may be used in an oral briefing of Rockefeller should any of the above considered courses of action be decided upon.

Suggest this to
How do you
feel

wcgs *P* *B* *Wd* *✓* *J*
D *Am*

~~TOP SECRET~~

December 8, 1964

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Martin Luther King, Jr., has for some time been maintaining a close liaison with both present and former members of the Communist Party, USA. For example, King has been receiving guidance and counsel and relying greatly during the past few years on Stanley David Levison who is a long-time well-indoctrinated communist and was as recently as July, 1963, a member of the Party. Most of King's principal advisors are individuals with subversive backgrounds. King has continued his association with some Party members notwithstanding advice to him, King, about the communist background of the individuals involved.

~~In addition, information from confidential and reliable sources exposes King as a moral degenerate. Although King is a married man with a family and is a preacher of the Gospel, he has been carrying on extramarital relations with several women. He has also engaged, during the past year, in sex orgies marked by acts of perversion between males and females. Also participating with King in these orgies have been associates of his in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which organization he heads. Some of these individuals are also clergymen.~~

THIS MEMORANDUM IS NOT
TO BE DISSEMINATED
OUTSIDE THE BUREAU AND
IS TO BE USED ONLY FOR
ORAL BRIEFING PURPOSES.

DOWNGRADED TO

SECRET

Per C98W57B22
Date 5/29/2016

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
Unauthorized Disclosure
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

~~TOP SECRET~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-106670-643

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO: MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

DATE: 12/12/64

FROM: MR. J. F. BLAND

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Parkis

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C

Baumgardner

Vernon H. Bailey, SAC, Albany, called the Bureau at 8:20 P.M., 12/12/64 and talked with SA Charles A. Parkis, Extra Duty Supervisor, Domestic Intelligence Division. SAC Bailey advised that he had received a memorandum from the Bureau requesting him to furnish certain information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr. to Governor Rockefeller through Arthur Cornelius, Jr.

S.P. [unclear]

SAC Bailey determined that Cornelius is traveling in Florida and not expected to return home until after Christmas. John A. Roche and John J. McGuire, both former Bureau officials, are connected with the New York State Police; however, SAC Bailey does not believe they are close enough to Governor Rockefeller to consider furnishing the information to the Governor through either of them.

SAC Bailey recommended that the information be furnished either directly to the Governor by himself, Bailey, or through Sol Neil Corbin, who is legal counsel to the Governor and with whom Bailey is well acquainted. ~~Bufiles contain no information identifiable with Sol Neil Corbin.~~

Do NOT Delete

ACTION:

SAC Bailey stated he will take no further action concerning this matter until he receives further instructions from the Bureau.

CAP:cop
(5)

Handled by W.C. Sullivan with Cornelius on telephone - WAS. in Mississippi. info direct to Rockefeller

He Rockefeller

Let to all 12/17/64

[Signature]

[Signature]

REC-10

11 DEC 29 1964

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

1 - S. F. Phillips

SAC, Albany

12/17/64

PERSONAL ATTENTION

Director, FBI (100-106670)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

ReBuairtel 12/11/64 and your telephone call to the Bureau 12/12/64.

For your information former SAC Arthur Cornelius, Jr., has been contacted directly by the Bureau and it will therefore be unnecessary for you to make any contact with him relative to the matter discussed in reairtel.

You should return to the Bureau the memorandum containing sensitive information concerning subject which was forwarded to you by reairtel.

P

SFP:jad
(4) *jad*

NOTE:

Reairtel instructed SAC Bailey to contact Cornelius. Bailey phoned the Bureau to say that Cornelius was in Florida. Cornelius subsequently telephonically contacted by Assistant Director Sullivan and the necessary action taken. Bailey was instructed in reairtel to return to the Bureau a memorandum which he was to use for oral briefing purposes which memorandum is of no further need to Bailey.

MAILED 30
DEC 16 1964
COMM-FBI

REC-18

11 DEC 16 1964

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Evans _____
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- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

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P

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 11/20/62

FROM : A. Rosen *R*

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS

Tolson	✓
Belmont	✓
Mohr	✓
W.C. Sullivan	✓
DeLoach	✓
Evans	
Gale	
Rosen	✓
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

Handwritten note: Atlanta -

Handwritten notes: ✓
W. J. Brennan

An article has appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, on 11/19/62 which article was taken from the "New York Times." In the article, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., stated he agreed with the report written by Howard Zinn issued by the Southern Regional Council concerning the recent racial situation in Albany, Georgia. The report referred to criticized the work of this Bureau in relation to the Albany situation. King has stated among other things that "Agents of the FBI in Albany, Georgia, sided with segregationists."

There are no facts to support this and it is noteworthy that the comments by King would appear to dovetail with information which has been furnished to this Bureau indicating that King's advisers are Communist Party (CP) members and he is under the domination of the CP.

King is the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and it should be noted that on 10/23/62 a communist infiltration investigation of this organization was initiated. (100-438794)

DETAILS:

The "New York Times" quoted King as stating he agreed with report issued 11/14/62 by the Southern Regional Council that the FBI had not been vigorous in looking into denials of civil rights in Albany and the surrounding areas. He stated "Agents of the FBI in Albany, Georgia, sided with segregationists." "One of the great problems we face with the FBI in the South, "according to Reverend Mr. King, "is that the Agents are white southerners who have been influenced by the mores of their community. To maintain their status they have to be friendly with the local police and people who are promoting segregation. Every time I saw FBI men in Albany they were with the local police force." It should be noted there are five Agents assigned to the Albany, Georgia, Resident Agency. One is from Indiana, one is from Massachusetts, one is from New York, one is from Minnesota and one is from Georgia.

157-6-2 ENCLOSURE

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

REC-111 100-15-2-2188
50-100-100-100

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

RBL:cag

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: RACIAL SITUATION

Howard Zinn, the author of the report for the Southern Regional Council, was mentioned in my memorandum 11/15/62 and has been the subject of a security investigation by this Bureau (100-360217). Zinn was reportedly a member of the CP from 1949 through 1953 and attended CP meetings during that period. Zinn is a history professor at Spellman College in Atlanta. It was the second slanted and biased document written by Zinn on the Albany situation.

Reverend Mr. King is the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference who arose to prominence during the 1955 - 1956 successful boycott which ended bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama. He has been active in Negro segregation matters since that time.

NY-694-S*, a top-level informant, has advised that Stanley Levison, a secret CP member, sent word to Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP USA, during February, 1962, that King is a wholehearted Marxist who had studied it, believed in it and agrees with it. He cannot, however, publicly espouse it in view of his position as a minister of religion. Levison is an Associate Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and is actively involved in the operations of that organization.

The New York representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is Hunter Pitts O'Dell who was elected under a pseudonym, Corneilus James, to the National Committee of the CP USA in December, 1959. On 3/7/62 James Jackson then Editor of "The World" told NY-694-S* that an article attributed to King in the 3/3/62 issue of "The Nation" magazine was actually written by O'Dell. The article was captioned, "Fumbling on the New Frontier," and purports to be a report on Civil Rights.

NY-694-S* advised that Lement Harris, CP USA functionary, had commented that Stanley Levison by reason of his association with the Martin Luther King Movement was doing the most important work in the CP at that time. Harris stated "The party has the Kennedys in its pocket" since the Kennedy Administration is politically dependent upon King. This was furnished to the White House and to the Attorney General on 5/4/62.

NY-3580-S* advised on 8/7/62 that while in conversation with O'Dell, Levison asked how things were in Albany, Georgia. O'Dell replied that there was a leadership problem down there and things could get quite disorganized if "our" staff was not there.

Sensitive Foreign Intelligence Operation

Do not disse

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: RACIAL SITUATION

ELSUR

DO NOT REPLY

On 9/10/62 [~~NY-3580-S*~~] advised that ~~on the afternoon of that date~~
Clarence Jones, a member of the Labor Youth League in 1954 (a cited organization)
and Levison were discussing burning of churches in the South, both expressed the
opinion that King should not be silent in this matter but should send a hot wire to
"Kennedy" expressing his indignance at the Government's failure to control one
small community. This was furnished to the Attorney General on 9/11/62.

RECOMMENDATION:

Consideration has been given to contacting King to straighten him out;
however, this seems undesirable in view of the above facts and it is recommended
he not be contacted.

The background information regarding King, Levison and Zinn has
been furnished to the Department.

DO NOT EXERCISE

Nothing would seem to be gained by contacting the "New York Times"
or the "Atlanta Constitution" as we obviously cannot give them background data
we possess on the CP influence of King.

The Department and the Attorney General have been publicly
criticized on many occasions by King and yet they are cooperating with him.

It is recommended that the Liaison Section of the Domestic Intelligence
Division bring King's comments in the article to the attention of Staff Director
Berl I. Bernhard of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and point out to him
that there is no basis in fact for King's remarks and in addition point out that 4 of
the 5 Resident Agents assigned at Albany, Georgia, are from northern states and
one is from Georgia.

ACTION:

That this memorandum be referred to the Domestic Intelligence Division
for appropriate handling.

WJW
B *R*

JAM

Done 11/26/62
WJW

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Casper _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. Conrad _____
- Mr. DeLoach _____
- Mr. Evans _____
- Mr. Gale _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Sullivan _____
- Mr. Tavel _____
- Mr. Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Miss Holmes _____
- Miss Gandy _____

Dr. King Says F.B.I. in Albany, Ga.,

Favors Segregationists

Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Albany, Ga., side with the segregationists, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. charged here yesterday.

For that reason, the 33-year-old integration leader declared, the F.B.I. has not done an effective job in investigating beatings and other intimidation of Negroes who have been pressing for racial equality in the southwest Georgia city.

The Justice Department in Washington declined to comment on Dr. King's remarks.

Dr. King, a leader of the Albany Movement, made the assertions during an interview in the robing room of Riverside Church, where he had just preached a sermon. Some 3,000 persons filled the sanctuary and overflowed into Christ Chapel and the Assembly Hall to hear him.

During the interview, Dr. King said:

"One of the great problems we face with the F.B.I. in the South is that the agents are

white Southerners who have been influenced by the mores of the community. To maintain their status, they have to be friendly with the local police and people who are promoting segregation.

"Every time I saw F.B.I. men in Albany, they were with the local police force."

Points to Jailings

The Albany police, led by Chief Laurie Pritchett, have jailed hundreds of Negroes and whites who protested on the streets against segregation, Dr. King pointed out.

He said the Federal Government should consider assigning agents, probably from outside the South, "who are at least in agreement with the law of the land."

"If an F.B.I. man agrees with segregation, he can't honestly and objectively investigate," Dr. King declared.

Albany Negroes have not been roughly handled by the police in Albany itself, he said, there has been "a great deal

of police brutality in surrounding counties."

He said that members of the Albany Movement had reported these and other instances of intimidation, but the F.B.I. had done nothing.

"I am convinced," he said, "that the perpetrators could be discovered if there was a determined effort."

Dr. King said he agreed with a report, issued Nov. 14 in Atlanta by the Southern Regional Council, that the F.B.I. had not been vigorous in looking into civil rights violations in Albany and surrounding areas in Georgia.

In the report, Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the council, asserted that the Kennedy Administration had done nothing to protect Negroes' Constitutional rights in the desegregation dispute.

Asked if he thought President Kennedy should have taken stronger action in Albany, Dr. King replied:

"I think the President made some very strong statements

during the Albany crisis, but it would have been good if he had used his tremendous influence to bring about negotiations.

"He could have brought the leaders of the two sides to Washington, and served as a mediator, as he has in labor disputes."

Dr. King said he thought Mr. Kennedy might still do this, because the situation in Albany is in stalemate. The City Commission does not want to meet with the Negro leaders, he said, and the Negro leaders are as determined as ever to bring about general desegregation.

"If something isn't done," he said, "another tension-packed crisis will develop in Albany."

The Albany Movement, he pointed out, has filed an omnibus suit in Federal Court against segregation in the city's parks, the library, the buses, taxis, and lines outside theaters. The precedents indicate that the appellate courts, if not the trial court, will order integration, he said.

"The President can do some-

thing now," he said, "so that when the decision comes, the community will prepare itself for the transition."

Dr. King indicated that integrationists placed little hope in the lower Federal and state courts in the South because most of the judges tended to favor segregation.

Scores Southern Judges

"We have been held back because of the appointment by President Kennedy of segregationist judges," he said. "This is tragic, because the higher Federal courts have helped the cause of integration. In Mississippi, we don't have a single Federal judge who will render a decision in support of civil rights."

In the Southern Regional Council report, Dr. Howard Zinn, the Atlanta history professor who prepared it, criticized Negro tactics in Albany. He commented that, although the Albany Movement was now a year old, there had been virtually no tangible results of the protest.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

21 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 11/19/62
 Edition: LATE CITY
 Author:
 Editor: JOHN B. OAKES
 Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character: SM-C
 or
 Classification: BU 100-106670
 Submitting Office: NYO

JM
 157-6-2-2188

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Wick

DATE: 4-20-67

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING,
INQUIRY FROM CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM STANTON (R. - OHIO)

By letter dated 4-17-67, Congressman Stanton wrote the Director asking if he would have someone stop by his office to furnish him information for his personal edification concerning the background and philosophical beliefs of Martin Luther King. He says he has always tended to "take with a grain of salt" some of the literature that has accused him (King) of being a known Communist, adding that there is no doubt in his mind that King is being used by them.

Congressman Stanton began service in Congress in January, 1965, and was re-elected last November. He was contacted in 1965 under our program to meet new members of Congress and exhibited a friendly attitude toward the FBI, commenting he has a number of friends in the Bureau. The Director has exchanged correspondence with him on one prior occasion concerning a speech invitation.

King's recent prominent role in anti-Vietnam demonstrations has renewed interest in his political beliefs. Carl Rowan wrote an article which appeared in the April 14, 1967, issue of the "Evening Star" concerning the reputed struggle going on among the advisors for King. This article states that, "Key members of the House and Senate have been told by the FBI that King is listening most to one man who is clearly more interested in embarrassing the United States than in the plight of either the Negro or the war-weary people of Vietnam." This article was reprinted in the Congressional Record of April 17, 1967.

RECOMMENDATION:

That a representative of your office personally contact Congressman Stanton and explain to him that we can neither confirm nor refute the rumors about King due to Departmental orders holding information in our files as confidential.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick

DWB:jer (6)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

XEROX

REC-7

100-1011-2945

MAY 31 1967

Handled with Stanton
4-24-67

S. WILLIAM STANTON
11TH DISTRICT, OHIO

1626 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
PHONE: 225-5306

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Wick	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Feit	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

RA

April 17, 1967

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

As you well know, the name of Martin Luther King has been very much in the news the last couple of weeks. He seems to be the center of conversation of most everyone I have come in contact with, both publicly and privately.

In order to satisfy my own curiosity, I was wondering if you could give me an idea of the Bureau's knowledge as to his background and philosophical beliefs. I have always tended to take with a grain of salt some of the literature that has accused him of being a known Communist. There is no doubt in my mind that he is being used by them.

I desire to have this information mainly for my own personal edification. If you could have one of your fine legislative representatives stop by some day rather than write to me, this would certainly suffice; however, any way that is most convenient for you would be fine.

It was my pleasure to be President of the Class of '49 at Georgetown University. Many of my classmates joined your fine organization. You also have an agent from my home town of Painesville, Ohio, working with you in Washington, Victor Shaffer.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

ms

Bill Stanton
William Stanton

*James to Wick
4-20-67 DWG:jgs*

WS:sm

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

REC-7/00-106670-2944

5-2

APR 19 1967

8-2-67

55 MAY 10 1967

APR 19 1967

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3-8-65

Attached reports on the briefing concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., which was given to Governor Volpe of Massachusetts by SAC Handley, pursuant to Bureau instructions. This is relevant to the planned Martin Luther King Day in Massachusetts 4-23-65.

SFP:skw

B

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[Large handwritten signature]

[Handwritten initials]

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F B I

Date: March 5, 1965

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (66-82)

RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING

509 Receipt
6
[Signature]

Re Bureau phone call from Assistant Director WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN, March 3, 1965.

On this date I saw Governor JOHN VOLPE of Massachusetts and upon his complete, unqualified agreement that he would not disclose the information and would never attribute it as coming from the FBI, the material relative to KING as suggested by the Bureau was given to Governor VOLPE. The Governor's immediate reaction was that he was concerned that this thing had gotten too far off the ground for him to be in a position to do anything about it. However, he immediately indicated that he, in all probability, would be out of the city or certainly on the basis of some reason, unavailable.

The Governor was most appreciative of receipt of the information and indicated that while he did not know at this particular time what, if anything, could be done he would do whatever he could, diplomatically, to play this thing down. He further indicated, however, that so many of the clergy of various denominations and other people of political stature are behind this affair that it would be extremely difficult to play this affair for KING down but repeated he would certainly do whatever he could.

3 - Bureau
1 - Boston
JLIH:maw
(4)

cc-808 RB

REC-130

MAR 8 1965

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Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

UNRECORDED COPY FILED

The Governor added that he would certainly retain this information and anything concerning KING in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the future within his control would be certainly stopped.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
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Mohr	_____
Wick	_____
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Conrad	_____
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Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 14, 1967

FROM : C. D. Brennan *[Signature]*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.
SECURITY MATTER - C

PURPOSE

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend that either Assistant to the Director DeLoach or Assistant Director Sullivan be approved to personally contact and brief Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York concerning the communist influence on Martin Luther King, inasmuch as King is to meet shortly with Governor Rockefeller and King's communist advisors hope to take advantage of the forthcoming meeting to influence events in Latin America along communist lines.

BACKGROUND

Last week, through ~~NY 3810-S*~~ *TESUR*, we learned that Stanley Levison, the concealed communist who is Martin Luther King's chief advisor, was in contact with an associate to whom he disclosed that he had recently talked to Rockefeller. This apparently is Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York because Levison said the discussion concerned Venezuelan iron ore deposits about which Rockefeller enterprises are negotiating with the Venezuelan Government. *ST [Signature]*

Levison also told his associate that Rockefeller was disturbed about Martin Luther King's position on Vietnam and wanted to meet King to discuss it. Levison told his contact this pleased him because it would give King the opportunity to present to Rockefeller King's views on Latin America which he feels has the potential of becoming the next Vietnam. According to Levison, King wanted to use the opportunity to advise Rockefeller on the steps that should be taken in Latin America supposedly to avoid this.

EX-112 REC-41 00-106670-2897

CDB/pcn
(5) *[Signature]*

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE THREE

CONTINUED -- OVER

APR 20 1967

ENCLOSURE
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79 APR 21 1967

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

The following day, April 6, 1967, the same source advised that Levison was contacted by Harry Wachtel about King's meeting with Rockefeller. As you know, Wachtel is King's other close advisor and Wachtel also has had past communist affiliations. Wachtel told Levison that arrangements had been made to have Martin Luther King meet Rockefeller on either April 22 or April 24, 1967.

OBSERVATION

Martin Luther King has clearly become merely a puppet in the hands of Levison and Wachtel. He relies on both these individuals more than anyone else and they currently are directing most of his activities and shaping most of his public speeches in a way that goes straight down the communist line. These two men have guided King to a position whereby they are attempting to make him not only the acknowledged leader of 22 million Negroes, but now the accepted leader of the vast anti-war effort in the country. Tomorrow, for example, King will play the most prominent role as the spokesman for the peace protesters in the demonstration in New York City. His recent vicious condemnation of the United States in a public speech shows how much of a communist puppet he has become and illustrates the danger he represents in the hands of the scheming communists.

Now Wachtel and Levison see an opportunity to project the communist line further into Latin American activities through King by attempting to have King influence Rockefeller in his thinking. The danger in this is that Rockefeller, through his vast Latin American holdings, is very influential in Latin American affairs, and if he buys any of King's ideas they will definitely represent the communist ideas of Levison and Wachtel.

On the surface Wachtel is a partner in the law firm of Rubin, Wachtel, Baum and Levine, 598 Madison Avenue, New York, New York, a very large and influential law firm. Levison on the surface is the owner and operator of the Park Management Realty Company, 1841 Broadway, New York, New York. Both of their past communist affiliations have been well concealed and today neither of them ostensibly have any connection with the Communist Party; nevertheless, from our experience they represent two of the most dedicated and dangerous communists in the country.

↓ ↓
CONTINUED -- OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

Once previously, in December, 1964, King had occasion to have dealings with Governor Rockefeller and we arranged to have Rockefeller briefed by former Special Agent in Charge Arthur Cornelius, Head of the New York State Police, concerning Levison's influence on King and King's immoral nature. Either Cornelius did not make much of an impression or Rockefeller chose for reason of political expediency to ignore it inasmuch as we learned in October 1965 that Rockefeller gave King a \$25,000 donation, spoke in King's church in Atlanta, and had dinner with King's father and his family.

Despite this, the stakes are too high in what is involved in the current forthcoming meeting with King and Rockefeller for us not to do something to prevent the communists from influencing Rockefeller through King. It is believed that we should again make an effort to brief Rockefeller, not only about King, but also in regard to the backgrounds of Levison and Wachtel and that this time it should be done personally through either Mr. DeLoach or Mr. Sullivan, either of whom could handle this discreetly, prudently, tactfully and in a manner which would insure that the FBI's interest would be completely protected and assured.

RECOMMENDATION

That the Director designate either Assistant to the Director DeLoach or Assistant Director Sullivan to handle this as outlined above.

W.C.S.
WCS
ADDENDUM: 4/14/67 - WCS:chs:

We should not ignore this situation. The stakes are too high. I think Mr. DeLoach is the logical selection to handle this assignment. If it is not to be ^{done} indirectly, it should be done through a second person who has great influence with Rockefeller.

Mr. Malone, New York, should handle -
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King Urges Campaign Of Antiwar Education.

By William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writer

A-5

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said yesterday he foresees the need for a "massive education" campaign against the war in Vietnam.

In a television interview, the Negro leader who led thousands in a New York antiwar rally Saturday said the education mission should precede any civil disobedience measures, which he said he does not now advocate.

He also asserted that the U.S. involvement in Vietnam has diverted attention from civil rights and "excited violence and hatred among our people."

[After the CBS "Face the Nation" interview in New York, Dr. King told reporters he believes 10 U.S. cities are "powder kegs" that may explode into race riots this summer.

[Among those cities he listed are Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, the Bay Area of California, including Oakland, New York, Newark, N.J., and Washington, the Associated Press reported.

[He expressed specific concern for Southern cities, saying, "We haven't had any riots in the South yet and conditions are intolerable down there."]

The Johnson Administration's hostility toward the antiwar demonstration was expressed in another television interview by Secretary of State Dean Rusk. On NBC's "Meet the Press" (WRC), Rusk said such demonstrations may have the effect of prolonging the war because North Viet-

nam's leaders might interpret them to mean widespread opposition to a continuing U.S. involvement.

Rusk also said he does not doubt that "the Communist apparatus is very active" in promoting dissension, but emphasized that he does not consider all demonstrations to be Communist-inspired.

In discussing the future role of the peace movement, Dr. King said "something must be done on a much more massive scale to oppose" the war.

"I do not at this point advocate civil disobedience," he said. "I think we have to do a lot of groundwork in massive education before that. I have only urged young men to study their possible status as conscientious objectors. And there is nothing evasive or illegal about this."

Dr. King's aides say he plans extensive speaking engagements in his antiwar activities and that he probably will work through a peace group known as Clergy and Laymen Concerned.

"I have only said that the fervor of the civil rights movement must imbue the peace movement to make it stronger," he said.

He called on the Administration to admit that "mistakes" had been made in involving the U.S. in Vietnam, but said he would not single out President Johnson as solely to blame. Four Administrations led this country into the war, he asserted, because the country has been too long obsessed with fighting communism.

- The Washington Post _____
- Times Herald _____
- The Washington Daily News _____
- The Evening Star (Washington) _____
- The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
- Daily News (New York) _____
- Sunday News (New York) _____
- New York Post _____
- The New York Times _____
- World Journal Tribune _____
- (New York) _____
- The Sun (Baltimore) _____
- The Worker _____
- The New Leader _____
- The Wall Street Journal _____
- The National Observer _____
- People's World _____
- Date _____

APR 17 1968

The Struggle to Sway King

By David S. Broder and
William Chapman

Washington Post Staff Writers

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s dramatic bolt into the American peace movement has provoked a long, secretly waged struggle within the civil rights coalition, engaging political forces ranging from the radical left to top Johnson Administration circles.

At stake is the prestige and influence of the internationally famous Nobel laureate, the direction of growing anti-war crusades, the future of the civil rights movement, and, some feel, the course of presidential politics in 1968.

Dr. King's appearance yesterday at New York's peace rally was the focal point of long debate. Even some advisers who urged him to speak out on the war in Vietnam opposed his sharing that platform with representatives of the New Left and the far-out Old Left. Other friends cautioned against submerging civil rights in any part of the peace movement.

In Washington, Administration officials privately suggest that Dr. King leaped headlong into peace campaigns, partly in search of money and headlines for his Southern Christian Leadership Conference after suffering setbacks in last year's Northern civil rights drives. Some of his long-time admirers complain he is just terribly naive.

Through a turbulent month of soul-searching, Dr. King himself was uncertain about tactics but never about the basic issues of attacking the U.S. war policies in Vietnam. To one and all, he maintained he has a moral obligation to denounce the war.

He was under heavy pressure from moderates to disavow the radical left who

wanted him to place all the war blame on the U.S. and to merge unequivocally the movements for peace and civil rights.

Yesterday he did that, saying "I am not absolving Hanoi nor the Vietcong of their responsibilities" and "I have not urged the mechanical fusion of the civil rights and peace movements."

That declaration—which drew boos from some extremists in the New York throng—placated his more moderate critics within the civil rights movement and the Democratic Party, but it did not end their apprehensions about the trend of Dr. King's activities.

His personal involvement in the peace crusade began in a Petersburg, Va., football stadium one steamy night in July, 1965. Before 2000 sympathetic Negro listeners, he called for a negotiated peace in Vietnam and said he might adapt techniques of the civil rights protest to the peace movement. "The long night of war must be stopped," he declared.

Threat Forgotten

The threat of peace action was temporarily forgotten. Dr. King talked of corresponding with North Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh, but aides say he never did. Instead, he took his Southern Christian Leadership Conference into Chicago's ghettos and Cicero's white neighborhoods in the summer of 1965 and suffered a serious defeat.

The new chapter opened early this year, with Dr. King in Jamaica brooding and writing a book while one of his closest aides, the Rev. James Bevel, moved full-time into the peace movement as organizer of the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam.

According to one SCLC assistant, the Rev. Andrew Young, Dr. King's ambivalence really ended in February when fighting resumed after the Tet, or Vietnamese lunar New Year, truce. "He got very hopeful during the bombing pause," Young said. "There seemed

to be a mood for negotiations and de-escalation. Then everything began to break down and Dr. King got very depressed."

A Constant Struggle

From the moment he returned to New York until his speech April 4, Dr. King was the center of a constant struggle among his friends. Bevel kept the peace issue constantly in front of him, urging his leader to speak out strongly against the Administration and, most importantly, encouraging him to take a leadership role in the Spring Mobilization.

Young, as usual, was on Bevel's side. He believes there is a "sort of moral disintegration in this country now" and it has smothered the civil rights fervor of the early 1960s. "What does it mean when one kid is killed in Alabama when the headlines exult the killing of 500 Vietcong in Vietnam?" he asks.

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World Journal Tribune _____
(New York) _____
The Sun (Baltimore) _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Date APR 16 1967

The two young ministers asserted that Dr. King had a moral obligation to speak out on the war. Little progress will be made in civil rights, they suggested, so long as the Nation's attention is focused on Vietnam.

One of Three

This seemed to be Dr. King's own feelings. To many friends he offered this line of reasoning: He is one of three living Negro Nobel Peace-Prize winners. One of them, Albert Lutuli, is under house arrest in South Africa, and the second, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, is prevented from speaking out because of his position as Undersecretary for Political Affairs at the United Nations. Only he, Dr. King asserted, is free to open a debate on Vietnam.

But other close advisers were giving Dr. King a different view. Moderate leaders argued that open endorsement of a peace movement could cripple the cause of civil rights. It would turn away those white liberals who have supported his marches but who have different opinions on the war.

'Monolithic Movement'

Furthermore, they pointed out, Dr. King, as the most visible and popular civil rights spokesman, could not separate himself in the public consciousness from the civil rights movement in general.

"We are looked at as a monolithic movement," said one leader, "and when Dr. King speaks out personally, it creates problems for the whole movement."

Ironically, one adviser urging caution was Bayard Rustin, a veteran pacifist as well as civil rights spokesman who once was director of the War Resisters' League. Resorting to a reverse-twist argument, Rustin recalled that he once had been told by the League's officials that he could not spend time on civil rights and continue as pacifist leader.

King-Young Split

One crisis erupted early in March during an anguished telephone conversation between Dr. King and Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League. Both had appeared one evening before

a Great Neck, L.I., audience and split publicly on the war issue, with Young opposing a "mixture" of the civil rights and peace movements.

Late that night, Dr. King called Young at home. The two men argued until 3:30 a.m. Dr. King said he was disturbed at their falling-out and insisted that as a clergyman and citizen he had a moral obligation to attack the war.

Young, in reply, was blunt and tough. He told Dr. King that his world-wide influence was not as a theologian. He had influence, Young said, because of all the little people who believed in him and marched behind him in civil rights movement. It was not right to use that influence for some other purpose, Young declared.

Tactically Wrong

Furthermore, he argued, Dr. King was tactically wrong in telling people that domestic social programs, such as anti-poverty projects, would necessarily continue to suffer because of war spending. The people who are hungry should not have to wait until the war is over, Young said.

But Dr. King had determined by then to involve himself in the peace drives and the only open question was: How? The crucial issue was whether he should cooperate in the Spring Mobilization rally that took place yesterday.

Ranged against Bevel and Young on that point were most of Dr. King's older advisers. The Saturday rally, they argued, was open to anyone, and its supporters included groups far to the left, including the American Communist Party. There would be avowed sympathizers of the Vietcong in the crowd; U.S. officials would be denounced as Nazi-like warmongers; President Johnson would be pictured as a murderer of children. True, more moderate peace groups would be there, but the radicals with their Vietcong flags would attract the news media. Dr. King's involvement would mean a severe setback for civil rights, these advisers warned.

The internal arguments led to an evening-long discussion one Sunday in the W. 82d Street apartment of

Allard K. Lowenstein, a wealthy young liberal lawyer who is on the board of Dr. King's SCLC.

Among those present were the Rev. Andrew Young; Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader; Dr. John C. Bennett, president of the Union Theological Seminary; Rustin; Lowenstein; Harry H. Wachtel, Dr. King's attorney, and several others.

The discussion—amicable and statesmanlike" according to one present—ranged over all the issues of the Spring Mobilization rally. Coffee was served and the advisers broke up into small groups. Dr. King retired alone to another room for private soul-searching, then emerged later to say he was still undecided. "I will have to deal with it in my own conscience," he told the group.

As an Individual

Actually, several present recalled, Dr. King seemed already to have determined the course he ultimately would follow. He would speak at the rally as an individual but he would not officially become a sponsor, hoping in that way to disentangle himself from the left-wing groups.

(However, in advertisements for the march this week, the sponsors' names were merely listed at the bottom while Dr. King's picture and his quotation denouncing the war appeared prominently, giving the impression that he was the major promoter of the rally.)

The rest is public history. Two weeks later, Dr. King went to Chicago and called the American involvement in Vietnam "barbaric" and "a blasphemy against all that America stands for." On April 4, after one last talk with his staff, he made the Riverside Church speech, accusing the U.S. of being the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today" and urging youths to avoid the war by becoming conscientious objectors.

Greatest Crisis

That attack provoked the greatest crisis in the civil rights movement since the emergence of the "Black Power" radicals in 1965.

Other civil rights activists were reluctant to bring the quarrel into the open, but finally concluded that silence would indicate assent in Dr. King's arguments and open up a stream of criticism.

Whitney Young declared that civil rights and the war should be kept separate. He added: "The masses of Negro citizens we are committed to serve and who have given Negro leaders the influence they have, have as their first priority the immediate problem of survival in this country."

The NAACP accused Dr. King of making a "serious tactical mistake" in attempting to join the peace and civil rights movements. Even Bunche, from his position at the U.N., called on Dr.

King to abandon one movement or the other.

Reports flourished over the weekend that Dr. King was seeking a reconciliation meeting with the other civil rights leaders.

He let it be known that he did not anticipate a physical merger of the peace and civil rights movements. He stepped away from radicalism by signing on as co-chairman with a respected group of moderates called the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam.

But reconciliation seemed difficult to arrange. The peace campaign had exacerbated long-standing rivalries between the minister from Atlanta and such moderate chiefs as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. "I don't think Wilkins was grieved at having a chance to take a poke at King," said one civil rights leader.

Left to Others

The task of rebutting Dr. King was not left to the civil rights leaders. Top-ranking Democrats, including White House officials, sought to counter his impact on both Negro and white communities.

Even before Dr. King's Chicago speech, on March 17, a group of Negro newspaper publishers went to the White House to present President Johnson with a citation for his "courage and freedom for all men." While

there they received briefings, including one on Vietnam, from White House aides.

Louis Martin, the Negro deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee, got busy on the phone, calling publishers, Negro ministers, labor leaders, and others with audiences they could reach.

Martin's arguments were reflected in a spate of Negro press editorials noting the civil rights gains under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, urging support of the Negro troops in Vietnam, and observing that the Nation's only Negro Senator, Republican Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts, had switched to a pro-Administration position after a trip to Vietnam.

Martin told influential Negroes that the high Negro re-enlistment rate is an effective rebuttal to Dr. King's contention that Negro servicemen are being exploited in the "oppressive" Vietnam struggle.

While Martin was thus attempting to counter Dr. King's arguments, high Administration officials were giving inquiring reporters their own version of Dr. King's motives.

Out of Money?

The SCLC, they suggested, had run out of money and Dr. King had grabbed onto the peace movement in hopes of replenishing the treasury.

Rustin, who remains close to Dr. King despite a difference of views, says flatly that this charge is untrue. "I've never known Dr. King to take a position that would help him bring in money," Rustin declares.

Administration officials also expressed concern about radical influences on Dr. King's staff, and said this position will damage the already-shaky prospects for civil rights action in Congress this year.

The extent of that damage is debatable. Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.), manager of the Administration bill, says "You're darn right the King speeches hurt. They shouldn't, but they have. People who disagree with a man on one issue are less inclined to go along with

him or others. I'm afraid an influential voice has been lost."

'As an Excuse'

But Clarence Mitchell, head of the Washington bureau of the NAACP and the most experienced of civil rights lobbyists, says, "Those who are hostile (to the bill) will certainly use this as an excuse, but at this stage, the fair-minded members of Congress look to the kind of statement that the NAACP board made as reflecting the views of colored people generally."

Both sides concede that chances of passing any kind of open-housing legislation this year look gloomy now. The chances had never been bright.

'Peace Candidate'

Of equal importance, in their view, is the ammunition they say Dr. King unwittingly provided for opponents of the war on poverty and other domestic welfare programs by his statement that the U.S. "would never invest the necessary funds and energies in the rehabilitation of poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued."

Of greater long-range concern to the Democrats and their liberal allies are the intimations that a merged peace-civil rights coalition could use Dr. King as its candidate for President on a third-party ticket in 1968.

"It's more and more remindful to me of the coalition around Henry Wallace," said Joseph L. Rauh Jr., liberal Washington attorney and a leader of the anti-Communist Americans for Democratic Action.

"New Left" political groups in New York and California have talked publicly for months about entering a "peace candidate" in next year's Democratic presidential primaries.

Last month, the liberal California Democratic Council, composed of 30,000 volunteer club members, voted to consider supporting such

a candidate if President Johnson refuses to change his Vietnam war policy.

Following Wallace?

Rauh, recalling how ADA was formed to fight the Communist-manipulated "Progressive Party" candidacy of Henry Wallace in 1948, said he sees Dr. King on the verge of making the same mistake Wallace did.

"He thinks of himself as a bridge between those who believe in our system and those who don't," Rauh said. "To my mind, that is an unbridgeable gap," Rauh said.

How serious is the prospect of a Dr. King "peace candidacy" in 1968? The evidence is ambiguous. One civil rights leader outside Dr. King's circle describes him as "a sitting duck" for such a proposition. Another, closer to Dr. King, thinks that he would refuse to have

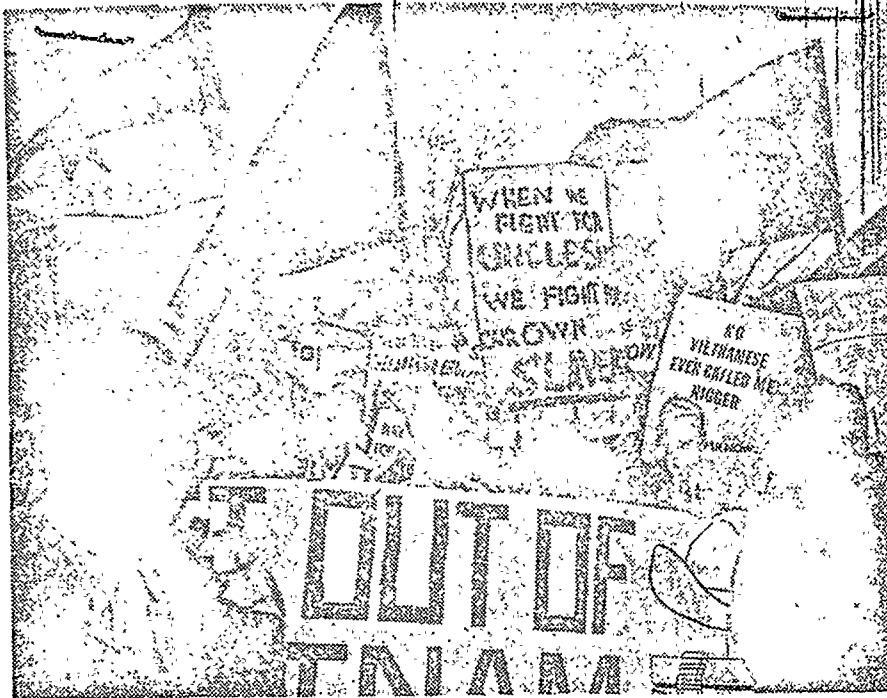
any part of a movement that included Communists, let alone one dominated by them.

The NAACP's Mitchell, skeptical of the organizational ability of Dr. King's supporters, thinks the appeal would be mainly to the "intellectual types" and would not penetrate the ghettos, where Democrats receive large majorities in presidential elections.

Where I live," says Mitchell, a Baltimorean, "nobody has heard of the New Left."

But the White House does not take lightly the possibility of Dr. King drawing off Negro and ultra-liberal votes at the same time George Wallace is luring white segregationists.

And that, among other reasons, is why the battle for the soul of Martin Luther King keeps escalating.



By Stephen Northrup—The Washington Post

This militant New York group marched in the demonstration.



Associated Press

War protesters use fire from a blazing coffee can to burn draft cards in Central Park.

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The Race Story: Two Negro Leaders

E3

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. has created sharp controversy among Negroes by taking a new position for him of outspoken opposition to the Vietnam war. For Stokely Carmichael, leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, such opposition is an old story. What follows are articles on the controversy among Negroes over Vietnam, and over Mr. Carmichael's activities.

King as a Spokesman

ATLANTA—Ever since the civil rights revolution began, scholars, politicians, journalists and, quite often, the public at large have asked one question again and again: Who speaks for the Negro? Robert Penn Warren, the man of letters, once wrote a book with just that question as the title, and came up with the conclusion that there were many spokesmen for the Negro in civil rights.

But now the question is being asked once more, this time in connection with United States policy in Vietnam.

Is the spokesman Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who recently broke his silence on the war and is now calling the United States the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today"? Could it be Stokely Carmichael, the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or Floyd McKissick, director of the Congress of Racial Equality—both of whom have been attacking the war in even stronger terms? Is it Senator Edward Brooke, who says he has come to the conclusion that the nation is taking the only course it could realistically take toward the war?

Tactical Mistake?

Or were Dr. Ralph Bunche, Roy Wilkins and other leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People speaking for the Negroes last week when they spoke out against Dr. King and said the fusion of the civil rights and peace movements would be a "serious tactical mistake"?

The answer appears to be that, despite the furor at the leadership level, the great mass of Negroes are not much more or less divided over the war than the great mass of whites.

During a random sample of Negro opinion, for example, Nelson Jack Edwards, who, as executive board member at large, is the ranking Negro in the United Auto Workers Union, said in Detroit that he thought Negroes were "a bit more—but not substantially more"—opposed to the war than whites.

And in Washington, the Rev. Channing E. Phillips, a Negro opponent of the war, wishes the majority of Negroes objected to the country's Vietnam policy, but has concluded that they do not. He thinks Negroes are probably "less exercised" about the war, at least in Washington, than are whites.

Occasional Dissent

This, then, is the way the survey went, with an occasional dissent here or there—usually on Negro college campuses where the antiwar feeling seems somewhat stronger than in the Negro community as a whole, or in the Mississippi Delta where there is still some civil rights activity and where many impoverished Negroes feel they would be receiving more Federal assistance were it not for the war.

But, when Negroes oppose the war, they usually do it for reasons other than those given by whites. Some Negroes—and especially those in the Student Committee and CORE—feel it unjust for the Negro to be asked to fight abroad as long as they are receiving less than a full measure of social and economic justice at home.

Others say they have observed that the nation's commitment to civil rights has declined as the war in Vietnam has escalated. Still others—and this view seems strong on Negro campuses—feel the Negro, while getting less than his proportionate share of the national income, is having to do more than his share of the front-line combat in Vietnam.

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 The Sun (Baltimore) _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 People's World _____
 Date APR 16 1967

Nation Listens

But whatever their views on the war, Negroes can draw a certain amount of satisfaction from the fact that the nation is listening to them. Senator Brooke, for example, made major news when he supported the Administration's position in Vietnam, and Dr. King attracted widespread attention when he opposed it.

Except for civil rights, seldom if ever in the nation's history have Negro views been so eagerly sought and disseminated on a major national issue. And if the war is proving that the nation can listen to the Negro on national issues, it is equally as much demonstrating that the Negro is losing his traditional reticence on public issues other than civil rights.

Such headline-making names as King, Bunche, Brooke, Carmichael, McKissick, Wilkins and the Rev. James Bevel—the civil rights activist who has become a fulltime critic of the war—show that clearly.

Carmichael On Campus

ATLANTA — After Stokely Carmichael became the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee almost a year ago, he embarked on a program to win a following for the organization's new "black power-black consciousness" philosophy.

He and the organization's field secretaries tried first in rural areas, but ran into opposition from Negroes who decided such black power slogans as "move on over or we'll move on over you" caused more trouble with whites than they solved. The student committee tried, too, to stir up interest in big-city ghettos. But there, its policy of opposing the presence of white social workers stirred the animosity of Negroes who had received tangible assistance from the workers and liked them for it.

But in recent months he and his organization have been devoting increasing attention to Negro college campuses. And they are meeting with more success.

At Tougaloo College on the outskirts of Jackson, Miss., last week, Mr. Carmichael lashed out against the war in Vietnam and had approximately 700 students shouting, "Hell no, we won't go," in a chant

that lasted for a full 10 minutes.

A few days before, after he appeared in Nashville, Tenn., students at predominantly Negro Fisk and Tennessee A. & I. (Agricultural and Industrial) Universities rioted in the streets, hurled rocks and stones, and occasionally tossed Molotov cocktails and took pot shots at police cars.

Whether or not Mr. Carmichael's presence had anything to do with the riot is a matter of sharp debate in Nashville, but Mr. Carmichael seemed to draw satisfaction from the fact that students shouted "black power" while rioting.

A 'Rebellion'

Furthermore, in his speech at Tougaloo, he called the riot a rebellion and said Negroes need not apologize for rebelling at injustices imposed upon them by whites. After all the United States would still be a colony if it had not rebelled from Britain; and if Negro ghettos want to free themselves from "colonial domination" by whites, they may have to use violence as a tactic.

Just how much support this sort of talk is gaining the black power movement on college campuses is, of course, a matter of some conjecture. As might be expected, Mr. Carmichael has his share of campus opponents.

But Mr. Carmichael has supporters at Miles as well as at such colleges as Fisk and Tougaloo. And at the campus book store at Alabama's Tuskegee Institute, two of the best sellers are black power "bibles" — Malcolm X's autobiography and Frantz Fanon's "Wretched of the Earth."

What's the secret of Mr. Carmichael's campus appeal?

For one thing, many students admire his audacity. He drew more than a few chuckles recently when he walked into a Federal court in Selma, Ala., wearing sunglasses and a flowing Nigerian "agbada robe.

Jokes About Sex

And he provoked gales of campus laughter with his frank discussions of interracial sex. If a white man asks if Negroes want to marry his daughter, Mr. Carmichael says, student committee workers never shrug it off and run the risk of seeming inferior by saying, "We don't want to be your brother-in-law, we just want to be your brother."

"We tell 'em: Your daughter, your sister, your momma," Mr. Carmichael says. "The white woman's not the queen of the world. She can be made, just like anything else. Let's move on to something important."

Some students also admire Mr. Carmichael's violent militance. He calls white people "honkies," for example, and says that non-violence strips the Negro male of his manhood. One way, he suggests, for Southern Negroes to regain their manhood is to strike back at whites when whites strike at them.

Theory of Guilt

There are obviously other answers to Mr. Carmichael's appeal and many of his campus speeches have left college professors searching for them. Some professors, in their more philosophical moments, have suggested that many Negro students feel guilty about attending college and enjoying middle-class advantages while millions of their kinsmen are below the poverty level. Mr. Carmichael, the theory goes, offers them a way to help: Inspire the Negro masses to stand up for themselves by being truculent and not letting the white man push you around.

Whether Mr. Carmichael is right or wrong about this keeps many students up past midnight in debate. Meanwhile, Mr. Carmichael seems certain to go on providing more grist for their arguments.

"I'm denied power by honkies," Mr. Carmichael said, "and I'm going to keep on going until I get that power back."



Norris Matnamara from Nancy Palmer

CRITIC: By raising a cry against U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Martin Luther King has come under attack by other Negro leaders who accuse him of thereby alienating white support for civil rights.



United Press International

AGITATOR: Accused of fomenting violence with his cries of "black power," Stokely Carmichael says Negroes may have no other recourse against "injustices imposed upon them by whites."

Letters

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to the Editor of The Times

Dr. King's Place in Civil-Rights Tradition

To the Editor:

Dr. Martin Luther King's argument that the war in Vietnam has precluded meaningful attempts to cope with poverty and discrimination at home may or may not be correct. His conclusion that, as a civil-rights leader, he must therefore oppose that war may, or may not be wise. But the implication made by many of his critics that, as a civil-rights leader, Dr. King departs radically from precedent in speaking out against American foreign policy, cannot bear historical examination.

The fact is, though some seem to have forgotten it, that many of the initial leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were men who devoted much of their public careers openly to attacking American foreign policy. The first president of the association, Moorfield Storey, assumed that office already known as a persistent critic of the American acquisition of the Philippines.

While serving as president between 1910 and 1929, Storey continued his anti-imperialism, publicly condemning American interventions in the Dominican Republic, in Haiti, and in Nicaragua.

No Criticism of Leaders

Oswald Garrison Villard, the first treasurer of the association, was one of the staunchest critics of the Treaty of Versailles and remained an opponent of "foreign entanglements" throughout his life. Though the situation of the Negro American was even more perilous then than now, neither Storey nor Villard was, to the best of my knowledge, attacked for speaking out on foreign-policy issues while serving with the association, nor was it suggested that their positions somehow hurt the cause of civil rights.

Neither Storey nor Villard, it is true, involved the association in their foreign-policy statements: Villard spoke from his position as editor of The Nation, Storey as a private citizen.

But it has also been forgotten that the precedent of a civil-rights organization, as an organization, criticizing American foreign policy, was set not by Stokely Carmichael and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, let alone by Dr. King, but by the N.A.A.C.P. through its executive secretary, James Weldon Johnson, in connection with the American occupation of Haiti. The intervention in Haiti and the intervention in Vietnam may be different in intent, but surely they are equally "foreign policy"—as distinguished from "civil-rights"—issues.

Whatever the merits of Dr. King's position, in short, he stands in a solid historical tradition when, as a civil-rights leader, he speaks out against American foreign policy.

WILLIAM B. HIXON JR.
Instructor in History
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Mich.

April 10, 1967

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- Times Herald _____
- The Washington Daily News _____
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- The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
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- People's World _____
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Dr. King's Dilemma as a Public Fact

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By Michael Harrington
 Author of "The Other America"
 and other books

THE PROPHET has moved out of the back of the bus. Martin Luther King Jr. has taken a militant stand on ~~the issue~~ instead of confining himself to the race issue. He is being, quite a few editorialists seem to say, an uppity Jeremiah.

King obviously could not take the advice to segregate his moral principles to one question. And yet in joining the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, the Nobel peace laureate involved himself in a cruel paradox. The man who, more than anyone in his generation, had demonstrated the practical power of morality, suddenly found himself torn by the conflicting claims of politics and ethics.

I take his personal dilemma as a public fact, a point of departure for understanding the crisis of the peace and civil rights movements, the alienation of the young activists and the way in which a tragic conflict in Southeast Asia corrupts our domestic hope.

An Inelastic Principle

I AM SURE that King did not have a moment's hesitation in deciding to oppose the war. He had taught Southern Negroes to love the racists who reviled and beat them and there were those who died in practicing his non-violent resistance to unjust laws. It is preposterous to think that such a man could possibly support the Administration's Vietnam policy. His pacifist principles could hardly stop at the water's edge.

Secondly, King rightly argues that the current retreat from issues like poverty and race is, in part, a consequence of the war. It is not just that one year's appropriation for Vietnam could more than raise the income of every citizen above the poverty line or

that two years of war funds would pay for the housing program which Sen. Ribicoff has projected over a decade.

In terms of economic quantities, this Nation is rich enough to have both guns and butter. But a society which listens to a body count every night before dinner is hardly being prepared for the politics of compassion, either domestically or internationally.

If this logical convergence of the peace and civil rights problems extended to politics, King would have no problems. But, of course, it doesn't.

A great many Americans felt that a Jim Crow law was such an obvious and immediate abomination that it should be flouted. A much smaller number applies this rationale of civil disobedience to opposition to the Government's position on Vietnam. Thus King's radical anti-war stance will lose him the support of some of those who approved heartily of his radical anti-racism. It will even isolate him from some of the proposals of the senatorial doves. It was this potential contraction of the civil rights base that so alarmed the NAACP and led it to condemn his march yesterday.

A Numerical Problem

IRONICALLY, these complexities emerged at the very moment when the civil rights movement desperately needed allies. King himself had failed in his Chicago open housing campaign of 1966 and his defeat was symptomatic.

Where a lunchroom can be integrated by a courageous handful, the abolition of the ghetto requires that Congress make massive investments in the name of the entire Nation. This means that the 10 per cent Negro minority has to round up every possible vote; that there will be fewer dramatic confrontations and more politics. Some of the

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- People's World _____

Date APR 16 1967

militants, who found it easier to face death in Mississippi than compromise in Washington, responded to this new situation by moving from civil rights to peace.

Had King been able to satisfy his convictions simply by seconding the senatorial doves, the decision would have cost him little. But the courageous proponent of nonviolent civil disobedience could not content himself with such an impersonal, uncommitted gesture.

His philosophy and his history drove him toward the radical wing of the peace movement, where he found friends more difficult to deal with than many of his critics. The overwhelming majority of peace marchers are people who have been appalled by America's conduct in Vietnam and seek an end to the tragedy by any possible means. But there is a smaller, extremely active group with a much more complex motivation.

Perhaps the best way to describe these people is that they are not at all like the Communists of the '30s. In those bad old days, there was ~~never~~ a problem when a core of members in an American organization would act in response to the twists and turns of Russian politics. Their attitude on Franklin Roosevelt, say, would depend on Joseph Stalin's relations with Adolf Hitler.

The young hyperactivists one meets in the peace movement today are not acting out this pattern at all. They are not the puppets of Ho Chi Minh or any other foreigner. Their basic emotion is one of domestic alienation rather than of international solidarity, and it is their passionate feeling about their native land that determines their attitude toward Hanoi, not the other way around.

The Heartsick

THE PEOPLE of whom I write include Negro militants—SNCC veterans, black nationalists and others—who have become disillusioned with the nonviolence of King and made heartsick by the token progress purchased by terrible sacrifice. They are middle-class college students who once naively believed in the liberal rhetoric that be-

sets this country from all sides except the extreme right and who reacted with a bitter fury when they glimpsed the illiberal reality.

It is these people who give the present radical anti-war movement its distinctive quality. When they launch official slogans analogizing the Vietcong to Washington's army in 1776, when they speak of "self-determination" but effectively restrict the notion to South Vietnam and fail to extend it to the North, even when they fly Vietcong flags, as a minority among them do, they are not conspirators or infiltrators.

Rather, they are expressing the anger they feel about the United States. This attitude certainly allows for individual purgation but, and this is a problem for King, it has little to do with effective political action. Perhaps the Negro leader can infuse this movement with the spirit of practical prophecy that he summoned upon from Montgomery to Selma. And perhaps not.

An Impossible Choice

FINALLY, Dr. King has made his share of tactical errors (like the implied equation of the American military with the Nazis), and yet, in the last analysis, I cannot help but be sympathetic with him. He has been forced to an impossible choice. It is difficult and politically dangerous for him to speak out; it would be an act of moral cowardice to remain silent. The resultant, and tormenting, personal dilemma is but one more cost of the tragic war.

During the Eisenhower '50s when America was so often uncritically celebrated, the spokesmen for the Nation's conscience were often black men, and Martin Luther King was a leader among them. Eventually, this Negro minority probably did more for the whites than they did for themselves, for it was the freedom movement that awakened the campus, challenged the churches to a new ecumenicism and prepared the way for that generation which was to answer John F. Kennedy's call to action.

Now, in the agony of Vietnam, America is forgetting that social conscience it so recently acquired. There are even some trying to drive the prophet to the back of the bus.



A great many Americans felt that a Jim Crow law was such an obvious
applied this rationale of civil disobedience t



is and immediate abomination that it should be flouted. A much smaller
opposition to the Government's position on Vietnam."

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 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 People's World _____

APR 16 1967

Date _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan *Wesley*

FROM : C. D. Brennan *C.D. Brennan*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 3/8/67

- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. D. Wells

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Shirley Ford
C.D. Brennan

PURPOSE: To obtain approval to furnish a suggested list of questions to a friendly news source to be used in interviewing Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

BACKGROUND: King has been on a two-month vacation in Jamaica writing a new book. During this time he has been attempting to determine what direction he should take in regards to national issues. His inclination is to direct his entire efforts in opposition to the war in Vietnam. During the past two weeks, he has started making public appearances again. In California on 2/25/67 he attacked the war in Vietnam and suggested quitting Vietnam, according to an article in "The New York Times." At one point he made a statement that might be considered revolutionary. He stated in part, "we have got to get out and demonstrate and protest until it rocks the very foundations of this Nation."

Also, while King was out of the country, the voter registration drive in Chicago failed miserably. He is very sensitive about this failure and feels it hurt his public image. He is also sensitive about allegations his personal appeal to the ghetto Negro is waning.

Another factor that is influencing his decision is Reverend James Bevel's leaving his post as Project Director, Chicago Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to become Executive Director, Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, New York, New York. This also transpired while King was in Jamaica. In addition, Bevel's wife traveled to Hanoi, North Vietnam, late in 1966. Bevel and his wife continue to be paid salaries by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference even though they have new employment.

APR 4 1967

OBSERVATIONS: It is felt that King would be very vulnerable to an interview by the press, providing the interviewer was furnished a list of suggested questions. The press

Encl.
100-106670
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CONTINUED - OVER

54 APR 11 1967

ENCLOSURE

↓ ↓

C.D. Brennan

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

representative could arrange for an interview ostensibly to question King concerning his new book. During the interview the above-interrelated activities could be developed, particularly to bring out the political reorientation of King's major efforts in relation to United States foreign policy as contrasted to the position taken by other civil rights leaders who have continued to direct their efforts at civil rights. This then could be linked to show that King's current policies remarkably parallel communist efforts. This would cause extreme embarrassment to King. Further, it is felt that since the position and paths taken by King and his group closely parallel that advocated by the Communist Party, this fact should be made known to the public.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That the attached list of questions be furnished the Crime Records Division in an effort to interest a friendly news media representative in interviewing King.

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1 - Mr. DeLoach
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1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. D. Wells

QUESTIONS TO ASK MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

1. How can you, as an ordained minister, justify your efforts in the political area by attempting to influence the United States Government's foreign policy?
2. Do you believe in separation of church and state?
3. In your February 25, 1967, speech in Beverly Hills, California, sponsored by the "Nation" magazine, you did not limit your attack on the war in Vietnam to moral issues. Why do you enter into the political area?
4. In this same speech, are you preaching revolution when you state, "We have got to get out and demonstrate and protest until it rocks the very foundation of this nation"?
5. Why did Reverend James Bevel take a leave of absence to become Executive Director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam?
6. Why did his wife travel to Hanoi, North Vietnam?
7. Did she go as a paid representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference?
8. Isn't your organization pursuing a path of antiwar in Vietnam and abandoning civil rights?
9. Did the failure of the voter registration drive by your group in Chicago have any bearing on the departure of Reverend Bevel?
10. Your Project Chairman ~~Hosea Williams~~ ^{J.S.P.} announced that the Chicago Negro is not interested in voting. Is this true?
11. According to "Newsweek" magazine, your goal in this drive was 150,000 registered Negro voters but only 320 registered. Is this an indication you have lost your appeal to the ghetto Negro?
12. Was this drive a political issue rather than a moral one?
13. How can you justify your continued efforts to influence political issues?
14. Are your activities closely paralleling the Communist Party line when you attempt to merge the peace issue with poverty and civil rights into one massive political movement, opposing present Government policies?

100-106670

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ENCLOSURE

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15. Do you have any communists currently in your organization?
16. On October 13, 1966, the "Atlanta Journal," a daily Atlanta newspaper, on page 25 of its final edition, published an article entitled "King, Aides Confer, Discuss Black Power." This article lists Stanley Levison, a New York, attorney as being in attendance at this meeting. Is this the same Stanley Levison that Senator James Oliver Eastland, Mississippi (D), identified in the July 21, 1966, Congressional Record as being a former secret Communist Party member as late as 1963?

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Wick
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TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 1/10/67

FROM : C. D. Brennan

- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - D. Wells

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a letterhead memorandum containing the following information:

ELSVR

~~NW 38-10-52~~ advised on 1/9/67 that Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in contact with his principal advisor, Stanley Levison, a long-time secret communist. Levison urged King to take a stand publicly supporting Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, New York (Democrat), in his fight to retain his seat in the United States House of Representatives. Levison argued that King's silence in this regard might be misinterpreted by the general public.

King approved a statement that Levison had written for King supporting Powell. This statement was to be delivered to the Speaker of the House, John W. McCormack.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That the Speaker of the House be notified of the above information by a representative of the Crime Records Division, and this is being furnished for his confidential information.

Handled with Dr. Martin Swain, Speaker's secretary 1-11-67

That copies of the enclosure be forwarded by routing slips to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; the Acting Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Doar.

Enclosure - Sent 1-11-67
100-106670
1 - 100-438794 (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

DMW: deh

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

JAN 13 1967

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Wick
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - D. Wells

100-106670-2814

January 11, 1967

EC-42
EX-115
39115

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past.

On January 9, 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in conference with his principal advisor, Stanley Levison. At this time, Levison urged King to take a stand publicly supporting Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, New York, in his fight to retain his seat in the United States House of Representatives. Levison argued that King's silence in this regard might be misinterpreted by the general public.

King approved a statement that Levison had written for King supporting Powell. This statement was to be delivered to the Speaker of the House, United States House of Representatives.

Another source advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the Communist Party for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain Communist Party leaders as being to the "left" of the Communist Party in his position on civil rights. His differences with the Communist Party, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to communism.

1-11 # 7
SECRET INFORMATION
ON ALL INFORMATION

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1 - 100-438794 (SCLC)

SECRET

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
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JAN 27 1967

SECRET

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO HONORABLE MARVIN WATSON, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT; THE ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; AND ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY AND BOAR.

NOTE:

See C. D. Brennan to Sullivan memorandum dated 1/10/67, same caption, prepared by DMW:deh.

Classified "Secret" inasmuch as the sources for the above information are highly sensitive sources relating to the racial situation.

SECRET

Baumgardner to Sullivan
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

King's meeting with Archbishop Cody has been discussed with Special Agent in Charge Marlin W. Johnson of our Chicago Office. Johnson has given assurance that he can talk to Archbishop Cody in complete confidence and Archbishop Cody will not violate this confidence. Bureau files show that Archbishop Cody, while serving as a Bishop in the St. Louis Archdiocese in the early 1950's, was a confidential source of the St. Louis Office with symbol number/SL 950. At that time, he reportedly had an excellent knowledge of the Communist Party.

~~CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE~~

It is felt it would be desirable to have Special Agent in Charge Johnson brief Archbishop Cody regarding the subversive backgrounds of King's key advisors and to emphasize to the Archbishop the vast influence these individuals exert on King. In addition, Special Agent in Charge Johnson would disclose to the Archbishop King's own sordid immoral activities. Such a briefing would benefit the Archbishop in determining the degree of cooperation his archdiocese will extend to King's program in Chicago and would probably result in a lessening of King's influence in Chicago. This would be a serious blow to any possible communist attempt to exploit King's program in Chicago.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that Assistant Director Sullivan be authorized to telephonically contact Special Agent in Charge Johnson and instruct him to brief Archbishop Cody regarding the strong influence being exerted on King by his key advisors with communist backgrounds and to inform him of King's own hypocritical immoral behavior. Special Agent in Charge Johnson will inform the Archbishop that under no circumstance may there ever be any attribution to the FBI for the information furnished him.

afh
advised of this above 2-23-66 was
WBJ
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11:06 AM

June 19, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. DE LOACH
MR. SULLIVAN
MR. BISHOP

D -
M.A.L.

Mr. Newbold Noyes, Editor of The Evening Star called. He said he thanked me very much for talking to him because he knew this was an unusual kind of thing to have happen.

He said he wanted to ask me very seriously, but he was sure I was familiar with this and given thought to it already, but he wanted to report on the basis of their story that was run yesterday about the authorization that the FBI had from Mr. Robert Kennedy, to release the King material; that they are getting a great deal of static from people who are telling them -- they say they have this authorization, but they don't release it and don't show what the documents are and many of these documents that have been released in the past are fuzzy and don't really show there was clear authorization to do this and in general there is a nondisposition on the part of the readers to accept the idea that Bob Kennedy actually did authorize the tapping of King's phone. He said, 'Now I just want to ask you as seriously as I can to release those documents. You have them. They do show, I presume, exactly what you say.'

I told Mr. Noyes that he authorized it in his own handwriting on October 10, 1963; it was installed November 8, 1963, and discontinued April 30, 1965. I told Mr. Noyes that, as a matter of fact, when Kennedy was Attorney General he requested that the telephones of Dr. King be covered by electronic device and was persuaded by our people not to do it in view of the possible repercussions, then later he changed his mind and delayed bringing the matter up again until in October the authority was signed by him in his own handwriting and it gave us the authority to do it and we discontinued it on April 30, 1965, under the administration of Attorney General Katzenbach. Mr. Noyes said he understood and asked if they could report this. I told him he could report what I have said to him. I told him the reason I was drawing a

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MAIL ROOM

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17-51881-2040
100-106700
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Sullivan, Bishop June 19, 1969

line on this is that Mr. Tolson wrote (Carl) Rowan about his slanderous column last Sunday and he, Rowan, wrote back in which he asked a series of eight or nine questions, such as, did we tap the telephone of a half dozen leaders like Wilkinson of the NAACP, Farmer, eight or nine others, Abernathy; or if we had tapped the phones of a Congressman; and various other things. Mr. Noyes said he was not asking all that. I told him he could certainly print what I say because we are writing back to Rowan today that since he did not seek any facts before printing his column, he was not entitled to any information from us at this time, but as to the question he has asked, the dates that these wiretaps were on, I have the original copy of it on my desk. It was signed by Kennedy in his own handwriting on October 10, 1963.

Mr. Noyes said if I had one minute, could he repeat back to me what he understood I had said to him so there would be no misunderstanding and also could he tell me that he was adding into it some details that he thought they already understood about this from other sources they have talked to.

He said it was his understanding that in June, 1963, Mr. Kennedy did suggest through a liaison man that he had with me, that I should keep an eye on Martin Luther King because of his association with people that he, Robert Kennedy, was concerned about and he, Noyes, was particularly talking about Stanley Levinson and a fellow named Jones, both of whom were supposed to be of Marxist leanings and that the Attorney General was concerned about King's relations with these people and he thought it might be a good idea to put an electronic surveillance device of some type into the picture to see what he was doing; that the FBI suggested at that time that this would be a difficult thing to do because of the fact that King traveled around so much and there were a lot of political repercussions that might result; but then subsequently on the 7th of November (and I corrected him and told him October 7, 1963) -- on October 7, 1963, I reported, and this is a memorandum from me to the Attorney General, a four-paragraph document, that I had determined the feasibility of establishing taps on the telephones of the SCLC headquarters at Atlanta and New York and if he authorized it, I was prepared to go ahead and do it and that came back to me, the memorandum, with his initials. I told him with his full name, Robert F. Kennedy. Mr. Noyes continued - o.k. 'd by him, dating that 10/10/63. I told Mr. Noyes that was correct.

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Sullivan, Bishop June 19, 1969

Mr. Noyes continued that it was his understanding that I had no objection to his using this -- is it o.k. for them to identify the FBI as the source or flatly say it on their own. I told him I would rather he flatly said it on his own, but I anticipate similar requests from other sources that I would not be as frank with as I have been with him. Mr. Noyes said o.k.; that he thought this is a wise thing for me to do.

He said if I had one more minute, he would like to tell me one reason why he happened to be interested in this thing. He said he had some young people with whom he was friendly who were involved in a wedding this weekend and the boys and girls all ended up at his house after the thing and he did not know whether they had read Rowan's column, but they were talking about the fact how dreadful it was that the FBI would have presumed to tap the phone or keep an eye on Martin Luther King, a great hero. He said after listening to this for about an hour and a half, he told them to hold on a minute, that it was his understanding that the Bureau had been checking on King because there had been allegations that he had been in touch with recognized or potential communist agents and the reason nothing was ever released or done about it was that after checking into it, they became satisfied there was nothing dangerous and he asked them what they would think of a Government that did not check into information that seemed to show that communist agents were trying to work on a man in Martin Luther King's position. He said these kids listened and were astounded that there might be another side to it, and he was telling me that this was taken by Bobby Kennedy from the point of view of the generation gap. Mr. Noyes said he thought this is an important story. I said he became a kind of Messiah for the generation gap and individuals who were pro-King and still are.

I told Mr. Noyes that as to the matter of electronic installations, I have never authorized an electronic installation of any kind at any time except with written approval of the then Attorney General and that goes right down to today. I said I do not have authority to do it myself and I do not want it as I feel the Attorney General should be the one to approve or not approve electronic surveillances and we use it only in internal security cases and now in organized crime. I said in organized crime, the authority has to be obtained from the courts under the McClellan bill and in security cases -- espionage, communist activities -- that is approved by the Attorney General, which is

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Sullivan, Bishop June 19, 1969

allowed under the McClellan Bill. I continued that the Rowan article indicated we were promiscuously continuing this sort of thing without regard to restrictions or regard to authority, so the truth of the matter is, I have never ever authorized the installation of a technical electronic device except with the approval of the Attorney General in writing and we have on file the original documents that support that statement.

Mr. Noyes said that when he first asked me, I said it was all right to cite the Bureau for the authority and then I indicated I would rather have it come from them directly. He said if, in order to give this the authority it should have, it is necessary for him to cite me for the authority for some of this, is that o.k. with me. I told him that normally I would say no; that I would defer to his judgement because he knows more about the matter of public relations and public reaction. I told him I have been astounded at the reaction on this thing. I said some of these magazines, like Newsweek, which is owned by the Washington Post, carried the Cassius Clay testimony in Texas where he is on trial and where the use of the electronic device was exposed, and they stated the Agent testified the taps were continued until King's death. I said that is untrue and the Agent did not so testify. I said in the King case, it was discontinued April 30, 1965. I told Mr. Noyes that if he thought it would be to the best interest of public relations in clearing up any really serious doubts newspaper people have, I would have no objection to being quoted.

Mr. Noyes said he thanked me and he thought I was making a wise decision in letting it come out. He said he thought it may be one of the most important stories of the year.

I told Mr. Noyes that when I read the Sunday paper and Rowan's article I thought here is an individual who is a Messiah of the dissident left, of which Rowan is a part, and yet it was done at the instance of Bobby Kennedy, who later became a great friend of King's, notwithstanding he knew all the facts, as I kept him advised as well as every Attorney General since.

Mr. Noyes said there is one thing about this I should consider and that is that he has the gist of what is in these things from me, but I will be

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Sullivan, Bishop June 19, 1969

asked immediately to release them textually. He said he thought I ought to do it. I told him I would have to get the authority of the Attorney General for that. Mr. Noyes said that is another problem, but the text ought to come out. He said it is very well for me to say what is in them, but the text ought to come out. I told him I realized that. He said he thought once before we had put out photostats.

I told him a Congressman, Gross, made inquiry in regard to some of Kennedy's authorizations before he died and after he left the Attorney Generalship. I said he denied he had approved certain authorizations and I sent to the Congressman Xerox copies of the authorization signed by Kennedy, as he being a Congressman, I felt he was entitled to it, and then Attorney General approved. I said in this instance, if we get a request from a Congressman or Senator along the lines he indicated, I would submit it to the Attorney General with my recommendation. Mr. Noyes said I was going to get an immediate request -- within the next couple of hours or as soon as he can get this out -- from every news media for the text. I told him these were confidential documents of the Department and can only be released as to the text by the Attorney General.

Mr. Noyes thanked me.

1:08 PM

I returned a call from Mr. Newbold Noyes and he told me he very much appreciated my calling him back. He said he realized after we were finished talking that there was this one rather crucial question that he had not asked me and he did not know whether I could comment on it or not, but it seemed necessary to ask it; namely, whether the investigation of Dr. King did or did not reveal any suspicion of Marxist character. I told him I could not answer that question to be quoted. I told him I could say to him off the record and for his own information it did but I could not be quoted on that. Mr. Noyes said he understood and that I understood the thing that most concerned him was the possibility that it cleared him in which case it seemed to him essential that they put it in the story, but they will handle it exactly as it is. I said it did not clear him at all, but I cannot mention that because it would reveal the confidential character of the investigation we made. Mr. Noyes again thanked me.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
- 5 - Director

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-106670)

DATE: 4-14-66

hmf

FROM : Legat, Paris (100-2082) (P.)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
OSM - C

Re Paris letter 4-1-66.

As the Bureau is aware, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., has visited Paris on two occasions within the past year. On the first occasion KING preached a sermon at the American Church in Paris and spoke before a French Protestant church group on 10-24-65. He returned with HARRY BELAFONTE for a large rally held on 3-28-66 organized by the Martin Luther King Paris Committee for Civil Rights to raise money for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. *PARIS, FRANCE*

Although KING's first appearance in Paris in October, 1965, was voluntary and in connection with a trip to accept an honorary degree in Holland, he took advantage of a previous invitation which had been extended to him by MARTIN SARGENT, Pastor of the American Church in Paris, to preach at the American Church. SARGENT was one of the leading forces in organizing the Martin Luther King Paris Committee for Civil Rights, which sponsored the rally on 3-28-66. *W*

I have been closely associated for a long period of time with the American Church in Paris and I am acquainted with MARTIN SARGENT on a close personal basis. I have not discussed KING with SARGENT in detail but feel that it would be advisable to do so. Based on my personal acquaintanceship with SARGENT I feel that I could do this in such a manner as not to cause embarrassment to the Bureau. *FR*

If the Bureau approves, it is requested that the Bureau furnish me with a memorandum for guidance so that I can discuss KING's background with SARGENT in an effort to convince him that his continued support of MARTIN LUTHER KING may result in embarrassment for him and the American Church in Paris.

- 4 - Bureau (1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Atlanta, 100-5586, Info.)

1 - Paris
NWP:HD
(5)

LT LEGAT PARIS 4/25/66

REC 30 100-106670-2457

ST-105

APR 27 1966

Butler
INT. SEC.

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Legat, Paris (100-2082)

4/25/66

REC 36

Director, FBI (100-106670) 2457

- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Basher
- 1 - Liaison

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM-C

Re Legat, Paris, letter 4/14/66.

Based on your recommendation, authority is granted to orally brief Martin Sargent, Pastor of the American Church in Paris, on a confidential basis concerning King.

Enclosed is a memorandum containing necessary pertinent information which may be used in the briefing of Sargent. He is to be advised such information is being furnished on a highly confidential basis and is for his information only.

The enclosure should be returned to the Bureau with the results of this interview with Sargent.

For your information, Bufiles indicate that in 1943 a small group of students formed an organization known as the "Committee of Racial Equality" at 2013 Fifth Avenue, New York City. This group was active in protesting discrimination in the white YMCAs. One Martin Sargent (White) was identified as Chairman of the group.

Enclosure

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route Through for Review)

PTB:rth (8)

NOTE: Legat, Paris, letter 4/14/66 advised Sargent was one of the leading forces in organizing Martin Luther King's Paris Committee for Civil Rights which sponsored the rally on 3/28/66 in Paris. Legat stated he has been closely associated, for a long period of time, with the American Church in Paris and is acquainted with Martin Sargent on a close personal basis. Based on his personal acquaintance with Sargent, he recommends advising Sargent of King's background stating he could do this in such a matter as not to cause embarrassment to the Bureau.

MAILED 7
APR 26 1966
COMM-FBI

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Wick _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

Approved by Director
4/25/66

REC'D DE FOYCO

WEL
RAD

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by the Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

MAY 3 1966

NW 55245

FBI

Date: 5-9-66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: Director, FBI (100-106670)
FROM: Legat, Paris (100-2082) (RUC)
SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C

Butler Gardner
J. S. [unclear]
[unclear]

ReBulet 4-25-66.

This is to advise that on 5-9-66 I orally briefed MARTIN SARGENT, Pastor of the American Church in Paris, on a confidential basis concerning KING pursuant to authorization contained in reBulet. The memorandum furnished to this office as an enclosure to reBulet for briefing purposes is returned herewith.

I stressed to SARGENT that this was being furnished to him on a personal and confidential basis for his future guidance because of my interest in the American Church in Paris and in him as a Pastor. I repeatedly warned SARGENT against discussing this with anyone else or with "quoting me or the Bureau in any way whatsoever". I stressed that I was doing this because of my faith in his ability to use the information only for his own guidance.

SARGENT's first reaction was that the information is not true. I pointed out to him that the source is absolutely reliable and there is no question as to the veracity of the information. Toward the end of the interview SARGENT thanked me for having furnished him with the information, thanked me for my confidence in him, and definitely agreed that he would not discuss the information with anyone else. He stated that he would keep the information in mind in his future dealings with MARTIN LUTHER KING.

3 - Bureau (Enc. 1) ENCLOSURE
(1 - Liaison Section)

1 - Paris

NWP:HD
(4)

1 Xerox 920 9+D

REC 21

100-106670-2528

13 MAY 16 1966

AIRTEL

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI. Per _____

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

55 MAY 31 1966

JFK Law 10(a)1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	✓
DeLoach	✓
Walters	✓
Mohr	✓
Bishop	✓
Casper	✓
Callahan	✓
Conrad	✓
Felt	✓
Gale	✓
Rosen	✓
Sullivan	✓
Tavel	✓
Soyars	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holmes	✓
Gandy	✓

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 6/1/70

FROM : T. E. Bishop *TEB*

SUBJECT: JIM BISHOP, AUTHOR;
PROPOSED BOOK ON MARTIN LUTHER KING

McLachlan
M. J. [unclear]
M. J. [unclear]
b. m. [unclear]

You will recall that "Reader's Digest" has contracted with Jim Bishop, a well-known author, to do a book on the Martin Luther King assassination case. In contacts which Bishop has had with "Reader's Digest" concerning this matter, it was indicated that the book by Bishop would deal with the assassination of Martin Luther King and the hunt for, and apprehension of, the assassin by the FBI. Such a book, of course, would be most favorable to the FBI and our work in the case. We have not started working with Bishop in the preparation of the book because of the fact that James Earl Ray has filed a number of appeals in his case, ~~so one~~ still being pending, and the Department has not yet authorized us to begin working with an author in connection with this case.

On May 21, 1970, by referral from Mr. DeLoach's Office, I received a phone call from Jim Bishop from Florida. He stated that he had recently had a conversation with Robert Cousins, an editor with Funk and Wagnalls, which is the publishing house for "Reader's Digest," about his proposed book on Martin Luther King. Cousins indicated that he had been led to believe by Hobart Lewis, President of "Reader's Digest," that Bishop had indicated an unwillingness to have his manuscript reviewed for accuracy upon its completion. Bishop advised me that he has always submitted his manuscripts for review to persons or agencies which have cooperated with him in the preparation of books and he would welcome such review by the Bureau in connection with any book he may do on Martin Luther King.

At this point, Bishop indicated in his conversation with me that what he has been considering in connection with the book regarding Martin Luther King is a biographical book on King which would end with King's death and the declaration of national days of mourning for King by the President. He indicated that he was extremely interested in getting all possible information concerning King from the FBI that he could, particularly that type of information which

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Malone

EX-115

REC-39

74-46567-124

(CONTINUED - OVER)

5 JUN 12 1970

TEB:jo F470
(6)

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Bishop to DeLoach memo (continued)
Re: JIM BISHOP, AUTHOR

would show King's immoral character, the influence over him by subversive elements, etc. He indicated that he was considering keeping his book strictly one of a biographical nature rather than one which would deal with the details of King's assassination and the Bureau's hunt for the killer and the apprehension of the latter.

On June 1, 1970, you (Mr. DeLoach) telephonically contacted Bishop and advised him in no uncertain terms that it would not be possible for the Bureau to furnish him any information whatsoever concerning King's immoral character or his communist or subversive connections. He was advised that this information was classified and had never been released by the FBI to any source outside of the Government. He was told that, if and when we get clearance from the Department to do so, we would be willing to cooperate with him in a book which would treat solely with the assassination and the events leading up to the identity and capture of James Earl Ray, the assassin.

(This already approved by Director)

Bishop advised you (Mr. DeLoach) that he had apparently been under a misapprehension as to the type of book which "Reader's Digest" expected him to write on Martin Luther King. He stated that he would be favorably disposed toward doing a book dealing with the assassination of King, but he wished to discuss the matter further with "Reader's Digest."

Inasmuch as we have not yet received clearance from the Department to cooperate in the preparation of a book on the assassination of King, no further action will be taken on this matter until such clearance is received and until we are assured by Bishop that his book will treat with the assassination of King rather than being a biography of him attempting to expose his immoral character and communist connections.

RECOMMENDATION:

No additional action is recommended until we have received clearance from the Department on this matter.

RP
Right
Right
OK
TEB
WBS

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Walters	✓
Mr. Soyars	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

December 4, 1970

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
 FBI
 Department of Justice
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Director:

It is possible that Deke may have told you before he retired that I have been researching a clinical biography of Martin Luther King, Jr. for the past 1 1/2 years. Right now I have 14 volumes of notes in chronological order.

I recall with gratitude that you and the FBI have helped me to achieve accuracy in books from the days of Lou Nichols onward. Since Deke has left, I have been helped a little with the Memphis affidavits and an autopsy report through the kindness of Tom Bishop of your staff.

I do not know how much more you are willing to reveal but I am interested in the following:

1- When did RFK authorize the tapping of Kin's phone and why. In following out this assignment, the FBI learned a lot about the private life of Martin Luther King, Jr. -- material which it had no intentions of using publicly. I am in need of a generalized (as opposed to specific) idea of his extra-curricular sex life to balance off his public saintliness.

2- I am interested in his first contact with Communists and whether he was using them, or they were using him. EX-113

3- The Reverend Ralph Abernathy and others, in interviews with me, insist that King's meeting with you was a cordial affair. My instinct tells me to the contrary.

I do not know how much you are willing to reveal of that meeting but I would be interested in knowing who requested that you meet him and what was said

SEARCHED
 SERIALIZED
 INDEXED
 FILED
 FBI - MEMPHIS
 DEC 8 1970

REC-7974 - 46567-126

DEC 22 1970

WCS - Jones to ...
 12/10/70 JCF
 Letter 12/11/70
 JCF

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DEC 8 1970

JIM BISHOP • GOLDEN ISLES, HALENDALE, FLORIDA 33009
 Copy made for T.C. 3. Rm.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director

December 4, 1970

when you two were alone. Abernathy tells me that he was with King and you every minute of the time and that nothing was said about King's affinity for Communists and women.

I would like to remind you that there are now 1,700,000 words in books written about Martin Luther King, Jr. since his death on April 4, 1968. Almost all of them paint him as a Messiah. It is not my purpose to condemn the man but I would like to have an accurate portrait of his weaknesses as well as his strengths.

|| If you want me to come to Washington, I shall,

Sincerely, J.

JB/av

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jim Bishop". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name.

Jim Bishop

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Sullivan	_____
Bishop	_____
Bishop	_____
Brennan, C.D.	_____
Callahan	_____
Casper	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Tavel	_____
Walters	_____
Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Bishop *EB*

DATE: 12-10-70

FROM : M. A. Jones *MAJ*

SUBJECT: JIM BISHOP, AUTHOR
REQUEST FOR INFORMATION ON THE
REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

By letter of 12-4-70, captioned individual, who is well-known to the Director, and is on the Special Correspondents List, noted that he has been researching a "clinical biography" of King for the past 1 1/2 years. He advises that he is interested in receiving various information from us on the private life of King, including King's "extracurricular sex life," King's contact with communists, and his meeting with Mr. Hoover.

In your memorandum to Mr. DeLoach dated 6-1-70, you referred to Mr. DeLoach telephonically contacting Jim Bishop on that date to advise him in no uncertain terms that it would not be possible for the Bureau to furnish him any information whatsoever concerning King's immoral character or his communist or subversive connections. He was advised that this information was classified and had never been released by the FBI to any source outside of the Government.

As you will recall, Jim Bishop has previously been furnished information on the King assassination which has been released by the Department. Therefore, it is not felt any harm would result from furnishing Jim Bishop only public source data we have available concerning some of the points he has raised in his letter on King.

RECOMMENDATION:

ST-111

REC-2

94-46567-125

That attached letter with enclosures be sent Jim Bishop.

- Enclosures (4) *sent 12-11-70*
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure
 - 1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosure
 - 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan - Enclosure
 - 1 - Miss Holmes - Enclosure
 - 1 - Mr. Jones

WOL

OK. I don't like Jim Bishop's presentation in this area.

22 DEC 21 1970

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December 11, 1970

REG-79 94-46567-126

Handwritten signature/initials

EX-113

Mr. Jim Bishop
Golden Isles
Hallandale, Florida 33009

Dear Mr. Bishop:

I have received your letter of December 4th in which you requested information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.

Since the data you have requested is similar in nature to that which you requested in June of this year, at which time you were advised that it would not be possible to furnish such information, I regret I am unable to help you at this time. However, there is enclosed some material concerning the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., which you might find to be of assistance.

MAILED 6
DEC 13 1970
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

Handwritten initials and signatures

Enclosures (3) -- 12/7/64 issue of U.S. News and World Report article entitled "Next: A National Police Force?"
5/16/68 issue of Congressional Record containing remarks of Hon. John R. Rarick
12/14/70 issue of Time article entitled "J. Edgar Hoover Speaks Out With Vigor."

- Tolson _____
- Sullivan _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Brennan, C.D. _____
- Callahan _____
- Casper _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Tavel _____
- Walters _____
- Soyars _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

1 - Mr. Sullivan (detached) 1 - Miss Holmes (detached)
 1 - Mr. Bishop (detached) 1 - Mr. Malmfeldt (detached)
 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan (detached) 1 - M. A. Jones (detached)

NOTE: See Jones to Bishop memo dated 12/10/70, captioned "Jim Bishop, Request For Information On The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr."

JCF:mcb (10) This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

55 DEC 31 1970

June 24, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. DE LOACH
MR. SULLIVAN

With regard to the technical surveillance and investigation of the late Martin Luther King, Jr., I note that copies of the material were sent to Carl T. Rowan, then Director of the United States Information Agency. I further note that the material, particularly the over-all summary memorandum of December 21, 1964, was widely distributed to representatives in the Government agencies. I think there should be greater discrimination relative to the dissemination of highly confidential material. Certainly Rowan, even though he was Director of the United States Information Agency, should never have been furnished with this material in view of his known racist activities. I note the same material was disseminated to Dr. Leland J. Hayworth of the National Science Foundation. I do not understand why he should have been included on the list for dissemination, as certainly King's activities did not fall within the area of his Foundation.

Please initiate immediately a re-evaluation of the dissemination of our highly sensitive and confidential information.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

JEH:EDM (7)

edm

REC 12

100-15545-36/3

EX-117

10 JUN 26 1969

XEROX

JUN 26 1969

SENT FROM D. O.	
TIME	10:20 AM
DATE	6-24-69

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

DeLoach

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56 JUL 2 1969
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-104318-

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Mohr *[Signature]*

DATE: November 27, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ROY WILKINS
 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
 OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)
 APPOINTMENT 11/27/64
 FBI HEADQUARTERS
 WASHINGTON, D. C.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called me from New York at 12:55 p.m. today. He stated that he had to fly down to Washington to see me immediately. He asked if I had any available time. He apologized for attempting to arrange an appointment on what he termed a "holiday weekend." I told him the "holiday weekend" made no difference to us and that despite his unwarranted statements concerning the Director and the FBI, I would sit down and talk to him.

Wilkins arrived at 4:00 p.m. He stated that he was greatly concerned. He made reference to the Director's Loyola speech last Tuesday, 11/24/64, in which the Director had made reference to "sexual degenerates" in pressure groups. Wilkins stated he personally knew about whom the Director was talking, although many other Negroes did not know. Wilkins added that he had received at least three newspaper inquiries during the past two days from individuals inquiring as to whether King was a sexual degenerate or not.

Wilkins told me that he personally did not mind seeing King ruined. He stated the important part of the matter, however, was the fact that if King was ruined the entire civil rights movement would be ruined. Wilkins stated that he personally knew that King was a "liar" and that he had little respect for him. He quoted an example of his wife stating last night at a Thanksgiving dinner with friends, upon being asked if she knew of the terrible things that "Edgar Hoover had said about Reverend King being a liar." Mrs. Wilkins replied, "This doesn't surprise me because King is a liar." Wilkins continued that while King is no good, his ruination will spell the downfall of the entire civil rights movement.

DEC 18 Wilkins told me that despite the truthfulness of the sexual degenerate allegations and communist allegations against King, many of his Negro associates.

- 1 - Mr. Tolson
 - 1 - Mr. Belmont
 - 1 - Mr. Rosen
 - 1 - Mr. Sullivan
 - 1 - Mr. Jones
- CDD:dgs (7)

Enclosure

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COPIES SENT TO MR. TOLSON

CONTINUED-OVER

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

would jump to the defensive and defend King. On the other hand, however, many of the white people who believe in the civil rights movement and who yearly contribute from \$500 to \$50,000 to this movement will immediately cease their financial support. Wilkins added that the loss of financial support will be tremendous, however, the loss of faith in King by millions of Americans would be even worse. He stated the combination of the two would, of course, halt any further progress of the civil rights movement.

Wilkins told me that he and a number of the Negro leaders had attempted several months ago to get King to accept the presidency of a small college. He stated King had refused to do this because he was accustomed to the hypocrisy of adulation and to the money that was pouring in to him. He stated that King for some time now has received from \$500 to a \$1,000 per speech on the lecture circuit. He mentioned that King receives considerable support from wealthy Negro and white people alike. He stated that obviously the best thing that the Negro leaders could do now would be to get King to accept a position as Pastor of a large Negro church and thereby retire forever as a leader of the Negroes.

Wilkins stressed the fact that he was not seeing me as an emissary. He stated he had some influence on King but not much. He added that there were others within his movement who had greater influence and that perhaps together some pressure could be brought on King. Wilkins then added that he hoped that the FBI would not expose King before something could be done.

I interrupted Wilkins at this point. I told him that the Director, of course, did not have in mind the destruction of the civil rights movement as a whole. I told him the Director sympathized with the civil rights movement as exemplified by the Director's supervision of the FBI's many brilliant accomplishments in this field. I added, however, that we deeply and bitterly resented the lies and falsehoods told by King and that if King wanted war we certainly would give it to him. Wilkins shook his head and stated there was no doubt in his mind as to which side would lose if the FBI really came out with all of its ammunition against King. I told him the ammunition was plentiful and that while we were not responsible for the many rumors being initiated against King, we had heard of these rumors and were certainly in a position to substantiate them.

I told Wilkins that inasmuch as he was attempting to hold out the feather of peace he should know a few positive facts of life. He asked what I meant. I told him my point was that he was attempting to prevent the FBI from exposing King, yet certain highly-placed informants of ours had tipped us off to absolutely reliable information that King had organized a bitter crusade against the Director and the FBI. I told Wilkins these long-standing and well placed informants had advised us that King

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

had contacted people in various parts of the United States to get them to send telegrams to the President, the Attorney General, and the FBI asking for Mr. Hoover's retirement or resignation. I told Wilkins that King had also encouraged telegrams to be sent advising the FBI of laxness in the investigation of civil rights matters. I asked Wilkins how in the hell could he expect the FBI to believe his offers of friendship and request for peace when King was at this time attempting to ruin us. Wilkins merely hung his head and stated he had no idea that King was carrying on such a campaign. He stated that this upset him greatly and made him all the more determined to initiate action to remove King as soon as possible.

Wilkins stated that he had long noted King's sympathy toward the communist movement. He told me this obviously stemmed from Stanley Levinson's influence on King. Wilkins diverted from the subject of the conversation to spend some time in explaining that he had also noted communist influence in the civil rights movement in Mississippi. He stated that the cry of "Down with the Proletariat" was getting to be the battlecry of the militant Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama. He mentioned the same thing was true with respect to Negro allegations of laxness on the part of the FBI. He mentioned that the Negroes have been led by King and Bayard Rustin to believe that the FBI could do nothing right; consequently, FBI solution of civil rights cases made little impression upon some Negroes in the civil rights movement.

Wilkins stated he was wrong in his criticism of the Director. He added that he was attempting to accomplish, in a mild manner, a division between the battle of the Director and King and any phases of the battle which would reflect upon the civil rights movement. He stated he has a hard time controlling his 32-man Board of Directors, particularly since King is a member of this board. He then added, "We're hurting," and something must be done.

Wilkins told me that he will be lecturing in California most all of next week. He stated that before he leaves for the coast he will attempt to see King, along with other Negro leaders, and tell King that he can't possibly win in any battle with the FBI and that the best thing for him to do is to retire from public life. He stated he may not have any success in this regard, however, that he is convinced that the FBI can easily ruin King overnight, therefore, for the good of the civil rights cause King should make definite plans to leave public life and merely be Pastor of a Negro church in the future. I told Wilkins this, of course, was up to him; however, I wanted to reiterate once again most strongly, that if King wanted war we were prepared to give

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

it to him and let the chips fall where they may. Wilkins stated this would be most disastrous; particularly to the Negro movement and that he hoped this would never come about. I told him that the monkey was on his back and that of the other Negro leaders. He stated he realized this. We then shook hands and he left to return to New York.

ACTION:

It is suggested that the attached letter be sent to the President in connection with the above conversation.

~~P~~

W. J. ...
GR
A

Sec 3

November 30, 1964

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20501

*Personnel file
11/30
11/30*

100-31715-100-106676

My dear Mr. President:

On the afternoon of November 27, 1964, Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at his request, made a hurried trip from New York to speak with Assistant Director Cartha D. DeLoach about a matter which he indicated concerned him greatly. The following is a resume of the information furnished by Wilkins.

MRS. ROY WILKINS

Wilkins stated he had received at least three newspaper inquiries during the past two days from individuals inquiring as to whether or not Reverend Martin Luther King was a sexual degenerate. Wilkins said that personally he would not mind seeing King ruined, but he felt that while King was no good, the ruination of King would spell the downfall of the entire civil rights movement. Wilkins stated that he personally knew King was a liar and had little respect for him. As an example, while having Thanksgiving dinner with friends, Wilkins' wife, when asked about the terrible things I had said about Reverend King being a liar, replied, "This doesn't surprise me because King is a liar."

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Wilkins indicated that while the sexual degenerate and communist allegations against King are true, many of his Negro associates would rise to his defense. He felt, however, that many white people who believe in the civil rights movement and who yearly contribute from \$500 to \$50,000 to this movement would immediately cease their financial support. This loss, coupled with the loss of faith in King by millions of Americans, would halt any further progress of the civil rights movement.

E

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Evans
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes

REC-117

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DEC 16 1964

(CONTINUED - OVER)

DEC 17 1964

11/30

The President

According to Wilkins, he and a number of Negro leaders had, several months ago, attempted to have King accept the presidency of a small college. King refused because he was accustomed to the "hypocrisy of adulation" and to the money that is pouring in to him. King receives from \$500 to \$1,000 per speech on the lecture circuit and receives considerable support from both white people and Negroes. Wilkins felt the best thing Negro leaders now could accomplish would be to have King accept a position as pastor of a large Negro church and retire forever as a leader of the Negroes. Wilkins indicated that he had some influence on King but not much, however, there are others within his movement who have greater influence and perhaps together they could bring some pressure to bear upon King.

U.S. Wilkins stated he was aware of King's sympathy toward the communist movement and felt this obviously stemmed from Stanley Levinson's influence on King. He stated that "Down with the Proletariat" was becoming the battlecry of militant Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama and the same thing was true with respect to Negro allegations of laxness on the part of the FBI. He felt Negroes have been led by King and Bayard Rustin to believe the FBI could do nothing right and as a result solutions by the FBI of civil rights cases made little impression upon some Negroes in the civil rights movement.

U.S. Wilkins admitted that he had criticized me unjustly. He said he has a difficult time controlling his Board of Directors, consisting of 32 members, since King is a member of this Board. He stated "we're hurting" and that something must be done.

Wilkins stated he will be lecturing in California most of this week and that before he leaves for the coast he will attempt to see King, along with other Negro leaders, and endeavor to persuade King to retire from public life.

Respectfully submitted,

- 2 -

NOTE: Based on DeLoach to Mohr memo, dated 11-27-64 entitled "Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Appointment 11/27/64, FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C."

9:25 AM

July 22, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
 MR. BELMONT
 MR. ROSEN
 MR. SULLIVAN
 MR. DE LOACH

Racial Matters

I called President Lyndon B. Johnson and told him I wanted to give him a report on my conversation with Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City. I stated I had talked to the Mayor this morning as I could not reach him last night and the Mayor told me he had just talked to the President.

I stated I told the Mayor that we are working with his police authorities. I stated the Mayor said he had taken a trip through Harlem last night with Commissioner Murphy and things seemed to have quieted down there but to have shifted to Brooklyn. I stated I thought the Brooklyn situation is more in the nature of looting of stores rather than a racial problem. I stated there is no doubt a great deal of communist influence in the situation in Harlem and that is what the New York police are concentrating on and we are giving them every assistance we can.

I told the President that we got Martin Luther King through the evening safe and sound; that some plane had flown over and dropped Klan leaflets but there was no attempt on his life.

The President stated he saw an article in the New York News entitled "Who Is Whipping Up the Riots; Mayor Home; LEJ Assigns FBI," and he suggested I get a copy and read it. The President stated he thought the FBI going in there helped the situation last night and he thought it would continue to improve when they know that somebody who is competent, objective, and fair is going to be looking over their shoulders as whoever is crooked gets concerned when the FBI goes in. The President stated the story was by Jack Mallon and proceeded to read part of it.

The President stated someone told him yesterday that this is one of a series of six or eight cities and that following Governor Wallace getting out, they had a deal sometime back that the Alabama man would take control high up in the echelon of the other party, a fellow named Greenland (phonetic). The President stated that Wallace did get out and that then there would be some move in with Negroes to agitate in cities from New York to Los Angeles.

RETAIN
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 2 ENCLOSURE

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- Hines

58 JUL 28 1964

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July 22, 1964

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, Belmont, Rosen, Sullivan, DeLoach

The President stated he thought that we have got to get in there and see about the communist groups and the right wingers, too, because both apparently are playing on the weaknesses of these people and he does not believe anybody can get the information but the FBI and he thinks we have to have it to know how to handle it. I stated we will dig into it right away. The President stated he thought we can get in there and he thinks it is important. He continued that Senator Goldwater has been talking about wanting to talk to him and keep this out of politics. He stated he thought he would say to Goldwater, if Goldwater wants to talk to him publicly, that we are not going to do anything to inflame the people but just try to investigate and if any Federal laws are violated, to prosecute them without fear or favor, without any partisanship whatever and if it is a local problem, going to cooperate with the local people because we are not a national police. The President stated as far as he is concerned, he is going to give me full authority and independent authority, and he will support me, and that I am going to work with the Governors and the local people as I have been for years; so my only instruction from him is to proceed without fear or favor, without any partisanship, as he knows I would anyway, to get the facts and put it on top of the table to look at.

I told the President I would dig into it at once.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 11:45 AM
DATE 7-22-64
BY [Signature]

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SHOWN TO
FBI
10:15 AM 7/22/64

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Reds, White Racists

Ignite Harlem

By JACK MALLON, WILLIAM FEDERICI and HENRY LEE

Professional, well-financed agitators by the hundreds, representing both the extreme left and extreme right, are whipping up the violence in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant—and the legitimate responsible civil rights organizations have lost control, THE NEWS established last night.

A five-month investigation by dozens of top detectives, working in close cooperation with the FBI, has disclosed widespread Communist infiltration—so much so that they command 1,000 young fanatics dedicated to violence. Their instructions are: "Deploy! Incite!" One high source described them as "beatniks, crumbums, addicts and thieves," some of whom are paid in narcotics as well as cash.

White Hate Groups in on It

The investigation, launched at the order of Commissioner Murphy, was conducted by the entire Central Office Bureau and Squads, including the Bureau of Special Services (BOSS) and the Criminal Investigation Bureau. Meeting places and the identity of leaders—none of whom had previously come to public attention—were established.

Significantly, through the FBI, the police also established that funds from white racist groups—~~who want~~

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News 3 _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 People's World _____
 Date _____

157-634-917
ENCLOSURE

JUL 22 1964

New York to get a taste of Negro violence have been pouring into Harlem.

In an unholy alliance, one high source disclosed, both the Commies and extreme Southern right wingers have been supporting the Black Muslims because they are the most violent muscle unit. In fact, the Muslims have bragged of receiving money from a Texas millionaire whom they don't hesitate to identify.

According to one civil rights leader, they want to show the responsible Negro leadership who really controls Harlem and he himself was told: "There will be no peace in Harlem until the Black Nationalists are recognized."

Store Is the HQ

In the W. 125th St. area, up to 50 paid Communist agitators are known to be working, the rallying point being a store near 125th and Seventh Ave. Here, each Friday at 4 P.M., the professional agitators have reported to receive their pay envelopes. The store also is known to be frequented by UN attaches from the United Arab Republic and various leftist African nations.

The Rev. Richard A. Hildebrand, president of the NAACP New York branch, blames both the Commies and the black Nationalist groups in Harlem. There are more than 100 such hate units there, another 50 in Bedford-Stuyvesant and three in the Bronx.

CORE Fights Reds

"The Communists have been concentrating on these hate groups and Black Nationalists not because they believe in their philosophy but because they think they are the wildest and most extreme and through them, they can promote the most unrest," he explains.

In the Brooklyn chapter, CORE



Rev. Richard A. Hildebrand
Blames Reds, black nationalists

had a serious infiltration of Reds, but is believed to have weeded them out. A similar problem exists in its East River chapter. "CORE, which was formerly considered too wild and militant is now being condemned for conservatism and called an Uncle Tom," reports Marvin Rich, its public relations director.

"And why? Because we don't believe in killing people. And that's what they want to do up there—kill people."

Taking the Opportunity

According to Rich, CORE has had one or two Reds "from time to time," but "we get rid of them." If they are numerically small, he was asked, how can they be effective.

"How many do you need?" he answered.

The Reds have to have "a moment of crisis" to wield any influence, he said, and they're ex-

ploiting the current disorders to the hilt.

"They work with many small splinter groups," he said. "These groups need help and support, and they may be unaware of their threat. These people (the Reds) could very easily become heroes in a situation like this."

Significantly, observers pointed out, the Sunday night rioting followed an afternoon protest rally conducted by Jesse Gray, leader of the Harlem rent strike, at Mount Morris Presbyterian Church, W. 122d St. and Mount Morris Park. Former Manhattan Borough President Hulan Jack and Assemblyman Lloyd Dickinson were listed as speakers, but did not appear.

"Controlled by Left Wingers"

Nor did Hildebrand because "I heard that the rally was controlled by left wingers." Gray denied before the House Un-American Affairs Committee that he is now a Communist, but took the fifth Amendment when asked if he ever had been a Red. In all, he took the Fifth about 20 times during the questioning.

Attending the rally were Robert G. Thompson, former New York state chairman of the Communist Party, and William L. Patterson, chairman of the New York State District Committee. Both are former Communist national committeemen.

At the rally, James Farmer, national director of CORE; Bayard Rustin, organizer of the March on Washington, and Marshall England, leader of CORE's Harlem chapter, all were booed. But Gray was wildly applauded when he called for "100 skilled black revolutionaries who are ready to die," and shouted that only "guerrilla warfare" can stop "the police brutality situation in Harlem."

Plans for Weekend

It was also Gray who organized the UN rally on Monday night and is currently setting up a block-by-block association from W. 116th St. up to W. 135th St.—where a police precinct house will be the target of a demonstration on Saturday.

Gray has Communist support and had also enjoyed the backing of the Socialist Workers Party (the Trotskyites), but they threw in with Malcolm X about six weeks ago. Also operating in Harlem are the Progressive Party, which endorses the hard-nose ideology of the Chinese Communists, and several leftwing youth groups, including the Freedom Now Party (supported by the Trotskyites), a Marxist-Leninist faction, and an outfit called Advance.

While the Commies "find out who is talking the wildest and then jump in with them," N. Douglas Haywoode, executive secretary of NAACP's New York branch, doubted they "are exercising any real influence over any major decisions in the civil rights movement."

Same Face Appear

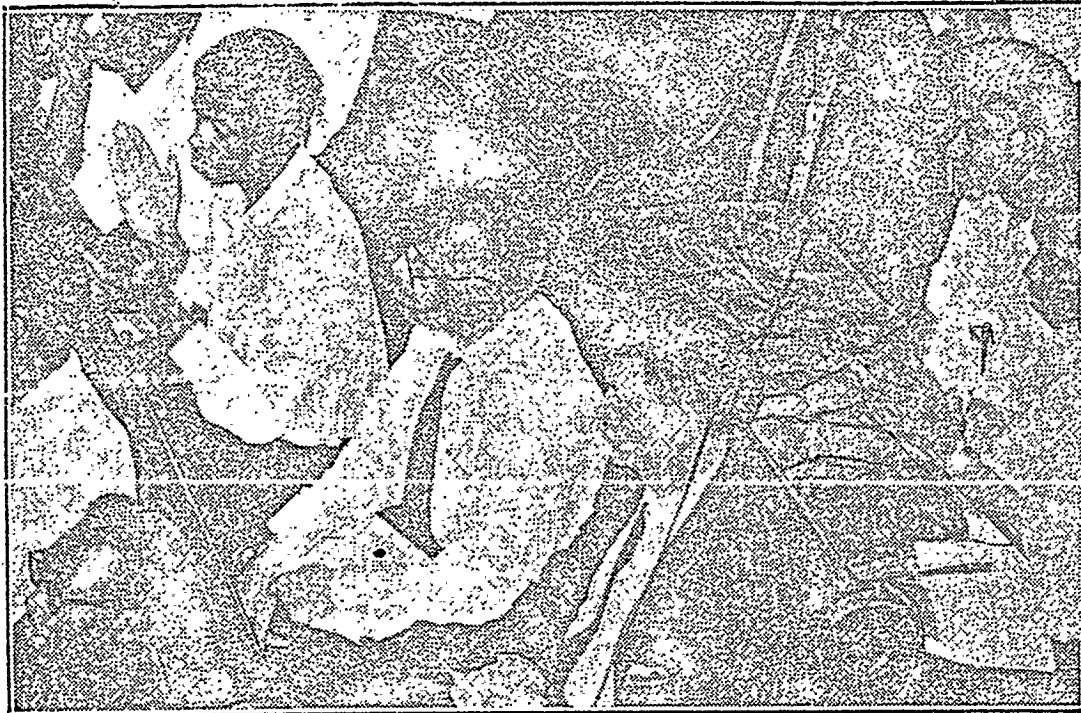
"NAACP has a long-standing policy of weeding them out," he explained. "We can usually spot them. Communism hasn't really taken deep roots among the Negroes."

The apparently planned pattern of the rioting lends credence to the belief that the professional agitators are calling the tune.

More than 80 times since Saturday, there have been hit-run demonstrations—and often the same faces have been seen. Police disclosed that several midnight rioters in Harlem were spotted two hours later early yesterday in the Bedford-Stuyvesant disturbances.

And at every outbreak, these sources said, leaders with walkie-talkies directed the crowds to where the cops were. They then regrouped at an apparently predetermined site a few blocks away.

During the original rioting Saturday night one policeman reported, he and other cops—white and Negro—were insulted by youngsters "who didn't even speak New York English. They had obviously been brought up from the South."



(NEWS foto by Dan Farrell)
Robert G. Thompson (wearing jacket), former state chairman of the Communist Party, sits beside William Patterson, chairman of the party's state district committee and Daily Worker editor, during a meeting at Morris Presbyterian Church.

15-7-6-34-917
ENCLOSURE

1:35 PM

July 21, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. BELMONT
MR. ROSEN
MR. SULLIVAN
MR. DE LOACH

RACIAL MATTERS - NEW YORK

I called Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York at Jackson Hole, Wyoming and I told him I was calling at the suggestion of the President in regard to the situation in New York City. I stated the President had asked me to keep my eye on it from the Federal angle of any violation under the Civil Rights Statute and to get in touch with him, the Mayor, and the Commissioner of Police to give assurance that if we can be of any assistance or help in enforcing the law, we stand ready to do it. Mr. Rockefeller stated he appreciates it. He stated he had been in telephonic communication with his people who are working closely with the Commissioner of Police. He stated they have already established close ties, that is the State Police, with Commissioner Murphy and they can mobilize about 5,000 men in less than two hours but he wants to avoid that as it is the last thing he wants to do. He stated that indications are that this has been inspired by left-wing labor groups. He stated they want to keep as low as they can but work behind the scene with the local authorities. I told Mr. Rockefeller that was exactly the feeling we have and that the President has. I stated at first the President was inclined to have me go to New York and confer there and I thought that would be concentrating too much attention on it. I stated this is being pretty well handled by local authorities and it is a tense situation. I stated the Mayor is due back at Idlewild at 4:50 PM and I intend to talk to him. Mr. Rockefeller stated he would be back Wednesday.

I told Mr. Rockefeller he can reach me here any time and we have gotten along fine with the local authorities and the Commissioner has a tough job. I stated the Commissioner has done a masterful job under difficult circumstances.

Mr. Rockefeller asked if anyone at the Federal level is going to say anything about the kind of encouragement this is getting from radical groups. I told him I did not think so at the present time; that the President is issuing a statement this afternoon dealing with lawlessness and that it must stop and the

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Miss Holmes
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157-6-34-908

25 JUL 23 1964

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RETAIN

July 21, 1964

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, Belmont, Rosen, Sullivan, DeLoach

Federal Government stands ready to back the local authorities and he has been in touch through me with the local authorities to give that assurance. I stated I have been keeping the President advised as I send him a summary each day on the racial situation in Mississippi and Georgia, where there is the same communist problem, and also New York so he is well informed on the identities of these individuals like Martin Luther King and Bayard Rustin. I stated I am making it a point to keep the President informed on the background of these individuals. I stated the President is being flooded with telegrams demanding he send in the Federal troops and he had read several to me and they obviously were written by extremists. I stated that is the last thing he wants to do or intends to do. Mr. Rockefeller stated that James Farmer has been after him to use the National Guard and that is the last thing they really want and Farmer has now withdrawn his request that the state use the National Guard. I stated I thought it played right into their hands to do it. I stated I urged the President not to do it in Mississippi; that I went down to Mississippi myself and saw the Governor and the State Attorney General and my feeling down there as in New York is that the FBI is merely to aid and assist in any way we can; that it is purely a local function except when there is a violation of a Federal statute.

MISS
7/21

REMAIN
7/21

~~I stated we got an order yesterday to investigate the police lieutenant who killed the colored boy the other night under the Civil Rights statute and I got hold of the Attorney General and that I thought it was wrong as they have called a grand jury and for that reason I have called my people off from investigating charges of brutality. I stated if the District Attorney or the grand jury does not function as it should, we can take it into the Federal jurisdiction, but I think it is wrong to make it more difficult for the Commissioner by harassing his officers when he is doing everything he can to control them and the Attorney General concurred.~~

~~Mr. Rockefeller stated that if the President issues a statement that he is in touch with local authorities, he would appreciate it if he includes the State. I stated he did.~~

~~Mr. Rockefeller stated there was one other thing he wanted to tell me in confidence. He stated when he was in the California primary, he was talking to some of the Goldwater people and they said there were going to be~~

July 21, 1964

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, Belmont, Rosen, Sullivan, DeLoach

race riots this fall and it was going to be embarrassing. Mr. Rockefeller stated that he said there were not going to be any in New York and they said that is what he thought, that they were going to see to it that they take place. Mr. Rockefeller stated he thought we have to look at the left wing closely but we also have to look at the right wing, too.

I stated that was very true, that we have extremists to the right, such as the ~~riots~~ and we have to be alert to extremism on the left as well as on the right.

Mr. Rockefeller commented that former SAC Cornelius has done a superb job for him as state Police Commissioner and I told him I was glad he was and that we have been working closely with him. Mr. Rockefeller stated New York is getting one of the best State Police organizations anywhere under Mr. Cornelius' leadership. Mr. Rockefeller stated he was so grateful for all that I have done for the country and for my men who have left the Bureau and now are playing an important part in state affairs such as the Liquor Authority. I told him any time we can be of help, to call on me.

Mr. Rockefeller stated they will keep quiet and work the same as we are to support the city.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

SENT FROM D. O.	
TIME	2:00 PM
DATE	7-22-64
BY	[Signature]

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- W.C. Sullivan _____
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- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 27, 1966

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.
SECURITY MATTER - C

F. J. Baumgardner

Enclosed is an article which we have prepared concerning Martin Luther King. It is based entirely on public source information and we are recommending that it be referred to the Crime Records Division with the idea that it can be given to a friendly newspaper contact such as David Lawrence, who is Editor of the U. S. News and World Report.

Shackelford

The article was prepared because the cry of "black power" is a most timely issue in the country today. This issue has split the civil rights movement and has caused civil rights leaders to take sides for and against "black power." However, Martin Luther King has been attempting to straddle the issue, based on advice given him by his advisors with communist backgrounds. The attached article indicts King for his failure to take a stand on the issue and at the same time exposes the degree of communist influence on him.

It is felt the public should again be reminded of this communist influence on King, and the current controversy among civil rights leaders makes this timely to do so.

~~The attached article has been prepared with no letterhead relating it to the FBI and is on unwatermarked bond paper.~~

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-38 100-106670-2766

That this memorandum and the attached article be referred to the Crime Records Division for appropriate handling.

RETAIN

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure

CDB/pcn

(6) This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

NOV 8 1966

W.F.S.B.

10-27-66

Is the civil rights movement dead? Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), says it is. He reportedly commented to that effect during a panel discussion on October 25, 1966, at a Philadelphia conference of radio-television broadcasters sponsored by the Westinghouse Broadcasting Association. In addition, McKissick is quoted as having added that "what we have now is a black revolution, for black people to take what they can for themselves."

If the movement is dead, as McKissick asserts, he is one of the individuals most responsible for its demise. McKissick has loudly echoed the "black power" cries of Stokely Carmichael, leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and it has been their demands for revolutionary action which stopped the civil rights movement in its tracks.

In so doing, they have brought to a halt ten years of concentrated effort on the part of moderate Negroes and whites who support the movement. When the movement began, it seemed to signify the end of an era of disenchantment and disillusionment for Negroes throughout the land and the beginning of a period in which true justice and equality for all would be established in fact as well as in name.

Thanks to the McKissicks and the Carmichaels, progress toward that goal has stopped and the big question today is whether the movement is "dead as a doornail" as McKissick claims or whether the setback is temporary in nature.

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

CDB: deh
(4)

SEE NOTE PAGE SEVEN

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
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- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
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Responsible civil rights leaders have been appalled at the harm done by the cries of "black power." In addition, they have taken a strong stand in an effort to right the wrong. Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph and Whitney M. Young, Jr., joined forces and issued a public statement in which they clearly and unequivocally denounced "black power" and its inherent danger to both the Negro and the Nation.

Unfortunately, their courageous action was undermined by the one man in the civil rights movement who holds in his hands the power to silence the rabble rousers and give the movement renewed momentum. That man, of course is Martin Luther King, Jr., whose activities have invested him with the mantle of leadership in the movement since it began in Montgomery in 1956.

At first it appeared King had wholeheartedly joined with Wilkins, Randolph and Young in their renunciation of "black power." He reportedly endorsed their statement which appeared in "The New York Times" on October 14, 1966. For the first time in many months, millions had reason to believe and hope that the civil rights movement had rid itself of a cancerous growth and would resume its progress with renewed health and vigor.

Much to the amazement and dismay of many, King killed this hope almost immediately. Within three days after the statement appeared denouncing "black power," "The New York Times" reported that King had "clarified" his position concerning it. Reportedly, he agreed with it in essence but did not wish to be included as a signer.

King's palliating and ambiguous position on the issue is difficult to understand or justify. Those who cry "black power" have continually claimed it has been misunderstood and misdefined. But the record is clear that it stands for open advocacy of violence, insistence on an all-Negro organizational structure in civil rights groups, and reverse racism.

It is equally clear that these things are direct contradictions of the principles underlying the legitimate civil rights movement: a nonviolent approach, combined Negro-white action, and the elimination of racism.

The great American tragedy of our time would be the failure of Martin Luther King, Jr., to meet the current challenge which "black power" represents to the civil rights movement. His failure to do so would mean that for some reason King is willing to let the legitimate civil rights movement die. This, in turn, would seem to indicate that King's goal is different than that of Wilkins, Randolph and Young.

It appears that King's decision to straddle the fence on the issue of "black power" was a carefully calculated one. "The Atlanta Journal" of October 13, 1966, reported that King, as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was having an important meeting with his advisors. Undoubtedly the move Wilkins, Randolph and Young proposed to make through the issuance of public statement was known to King and he was seeking advice on what his stand should be.

It may have been that King's advisors deemed it best for him to avoid condemning anyone. Or, they may have felt that with the battle lines drawn between McKissick and Carmichael on the one hand and Wilkins, Randolph and Young on the other, everyone would suffer and only King would stand to benefit and would be left the unchallenged leader. Or, they may have had still other interests in mind.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the newspaper article identified King's advisors as Bayard Rustin, Clarence Jones, Stanley Levison and Harry Wachtel.

If these individuals constitute Martin Luther King, Jr.'s brain trust, the civil rights movement may well be dead and King's supporters and followers, both Negro and white, may well rue the circumstances of fate that led them to bank so much on one man.

The backgrounds of Rustin, Jones, Levison and Wachtel raise serious questions regarding their degree of influence over Martin Luther King, Jr. The Congressional Record of August 13, 1963, for example, indicated that Rustin is a past member of the Communist Youth League and attended the national convention of the Communist Party as an observer in 1957.

In addition, Rustin reportedly traveled to Russia in 1958 to participate in a communist propaganda spectacular called "Nonviolent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons."

Upon his return, he played a key role as an organizer of a student march on Washington which the east coast communist newspaper, "The Worker," hailed as a communist project.

There is no doubt that King has relied heavily on Rustin for guidance for a long time. In fact, Rustin reportedly was King's part-time aide for a five-year period from 1955 to 1960.

There are reports that Stanley Levison also has acted as a counselor to King for a long period of time. As a matter of fact, he once held a position as a vice president in the SCLC. The Congressional Record of July 21, 1966, indicated Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party as late as 1963.

It also indicated that Clarence Jones is an attorney who, during the 1950s, held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, which has been cited by the Attorney General as a subversive organization under Executive Order 10450.

Harry Wachtel reportedly is a New York attorney, like Stanley Levison, and has become active in King's behalf through his acquaintance with Levison.

The spectre of communist influence on King is not a new development. The nationally syndicated columnist Joseph Alsop referred to it in April, 1964, in a column concerning King's employment in the SCLC of an individual named Jack O'Dell. Alsop stated that King had been warned by Government officials that O'Dell was a "genuine communist article," and warned too that an even more important associate

of his was "known to be a key figure in the covert apparatus of the Communist Party."

Such associations and, more particularly, guidance from such individuals could well explain King's failure to take a strong stand in opposition to McKissick and Carmichael. They have been exhorting their followers not to support the Administration's action in Vietnam, to refuse serving if drafted, and to tear apart our cities with violent acts of civil disobedience. These demands well serve communist aims to bring about a communist victory in Vietnam and to divide the masses along class lines to foment disorder in the streets.

Such guidance would help to explain also why King split with men like Wilkins, Randolph and Young on the issue of whether civil rights leaders should be speaking out on matters of foreign policy or whether their role should be confined to civil rights matters. It will be recalled that King attempted to project his views to criticism of fighting in Vietnam but the responsible civil rights leaders took a stand in opposition to him.

It would appear that King's advisors have a broader goal than the civil rights movement in this country. There is talk that King will travel extensively abroad to areas such as Latin America to speak out in behalf of the poor, Negro and white alike, in underdeveloped countries.

Perhaps being the recognized leader of 22 million Negroes in this country is not enough. If the image of him can be projected as the "savior" of the downtrodden throughout the world, his prestige and influence will grow to a degree which will enable him to dictate demands in a voice that will ring loud and clear through the halls of Congress and in the White House. Much would depend on the backgrounds of his advisors and the nature of the demands they would be whispering in his ear.

Should that come about, the religious groups, foundations and others who have contributed millions to support King and his activities could find that their generous support had spawned a monster seeking to devour them.

The saddest part of it all is that the American Negro may well be left in the lurch with his dreams of true equality and justice in a united country free of prejudice and bigotry shattered.

To repeat, Martin Luther King, Jr., could be the great American tragedy of our times.

NOTE: See memorandum captioned MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., SECURITY MATTER - C dated 10/27/66, CDB/pcn.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO : Mr. Sullivan *[Signature]*

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

DATE: 10/28/66

1 - DeLoach
1 - Wick
1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - Shackelford

PURPOSE: To obtain authorization for the attached article concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.'s contacts with James R. Hoffa to be given to a friendly newspaper contact for publication.

Information

BACKGROUND: As you have been advised, NY 5496-S* stated Clarence Jones, a former member of the Labor Youth League, a communist-front organization, and now a principal advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in contact with Paul O'Dwyer, New York City attorney and brother of former New York City Mayor William O'Dwyer. Jones wanted O'Dwyer to arrange a meeting between King and James Hoffa, President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers Union. Jones advised that King is very sensitive regarding this meeting and does not want any publicity concerning it. If a meeting could be arranged, King, accompanied by Jones, would be willing to meet Hoffa at Hoffa's convenience. O'Dwyer promised to help arrange this meeting. Hoffa's previous record of freewheeling with union funds would indicate a reluctance on his part to pour union funds into the civil rights movement; a move which would accrue no direct benefit to him individually. This appears borne out by his indicated reluctance to meet with King and thereby be confronted with King's version of his (Hoffa's) responsibility to aid the 450,000 Negro members of Hoffa's union by contributing financial and moral support. Disclosure of King's transparent attempt to blackmail Hoffa with the large Negro membership of Hoffa's union, to solve the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's financial problems, would cause an uproar among leaders of organizations having large Negro memberships; pointing out their own vulnerability to such a squeeze by any unscrupulous civil rights leader. This potential collusion between large labor unions and the civil rights movement could also react to the detriment of the Negro in that through large financial donations, an unscrupulous labor leader could subvert the legitimate aims and objectives of the civil rights movement to his own purposes.

Enclosure
100-106670
RLS:deh *[Signature]*
(6)

INSURE REC 5
This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and should not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

100-106670-2779

NOV 28 1966

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Baumgardner to Sullivan Memorandum
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

Public disclosure of King's intentions in this instance appears timely, in that it points out Hoffa's susceptibility to King's plot and the intention of King to virtually engage in extortion to obtain needed funds. Disclosure would be mutually embarrassing to both men and probably cause King's quest for badly needed funds to fail in this instance.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum and the attached article be referred to the Crime Records Division for appropriate handling. The article is on plain unwater-marked bond paper.

Handled
11-7-66
W

Wings

W
W

OK
X

P ✓

- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Shackelford

DOUBLE JEOPARDY

Both Washington and New York are buzzing with rumors that a prominent union leader is the target for a squeeze play by an equally prominent civil rights leader. The union boss has made his reputation on the basis of his ability to apply pressure and it may be a unique experience for him to find himself on the receiving end. The civil rights leader is looking in all directions for support, financial and otherwise, and is conscious of the fact that the union headed by the labor leader has nearly a half-million Negroes in it. He is banking on the fact that the fear of large-scale dissension within union ranks by the Negro members will force the union leader to acquiesce to his demands for financial support. However, the union boss reportedly has several aces up his sleeve and is reportedly about to apply a squeeze play of his own on the civil rights leader. It will be interesting to see who really gets squeezed when these two pythons get together.

CDB:deh
(5)

NOTE: See Baumgardner to Sullivan Memorandum, 10/28/66, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Security Matter - C," prepared by RLS:deh

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

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- _____ Rosen
- _____ Sullivan
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- _____ Trotter
- _____ Tele. Room
- _____ Holmes
- _____ Gandy

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
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- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

4230

TO : Mr. Bishop *SB*

DATE: August 19, 1969

FROM : M. A. Jones *MAJ*

SUBJECT: SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE (D - HAWAII)
INFORMATION CONCERNING DISSEMINATION MADE
BY BUREAU OF INFORMATION REGARDING MARTIN
LUTHER KING

Bowers

Reference Malmfeldt to Bishop memorandum of 8/15/69
wherein Mr. DeLoach suggested that he and Inspector Bowers personally
deliver the enclosed letter dated 8/18/69 to Senator Inouye.

Contact with the Senator's secretary on 8/19/69 revealed
the Senator and both of his top assistants are out of Washington and
not scheduled to return until 9/2/69.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed letter be delivered by Bowers to the
Senator's secretary and that she be advised at that time that Mr. DeLoach
would like to call on the Senator upon his return to Washington to discuss
any additional questions he may have concerning his inquiry about
Martin Luther King.

He will not be given any confidential information.

Encl.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Malmfeldt
- 1 - Mr. Jones

ST-113

REC-73

44-5565-17

*Bowers should deliver
note & nothing further
said.*

DWB:clw

(8) *clw*

10 AUG 22 1969

*H
Handled
8-20-69
GMD*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

58 AUG 28 1969

CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 8-15-69

FROM : G. E. Malmfeldt

SUBJECT: SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE (D - HAWAII)
INFORMATION CONCERNING DISSEMINATION MADE
BY BUREAU OF INFORMATION REGARDING MARTIN
LUTHER KING

Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D - Hawaii with whom we have had limited but cordial correspondence), by letter of 8-13-69, has inquired as to our dissemination of information regarding Martin Luther King. Recommended that attached letter be directed to Senator Inouye advising him that our dissemination was on the basis of the proper interest of those to whom FBI disseminated and that no purpose would be served in identifying those government officials.

By letter 8-6-69, Senator Inouye made reference to an article in the 7-27-69 issue of Parade magazine regarding the immoral conduct of King, and the wiretap on King. Inouye inquired as to whether the FBI had released any information obtained from the wiretap. By letter 8-8-69 Inouye was advised that the FBI did not "leak" information regarding King and that, in keeping with our responsibilities, we disseminated information concerning King on a high-level basis within the Executive Branch of the Government. In his letter of 8-13-69, Inouye asks for the identities of the officials who received confidential information on King and inquires whether our letter of 8-8-69 implied that these officials may have been responsible for any leak of data on King. On this letter the Director noted "I am not implying anything. H."

ST-113 REC-73 94-52653-18

The FBI has made dissemination of information on King to various high levels of the Government including the White House, the Vice President, the Attorney General, and intelligence agencies. We should not disclose identities of the officials to whom we have disseminated information. If we give Senator Inouye any such list, other members of Congress will expect similar treatment in other Bureau matters. In addition, the furnishing of any list to the Senator might also cause him to inquire of the officials on the list whether or not they leaked any data on King, and causing them to be displeased with the FBI for disclosing their identities as recipients of sensitive information on King.

- Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 - 1 - Mr. Bishop
 - 1 - Mr. Sullivan
 - 1 - Mr. Malmfeldt
- This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.*

CONTINUED OVER
CORRESPONDENCE

UNRECORDED BY FILED BY

Memorandum to Mr. Bishop
Re: Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D - Hawaii)

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to Senator Inouye.

JAV

Suggest Inspector
Bowers and I personally
deliver this letter.

OK.
~~W~~ JAV

WCL

TBB

6

August 18, 1969

Handwritten initials

REC-73 100-5265-18

SI-113

Honorable Daniel K. Inouye
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

Your letter of August 13th has been received.

You may be assured that any dissemination of information regarding Martin Luther King made by this Bureau to officials in the Executive Branch of the Government was on the basis of their proper interest in the subject matter involved. In my letter of August 8, 1969, I made absolutely no implication whatsoever that any of these officials "leaked" such information. Under the circumstances, I do not believe that any purpose would be served in identifying the individuals to whom the pertinent information was furnished.

Sincerely yours,

*Delivered
8-20-69
DWB*

✓

LMG:mrm (4)

mrm

NOTE: See G. E. Malmfeldt to Mr. Bishop memo dated 8/15/69 captioned "Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D - Hawaii), Information Concerning Dissemination Made By Bureau of Information Regarding Martin Luther King."

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- Holmes _____

1 mrm
AUG 25 1969

58 AUG 28 1969

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-106657-1

DANIEL K. INOUE
HAWAII

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 13, 1969

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
 Director
 Federal Bureau of Investigation
 United States Department of Justice
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I wish to thank you for your prompt response to my inquiry concerning the "leak" of information in the Federal Bureau files on Dr. Martin Luther King. I can well understand and approve of the regulations which require that such files be maintained as confidential.

I would like to inquire, however, as to what officials "on a high level basis within the Executive Branch of the Government" received such confidential information. I wish also to inquire whether in your letter you are implying that such information as may have been leaked came therefore from one or more of these officials.

Sincerely,

[Handwritten Signature]
 DANIEL K. INOUE
 United States Senator

I am not implying anything.

DKI:bh

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

XEROX

AUG 25 1969

EXP. PROC.

1969-14 AUG

REC-14-52653-19

ST-113

18 AUG 14 1969

CORRESPONDENCE

*Malmefeldt to Bishop memo
 8-15-69 LMG: num*

*ack memo
 8/18/69 LMG: num*

249
 7/0 SEP 1969
 COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
 MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller

TO : MR. E. S. MILLER

DATE: May 25, 1973

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE *GLM/ERS*

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz

1 - Mr. C. E. Glass

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Mr. Peltz	_____
Mr. Baker	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Cleveland	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Gebhardt	_____
Mr. Jenkins	_____
Mr. Marshall	_____
Mr. Miller, E.S.	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Mr. Thompson	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Baise	_____
Mr. Barnes	_____
Mr. Bowers	_____
Mr. Herington	_____
Mr. Conny	_____
Mr. Mintz	_____
Mr. Eardley	_____
Mrs. Hogan	_____

The purpose of this memorandum is to furnish you information developed by a file review regarding allegations of former Special Agent (SA) Arthur Murtagh in "The New York Times" 5/21/73.

My memorandum 5/23/73 indicated Murtagh alleged important figures in the FBI tried to persuade community leaders in Atlanta, Georgia, they should not attend a banquet honoring King, with the warning that the Bureau had information about King that might eventually embarrass those who attended. He alleged that an Agent in Atlanta told him a top official from Washington called on two religious leaders and the late Ralph McGill, editor of the "Atlanta Constitution," to try to persuade them not to attend.

The attached copy of a memorandum from former Assistant to the Director W. C. Sullivan to A. H. Belmont dated 1/21/65 indicates that Sullivan did talk at least twice with McGill and discussed that subject and that McGill was to contact three religious leaders.

REC-82 100-106670-3949

"The New York Times" article also indicated that Eugene Patterson, former editor of the "Atlanta Constitution," produced a recollection that a Special Agent of the FBI attempted in the Spring of 1964 to have Patterson expose King's running-around with women while posing as a moral leader.

10 JUN 1 1973

The attached memorandum W. C. Sullivan to A. H. Belmont dated 1/16/64 captioned "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question; Communist Influence in Racial Matters, IS - C," possibly pertains to this recollection by Patterson. We have located no reference that Patterson was subsequently utilized as the memorandum indicated that he could be.

CEG:ekw
(5)

3. [Signature]

CONTINUED - OVER

Enclosures

100-106670

84 JUN 5 1973

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Ralph McGill died in February, 1969.

Patterson was editor of the "Atlanta Constitution" from 6/60 to 9/68 when he became Managing Editor of the "Washington Post." He is reportedly now President and Publisher of the "St. Petersburg, (Florida), Times." He was a member of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission and was named Vice Chairman of that commission by President Johnson in 1968.

ACTION:

For information.

CEG/lrs

~~_____~~

Em/urew

wdk

H2

JM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
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- DeLoach
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
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- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 21, 1965

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

This morning Mr. Ralph McGill, publisher of the "Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, and a long-time admirer of the Director, dropped by the office to discuss with me Martin Luther King, Jr. With Bureau approval, I had previously given McGill some of the basic facts concerning King's connections with communism and his immoral behavior.

McGill told me that on being advised of the facts concerning King, he has remained completely silent. As a result, he is being questioned by associates in Atlanta, Georgia, as to why he is not speaking out in favor of King and why he is not taking an active part in the banquet to be given King next Wednesday night. McGill said that he would never disclose a confidence and, therefore, his only reply is that he no longer is an admirer of Martin Luther King. Further, he has talked with some other men who have told him of their knowledge of King's immorality and their concern about it. In view of this, he is free to speak a little bit more in detail and says he has done so for it can be attributed to the men with whom he has spoken.

McGill said that these men are Adlai Stevenson, Ralph Bunche, and Harry Ashmore of the "Arkansas Gazette." He told me that Adlai Stevenson advised him without being questioned about King that he is aware of King's immoral activities. Stevenson told McGill that he considers King to be a "very dangerous man" to the civil rights movement and that something should be done about it. Ralph Bunche told McGill that he has never been an admirer of King's although he thinks King has done some good things; that a few months ago he began hearing very disturbing stories about King's immoral behavior. Bunche believes that King should be maneuvered out of the civil rights field or else he will do it serious damage. Mr. Ashmore, likewise, informed McGill that he had heard some time ago about King's incredibly immoral activities. Ashmore is very disturbed over it and wishes something could be done but he has no specific course to recommend.

Mr. McGill told me that following my first discussion with him a few weeks ago he contacted a banker friend in Atlanta who was helping to finance the banquet to be given King next Wednesday night. The banker was disturbed and said he would contact some other bankers also

Enclosure sent 1-22-65

WCS:lm1 (7)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the information disclosed to any other person without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

involved and see if support could be quietly withdrawn. McGill's friend and some of the bankers did take steps to withdraw but this was very quickly relayed to bankers in Haiti who were on the threshold of an important financial deal with the Atlanta, Georgia, bankers. They took the position that if the Atlanta bankers did not support the Martin Luther King party, their financial deal with these Georgia bankers was off. As McGill said to me, the almighty dollar is still extremely important and especially so with bankers, and as a result they got cold feet and decided to go ahead with financing King's party.

McGill told me that Archbishop Hallinan, Catholic leader in Georgia, an Episcopal clergyman and a Jewish rabbi are also quite active in support of this party for King. He said that he is certain that not one of these three is aware of King's immoral behavior. I told him that in view of what Stevenson, Bunche, and Ashmore had told him, he might want to explore very confidentially and discreetly the subject matter with these three men. He said he would do this.

McGill told me that he thinks it is too late now, especially in view of the financial interest of the Georgia bankers in the Haiti deal, to prevent the banquet from taking place. However, McGill said he would do what he could to encourage key people to limit their praise and support of King as much as possible.

McGill also told me that he is taking steps through Ralph Bunche to get key Negro leaders to unite in opposition to King and to gradually force him out of the civil rights movement if at all possible.

Mr. McGill said that he would like to have President Johnson know three things-- (1) that from diverse sources he has learned of the incredibly immoral behavior of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his deceiving of sincere, good people in this Nation who have been supporting King; (2) that he regrets greatly that the banquet is being given in King's honor next week in Atlanta but that it has gone so far that it is probably not possible to head it off; and (3) that he believes that the very best thing that could happen would be to have King step completely out of the civil rights movement and public life for he feels that if this is not done, sooner or later King will be publicly exposed and this will do irreparable harm to the civil rights movement in which he, McGill and others are so interested and have worked so hard for, and likewise, it will do injury to different citizens of the country who have been supporting King not knowing that he is of such low moral character.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Mr. McGill said that if he had had time to see President Johnson before leaving Washington, he would have told him these three things, but that he wanted the Director to know that he is free to quote him on these three points to the President and free to put all three things in any communication that goes to the White House from the Bureau.

It is very refreshing to meet a man of McGill's stature in the field of journalism who is so sincere and honest and desirous of doing the right thing. He is a very admirable man. Repeatedly, Mr. McGill told me that he will continue to stay with this problem and to think about it, hoping that he will devise some plan or course of action that will help to take King out of public life. McGill told me in a visibly disturbed manner that this problem centering around King has caused him to wake up at night from time to time and he is very upset over it. McGill explained that while he has never been close to King or an active supporter thereof, he has been completely identified and very active in furthering civil rights and better conditions for the Negroes. He thinks that King's behavior now known to him when publicly exposed will do irreparable damage to such social causes that he and others have been sponsoring throughout a lifetime.

RECOMMENDATION:

Enclosed will be found a letter to the White House setting forth McGill's discussion for approval and forwarding. Inasmuch as McGill mentioned only the President's getting this information, we do not contemplate any further dissemination.

✓
of
P

Q to

Wes

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
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Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AB*

DATE: 1/16/64

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth
- 1 - Mr. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
 NEGRO QUESTION
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Yesterday afternoon (1/15/64) I talked on the telephone with our Atlanta Office and at that time spoke with SA Alden F. Miller who is working on the Martin Luther King case. Miller advised me that he is a very close personal friend of Eugene *Phelps* Patterson, Editor of the "Atlanta Constitution." Realizing what a scoundrel King is, Miller began to think about possible ways and means of exposing King which would be of benefit to the Bureau. While talking to Patterson on other matters, Miller theorized with Patterson about men of questionable character in public life and did Patterson think they should be exposed. Patterson took a strong stand on the matter and said it would be a public service if some people were exposed. Of course, no reference at all was made to King by Miller. Miller said that knowing Patterson personally and getting his views indirectly on this general subject matter leads Miller to believe that if at any time in the future the Bureau would want to utilize Patterson and his newspaper it could be done very securely.

I thanked Miller for his interest in this matter and told him that this type of thing would be handled out of the Bureau headquarters and that if we thought this particular person could be utilized he would be advised but to take no action until that time.

ACTION:

For the record.

100-3-116

1 - 100-106670 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)

WCS:eeb (8) *eeb* This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

74 FEB 3 1964

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Wilson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
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Conrad	_____
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Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Bishop *BB*

DATE: 3/18/69

FROM : M. A. Jones *MAJ*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING'S BIRTHDAY

J.C. Malone
D. J. [unclear]
4/19/69

BACKGROUND:

Today, March 18th, Congressman John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio) who is a member of the House Committee on Internal Security advised Mr. DeLoach that 30 bills have been introduced into Congress to declare a holiday on Martin Luther King's birthday, January 15th. Ashbrook further advised that a bill concerning this matter will soon be voted out of the Subcommittee on the Judiciary. In this connection he advised that Congressman Charles E. Wiggins (R-California) and Byron G. Rogers (D-Colorado), members of the Subcommittee, will be contacting the Bureau in the near future to request an "off the record" briefing concerning King. They are in a position to keep any such bill from being reported out of committee--if, as stated by Congressman Ashbrook, they realize that King was a scoundrel.

Byron G. Rogers - *Do NOT delete*

~~Rogers was born in Texas in 1900. He was U.S. Attorney for the District of Colorado 1934-36, and thereafter was Attorney General of the State of Colorado. He was elected to the 82nd Congress in 1950 and has been re-elected to subsequent Congresses.~~

Do NOT delete

~~The Bureau investigated Rogers in 1933 and 1934 in connection with his appointment as U.S. Attorney for the District of Colorado and the investigation was favorable. We have had cordial relations with him since he has been in Congress.~~

Charles E. Wiggins *Do NOT delete*

Wiggins is from El Monte, California, and was elected to Congress in 1966. We have had cordial relations with him and he met the Director and had a picture taken on 6/26/68. On 12/9/68 Wiggins presented a plaque to the Director in behalf of Rosemead, California, and he was cordially thanked.

REG-81

APR 25 1969

3586

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Callahan

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee or its subcommittee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

RECOMMENDATION - Page 2

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop memo
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING'S BIRTHDAY

RECOMMENDATION:

That if and when Congressmen Wiggins and Rogers contact the Bureau that they be invited in for a confidential briefing concerning Martin Luther King. They will be referred to public source newspaper articles if they desire to have any material for usage.

As of 4/21/69,
no contact made
by Wiggins or
Rogers
JTB

AJA

TED

This is a delicate matter -
but can be handled very
cautiously -

I agree. It must be handled
very cautiously.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 1-17-68

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Handwritten: 1-23-68
6-
L/f
Bob [unclear]
110

Donald F. O'Donnell, Chief Counsel of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (chaired by Senator John L. McClellan) which currently is conducting the hearings concerning riots and civil disorders, has requested information concerning the demonstration being planned by Martin Luther King, Jr., in Washington this spring. King has publicly stated that he intends to conduct massive civil disobedience in Washington this year unless specific demands for congressional action to solve the problems of poor Negroes are met.

Enclosed is a brief summary of pertinent information concerning King's plans for this event. The information contained therein is of a public source nature.

In addition to furnishing the enclosed write-up to O'Donnell, it is felt we should keep the leadership in the House of Representatives and the Senate advised of pertinent developments concerning these demonstrations insofar as that they might affect the Congress. Hence, it is believed a copy of the enclosed write-up should be furnished to Speaker of the House McCormack and Senate Majority Leader Mansfield for their information.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed write-up be approved and returned to the Crime Records Division so that a copy can be furnished to O'Donnell, Speaker of the House McCormack and Senator Mansfield.

- Enclosure *V*
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
 - 1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosure
 - 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure

DWB:nls (8)
XEROX

Handwritten: REC 13 100-1-
DWB
WES
Delivered to O'Donnell
Dr. Jucig, sec. to Speaker McCormack
and Mr. Sahagian, Ost to
Speaker Mansfield, 1-19-68
FEB 1 1968
CRIME RESEARCH

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: 1-11-65

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
REVEREND YOUNG AND REVEREND ABERNATHY
VISIT TO FBI HEADQUARTERS, JANUARY 11, 1965

In my memorandum of January 8th, it was pointed out that Reverend Young wanted to come to Washington today together with Reverend Abernathy and see Mr. Hoover if possible. It was recommended and approved that the Director's regrets be expressed and Leinbaugh and I saw these men at 2 p.m., today.

Both Reverend Young and Reverend Abernathy seemed to be highly uncomfortable during the interview. Reverend Abernathy started out as the spokesman for Mr. King but bogged down rather shortly and Reverend Young, who is much more articulate, carried most of the discussion.

Initially, Reverend Abernathy said that there were three points they wished to discuss with the FBI and he said the first of these had to do with communist infiltration into the civil rights movement. He said that they all realized that Reverend King, as the leading civil rights spokesman, was subject to persecution. He mentioned the pamphlets which had been distributed showing a picture of King at a Highlander Folk School meeting and he mentioned the constant problem of keeping communists out of the civil rights movement. Reverend Abernathy said that Jack O'Dell had been brought into Reverend King's organization but that O'Dell did have a bad background and communist connections and that he had, therefore, been dismissed from the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Reverend Abernathy said that there had been statements made challenging Mr. King's loyalty but that the truth is Reverend King has always attacked communism in his speeches, in his book, and that their entire movement is "clean" in this respect.

Reverend Young then spoke up and mentioned that both O'Dell and Levinson had been possible problems and he said that in the past their organization had tried to get assistance from the Department regarding the background of these individuals but had been generally unsuccessful. Reverend Young said they had the problem of evaluating such people and wondered what could be done.

18 JAN 22 1965

I pointed out that the answer was very simple, that the FBI can't give out information and that our files are confidential. He wanted to know what the SCLC

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Rosen
HPL:par/bsp-(6)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

(CONTINUED OVER)

DeLoach to Mohr memo, 1-11-65
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

could do to protect itself or to get detailed information regarding individuals with questionable background and he was informed that the House Committee on Un-American Activities did have extensive records which were available to all citizens and that this source could be of possible background assistance.

Reverend Young and Reverend Abernathy said they hoped they could come to the FBI privately and they were told that they should always feel free to come to us at any time and they were reminded that Director Hoover had emphasized this point when he had seen them with Reverend King in November. Reverend Young made some comment about a press release. He was told that the FBI had no intentions of making a release concerning their visit.

Reverend Abernathy spoke very generally, pointing out that people were always "making charges" and "innuendoes" against Mr. King. He said there are claims that Dr. King is getting rich and he is using organizational funds for his personal use. Reverend Abernathy said the fact is Mr. King receives no salary from the SCLC whatsoever. I took occasion here to point out that certainly matters relating to the usage of funds within their organization were of no concern whatsoever to the FBI and that the FBI confined its activities strictly to its statutory limitations and that we did not have time, let alone the authority to probe into other matters.

Reverend Young said it looked like there were some attempts to smear and ruin the civil rights movement; that just lately there has been some new evidence in this regard and that very obviously the activities of Mr. King and the SCLC are under close surveillance. Young said that as a recent example, King went to the home of Young's secretary while she was in the hospital so that he could do some writing in private. Reverend Young said that shortly after King arrived in the secretary's apartment he was tired, was taking pills that made him groggy and went to sleep. Shortly afterwards he was awakened by a fireman who reported there was a major fire at this address. King reported that after the fire trucks left, the phone in the apartment began ringing but that no one would answer. Young said that only he had known that King had gone to this apartment, but that he also had called Reverend Abernathy and told him where King was and that as a result of this he was certain someone had been tapping their phones.

Since Reverend Young had mentioned the possibility of surveillance, he was asked if Reverend King believed he was being followed. Young said he had no such information. He said he did feel though there must be some sort of concerted organized campaign that was being directed against King and the SCLC. Young added that the SCLC takes for granted its phones are tapped and said he realized the Government might have a legitimate interest in their official activities but wondered about the governmental interest in people's private activities.

DeLoach to Mohr me no, 1-11-65
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

I very carefully pointed out that certainly the FBI was not interested in any matter beyond the scope of our jurisdiction. I explained carefully the very limited use made by the FBI of wire taps. I pointed out that wire taps were used in certain major espionage cases, or in a kidnap case where a victim's life is at stake, that there were very few such taps, and that each and every case required the express authority of the Attorney General.

At this time both Reverend Young and Reverend Abernathy interrupted to say that they, of course, knew better than to imply that the FBI would be involved.

Reverend Abernathy stated that there were three points they had wanted to discuss; communist infiltration, allegations that King was getting rich on the civil rights movement and the third point had to do with allegations about the personal life and moral character of King. Abernathy bogged down a bit at this point and said that, "We all are human beings... We all make mistakes." I tried to bring out what he meant and asked why he was making such statements. Abernathy said that he was not going to make allegations against the FBI but that some things were going on they just couldn't understand.

Reverend Young said that King had been receiving some letters charging him with immorality, that these letters attacked his personal life and he pointed out rather lamely that "All humans make mistakes."

I told Reverend Abernathy and Reverend Young that a lot of people did come to the FBI with rumors and stories and that as a matter of fact, we had heard allegations reflecting on Dr. King's morality but that certainly we took no action on such rumors. I emphasized that any prominent person or leader of a movement must be most careful in his private life and that such a leader's reputation should be above reproach. I also noted that these rumors regarding King were prevalent outside the FBI.

Reverend Abernathy said there had been some problems in the past; that when Reverend King goes to make a speech people always want to hold a little party or reception for him and that there is alcohol at these parties. Abernathy said as a Baptist minister King does not participate in drinking affairs but sometimes it is hard to avoid attending receptions where drinking does go on.

Reverend Young said that he was deeply concerned about irresponsible usage of personal information on the part of scandal mongers and wondered if there could be any "leaks" from the Government. He was assured that there were no leaks from the FBI, that the Director ran a tight organization and that any irresponsibility on the part of any Agent would not be tolerated. Young said he did not feel the FBI was responsible and said that just the other day King had received a letter which brought up the "female question," and added they have been getting 8 or 10 bad letters a week.

DeLoach to Mohr me 10, 1-11-65
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

Here again he was asked why he was telling us this and Young replied that they were worried and concerned, that maybe they were overly concerned, but that it seemed the campaign against King had been stepped up since he had received the Nobel Prize. Young spoke about constant threats to ruin King and threats on King's life. He was told that if any threats were made which would come within the FBI's investigative authority, the full facts should be made available promptly so that the matter could be thoroughly run out and investigated.

Reverend Abernathy brought up the fact again that all men make mistakes and blunders but that King had become the symbol of nonviolence and that it would be tragic for both the North and South if King should be ruined and if some demagogue like Malcolm X would move in and take over the civil rights movement. He said it would be tragic if Dr. King were destroyed. He was asked if there was vulnerability on Dr. King's part or if he was being blackmailed. He said that everybody has skeletons in their closets and he said that Dr. King was really a moral person, that he had a deep love for all of mankind--I refrained from commenting here--and that King was very moral and that in the last year Dr. King had been especially careful to avoid any actions which could be misconstrued by racists and others out to destroy King.

Reverend Young tried to get "down to brass tacks" but was unable to do so. He spoke of the changing sex standards in the country, talked in general terms about people being tempted and making bad judgments and spoke about the spiritual nature of their movement and the fact that God uses "frail vessels" in carrying out His precepts, knowing full well the weaknesses of men. I asked him, as a minister of God, if he condoned sex degeneracy. He replied that people have different standards and different ideas as to what the sex norm is.

I made a final attempt to pin down the precise nature of their problem but neither man would come out with any specifics--only statements that "they" were trying to ruin King and the civil rights movement and that this would be tragic for the whole country. Both ministers said they knew and appreciated the fact that the FBI would not be a party to vilification of King and I said this was true, and that while we naturally were aware of rumors concerning immorality on King's part, we had no cause to look into such matters.

Reverend Abernathy said he wanted to be very frank and wanted to raise a question as to whether some Agents might overstep their authority in the South and might engage in actions which were not known to FBI Headquarters. I emphasized this was absolutely impossible, that our Agents carried a very heavy case load, that we knew what our Agents were doing at all times and always knew their whereabouts.

DeLoach to Mohr memo, 1-11-65
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

Both visitors said, of course, they accepted and knew this to be a fact. They mentioned one incident of a Georgia Bureau of Investigation man checking on one of their meetings. They also mentioned the possibility that private investigators may have been hired to probe their activities.

They said they had no other problems and I assured them that they should always feel free to call on us if anything should occur within our investigative authority. Both ministers agreed to do so and added they appreciated the opportunity of stopping by.

Throughout the visit, both Young and Abernathy were ill at ease and it was obvious that neither of them could bring themselves to discuss any specific allegations of immorality on King's part.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

ML

JBM

[Signature]

✓

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	✓
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
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TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: January 8, 1965

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING
INFORMATION CONCERNING

I received a call at 12:05 p.m. today from Reverend Andrew Young, Executive Secretary to Martin Luther King, who called from Atlanta, Georgia.

Reverend Young told me that he and Reverend Abernathy would like to come to Washington on Monday, 1/11/65, and have an appointment with Mr. Hoover. He stated he also would appreciate my being present.

I told Reverend Young that if the Director were in his office he would, of course, see him and Reverend Abernathy; however, if emergency reasons caused the Director to be out of his office, I would see them.

Reverend Young indicated that the early afternoon would be the best for them if convenient to the FBI. I suggested 2:00 p.m. on Monday and he agreed.

It is suggested that I see Reverend Young and Reverend Abernathy at 2:00 p.m. on Monday, 1/11/65. They will be told that the Director is out of the office. Mr. Leinbaugh will sit in with me on the interview.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

- ~~1 - Mr. Tolson~~
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

[Handwritten signature]

OK.

*1
M...
1/11/65*

100-106670-713

CDD:dgs
(6)

4 JAN 18 1965

RECEIVED

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

18 JAN 21 1965

November 29, 1962

Mr. John H. Sengstacke
Publisher
Chicago Defender
24th Street and Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

RACIAL matters: Atlanta

Dear John:

Do NOT delete

I certainly regret that we haven't had a chance to get together in the last several months. Both Mr. Hoover and I remember with a great deal of pleasure your visit to FBI Headquarters. Perhaps on my next visit to Chicago we can get together for lunch, if your schedule permits.

I wanted to call to your personal attention an article entitled "FBI Sides With Dixie, Says King" which appeared in the November 20, 1962, issue of your newspaper and which contains a number of false and unwarranted assertions by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., about the FBI and the work of its Special Agents in the South. As I know you are interested in fairness and accuracy, I thought you may wish to pass along to your readers the true facts with respect to Dr. King's charges.

l

One of the unfounded statements by Dr. King during his New York interview was "because FBI agents have sided with segregationists, they have not investigated beatings and other intimidations of Negroes who are fighting for equality in Albany, Ga., or surrounding areas." Perhaps Dr. King has had a lapse of memory in recalling that last August and September five Negro churches were burned in Georgia and firearms were discharged into several homes. Based upon indications that the purpose of these acts was to discourage Negroes from voting, the FBI instituted extensive investigations which led to the prompt solution of the burning of a church in Terrell County, Georgia, on September 17, 1962, and to the charging of two persons with another church burning--one near Leesburg, Georgia, on August 15, 1962.

Mailed 11/30/62

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

You may also be interested in knowing that two of our Special Agents in Albany, Georgia, were assaulted while conducting an interview on September 9, 1962, in connection with the early morning burning of the Terrell County church on that date. The assailant was arrested for assaulting Federal

JMM:tmf

(8)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

REC-4 157-6-2-2-9-64
JAN 28 1963

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR

Mr. John H. Sengstacke

officers in official performance of their duties and he is presently out on bond awaiting Federal Grand Jury action. These two Agents were both born, reared and educated in the North.

Dr. King also asserts, "One of the great problems we face with the FBI in the South is that the agents are white Southerners who have been influenced by the mores of the community." His solution "was for the federal government to consider assigning agents from other parts of the country to the South and 'who are at least in agreement with the law of the land,'" according to the newspaper article.

While FBI Agents throughout the country carry out their investigative responsibilities irrespective of their state of origin, four out of the five Agents assigned to the Albany, Georgia, Resident Agency come from states other than Georgia--New York, Indiana, Massachusetts and Minnesota.

The other statements by Dr. King reveal a total ignorance, not only of the true character of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, but also of the FBI record in protecting civil rights.

As an example of merely one aspect of our extensive operations in the civil rights field, I cite the matter of voting. In the past several months, the FBI has conducted investigations involving more than 100 counties in which racial discrimination was alleged to exist. The Department of Justice has been furnished the results of these investigations; and based upon them, over 30 suits in counties of five states have been filed by the Department for the purpose of ending racial discrimination in voting.

As a result of FBI investigations and court actions based thereon, thousands of previously disenfranchised Negroes have been enabled to register to vote in accordance with their rights under the Constitution and laws of the United States. For example, in one area where no Negro had voted in 40 years, Negroes entered polling places in September, 1962, and cast ballots.

It should always be borne in mind that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency. Our investigations are conducted with dispatch and thoroughness. Contrary to many beliefs, we do not render prosecutive opinions nor handle the prosecution of cases. This, of course, is proper in a Republic such as ours.

Mr. John H. Sengstacke

You may be sure that the FBI will continue to carry out its investigative responsibilities to the utmost in both a reasonable and realistic manner. However, irresponsible charges do little to promote such goals. I trust my comments will serve to put the issues raised by Dr. King in their proper perspective, and I know you would want to have these facts in view of your record in reporting the news in an impartial and objective style.

Please give me a call upon the occasion of your next trip to Washington. It would be good to see you again.

Sincerely,



C. D. DeLoach

DO NOT Delete

A Negro Publishers

~~NOTE: John H. Sengstacke is on the Special Correspondents' List. Sengstacke met the Director in April, 1960, when the Director appeared in Chicago for a speech. He was very much impressed with Mr. Hoover and Mr. Sengstacke has expressed much admiration for the Director and the FBI. He was congratulated by the Director when he was elected President of the National Newspaper Publishers Association in 1960. SAs Joseph H. O'Rourke and Paul J. Mohr were the Agents assaulted by Virgil Edmund Puckett, and this case is being closely followed by the General Investigative Division. In June, 1962, Sengstacke was appointed to the President's Advisory Committee to end any discrimination against military personnel and their families. In July, 1962, the White House was furnished a copy of pertinent information in Bufiles regarding Sengstacke.~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/28/58

FROM : SAC, JACKSONVILLE (100-0)

SUBJECT: REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALA, F.A.A.

P.A. 11

Jacksonville

In a requested contact on 5/19/58 with OSCAR FOLSOM, Chief of Police, Daytona Beach, Fla., he advised SA FRED E. GORDON that CLETUS ALLEN, City Manager of Daytona Beach, was quite interested in knowing the background of Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, whom he understands from reading an undated publication put out by the Department of Education, Atlanta, Ga., is a Communist or Communist sympathizer, and whom he further understands now is scheduled to make a speech at Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, at 10:00 a.m. 5/26/58 in connection with graduation exercises.

FOLSOM went on to advise that what City Manager ALLEN was really interested in doing was to try and prevent KING's appearance at Bethune-Cookman College, if he could get some verification of KING's Communistic tendencies from the FBI.

FOLSOM was informed that the FBI could not and would not make any such information available, if known.

FOLSOM thereafter exhibited to SA GORDON the above referred publication which shows pictures of KING therein and which is captioned, "HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL, COMMUNIST PARTY TRAINING SCHOOL, MONTEAGLE, TENNESSEE."

Above being furnished merely as a matter of information and record.

2-Bureau (RM)
1-Mobile (RM)
2-Jacksonville
FEG:bjw
(5)

REC-62
EX-138
MAY 29 1958

100-135-61-509

6-3-58

SUB CONTROL
E. J. [Signature]

OCT 8 1958

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: May 19, 1965

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: DR. ARCHIBALD J. CAREY, JR.
REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

[Handwritten initials]

Pursuant to instructions, I saw Dr. Carey, who is known to Mr. Tolson and the Director, at 12:30 p.m. today in my office.

Dr. Carey told me that he knew that time was limited at FBI Headquarters so he would come right to the point. He stated he had come to see us on behalf of Martin Luther King. He added that King was in Chicago last weekend and stayed in Carey's home, and at that time indicated every evidence of great disturbance. King told Carey he had been reliably informed there was a massive effort to discredit him by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This effort is to begin this week.

Carey told me that he wanted to enlist the sympathies of the FBI in not letting any effort to discredit King occur. He said he wanted to beg the usage of our good offices to prevent such an occurrence from happening. He stated he was asking for our assistance based upon good reasoning. He then mentioned those reasons as: (1) Reverend King is a good man. (2) Reverend King stands as a "symbol" to the Negro race today. (3) Reverend King is a "safety valve" at the present time. He explained this by indicating that Reverend King's articulate voice was preventing more of the militant and violent Negroes from committing serious acts in the United States.

I interrupted Dr. Carey at this point and told him he had known us for a long time and that I felt certain that he knew in his own mind that the FBI had plenty to do without being responsible for a discrediting campaign against Reverend King. Dr. Carey agreed that he did know us better and stated that he had doubted King's allegations from the very beginning. I told Carey that Reverend King had criticized us very unfairly, particularly concerning the background and investigative actions of our Southern Agents. I briefed Carey very thoroughly on this point. I further told Dr. Carey that King had later denied that he had made such allegations upon having an appointment in Mr. Hoover's Office. I told Dr. Carey that the Director had given Reverend King some very good advice insofar as his moral responsibilities were concerned.

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Jones

JUN 21 1965

JUN 21 1965

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

CDD:dgs (6)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 5/19/65
RE: Dr. Archibald J. Carey, Jr.
Reverend Martin Luther King

I went into the entire situation with Dr. Carey and told him not only of the many successes we had enjoyed in this particular field, but also of the discouragements and humiliations that extremists on both sides attempted to subject us to. Dr. Carey showed great interest and indicated that he would be one that would attempt to remedy that situation.

Do NOT DELETE

Dr. Carey called me at 3:35 p.m. this afternoon and stated he wanted to use about ten seconds in mentioning two additional things: (1) He stated that he had talked to King telephonically and remonstrated with King about the fact that King should make a greater effort to praise the FBI for its excellent work in the civil rights field. (2) ~~Dr. Carey stated he wanted to be very immodest for a second. He added that he felt he had done a great deal for the current administration and that despite the fact that he was the president of a savings and loan association; minister of a large Negro church; and head of other business interests, he would still appreciate it if the Director would say a good word for him to the President. Dr. Carey stated he knew John Macy of the Civil Service Commission very well and felt that Macy would be on his side if any appointment came up. I told Dr. Carey that the Director, of course, regarded him very highly and would naturally keep his request in mind, although it might be presumptuous for the Director to make such recommendations to the White House. Dr. Carey stated he could understand this. He again pledged his loyalty and friendship.~~

Do not delete

Do NOT DELETE

ACTION:

Dr. Carey is the third individual that King has had come see us relative to requesting that we not expose him. Roy Wilkins, Jim Farmer and Reverend Abernathy have all been here for the same purpose. It is obvious that King is becoming very disturbed and worried about his background, else he would not go to such great efforts to have people approach the FBI. I did not commit the FBI in any manner insofar as exposing King is concerned. To the contrary, I let Carey flatly know of King's derelictions insofar as false allegations against us are concerned and of the fact that King and other civil rights workers owed the FBI a debt of gratitude they would never be able to repay. For record purposes.

Well handled.
J [Signature] P [Signature] ✓

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	✓
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	✓
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

AA

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 5-17-65

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: DR. ARCHIBALD J. CAREY, JR.
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR
SUITE 1501
188 WEST RANDOLPH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

file

On May 17, 1965, Dr. Carey telephonically contacted the Bureau and spoke with SA Thomas B. Coll of the Crime Research Section.

Do NOT DELETE
Dr. Carey is very friendly with the Bureau, and the Director has seen him in the past. He is also well known to Assistant Director DeLoach and Inspector Wick. He is on the "Special Correspondents" List. The Director has furnished him an autographed copy of "Masters of Deceit," and he has toured the Bureau in the past.

Do NOT DELETE
You will recall that Carey was formerly on the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy and was also an alternate delegate for the United States to the 8th General Assembly of the United Nations. He is pastor of the Woodlawn Church in Chicago, Illinois.

Do NOT DELETE
Dr. Carey requested to see the Director for approximately 10 to 15 minutes on either Tuesday afternoon, May 18, 1965, or any time on Wednesday, May 19, 1965. He commented that he could be contacted in Chicago at CE 6-5277 or ST 2-9718.

Do NOT DELETE
Dr. Carey refused to divulge the information he desired to discuss with the Director.

Do NOT DELETE
It is believed that the Director should not take time from his extremely busy schedule to see Dr. Carey on this occasion. It is suggested that we advise Dr. Carey that it will be impossible for the Director to see him, however, if he so desires that you (Mr. DeLoach) will be happy to speak with Dr. Carey.

RECOMMENDATION:

Do NOT DELETE
That we advise Dr. Carey in line with the above observations.

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Miss Gandy

1 - Miss Holmes

1 - Telephone Room

TBC:rs (6)

REC 1 161-1040-29
JUN 2 1965
Carey advised...
5/18/65
5/18/65
CRIME RESEARCH

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 4-1-65

FROM : M. A. Jones

Tolson	
DeLoach	
Mohr	
Bishop	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

NO deletion

Do NOT delete

Phy B...

SUBJECT: ~~JAMES FARMER, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY~~
~~HOSEA WILLIAMS, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE~~
~~JOHN LEWIS, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE~~

Reference is made to my memorandum to you dated 3-26-65, captioned as above, wherein it was recommended and approved that we contact the Office of Congressman George W. Andrews (D-Alabama) to confidentially furnish him public source data included in referenced memorandum about captioned individuals. *Do NOT delete*

Do NOT delete
 SA David W. Bowers on 3-31-65 furnished the information to Douglas Smith, Assistant to Congressman Andrews, in the Congressman's absence. In the conversation with Smith, it became apparent that he was really only interested in information indicating communist connections on the part of civil rights leaders. After some discussion, he stated their interest in this information was precipitated by an urgent request from Governor George Wallace of Alabama.

Do NOT delete
 Mr. Smith indicated the information furnished him would not satisfy the Governor. He then asked what information we might have concerning the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. It was pointed out to him that he had not requested information regarding King. He stated he realized this was true but he would like to secure any information available indicating King's association with the communist movement. Mr. Smith was told that it has been publicly reported that King was associated with Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a person long active in the communist movement. Mr. Smith said that he was aware of this but wanted additional information. He was told that we are unable to make any further comment.

Smith then stated that while he was not at liberty to identify this specific committee he did know that Mr. Hoover had recently testified off the record before a Congressional Committee to the effect that King's speeches are written by a New York attorney who is a communist. He stated this information

1 - Mr. DeLoach

DWB:smg

REC-39 / 3
 This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

M. A. Jones to DeLoach Memo
RE: James Farmer, Congress of Racial Equality

... "leaked" back to Alabama and the Congressman is being pressured to obtain
... in greater detail.

Mr. Smith was told that by Departmental order information in the
files of the FBI is confidential and can be released only by the Attorney General.
He indicated consideration would be given to possibly requesting a report on King
from the Attorney General.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

✓

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten mark]

*We would address to
fact our files are
confidentially & we
cannot disclose the
contents.*

[Handwritten mark]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 3/28/68

FROM : G. C. Moore *hcm*

SUBJECT: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

C. Chase

A sanitation workers strike has been going on in Memphis for some time. Martin Luther King, Jr., today led a march composed of 5,000 to 6,000 people through the streets of Memphis. King was in an automobile preceding the marchers. As the march developed, acts of violence and vandalism broke out including the breaking of windows in stores and some looting.

n

This clearly demonstrates that acts of so-called nonviolence advocated by King cannot be controlled. The same thing could happen in his planned massive civil disobedience for Washington in April.

REC-19

157-9146-1381

ACTION:

~~EX-105~~ EX-105

157-9146-538
APR 2 1968

Attached is a blind memorandum pointing out the above, which if you approve, should be made available by Crime Records Division to cooperative news media sources.

(on a strictly confidential basis)

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

TDR:fhd (6)

fhd ok

Wied.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Deakin

OK

D. Deakin

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

APR 30 1968
32989661 Page 108

A. B. Sullivan
RACIAL SECT.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 11

Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, injected himself into the sanitation workers' strike in Memphis, Tennessee, and the result of King's famous espousal of nonviolence was vandalism, looting, and riot.

Previously, King involved himself in this strike, called for a general strike, and called for a mass march. Today he led the mass march in an automobile at the head of the line. Negroes began shouting "black power" and trouble began. King, apparently unable or unwilling to control the marchers, absented himself from the scene; window breaking and looting broke out.

Police officers were forced to use gas to break up the march and to control the crowd. It was necessary to activate the National Guard. Martin Luther King claims his much-heralded march on Washington, scheduled for April 22, 1968, will also be "nonviolent." He says he has persuaded militant black nationalists to abandon violent extremism in Washington, D. C., during the march. Memphis may only be the prelude to civil strife in our Nation's Capitol.

157-9146-38

ENCLOSURE

1
XEROX
APR 4 1968
all

1381

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
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- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 7-2-65

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN JAMES MARTIN
(R. - ALABAMA)

At the request of Congressman Martin to see an Agent, SA David W. Bowers called on Congressman Martin on July 1, 1965. The Congressman related he will be obtaining within the next day or two copies of a special Alabama Legislative Committee Report concerning various civil rights organizations which have been active in the state. This report, according to an article in the June 30, 1965, issue of "The Washington Post" (copy enclosed) contains allegations that various civil rights organizations are communist infiltrated or dominated.

Congressman Martin declared he is aware of various reports to the effect that Martin Luther King has a communist background and is a sex degenerate. He said he has talked with the President about this, urging the President to let the American people know the truth. He said the President was somewhat condescending in his attitude perhaps because the Congressman is both an Alabamian and a Republican. The Congressman stated he knows full well that as an Alabamian and a Republican he is not the proper person to expose Martin Luther King but as an American he sincerely feels the people of the Nation should know the truth about this man.

Congressman Martin wanted to know if he sent a copy of the Alabama Legislative Committee Report to the FBI would we confirm or deny the allegations contained in the Report. He was told that this would not be possible since information in FBI files is confidential. He then asked where he might obtain some authoritative guidance as to the validity of the Report. He was told that he might wish to consider forwarding the report to the Attorney General with the request that the Department of Justice advise him of its validity. He stated he would do this although he seriously doubted that his request would be honored.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

AUG 18 1965 XEROX

REC 12
DWB/14

Continued... 2 JUL 13 1965

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UNRECORDED COPY WITHIN

M. A. Jones to DeLoach Memo
RE: CONGRESSMAN JAMES MARTIN

Congressman Martin declared he is genuinely concerned about the type of people who are involved in and heading the so-called civil rights movement. He said, however, he does not intend to make rash statements or charges which he cannot support with fact. He then commented that he has in his files information regarding immorality on the part of civil rights demonstrators. He stated on the day he called on the President at the White House there was a demonstration in progress wherein "beatniks" had been sleeping and sitting on the sidewalks in front of the White House for some time. As he left the White House he asked one of the guards present if there had been any immoral activities on the part of the demonstrators since he noted males and females were using the same blankets. He said the guard told him there certainly had been.

Congressman Martin said he wrote the chief of police asking about this and a month later received copies of numerous affidavits executed by all the police officers on duty around the White House during the demonstration. He said the gist of these affidavits was that numerous officers observed movement under the blankets but took no action since they were under instructions not to bother the demonstrators unless they started trouble.

Congressman Martin said he considers what obviously took place at the White House an utter disgrace.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

V.

D

J. M. Jones

MLC

Report in Alabama Rips Rights Groups As Red-Dominated

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 29 (AP)—A special legislative committee charged today that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a leading civil rights organization, is "extensively Communist dominated."

The Commission to Preserve the Peace also said in a written report to the Alabama Legislature that:

- The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is "an important arm of the pro-Communist conspiracy and a dedicated agent working toward the Sovietizing of America."

- The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is "actively engaged in promoting the Communist line" and is "substantially under control of Communists."

Dr. King, the Committee report said, "is probably not a member of the Communist Party, USA, nor any identified Communist splinter party." But, it charged, "the 10-year history of his rise to prominence through advocating social revolution is part and parcel of the Communist operation in America during the same period."

The report said Dr. King "has amassed an amazing number of Communist fronts" and "has been closely, even intimately, associated with persons who have been officially labeled under oath before congressional committees as Communists."

(In Atlanta, Dr. King said the Committee's charges were "another attempt to evade the fact that democracy does not exist in Alabama.")

(Julian Bond of Atlanta, public information director for SNCC and newly elected Georgia state representative, said: "It is a typical response from a typical Southern legislature that knows if the Negroes in Alabama could register to vote freely then they wouldn't be sitting in their seats today.")

(James Farmer, national director of CORE, said in Durham, N.C., where CORE is holding its national convention:

"The charges made today

... would be too ludicrous to answer if they were not so serious. The charge that CORE or its leadership is now pro-Communist or is heading in that direction is false, completely and entirely false.")

The five-man Committee was created by the Legislature in the wake of racial troubles in Birmingham two years ago to investigate individuals and groups "who may be engaged in activities of an unlawful nature against the sovereignty of the state . . . and which may be detrimental to the peace and dignity of the state . . ."

The chairman of the investigating Committee is State Rep. John Hawkins of Jefferson County. The other members are Reps. Hugh Locke of Jefferson and Alton Turner of Crenshaw County and Sens. Jimmy Clark of Barbour and E. O. Eddins of Marengo.

With only two full time employees, a staff director and secretary, the Committee said it reached its findings from information gathered by the staff, by part time investigators, on hearings at which witnesses voluntarily appeared, and from contacts with law enforcement officers.

The 39-page report described SNCC as "an extremely dangerous, irresponsible group which tends to promote acts of violence to gain support for their own goals."

It said SNCC leadership "substantially follows the Communist Party line," and labeled the organization "an agent for the Communist conspiracy."

The Committee said SNCC constitutes "one of the most serious attempts by the Communists in America, with support of Red China, Cuba and Communist nations in Africa, to effect a violent overthrow of existing governments, state and Federal, in the United States."

The report added that "we are further faced with the growing attempt of Black Muslim groups to join hands with SNCC and other groups on the far left."

In its report on CORE, the Committee referred to "large number of Communist agents working under CORE banners."

The report said CORE "is moving even more into active Communist identification. The dozen top leaders . . . including the director, James Farmer, and its field secretary, James Peck, have impressive pro-Communist records."

"The Washington Post"
6-30-65

44-6033-4

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
DATE: December 18, 1967

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
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Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
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Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

[Handwritten signature]

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a communication revealing the plans of Stanley Levison to get a group of wealthy people to help finance Martin Luther King, Jr.'s planned massive civil disobedience in Washington, D. C., in early Spring, 1968.

BACKGROUND:

In early December, 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, publicly announced he would stage massive civil disobedience in 10-15 major cities including the Nation's Capital in an effort to spur Congress into action for legislation to help the plight of the Negro.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

Recently, King was in conference with his principal advisor and long-time secret Communist Party member, Stanley Levison, concerning this program. It was Levison's idea to get a group of wealthy people together and obtain pledges from them in an effort to finance King's civil disobedience program.

Enclosure sent 12-20-67

100-106670

REC 55

ENCLOSURE

1 - ~~100-438794~~ (SCLC)

18 DEC 27 1967

DMW:ekw (7)

CONTINUED OVER

[Stamp: EX-100]
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UNREG COPY FILED IN 101-438794

[Handwritten initials]

[Handwritten signature]

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

They also discussed the ^{name of country} taping of a lecture series King is doing for the Canadian Broadcasting System. The Legal Attache in Ottawa is checking into this matter for details. The Legal Attache, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, has been instructed to secure through the Royal Canadian Mounted Police details concerning this matter.

Foreign
Intelligence
Agency
(FFIA)

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached be forwarded by routing slip to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House; Mr. William Welsh, Administrative Assistant to the Vice President; Secretary of Defense McNamara; Secret Service; the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; the Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Doar, Vinson, and Yeagley; Army; Navy; and Air Force.

FFIA

JSB
[Signature] *[Signature]* *[Signature]*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

December 20, 1967

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past.

Recently Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in contact with his principal advisor, Stanley Levison, concerning King's new program of planned massive civil disobedience to be held in Washington, D. C., in the early Spring of 1968.

Levison informed King that he would like to get a group of wealthy people together and obtain pledges from them in an effort to finance this program. It was Levison's idea to hold a two-day retreat for 10 to 15 individuals who have given King's group over \$1,000 each in the past. The retreat would not be limited to these individuals but they would be encouraged to invite others they know who would be sympathetic to this program.

King and Levison also discussed the ^{name of country to protect} ~~taping~~ ^{of a Foreign} ~~of a~~ ^{source} ~~lecture series~~ ^{Agency} King is doing for the Canadian Broadcasting System. This source was unable to furnish any additional information concerning this matter.

Another source advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the Communist Party for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by the Communist Party leaders as being to the

100-106670 - 3180

SECRET

Group 1

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

1 - 100-438794 (SCLC)

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

DMW:ekw (21)

55 JAN 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
Unauthorized Disclosure
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
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- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

100-438794-11
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Handwritten signatures and initials: J. Edgar Hoover, P.H.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

"left" of the Communist Party in his position on civil rights. His differences with the Communist Party, however, are merely tactical, and he continues his ideological adherence to communism. Stanley Levison is the owner and operator of the Park Management Realty Company, 1841 Broadway, New York, New York.

XEROX COPIES TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL AT THE WHITE HOUSE; MR. WILLIAM WELSH, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE VICE PRESIDENT; SECRETARY OF DEFENSE MCNAMARA; SECRET SERVICE; THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE; THE ATTORNEY GENERAL; DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL; ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL DOAR, VINSON, AND YEAGLEY; ARMY; NAVY; AND AIR FORCE.

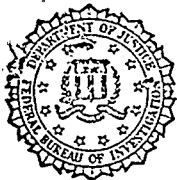
FRIENDLY Foreign Intelligence Agency

NOTE:

Classified "Secret" inasmuch as sources for the above information are highly sensitive sources relating to the racial situation.

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan 12/18/67, same caption, prepared by DMW:ekw.

SECRET



SECRET

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
December 15, 1967

Bureau 100-438794

Re: Communist Infiltration of the Southern
Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned on December 13, 1967, that Martin Luther King, Jr., and Stanley Levison discussed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which King is president. King said that for the first time he has noted that some effective administration is developing.

Levison told King he wanted to raise the question with him of getting together a group of wealthy people, specifically in connection with the civil disobedience program, in order to get a special pledge of financing from them. He suggested they might even hold a two day retreat to orient them and discuss the subject with them. Levison noted that they have a list of possibly ten to fifteen persons who have given the SCLC more than one thousand dollar donations. He said that they might add a few others to this group, but that they have to select a place for the meeting. Levison felt that they could tell those who attend that they need a certain amount of money and what part each will pledge. He said each of these persons might be able to go to someone else because there will be a problem of interpretation for middle-class whites and middle-class Negroes.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-106670 -
SECRET

Group I

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
Unauthorized Disclosure
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

SECRET

Re: Communist Infiltration of the SCLC
Internal Security - C

~~PROTECT~~ FOREIGN FRIENDLY INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
The source further advised that Levison also discussed with King the taping of a lecture series King is doing for the Canadian Broadcasting System. It was Levison's advice that King record the fourth lecture the way it is.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), in July, 1963. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the Communist Party (CP) for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. His differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

- 2 -

SECRET

December 21, 1967

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- (Field Guidance Folder)
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

Airtel

To: Legat, ^{Protect Country} Ottawa

From: Director, FBI (100-106670)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Enclosed for dissemination to ^{Foreign Intelligence Source} the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is a communication concerning the current activities of Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Attached for your information is copy of New York airtel and letterhead memorandum to the Bureau dated 12/15/67, which is self-explanatory.

You will note the attached contains information indicating King is taping a lecture series for the ^{NAME of COMPANY} Canadian Broadcasting System. Through liaison you should determine who made arrangements for this series; text of the lecture #4; number of lectures in the series; payment involved; and any additional pertinent information.

Since King is planning these massive civil disobedience demonstrations which may result in riots, it is important that we learn the source of funds which he may use to finance this new program.

Enclosures - 3
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

DMW:ekw
(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO DEC. 22 1967

MAILED 5
DEC 21 1967
COMM-FBI

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

3 DEC 21 1967 This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Airtel to Legat, Ottawa.
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

NOTE:

name of country

Information has been received that King is taping a lecture series for the Canadian Broadcasting System. Above outgoing instructs Legat, Ottawa, to obtain through liaison details concerning this new activity on the part of King.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : Mr. J. A. Sizoo

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

DATE: May 24, 1965

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 DeLoach _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
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 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

[Handwritten signature]

Atlanta letterhead memorandum (LHM) 5-21-65 advised that Alfred Kuettner of the United Press International (UPI), has been in touch with King's office relative to a possible article to be written by Kuettner. SAC Ponder of our Atlanta Office telephoned me about noon today (5-24-65), made reference to the LHM, and stated that Alfred G. Kuettner has conferred with King and plans to write either a series of three articles about King or one article in three parts.

- (1) Martin Luther King, Jr. - Who Is He?
This will be on King's background.
- (2) Where Does King Go From Here?
Kuettner speculates as to King's interest in speaking and writing in that in recent speeches King indicates he is moving into international affairs and fancies himself as some sort of an authority.
- (3) King's Associates.

[Handwritten notes: 5-24-65]

[Handwritten signature]

Kuettner has requested assistance concerning King's associates and desires public source material to use as well as any other information we can give him on a confidential basis which would serve to orient him. The latter information will not be used by him in his article.

Ponder recommends that the Bureau assist Kuettner. He stated that Kuettner has been an SAC Contact of the Atlanta Office since March, 1960, and that Ponder is absolutely certain that Kuettner will not violate our confidence; that Kuettner is completely reliable; and will write an objective article or articles concerning King. Ponder pointed out that Kuettner is UPI's authority in the South on the Negro movement and his articles carry a great deal of influence and Ponder does not believe that he would prepare anything flattering or favorable to King. Ponder further noted that several weeks ago Kuettner prepared an article on the Selma to Montgomery march which exposed sexual irregularities on the part of certain of the marchers. Bufiles contain no adverse information on Kuettner.

Enclosures
100-106670
SFP:chs (9)

2 MAY 27 1965

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CONTINUED OVER

86 JUN 4

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

OBSERVATIONS:

Attached are two documents which it is believed should be made available to Kuettner. Document number 1 contains only public source information which Kuettner could use without, of course, any attribution to the FBI. Document number 2 is a short summation concerning King's communist connections with particular emphasis on his communist advisors. This document would not be used insofar as Kuettner's article would be concerned but would be merely for orientation purposes. There would be no loss of security to our sources by making this information available to Kuettner.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached two documents be furnished to Ponder for the use of Kuettner with the limitations as set forth above. If approved, this memorandum should be referred back to the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate advice to Ponder. The documents are attached to instant memorandum.

SAC Ponder
was advised
5/25/65 - 6/10/65
Jan

Wes
OK.
Ray

*Note: The 2 documents were
mailed to Personal Affairs of
Ponder. B*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Wick	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DL*

DATE: July 20, 1966

FROM : R. E. Wick *w/a*

SUBJECT: GOVERNOR OTTO KERNER, JR. (D. - ILLINOIS)
REQUEST FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

B. P. H. C.
Wick

At 9:30 a. m. on 7/20/66, by referral from the Director's Office, Bishop in my office received a telephone call from Governor Kerner, who stated he was in Washington and was leaving this afternoon to return to Springfield, Illinois. Governor Kerner advised that he has been informed that recently several Chicago daily newspapers carried stories to the effect that the Bureau was in possession of information concerning meetings which Dr. Martin Luther King was holding with young "hoodlum" gangs in Chicago.

Governor Kerner was not aware of the identity of the newspapers or the dates on which these stories were carried in them. He stated that he would be extremely interested in receiving from the Bureau any information which we might have along this line, in connection with the race riots in Chicago, but advised that he is aware that this is extremely nebulous information. He stated that, on his return to Springfield, he would have the particular news articles located and make them available to SAC Gebhardt, Springfield Office, so that the Bureau would be aware of what data the papers are alleging the Bureau has in its possession concerning these meetings of Dr. King.

~~It has been determined from the Domestic Intelligence Division that Jim Bevel, the representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (Martin Luther King's group) in Chicago recently held a meeting with a Negro youth street gang known as the "Blackstone Rangers," at which time he ran off for them a film of the Watts riot. His alleged purpose in doing this was to convince them of how horrible the Watts situation had been and to convince them that nonviolence was the best technique to utilize in fighting racial discrimination. It is very possible that Bevel advised the Chicago papers that he had taken this action and that he was advising the FBI that such action had been taken.~~

RETAIN

REPRODUCED FROM ORIGINAL

1 - Mr. DeLoach
 1 - Mr. Sullivan
 1 - Mr. Rosen
 1 - Miss Holmes
 TEB:par/mls (5)

EX-104 REC-68

151-2-1 29-15

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the

CONTINUED - OVER

Wick to DeLoach memo 7/20/66
Re: GOVERNOR OTTO KERNER, JR.

DATA IN BUREAU FILES:

~~Our files reflect that our relations with Governor Kerner have been generally cordial. He was formerly U. S. Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois and exhibited a cooperative attitude toward the Bureau. As Governor he has also exhibited a friendly attitude toward the Bureau.~~

ACTION TAKEN:

~~At 10:10 a. m., 7/20/66, Bishop telephonically advised SAC Gebhardt of the contact by Governor Kerner with the Bureau and was notified that Governor Kerner would probably be in touch with him on July 21st to exhibit the newspaper clippings in question. Gebhardt was instructed to contact the Chicago Office after he was contacted by Governor Kerner to determine what data that office had in its possession concerning the meeting of Jim Bevel with the "Blackstone Rangers" and thereafter to telephonically contact the Bureau for approval as to what information concerning this he may be able to furnish Governor Kerner.~~

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

WTS
WVJ
A
Kern
to

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: SPEAKER JOHN MC CORMACK
BRIEFING RE MARTIN LUTHER KING
SATURDAY, 8-14-65
AT 2 P. M.

DATE: 8-14-65

Tolson

Belmont

Mohr

DeLoach

Casper

Callahan

Conrad

Felt

Gale

Rosen

Sullivan

Tavel

Trotter

Tele. Room

Holmes

Gandy

Handwritten initials and notes:
 8 DE LOACH
 5-Ph [unclear]
 [unclear]

At his request, and with the Director's approval, I briefed Speaker John McCormack regarding the background and activities of Martin Luther King today in the Speaker's rooms.

The briefing lasted approximately 45 minutes. It covered King's specific acts of immorality as well as his connections with members of the Communist Party. The identity of the members of the Communist Party who have had control over and association with King were brought out. The latest incident in which King has advised the press that he will write a letter to General Ho Chih Minh of the North Vietnamese, in an attempt to establish himself as a "peacemaker" was related to Speaker McCormack. The communists' efforts back of this incident, and those individuals perpetrating the incident were mentioned.

Speaker McCormack was quite calm about the entire briefing. He stated he had heard much in the way of rumor previously; however, he wanted to know if the information he had received was accurate. He stated he now recognized the gravity of the situation and that something obviously must be done about it. He inquired as to whether the President knew these facts. I replied in the affirmative.

The Speaker stated that he thought that "Edgar Hoover did not call King a notorious liar for nothing." He stated he now recognized why the Director branded King as he did. He added that he was in complete sympathy with the Director taking this action.

The Speaker spoke lengthily concerning the desperate need to educate Negroes today with the fact that they cannot defy the law and get away with it.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

SENT DIRECTOR

REC-42

EX-100

106070-1780

6 SEP 1 1965

CDD:mm

Continued...

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UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

C. D. DeLoach to Mohr Memo
RE: SPEAKER JOHN MC CORMACK

Speaker McCormack asked that his and Mrs. McCormack's best regards be given to the Director. He also asked that the Director be advised of his appreciation for affording him the above-mentioned briefing.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

~~P~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Wick	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - DeLoach
1 - Wick

DATE: 11/3/66

1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - D. Wells

B. Gardner

PURPOSE: To obtain approval to alert friendly members of the news media field of the meeting between Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and James Hoffa, President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers Union.

BACKGROUND: You were previously advised that according to NY 5496-S* on 10/17/66 Clarence Jones, a former member of the Labor Youth League, a communist-front organization, and now a principal adviser to King, was attempting to arrange a meeting between King and Hoffa. Jones informed Hoffa's attorney that King thought Hoffa's union might want to support the civil rights movement to a greater degree because of its 450,000 Negro members. Jones advised that King is very sensitive regarding this meeting and does not want any publicity concerning it.

On October 30, 1966, this same source advised that Hoffa had agreed to meet with King in Hoffa's office in Washington, D. C., on either the second, third, or fourth of November, 1966. This was to be a luncheon meeting. Jones was to advise Hoffa's aide what date was agreeable with King by 10/30/66.

On 10/31/66, NY 5496-S* advised that Jones was in contact with the Teamsters Union. Since King was unable to meet on any of the above dates, tentative plans were made to hold the meeting on the ninth or tenth of November, 1966. If these days are not satisfactory, an alternate meeting date was scheduled for one day during the week of November 14, 1966.

The New York Office has been alerted to notify the Bureau immediately when a date and time have been set for this meeting.

100-106670

DMW:deh

NOV 30 1966

REC-3

100-106670-2782

EX-115

11 NOV 22 1966

CONTINUED - OVER

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Baumgardner to Sullivan Memorandum
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

OBSERVATIONS: From the above, it is apparent that King is in dire need of funds. Secondly, he dislikes going to Hoffa because of Hoffa's unsavory reputation. King undoubtedly feels that this association might reflect unfavorably upon his public image. On the other hand, it would appear Hoffa might be concerned with the white backlash within his own union ranks should it become known that union funds may be expended to promote Negro objectives. It is therefore felt that both men have just reason for keeping this meeting secret. Any publicity concerning it would probably be extremely embarrassing to both parties.

It would appear that the meeting may be virtually spontaneous and time in this instance could be very critical.

RECOMMENDATION: A Bureau official be designated now to alert friendly news media of the meeting once the meeting date is learned so that arrangements can be made for appropriate press coverage of the planned meeting to expose and disrupt it.

ADDENDUM: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, 11/3/66, FJB:deh

Special Agent in Charge Donald E. Roney of the New York Office called at 3 p.m., this date. He said that through a reliable source they had learned that Clarence Jones had contacted King today. He told King that arrangements have been made for King to meet with Hoffa in Hoffa's office in Washington, D.C., for a luncheon meeting on November 9, 1966. King agreed and they then discussed the possibility of having Stanley Levison, a long-time communist and now a principal adviser to King, attend the meeting. They thought this was a good idea and would try to work it out.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

July 22, 1964

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Frosch	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

[Handwritten signature]

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I wonder if you would be good enough to give me your department's report of the veracity of the enclosed brochure.

I have seen this material rather widely distributed and I would like to know if the Highlander Folk School was a Communist Training School and whether or not the person identified in the photograph is, indeed, Martin Luther King, Jr.

Since this material is being widely distributed in my district, you can appreciate my concern.

Sincerely yours,

[Handwritten signature]

Roman C. Pucinski
Member of Congress

RCP:pk

Enclosure

XP-PROC
JUL 24 1964
86

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

100-1-16-1670
NOT RECORDED
167 OCT 1 1964

9-30
JUL 24 1964

CORRECTION

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- To: Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 7-27-64

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.;
 THE HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL;
 REQUEST FROM CONGRESSMAN ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
 (DEMOCRAT - ILLINOIS)

BACKGROUND:

Congressman Pucinski forwarded a copy of a flyer made from a news clipping from the "Augusta Courier," Augusta, Georgia, on 7-8-63. The flyer identifies Martin Luther King in a photograph taken of certain individuals attending the Highlander Folk School during the Labor Day weekend of 1957. The Congressman would like to know if the Highlander Folk School was a communist training school and whether or not the person identified in the photograph is Martin Luther King, Jr.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

The photograph of Martin Luther King attending the Highlander Folk School has come to our attention several times in the past. A United Press - International Service release of 7-12-63 reported Governor Ross Barnett displayed a poster-size photograph to the Senate Commerce Committee which he claimed showed King "at a communist training school." Governor Barnett said the picture was taken at the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tennessee. The Bureau obtained another copy of the photograph from our Savannah Office in March, 1963, and it was revealed that the photograph was taken surreptitiously by an "undercover agent" of the Georgia Commission on Education at the Highlander Folk School in 1957.

The photograph also identified Abner W. Berry who has been a writer for "The Daily Worker" and has been a member of the Communist Party, although he reportedly left it in September, 1958. Aubrey Williams, also identified in the photograph has been associated with communist causes and has held such positions as chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and was president and member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., a communist front. Myles Horton, identified on the flyer forwarded by Congressman Pucinski as director of the Highlander Folk School, has been very close to the Communist Party in the past, although informants doubt that he has ever been a member of the Communist Party.

1 - Mr. DeLoach

106670
 NOT RECORDED
 167 OCT 1 1964
 SEP 30 1964

JEM:cmk
(5)

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M. A. Jones to DeLoach memo
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The Highlander Folk School was formed in 1932 and was a leftist organization supported by private donations. It offered courses of instruction in labor organization, economics and labor education. Informants have advised that the school has had Communist Party members on its staff as instructors and has followed the practice of welcoming communists as students. Informants have advised the school was pro-communist, but there is no indication it was ever completely controlled by communists. The school was closed by the State of Tennessee in December, 1961, after its conviction for violating Tennessee segregation laws. A state charter for a Highlander Research and Education Center of Knoxville, Tennessee, was issued on 8-23-61 and Myles Horton was identified as its Director.

RECOMMENDATION:

That a representative of your, Mr. DeLoach, office personally contact Congressman Pucinski, with whom we have had prior cordial relations, and inform him confidentially of the background regarding the flyer he enclosed concerning the Highlander Folk School.

Wald
WCP
P
W. King
J

Handled with Congressman Pucinski personally. Enclosure to his letter returned.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	
DeLoach	
Mohr	
Bishop	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

DATE: June 12, 1964

1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. Mohr
 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 1 - Mr. Sullivan
 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
 1 - Mr. D.E. Moore
 1 - Mr. Gurley
 1 - Mr. Phillips

Reverend Dr. Edwin Espy, General Secretary, National Council of the Churches of Christ, while visiting Washington, came in to see me. I know Dr. Espy very well as a result of my lecturing during the past few years. He is a Baptist clergyman and a man for whom I have the highest respect.

Dr. Espy mentioned to me the column by Joseph Alsop some weeks ago wherein it was pointed out that Dr. Martin Luther King was in contact with communists and is influenced by them. Dr. Espy expressed grave concern about this and asked me if I could confidentially advise him whether or not Dr. King might be connected with communists.

I took the liberty of advising Dr. Espy confidentially of the fact that Dr. Martin Luther King not only left a great deal to be desired from the standpoint of communism, but also from the standpoint of personal conduct. Also, I referred Dr. Espy to public source material on Dr. King relative to communism.

Dr. Espy expressed deep gratitude to the Bureau for my talking to him about this matter, and assured me he would keep it strictly to himself and be guided by it in his decisions. He said that the National Council of the Churches of Christ would certainly not want to have anything to do with a man who did not have the proper qualifications, and he, Dr. Espy, as a Baptist clergyman, felt very strongly about such matters.

I think that we have sowed an idea here which may do some good. I will follow up on the matter very discreetly to see what desirable results may emanate therefrom.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

WCS:djw
(9)

JUN 23

REC-31

61 JUN 29 1964

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100-10657

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Belmont	_____
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DeLoach	_____
Casper	_____
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Sullivan	_____
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Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: September 15, 1965

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: SENATOR STROM THURMOND
(R-SOUTH CAROLINA)

At Senator Thurmond's request, I went to his office at 4:00 p. m. 9/14/65 for an appointment. I was advised by his assistants, Harry Dent and Fred Buzhardt, that the Senator had called over from the Floor to indicate he must attend a Republican Party policy meeting which former Vice President Nixon would supervise. The assistants indicated that they would appreciate talking to me and that the Senator and I could get together at another time.

Dent showed me two newspaper articles representing releases which Senator Thurmond had put out over the weekend criticizing Martin Luther King for injecting himself into matters of foreign policy at the United Nations. These releases also criticized Ambassador Goldberg for giving King an audience.

Dent told me that it was a matter of common knowledge on the Hill that King had abnormal sexual habits. He stated it was also widely understood that King was controlled by communists in this country. Dent stated he had been present when one powerful leader of the Senate a few days ago told a group of newspaper men, off the record, of these facts:

Dent asked me if there was a concerted effort on the part of the FBI to discredit King. I told Dent that such matters were beyond our jurisdiction. He then replied that he felt someone, particularly a Senator, should expose King. I told him this of course was the prerogative of any of the Senators, however, they should do their homework well. Dent mentioned that he felt that King had gone too far in attempting to inject himself into matters of foreign policy. He stated he felt there would be a wide reaction on the part of the American public.

C. P. Suspect

Dent asked if I could give him any advice as to what course of action Senator Thurmond should follow in the future regarding statements concerning King and civil rights leaders in general. I told him that the Senator, being a southerner, would no doubt be considered subject to bias and suspicion in any statements he might make, however, this was all the more reason why the Senator should be very careful about doing his homework.

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Jones

CDD:amr (6)

Continued on next page..

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 9/15/65
Re: Senator Strom Thurmond

Dent told me Senator Thurmond had widely used the Director's testimony before the Appropriations Subcommittee, particularly concerning the establishment of Soviet Consulates in the United States. At this point, I told Dent that while the Director definitely maintained his original position, it should be carefully understood that the Director had not injected himself into matters of legislation. I told him that the Director's remarks were made on March 4, 1965, prior to consideration being given to ratification of the agreement concerning Soviet Consulates.

For record purposes.

DM *DR* *V* *EMC*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
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Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Belmont *ab*

DATE: 5/22/63

FROM : A. Rosen *RGR*

SUBJECT: JACK N. ROGERS, Chairman of Un-American Activities Committee of the State of Louisiana
Request for Security Checks

Mr. Jack N. Rogers, Attorney at Law, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, who is also Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee of the State of Louisiana, who was introduced to me through Lee Pennington some months ago, has again come to Washington.

He has been in touch with Jay Sourwine, Chief Counsel of the Internal Security Subcommittee, Judiciary.

He inquired whether the Bureau could assist the Governor of the State and his office in making a check of their offices to determine whether they are secure insofar as listening devices are concerned. I advised him that in view of our other commitments we, of course, could not make any security checks of the Governor's office or his office; that we frequently get such requests from various highly placed individuals and we have had to turn them down because of the need to keep our manpower on the many other commitments which are presently outstanding. It was suggested, however, that he might want to call upon some local help in the State of Louisiana. He indicated he had some contacts in CIC and in the State and other military contacts, and, of course, could call upon them but he felt the FBI is the only organization which could be trusted. I also suggested he might want to check with the Mosler Research Projects, Inc., and other manufacturers of equipment who would probably have local representatives in Louisiana.

Mr. Rogers understands that the Bureau cannot render any assistance in this matter.

In addition to the above, it should be noted that he had no basis for suspecting that anyone had any listening device in the various offices but he felt they ought to be checked in order to assure security.

Mr. Rogers also said that although he was opposed to the policy of the present Attorney General, he was wholeheartedly in support of the FBI and the leadership of the Director. He said he hoped that if in the near future his organization came out with any information which would indicate that

1 Mr. Conrad: This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

62 JUN 1963
AR:mpd (6)

2574 W
ALL

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Ways
B. J. ...
...
...

Memo to Mr. Belmont from A. Rosen

Rev. Martin Luther King was receiving funds from the Soviets that this would not be embarrassing to the Bureau. He did not further amplify this comment nor was I able to obtain any information concerning what he might have in mind. (It is noted that in our coverage we do know that King has been in touch with Stanley Levison, reportedly a secret member of the Communist Party, USA.)

ACTION TO BE TAKEN:

None - this is for your information.

SR
SR

R *A*

V

2:35 p. m.

June 17, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. BELMONT
MR. DE LOACH
MR. ROSEN
MR. SULLIVAN

The Attorney General called and advised he would like to have Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall talk to Martin Luther King and tell King he has to get rid of Levison and Dell, that he should not have any contact with them directly or indirectly. The Attorney General inquired if King could be told these persons are communists without exposing the informant.

ru
10c

I advised the Attorney General I thought he could make the statement that they are members of the Communist Party without exposing the informant. I pointed out that, if King continues this association, he is going to hurt his own cause as there are more and more communists trying to take advantage of the hate movement and bigots down South who are against integration are beginning to charge King is tied in with communists. I stated I thought Marshall could very definitely say this association is rather widely known and, with things crystalizing for them now, nothing could be worse than for King to be associated with it.

Ure

Very truly yours,

100-106670-150

REC-84

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

JUN 19 1963

EX 115

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

JEH:rm (9)

1 - Miss Holmes

NO 12
ELW

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 3:50 PM
DATE 6-17-63
BY <i>gaw</i>

67 JUN 20 1963 TELETYPE UNIT

CONFIDENTIAL

The Attorney General

1 - Mr. Belmont

July 13, 1963

1 - Mr. Mohr

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Evans

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Bland

REQUESTS FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON
AND CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN
CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION

1 - Section tickler

1 - Mr. Garner

o.c.

Enclosed are letters from Senator Warren G. Magnuson and Congressman Jeffery Coelan, which are self-explanatory. I have informed each by letter this date that I am referring his letter to you for your consideration in line with Departmental policy. Copies of my letters in this regard are also attached.

As you will note, each letter transmitted a leaflet containing a photograph of James Earl Ray and others purportedly in attendance at a seminar at the Highlander Folk School over the Labor Day weekend in 1967 and requested information pertinent to the validity of the leaflet.

Information concerning the school and those identified in the leaflet with King--Abner Berry, Aubrey Williams, and Miles Horton--was furnished to you by letter dated July 17, 1963, captioned "Martin Luther King, Security Matter-C, Racial Matters."

For your additional information, newspaper articles indicate that the Georgia Commission on Education, which is the legislative investigating body of the state of Georgia, sent a photographer named Edwin Friend to the Labor Day, 1967, weekend seminar at the Highlander Folk School. He reportedly took both still and motion pictures of the individuals and activities there on that occasion. The Commission later published these photographs in a large folder and is known to have circulated these folders at the Labor Day meeting.

Abner Berry, in a column in the September 13, 1967, issue of the "Daily Worker," a communist newspaper, stated that he had attended the weekend seminar at the Highlander Folk School over the Labor Day weekend, 1967. Berry stated that Martin Luther King and Aubrey Williams also attended this seminar.

MAILED 2
JUL 18 1963
COMM-FBI

REC-29 100-106670-157

REC'D - PENDING ROOM
JUL 19 5 50 PM '63

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

CDB/aab
(15)

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTE: See memo, Smith to Sullivan, 7/18/63 re: REQUESTS FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON & CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION. RSG/aab

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SEE NOTE ON PAGE TWO RE CLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

The Attorney General

A Washington Capital News service dispatch for July 12, 1961, quoted Martin Luther King as stating that his only visit to the Highlander Folk School was for a special no man's land at the school's 25th anniversary celebration in 1957. He added that the picture of him at the school which had been displayed by Governor Ross Barnett, of Mississippi, to the Senate Committee on Commerce on July 12, 1961, apparently was taken during this visit.

Enclosures (3)

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosures (3)

1 - Mr. Eurus Marshall - Enclosures (3)
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE: This letter is classified Confidential since it contains information furnished from confidential informants whose revelation could cause harm to the national defense.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. TOLSON

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING

DATE: 1/19/68

cc Mr. DeLoach
 Mr. Sullivan
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Bishop
 Mr. Bowers

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
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 Felt _____
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 Tele. Room _____
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Appointment with
 Senator Robert C. Byrd (D.-W.Va.)
 1/19/68

At his request I met with Senator Byrd in his office at 11 a.m. today. Also present was Mr. Barksdale, Senator Byrd's staff member on research and speech writing.

Senator Byrd outlined to me his responsibilities in the supervisor of the District of Columbia Government. He told me he was extremely concerned over the pronouncements made recently by Martin Luther King that massive civil disobedience would be staged in the nation's capital this summer. The Senator indicated it was time that King "met his Waterloo" and that he felt this summer would do the trick. He stated this, of course, depended upon whether or not the President would allow sufficient force to "knock King down."

Senator Byrd asked me if the FBI could prepare a speech for him on the subject of King which he could give on the Senate floor next week. He stated thereafter he would like to be kept up to date on the activities of King so that further speeches could be made. He reminded me that he was a great supporter of Mr. Hoover and the FBI. He reiterated his responsibilities in connection with the D.C. Government and told me that, while other senators and congressmen were aiding and abetting the alleged civil rights cause, he had constantly sounded forth a warning as to the attachments to subversive causes which many so-called civil rights leaders had.

I told Senator Byrd and Mr. Barksdale that, while we appreciated his great interest, the pressure of work would prevent us from being of assistance and we, therefore, could not prepare the speech he had in mind. I stated if any items of a public source nature came to our attention which we felt would be of interest to the Senator, we could, of course, refer him to the appropriate source which contained these items.

REC-74 62-10-12233

CONTINUED-----OVER

CDD:CSH (6)

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COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Mr. Tolson

DO NOT EXCISE

~~Using generalities, I briefed the Senator and Mr. Barksdale, in a very few moments, about the swing to the left of various alleged civil rights organizations such as SNCC, CORE, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. I told them that the Director had pointed this out on many occasions and that the Director clearly felt that the more these groups needed money and publicity, the further left they would swing in order to gain such objectives.~~

~~I told the Senator and Mr. Barksdale they should feel free to call us at any time; however, we of course were restricted in what we could furnish them. The Senator expressed appreciation and asked that his best regards be extended to the Director.~~

~~Mr. Barksdale is a former editor of a newspaper in West Virginia. He deplored the attacks upon the Director and the FBI by the Charleston, West Virginia Gazette, and stated this paper makes little impression upon the people of West Virginia.~~

DO NOT EXCISE

ACTION:

For record purposes.

A *V. J. [unclear]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 5/21/68

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

cc Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Sullivan

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF WIRE TAPS AND MICROPHONES
BY ROBERT F. KENNEDY -
Specific approval of wire tap on Martin Luther King

Article by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson,
Friday, 5/24/68

D.C.
Jack Anderson called and stated he wanted to speak in confidence. I told him if it concerned an official matter I could not agree with this stipulation. He stated he merely wanted to tip me off that Drew Pearson will have an article on Friday, 5/24/68, alleging that former AG Bobby Kennedy ordered the FBI to place a wire tap on Martin Luther King. He stated the article would probably hurt Kennedy a great deal.

I told Anderson we would have no comment concerning such an article; however, that I felt he was doing us a great disservice inasmuch as the article would certainly dry up Negro sources of information who have been friendly to the FBI.

Anderson stated he and Pearson were well aware of this fact; however, they felt that Kennedy should receive a death blow prior to the Oregon primary. I told him that, as he had been advised once before, the FBI would not become involved in bitter political struggles and that the record should be quite clear concerning this fact. Anderson said he well understood our position, and that he hoped Pearson's column would not affect the FBI too much. I told him that remained to be seen.

Anderson asked me if the FBI had disseminated a report concerning King's communist affiliations and sex life as of February or March 28, 1968. I told him I would make no comment. He stated he knew such a report was in existence and as a matter of fact he had read such a report. I asked for the identity of his source. He stated he must refuse to tell me. I told him we well knew that Ed Weisl, Jr. had advised him

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CA-110 REC 6 61-5415-1614

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1 JUN 6 1968

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54 JUN 13 1968

JUN 6 1968 XEROX

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Tolson

concerning specific information involving an old wire tap on King. I asked him point-blank if Weisl had allowed him to read an FBI report. He stated he had already admitted to me on one occasion that Weisl was his source in the Department, but that he must refuse to reveal the identity of the source who had allowed him to read an FBI report. The conversation ended with this statement.

We did disseminate an FBI report on King dated 3/12/68. It may be that Anderson is bluffing or it may be that he is talking about this specific report. It would be my thought that he possibly knows the date of the report, but has not been given a chance to read it. We nevertheless should maintain a strict "no comment" in the event Pearson's article appears on Friday, 5/24/68.

ACTION -
For record purposes.

All SAs in
Front Office,
Crime Rec. Div.,
advised 5/23/67
TRB

✓
1. Absolutely.
2. We must be most
careful what we send
Weisl.

Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. Belmont ✓
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. DeLoach ✓
 Mr. Evans ✓
 Mr. Gale ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Sullivan ✓
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

February 18, 1964

MR. HOOVER:

Walter Jenkins called me from the White House at 7 p. m., Monday night, 2-17-64. He asked if I would come right over.

Upon seeing Jenkins, he was joined by Billy Moyers, another close aide to the President. Jenkins and Moyers told me that Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall had called Moyers at approximately 6:15 p. m. that evening and indicated that the Attorney General had thought it highly advisable for the President to see the Department of Justice file on Martin Luther King. Marshall stated he wanted to send it right over by special messenger. Moyers asked Marshall what the hurry was. Marshall replied that he and the Attorney General wanted to make certain that the President knew all about King.

Fifteen minutes after Marshall's call, he called Moyers again. At this time, he told Moyers that he wanted to give the White House a little warning. He stated that he personally knew that the FBI had leaked information concerning Martin Luther King to a newspaper reporter. Marshall told Moyers that he thought the White House should know this inasmuch as information concerning King would undoubtedly be coming out before the public in the near future. At that time the messenger walked in Moyers' office with the Department of Justice file, which proved to be quite bulky.

When I talked to Jenkins and Moyers, they showed me the Department file on King. It was completely stripped of all administrative memoranda with the exception of one receipt from Marshall which indicated he had given Senator Mike Monroney (D-Okla.) a report on Martin Luther King. The file contained only FBI reports which we had previously forwarded to the Department of Justice. There were no inter-office memoranda in the file. These obviously had been very carefully removed.

Jenkins stated that obviously there was a "gimmick" in this matter. He strongly believed that Marshall would not have sent the file over on such an expedite basis, neither would this matter have come up so suddenly unless the Attorney General and Marshall had some specific ax to grind. Jenkins personally believed that the Attorney General had suddenly conceived the idea that he had to be on record with the President concerning King's communistic background. Jenkins, of course, is well

CDD:geg
 (2)
 Enclosure

(CONTINUED NEXT PAGE)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Informal memo to Mr. Hoover

aware of the fact that the Attorney General has shielded King for a long time and that the Attorney General was particularly vulnerable because of defenses he had made before a committee of the Senate in behalf of King. Jenkins believes that the Attorney General, who desperately wants to become Vice President, is now going on record with the President with the fact that although he has, for political purposes, defended King, he wants the President to realize that he, the Attorney General, is well aware of King's communistic background.

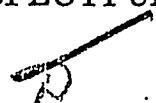
Moyers stated that he thought Jenkins' opinion was good; however, he believed that the Attorney General plans to leak the story to Charles Bartlett, a local columnist and friend of the Kennedy's, that the President has been alerted to King's background yet still insists on playing "footsie" with King.

Both Jenkins and Moyers felt that it was highly advisable for the President to send the file back early this morning, 2-18-64, with a noncommittal note.

Jenkins stated he did not even plan to show the file to the President inasmuch as the President and his closest aides are well aware of King's background from reviewing memoranda we have sent over.

Although there is no action for us to take in this matter, I thought you should have all the facts concerning this further attempt of the Department to place blame upon the FBI. We, of course, have not leaked any information concerning King; however, it seems quite apparent that Guthman, Marshall and the Attorney General have been talking to the "Saturday Evening Post" in an effort to "whitewash" King. Jenkins is well aware of this fact also. There is attached for your information a copy of the cover memorandum from Burke Marshall to Billy Moyers transmitting the Departmental file on King. Although this memorandum is dated 2-13-64, the file was not delivered until after 6 p. m. on 2-17-64 after Marshall obviously was goaded into doing this by the Attorney General or someone else.

RESPECTFULLY,


C. D. DeLoach

Katzenbach

*did his dirt against the
for Warren Commission & show
Marshall is trying to poison the
MS about 2/18/64*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: March 16, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Toison	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

RETAIN

[Handwritten signature]

Chairman Ed Willis (D-La.) of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) called me on 3-12-64. He stated that former Governor Tuck of Virginia and Judge Howard Smith, Chairman of the Rules Committee of the House, had been to see him to inquire into the possibilities of the Director being subpoenaed before the HCUA to testify regarding the captioned individual. Chairman Willis told me that Judge Smith had apparently received information indicating that the Director had discussed the captioned individual on an off-the-record basis with the Rooney Subcommittee. Willis continued that he knew it would be improper to subpoena the Director; however, he would like to talk to me about the matter.

I told Chairman Willis in complete confidence that the Director had made a number of off-the-record remarks in answer to questions posed by the Rooney Subcommittee; however, this, of course, was privileged information and we are not at liberty to discuss the matter. I told him that he had in his own files considerable information concerning Hunter Pitts O'Dell and his relationship with Martin Luther King, and he might desire to do a little research in this regard. He stated he would do this; however, he wondered about the remarks concerning King's being a sex deviant. I told him that King was certainly no lily of the valley; however, I felt that we could make no comment at this particular time.

Chairman Willis asked me about the timing of exposing King. He stated that it would undoubtedly hurt the Democratic Party to do so before the political conventions this summer. I told him he was in a far better position to judge this matter than I was. He then ventured the opinion that it would be better to wait until after the Presidential campaign before doing anything on King.

Chairman Willis called me back twice between 7 and 8:30 p.m. on the night of 3-12-64. I was out at the time but returned his call at 9 p.m. He was not home. He called me at 8:40 a.m. the next morning, 3-13-64. At that time, he asked if I would see Judge Smith at either 11 a.m. or 3 p.m., 3-13-64. I told him I would be glad to; however, there was little that could be said. Chairman Willis reminded me

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

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CDD:geg

(5) 9 MAR 23 1964

AERO-REC-79

EX-117

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DeLoach to Mohr memo
Re: Martin Luther King
Information Concerning

that Judge Smith was one of the most powerful men on the Hill and added that it would do him (Willis) a great deal of good if I could just see Judge Smith for a few moments and discuss the King matter. I told him I would be glad to do this.

Calvin Haley, Judge Smith's Administrative Assistant, called at 10:30 a. m., 3-13-64 and asked me to see Judge Smith at 3:15 p. m. that afternoon.

Upon seeing Judge Smith, he told me that he was seriously disturbed about the fact that there appeared to be considerable derogatory information about King and apparently no one in the Congress was taking steps to advise the general public of this matter. He stated he thought this should be done. He added that he was not trying to grind an ax in behalf of a move to stop civil rights legislation but to the contrary felt that it was morally wrong for this alleged spiritual leader of 10,000 Negroes to be a follower of the communists and a ~~SEX DEGENERATE~~ yet hold considerable influence over the Negroes in America.

DC
* Judge Smith told me that he had heard of the Director's remarks before the Rooney Subcommittee and that as we well knew, remarks made off the record are not very well held on Capitol Hill. I told Judge Smith that the remarks made by the Director had been privileged and that we, of course, were not at liberty to discuss them with anyone else. I told him of the documented information concerning King in House Committee files and that I had suggested to Chairman Willis that he might like to dig this information up. I told Judge Smith also that despite our desire to see this scoundrel exposed, it would be out of the question for us to furnish him information and then his expecting us to back it up later on. I told Judge Smith that this would disrupt certain operations which appeared to be more important than an exposure of King from a communistic standpoint.

Judge Smith asked if he could receive information concerning King's being a sexual degenerate. I told him that the time might come in the near future when the Director would want me to furnish him certain information on a strictly confidential basis; however, at this time, I felt sure he could understand that substantial evidence was needed before anyone spoke out in this regard. Judge Smith stated that he would be glad to make a speech on the Floor of the House at any time concerning King's immoral background. He pointed out that this would offer immunity to him and to

(CONTINUED NEXT PAGE)

DeLoach to Mohr memo
Re: Martin Luther King
Information Concerning

DeLoach

newspapers who might desire to quote his remarks. I mentioned to Judge Smith that obviously King needed to be exposed, however, reiterated that we were not at liberty to furnish him any information at this time.

~~Judge Smith stated that he would respect our confidence in this matter. He asked concerning the Director and requested that his best regards be extended.~~

DO NOT DELETE

~~Judge Smith is an honorable-reputable Congressman. His word carries great weight on the Hill. It may be that after a period of time the Director might desire to have me furnish Judge Smith with information concerning King's immoral background so that he can make a speech on the Floor of the House regarding this matter. Undoubtedly newspapers all over the Nation would pick this story up.~~

DO NOT DELETE

EXCISED

ACTION:

For information.

V.

Someone on the Kennedy's Committee certainly betrayed the secrecy of the "of the second" testimony I gave re King. I do not want anything on King given to Smith nor anyone else at this time.

6

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 21, 1965

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

This morning Mr. Ralph McGill, publisher of the "Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, and a long-time admirer of the Director, dropped by the office to discuss with me Martin Luther King, Jr. With Bureau approval, I had previously given McGill some of the basic facts concerning King's connections with communism and his immoral behavior.

McGill told me that on being advised of the facts concerning King, he has remained completely silent. As a result, he is being questioned by associates in Atlanta, Georgia, as to why he is not speaking out in favor of King and why he is not taking an active part in the banquet to be given King next Wednesday night. McGill said that he would never disclose a confidence and, therefore, his only reply is that he no longer is an admirer of Martin Luther King. Further, he has talked with some other men who have told him of their knowledge of King's immorality and their concern about it. In view of this, he is free to speak a little bit more in detail and says he has done so for it can be attributed to the men with whom he has spoken.

McGill said that these men are Adlai Stevenson, Ralph Bunche, and Harry Ashmore of the "Arkansas Gazette." He told me that Adlai Stevenson advised him without being questioned about King that he is aware of King's immoral activities. Stevenson told McGill that he considers King to be a "very dangerous man" to the civil rights movement and that something should be done about it. Ralph Bunche told McGill that he has never been an admirer of King's although he thinks King has done some good things; that a few months ago he began hearing very disturbing stories about King's immoral behavior. Bunche believes that King should be maneuvered out of the civil rights field or else he will do it serious damage. Mr. Ashmore, likewise, informed McGill that he had heard some time ago about King's incredibly immoral activities. Ashmore is very disturbed over it and wishes something could be done but he has no specific course to recommend.

Mr. McGill told me that following my first discussion with him a few weeks ago he contacted a banker friend in Atlanta who was helping to finance the banquet to be given King next Wednesday night. The banker was disturbed and said he would contact some other bankers also

Enclosure sent 1-22-65
WCS:lml (7)

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FEB 3 1965

SUBV. CONTROL

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

involved and see if support could be quietly withdrawn. McGill's friend and some of the bankers did take steps to withdraw but this was very quickly relayed to bankers in Haiti who were on the threshold of an important financial deal with the Atlanta, Georgia, bankers. They took the position that if the Atlanta bankers did not support the Martin Luther King party, their financial deal with these Georgia bankers was off. As McGill said to me, the almighty dollar is still extremely important and especially so with bankers, and as a result they got cold feet and decided to go ahead with financing King's party.

McGill told me that Archbishop Hallinan, Catholic leader in Georgia, an Episcopal clergyman and a Jewish rabbi are also quite active in support of this party for King. He said that he is certain that not one of these three is aware of King's immoral behavior. I told him that in view of what Stevenson, Bunche, and Ashmore had told him, he might want to explore very confidentially and discreetly the subject matter with these three men. He said he would do this.

McGill told me that he thinks it is too late now, especially in view of the financial interest of the Georgia bankers in the Haiti deal, to prevent the banquet from taking place. However, McGill said he would do what he could to encourage key people to limit their praise and support of King as much as possible.

McGill also told me that he is taking steps through Ralph Bunche to get key Negro leaders to unite in opposition to King and to gradually force him out of the civil rights movement if at all possible.

Mr. McGill said that he would like to have President Johnson know three things-- (1) that from diverse sources he has learned of the incredibly immoral behavior of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his deceiving of sincere, good people in this Nation who have been supporting King; (2) that he regrets greatly that the banquet is being given in King's honor next week in Atlanta but that it has gone so far that it is probably not possible to head it off; and (3) that he believes that the very best thing that could happen would be to have King step completely out of the civil rights movement and public life for he feels that if this is not done, sooner or later King will be publicly exposed and this will do irreparable harm to the civil rights movement in which he, McGill and others are so interested and have worked so hard for, and likewise, it will do injury to different citizens of the country who have been supporting King not knowing that he is of such low moral character.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Mr. McGill said that if he had had time to see President Johnson before leaving Washington, he would have told him these three things, but that he wanted the Director to know that he is free to quote him on these three points to the President and free to put all three things in any communication that goes to the White House from the Bureau.

It is very refreshing to meet a man of McGill's stature in the field of journalism who is so sincere and honest and desirous of doing the right thing. He is a very admirable man. Repeatedly, Mr. McGill told me that he will continue to stay with this problem and to think about it, hoping that he will devise some plan or course of action that will help to take King out of public life. McGill told me in a visibly disturbed manner that this problem centering around King has caused him to wake up at night from time to time and he is very upset over it. McGill explained that while he has never been close to King or an active supporter thereof, he has been completely identified and very active in furthering civil rights and better conditions for the Negroes. He thinks that King's behavior now known to him when publicly exposed will do irreparable damage to such social causes that he and others have been sponsoring throughout a lifetime.

RECOMMENDATION:

Enclosed will be found a letter to the White House setting forth McGill's discussion for approval and forwarding. Inasmuch as McGill mentioned only the President's getting this information, we do not contemplate any further dissemination.

✓
OK
P

Q J

WES

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DL*

FROM : T. E. Bishop *TJB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

DATE: 6/23/69

wep

J. DeLoach

In memorandum from G.C. Moore to Mr. W.C. Sullivan dated 6/21/69, it was recommended and approved by the Director that Bishop personally contact Congressman H. R. Gross (R. - Iowa), with whom we have had cordial relations, with reference to his letter of June 19, 1969, and advise him that due to various ramifications involved in the King telephone surveillance, it is not possible to furnish him any additional data.

With the Director's approval, Bishop contacted Congressman Gross on the afternoon of 6/23/69. Congressman Gross was very cordial and, when Bishop advised him that it would not be possible to furnish him any additional data concerning the wiretap on Dr. Martin Luther King other than what has appeared in the press, he stated that he completely understood. Congressman Gross stated that his letter to the Director of June 19, 1969, was motivated solely by the desire to furnish the Director a Congressional forum if the Director wished to utilize the services of Congressman Gross in making public additional facts concerning the approval of the wiretap on Dr. Martin Luther King and ~~the~~ facts concerning the communist associations and influence over Dr. King.

Congressman Gross requested that Mr. Hoover send him a brief acknowledgment of his letter of June 19, 1969, advising that it is not possible to furnish him any additional data, so that Congressman Gross may retain it in his files for record purposes in the event any inquiries should be made of him on this matter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to Congressman Gross.

- Enclosure *sent 6-29-69*
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
 - 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure
 - 1 - Mr. Gale - Enclosure
 - 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones - Enclosure

TEB:jo

59 JUL 14 1969

17 JUN 27 1969

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UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

EX-101 ✓
GA. REC 11
J. DeLoach
3620

June 24, 1969

94-40480-

Honorable H. R. Gross
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

My dear Congressman:

Your letter of June 19, 1969, has
been received.

While I certainly appreciate your
interest in this matter, other than the enclosed copies
of news articles, it is not possible for me to furnish
you any data concerning the matter about which you wrote.
I am sure that you will understand the reasons which
preclude my being of assistance to you in this instance.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemin-
ation outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by
your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized person-
nel without the express approval of the FBI.*

Enclosures (2) "FBI Claims Kennedy OK'd Tapping of Dr. King's Phone" (Evening Star,
6/18/69)

"King Wiretap Called RFK's Idea" (Evening Star, 6/19/69)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan (sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Gale (sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones (sent with cover memo)

NOTE: See T. E. Bishop to Mr. DeLoach memo dated 6/23/69 re
"Martin Luther King, Jr., Security Matter-Communist."

TEB:jo (7)

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-106670-3692

MAILED 10
JUN 24 1969
COMM-FBI

66 JUL 23 1969

T&B

Handwritten initials and signatures at bottom right.

H. R. GROSS
3d DIST., IOWA

HOME ADDRESS:
WATERLOO, IOWA

HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

COMMITTEES:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

COUNTIES:

BLACK HAWK	HAMILTON
BREMER	HANCOCK
BUTLER	HARDIN
CERRO GORDO	HOWARD
CHICKASAW	MITCHELL
FLOYD	WINNEBAGO
FRANKLIN	WORTH
GRUNDY	WRIGHT

June 19, 1969

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have become increasingly concerned in the past few days, as I am certain you have, over certain attacks on both yourself and the Federal Bureau of Investigation over the matter of the wiretap surveillance involving the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

As you know, it is now a matter of public record that summaries of certain conversations between this individual and one of the most influential members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., were provided by you some time ago to members of a House Appropriations Subcommittee.

Further, it has been reported in the press that this communist party member was one of Dr. King's speech writers and chief advisors.

In addition, it is now known that the late Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy personally authorized this wiretap surveillance and that his successor, former Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach has also stated that he officially knew of the surveillance.

I am, therefore, convinced beyond any doubt that since this information is now in the public domain, that since the American people have apparently been given a distorted picture of Dr. King's true purposes and activities, and that since the attacks upon the good name of the FBI are based in large part on that picture, a more complete accounting of this man's activities is due the citizens of this nation and would most definitely be in the national interest.

Accordingly, I would appreciate it if you would confirm, in as much detail as possible, that the wiretap surveillance of Dr. King was occasioned by his association with one or more members of the communist party.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the contents may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

EX-100
ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-441174-100
30

94-40480 -
NOT RECORDED
183 JUL 18 1969

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

-Page Two-

June 19, 1969

Concerning approval of this surveillance, would you describe the occasion on which such approval was requested and received? My understanding is that a conference was held involving yourself, an aide, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Katzenbach. Is this correct?

I would also appreciate any facts you deem appropriate to give to me that demonstrate the extent to which Dr. King may have dealt with a member or members of the communist party.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,


H. R. Gross

HRG/dj

RE - HOUSTUDY 62-116464-

OR

SENSTUDY: 62-116395-837

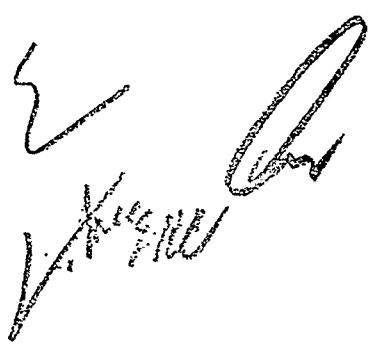
NOTE: THIS IS A PERMANENT CHARGE OUT FOR A XEROX COPY/COPIES OF "JUNE" MAIL THAT WAS INCLUDED IN COPIES OF FBI DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL BY MEMO/LETTER DATED 9-22-75 IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST(S) MADE BY EITHER THE U. S. SENATE OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEES ON INTELLIGENCE. THE COPY/COPIES OF THE "JUNE" MAIL DATED AS INDICATED BELOW HAS/HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM THIS ENCLOSURE MATERIAL TO BE FILED IN THE APPROPRIATE HOUSTUDY OR SENSTUDY "JUNE" FILE INDICATED ABOVE, LOCATED IN THE SPECIAL FILE ROOM OF THE RECORDS SECTION.

DATE(S) OF MAIL: 6-21-76REMOVED BY: Wardlaw DATE REMOVED: 7-28-76

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

see the AG about it. We did this. After the AG read the letter as changed he said he was not certain it would accomplish its purpose. He called the President and told him what had happened. Marshall and the AG tried to redraft a letter which would be in line with our observations. Each draft after written was discussed with the President telephonically by the AG and none of the drafts were satisfactory to the President. He thereafter decided that an innocuous letter saying nothing of substance should be sent to Senator Russell which letter should be delivered by AAG Marshall and me. At the time the letter was delivered the Senator was to be furnished orally by Marshall with detailed information as to Martin Luther King's activities. I was merely to assure the Senator as to the sensitive position of our informant and the fact that information from this informant of a continuing nature was vital to the country's welfare. After the AG had left the city Deputy AG Katzenbach was substituted for Burke Marshall as Katzenbach knew the Senator. An appointment to see the Senator was made for 5:00 p.m., 11-1-63. At this meeting Katzenbach furnished the Senator with information concerning King and his communist connections. It was unnecessary for me to say anything at this conference other than to confirm Katzenbach's statement about the sensitiveness of our source. The Senator indicated satisfaction with the explanation given to him by Katzenbach and said that he did not intend to make any speech on the floor of the Senate about this.

On my return to the Bureau that afternoon I prepared a memorandum on this contact which is attached.

Handwritten signature and initials, possibly "W. H. R." and "C. B.", in dark ink.

February 5, 1964

MR. MOHR:

RE: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

The Atlanta Division has received information indicating that a reporter by the name of Cleghorn, who writes for the Atlanta Journal and also is a free-lancer for the Saturday Evening Post, is doing an article for the Saturday Evening Post on Dr. Martin Luther King. A memorandum, from Mr. Sullivan to Mr. Belmont dated February 4, 1964, reflected this fact inasmuch as the Atlanta Division had written in to tip off the Bureau that Cleghorn might be in contact with FBI Headquarters. Cleghorn apparently has information concerning King's association not only with Hunter Pitts O'Dell but additionally with Stanley Levinson.

Guthman came over to see me February 4, 1964, at 4 PM. He stated that he had been tipped off by Schanke (phonetic) of the Saturday Evening Post that Cleghorn was preparing an article on Dr. Martin Luther King and that the article would expose King's connections with the Communist Party. Guthman stated he was quite concerned inasmuch as it appeared there had been a leak from the FBI in connection with this matter. He told me that the Attorney General had been most hopeful that there would be no "leaks" concerning King. Guthman quickly added that he and the Attorney General, of course, knew that King was no good and that King actually did have communistic connections as well as the fact that King was morally bad. In a very apologetic tone of voice, Guthman added that the Attorney General's record concerning King was perfectly clean and that no exposure of King could have any reaction whatsoever against the Attorney General.

I told Guthman he had raised several points that should be straightened out. I mentioned that there had been no leaks from the FBI concerning Dr. Martin Luther King, however, Congressmen had made speeches concerning King's background and there had been a number of articles in newspapers. I mentioned that the Attorney General's connections with King were none of our business, however, I could understand why Guthman might be somewhat perturbed inasmuch as the Attorney General had made public statements before the Congress which indicated King had no communistic connections.

Guthman stated that he wanted to repeat once again that an exposure of King would not hurt the Attorney General in any way. He stated his only interest, and the Attorney General's only interest, in keeping information concerning King out of the newspapers, was because both he and the Attorney General felt that FBI sources might be unduly exposed. I made no comment to this, however, I certainly did not believe Guthman.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans

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ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Informal Memo to Mr. Mohr
Re: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

2/5/64

*we have been told
that the
FBI
is
not
to
be
mentioned
in
the
press*

Guthman told me he had no proof whatsoever that the FBI had furnished information to the newspapers concerning King. He stated that obviously the Department had not leaked any information inasmuch as (only four individuals in the Department, the Attorney General, Katzenbach, Assistant Attorney General Miller and Guthman, were the only ones who knew of King's connections with Stanley Levinson. I told Guthman that Burke Marshall undoubtedly knew of such connections inasmuch as I believe he had talked to King. Guthman admitted this was true.

From the tone of Guthman's entire remarks, it would appear he had two thoughts in mind without actually stating such thoughts. These thoughts were (1) that the Attorney General is most anxious that information concerning King not be released; and (2) that the Attorney General's connections with King, and his defensive statements concerning King to the Congress in Civil Rights hearings, could certainly injure the Attorney General's political chances for the future.

I made it a point to tell Guthman before he left that the Department was, of course, very close to the Saturday Evening Post, particularly in view of the deliberate leaks of information to the Saturday Evening Post on the Cassini and Valachi matters. I told Guthman that if the Saturday Evening Post had obtained information concerning King, it would appear that they might have received such information from the same sources where they had gotten their previous facts. Guthman reacted to this quite anxiously and stated all this may be true, however, under no circumstances would they give any publication the facts concerning King. In a very hurt tone of voice, he told me once again the Attorney General was not worried about what an exposure of King could do to him. He stated he and the Attorney General are only trying to protect FBI sources of information.

There has never been such a leak in the past

Following my conversation with the Director at approximately 10 AM this morning, after the Director had talked with the Attorney General, I called Guthman and told him he apparently had misquoted my conversation with him of last night. I asked Guthman if he had told the Attorney General, in quoting me, that I had been "quite concerned about a letter the Attorney General had written in which he defended Martin Luther King." I told Guthman I had not mentioned any letter in my conversation with him. Guthman replied that the Attorney General had gotten all mixed up in his conversation with the Director. Guthman admitted I made no reference to any letter. He also admitted I had not indicated that I was "quite concerned" in referring to the Attorney General. Guthman explained the basis of the Attorney General's call to the Director by stating that he and Burke Marshall had gone over to see the Attorney General and while in his office had mentioned the information which apparently has been accumulated by the Atlanta, Georgia, reporter. In explaining to the Attorney General, Guthman stated he told the Attorney General he had discussed this matter with me last night and that from the tone of my remarks, Guthman understood that (1) any exposure of King might possibly jeopardize FBI sources; and (2) any exposure of King might react publicly against the Attorney General inasmuch as the Attorney General

Informal Memo to Mr. Mohr
Re: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

2/5/64

had defended King before the Congress. I told Guthman my remarks to him had not meant to imply any potential embarrassment whatsoever to the Attorney General and that I had brought the Attorney General's name into the conversation only because of the many newspaper articles which had been written quoting the Attorney General and his defense of King. Guthman stated that the Attorney General was very fond of me, and that he and the Attorney General, though they would not be around much longer, felt their relations with my office had been of the closest nature. He stated the Attorney General did not under any circumstances believe that my remarks had implied possible potential embarrassment but the Attorney General had called the Director merely to keep the record straight.

Guthman referred once again to the so-called "letter" the Attorney General had written concerning King. He admitted once again this matter did not come up in our conversation last night. He stated there had been a letter, however, as a result of the Attorney General's appearance before the Magnuson Committee in the Senate. This occurred at the time of the Attorney General's appearance concerning Civil Rights legislation. Senator Monroney had questioned the Attorney General as to King's communistic connections, according to Guthman. The Attorney General promised to write Senator Monroney a letter. Guthman stated that such a letter had been prepared and had been couched in a very careful language. He mentioned that the letter had been cleared by Assistant Director Evans and had then been delivered to Senator Monroney. He stated that following delivery of this letter, either Katzenbach or Burke Marshall, along with Mr. Evans, had orally briefed Senators Russell and Monroney regarding King's communistic connections.

FACTS FROM BUFILES:

document to remove name about Evans activities in this matter.

Senators Monroney and Magnuson wrote the Director in early July, 1963, inquiring about the current racial agitation and allegations that King and other civil rights leaders had subversive affiliations. The letter from Senator Monroney was referred to the Attorney General on July 17, 1963, with the Senator being so advised on the same date. In the communication to the Attorney General, a summary of the communist association of King was set forth, including the influence which Stanley Levinson, Communist Party member, had with King and Levinson's alleged statement that "King is a whole-hearted Marxist..." On July 18, 1963, the letter from Senator Magnuson was referred to the Attorney General along with a similar letter from Congressman Jeffrey Cohelan.

No record was located in Bureau files to indicate that the Attorney General or anyone in the Department contacted us regarding what information should be supplied to the Senators and Congressman relative to King. Mr. Evans has declared that he most certainly did not clear any letter written to the Senators or the Congressman on this topic.

Informal Memo to Mr. Mohr
Re: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

2/5/64

On July 26, 1963, newspapers throughout the country reported that Senator Monroney had released the contents of a letter to him from Attorney General Kennedy stating there is "no evidence" that King or any of the other top leaders of the civil rights groups is a communist or communist controlled. The letter revealed the Attorney General based his statement "on all available information from the FBI and other sources." This letter was dated July 23, 1963. A similar letter apparently also was sent to Senator Magnuson.

On July 27, 1963, Senator Russell of Georgia wrote the Director inquiring about much the same matter. This letter also was referred to the Attorney General under date of July 31, 1963. On November 1, 1963, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall contacted Mr. Belmont's Office relative to the letter from Senator Russell and a subsequent letter from the Senator to the Attorney General vigorously complaining about not having received an answer to the earlier communication. A proposed reply to Senator Russell over the Attorney General's signature was provided and Mr. Belmont expressed objections to the wording, particularly since it would jeopardize a most sensitive source. Mr. Evans conferred with the Attorney General and Mr. Marshall later on 11-1-63 and it was determined that the draft of the letter to Russell had been approved by the President. The draft was rephrased three times and each draft was rejected by the President who finally instructed that an innocuous communication be sent to the Senator and delivered personally by Mr. Marshall and Mr. Evans with Mr. Marshall to orally brief the Senator. Subsequently on 11-1-63, Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach and Mr. Evans delivered the communication to Senator Russell and Mr. Katzenbach briefed him about King. Mr. Evans merely verified that a sensitive source was involved.

An interesting parallel to the situation occurred on August 1, 1963, when the Attorney General gave Mr. Evans a report submitted by our New York Office on July 22, 1963, on King asking that it be resubmitted to him with a cover memorandum detailing exact evidence to support a statement contained therein to the effect that King had been "described as a confirmed Marxist-Leninist as of June, 1963." He told Mr. Evans that if this report got up to the Hill at this time he would be impeached. He stated Assistant Attorney General Marshall had reviewed the entire report and stated there was nothing new concerning King's alleged communist sympathies and that it

Informal Memo to Mr. Mohr
Re: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

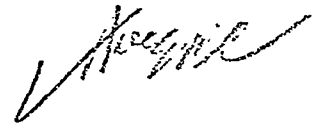
2/5/64

was the timing of the report and its possible misuse which concerned him. The statement the Attorney General objected to previously had been furnished to him on several occasions including the letter to him on July 17, 1963, forwarding to him the letter from Senator Monroney; The Attorney General was advised by memorandum of August 2, 1963, that "the description of King was made by Stanley Levinson first in 1962 and again in 1963."

RESPECTFULLY,



C. D. DE LOACH



FBI

Date: November 7, 1966

Transmit the following in PLAIN
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIR-TEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15206)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C

ReBuAir-Tel, 11-4-66.

Referenced BuAir-Tel crossed Pittsburgh Air-Tel of 11-3-66 enclosing a copy of the actual contract for the appearance of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING at the University of Pittsburgh.

Pittsburgh Air-Tel pointed out that University of Pittsburgh authorities were advised that requiring bodyguards is not a policy of the FBI and under no circumstances has Dr. KING ever been advised by the FBI that he is required to have a bodyguard.

On 11-7-66, SAC MacLENNAN personally contacted Miss HELEN P. RUSH, Dean of Student Activities, University of Pittsburgh, who has direct supervision over the Student Union's Public Affairs Mid-Day Lecture Series, which sponsored KING's visit. Miss RUSH was advised that the statement contained in the contract prepared by Dr. KING concerning a requirement of the FBI for a bodyguard is a complete fabrication. Miss RUSH was advised that the FBI does not provide personal protection for any individual nor do we advise anyone of the protective measures that should be taken concerning the safety of anyone and that this certainly applied to Dr. KING's visit.

Miss RUSH said she certainly appreciated receiving the true facts in this matter and that she would personally advise Dr. ROBERT KURTZMAN, Acting Chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh so that there will be no misunderstanding as to this matter.

- 3-Bureau
- 1-Atlanta (Enclosure 1)
- 1-Pittsburgh
- IDM/MMJ
- (5)

REC-103

NOV 8 1966

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Wick
55 DEC 2 1966
Approved:

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: November 7, 1966

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

PG. #100-15206

Enclosed for the Atlanta Office is a copy of the contract prepared by Dr. KING or his staff. This contract was obtained by SA E. CLEON GLAZE from JOHN VRANA, Assistant to Dean of Student Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. VRANA stated that this clause in the contract was not discussed with Dr. KING or any member of his party and hence they have no further information concerning this matter.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 11/21/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)
 FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5586)
 RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
 SM-C

Re Pittsburgh airtels 10/31 and 11/7/66 and
 Bureau airtel 11/4/66.

Bureau airtel 11/4/66, referred to an invoice sent to the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., attention Mr. JOHN R. LOCH, Director of the Student Union, dated 10/15/66, billing the University in the amount of \$1,000 for the appearance of KING at the University 11/2/66. This invoice on the form of the Adult Education Council of Greater Chicago instructed that upon completion of the engagement a check should be made payable to and sent to the Adult Education Council. The invoice also contained this statement, "Dr. KING's expenses plus those of his bodyguard (as required by the FBI) from Atlanta, Georgia, to Pittsburgh and back should be paid directly to Dr. KING."

The Bureau instructed that SAC, Atlanta personally set KING straight. Atlanta was instructed to determine from KING the identities of any recipients of contracts containing the above quoted phrase. Atlanta was to advise the Bureau of the identities of these recipients so that an evaluation could be made regarding additional corrective action. It is noted that SAC Pittsburgh has previously advised authorities at the University of Pittsburgh that the statement regarding

② - Bureau (RM)
 2 - Chicago (RM) (100-35356) (Enc. 1)
 2 - Atlanta

JKP:hld

(7)

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Approved: _____ Sent _____ Per _____
 Special Agent in Charge

AT 100-5586

the requirement of the FBI for a bodyguard for KING is a complete fabrication. Miss HELEN P. RUSH, Dean of Student Activities, University of Pittsburgh, was advised that the FBI does not provide protection for any individual nor do we advise anyone of the protective measures that should be taken concerning the safety of anyone and that this certainly applied to Dr. KING's visit to the University.

Pursuant to Bureau instructions, SAC, Atlanta, called on KING 11/21/66. Efforts to make an earlier appointment with him had been unsuccessful since KING has been in a travel status during the past two weeks. KING was advised that the Bureau was concerned about the above-described invoice since it indicated that the FBI required that he have a bodyguard. He was informed that as he knew the Bureau would not undertake the affording of protection to individuals nor would we recommend or require that he or anyone else have a bodyguard.

KING said he had been unaware that the Adult Education Council had submitted this or any other invoice in connection with his services for expenses for a bodyguard. He said he had no bodyguard and required the payment of expenses for no such person. He stated he was very much concerned about the invoice because it requested payment of the expenses for a bodyguard which he does not have and he was extremely anxious to clear this matter up and to prevent the sending of such invoices. KING said he was not aware that any such expense money had been requested by the Council and that all invoices for his appearances at colleges and universities are handled by the Council in Chicago and not by SCLC in Atlanta.

KING was apologetic and expressed appreciation to the Bureau for calling this misstatement to his attention. He said he would contact the Council directly to make certain that such invoices are not sent claiming expenses for a non-existent bodyguard.

AT 100-5586

KING said that arrangements regarding his speaking appearances for the Council are handled by Mrs. ESTHER FAIN, Adult Education Council of Greater Chicago, 332 South Michigan Avenue, telephone HA 7-2670.

A copy of instant invoice which was furnished to Atlanta with Pittsburgh airtel 11/7/66, is forwarded for the information of Chicago. Chicago will observe that this is a Xerox copy made from a copy and that some printing on the righthand edge of this form was not reproduced on the copy received from Pittsburgh. All the pertinent information appears to be contained on this copy, but it is noted that the invoice number (number 130) may not be complete.

Inasmuch as KING is not aware of the extent to which the Council may have billed other colleges and universities for bodyguard expenses and since such bills have been sent by the Council in Chicago, the Bureau may wish to direct Chicago to contact Mrs. FAIN to identify others to whom such invoices have been sent.

Chicago should await Bureau instructions before proceeding in this matter.

April 20, 1965

REC-125

61-10977L3

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable William L. Dickinson
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

REC'D - READING ROOM
FBI
APR 20 3 15 PM '65

My dear Congressman:

Your letter of April 16, 1965, has been received, and I can readily understand your desire to obtain data from FBI files on the individual and organizations you mentioned.

While I would like to be of service, information in our files must be maintained as confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. I trust you will understand my position.

Sincerely yours,

1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent with cover memo)

NOTE: See Morrell to DeLoach memo dated 4-20-65 captioned "Congressman William L. Dickinson (R. - Ala.), Request for Data from FBI files." GEM:mlk

GEM:mlk (5)

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

60 MAY 3 1965

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

WILLIAM L. DICKINSON
2D DISTRICT, ALABAMA

DISTRICT OFFICE:
ROOM 408 POST OFFICE BUILDING
PHONE: 263-7521, EXT. 453
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

Congress of the United States House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEES:
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

2D DISTRICT COUNTIES:
BALDWIN CRENSHAW
BUTLER ESCAMBIA
CONECUH LOWNDES
COVINGTON MONTGOMERY
PIKE

April 16, 1965

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I would like to request that I be sent whatever in your agency has in its files on Dr. Martin Luther King, and particularly that information which pertains to Dr. King's affiliation with Communist and Communist-front organizations.

I would also like to obtain or to inspect personally that data and information which your agency has on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Southern Conference Education Fund.

As you know, I have spoken recently on the Floor of the House on the connection between the recent civil disturbances in my home State and the Communist Party.

One of our local papers reported that there were about 100 F.B.I. Agents in Alabama in connection with the demonstrations and the march from Selma to Montgomery. I would be very much interested in seeing the reports of these agents on the march.

I look forward to an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

W. L. DICKINSON

WLD:egm

REC-125

62-109771-3

11 APR 19 1965

Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Kepler
Boatman
Phy

38 APR 16 1965
EXP. PROC.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Manuel to DeLoach memo 4-20-65
let to Dickinson 4-20-65
GE m/folk

INT. SEC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 4-20-65

FROM : D. C. Morrell

SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM L. DICKINSON (R. -ALA.)
REQUEST FOR DATA FROM FBI FILES

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Blagden
W. J. ...
...

By letter dated 4/16/65 Congressman William L. Dickinson, Republican from Alabama, elected to Congress in November, 1964, requested that the Director send him whatever information the FBI has in its files on Dr. Martin Luther King and particularly any information pertaining to Dr. King's affiliations with communists and communist-front groups. Also, he desires data on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Southern Conference Education Fund. Also he indicates he would be very much interested in seeing the reports of FBI Agents which concern the demonstrations and the march from Selma to Montgomery. He states that Alabama papers stated there were about 100 FBI Agents in Alabama in this connection. Also he refers to his recent speech on the Floor of the House of Representatives on the connection between recent civil rights demonstrations in Alabama and the Communist Party.

A copy of the remarks by Congressman Dickinson on the Floor of the House of Representatives on 3-30-65 is attached.

Briefly, Congressman Dickinson spoke concerning the march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, and alleged that the press failed to report immoral activities engaged in by the marchers. He called attention to communist sympathizers associated with the march and identified them as Carl Braden, Abner Berry, James Peck, Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King. He also referred to others who have a security-risk background. In this regard he stated that the U. S. Government knows all these facts; that the FBI has a file on "King Martin Luther," and on the others he mentioned and said "the Government helped promote the occurrences in Alabama." He alleged that Government officials participated in such activities and that the Justice Department assisted in their promotion, all with the knowledge and consent of the President. Also included is an affidavit of Karl Prussion, signed 9-28-63, which sets forth information regarding communist activities in connection with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (NAACP) Prussion is a former San Francisco informant who assisted the FBI in security matters.

Congressman Dickinson, aged 39 at the time of his election to Congress, is a former railway executive and former circuit judge in Montgomery, Alabama. In

Enclosures sent 4-21-65
1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures (2)

16 MAY 3 1965

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CORRESPONDENCE

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach
RE: CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

line with the Director's policy of having new members of Congress contacted where advisable, Special Hobson H. Adcock of your (Mr. DeLoach) office visited Congressman Dickinson on 2-24-65. Dickinson was very cordial, was most appreciative of the contact, indicated he knew very little about FBI jurisdiction and asked a number of questions in connection with FBI responsibilities in civil rights. He indicated he would be most willing to cooperate with the Bureau in matters of mutual interest and that he was most grateful for the contact.

OBSERVATIONS:

Martin Luther King, of course, has had his name linked with numerous communist-front groups and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as well as the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is headed by Martin Luther King, Jr. It is currently under investigation to determine the extent of its communist infiltration, domination and control. The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) is the successor organization to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, cited in the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" as a communist front by the HCUA in 1947. The SCEF is the subject of a current Bureau security investigation.

It is believed, in accordance with existing policy, that it would be advisable to inform the Congressman that the confidential nature of FBI files pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice precludes the Director's responding favorably to the request of Congressman Dickinson.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the attached letter advising the Congressman of the confidential nature of FBI files be approved and thereafter ~~personally~~ delivered by special messenger.

OK
J
Q
AM
D
K

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
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- Sullivan _____
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- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: May 28, 1968

FROM : T. E. Bishop

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF WIRETAPS AND MICROPHONES
BY ROBERT F. KENNEDY

Mr. Carl Greenburg, Political Editor of the Los Angeles Times, called shortly after 2 p.m. today and advised that the Los Angeles Times had just been furnished a statement by Frank Mankiewicz, Press Secretary to Senator Kennedy. According to Mr. Greenburg, this statement related to Drew Pearson's claim that Senator Kennedy authorized FBI bugging or wiretapping of Martin Luther King. Mr. Greenburg said that he wished the Bureau to have the benefit of this statement and also would appreciate any comment the Director might wish to make concerning it.

Mr. Greenburg was advised that the FBI had made no comment whatsoever regarding Drew Pearson's article. He did ask, however, if at all possible the attached statement be brought to Mr. Hoover's attention personally because as he said he was "more brutal" in his opinion than anything Kennedy had previously said concerning this matter.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that "no comment" be made concerning the attached Kennedy statement and that Mr. Greenburg be so advised by my office.

I told Bishop to stick to "no comment"
I told Bishop to stick to "no comment."

Enclosure
ENCLOSURE

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enc.
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enc.
- 1 - Mr. Jones - Enc.

HPL:pam
(5)

REC-106

JUN 6 1968

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

JUN 11 1968

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 92-1-10

GREENBERG SEARCH

"Senator Kennedy has continuously stated that at no time while he was Attorney General did he approve or authorize any electronic surveillances of anyone. Pursuant to policies in effect since President Roosevelt's Executive Order of 1940, he did, as Attorney General, approve a limited number of wiretaps in national security cases but, on each occasion, only at the written request of the FBI. Since leaving the Department of Justice, Senator Kennedy has not discussed any particular individual case and he will not do so now.

"It is unfortunate that Drew Pearson is permitting himself to be used in J. Edgar Hoover's continuing campaign against Martin Luther King --- now apparently against the memory of Martin Luther King.

"The information that Pearson discusses in his column from the alleged surveillance was developed, according to him, in 1968, two Attorneys General and one President later and well after President Johnson's order forbidding such practices."

JUN 6 1968
JEROME

101-106670-3472
MICROFILM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 3-25-65

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: REPRESENTATIVE WENDELL WYATT
(REPUBLICAN -- OREGON)
MEETING WITH DIRECTOR, 3-25-65

Per prior arrangements Congressman Wyatt was introduced to the Director at 10:15 a. m. today by SA Donald R. Morris, Crime Research Section.

During a very cordial meeting, Congressman Wyatt stated that ever since his election he had wanted to meet the Director and advise him that he strongly supports the Director and the FBI and that he would be more than happy to render to the Bureau any assistance at any time on any matter that the Director may desire. He advised the Director and the Bureau had been the target of unjust and unfair criticism, particularly regarding Martin Luther King and civil rights, and he wanted the Director to be assured of his support. Wyatt related that he had received between 150 and 200 constituent letters regarding the King matter, all of which supported the Director; none supported King.

The Director briefed Wyatt on the details leading up to the public announcement that King was a liar, including the facts on which King was in error, and reviewed his subsequent meeting with King. Congressman Wyatt obviously holds no respect for King and his associates and stated he was glad the Director called King's hand. Mr. Wyatt said he felt King's power stemmed from the fact that no one in the Administration, except Mr. Hoover, had the courage to say "no."

Mr. Hoover then summarized portions of his testimony before the Warren Commission and pointed out the absurdity of some of Chief Justice Warren's statements relating to the Bureau's not arresting Oswald prior to the assassination. The Director emphasized the unfair criticism of the Bureau and the "Monday morning quarterbacking" by the Warren Commission.

- 1 - Miss Holmes
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Trotter

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DRM: vcs

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE.

(7) 56 APR 2 1965

CRIME RESEARCH

RECEIVED

REC'D. UNIT

M. A. Jones to DeLoach Memorandum
RE: Representative Wendell Wyatt

The Director told the Congressman he felt many courts were taking the handcuffs off the criminal and placing them on law enforcement officers. Mr. Hoover felt this was due not only to "bleeding heart" theorists but also due to incompetent and unqualified individuals on the Bench. The Director cited as an example the case handled by Judge Leighton in Chicago concerning the attack on police officers by a thug with a broken bottle.

The Congressman mentioned that Oregon had, in November, 1964, abolished capital punishment. Mr. Hoover reiterated his position on capital punishment stating he would favor such punishment so long as criminals sentenced to life in prison could and would be released as early as seven years after sentencing. He pointed out the fallacy of stating capital punishment did not act as a deterrent to crime. Wyatt agreed with the Director's position.

Regarding Agent qualifications, the Director stated he had successfully resisted Robert Kennedy's efforts to have qualifications lowered merely to accept Negro applicants. Mr. Hoover stated the Bureau has 25 Negro Agents but all are well-qualified, and he would not lower the standards just to accept Negroes as long as he is Director.

Congressman Wyatt stated the Oregon State Board of Control had instituted a research study of 1,000 check writers to determine if added legislation or parole and probation changes were necessary. The Board had requested assistance from the Identification Division to research criminal records of the 1,000 individuals in this study and had been advised by letter that our work load would not permit us to be of assistance. The Director commented that it had been necessary for us to decline similar requests from 18 states as we simply do not have sufficient personnel to research such projects and still handle over 20,000 fingerprint cards each day. The Congressman stated he understood and appreciated the Bureau's position.

Mr. Wyatt apologized for taking so much of the Director's time and expressed his appreciation to the Director for the interview. A photograph was taken, and the Director told Mr. Wyatt his door was always open to him.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information. ✓

- 2 =

gnc

[Handwritten signature]

Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. DeLoach ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
 Mr. Wick ✓
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
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 Miss Gandy _____

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UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

11/14/66

MR. TOLSON:

D.C.

Mr. Irving Davidson called and stated he wanted to advise you what his friend, Mr. James R. Hoffa, thought of Martin Luther King.

Mr. Davidson said Mr. Hoffa had lunch last Thursday with Martin Luther King and that he, Mr. Davidson, had dinner that night with Mr. Hoffa. He stated Mr. Hoffa told him he did not respect Mr. King too much from the way he talked to him; that he felt Mr. King was like the man who ran a 100 yard dash and ran out of steam at about 40 yards; that he thought King had been living the life of Goldberg in Miami, i. e. living off his people and that he is afraid he is going to have to go back to earning an honest living; that King wanted to attach himself to the Teamsters Union and wanted to use the Teamsters as a platform but Mr. Hoffa did not want anybody to use the Teamsters unless they are teamsters; that Hoffa thought King was a faker and was losing his strength; that King asked Hoffa what he thought about his, King's, going to Vietnam and telling the soldiers why they were there; that Hoffa told him they were there because they were Americans and did not need him, King, to tell them why they were there; that Hoffa told King he had better go back and work with his own people and not set themselves as special citizens of the United States.

Mr. Davidson said he knew Mr. King was very unhappy as he thought he would come back with a check.

✓ DSS

REC 29

16-1-100-2780-100-106670

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 11/9/66

FROM : R. E. Wick

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C
PROPOSED MEETING WITH
JAMES R. HOFFA, 11/9/66

Shoemaker
Bowling
D. Amle

It was previously recommended and approved that Crime Records alert friendly news media regarding a proposed meeting between King and Hoffa 11/9/66.

Through a reliable source we learned late last night that in view of publicity in the New York Daily News regarding this proposed meeting, King and his aides had decided that it would be unwise to meet with Hoffa. It was further ascertained that King was still due to arrive in Washington at 11:30 AM this morning, it being noted that he had a speech scheduled at Howard University this evening.

We alerted Julian Morrison, a very friendly reporter with the Washington News, and Sid Epstein of The Star regarding King's arrival time in Washington. The reporters cornered King as he came off the plane and quizzed him about the meeting with Hoffa. King at first told the reporters that the meeting had been cancelled and he seemed to be flustered at the reporters' appearance. He then ducked into a mens' room at the airport with his aides and upon emerging told the reporters that there had been discussion regarding his meeting Hoffa but that he had no further comment at this time, and he had decided to hold a press conference later on this afternoon at the Statler Hotel. King then left the airport with Clarence Jones who had come down earlier from New York, and with an attorney with Jones by the name of Philip Sipser, who identified himself as a labor lawyer.

Morrison advised at 3:15 PM this afternoon that he had finally gotten through to King's party at the Statler and had talked to King's aide Reverend Andrew Young. Young at this time informed Morrison that the meeting between King and Hoffa was off and he claimed that the meeting had been cancelled last night.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Jones

REC 11

NOV 17 1966

CONTINUED - OVER

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This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Wick to DeLoach
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.
Security Matter - C
Proposed Meeting with James R. Hoffa 11/9/66

Morrison pressed him for details and Young said that the proposed purpose of this meeting had been "misinterpreted." He said King had wanted to have an off-the-record discussion with Hoffa regarding the problems of the Negroes in the Teamsters and Young claimed that King's outfit had worked closely with the Teamsters in Atlanta and Chicago and they felt it was time for them to meet the Teamster head. Young said it was difficult for King to have a private conversation with anyone in view of his prominence and reiterated that the whole matter had been "misinterpreted and distorted." Reporter Morrison continued to press Young and Young finally acknowledged that King might try to have a meeting with Hoffa at some other time.

Morrison advises that The News will carry a picture tomorrow of King arriving in town, together with the information set out above. The Star is also going to report this meeting.

It is felt that our counterintelligence aim to thwart King in receiving money from the Teamsters has been quite successful to date.

The above is for your information, and certainly highlights the excellent results which have been achieved through close cooperation between the Domestic Intelligence Division and Crime Records. We have just received a copy of the late edition of today's Star which carries the story by Ronald Sarrø, captioned "King Denies Going to Hoffa for Funds."

King ✓ *RP*
RP
TV
Excellent.
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- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

King Denies Going to Hoffa for Funds

By RONALD SARRO
Star Staff Writer

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. confirmed today that he was scheduled to meet with Teamsters Union head James Hoffa, but denied a published report that the meeting was to seek funds for the dwindling coffers of the civil rights movement.

The civil rights leader, arriving at National Airport for a number of Washington engagements, appeared indecisive early this afternoon as to whether he would keep the appointment with Hoffa later in the day.

As he stepped from a jet bringing him from Atlanta, King was asked by a reporter about the meeting, and he indicated it was off. "The impression was falsely given that I was going to Mr. Hoffa for funds," King said.

But King did not explain the purpose of the meeting, reportedly arranged at his request.

Aides Expect Meeting

After conferring with several persons who met him, King said the merits of keeping the Hoffa appointment would have to be discussed. Two aides, however, said they expected King to meet with the controversial union head.

King indicated he would put

much weight in the final meeting decision on advice from Clarence B. Jones, a lawyer from New York "who has been working closely with me."

Jones, who said he was active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored

People, said he now heads a New York insurance firm.

King also said yesterday's election "has been encouraging for the civil rights movement" and "refuted" some comments that the balloting was a reflection of a massive white backlash.

King said the civil rights movement had won some and lost some, but for the most part the results were encouraging.

He said the Maryland gubernatorial contest in which Spiro Agnew, the Republican, beat Democrat George P. Mahony was an indication of the weakness of the so-called backlash.

Percy "Progressive"

King said he did not believe that racial demonstrations in Illinois defeated his friend, Sen. Paul Douglas, a Democrat. He said many Negroes voted for Republican Charles Percy "because he is progressive" and they "voted against the machine."

The standoff in Georgia, where segregationist Lester Maddox was a threat to civil rights interests, will have to go to federal court to be settled, King said.

He said he anticipated this

would be the means to resolve the election there since the Georgia legislature "is still malapportioned."

King is scheduled to speak tonight at Howard University's physical education building for men on "Pathway to Peace: Today and Tomorrow."

He said he would meet with the Rev. William Fauntroy, Washington civil rights leader, before the 2:30 scheduled time for the meeting with Hoffa.

- The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
- The Washington Daily News _____
- The Washington Evening Star 11-1
- New York Daily News _____
- New York Herald Tribune _____
- New York Post _____
- The New York Times _____
- New York World Journal _____
- New York World _____
- Journal Tribune _____
- The Baltimore Sun _____
- The Worker _____
- The New Leader _____
- The Wall Street Journal _____
- The National Observer _____
- People's World _____
- Date _____

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NOV 9 1966

100-106670-
ENCLOSURE

2771

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Holmes	_____
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TO : Mr. DeLoach *DeLoach*

DATE: November 8, 1966

FROM : R. E. Wick *Wick*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

JAMES HOFFA
PRESIDENT
TEAMSTERS UNION

PROPOSED MEETING, 11/9/66

Reference is made to the three memoranda from Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan concerning captioned matter dated 10/28/66, 11/3/66 and 11/4/66. It was pointed out that arrangements had been made for King and Hoffa to meet in Washington at Hoffa's office, 11/9/66, for lunch to discuss financial aid to King, etc. The Director approved the alerting of the press prior to the meeting.

There is attached a story from Page 2 of the "New York Daily News" today, and "The Washington Post" of today, Page 3. These reflect that King will visit Hoffa here in Washington on Wednesday, 11/9/66. I took this matter up with Frank Holeman of the "New York Daily News" on a very confidential basis and also have discussed the matter with Victor Riesel, who will have a longer story this week in his national column.

News photographers and wire services are also being alerted to give coverage to the meeting tomorrow.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosures

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Jones

REW:dse

(6)

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100-106170-278A

NOV. 22 1966

King Woos Hoffa \$\$ For Rights Campaign

Washington, Nov. 7 (Special)—The Rev. Martin Luther King is making overtures to Teamsters Union chief Jimmy Hoffa in hopes that Hoffa will pump some of the huge union's ample funds into the faltering civil rights movement, THE NEWS learned tonight.

The two men are to talk the matter over at luncheon Wednesday in Hoffa's palatial quarters in the Teamster building here at the foot of Capitol Hill.

The meeting was arranged at King's request. It was supposed to be secret. Late today Hoffa's aids were still insisting they knew nothing about it. King could not be reached for comment. But THE NEWS verified the luncheon plan.

Reasons Outlined

Hoffa was expected to give King a very friendly hearing for these reasons:

1. There are 450,000 Negroes in the 1.7 million member Teamsters Union.
2. Hoffa prides himself on his own long pro-civil rights record, including personal friendship with ex-heavyweight champ Joe Louis.
3. Appealing two federal jail sentences totalling 13 years, Hoffa obviously could use a lot of new friends right now.
4. An agreement between King and Hoffa might make it easier for the teamsters to sign up new Negro members in many industries.

As for King's reasons, it is known that contributions from white liberals to civil rights groups, including his own Southern Christian Leadership Conference, have dwindled to a trickle, due to the furore in recent months over "black power."

King has repeatedly disavowed violence and a go-it-alone policy for Negroes. But he has refused to repudiate the most vocal advocates of "black power," Stokely Carmichael, head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Floyd McKissick, chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality.

March on Washington

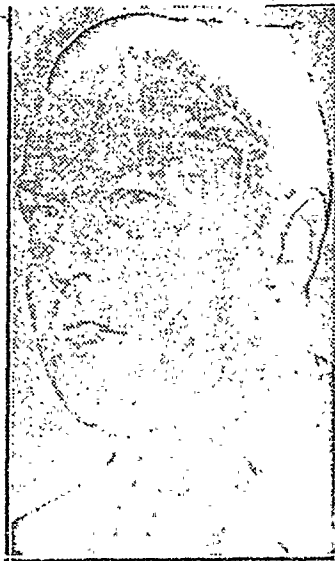
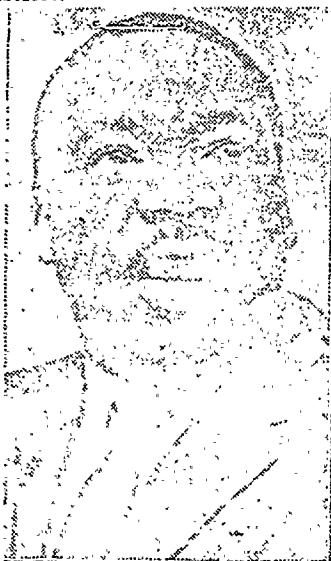
Until the eruption over "black power," unions, churches and wealthy white liberals provided most of the money for the civil rights drive, including the famous March on Washington, in 1963.

Walter Reuther, whose United Auto Workers union has poured

hundreds of thousands of dollars into the movement, was recently denied renomination to the board of directors of the NAACP. A battle to reverse the action is now under way in local chapters around the country.

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- The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
- The Washington Daily News _____
- The Washington Evening Star _____
- New York Daily News _____
- New York Post _____
- The New York Times _____
- New York World Journal Tribune _____
- The Baltimore Sun _____
- The Worker _____
- The New Leader _____
- The Wall Street Journal _____
- The National Observer _____
- People's World _____
- Date _____



Martin Luther King
Contributions unwind

Jimmy Hoffa
Luncheon is arranged

ENCLOSURE

7784

NOV 8 1966

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**King to Visit Hoffa ^{A-3}
In Rights Fund Quest**

New York Daily News Service

The Rev. Martin Luther King is making overtures to Teamsters union chief Jimmy Hoffa in hopes that Hoffa will pump some of the union's ample funds into the faltering civil rights movement.

The two men are to talk the matter over at luncheon Wednesday in the Teamster building here.

Contributions from white liberals to civil rights groups, including his Kings' Southern Christian Leadership Conference, have dwindled to a trickle, due to the furor in recent months over "black power."

- The Washington Post and Times Herald A-3
- The Washington Daily News _____
- The Washington Evening Star _____
- New York Daily News _____
- New York Post _____
- The New York Times _____
- New York World _____
- Journal Tribune _____
- The Baltimore Sun _____
- The Worker _____
- The New Leader _____
- The Wall Street Journal _____
- The National Observer _____
- People's World _____
- Date _____

NOV 3 1966

ENCLOSURE

100-100000-2784

11/4/66

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Wells

Airtel

To: SAC, Pittsburgh (100-15206)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-106670) - 2/15

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C

[Handwritten signature]

Reurairtel 10/31/66.

Above-referenced airtel indicated that when Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, sent a contract to the University of Pittsburgh prior to his speaking there, it contained a clause that King must be provided with one bodyguard "as required by the Federal Bureau of Investigation." It is essential that this matter be resolved immediately and the record set straight. Due to King's prominence in the civil rights movement and the involvement of an institution of higher learning, the SAC should personally contact the appropriate University of Pittsburgh official to verify the inclusion of this phrase in King's contract. If verified, the University of Pittsburgh official should be advised that this statement is a complete fabrication on King's part. Also advise the official that the FBI does not provide personal protection for any individual nor advise anyone of the protective measures that should be taken concerning the safety of anyone.

The Pittsburgh Office should then advise Atlanta of all pertinent details so that the SAC, Atlanta can personally set King straight. Atlanta should determine from King the identities of any recipients of such contracts containing this phrase. Atlanta should advise the Bureau of the identities of these recipients so that an evaluation can be made at that time regarding additional corrective action.

MAILED 27
NOV 4 1966
COMM - FBI

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1 - Atlanta (100-5586) (Personal Attention)

DMW:dac

(8) See Baumgardner to Sullivan memorandum dated 11/3/66,

prepared by DMW:dac, same caption.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
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- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11/3/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Wells

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

BACKGROUND:

The Pittsburgh Office has advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was scheduled to speak at the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on 11/2/66. A source at the university advised that the contract utilized by King to cover his appearance there contained the statement that one bodyguard be provided King "as required by the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

OBSERVATIONS:

This is the first time we have received information indicating this phrase is being utilized by King in his contracts covering his personal appearances. While it is essential that this matter be set straight immediately, it is felt that it would be desirable to verify the existence of this phrase in King's contract. Due to King's prominence in the civil rights movement and the involvement of an institution of higher learning, this contact should be made by the Special Agent in Charge (SAC) personally. The SAC should contact appropriate University of Pittsburgh officials to verify the inclusion of this phrase in King's contract. If verified, these officials should be advised that this is a complete fabrication on King's part. The Pittsburgh Office should then advise Atlanta of all pertinent details so that the SAC in Atlanta can personally set King straight. It should also be determined from King the identities of other recipients of a contract containing this phrase. Atlanta should advise the Bureau of the identities of any additional recipients so that an evaluation can be made at that time regarding additional corrective action.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached airtel to Pittsburgh, November 3, 1966, with instructions along the above lines be forwarded.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Baumgardner
Shapiro

REC-42

100-100000-2762

62 NOV 15 1966

Enclosure

DMV:dac (5)

AK
FW 11/3

P *V*

INT. SEC.

FBI

Date: 10/31/66

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15206) (P)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C
OO: Atlanta

B. Gardner

Re Pittsburgh letter to Bureau dated 9/26/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies and for Atlanta two copies of a LHM re captioned subject. One copy also being furnished G-2, OSI and Secret Service, Pittsburgh, Pa., and NISO, Philadelphia.

Investigation reported in the LHM was conducted by SA E. CLEON GLAZE at Pittsburgh, Pa.

On 10/31/66, Inspector JOHN KELLY, Pittsburgh Police Department, and EDWARD HINES, G-2, both of Pittsburgh, Pa., were advised re information in LHM by SA E. CLEON GLAZE.

It is noted that JOHN VRANA, mentioned in LHM, further advised that the Student Union, University of Pittsburgh contract with KING provided for his visit with one bodyguard "as required by the Federal Bureau of Investigation." VRANA stated that the contract received from KING contained this information regarding his bodyguard being required by the FBI. Since this appears to be some gimmick employed by KING, this data has not been incorporated in LHM.

Pittsburgh will follow KING's visit and report any pertinent information developed.

ENCLOSURE 100-106670-2765

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-5586) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Pittsburgh

18 NOV 2 1966

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.;
DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO

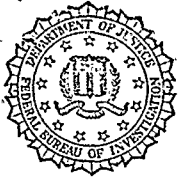
DATE FORW: 11/3/66
HOW FORW: RIS

MEMO
1-12
DMD
Wick
100-106670-2765

BY DMD/jc
100 LHM 924940

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
October 31, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

On October 28, 1966, Joseph E. Hedges, Campus Proctor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., advised that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., will visit that campus on November 2, 1966, as a guest speaker in the Student Union's Public Affairs Mid-Day Lecture Series. He said the lecture will be held in the Student Union Ballroom. King will also be a guest at a 3:00 PM coffee hour in the Student Union lower lounge.

The October 31, 1966, edition of the "Pittsburgh Post-Gazette," a daily Pittsburgh newspaper, contained an article entitled, "Negroes Hit Pitt on King," which revealed the following:

"Negro students at the University of Pittsburgh are upset about arrangements made by Pitt for the appearance of Dr. Martin Luther King on Wednesday, a spokesman said last night.

"The spokesman, Earl Trent, said that no Negro students were invited by Pitt to greet Dr. King on his arrival at Greater Pittsburgh Airport.

"Dr. King will speak at noon Wednesday in Pitt's Student Union.

"Trent, chairman of the Hill Education Project, a volunteer program for students to tutor Hill District children, charged that Pitt's 'white power structure' refuses to recognize Negroes at the Oakland school.

"If Barry Goldwater or Ronald Reagan were to come to Pitt," he said, 'white students would be invited to meet them at the airport.'

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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ENCLOSURE 100-106510-2763

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

"Trent, who said he was a spokesman for about 100 Negroes at Pitt and an Undergraduate, noted that Dr. King's mode of transportation from the airport to Pitt was insufficient for a 'man of his caliber.'

"'He will be jammed into a Mustang convertible with all of his aides,' he declared.

"Trent said Negro students were signing a petition protesting Pitt's treatment of their race.

"'This is not the first time that Negroes have been trampled upon by Pitt,' he asserted. 'We want to show the university that we are unified and protest these actions.'"

On October 31, 1966, John Vrana, Assistant to the Dean of Student Affairs, advised that John Robert Loch, Director of Student Union, University of Pittsburgh, makes the arrangements for speakers in the public affairs lecture series and sends the official invitations from the University. He also meets the guests upon their arrival and drives them in his personal automobile, a Mustang convertible, to the University. Vrana said this is normal procedure for guest speakers in this lecture series regardless of the importance of the position of the speaker.

Vrana also stated that the contract with King is for his visit with one bodyguard. He said the expenses for King and his bodyguard will be paid by the Student Union from money budgeted to the Student Union by the University of Pittsburgh for this purpose.

Vrana stated that even though standard procedures are for Loch to pick up the guests in his personally-owned automobile, it is his understanding that the University plans to make available the University limousine and chauffeur for the purpose of picking up King and his party.

Vrana stated that it is expected that approximately 600 people will attend the lecture as this is the maximum capacity of the Student Union Ballroom.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM : *JM* SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15206) (*Enc*)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM-C
OO ATLANTA

DATE: 9/26/66

For the information of the Bureau and Atlanta, the University of Pittsburgh Student Activities Calendar for the Fall trimester of 1966 reveals that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING is scheduled for a lecture at 12:00 noon, November 2, 1966, in the Student Union Ballroom, University of Pittsburgh. He was invited to the University of Pittsburgh by the Student Union to speak in a series called "Public Affairs Series." No additional information available at this time concerning KING's proposed visit.

On 9/23/66, Inspector JOHN KELLY, Pittsburgh Police Department, and BENNO REISLER, G-2, both of Pittsburgh, Pa., advised of above information by SA DONALD F. WISEMAN. The above information is being confirmed by letter to G-2.

- cc 9/27/66*
- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 2 - Atlanta (100-5586) (RM)
 - 1 - Pittsburgh
- ECG/njm
(5)

PROC.
EXP. PROC.
EXP. PROC.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

REC 32

100-106670-2714

EX - 106

4 SEP 27 1966

26 31 3 23 BH .88

INT. SEC.

SUB CONTROL
INT. DIS.
REC'D



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Wick	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: 4/29/66

FROM : J. J. Casper

SUBJECT: CHIEF CARL HANSSON
 RETIRED CHIEF OF POLICE
 DALLAS POLICE DEPARTMENT
 MEETING WITH THE DIRECTOR
 APRIL 29, 1966

5-
Handwritten initials and signatures

On the morning of April 29, 1966, I introduced Chief Carl Hansson to the Director. Mr. Hoover thanked Chief Hansson for the assistance he has rendered to the FBI in lecturing before the National Academy over all the years. He complimented Chief Hansson for his contributions to the National Academy whereupon Chief Hansson told the Director he was deeply grateful to him for letting him participate in the National Academy program and also for what the Director had done for the Dallas Police Department in renewing training and cooperation. Chief Hansson stated that he regretted what occurred in Dallas but he fully agreed with what the Director had to do. He said it should have never happened. The Director then outlined to Chief Hansson the basic problems that we had with former Chief of Police Jesse Curry and the head of the Detective Bureau of the Dallas Police Department. The Director said that as a result of the inexcusable actions on the part of these men, he had severed relations with the Dallas Police Department and afforded them no training assistance and accepted no National Academy candidates from that department. He described the situation concerning the Dallas Police Department as being utterly inexcusable and said that he wanted to have good relations similar to those that we had with Chief Hansson, particularly in a city as large as Dallas. He said we should always work together to accomplish our joint goal.

The Director told Chief Hansson of his meeting with the Mayor of the City of Dallas Erik Jonsson and how he outlined to the Mayor the problems we had with the Dallas Police Department. The Director told Jonsson that we were unable to work with the Chief of Police. Mayor Jonsson indicated to the

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Cotter

REC 8
 EX-108
 94-40645-270

JJC/pal
 (2)

Handwritten notes and signatures
 XEROX
 5 1966

15 MAY 4 1966
 "CONTINUED - OVER"

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memo Casper to Mohr
Re: Chief Carl Hansson
Retired Chief of Police
Dallas Police Department
Meeting with the Director 4/29/66

Director that he was going to get rid of Chief Curry. The Director said that if the Mayor followed through with his promise, he would again fully cooperate with the Dallas Police Department. Subsequently, Chief Curry retired and the new man, Chief Charles Batchelor, was appointed. The Director described him as a very high-class man and told Chief Hansson that we have removed all restrictions concerning the Dallas Police Department.

The Director also commended Chief Hansson for the attitude that he had when he was Chief of Police with regard to the handling of civil rights cases. The Director pointed out how in most police departments across the country today, we seem to be getting excellent cooperation in handling these matters and for the most part the only place we are encountering difficulty is in dealing with some of the so called red-neck sheriffs in the deep south. The Director told Chief Hansson that Civilian Review Boards destroy the morale of the police department. Chief Hansson added that he felt a Chief of Police is abdicating his authority and responsibilities when he permits a Civilian Review Board to come into effect. The Director told him he was absolutely right. The Director told Chief Hansson about the Civilian Review Boards in Philadelphia and Rochester and that during the Philadelphia riots, it was found that the police were not making arrests because they did not want to be called before the Review Boards. The Director said that he was surprised that Leary, Commissioner of Police in New York, took the job in New York when he knew that he would have to have a Civilian Review Board.

The Director also discussed with Chief Hansson the problem of verbal brutality which is confronting police across the nation today. He also discussed defacto segregation which is occurring in New York City. He pointed out to Chief Hansson how wrong this was. Chief Hansson agreed and said that we were living in changing times and conditions were different. He said that morals of the country had changed. The Director agreed. He said that people were expecting rights to be afforded to them without carrying out or accepting responsibilities that goes along with these rights. The Director told Chief Hansson of his visit with Martin Luther King and how he ^(King) was advocating down in Alabama today that the Negroes go out and vote as a block. The

Memo Casper to Mohr
Re: Chief Carl Hansson
Retired Chief of Police
Dallas Police Department
Meeting with the Director 4/29/66



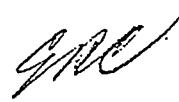
Director said this was very harmful leadership. It would be just as bad if the Jewish people recommended that their people go out and vote in a block and the Catholics recommended that their people vote in a block. He was glad to note, however, that here in the District of Columbia where there is considerable effort on the part of Negroes to establish home rule that there is a backwash. The Director then discussed with Chief Hansson the problems occurring in the District of Columbia particularly in the schools.

Chief Hansson was most grateful to the Director for giving him a few minutes of his time and again expressed a great admiration for the Director and told him he looked very well. He expressed his extreme appreciation for being permitted to lecture before the National Academy. The Director again thanked Chief Hansson and the interview was terminated.

Chief Hansson was most appreciative of the Director giving him a few minutes of his time and again commented how fine the Director looked. He gave an excellent lecture before the National Academy this morning and this afternoon participated in a panel discussion that I am sure all members of the class profited from.

RECOMMENDATION:

None . . . for information.

✓




UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 4/29/65

4230

FROM : D. C. Morrell *DCM/jcm*

SUBJECT: REFERRAL BY CONGRESSMAN JOHN J. GILLIGAN, OHIO,
OF POST CARD DEPICTING MARTIN LUTHER KING
AND OTHERS AT COMMUNIST TRAINING SCHOOL.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

BCD/MS

By communication dated 4/26/65, captioned congressman, Democrat, who was elected 11/64 and for whom no derogatory information appears in Bufiles, forwarded a post card depicting Martin Luther King and others at an alleged communist training school. Gilligan asked the names of the three people sitting near Dr. King and that this post card be returned to him. On the reverse side of the post card the names were set forth and a description as to where they appeared. This photograph is readily recognized as one widely being circulated by individuals attempting to point out the true nature of King's activities. A circular received by this Bureau frequently as reprinted from the "Augusta Courier" on 7/8/63 shows the photograph from which the post card picture was cropped. Actually the post card cropped Abner W. Berry and the description on the reverse side would tend to indicate that Berry was the person known to the Bureau as Myles Horton, Director of the Highlander Folk School.

According to Bufiles the individuals depicted in the circular are properly identified. All of these individuals are well known to the Bureau for their communist-front activities and connections.

OBSERVATIONS:

It would be difficult to put in writing the description of the true photograph from which the post card was cropped; however, a personal contact could deliver the circular and the congressman could be apprised of the proper names to be utilized in connection with his request.

RECOMMENDATION:

That someone from your (Mr. DeLoach's) office make the appropriate contact with Congressman Gilligan or his Administrative Assistant and tactfully refer to the confidential nature of data appearing in our files. (At this time the attached post card can be returned to him along with the attached circular from the "Augusta Courier" and the "cropping" of Berry can be explained orally. Naturally we cannot verify nor disclaim the characterizations of these men.

Handled 5-4-65 with El Wagner, Leg. Asst. to Cong. Gilligan - DAB

21 MAY 5 1965

Enclosures
 1. Mr. DeLoach & Enclosures
 This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 26, 1965

Respectfully referred to

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

If it is possible to do so,
will you kindly advise me the
names of the three people
sitting near Dr. King in the
attached photo. Please return
the photo-card to me. Thank you.

Very respectfully,

John J. Gilligan
John J. Gilligan
M.C., 1-Ohio District.
16-76359-1

EC 44

100-106673-1305

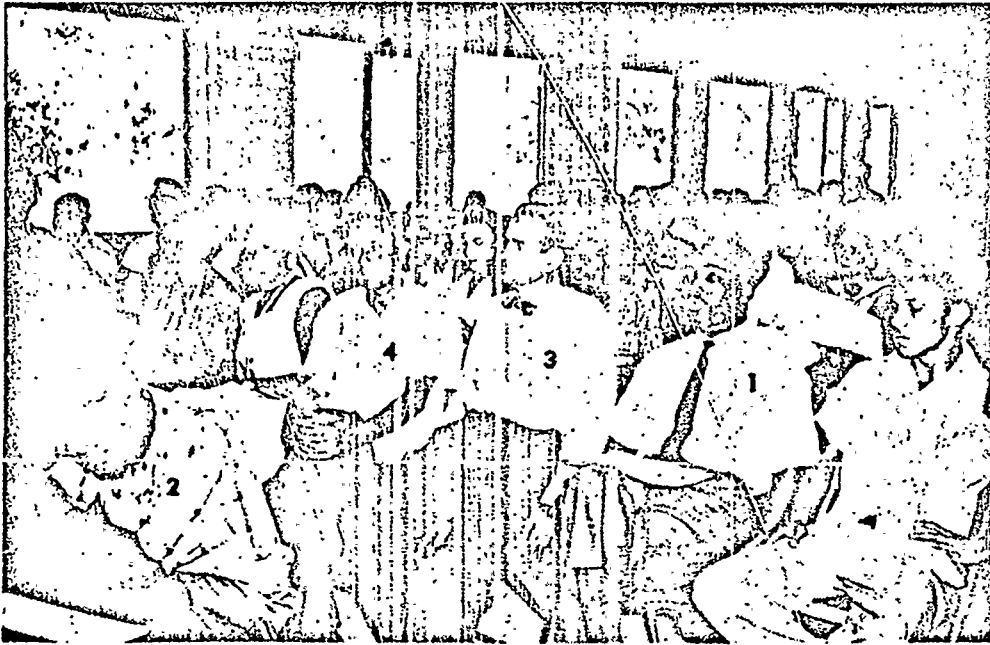
5-5
2 APR 27 1965

77-5011-7211
CORRESPONDENCE
& 111

J
ENCLOSURE
111-106673-1305
4-24-65
1-1111-1111

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

MARTIN LUTHER KING.... AT COMMUNIST TRAINING SCHOOL



The above picture was made by an employee of the State of Georgia, at the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee during the Labor Day week-end of 1957. The photographer was sent to the Highlander Folk School by the Georgia Commission on Education. The Highlander Folk School was abolished by an act of the Legislature of the State of Tennessee at a later date because it was charged with being a subversive organization.

Those numbered in the picture are:

1. Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Montgomery boycott and the Birmingham riots. Karl Prussion, a counterspy for the FBI for twenty-two years, charges that Martin Luther King belongs to sixty Communist-front organizations — more than any Communist in the United States. He is promoted and encouraged by the Kennedys.
2. Abner W. Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.
3. Aubrey Williams, President of the Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc., The Transmission Belt in the South for the Communist Party.
4. Myles Horton, Director of Highlander Folk School for Communist Training, Monteagle, Tennessee.

These "Four Horsemen" of racial agitation have brought tension, disturbance, strife and violence in their advancement of the Communist doctrine of "racial nationalism."

Reprinted from — AUGUSTA COURIER

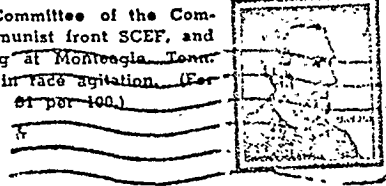
100 — 1303
ENCLOSURE



*King and group
at school.*

Lower left, arms folded, is Abner W. Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. To King's right, Aubrey Williams, pres. of the communist front SCEP, and Myles Horton, dir. Highlander Folk School for communist training at Monteagle, Tenn. This picture taken by secret counteragent during a Red Workshop in race agitation. (For additional copies, write Councilor, Oil & Gas Bldg., Shreveport, La. 2¢ per 100.)

1965
LA.



POST CARD

Representative John J. Dilligan
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

forward to
Congress

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Belmont

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

DATE: December 16, 1964

Last evening, Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, General Secretary, National Council of the Churches of Christ, New York City Headquarters, while en route from the South, stopped at the National Airport for a couple of hours to discuss with me the subject of Martin Luther King. As I have reported in previous memoranda, he has been informed concerning certain basic facts relating to King's moral depravity and his connections with communism.

Last night Dr. Espy told me that he has been working on this matter whenever the opportunity presented itself and he said he wanted the FBI to know that steps have been taken by the National Council to make certain from this time on that Martin Luther King will never get "one single dollar" of financial support from the National Council. Further, Dr. Espy told me that since our first conversation he has heard from some other sources concerning King's moral depravity. In view of this, he felt that he was free to discuss the matter with a few key Protestant clergymen, including Dr. Carson Blake, Presbyterian leader who has been active in the civil rights movement. Naturally, said Dr. Espy, they were horrified and Dr. Blake said that he could not see how a Christian clergyman could give any more support to a man like King. Dr. Espy also told me this week he intends to confer with Roy Wilkins, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for the purpose of persuading Wilkins that the Negro leaders should completely isolate King and remove him from the role he is now occupying in civil rights activities. In Dr. Espy's opinion, the most effective way to dethrone King and get him out of the public eye is to have the important Negro leaders united in their determination to do this.

~~Do NOT Delete~~
~~Dr. Espy in a few weeks will be leaving for Africa and will return from there in about 2 or 3 months. I will meet again with him at that time.~~

~~Do NOT Delete~~
~~As I have previously said, Dr. Espy, a Baptist theologian, is a very fine man in every respect. He has a most sensitive~~

WCS:mls (8)

REC-33

636

- 1-Mr. Belmont; 1-Mr. Mohr;
- 1-Mr. DeLoach; 1-Mr. Sullivan;
- 1-Mr. D. E. Moore; 1-Mr. J. A. Sizoo;
- 1-Mr. Phillip

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memo to Mr. Belmont
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

not done { conscience and he is a person on whom considerable reliability can be placed. I know the extent of his concern about King and I feel positive that he will try to do as much as he can to remove King from the powerful social position he now occupies. Dr. Espy deplored to me very strongly the fact that King was able to be named "Man of the Year" by "Time" magazine, was the recipient recently of the Nobel Prize, secured an audience with the Pope, and has been the recipient of different awards from both Protestant and Catholic groups. I agreed with him most heartily and said it was too bad those people responsible for giving such recognition to King were not more circumspect. He replied that it was probably due to their lack of knowledge concerning King's communist connections and his moral depravity, but he believes this condition is being corrected, at least among the clergymen.

ACTION:

For information.

*✓ do not
Dealty
W.C.S.
[Signature]*

act

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *also*

DATE: December 15, 1964

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: DR. R. H. EDWIN ~~ESPY~~
GENERAL SECRETARY
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

DC

Belmont
W.C. Sullivan
John Edgar Hoover

Do Not Delet

The captioned person I have been developing as a contact for the past couple of years. In a memorandum a few months ago, I set forth my conversation with him wherein I alerted Dr. Espy concerning certain basic facts on Martin Luther King. Since that time he has taken measures to gradually separate the National Council of Churches of Christ from the support of him. ~~Further, he has sent the Bureau on a very sensitive and confidential basis a long list of names of persons who participated in the Mississippi Project, which we needed badly to have relative to our investigations.~~

NO EXCLUSIONS

Late this afternoon Dr. Espy will be in the city and I will meet with him again, at which time I will circumspectly reiterate the truth that Martin Luther King is a serious liability to the civil rights movement in this country. I will also learn from Dr. Espy about any other developments which he has been able to sponsor to curtail the activities of King.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

- WCS:lm1 *W.C.S.*
- (8)
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
 - 1 - Mr. Mohr
 - 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 - 1 - Mr. Sullivan
 - 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
 - 1 - Mr. D.E. Moore

REC-34 16 DEC 18 1964

File 100-106670

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: December 1, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ^(S)
JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)
APPOINTMENT - FBI HEADQUARTERS
5:00 p. m. , DECEMBER 1, 1964

Handwritten notes and signatures:
 4
 [Illegible signatures]

At his request, I met with Jim Farmer at approximately 5 p. m. 12-1-64. Farmer flew down from New York for this appointment.

Upon seeing Farmer, I told him I was glad to have the opportunity to get together with him despite the unfair criticism that he and Reverend King had launched against the Director and the FBI during the past several days. I told him I wanted to straighten him out on such criticism. Farmer laughed and replied that he personally had not been guilty of any serious criticism against the FBI and that he hoped that I would understand that he wanted to continue to be friends rather than enemies.

Farmer told me that he had heard from a number of newsmen that the FBI planned to expose Reverend King as a sexual pervert by tomorrow, Wednesday, December 2, 1964. He stated that he and King had had a lengthy conference last night in New York City and that it had been agreed that Farmer should come down to see me and prevent this action being taken if at all possible. He stated he knew that King had made a sudden decision to come down also and that he hoped that King's meeting with the Director had been an amiable one. I told him that it had been.

I told Farmer that we, of course, had no plan whatsoever to expose Reverend King. I told him that our files were sacred to us and that it would be unheard of for the FBI to leak such information to newsmen. I told him I was completely appalled at the very thought of the FBI engaging in such endeavors. I told Farmer the FBI had received rumors of this nature from a number of sources and that we felt that there obviously was some substance to these rumors. I mentioned to Farmer that undoubtedly King has numerous enemies and that most certainly someone had apparently done quite a job on King.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

REC-66

CONTINUED OVER

CDD:bsp
64 DEC 30 1964

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-43741-26

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI OVER

DeLoach to Mohr memo
RE: JAMES FARMER, CORE

Farmer told me that he was glad to hear that the FBI did not plan to expose King. He stated this had a number of civil rights leaders quite worried inasmuch as if King were exposed this would possibly ruin the entire civil rights movement. I again repeated that we had never entertained the idea to expose Reverend King; however, I wanted Farmer to definitely know that the campaign of slander and vilification against the Director and the FBI should stop without any delay. I told him that if this war continued that we, out of necessity, must defend ourselves. I mentioned that I hoped it would not be necessary for the FBI to adopt defensive tactics. Farmer got the point without any difficulty whatsoever. He immediately assured me that there would be no further criticism from him. He stated he felt certain there would be no further criticism from King.

I told Farmer that one of the chief critics of the FBI, whose facts were obviously slanted, distorted and false, C. T. Vivian, was a member of the Board of Directors of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. I told Farmer that he should get the word to Vivian also.

Farmer told me that he was greatly relieved to have this conversation. We talked about a number of other things, a member of the Communist Party in Chicago who is on CORE's staff in that city.

The Domestic Intelligence Division had previously requested that I advise Farmer of the identity of this man. Farmer assured me that the man would be removed immediately and that he would not know the source of information involved in this matter.

I reiterated to Farmer once again that our door was always open for discussion but that he should definitely keep in mind that if his group wants war they could certainly find it fast. He stated that he wanted to part as friends and that he hoped that we could continue the pleasant relationship that we started over two years ago in New York City in our various discussions. I assured him that this would be possible as long as the unfair criticism did cease.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

[Handwritten signature] ✓

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : MR. MOHR

DATE: January 31, 1964

FROM : N. P. CALLAHAN

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY (USIA)
FILM - "MARCH FOR FREEDOM"

This morning I saw Jay Howe of our Subcommittee and he advised that during the Attorney General's appearance before the Subcommittee yesterday morning no discussion arose involving the Bureau on the part of the members with respect to the Director's testimony.

Howe did state that all of the members are very concerned regarding the background of Martin Luther King which the Director furnished off the record and strictly among themselves to Jay's knowledge have had quite lengthy discussions concerning it.

Jay Howe stated that yesterday morning after they had concluded hearings on the Justice Department items, the members and the Chairman instructed him to have the USIA show them the film which they have and propose to distribute the captioned "March For Freedom." Howe stated all members were present for this film except Congressmen Lipscomb and Neal Smith. Howe stated the film generally deals with the racial situation in this country and the members were particularly disturbed and irked at the fact that Martin Luther King appears to predominate the film. He appears in better than half of the entire film and after viewing it the members got the impression that he had played an advisory role in its preparation.

Howe stated on a strictly confidential basis that the Chairman with the concurrence of the other members of the Subcommittee feel that an approach should be made to the President so that he can instruct USIA to withdraw this film and not permit its circulation. The Chairman also suggested to Howe he might want to mention to the Senate Appropriations Committee Clerk, Harold Merrick, that maybe members of the Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations would want to view this film but definitely without giving any of the King back ground which was furnished off the record.

Howe stated that yesterday afternoon after viewing the USIA movie members had also observed the editorial in yesterday's Washington Post dealing with this picture which in substance indicated it was a good film; however, it would meet with opposition from certain areas particularly those who were "confused" or "fainthearted."

Howe was most appreciative of the letter he received from the Director after his appearance before the Subcommittee.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

NPC:gt
6

REC-9
100-10101-302
3-116
FEB 7 1964
INT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

Handwritten signature/initials

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 8, 1964

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. D.E. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D.J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R.W. Smith

SUBJECT: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.
280 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

We know that Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, a self-avowed Marxist, represents a very real security problem to this country. In addition to his Marxism, Dr. King, as we know, for some time now has been surreptitiously receiving guidance from concealed members of the Communist Party of the United States. Apart from the security factor, he is a disgrace to the Negro people of this country because of his personal misconduct while at the same time purporting to be a minister of the gospel. Obviously he has the capacity to deceive people very successfully. This was made evident most recently by his being selected by "Time" magazine as the Man of the Year.

Further, we know that he has been able to cleverly deceive both very important Protestant and Catholic organizations, securing thereby support from them which gives him added stature. It should be very clear to all of us that Martin Luther King must, at some propitious point in the future, be revealed to the people of this country and to his Negro followers as being what he actually is--a fraud, demagogue and moral scoundrel. When the true facts concerning his activities are presented, such should be enough, if handled properly, to take him off his pedestal and to reduce him completely in influence so that he will no longer be a security problem and no longer will be deceiving and misleading the Negro people.

When this is done, and it can be and will be done, obviously much confusion will reign, particularly among the Negro people. There will be embarrassment, frustration, confusion, resentment, et cetera. Because of this and the emotional reaction that will set in, it is not unlikely that movements like the Nation of Islam could benefit greatly. Further, other ridiculous developments similar to the Old Father Divine and Daddy Grace organizations may appear. The Negroes will be left without a national leader of sufficiently compelling personality to steer them in the proper direction. This is what could happen, but need not happen if the right kind of a national Negro leader could at this time be gradually developed so as to overshadow Dr. King and be in the position to assume the role of the leadership of the Negro people when King has been completely discredited.

WCS:djw

XEROX Records

REC 55 77-56944-19
25 JAN 22 1964

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RECORDED COPY FILED

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.

For some months I have been thinking about this matter. One day I had an opportunity to explore this from a philosophical and sociological standpoint with Dr. Frank R. Barnett, whom I have known for some years. As I previously reported, Barnett is a very able fellow, a former Oxford scholar and professor, and one on whom I can rely. I asked Barnett to give the matter some attention and if he knew any Negro of outstanding intelligence and ability let me know and we would have a discussion. Barnett has submitted to me the name of the above-captioned person, Samuel Riley Pierce, Jr.

Enclosed with this memorandum is an outline of Pierce's biography which is truly remarkable for a man so young, having been born September 8, 1922. On scanning this biography, it will be seen that Pierce does have all the qualifications of the kind of a Negro I have in mind to advance to positions of national leadership. I won't go into all his accomplishments and qualifications in this memorandum, for it will only take a minute or two to scan the enclosed biography.

On first blush I know it can be said it is not the concern of the Bureau what happens to the Negroes when Martin Luther King has been discredited. This can be said, but I think it is a very short-sighted view. It is our concern if large numbers of them go into the Nation of Islam and other extremist groups with which we are concerned as an investigative agency. It is our concern if the Communist Party would be able to capitalize upon this confusion. Further, from a positive and constructive standpoint it would be of great advantage to have leading the Negro people a truly brilliant, honorable and loyal Negro who would steer the 25 million Negroes away from communism. I think in a very sound sense this necessarily must be of great interest to us. It would be most helpful to have a man like Pierce leading the Negroes to whom we could go, if necessary, and rely upon in sensitive matters over which this Bureau has jurisdiction.

I want to make it clear at once that I don't propose that the FBI in any way become involved openly as the sponsor of a Negro leader to overshadow Martin Luther King. As far as I am concerned, this is not an issue at all. But I do propose that I be given permission to explore further this entire matter with Frank Barnett and any other person known to both Barnett and myself who could be helpful. If this thing can be set up properly without the Bureau in any way becoming directly involved, I think it would be not only a great help to the FBI but would be a fine thing for the country at large. While I am not specifying at this moment, there are various ways in which the FBI could give this entire matter

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: SAMUEL RILEY PIERCE, JR.

the proper direction and development. There are highly placed contacts of the FBI who might be very helpful to further such a step. These can be discussed in detail later when I have probed more fully into the possibilities.

RECOMMENDATION:

(1) For the information of the Director.

(2) That approval be given for me to explore this whole matter in greater detail, as set forth above.

O.K.

W.C.S.

See biography outline enclosed
WCS

ADDENDUM (1/9/64), WCS/csh:

Mr. Pierce has been investigated by the Bureau as a Departmental Applicant (for the position of Assistant US Attorney, Southern District of NY), and no derogatory information of any kind was developed. The investigation showed, as does the biography, that he has a remarkably fine record.

I am glad to see that "light" has finally, though dismally delayed, come to the Domestic Int. Div. I struggled for months to get over the fact the communists were taking over the racial movement but our experts here couldn't or wouldn't see it. H. →

W.C.Sullivan

I am glad to see that "light" has finally, though dismally delayed, come to the Domestic Int. Div. I struggled for months to get over the fact that the communists were taking over the racial movement but our experts here couldn't or wouldn't see it.

Resume

Name Samuel Riley ~~Pierce~~, Jr. Summary

Business Address 280 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Personal Data Born September 8, 1922. Married Barbara P. Wright, April 1, 1948. One child, Victoria born September 14, 1949. Born Glen Cove, N.Y.

Education A.B., Cornell Univ., 1947; LL.B., Cornell Law School, 1949; LL.M. in Taxation, New York Univ. School of Law, 1952; Ford Foundation Fellow, Yale Law School, 1957.

Academic Honors Phi Beta Kappa; Phi Kappa Phi; Graduate Editor, Tax Law Review.

Awards Recipient of the New York City Junior Chamber of Commerce's Annual Distinguished Service Award for 1958; Man of the Year Award, St. Mark's Methodist Young Adult Fellowship (1959); Annual Award of the New York Bible Society (1959); CID Agents Association's Distinguished Service Award (1959); Locality Mayors Committee Citation for Community Service (1959); New York Amsterdam News Certificate of Award (1959); City College Newman Club Award (1960).

Professional Experience Assistant District Attorney, County of New York, New York, N.Y., 1949-53

Assistant U. S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, 1953-55

Assistant to the Under Secretary of Labor, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1955-56

U. S. Delegate to Conference on Cooperatives in the Caribbean, Georgetown, British Guiana, 1956

Member of the Panel Symposium, Military-Industrial Conference on Atomic Energy, Chicago, 1956.

Associate Counsel and Counsel to the Subcommittee on Antitrust of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. 1956 - October, 1957.

Private law practice, 1957-1959.

Member, National Defense Executive Reserve (U.S. Dept. of Labor Unit), 1957---

Member of the national panel of arbitrators of the American Arbitration Association and of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, 1957---

Member of the Faculty, New York Univ. School of Law, 1958---

Fraternal Delegate to All-African People's Conference, Accra, Ghana, 1958.

Study tour of Africa for Fund for International Social and Economic Education, Summers; 1960 and 1963.

Judge, Court of General Sessions, January 1959-1960. ✓

Consultant, Fund for International Social and Economic Education, 1960---

Partner in the law firm of Battle, Fowler, Stokes & Kheel, 1961---

Member, New York State Banking Board, 1961---. ✓

Chairman, New York State Minimum Wage Board for the Hotel Industry, 1961.

Member, New York City Board of Education, 1961-1962.

Member, Board of Directors, New York 1964-65 World's Fair Corporation, 1961---

Member, New York State Grievance Appeals Board, 1963---

Publications

Contributor to many professional publications. For example see: Manpower in the Atomic Age. The Labor Market and Employment Security, p.1, July 1956; Legal Problems in Private Layoff Pay Plans, 79 Monthly Labor Review 895 (1956); The New Look in Collective Bargaining Agreements; A Study of Supplemental Unemployment Benefit Plans, 3 Howard Law Journal 42 (1957); Organized Professional Team Sports and the Anti-trust Laws, 43 Cornell Law Quarterly 566 (1958); "Mental Illness and Due Process" (Cornell Univ. Press, 1962).

Military Service

Agent, Criminal Investigation Division (C.I.D.), U.S. Army 1943-46. 1st Lt., Judge Advocate General's Corps Reserve, 1950-52.

Civic, Professional and Social Activities

Director, Sheltering Arms Children's Service, Inc., 1954-55, 1959-1961; YMCA of Greater New York Inc., 1960---;(Sec'y. 1961---); Louis T. Wright Memorial Fund, Inc., 1953---; National Parkinson Foundation, Inc., 1959-1960; Police Athletic League of New York City, Inc., 1960-1962; African Research Foundation, Inc., 1961---; New York Univ. Law Alumni Ass'n., Inc., 1961---; Gandhi Society (1962---); Member, Board of Trustees, Hampton Institute (1963---); Member New York City U.S.O. Committee, 1959-1962; Executive Council, Harlem Branch YMCA 1956---; Mayor's Committee on Job Advancement 1962---; The Association of the Bar of the City of New York; New York County Lawyers Ass'n. (Director, 1961---); Harlem Lawyers Ass'n.; American Bar Ass'n.; American Judicature Society; 369th Veterans Ass'n.; Cornell Univ. Council, 1960---; Cornell Univ. Alumni Ass'n. of NYC (Gov. 1953-55, 1960---; v.p. 1961-62); St. Mark's Methodist Men's Club (Pres. 1952-55); Treas. of the Class of 1944, Cornell Univ.; Life Member, N.A.A.C.P.; Member, Advisory Committee, Station WBAI (N.Y.C.) 1959-1963; and a member of many other professional, civic and social organizations.

Chairman, Mayor's Action Panel, 1963

F B I

Date: 11/3/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)
FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15206) (P)
SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C
(OO: ATLANTA)

[Handwritten initials and signature]

Re Pittsburgh airtel to Bureau dated 10/31/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of a contract for the appearance of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING at the University of Pittsburgh as mentioned in referenced airtel.

Authorities at the University of Pittsburgh were advised that requiring bodyguards is not a policy of the FBI and under no circumstance has Dr. KING been advised by the FBI that he is required to have a bodyguard.

- 3-Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1-Atlanta (100-5586) (Info) (RM)
- 2-Pittsburgh

ECG/alb
(6)

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SECURITY INFORMATION

2788

NOV 3 1966

Approved: LEO G. 1956 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M. Per _____

date _____ October 15, 1966

amount \$ _____ 1000.00 _____

INVOICE No 1306

BILLED TO:

University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Att: Mr. John R. Loch
Director of the Student Union

FOR:

_____ MEMBERSHIP
 X SPEAKERS BUREAU
_____ THE ARTS CALENDAR
_____ THE COLLEGE BOOKLET
_____ SPECIAL EVENTS

Please Refer to Invoice Number When Paying Bill

Services of Dr. Martin Luther King as speaker on November 2, 1966...

\$1000.00

UPON COMPLETION OF ENGAGEMENT, PLEASE MAKE CHECK PAYABLE TO AND SEND TO:

ADULT EDUCATION COUNCIL

Thank you.

Dr. King's expenses plus those of his bodyguard (as required by the FBI) from Atlanta, Georgia to Pittsburgh and back should be paid directly to Dr. King.

Founded in 1924, The Adult Education Council is a tax exempt, not-for-profit educational organization.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Mr. Cartha D. DeLoach

DATE: June 2, 1967

W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Wick	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY
SUITE 101
1330 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

Baker
Felt

On May 23, 1967, with Bureau approval I appeared before a conference of the above-captioned group. I briefly discussed with the group aspects of the communist, crime and racial problems. ~~The meeting was without incident and the members seemed to be very favorably disposed toward maintaining law and order in this country in opposition to the spirit of lawlessness which has developed in recent years.~~

*DON'T
DELETE*

After the meeting different individuals came up to me, and I was quite surprised when they started to tell me what they knew about Martin Luther King. They seemed to have knowledge of his connections with communism, etc. The Alsop article for example was mentioned by them, wherein Alsop had stated that King was taking counsel from communists and had been advised by Government officials to stop but had not done so. They also were aware that King had been engaging in highly immoral activities in hotel rooms and etc. They were disturbed over this. As one man said, if this information is publicized and believed King will turn out to be a real liability to the civil rights movement.

On Monday of this week Charles R. Baker, Executive Director of this group and his secretary, Barbara Hogan, dropped by to see me. They mentioned their concern over the increasing lawlessness developing in this country; referred to various viewpoints that have been expressed at the conferences; and mentioned that the Institute was engaged in opposing extremism, and at this time it seems that lawlessness can be regarded as one form of this as well as communism, the Ku Klux Klan, etc. They then mentioned Martin Luther King and his contribution to creating the spirit of lawlessness that members of the conference had mentioned to me. They mentioned King's connections with communism and his gross immorality. They referred to Marquis Child's column in the "Post" where he mentioned that the FBI knew about such activities. They asked me if any of this could be documented from a public source standpoint in order that it could be used against King. I explained that this was not a matter that I could discuss

WCS:jmw (6)

CONTINUED - OVER

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Memorandum Sullivan to DeLoach
RE: INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

with them and they seemed to understand.

Do Not Delete
Mr. Baker said he had gone over some of the Director's articles which I had given to him and also his testimony and found them very informative and would be able to use the information in some of his publications.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

wes

[Handwritten mark]

✓

ds

*P/B
pwwsa*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: July 6, 1965

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON
MARTIN LUTHER KING

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

For record purposes, at 3:20 p. m. this afternoon Wick received a telephone call from Sam Fogg of United Press International. Fogg said that Julius Frandsen, who took Lyle Wilson's job in Washington at United Press International, and Grant Dillman, currently in charge of the Washington office, are making every effort to discredit Martin Luther King and his recent outburst on Vietnam. Grant Dillman, said Fogg, has learned that Levison, whom he described as a New York attorney, is connected with the Communist Party in some way and advised Martin Luther King to come out against the Administration on Vietnam. Fogg asked if there is anything of a public source nature that would discredit Levison either as a member of the Communist Party or as a member of a front group or signer of a petition concerning communism or the Soviets.

After checking, Wick told Fogg we could be of no help to him.

Grant Dillman at 3:40 p. m. today called Wick. He said United Press International's main concern is to avoid a libel suit on the part of Levison. Wick told him we could be of no help to him whatsoever.

Dillman said that under the circumstances, he believed United Press International would make no mention of the alleged connection they have picked up between King and Levison. Wick asked him how he knows that Levison is advising King on the Vietnam matter. Dillman said one of his reporters obtained this from a friend in Atlanta, presumably at Southern Christian Leadership Conference Headquarters.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

- 1 - Miss Gandy
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

REW:dgs

51 JUL 26 1965

XEROX
JUL 16 1965

REC 4

12 JUL 15 1965

INT. SEC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Evans _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

July 13, 1965

Mr. DeLoach:

Re: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

G. Phil...
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

The Baptist World Alliance is a worldwide organization of Baptists which meets every 5th year. In connection with the 11th meeting of this group which was held at Miami, Florida, last month, you will recall that we received information several months ago that the committee in charge of selecting speakers was giving some consideration to inviting King to address the conference. The Director approved that SA Fulton and I discreetly approach several of the ministers on the program committee who were known to us personally and brief them informally on King's background with the distinct understanding that they were to keep the information strictly confidential. This was done and as a result King was not invited to address this worldwide Baptist meeting.

It is of interest to note that the July 8, 1965, issue of "Capital Baptist," a publication of the D. C. Baptist Convention contains an article about the Miami meeting reflecting that King attended as a delegate. Reporters met him at the airport and asked him why he had not been invited to speak at the meeting. King allegedly reported that he did not think it was necessary for him to speak at every Baptist Convention. King also reportedly stated, "I come as a delegate and as an individual Baptist. It is not necessary for me to be on the program to have fellowship with the brethren."

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.
 M. A. Jones

50 JUL 29 1965

MAJ:jo/lcm (3)

1-7-65 R.B.

File 100-106670-159

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore *GA*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNISM

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 - 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
 - 1 - Mr. Bishop
- DATE: October 18, 1967

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop *✓*
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan *✓*
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. D. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. Marion
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

Handwritten signature/initials

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval for dissemination to friendly news media sources is a copy of a Negro newspaper editorial attacking Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

BACKGROUND:

King's group is in desperate need of funds. In an effort to combat this problem, King has organized a variety show starring Harry Belafonte, well-known Negro vocalist with a subversive background, to tour seven major cities in the United States. The proceeds will go to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. King is touring with the group and speaks during each performance.

The attached editorial entitled "Think Twice Before Going to Coliseum Tuesday Night" appeared in the "Forward Times," the leading Negro newspaper in Houston, Texas. This paper attacks King for his stand on Vietnam and claims his appearance in Houston is "an imposition on the community." King is also referred to as "a misguided 'Moses' who has lost himself." In addition, the article claims King's position regarding the Vietnam war "borders upon treason." Further, "a man who will not fight for his country hasn't got any civil rights or any respect due him."

Handwritten initials and signatures: J. J. Martin, D. DeLoach, W. Bishop

Enclosure

REC-60

3129

100-106670

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DMW:ekw
(8)

CONTINUED - OVER

ENCLOSURE

RACIAL INT. SECT.

57 NOV 4 1967

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

OBSERVATIONS: *TESSUR*

[*NY-3810-S**] has advised us that this news item is extremely irritating to King. In addition, the advanced ticket sales were slow in Houston, Texas, prior to the performance on October 17, 1967. This newspaper story may have caused many of the citizens of Houston to "think twice before going" and indeed, not go at all.

It is felt that if this article is given wide-spread publicity as how thinking Negroes really feel about King, two objectives can be accomplished. One, publicize King as a traitor to his country and race. Secondly, reduce his income from these shows since he has five more performances to give; namely, Chicago, Illinois, October 19; Cleveland, Ohio, October 21; Washington, D. C., October 23; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 26; and Boston, Massachusetts, October 27.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The attached be forwarded to Crime Records Division for dissemination to appropriate friendly news media sources.

EW
V. int'y
OK.
H
AS
MB
Handled with Ed Mowg -
Newspaper Class -
10/28/67
ms

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

THINK TWICE BEFORE GOING TO COLISEUM TUESDAY NIGHT



(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

"FORWARD TIMES"
HOUSTON, TEXAS

Date: 10/14/67
Edition:
Author:
Editor: Julius Carter
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: 100-10420
 Being Investigated

10 10420

3129

ENCLOSURE

Several weeks ago FORWARD TIMES made an editorial expression which stated, among other things, that Dr. Martin Luther King had strayed off onto an extremely dangerous course which ran in the opposite direction from the civil rights leadership course that vast numbers of citizens had come to know and respect him for over a wide span of years.

Now, we wish to make it crystal clear that this newspaper, of course, respects and upholds Dr. King's right to take a position that is, what we think to be, contrary to good judgement. If he wishes to be the spokesman for the 'peaceniks', that's his business. When, however, Dr. King joins with others and tries to impose that poor judgement upon the entire Negro community which is already beset with more in-depth and complicated problems than can apparently be coped with, at that point we call it our business.

FORWARD TIMES takes the position that Dr. King's visit to Houston next Tuesday night is an imposition upon this community of the first order. We also think that the fact that he is shrouding his "remarks" behind a big name popular singer like Aretha Franklin suggests subterfuge. If Aretha Franklin, who is now at the peak of fame, permits this group of 'peaceniks' to use her name to further their efforts, all that we can say is, "that's her business." If she wakes up later and finds that she has acted just like Tokyo Rose and Axis Sally, all that we can say is that she brought it all upon herself.

Our concern is not so much with what course Dr. King and Miss Franklin elect to follow. What concerns us is that the in-

nocent public, if not properly forewarned, might be taken in by their visit to Houston. We think that if what Dr. King has to say isn't within itself meritorious enough to draw a crowd, he shouldn't be coming to town in the first place to say it. As it stands now, Aretha Franklin's name has been added to the show and many people will pay the fee expecting to hear her sing. She will be the 'bait' to help get the crowd inside the Coliseum. Once inside, the trapped ticket purchasers will have to sit quietly while Dr. King spews about the "immorality" of the war in Viet Nam. Whether we like it or not, the United States of America is at war with a determined aggressor. How we got into this war matters little at this point. The bold truth is that we are shooting 'live' ammunition at them and they are shooting the same type back at us with remarkable effectiveness.

Looking at the conflict logically and realistically, we cannot escape the fact that we have absolutely no course open to us but to disregard all of the babble of weaklings. We, as bonafide American citizens, must take a stand with our country. In our actions, in our conversations and in our preachments, we must give no aid and no comfort to the enemy.

We must remember that all wars are immoral and when Martin Luther King preaches about how immoral the American bullets are and fails to offer us an alternative for stopping those immoral bullets being fired at our boys, we have got to take the ex-civil rights worker to task for his oversight.

There is no middle ground here for any misguided "Moses" who has lost himself. King got lost just outside of Chica-

3

go in a town called Cicero and he hasn't been the same since. We cannot sit by and allow him to lose thousands of Negro citizens also just because he can't find his own way.

Crispus Attucks didn't call the cause at Boston Commons "Immoral". He stood up like a man and fell like a proud soldier. From that moment on, both black and white men have stood up for America. Negro citizen soldiers have stood like men and fallen, if need be, on battle fields in far away places all over the world every since Crispus Attuck first stood up back in the beginning. This nation has grown strong and it is respected and, yes, even feared, because we have been blessed by the Almighty Grace of God to have strong men at the right place at the needed time who didn't mind standing up for right, for God and for Country.

It then is not reasonable that we now should settle for anything less than what the most courageous have done.

As we see it, Dr. Martin Luther King is suggesting that we Negroes take something lesser than the courageous route. If he follows the same pattern that he has followed in his other "remarks" made in other cities, he will dwell upon Negro problems just long enough to get the attention of the listeners and then he will suddenly shift to the hard-sell of taking the lesser route in the war that this country is now engaged in.

FORWARD TIMES firmly believes that in the long run we will lose any and all respect that the total community might now hold for us. Our job is to try and build more respect and not tear down the little we already have.

~~A man who will not fight for his~~ country hasn't got any civil rights or any respect due him. For Dr. Martin Luther King to try and cloud our people's minds, in regards to helping our country in its hour of need, borders upon treason.

There is no soft middle when one's country is at war or in trouble that will allow room for ambitious men to play "footsy" with wild hairbrained schemes. Either you fight or you run. Either you support your fighting men or you sabotage them with preachments that sound good, give hope and give courage only to the enemy.

Even though Negro citizens have had differences 'at home' they have always stood firmly shoulder to shoulder with the remainder of America when the going got rough. FORWARD TIMES believes that this will continue despite people like Martin Luther King and company.

It puzzles us how Harry Belafonte was selected to headline a show that was supposed to be aimed in the Negro interest. We cannot help but wonder how much real concern he has for the suffering of Negro womanhood. As we recall, once he got famous, he quit his Negro wife and married a white woman. We don't have anything against marrying white women, but when you do, don't come into Houston and try to charge hardworking Negro women \$7.50 admittance fee under the pretext that they are going to hear one thing and something else is up your sleeve.

Of course, Houston citizens are free to do anything that they choose at attending this show. All that we ask is that you THINK TWICE BEFORE GOING.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 8/25/67

FROM : J. P. MOHR

SUBJECT: "FBI'S REPORT ON KING READY"
by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott

Vp

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Cooper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

WJ
J.P. Mohr

The above-captioned syndicated column appeared in the Northern Virginia Sun, Arlington, Virginia, on August 24, 1967, is datelined Washington, D. C. and states that "powerful leaders in Congress are rolling up their big guns for their coming confrontation with Dr. Martin Luther King." It then states, "Their Big Bertha - the contents of the FBI's file on King - has been examined and readied for firing by a House Appropriations subcommittee headed by Representative John J. Rooney, D - N. Y., a strong civil rights advocate."

DC
C O P Y

Congressman Rooney called me late this afternoon and asked me if I had read this particular column and I told him that I had. He said he is receiving copies from all over the country and he just wanted the Director to know that he had no intention of holding any hearings on Martin Luther King and specifically concerning the Director's testimony before his Subcommittee.

I reassured him that the Director was well aware of the fact that he did not intend such a hearing and if the Director felt that way I would have been knocking on his door earlier today. He laughed and said he just wanted the Director to know that he had no such intentions. He did state, however, that the column was bad for him politically in his district where he has so many Negro voters. I told him it seemed to me that Allen and Scott had just dragged his name into the column knowing full well that the Director did testify before his Subcommittee every year. I asked him if he was worried about the column and its possible effect upon him in his district and he told me that he was not particularly worried and laughed stating he hoped not many of his constituents would read the column.

I have checked with Mr. Bishop and he assured me that we did not furnish any information concerning Congressman Rooney to Allen or Scott and obviously it was something they had hatched up themselves.

The foregoing is submitted for your information.

ENCLOSURE

JPM:DW

(4)

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Bishop

J.P. Mohr

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of the Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

66 SEP 22 1967

SEP 14 1967 XEROX

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

APR 68

APR 68

APR 68

SAvel

Allen-Scott Report

FBI's Report On King Ready

By ROBERT S. ALLEN
and PAUL SCOTT



Mr. Allen

WASHINGTON — Powerful leaders in Congress are rolling up their big guns for their coming confrontation with Dr. Martin Luther King.

Their Big Bertha — the contents of the FBI's file on King — has been examined and readied for firing by a House Appropriations subcommittee headed by Representative John J. Rooney, D. N. Y., a strong civil rights advocate.

Subcommittee members are now discussing with House leaders how and when this untold part of the intriguing King story should be released to the American people. This story includes details of those directing and influencing his activities.

These legislators are taking the position that King's public declaration of war on Congress leaves members no other course than to throw the spotlight on some unpublished aspects of the militant civil rights leader's life — known only to a few high officials and a handful of FBI agents.

The subcommittee members have told the House leaders, who are King's main targets, that the FBI has unimpeachable evidence including photographs showing that King is now listening to a man who is clearly more interested in destroying the U.S. than in the plight of either the Negro or the war-weary people of Vietnam.

According to these legislators, the FBI has carefully documented that this adviser of King has been one of the Communist Party's biggest money raisers in this country.

The confidential FBI file, they report, cites instances of material this adviser has prepared for King's vicious attacks on Congress and the U. S. in general. The adviser is credited with drafting King's statements describing Congress as "wild with racism" and describing the U. S. as the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today."

As reported in this column August 4, eleven days before King revealed his new strategy in his headline-making attack on Congress in Atlanta, the Nobel Prize winner is planning to lead massive demonstrations and "sit ins" here this fall.

The attacks against Congress are part of King's over-all campaign to establish a political "third force" by 1968 composed of militant civil rights, peace, student, and labor groups.

Significantly, the Rev. James Bevel, another King lieutenant organizing his civil disobedience campaign for Washington, is described in the FBI file as King's link with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The officials of this militant group are now urging Negroes to follow the path of violent revolution in the U.S. U. S.

King, who preaches non-violence, continues to confer with these SNCC officials whenever Bevel sets up the meetings, according to the FBI files. It also quotes King as telling a group of left-wing students, "We don't need to talk mean, we need to act mean."

Aides of Senator John McClellan, D. Ark., whose Permanent Investigating Subcommittee plans a full-scale probe of recent race riots' reports that the inquiry will go into King's activities. Several ex-FBI agents, familiar with the background of King and also of the officials of SNCC, will be employed by the committee.

With these and other bombshells fused to ignite, congressional leaders are privately predicting the "Second Coming" of King, as his Washington disobedience campaign is being called, could be a nasty, violent affair.

The legislators also believe the ~~works~~ could explode a lot of myths about King.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

a TSB

R/S

DUPE

"Northern Virginia Sun"
Arlington, Virginia
August 24, 1967
Page 4

ENCLOSURE 100-106070-3089

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: August 24, 1967

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

- 1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

* INDICATES DATA ADDED

PURPOSE:

To obtain approval to disseminate to ~~S. C. Hoeking~~, ^{A Friendly} ~~covert Australian Security Intelligence Officer~~, ^{AGENCY} ~~Australian Embassy, Washington, D. C.~~, a copy of the monograph entitled, ^{Foreign} ~~"Communist Influence in Racial Matters--A Current Analysis."~~

BACKGROUND:

~~S. C. Hoeking, who has the formal title of First Secretary-Migrant Matters, Australian Embassy, Washington, D. C., has advised that the Vietnam Protest Movement in Australia is considering inviting prominent Americans to lecture in Australia on Vietnam. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has been mentioned by this group as one they might invite for this purpose. Hoeking has requested that he be furnished any information of a political or subversive nature concerning King so that his Director-General can brief the Prime Minister of Australia.~~

** This representative*
** A representative of his country*
** the head of his Government can be briefed*

OBSERVATION:

Since there is a good possibility King might be invited to Australia in the near future, it is deemed desirable to advise appropriate government officials of his heavy alliance to Communist advisors and his immoral conduct.

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached document be disseminated by routing slip to Mr. Hoeking through Liaison Section.

Enclosure

DMW:llc (6)

EX 104

6 AUG. 25 1967

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

67 AUG 28 1967

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. D.M. Wells

August 30, 1967

Summary

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following is some background data on Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference:

He was born January 15, 1929, at Atlanta, Georgia. He earned his A.B. degree from Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, in 1948. He received a Bachelor of Divinity from Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1951. He was President of the senior class and won the Plafker Award which gave him a scholarship to do graduate work at the school of his choice. King selected the Boston University and secured his Ph.D. degree in 1955. Upon graduation, he had many ministerial assignments offered him. He selected the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama. While at that church, he formed the Montgomery Improvement Association and led a successful bus boycott in that city.

In 1957, he founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference with himself as President, the position he still maintains. This organization was originally founded as a register and vote type group. He gained national prominence by leading the march on Washington in August of 1963. Originally, Negro leaders, principally A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and head of the Negro American Labor Council, had proposed a march on the Nation's Capitol sometime in the Fall of 1963. King seized the initiative and secured the cooperation of other Negro leaders in backing his proposal for an earlier march. This move put King squarely in the forefront of the events as they developed. In December of 1964, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize because of his efforts in the civil rights movement.

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A FRIENDLY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGG (FCIA)
REC 3
3070

100-106670

1-62-74549 (ASIG)

DMW:nlp/skr
(6)

11 AUG 31 1967

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

341
59 SEP 8 1967

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

He has concentrated mostly on matters dealing with civil rights until recently when in April, 1967, at a speech at Riverside Church in New York City, he vociferously attacked the United States involvement in Vietnam. He outlined a plan for peace which closely parallels that put forth by North Vietnam. In recent months, he has blended his anti-Vietnam war activities with the civil rights movement in the United States. Attached are some articles that will provide additional background information concerning him.

Enclosures (8)

* (FFIA)

Delivered to Washington representative of [ASIO] on 8/30/67
by hc

NOTE:

Articles furnished: "Matter of Fact" by Joseph Alsop, "Washington Post," 4/15/64; "Dr. King's Associations," "Jackson Daily News," 11/24/64; "A Role for King In Protest Politics," "The Washington Post," 5/12/67; "Dr. King and the Firemen," "Atlanta Journal," 10/7/66; "Dr. King Makes a Mistake," "Chicago American," 4/20/67; "Dr. King's Leadership," "Chicago Defender," 4/22/67; "The King and His Communists," "American Opinion," 10/65; and "Ideas in Our Times," "Political Affairs," 5/67. This memorandum is in response to request of [ASIO, Washington, D. C., memorandum 84,] dated 8/23/67.

~~FORWARDED SOURCE~~ * (FFIA)

Tolson
 DeLoach
 Mohr
 Wick
 Casper
 Callahan
 Conrad
 Felt
 Gale
 Rosen
 Sullivan
 Tavel
 Trotter
 Tele. Room
 Holmes
 Gandy

DECODED COPY

AIRGRAM CABLEGRAM RADIO TELETYPE

12:20 PM URGENT 7-25-67

TO DIRECTOR

FROM CHICAGO

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
 CG FILE 105-16238 COMINFIL; SCLC; IS-C.

REBUTEL CALL THIS DATE.

MAYOR RICHARD J. DALEY TELEPHONICALLY CONTACTED BY ASAC CLARK 10:23 AM THIS DATE AND ADVISED MARTIN LUTHER KING IS TO HAVE PRESS CONFERENCE 11 AM TODAY, ATLANTA, GA., AT EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH, ATLANTA. HE WAS FURTHER ADVISED KING IS TO MAKE STATEMENT WHICH WILL DIFFER GREATLY FROM THOSE GIVEN BY ROY WILKINS AND WHITNEY YOUNG IN THAT HE, KING, WILL NOT CONDEMN VIOLENCE IN NEWARK, DETROIT AND OTHER PLACES, BUT WILL CONDONE IT AS NATIONAL RESULT FROM INHUMAN CONDITIONS NEGROES EXIST UNDER.

MAYOR DALEY WAS ALSO ADVISED KING IS TO REBUT STATEMENTS MADE BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON ON NIGHT JULY 24 LAST TO FURTHER GAIN CONCESSIONS FROM PRESIDENT. MAYOR DALEY WAS ALSO

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

REC 26 JUL 28 1967
 100-438794-1932
 EX-113 S. Small

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Wick _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

AIRGRAM CABLEGRAM RADIO TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM CHICAGO

ADVISED KING IS TO MAKE STATEMENT THAT WORST HAS NOT YET HAPPENED IN THIS COUNTRY AND HE WILL REFER SPECIFICALLY TO CHICAGO IN THAT THEY DO NOT PLAN TO BURN WEST SIDE, BUT PLAN TO GET LOOP IN CHICAGO. MAYOR DALEY WAS MOST APPRECIATIVE OF ABOVE INFORMATION AND EMPHATICALLY ASSURED ASAC CLARK THAT ABOVE INFORMATION WOULD IN NO WAY BE RELEASED OR ATTRIBUTED TO FBI.

MAYOR DALEY CONTINUED THAT HE HAS BEEN IN CONFERENCE WITH AG CLARK IN EFFORT TO CONVINCHE HIM OF FACT KING, ALTHOUGH HE TALKS NON VIOLENCE, IN ESSENCE, HE ENCOURAGES VIOLENCE. HE SAID HE IS ALSO TRYING TO CONVINCHE THE AG THAT KING'S ACTIONS ARE TREASONOUS AND SEDITIOUS.

RECEIVED: 1:34 PM LRK

CC- MR. SULLIVAN + *Mr. Basher*

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

JFK Law 10(a)1

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

April 2, 1964

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Ryan
1 - Mr. Phillip

My memorandum to you March 19, 1964, concerning the communist influence in racial matters advised that we had learned that Springfield College, Springfield, Massachusetts, and Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, were considering the conferring upon Martin Luther King, Jr., of honorary degrees in June, 1964, but that to date no definite plans had been perfected relative to either institution. We indicated that we were initiating appropriate checks as to the availability of such established and reliable sources at these institutions which would permit the heading off of the conferring of honorary degrees to King. We indicated an intention to proceed along lines similar to that taken recently which prevented King from getting an honorary degree from Marquette University. The Director noted "OK" relative to these intentions of ours. Instant memorandum recommends that an extremely discreet contact be made with Senator Leverett Saltonstall (Republican-Massachusetts) who appears to be in a position to assist the Bureau in the matter relating to Springfield College. A separate memorandum will follow relative to Yale University.

Boston SAC Handley has advised that although the Boston Office files are negative concerning Springfield's President, Dr. Glenn Olds, Handley has been able to determine that Olds is very close to Sargent Shriver and Olds spends half of his time in Washington, D. C., assisting Shriver in matters relating to the Peace Corps and study on poverty. Bureau files on Olds are favorable; he is a theologian and has visited Russia on one occasion.

Handley suggested Senator Saltonstall as a possible contact as he is a member of the Board of Springfield College. Saltonstall is on the Special Correspondents' List and we have had limited but friendly relations with him for a number of years. He is usually written a congratulatory letter upon his re-elections.

Enclosure

100-106670

100-3-116-
NOT RECORDED
145 APR 20 1964

1 - Bufile 100-3-116 (Communist Party, USA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters)

SFP:pwd
(10)

ENCLOSURE

59 MAY 21 1964

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

OBSERVATIONS:

Because of Olds' close association with Shriver, it would not appear to be prudent to attempt to deal with him. It appears from our study that Senator Saltonstall is the most logical individual to deal with and that if he were personally approached by Assistant Director DeLoach and orally briefed, in the strictest of confidence, concerning King, he would be in a position to take the necessary action to prevent King from receiving an honorary degree from Springfield College.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, DeLoach should personally orally brief Senator Saltonstall in accordance with the attached "Top Secret" summary indicating King's communist connections and degenerate make-up. (This is the same summary we previously used in the Marquette University situation). It should be made clear to Saltonstall that the information is being given him in the strictest of confidence with the thought that he might desire to use it in preventing King from receiving an honorary degree from Springfield College and thus save that institution from embarrassment because of King's connections and character. It should be emphasized to Saltonstall that under no circumstances may this information ever be attributed to the Bureau.

JFK Law 10(a)1

Director's Testimony Before
House Appropriations
Committee

Fiscal Year 1966

RETRAINED

"NEWSWEEK" CRITICISM

(Some of the More Salient Items in the December 7, 1964,
"Newsweek" Article With the Facts in Regard Thereto)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI .

Prepared: January 18, 1965

EXHIBIT NO. 55c - "Newsweek" Criticism

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advised us that his Service would not have placed Oswald under surveillance on November 22, 1963, had Oswald's name been furnished to them as there was no information indicating possible violence on his part.

5) STATEMENT REGARDING MARTIN LUTHER KING (See Page 21 & 22 of Article)

"Newsweek" further charged that a "feud" has arisen between Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and me..

If such a feud does exist, it is entirely one-sided, because I have never engaged in a feud with Dr. King or any other member of the civil rights movement. What I did do last fall was set the record straight with regard to unfounded criticisms of the FBI attributed to Dr. King which have received wide publicity in the past.

On November 18, 1962, during an interview in New York City, Dr. King was quoted as charging that FBI Agents in Albany, Georgia, had sided with segregationists and had not done an effective job of investigating beatings and other intimidations of Negroes pressing for equality in that area. He further was quoted as remarking, "One of the great problems we face with the FBI in the South is that the Agents are white southerners who have been influenced by the mores of the community," and that "everytime" he saw FBI Agents in Albany "they were with the local police force." He implied that FBI Agents of southern background are not "in agreement with the law

of the land" and, accordingly, that they "can't honestly and objectively investigate."

These charges cast a serious reflection upon the integrity and impartiality of our Agents not only in the South but throughout the entire service. Dr. King gave no factual substantiation for these criticisms and, as a matter of fact, our records clearly showed that four of the five Agents assigned at Albany, Georgia, were northern-born.

On November 30, 1962, we made a series of efforts to reach Dr. King so that arrangements could be made for two of our Assistant Directors to sit down with him and discuss his unsubstantiated charges, as reported in the press. After determining that Dr. King could not, or would not, be contacted at that time, we requested his secretary to tell him of our desire to talk to him and ask that he contact us at his earliest convenience. Dr. King never complied with our request.

When Dr. King's name arose during the briefing session which I held on November 18, 1964, at the request of a group of Washington newswomen, I stated that Dr. King was a "notorious liar" in connection with his unfounded criticism of the FBI Agents assigned at Albany, Georgia. This was not in the nature of a "feud"; rather, it was an effort to set the record straight on a false charge which cast a dire reflection upon the FBI's reputation for fairness and impartiality.

On December 1, 1964, I met with Dr. King at his request in our Washington Headquarters. On this occasion, he asserted that any criticism of the FBI and me which had been attributed to him was either a misquote or an outright misrepresentation, and that he appreciated the work being done by the FBI in the field of civil rights. However, despite our earlier effort to reach him, the fact remains that Dr. King made no attempt to straighten out the record with regard to the unfounded criticisms attributed to him at New York on November 18, 1962, until after my November, 1964, briefing session for Washington newswomen.

The Committee may be interested to know that we conducted a survey of the backgrounds of the Agents assigned to our southern offices on November 13, 1964. This survey disclosed that 1,316 of the 1,971 Agents in those offices were born in the North. The remaining 655 were southern-born. That is a ratio of two to one.

(4) 20-YEAR FBI OFFICIAL'S ALLEGED REMARKS (See Page 22 of Article)

The "Newsweek" article also purports to quote "one of the FBI's highest ranking officers," a man of 20 years' service, as commenting that I am no longer able to make a positive contribution to the service and that I should retire.

If the day should ever arrive when I am unable to carry on effectively, I can assure you that no one either within

RE - HOUSTUDY 62-116464-

OR

SENSTUDY: 62-116395-

NOTE: THIS IS A PERMANENT CHARGE OUT FOR A XEROX COPY/COPIES OF "JUNE" MAIL THAT WAS INCLUDED IN COPIES OF FBI DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL BY MEMO/LETTER DATED 9-22-75 IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST(S) MADE BY EITHER THE U. S. SENATE OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEES ON INTELLIGENCE. THE COPY/COPIES OF THE "JUNE" MAIL DATED AS INDICATED BELOW HAS/HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM THIS ENCLOSURE MATERIAL TO BE FILED IN THE APPROPRIATE HOUSTUDY OR SENSTUDY "JUNE" FILE INDICATED ABOVE, LOCATED IN THE SPECIAL FILE ROOM OF THE RECORDS SECTION.

DATE(S) OF MAIL: 5-7-65REMOVED BY: W. J. Stanton DATE REMOVED: 7-28-76

5/27/66

Airtel

To: SAC, Miami (100-15079)
From: Director, FBI (100-106670) - 2547

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Wick
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Forsyth
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Basher

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

ReMiami airtel 5/23/66.

In view of the nature of proposed plan of the Dade County Sheriff's Office, Miami, Florida, to embarrass King when he next visits Miami and the recent allegation concerning Detective William H. Kimbro, the Miami Office is instructed that no future contact should be made with any member of the Dade County Sheriff's Office relative to any microphone or technical coverage that the Sheriff's Office may now, or in the future, have on King, his associates, or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Any information produced by any such installations should not be accepted from the Sheriff's Office.

You should, however, continue in your efforts to determine what action is being taken by the Sheriff's Office concerning the allegation against Kimbro, that he once claimed to be an "undercover Agent for the FBI." This should be immediately resolved and the Bureau fully advised and recommendations made, if necessary, for setting Kimbro straight.

PTB:deh:rth
(9)

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 6:20 PM
DATE 5-27-66
BY J.M.

NOTE:

See Baumgardner to Sullivan memorandum 5/27/66, same caption, prepared by PTB:deh.

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Wick _____
- Casper _____
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TELETYPE UNIT

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Activities in the civil rights movement during the past year have moved Martin Luther King, Jr., and the organization which he heads, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to the forefront of the movement. King today is looked upon by the vast majority of our Nation's approximately 20 million Negroes as their principal voice. An examination of much of the brains behind this voice box is revealing as to the extreme danger posed to our Nation's security in the person of King.

The repeated public claims made by King that communism is incompatible with his status as a clergyman and that there are no communists in his organization is clear evidence of the hypocrisy exercised by this defamer of the truth. He has truly adopted the Hitlerian tactic of telling a falsehood often and loud enough in an effort to make it more readily believed. But truth will out. King has surrounded himself for some time with an organizational staff and group of advisors upon whom he has become most dependent and who many times direct his every decision. The backgrounds of many of these individuals are such as to strongly argue against any claims

EXHIBIT NO. 4 - Martin Luther King, Jr.

of naivety or coincidence which King may make.

Principal of King's advisors is Stanley David Levison, a long-time communist whose secret membership in the Communist Party-USA has been established as recently as July, 1963. While they have attempted to keep their personal relationship covert and usually deal through an intermediary, we nevertheless have been able through highly discreet observations by special agents of this Bureau, to place Levison and King together in personal meetings. (March 4 and May 13, 1965, witnessed clandestine meetings in New York City hotel rooms between King, Levison and other King advisors to discuss important issues relating to King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.) On June 9, 1965, Levison traveled from New York City to Warrenton, Virginia, where he attended an annual retreat and staff meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Present were King and most of the top echelon of that organization. On July 11, 1965, Levison traveled to Atlanta, Georgia, where he spent two days in consultation with King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference staff, including dining at the King residence on July 12, 1965. Both King and Levison attended the annual convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Birmingham, Alabama, on August 9-13, 1965.

Another longtime communist and member of the Party's National Committee, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, was, for public consumption, separated from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference because of the exposure of O'Dell as a communist. But events of 1965 revealed that King still calls upon O'Dell for assistance in connection with Southern Christian Leadership Conference affairs.

The use of O'Dell as a principal communist tool was underscored in July, 1965, when it was learned that O'Dell had been hired on a full-time basis to work "secretly" in recruiting into the Communist Party-USA Negroes from the civil rights movement. O'Dell was to be given \$5,000 by the Party for this assignment. O'Dell was also assigned to organize a delegation of several members of the Party active in the civil rights movement to go to Moscow under the auspices of "Freedomways," a publication concerning the Negro freedom movement which was initiated and is financially supported by the Communist Party-USA.

Additional key people with communist backgrounds in King's "camp" include: Bayard Rustin (member of the Young Communist League in the early 1940's); Clarence Jones (in the mid-1950's a leader in the Labor Youth League -- designated

subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450); Lawrence Reddick, Historian, and Randolph T. Blackwell, Program Director, both of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (former Party members); and Cordy T. Vivian (former Party member).

It is not alone in the civil rights field that King has used his influence. The Summer of 1965 witnessed his entrance into the public arena on foreign policy matters. In a public address to a Southern Christian Leadership Conference group in early July, 1965, at Petersburg, Virginia, King said that he and his aides would study the use of "peace rallies" and so-called teach-ins to bring pressure to bear on foreign policy matters. He called for a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam situation, demanding that the United States "even negotiate with the Vietcong." During a subsequent public appearance, King was reminded that other civil rights leaders were keeping separate the civil rights movement and the Nation's foreign policy. King's explanation for tying these two matters together was that as a clergyman he felt compelled to act on matters relating to peace.

(It is most significant to note that when Levison secretly met with King and other Southern Christian Leadership Conference people in a New York City hotel room on May 13, 1965,

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it and here they are fixing the one who is trying to save
them." King further exclaimed "...people don't know what
I have done for this Nation -- I am terribly misunderstood --
I could have told Negroes to be violent."

Director's Testimony Before
House Appropriations
Committee

Fiscal Year 1965

RETAINED

- Mr. Mohr.....
- Mr. Casper.....
- Mr. Callahan.....
- Mr. Conrad.....
- Mr. DeLoach.....
- Mr. Evans.....
- Mr. Gale.....
- Mr. Rosen.....
- Mr. Sullivan.....
- Mr. Tavel.....
- Mr. Trotter.....
- Tele. Room.....
- Miss Holmes.....
- Miss Gandy.....

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
 NEGRO QUESTION
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
 INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

DATE: 1/22/64

1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. Mohr
 1 - Mr. Callahan
 1 - Mr. Rogers
 1 - Mr. Sullivan
 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
 1 - Mr. Phillips

Pursuant to a request from the Director, there is attached a summary of information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., which clearly demonstrates the communist influence upon him as well as his moral degeneracy.

This information, which is "~~TOP SECRET~~," is for possible use by the Director in his appearance before the House Appropriations Committee. It will be noted that a portion of the attached material is marked "OBSCENE."

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information and use of the Director.

Enc.
 100-3-116
 SFP:eeb/erc
 (8)

J. J. Jones

DOWNGRADED TO
SECRET
 Per C98W57B22
 Date 5/29/2016

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The racial unrest in the United States is currently the target for a determined concentration of communist effort. Long-range communist strategy includes the establishment of a Negro-labor coalition which the communists hope to be able to manipulate, as a powerful political-action weapon. They aim, thus, to provoke class struggle and promote legislation which can serve as a step toward a communist system of government. This constitutes a serious national security problem, since the individual playing a most dominant role as a leading spokesman for the estimated 20 million Negroes in this country today is knowingly, willingly, and regularly cooperating with and taking guidance from communists. An in-depth view of this individual, Martin Luther King, Jr., will serve to illustrate how he functions as a channel through which communist efforts are being directed against the Negroes and, therefore, against this country. It depicts, too, a moral degenerate of such magnitude as to blaspheme the title of "Reverend" which he carries.

King -- The Communist Pawn

King, who is a copastor with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia, and the recipient of Bachelor of Divinity and Doctor of Philosophy Degrees, is considered and described within the Communist Party-USA (CPUSA) as a Marxist.

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELL. OPERATION

He has been closely aligned with communists for several years and has shown not only a willingness, but at times even an eagerness, to associate and confer with communist leaders and to work closely with and rely upon the advice and guidance of dedicated communists -- this despite the fact that they have been reliably identified to him as such.

February, 1962, Stanley David Levison, a secret Communist Party (CP) member, passed the word to the Party's General Secretary, Gus Hall, that "King is a wholehearted Marxist who has studied it (Marxism), believes in it, agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly."

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

Levison -- Key Communist Directing King

Levison, one of the individuals exerting the most influence upon King and who has greatly facilitated King's rise to prominence, is a shrewd, dedicated communist and is known as such by King. Since the late 1940's Levison has played a highly clandestine role in which he was entrusted by the Party to raise and handle secret funds used to finance some of the Party's activities. In 1961 Levison was Assistant Treasurer of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which is headed by King.

Since 1956 Levison has expended much effort in King's behalf in such activities as: actively involving himself in fund-raising drives for King; serving as King's legal counsel in selected matters; preparing speech material for King; assisting in the mechanics of some demonstrations in which King was involved; guiding King as to acceptance or rejection of public appearances and speaking commitments; and helping King with matters related to the latter's writings.

King's Reliance on O'Dell, A National Party Functionary

Another key communist through whom the Party exerts influence on King is Hunter Pitts O'Dell who, at the Party's last National Convention in 1959, was elected a member of its second highest governing body, the National Committee. His election was under a pseudonym. In 1960, while working as an assistant to the Party's National Secretary for the South, James Jackson, O'Dell also began to work actively in support of King's movement. In June, 1962, King sought Levison's counsel concerning the addition of an administrative assistant to King's staff. As a result of Levison's recommendation of O'Dell, the latter associated himself with the SCLC in Atlanta, Georgia, under the name J. H. O'Dell and also served the SCLC in its New York office. In October, 1962, several newspaper articles exposed O'Dell's connection with the SCLC and his communist affiliations, as a result of which King announced O'Dell's temporary resignation pending an inquiry.

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