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SSC LETTER 11-7-75

ITEM 1

(17)

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Sec 1153

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[illegible] SENATE SELECT
COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
ACTIVITIES

Ref is made to SSC letter dated 11/7/75, containing requests for materials concerning Martin Luther King, Jr. Enclosed for your approval and forwarding to the SSC is an original of a memo in response to Item 1 requested in SSC letter dated 11/7/75. Also enclosed is ~~x~~ a copy of the memo.

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INTRODUCTION

Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), is recognized by the American people generally as one of the foremost spokesmen for this country's 22,000,000 Negroes. Consequently, he enjoys a wide public image as a moral leader of great stature and conviction. In 1965, for instance, the year after he received the Nobel Peace Prize, he was the sixth living man "most admired" by Americans, according to the Gallup Poll.
(Facts on File, 1966, p. 40)

Clergymen of all faiths share this admiration of King, as shown by the following quotations:

"...(He) has been the conscience of our people."

--The Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr.,
Dean of Washington Cathedral,
March 31, 1968
(Evening Star, 4/1/68)

"...He is one of the great men of our times...I salute my brother in Christ."

--The Right Reverend Arthur Lichtenberger,
Presiding Bishop of the Protestant
Episcopal Church, October, 1964
(Washington Post, 10/15/64, p. A 17,
(100-106670-A)

"...May the God of justice and love watch over him, guide him according to the divine will, and bring his work to a successful conclusion."

--Richard Cardinal Cushing,
October, 1964
(Boston Traveler, 10/14/64, p. 36,
(100-106670-A)

"...he is, first of all, a Christian, he is a worthy spokesman for all of us who want the principles of our Constitution and our citizenship honored in every citizen, regardless of creed or color."

--The Most Reverend Paul J. Hallinan
Archbishop of Atlanta, November, 1962
(The New Crusader, 11/17/62, p. 6,
(100-106670-A)

"...a man of God...."

--Rabbi Israel Margolies,
Beth Am, The People's Temple,
New York City, April 22, 1967
(New York Times, 4/23/67, p. 15,
(100-106670-A)

"...the Jewish community expresses its tribute to a man who exemplifies qualities of personal courage, responsible leadership, and dedication to prophetic ideals..."

--Rabbi Seymour J. Cohen,
President, Synogogue Council
of America, December 5, 1965
(New York Herald Tribune, 12/4/65,
p. 14, 100-106670-A*)

Notwithstanding the esteem in which King is held as a "man of God" and a Christian,

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King expressed ~~to~~ his regret that he could not spend any time with her at a SCLC retreat held at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia, on September 12-17, 1967.

In addition to his regular girl friends, King has had

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Letters sex relat

assignations with a variety of women--single and married--

throughout the country. They generally profess "love" for King

and mention how much they have missed "meeting" with him.

Their "meetings" are held in various places--hotel and motel

rooms, his or her office late at night, the woman's home or

apartment, and at King's home in Atlanta when his family is away.

King apparently tries to keep these rendezvous clandestine, but

some of his affairs have come to the attention of his associates.

and also to the employees of motels and hotels

Several of his paramours have manifested jealousy and stated that

they were tirled of playing second fiddle. King, on the other

hand, has indicated on several occaions that he, too, was jealous

and did not want his girl friends "fooling around" with other

In an argument with Mrs Lewis

men. (100-3-116-664; 100-106670-180; Atlanta airtel, 3/10/64)

Evans in New York one night he threatened

to commit suicide

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Money for Sex

(on females with whom he has sex relations. They stay in the most expensive hotels he pays their travelling expenses and gives them costly gifts. This comes from funds given to him to help the poor negro.)

once King/told some SCLC associates that he was wasting his money on sex. (100-3-116-762) This is true for years he has. One of his paramours, Barbara Moore, lives in Chicago and is visited by King each time he goes there. She also see him in Atlanta. For the past two or three years, he has given her $300 to $400 for each visit. (100-106670-2685)

In 1964, he gave another friend several hundred dollars and is regularly his known to have paid a prostitute $100 for one evening's entertainment. During King's Paris trip in 1966, he spent over $600 in phone calls to Mrs. Dorothy Cotton in Atlanta merely to carry on sentimental conversations (100-106670-647, 2437)

Willard Hotel Episode

more on this

On January 5, 1964, King and several SCLC officials checked into the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C. In a room nearby was a Baptist minister from Baltimore, Maryland, who had

his name

brought to Washington several women "parishioners" of his church. The group met in his room and discussed which women among the parishioners would be suitable for natural or unnatural sex acts. When one of the women protested that she did not approve of this, the Baptist minister immediately and forcibly raped her. (100-3-116-762)

On January 6 and 7, at least 12 individuals--nearly equally divided between men and women and including King, officers of the SCLC, and others bearing the title of "Reverend"--participated in a sex orgy. Excessive consumption of alcohol and the use of the vilest language imaginable served only as a backdrop to acts of degeneracy and depravity, many of which were committed in a communal atmosphere with the onlookers as "entertained" as the participants. Many of those present engaged in sexual acts, natural as well as unnatural. King more than once boasted of his drunken condition.

When one of the women shied away from engaging in an

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unnatural act, King and several of the men discussed how she was to be taught and inititated in this respect. King told her that to perform such an act would "help your soul, it will help you." King announced that he preferred to perform unnatural acts on women and that he had started the "International Association for the Advancement of Pussy Eaters." (100-106670-647; 100-3-116-762)

The following day when he was late in arising and was asked by one of the women why he was so late, King replied "I'd have been reading the Bible and praying." Everyone laughed heartily.

Las Vegas Incident

A Las Vegas, Nevada, hotel room was the scene of another of King's sex orgies during the early morning hours of April 27, 1964. A white prostitute was engaged for King for a fee of $100 by a woman intermediary ~~believed to be a Lesbian,~~ [illegible]. King and an associate indulged in repeated acts of sexual intercourse with the prostitute in the presence of the woman who had engaged the prostitute. All four individuals participated in unnatural acts. The prostitute summed up her reactions with the remark, "That was the worst orgy I've ever gone through." Three of these individuals, including King, were very intoxicated. (100-3-116-1512; 100-106670-414)

The incident was described by the prostitute as fallacy

set out statement

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Nobel Peace Prize Junket

On the hight before King was to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, in December, 1964, the police were called to King's hotel because a white prostitute was caught stealing money from King's brother, the Reverend A. D. King. One of King's aides persuaded the police to let the girl go without pressing any charges. This same aide later confided to a friend that King's group was running naked, drunk white prostitutes up and down the halls in the hotel. (NY airtel, 12/17/64, re Martin Luther King)

A social gathering was held in Oslo in Honor of King. In the presence of King and his party, Bayard Rustin, a member of the group evidenced a keen interest in finding out where the night life of Oslo was centered. At least five other men in King's party made the same inquiry, and were particularly interested in learning where the "Norwegian girls" could be found. (100-106670-825)

King's Wife Cognizant

King's wife of 15 years, Coretta, has been aware of her

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husband's infidelities for some years and has outwardly, at least, adopted a cynical attitude toward them indicating that she is content just to be Mrs. Martin Luther King. Periodically, however, she berates King for not fulfilling his marital "responsibilities" and on one occasion has remarked that if he spent ten hours a month at home, this would be an exaggeration. Another time, she questioned him as to his whereabouts, companions, and his drinking habits, adding that he was no better than his friends who drink. (100-106670 airtel Atlanta, 12/1/64: 670-736, 3150, 3423; 100-3-116-370, 770)

In 1963, there was some indication that Coretta, herself, was having an affair which could account for her acceptance of the situation. (100-3-116-370)

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INFLUENCED BY COMMUNISTS

Stanley Levison

Current and former ~~members~~ of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), have been close to King and have exerted great influence on him and ~~his Southern Christian Leadership Conference~~ the SCLC. These associations date from King's leadership of the 1956 bus boycott by Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, and have had King's approbation, because the individuals involved have been identified to him for what they are.

~~Stanley Levison~~

One of King's key ~~aides~~ advisors is Stanley Levison, a New York City attorney and businessman. He has been instrumental in making King a national and international figure. The 55-year-old Levison, who is white, is a shrewd and dedicated communist, and King has long been aware of this.

A major portion of Levison's life has been dedicated to the advancement of the cause of communism in this Nation.

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For a number of years in the late 1940's and 1950's, Levison led a double life for the CPUSA, necessitated by a highly clandestine role in which he was entrusted to raise and handle secret Party funds used by the communists to finance part of their activities. SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION - ONGOING

In this clandestine role for the CPUSA, Levison was the head of a group of concealed Party members who operated a maze of business enterprises. The group included Levison's twin brother, who goes by the name Roy Bennett. Levison's group turned over thousands of dollars to the CPUSA. For example, the group raised $66,000 for the Party during a two-year period in 1956 and 1957.

Levison gravitated to King's SCLC in 1956 and applied the same dedication to King's activities that he had to CPUSA activities. For over a decade, Levison has worked indefatigably in King's behalf. He quickly developed a close personal relationship with King, which has continued to this day. By 1958,

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he was referred to as King's "Assistant Chief" and as a real-estate man who spent half of this time helping King.

By 1961, Levison was Assistant Treasurer of the SCLC. He became actively involved in fund-raising drives for King, donated substantial sums of money to King when SCLC funds were low, and served as King's legal counsel on certain matters.

Part of King's great dependence on Stanley Levison has been attributable to the money Levison furnished him.

CONF. SOURCE

James E. Wood, who worked for the SCLC as Public Relations Director from 1960 until he resigned in 1962, said that during that period Levison acted primarily as King's business manager and donated large sums of money to him when funds were low. According to Wood, Levison was very close to King, had his confidence, and was one of the few people who could get King alone, give him advice, and always have the advice accepted.

King Is a Marxist SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS ONGOING

CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall received a report on King from Levison in February, 1962. Levison described King

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as "a wholehearted Marxist who has studied Marxism, believes in it, and agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly."

Levison told a CPUSA functionary in March, 1962, that King was concerned about a "communist label" being "pinned on us" but, ~~that~~ at the same time, he wanted to do everything possible to evidence friendship toward the Soviet Union. In addition, King has been described within the CPUSA as a true, genuine Marxist-Leninist "from the top of his head to the tip of his toes." The feeling within the CPUSA was,-- and still is,-that King definitely follows a Marxist-Leninist line.

"Most Important Work"

Examples of the advice given King by Levison are numerous. For instance, on March 30, 1962, one of King's assistants contacted Levison for an opinion on the strategy King should use in attempting to influence ~~the~~ President Kennedy to

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appoint Judge William ~~Henry~~ Hastie to the United States Supreme Court. Levison said that King should publicly advocate the appointment of Judge Hastie, because Negroes would expect a Negro leader to step forth and state which Negro should be appointed to the Supreme Court.

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION

On May 1, 1962, a CPUSA functionary stated that

ONGOING

Stanley Levison, because of his association with the King movement, "is doing the most important work in the CP today." On May 30, 1963, King and Levison held a discussion regarding a conference King had requested with President Kennedy and the Attorney General.

Levison and the CPUSA

By June of 1963, Levison had become so involved with

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION - ONGOING

the SCLC and King that he decided to alter his relationship with the CPUSA, because ~~[illegible]~~ he felt that the Party had done little to assist in the fight for civil rights for Negroes. Therefore, he would no longer permit the Party to dominate or control

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his activities in the King movement, he would not be subject to Party discipline, and he would not assist the Party financially. He said he was "disenchanted" with the CPUSA, but he was not quitting the Party. Nevertheless, he would act on his own initiative and would not accept instructions from the Party in regard to the King movement.

The CPUSA, of course, wanted to continue to exercise control over King and the SCLC. SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION ONGOING In an effort to accomplish this, the late Benjamin J. Davis, a Negro, who was then CPUSA National Secretary, was assigned as "liaison and intermediary" to Levison and CPUSA member Hunter Pitts O'Dell, another Negro, whose role in the SCLC will be described hereinafter.

"Real Marxist-Leninist"

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION ONGOING

Levison did not sever all contacts with CPUSA functionaries. About this time, June, 1963, he reported to a leading Party member on a meeting involving himself, his brother, King, O'Dell, and a representative of the Attorney General.

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The Attorney General's representative pointed to Levison and O'Dell and said to King, "These men are Party members; watch out for them." According to Levison, King did not "bat an eyelash" upon hearing this statement. Levison reported that after this meeting he told King, "I congratulate you on the way you acted regarding his warning. You are a real Marxist-Leninist. This is how a true Marxist-Leninist acts."

Guarded Contacts SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION ONGOING

Following this meeting, there were two developments. Levison and his brother succeeded in breaking away from CPUSA discipline so they could control King without Party interference, although they still considered themselves "CP people." In addition, Stanley Levison was more circumspect in his contacts with King.

March on Washington

Levison played a role in the plans that led to the celebrated March on Washington for civil rights on August 28, 1963.

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Originally, Negro leaders, principally A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, had proposed a march on the Nation's capital sometime during the Fall of 1963. But after consultation with Levison, who agreed that "the time is now," King seized the initiative and secured the cooperation of other Negro leaders for King's proposal for an earlier march--a move that put King squarely in the forefront of the events that developed.

"Freedomways"

The CPUSA did not give up control of Levison without a struggle. In September, 1963, for instance, Gus Hall instructed Benjamin J. Davis to try to meet with Levison to request him and his brother to open and finance a branch office of "Freedomways" in Atlanta, with Hunter Pitts O'Dell in charge. Hall wanted this office to serve not only as a base for "Freedomways" but also as a headquarters for Party work in the South. "Freedomways" is a quarterly Marxist Negro

SENSITIVE Foreign Intelligence Operation - ONGOING

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King and Levison met again in New York City on January 8 and February 7, 1964. On March 9 and 10, 1964, Levison spent considerable time in SCLC headquarters in Atlanta. King was occupied in the SCLC headquarters at the same time. On the evening of March 9, 1964, Levison dined at King's residence. One of the purposes of these meetings was to consider whether SCLC should hire Bayard Rustin, who will be described hereinafter.

Repudiation Refused

In April, 1964, newspaper columnist Joseph Alsop exposed the relationship between King and Levison. As a result of this exposure in the press, King told Levison that he was no longer of value to him even though he had been in the past. King said that, if Levison were to remain with him, their association would have to be open and above board. Furthermore, King wanted Levison to be an ardent and honest follower. He stipulated that, if Levison were to remain as an advisor, he would have to make a public repudiation of communism

and would have to be a noncommunist. ~~Levison refused.~~ His refusal to do so, Levison said, resulted in his dismissal by King. Levison commented that he had stayed away from the CPUSA in order to improve his position of influence and strength in the Negro movement, but this did not mean that he was anti-Party.

Use of Intermediary

It soon became apparent that the severance of the relationship between Levison and King was a temporary act of expediency. Starting in April, 1964, Levison's contacts with King were handled by an intermediary, Clarence Jones, a Negro who is also a frequent advisor to King. Jones is General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the SCLC. During the mid-1950's, Jones held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, a defunct communist front group. Levison met with Jones on several occasions during the Spring and Summer of 1964. In his conversations with King during this period, Jones usually referred to Levison as "our friend."

On September 29, 1964, Jones met with Levison in the latter's office to discuss the SCLC. Plans were underway by the end of October, 1964, for a personal meeting involving King, Jones, and Levison. In preparation for this meeting, Jones told King to think about what role Levison could play in the future and reminded King that Levison had been helpful in the past.

King was in contact with Jones in early November, 1964, regarding the possibility that King might be offered an official role in the Johnson Administration. Jones suggested that King think about a role for "our friend" to play during this period.

Vietnam Issue

In early August, 1965, Bayard Rustin and Harry Wachtel, a white attorney, met to discuss ways to inject King into the Vietnam issue. Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights. In 1949, Wachtel was

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an active member of the National Lawyers Guild, which has been described as the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party.

Rustin and Wachtel decided to have King utilize his prestige as a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize by writing to President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam, to leaders of the Soviet Union, and to President Johnson about bringing the war in Vietnam to an end. This action, they felt, would cast an image of King as a great moral leader and extend King's influence beyond the civil rights movement.

On August 12, 1965, King announced publicly that he would appeal personally to President Ho Chi Minh to join a conference to end the war in Vietnam. He said he would also send similar letters to leaders of South Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Subsequently, a leading newspaper sent King 12 questions designed to clarify his position on Vietnam. King called upon Levison to answer the questions.

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THERE WAS UNFAVORABLE public REACTION to KING'S

announcement. Because of this, his top advisors held a conference in early September, 1965, and decided that King should avoid the Vietnam issue. As will be seen, this decision had a short life. Stanley Levison, Bayard Rustin, Harry Wachtel, and Clarence Jones attended this conference.

Contacts Resumed

During the Fall of 1965 and the Spring of 1966, the personal contacts between King and Levison were resumed. On October 30, 1965, for instance, King met with Levison and ~~Clarence~~ Jones at the New York Hilton Hotel, where They had an intensive debate on the Vietnam issue. King expressed concern because his name was listed as a sponsor of the March on Washington for peace in Vietnam, which was to be held on November 27, 1965. Levison suggested that ~~Bayard~~ Rustin may have been responsible for this. At least, King commented, it was better to be listed as a sponsor than to be a speaker.

Other contacts during the Fall of 1965 and Spring of 1966 reveal that Levison had returned to his role as King's advisor.

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Anti-Vietnam War Resolution

The executive board of the SCLC met in Miami during the Spring of 1966. The sessions of this two-day conference ran into the early morning hours, because efforts were being made to draft a resolution on the war in Vietnam. Finally, there appeared to be general agreement. However, Stanley Levison and Harry Wachtel continued to argue for a stronger resolution than was presented. They wanted a resolution that would condemn participation by United States troops in Vietnam. The conference finally adopted a resolution calling on the Government to desist aiding the military junta in Vietnam and to consider seriously a prompt withdrawal.

This was the beginning of Levison's influence in guiding King into embracing that facet of the communist line which links civil rights protests with anti-Vietnam-War protests. In the past two years, King has made strenuous efforts to bring about a merger of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam-War movements.

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Spring Mobilization

On April 13, 1967, Levison and King were in contact to discuss the progress Levison was making in the writing of the speech King was to deliver on April 15, 1967, at the rally of the Spring Mobilization Committee at the United Nations in New York City. Levison read part of the speech and King enthusiastically accepted it. King particularly liked a statement that the United States should withdraw unilaterally from Vietnam. He also enjoyed an appeal to the country to "demand insistently that our Government honor Hanoi's promise to negotiate if the bombings cease."

The CPUSA was delighted with King's speech at the United Nations Plaza. A recognized leader of 22,000,000 Negroes had openly attacked his country's policy on Vietnam. He had participated in the largest rally --which attracted 100,000-125,000 persons-- ever staged against the Vietnam war by being the keynote speaker. In his speech, King called for the withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam and directly assisted the CPUSA in the promotion of its goal of uniting the Negro movement with the peace movement.

No Excisions on this p

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Birth of Washington Spring Project

Levison and King met on July 19, 1967, to discuss the Newark, New Jersey, riot. Levison suggested that King advocate a program with dramatic qualities similar to the Works Project Administration of the 1930's. This new program, implemented by the Federal Government, would employ jobless youth. King agreed that Levison's idea had merit and said he would publicly call upon the Federal Government to do something along this line.

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King waited until the 10th Annual Convention of the SCLC before he made these plans public. On August 15, 1967, he delivered an address at the convention in which he urged new massive civil disobedience to include general strikes, school boycotts, and a camp-in at Washington, D. C. All this would be done to force ~~the United States~~ Congress to take action to improve the lot of the Negro.

Funds for Washington Spring Project

As he had done in the past, King turned to Levison to help him raise funds for the SCLC and the Washington Spring Project. At a SCLC retreat in September, 1967, it was decided that SCLC would attempt to raise $1,500,000 during the coming year. It was contemplated that this money would be realized through the mail-appeal program of SCLC, which is under the general supervision of Levison.

Levison was in conference with one of King's aides in February, 1968, to discuss fund raising for the Washington

Spring Project. At this conference Levison proposed that approximately 60 individuals, who had contributed $1,000 or more to SCLC in the past, be invited to a meeting at the home of Negro singer Harry Belafonte. ~~Levison suggested that [illegible] [illegible] to Governor and Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller, Mary and Stephen Rockefeller, and Franklin D. Roosevelt III.~~

Levison's efforts to raise funds for the Washington Spring Project continued into March, 1968. He advised Clarence Jones in March that he had mailed a letter soliciting funds to 80,000 people who had contributed to King's organization during the past two years. Levison was very pleased with the results, for He said that $15,000 had been received in one day and the response was ahead of that of last year.

Communist Celebration

Levison had met with King in November, 1967, to discuss an invitation King had received from Hunter Pitts O'dell to speak at a celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth

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Hunter Pitts O'Dell

Hunter Pitts O'Dell is another important communist who was attracted to the SCLC. O'Dell, a Negro who has been active in the communist movement for a number of years, was once a district organizer for the CPUSA in Louisiana. At the 17th National Convention of the CPUSA, held in December, 1959, O'Dell was elected to the Party's National Committee under a pseudonym.

SENSITIVE Foreign Intelligence Operation ONGOING

In 1960, at which time he was working as the assistant to James Jackson, then the Party's National Secretary for the South, O'Dell also began to work actively in support of King's movement. Jackson stated in May, 1960, that O'Dell was then working full time on a mass meeting in support of King to be held in New York City on May 17, 1960. Jackson said that Stanley Levison and Roy Bennett were closely associated with O'Dell in this project. Jackson added that the CPUSA considered this meeting to be of utmost importance and felt that it was definitely to the Party's advantage to assign outstanding Party members to work with King's group.

O'Dell's gravitation to King's movement was not an accidental development. In early 1960, [redacted] the Party was making an attempt to place O'Dell in a special type of activity. About the same time, a Party official stated that the Party was in a position to place people in the SCLC. Subsequently, in 1961, O'Dell was made administrator of the SCLC

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

ONGOING

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office in New York City. Two CPUSA members, Hazel Gray and Loretta Pauker, worked in this office under O'Dell at one time or another.

O'Dell's Exposure

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O'Dell went to Atlanta to work for the SCLC and started to use the name J. H. O'Dell. However, O'Dell's connections with the SCLC and his communist affiliations were exposed in several newspaper articles which appeared in October, 1962.

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Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin is a former advisor to King and a one-time assistant secretary of the SCLC. ~~Rusing~~ Rustin, a Negro, has publicly admitted affiliation with the communist movement in the late 1930's. He publicly supported various communist causes and was one of a select group of observers permitted to attend the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA in 1957. For a number of years, Rustin maintained contact with the Party's National Secretary, Benjamin J. Davis, who died on August 22, 1964. During 1963, Rustin frequently conferred with Davis and took the position that he did not care who knew it.

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Rustin has long been so inclined, having been arrested in New York City in 1946 for offering to commit a lewd or indecent act. Rustin was arrested again in Pasadena, California, in 1953, for offering to engage in an act of sex perversion of a homosexual nature. He admitted guilt and was sentenced to serve 60 days.

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ADVOCACY OF VIOLENCE

A Hanging Might Be Good

Despite his repeated avowals that he believes in and advocates nonviolence, King has indicated on a number of occasions, both privately and publicly, that he harbors contrary sentiments. As far back as April, 1958, he indicated that he was not averse to violence. At that time, members of the executive committee of the Montgomery (Alabama) Improvement Association discussed a public demonstration in Montgomery to protest the trials and convictions in two rape cases. In connection with one of the cases, King stated that it might be good for the cause if Roy Huff, a Negro convicted of rape, was hanged. King said he would be glad to see some violence, particularly by the police, in order to open up the hearts and loosen the pocketbooks of friends of the Montgomery Improvement Association. (100-106670-15)

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Just and Unjust Laws

During a "Meet the Press" television ~~interview~~ appearance on March 27, 1965, King differentiated between two types of law: (1) The just law which a person has a moral obligation to obey, and (2) the unjust law which a person has the moral obligation to defy. (100-106670-1106)

King reiterated these views in a press conference on June 12, 1967, relative to a Supreme Court decision that he must go to jail in Alabama for violating a court order. King observed, "In all good conscience, we cannot obey unjust laws; neither can we obey unjust use of the courts." (100-106670-3047)

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JFK Law 10(a)1

King's Role in Memphis Riot

During March, 1968, the sanitation workers -- most of whom are Negroes -- in Memphis, Tennessee, were striking for more benefits. This situation became tense. King spoke at a rally in Memphis supporting the sanitation workers' position and suggested a march which he would lead through the downtown area of Memphis. This march was to take place on March 28,

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 48

[redacted], but it was cancelled because of a heavy snowstorm that date. The march was rescheduled for March 28, [redacted] at which time the sanitation workers and their supporters, led by King, would peacefully march through Memphis as a way of expressing their grievances.

On March 28, [redacted] a crowd of approximately 6,000 persons gathered [redacted] in the heart of the Negro district, together with King, to start the march. Shortly after the march started, the crowd began breaking windows and looting. Violence erupted, as a result of which one looter was killed, 62 police and marchers were injured, 282 arrests were made, and an estimated $400,000 in damage was sustained. (Time, 4/5/68, p25)

King and his aides made no effort to control the mob. Instead, King fled down a side street to the safety of his plush suite in the Holiday Inn. He was obviously frightened and his only concern was self-protection.

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

Nevertheless, the meaning of the Memphis riot to Washington is ominously clear. There is no assurance that if he brings his Poor People's Army of 3,000 or more to the Nation's Capital, he will be able to control those involved.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 50

FBI

Date: 12/12/63

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Reviewed and Justified 1/15/64 coverage in AT continued, NY office SCLC to be discontinued 1/24/64. [illegible]

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

"JUNE"

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM-C
(OO: ATLANTA)

Re New York letter, 11/22/63, captioned as above.

~~CONF INFT~~ ELSUR

At 3:15 PM, 12/11/63, NY 4179-S* reactivated coverage on telephone numbers UN 6-2000 and UN 6-2002, which are located in the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 312 West 125th Street, New York, New York.

Technical difficulties being experienced by the New York Telephone Company, as set out in referenced letter, continue with regard to telephone number UN 6-2001. The Bureau will be advised when complete coverage has been reinstituted and FD-143 will be submitted in 30 days.

Full security is assured.

REC- 45

100-106670-285

3 - Bureau (100-106670) (RM)
1 - New York (100-136585) (414)

25 DEC 23 1963

JFN:gmd
(5)

cc Forsyth 835 RB

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

6 JAN 2

FBI.

Date: 11/27/63

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

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)
(100-106670)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6520A)

COMINFIL
RACIAL MATTERS

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C

JUNE

PERSONAL ATTENTION
ASST. DIRECTOR W. C. SULLIVAN
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

ReBuairtel 11/27/63.

E/SUR CONF. INFT.

(1) AT 1379-S* assigned telephone number 522-4596, an unlisted number in residence of Dr. MARTIN KING, 563 Johnson Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Leased line obtained from Houston Street and Boulevard to 300 West Peachtree Street, N.W.

E/SUR

(2) AT-1380-S* assigned telephone number 524-1378, a listed number for SCLC at 330 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta. Leased line obtained from 328 Auburn Avenue, N. E. to 300 West Peachtree Street, N. W.

E/SUR

(3) AT 1381-S* assigned to telephone number 524-1379. a number in rotary for SCLC located at 330 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta. Leased line obtained from 328 Auburn Avenue, N. E. to 300 West Peachtree Street, N. W.

E/SUR

(4) AT 1382-S* assigned to telephone number 524-1370, a number in rotary for SCLC located at 330 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta. Leased line obtained from 328 Auburn Avenue, N. E., to 300 West Peachtree Street, N. W.

E/SUR

(5) AT 1383-S* assigned to telephone number 524-3151, a non-listed number located in offices of SCLC at 330 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta. Leased line obtained from 328 Auburn Avenue, N. E., to 300 West Peachtree Street, N. W.

(4)

REC-45 100-106670-277

AFM:CM

(5) - Bureau RM

Approved: Atlanta
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ Per _____

6 DEC 16 1963

FBI

Date: 11/1/63

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM-C
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

JUNE

ReBuairtel to NY 10/14/63 and NY airtel to Bureau, 10/25/63, captioned as above, re installation of tesur on the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

CONF. INFT. NY.

Elsur At 1:45 p.m., 10/30/63, the final installation of NY 4179-S* was made covering telephone number UN 6-2000 which is located in the office of the SCLC, 312 West 125th St., Manhattan, N.Y.

Full security is assured.

REC-10

20 NOV 6 1963

EX-102

3-Bureau (100-106670) (RM)
1-New York (100-136585)

JFN:rmv
(5)

C U - Wich.

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

6 NOV 8 1963

FBI

Date: 10/25/63

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585) JUNE

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel, 10/14/63, captioned as above, authorizing installation of tesur on the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

At 1:05 PM, 10/24/63, [illegible] was installed on telephone number UN 6-2001 and UN 6-2002, located in the office of the SCLC, 312 West 125th Street, New York, New York. Coverage on telephone number UN 6-2000 is expected to be installed Monday, 10/28/63.

REC-13

Full security is assured.

100-106670-24

EX-102

5 OCT 28 1963

3 - Bureau (100-106670) (RM)
1 - New York (100-136585) (414)

FJN:gmd
(5)

C. C. Wick

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

6 NOV 4 1963

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 18, 1963

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

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

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

JUNE

1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Mohr
1-Mr. Sullivan
1-Mr. Evans
1-Mr. Rosen
1-Mr. Baumgardner
1-Mr. Bland
1-Mr. Donohue
1-Mr. Forsyth

You will recall that on 7/13/63 the Attorney General advised Assistant Director Evans that in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation he desired consideration be given to placing technical surveillances on Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Clarence B. Jones, a New York City attorney who is closely associated with King and involved in the racial movement. The Attorney General at that time indicated he was not concerned with the repercussions if it should ever become known that such surveillances had been put into effect and that he thought it advisable to have complete coverage. Although, when such a request was made of the Attorney General 7/22/63 he rejected coverage on King, he has subsequently authorized technical coverage on the New York office of the SCLC as well as the Atlanta residence of King.

A survey has now been conducted on the headquarters of the SCLC at Atlanta, Georgia, and this survey indicates it is feasible to install a technical surveillance on this place with full security.

King is closely associated with Stanley Levison, a concealed member of the Communist Party, USA. King has been described as a wholehearted Marxist who has studied Marxism, believes in it, agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly.

Enc.
100-106670
100-3-116
TDR:scp
(11)

REC 37

22 NOV 12 1963

CLASSIFIED BY 2047

EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652 EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2

AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON indefinite

NW 68262 Doc Id: 32989551 Page 55

Memorandum for Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
— COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
100-106670
100-3-116

At present there are 56 investigative-type technical surveillances in operation and 8 are awaiting installation. The limit is 75.

OBSERVATION:

In view of the Attorney General's request that our coverage be as complete as possible and because of the communist influence in the racial movement shown by activities of Stanley Levison and King's connection with him, it is believed desirable to put all possible coverage on the racial leaders in order to obtain full information.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached be sent to the Attorney General requesting authority to install a technical surveillance on the headquarters of the SCLC in Atlanta.

SECRET

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 56

MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

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

DATE: October 4, 1963

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

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

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

JUNE

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Forsyth

Surveys have been made on the residence of Martin Luther King, Jr., in Atlanta, Georgia, and the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in New York City. These surveys indicate it is feasible to install technical surveillances on these places with full security.

You will recall that on 7/13/63 the Attorney General advised Assistant Director Evans that in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation, he desired that consideration be given to placing a technical surveillance on Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the SCLC, and Clarence B. Jones, a New York City attorney who is closely associated with King and involved in the racial movement. The Attorney General at that time indicated he was not concerned with the repercussions if it should ever become known that such surveillances had been put into effect and that he thought it advisable to have complete coverage. However, when such a request was made of the Attorney General on 7/22/63, he rejected coverage on King.

King resides at 563 Johnson Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia and is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta. The New York office of the SCLC is located at 312 West 125th Street, New York City.

REC-3

King is closely associated with Stanley Levison, a concealed member of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA). King has been described by Levison as a wholehearted Marxist who has studied 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 OPERATION

The Attorney General has approved coverage on Stanley Levison, Clarence B. Jones, and the Gandhi Society for Human Rights. These installations have been extremely productive in showing the influence

Enc.
100-106670
1 - 100-3-116

WTF/mca
(11)

ENCLOSURE

CLASSIFIED BY 2047
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Indefinite

of Levison on King as well as Levison's behind-the-scenes influence in the racial movement. At present there are 57 investigative-type technical surveillances in operation and three are awaiting installation. The limit is 75.

OBSERVATIONS:

In view of the Attorney General's request that our coverage be as complete as possible and because of the communist influence in the racial movement shown by activities of Stanley Levison as well as King's connection with him, it is believed desirable to put all possible coverage on the racial leaders in order to obtain full information.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached be sent to the Attorney General requesting authority to install technical surveillances on King's residence in Atlanta, Georgia, and the SCLC headquarters in New York City.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 58

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: September 20, 1963

FROM : Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

SUBJECT: Hunter Pitts O'Dell

This relates to your letterhead memorandum of September 5 to the Attorney General, relating to Hunter Pitts O'Dell and the related prior memoranda. I appreciate your having sent copies of these to me.

This matter had been brought to the attention of Dr. King some time ago by me, but in accordance with conversations which the Attorney General had with Courtney Evans, it was not felt to be wise in view of the sources of the Bureau's information to state that I knew O'Dell to be under Communist influence or control at any time. I did inform Dr. King and two members of his organization -- Reverend Andrew Young and Reverend Wyatt Walker -- some time ago -- that since O'Dell was believed by many people to have had Communist connections, his association with their organization was not in the best interests of the organization.

At that time, inconclusive steps were taken to remove O'Dell, and his job with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was changed. In response to direct questions whether I had hard evidence of O'Dell's Communist connections, however, I replied that I was not in a position to give any.

Following further conversations with Mr. Evans in June, however, I brought the matter to the attention of Dr. King very explicitly in my office on the morning of June 22 prior to a scheduled meeting which Dr. King had with the President. This was done at the direction of the Attorney General. Later that morning both the Attorney General and the President separately strongly urged Dr. King that there should be no further connection between O'Dell and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

ENCLOSURE

EXP. PROC.

SEP 25 1963

100-3-116

22 OCT 17 1963

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

Dr. King stated that the connection would be ended. Thereafter, the Attorney General and I both received copies of the attached letter, dated July 3, 1963, from Dr. King to O'Dell.

On the same occasion, I also informed Dr. King that our information was that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party. This was also done after conversations with Mr. Evans prior to the meeting with Dr. King, and was done at the direction of the Attorney General and the President. Prior to that time, again based upon talks between the Attorney General and Mr. Evans at which I was present, it had been decided that it was not in the best interest of the United States to inform Dr. King that we had any firm information that Levison was under Communist control. I had, however, on a previous occasion, warned Dr. King about any association with Levison, basing the warning upon doubts about Levison's loyalty to the United States.

I thought you should have this additional information for your file.

cc: The Attorney General
The Deputy Attorney General

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: October 21, 1963

FROM : C. A. Evans

JUNE

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

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

The Attorney General spoke to me with reference to our memorandum of October 18, 1963, recommending a technical surveillance on the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at Atlanta, Georgia. It is noted that last week the Attorney General authorized similar coverage on the residence of Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The Attorney General is apparently still vacillating in his position as to technical coverage on Martin Luther King and his organization, it being recalled that he had initially suggested such coverage and then changed his mind and felt it might be inadvisable.

The Attorney General said that he is still uncertain in his own mind about this coverage. I reminded him of our previous conversation, wherein he was assured that all possible would be done to insure the security of this operation.

The Attorney General advised that he was approving the October 18, 1963, memorandum but asked that this coverage and that on King's residence be evaluated at the end of 30 days in light of the results secured so that the continuance of these surveillances could be determined at that time. This will be done.

The original of our October 18, 1963, memorandum was handed to me by the Attorney General. It is attached hereto.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Donohue

CAE:vap

EX-102

REC- 13

22 NOV 8 1963

XEROX

NOV 12 1963

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Serial Removal Charge Out
4-21 (Rev. 2-11-65)

INSTRUCTIONS: *This form is to be removed from file by a Filing Unit employee only upon the return of the item.*

Subject: Martin Luther King, Jr. 10/18/63

Type of Mail		Date of Mail
☐ Report		
☐ Incoming letter		
☐ Outgoing letter		
☑ Memorandum.	to A.G. dtd. 10/18/63	
☐ Airtel	Encl. to serial 259	
☐ Teletype		
☐ Enclosure (describe)		
☐ Laboratory Work Sheet		
☐ Personnel Security Questionnaire (PSQ)		
☐ Loyalty Form		
☐ Other (describe)		

Removed for	Removed by	Date of Removal
☑ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☐ Room — Glass 806 DSI	[illegible]	6/10/69

Reason for Removal

- ☐ For copying (If for another agency, list agency and date of request.)
- ☑ To send to Director's Office
- ☐ To attach to
- ☐ For office use
- ☐ For change to another file
- ☐ Other (Specify)

Complete File and Serial Number 100-106670-259 ~~HQ-6~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

JUNE

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: July 22, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

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

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Shaw

This is a recommendation requesting the Attorney General's authority for the installation of a technical surveillance covering the home telephone of Martin Luther King, Jr., as well as the telephone covering the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which King is the President.

You will recall that on 7/16/63 the Attorney General advised Assistant Director Evans that in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation, he desired that consideration be given to placing a technical surveillance on Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Clarence Benjamin Jones, a New York City attorney, who is closely associated with King. The Attorney General indicated he was not concerned with the repercussions if it should ever become known that such surveillances had been put into effect and that he thought it advisable to have as complete coverage as possible.

King resides at 563 Johnson Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, and is the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta. King is on the Reserve Index. He is closely associated with Stanley Levison, a concealed member of the Communist Party, USA. King has been described by Levison as a wholehearted Marxist who has studied 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 [illegible] OPERATION - ONGOING

Pursuant to the Attorney General's request that consideration be given to placing a technical surveillance on King, our Atlanta Office was requested to conduct a survey to ascertain if such coverage is feasible and could be conducted with full security. Atlanta teletype 7/20/63 discloses that technical coverage on King is feasible and can be conducted with full security.

At present there are 58 investigative-type technical surveillances in operation and 6 being installed. The limit is 75.

A separate memorandum requesting Attorney General's authority to place a technical surveillance on Clarence Benjamin Jones has previously been submitted.

Enc. 7-23-63 REC-24 100-106670-168

100-106670

JUL 31 1963

WGS:kmj 2 1963

(9)

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

OBSERVATION:

In view of the Attorney General's request that our coverage be as complete as possible, it is felt that we should institute coverage not only on King's residence, but also on his office at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum for the Attorney General go forward requesting authority to install a technical surveillance on King's residence, as well as his office at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

JPK WGS WCS OK.

SEE MEMO EVANS TO BELMONT 7/25/63, CAPTIONED "MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR" WHICH STATES ATTORNEY GENERAL RECONSIDERED AND DISAPPROVED REQUEST FOR TESUR.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 64

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
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Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Memorandum

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/6/64

JUNE

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Forsyth

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

The Director has instructed there are to be no technical surveillances in cases which would thereby be tainted for prosecution.

AT 1379-S* is a technical installation on the residence of Martin Luther King, Jr., at 563 Johnson Avenue Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia. King is a national figure prominent in the racial movement. He has been involved with and is taking advice from well-known communist figures. This source provides information regarding his contact with these individuals as well as information as to what they advise him to do. A considerable amount of the information we have received from this source has been furnished to the White House, the Attorney General, and other Government agencies. This source has provided a great amount of information concerning racial disorders in the South, racial riots in Northern cities as well as racial activities at both major political party conventions. In addition, this source has provided information (which has been furnished to the White House) regarding King's immoral extramarital activities. The type of information received through this source is not available through any other source.

There is no prosecutive action pending concerning King and on the basis of the information we have, prosecutive action appears to be unlikely in the foreseeable future. It would appear logical to continue this installation because of the large contribution that it has made to our intelligence in the racial movement.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that this installation be continued.

100-106670

WTF:mlf
(7)

5 OCT 19 1964
6 OCT 18 1964

S-113 (1-10-61)

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8/24/64

Pertinent information concerning King's activites in Atlantic City being included in 8/24/64 summary to White House.

BCR:jcf

BR

NCS

BR

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

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO XXX TELETYPE

7:55 PM URGENT 8-23-64 AFW
TO DIRECTOR
FROM NEWARK 232000

JUNE.

(1) SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., ~~AKA.~~

RE ATLANTA TEL AUGUST 13 LAST.

KING ARRIVED ATLANTIC CITY VIA PRIVATE PLANE ON AUGUST 22 AND TESTIFIED BEFORE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. HE REMAINED IN COMMITTEE ROOM UNTIL 6:15 PM WHEN MEETING ADJOURNED. HE CHECKED INTO THE CLARIDGE HOTEL AT 7:35 PM AND OCCUPIED ROOM 1923 WHICH IS COVERED BY TECHNICAL SURVEILLANCE WHICH IS BEING ASSIGNED SYMBOL NO. NK-2459*. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY BERNARD LEE, WHO IS IN ROOM 1902 WHICH IS COVERED BY TECHNICAL SURVEILLANCE ASSIGNED SYMBOL NO. NK-2459*. REV. RALPH ABERNATHY IS IN ROOM 1901 WHICH IS NOT YET COVERED. KING'S ACTIVITIES DURING LATTER PART OF AUGUST 22 AND EARLY PART OF AUGUST 23 SPENT TRYING TO INFLUENCE CONVENTION DELEGATES TO SUPPORT FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN SEATING OF MISSISSIPPI GROUPS AS CONVENTION DELEGATES.

KING CALLED MR. YAMAMOTO (PH) OF THE HAWAII DELEGATION WHO IS SYMPATHETIC TO THEIR CAUSE BUT IS RELUCTANT TO COMMIT HIMSELF. KING HAS INVITED SOME MEMBERS OF THE CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE TO A BREAKFAST MEETING ARRANGED FOR 10 AM ON AUGUST 23, 1964, AT THE CLARIDGE HOTEL TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER. DAVE DENNIS CALLED JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, AND INSTRUCTED BILL ROBINSON TO CALL THE GREENWOOD AREA AND GET A LIST OF

REC 39

EX-108

SEP 3 1964

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Tolson
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Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO XXX TELETYPE

PAGE TWO, FROM NEWARK 232000

VOLUNTEERS WHO WENT TO MISSISSIPPI, AND HAVE MADE CALLS TO THEIR PARENTS IN AN EFFORT TO GET A TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN GOING TO HAVE PEOPLE SENT TELEGRAMS TO THE CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE FOR MISSISSIPPI GROUP. HE LISTS NAMES OF DELEGATES FROM ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, IDAHO, IOWA, MARYLAND, MASSACHUSETTS, NEW HAMPSHIRE, WASHINGTON, AND WYOMING WHO SHOULD BE PRESSURED. HE INSTRUCTED THEM TO WORK ON IT TONIGHT AND GET TELEGRAMS IN BEFORE NOON ON SUNDAY AUGUST 23. HE SAID THEY SHOULD REACH OUT IN SNCC*, FRIENDS OF SNCC, AND CP (COMMUNIST PARTY) MEMBERS, ET AL. A CALL TO ROOM SERVICE INDICATES 11 PEOPLE ARE PRESENT IN ROOMS 1901, 1902, 1923. BETTY GARMIN OF THE LOCAL SNCC HEADQUARTERS CALLED DAVE DENNIS AND RECITED EFFORTS MADE BY SNCC IN GETTING TELEGRAMS INTO THE CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE. AS OF AM ON AUGUST 22, 1964, EVERY SNCC GROUP AND FRIENDS OF THE SNCC HAVE BEEN REACHED AND ASKED TO SEND NIGHT LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS TO THE CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE. THEN CHECK OFF WITH EACH OTHER A LIST OF DELEGATES WHO ARE ON THE FENCE AND SHOULD BE PRESSURED. KING CALLED ATLANTA FOR TOM YOUNG AND TOLD HIM TO COME TO ATLANTIC CITY. YOUNG WILL ARRIVE ATLANTIC CITY BY BUS ON SUNDAY AT TWO PM TO STAY UNTIL KING LEAVES ON TUESDAY AFTER THE DELEGATION SEATING PROBLEM HAS BEEN DECIDED.
MAIL COPIES SENT TO ATLANTA AND JACKSON.

* STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMM.

RECEIVED: 8:19 PM BJM

CC: Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

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

DATE: July 7, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

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

J U N E

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. Conrad
1 - Mr. Millen
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Phillips
1 - Mr. Rosack

By letter dated 6/30/64 the Atlanta Office requested authority to install 3 additional technical surveillances (tesurs) on the facilities of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 330 Auburn Avenue, NE, Atlanta, Georgia, for the purpose of providing additional coverage of the SCLC and its leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. If approved, Atlanta desires to utilize SA William F. Kusch of the Miami Office to install these surveillances. Atlanta also requested 2 recorders for use in conjunction with these installations.

On 10/21/63 the Attorney General approved installation of tesurs on the SCLC at its current address or at any future address to which it may move. There are currently 4 tesurs in operation on the SCLC which were installed 11/8/63. With the addition of the 3 additional surveillances there would be in operation a total of 7 tesurs. The 3 additional surveillances are desirable to provide coverage of additional telephone service recently secured by the SCLC.

The SCLC and Martin Luther King, Jr., are subjects of intensified Bureau investigations inasmuch as it has been determined that communists and communist sympathizers exert a great deal of influence over this organization. The 4 surveillances already in operation have provided extremely valuable information regarding the activities of the SCLC and King, much of which is not available through any other source. The surveillances have been most valuable in uncovering the extensive communist infiltration and domination of both King and the SCLC.

Atlanta desires to utilize SA Kusch to install these additional surveillances, if approved, since the Agent trained for this purpose in the Atlanta Office is known to King as well as other employees of the SCLC and full security can be assured only through having an Agent unknown in the Atlanta area handle the installation. SA Kusch has handled matters of this type in the past.

REC- 56

Enc. 7-8-64
100-3-116
1 - 100-438794 (SCLC)
TPR:chs (12)

JUL 22 1964

(OVER)

6 AUG 3 1964

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 69

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

Atlanta anticipates that the services of an additional investigative clerk will be required during normal office hours of the SCLC to insure full coverage in the event the additional tesurs are authorized.

OBSERVATIONS:

Since the Attorney General has already authorized technical coverage of the SCLC and King, additional authority is not necessary since this is merely an extension of current coverage brought about by additional telephone service within the SCLC.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That the attached letter to the Atlanta Office be approved advising that additional coverage requested is authorized and that the Atlanta Office will be advised by separate communication concerning the utilization of SA Kusch to handle the installation and the additional equipment requested from the Laboratory.

OK.
[illegible]

2. That this memorandum be referred to the Administrative Division for a determination as to whether SA Kusch is available and to the Laboratory in order that the equipment requested may be furnished to the Atlanta Office. It is suggested that the Administrative Division coordinate its findings regarding the availability of SA Kusch with the Laboratory in supplying additional equipment requested.

OK
[illegible]

[illegible]

Atlanta advised by [illegible] OK on [illegible] + [illegible] on any [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Kusch on extended AL + Atlanta has requested SA William F. [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 70

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

6-23-64

Airtel

1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Phillips

To: SAC, New York (100-151548) JUNE

From: Director, FBI (100-3-116) — 1626

REC 37

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

Reairtel 6-18-64 requesting authority to conduct a microphone survey at the office of Wachtel and Michaelson, Fifth Floor, 575 Madison Avenue, New York City, to determine the feasibility of microphone coverage of future meetings which might be held in this office between Martin Luther King and some of his advisors.

Bureau authority for survey is denied because of the occupations of the individuals using the office; the most sensitive nature of Bureau's inquiry concerning the King - Wachtel association; and because so little is known about Richard King, the building superintendent through whom you intend to operate.

Conf Source

MAILED
JUN 23 1964
COMM-FBI

Continue your efforts to obtain as much information as possible concerning any meetings which might be held in Wachtel's office. Physical surveillances may develop identities of participants in meetings and continuing contacts with highly sensitive sources available to your office as well as the Atlanta Office should develop information about discussions at the meetings in question. In the event meetings continue to be held in Wachtel's office, you may desire to consider resubmitting a request for a microphone survey. In that event include full information concerning background of Richard King if his cooperation is to be solicited.

Conf Source

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

SFP:mjh
(5)

JUL 1964
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 71

Airtel to New York
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
100-3-116

conf Source

It is noted that in ~~re~~airtel request is also made for authorization to pay Richard King, provided he is willing to aid the Bureau, $50 for his work which payment would also provide hotel accommodations for him. It is not clear as to what is involved relative to "hotel accommodations." In the future insure that requests for authorization to make payments in matters of this type contain full justifying information.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 72

June 22, 1964

MARTIN LUTHER KING
PRESIDENT, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)

The following individuals are known to have been closely associated with Reverend King:

(1) Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Atlanta, Georgia, Treasurer and Financial Secretary, SCLC

(2) Reverend Mansfield Collins, Los Angeles, California, who is associated with the Western Christian Leadership Conference

(3) Reverend Logan Kearse, Pastor, Cornerstone Baptist Church, Baltimore, Maryland.

(4) Reverend Bernard Lee, Atlanta, Georgia, Field Secretary, SCLC

(5) Joe C. Lowery, Nashville, Tennessee

(6) Reverend Wyatt T. Walker, Atlanta, Georgia, Executive Assistant to King and Executive Director, SCLC

OBSCENE
TOP ~~SECRET~~

June 1, 1964

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

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past and who holds a responsible position with a local governmental agency in Las Vegas, Nevada, has made available a written statement dated May 18, 1964, prepared by an investigator of that agency. The investigator will hereinafter be referred to as Source A. In his statement Source A advised that he had received information that during the early morning hours of April 27, 1964, Martin Luther King had been "laying up" with a local white prostitute and the prostitute had received $100.00 for her services. After learning the identity of the prostitute as one Gail, last name unknown, Source A met with her at 3 a.m., May 16, 1964, and obtained the following information which is set forth below as it appears in Source A's written statement:

"Gail stated that about 2 a.m. on April 27, 1964 she was called by the bellman of one of the local hotels and told to go to the New Frontier Hotel and see Clara Ward, who has the Clara Ward Singers, a Negro girl group singing at the New Frontier Hotel. Gail proceeded to the New Frontier Hotel and approached Clara Ward in the lobby. After introducing herself to Gail, Clara Ward handed her $100 and said 'I have a couple of friends in town that would like to meet you and have you take care of them.' Clara Ward then stated that the reason she was paying Gail the $100 was because these two men did not believe in paying a girl for her services and for Gail to keep quiet about receiving any money.

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.

TOP ~~SECRET~~
GROUP
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

OBSCENE

DOWNGRADED TO
SECRET
Per CGRW57B22
Date 6/21/2016

"Clara Ward then took this prostitute, Gail, to the Sands Hotel bar where they had a drink, then Clara Ward made a phone call and shortly thereafter, Rev. Martin Luther King approached them at the bar and they both accompanied him to his room in the Sands Hotel. Clara Ward introduced Gail to the Rev. King as a very good friend who worked as a dancer in the line at the Tropicana.

"Gail stated that she, the Rev. King and Clara Ward all sat down in his room and started drinking Vodka and Gin drinks and the Rev. King started telling about his 'juice' around the country, which Gail stated was apparently told to impress her on what a big man the Rev. King was. After a short time drinking and bragging, the Rev. King called, by phone, to another room where as he said, 'my partner is staying, sleeping off a drunk', and spoke to 'his partner', with the following remark, 'don't call me a black son of a bitch but get your damned ass down to my room because I have a beautiful white broad here'. He then hung up and told Gail that he, the partner, told him he would be down pretty soon.

"At this time both the Rev. King and Clara Ward stripped naked and told Gail to do the same. Gail stated that she had another drink and then stripped naked and sat down on a chair. At this time, the Rev. King went down on his knees and started nibbling on her right breast, while Clara Ward did the same with her left breast. Gail then stated, 'I guess the Reverend got tired of that and put his head down between my legs and started nibbling on 'that'. After a while he got up and told Clara Ward to try some of it, so Clara Ward went down on Gail for awhile. Gail stated, 'I think Clara Ward is queer'.

"The good Rev. King then laid Gail on the bed and had intercourse with her while Clara Ward sat by in the chair and watched the action. After what Gail stated seemed like hours, King rolled off and had another drink, then climbed back on again for a second go around. After awhile King rolled off again and about that time, King's partner, a Negro male, name

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 75

unknown, entered the room and had a drink and then stripped naked at the invitation of King and he had intercourse with Gail on the bed while both Clara Ward and the Rev. King watched the action from a closeby position. During the momentary breaks in the action, Clara Ward would do a little feeling and stroking of her own.

"Gail then stated that she was getting scared as they were pretty drunk and all using filthy language and at last she told Clara Ward she would have to go. Clara Ward then told King that as Gail had to rehearse the following morning, they would have to leave. The Rev. King then whispered in Gail's ear, 'I would like to try you sometime again if I could get you away from Clara'. At this time Gail and Clara left and had another drink at the bar in the Sands before parting company.

"Gail stated to this investigator that 'that was the worst orgy I've ever gone through' and added that a few days later Clara Ward called her on the phone and asked her to come up to her, Clara's, room for a few drinks later in the evening, which Gail stated she refused to do."

On May 25, 1964, the following additional information was orally obtained from Source A. He stated that he contacted Gail again on May 23, 1964, and learned the following additional information from her.

Gail's full name is Gail LaRue (phonetic). She is 38 years old and married to one Harvey LaRue and resides with her husband in the Baltimore Arms Apartments, 131 Baltimore Avenue, Las Vegas. She has previously been married and has 4 children by her first marriage who are presently living in Sheridan, Wyoming.

Source A advised that his reason for a follow-up contact with Gail was to assure himself that there was no mistake in her identification of King. He said that Gail is absolutely certain that she entertained King on the morning of April 27, 1964, at the Sands Hotel as she presently has a magazine in her apartment with a picture of King in it. She said that even prior to looking at the magazine she knew that it was Martin Luther King she had entertained as she had seen his picture in the newspapers many times.

Source A said that he knew very little concerning Clara Ward other than the fact that she appears as an entertainer at the New Frontier Hotel and Casino with 5 other female Negro singers. According to him, the rumor around Las Vegas is that Clara Ward is a lesbian.

Source A also furnished the following additional details concerning the King - Gail association as revealed to him by Gail on May 23, 1964. Gail said that when Clara Ward, King and she reached King's suite in the Sands Hotel, King and Ward immediately started drinking gin and vodka. Within 10 minutes after arrival in the room, King had Gail completely disrobed. King and Ward also disrobed. King had Gail lie on the bed and he knelt alongside the bed and tried to place his sex organ in her mouth saying "here-eat this." King then called another Negro male, unknown to Gail, who was in a nearby room and told him to come on and join the party. Shortly thereafter this individual appeared and he too disrobed. King then began having intercourse with Gail and while this was occurring the other Negro male crawled on the bed on his knees and tried to place his sex organ in her mouth. Also while King was having intercourse with Gail, Clara Ward had her hands manipulating around Gail's sex organ. After King completed the intercourse the other Negro then had intercourse with Gail and King got on the bed on his knees and told Gail to "eat this also." She stated that the two men continued to change places. Gail denied that she complied with this request, to "eat" the sex organs, but Source A stated she was not too emphatic in her denial.

According to Source A, Gail stated that she was in the King suite in the Sands Hotel until about 4:45 a.m. She stated that she was quite "scared" with the activities going on since King, Ward and the other Negro male were all very drunk. She said that she was actually afraid to indicate that she wanted to leave but finally was so disgusted with the activity that she did. She stated that she had agreed initially with Clara Ward that she could not stay any longer than one hour.

The following is noted concerning King's presence in Las Vegas April 26 - 27, 1964. King arrived in Las Vegas at 2:07 p.m., April 26, 1964, accompanied by his Executive Assistant, Wyatt T. Walker, and Reverend G. Mansfield Collins. Walker, of Atlanta, Georgia, and Collins, of Los Angeles, California, are associates of King in the racial movement. Also in Las Vegas April 26 - 27, 1964, was a paramour of King's from Los Angeles, Dolores Castillo. Although she was registered at the Riverin Hotel in Las Vegas, she is known to have spent some time in King's suite around midnight, April 26, 1964.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 77

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

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

DATE: May 27, 1964

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

JUNE

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

Radiograms dated 5/21-22/64 from Atlanta indicate that Martin Luther King, Jr., is to be in San Francisco from May 28 to May 31, 1964. It was indicated that King and his party would probably stay at the Sheraton Palace Hotel while in San Francisco.

I spoke to SAC Lynum, San Francisco, 5/26/64 and told him that it was desired that coverage be afforded King during this current visit. SAC Lynum advised that San Francisco was considering what possible coverage could be given to King as had been handled by that office on a previous visit of King's in April, 1964. He stated that coverage would only be considered if complete and full security could be assured.

SAC Lynum stated that he would be in touch with the Bureau in connection with the efforts of the San Francisco office to effect coverage of King during this current visit.

ACTION:

For your information.

JFB:lml (5)

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Gurley
1 - Mr. Phillips

REC-1

EX-103

100-3-116-1442

11 JUN 4 1964

XEROX

JUN 5 1964

JUL 2 1964

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

Las Vegas, Nevada
May 20, 1964

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have heard several comments and items which I wanted to bring to your attention.

As I imagine is true in all States at this time, the political situation in Nevada is getting to be very interesting.

As you know, Senator Howard Cannon is coming up for re-election as is Representative Walter Baring. For a long time it appeared that Howard Cannon would have no opposition to amount to anything in his campaign for re-election. The speculation and word around the State right now is that probably Walter Baring will file for the U.S. Senate seat now held by Senator Cannon. I have also been informed that the Cannon forces have offered Walter Baring $50,000 if he will stay out of the Senate race and run for re-election as Congressman. It appears that the Bobby Baker inquiry has hurt Senator Cannon.

Walter Baring has always been a strong vote getter in this State irrespective of the fact that the newspapers and politicians speak derogatorily about him. The word seems to be that "nobody likes Baring but the voters".

It is interesting to me to see that Howard Cannon would not like to battle Walter Baring for the U.S. Senate seat.

Last week I was in the Reno area for a speech and also contacted the sheriffs and Chiefs of Police in the so-called "cow counties" of Nevada. There isn't much in Nevada other than wide open spaces except for Reno and Las Vegas. Law and justice in the smaller towns seems to be pretty much as to how the town and officials feel. Most of them are of the opinion that the only way to handle a violator is to run him out of town and get rid of him. The attitude seems to be that he'll commit another crime and let someone else worry about him. This State is different than anywhere else I have ever worked.

I imagine you saw the airtel from Los Angeles reflecting information from one of their top echelon informants to the effect that Eddie Levinson, President of the Fremont Hotel, thinks I'm an s.o.b. Coming from him I feel that is a real compliment.

This place continually keeps a person on his toes trying to figure it out and trying to figure new ways to approach this top hoodlum situation.

I'm looking forward to seeing both you and Mr. Tolson in several weeks and I hope that both of you are continuing in the best of health.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

Dean Elson

Dean W. Elson

ADDENDUM:

CONF. SOURCE

I just returned from seeing W. E. Leypoldt, member of the Gaming Control Board and an SAC contact, who furnished me the memo which I am enclosing in this letter to you personally. CONF. SOURCE Mr. Leypoldt stated that only three persons in his organization know that this memo is in existence and

they are guarding it with their lives feeling that the girl involved might be mistaken in her identity. However, knowing what we know about this individual I am certain she is correct.

JFK Law 10(a)1

As you will recall when [redacted] Even though this memo is filthy I am enclosing it as I got it.

Conf Source

William H. Bean, the author of the memo, is an investigator for the Gaming Control Board and was formerly a deputy with the Sheriff's Office here in Las Vegas. I am sure he developed the prostitute as a contact of his while he was working for the Sheriff's Office and it is for this reason that she confided in him and furnished him the information contained in his memo.

CONF. SOURCE

May 18, 1964

MEMO: Gaming Control Board
Investigative Division

ATTN: C. R. La France, Chief, Investigations

Re: Martin Luther King

Information received by this Agent indicated that the above captioned, during the early morning hours of April 27, 1964, had been laying up with a local white prostitute and the prostitute had picked up a $100 reward for her services. This Agent, through informants, managed to pick up the name and number of this white prostitute and decided to check the above information out for what it might be worth.

Now, normally a situation like the one mentioned above wouldn't be considered as anything new, but due to the above captioned's position as a God-fearing man of the cloth and respected leader of the NAACP, it was decided that perhaps a casual inquiry made to the prostitute in question might shed an interesting side light to King's extra curricular activities.

This Agent phoned the above mentioned prostitute at about 11:45pm on May 15, 1964 and spoke to a girl named Gail, who agreed to meet this Agent at a designated spot on South Fifth Street. However, due to her being called out at about the same time as this Agent called her, the meeting eventually came off at about 3 a.m. on May 16, 1964. Following is the information that Gail gave this Agent and, I write it as she told it.

Gail stated that about 2 a.m. on April 27, 1964 she was called by the bellman of one of the local hotels and told to go to the New Frontier Hotel and see Clara Ward, who has the Clara Ward Singers, a Negro girl group singing at the New Frontier Hotel. Gail proceeded to the New Frontier Hotel and approached Clara Ward in the lobby. After introducing herself to Gail, Clara Ward handed her $100 and said " I have a couple of friends in town that would like to meet you and have you take care of them." Clara Ward then stated that the reason she was paying Gail the $100 was because these two men did not believe in paying a girl for her services and for Gail to keep quiet about receiving any money.

Clara Ward then took this prostitute, Gail, to the Sands Hotel bar where they had a drink, then Clara Ward made a phone call and shortly thereafter, Rev. Martin Luther King approached them at the bar and they both accompanied him to his room in the Sands Hotel. Clara Ward introduced Gail to the Rev. King as a very good friend who worked as a dancer in the line at the Tropicana.

Gail stated that she, the Rev. King and Clara Ward all sat down in his room and started drinking Vodka and Gin drinks and the Rev. King started telling about his "juice" around the country, which Gail stated was apparently told to impress her on what a big man the Rev. King was. After a short time drinking and bragging, the Rev. King called, by phone, to another room where as he said, "my partner is staying, sleeping off a drunk", and spoke to "his partner", with the following remark, "don't call me a black son of a bitch but get your damned ass down to my room because I have a beautiful white broad here". He then hung up and told Gail that he, the partner, told him he would be down pretty soon.

At this time both the Rev. King and Clara Ward stripped naked and told Gail to do the same. Gail stated that she had another drink and then stripped naked and sat down on a chair. At this time, the Rev. King went down on his knees and started nibbling on her right breast, while Clara Ward did the same with her left breast. Gail then stated, "I guess the Reverend got tired of that and put his head down between my legs and started nibbling on "that". After a while he got up and told Clara Ward to try some of it, so Clara Ward went down on Gail for awhile. Gail stated, "I think Clara Ward is queer". (The understatement of the year).

The good Rev. King then laid Gail on the bed and had intercourse with her while Clara Ward sat by in the chair and watched the action. After what Gail stated seemed like hours, King rolled off and had another drink, then climbed back on again for a second go around. After awhile King rolled off again and about that time, King's partner, a Negro male, name unknown, entered the room and had a drink and then stripped naked at the invitation of King and he had intercourse with Gail on the bed while both Clara Ward and the Rev. King watched the action from a closeby position. During the momentary breaks in the action, Clara Ward would do a little feeling and stroking of her own.

Gail then stated that she was getting scared as they were pretty drunk and all using filthy language and at last she told Clara Ward she would have to go. Clara Ward then told King that as Gail had to rehearse the following morning, they would have to leave. The Rev. King then whispered in Gail's ear, "I would like to try you sometime again if I could get you away from Clara". At this time Gail and Clara left and had another drink at the bar in the Sands before parting company.

Gail stated to this investigator that "that was the worst orgy I've ever gone through" and added that a few days later Clara Ward called her on the phone and asked her to come up to her, Clara's, room for a few drinks later in the evening, which Gail stated she refused to do.

The foregoing is a blow by blow account of the Rev. King's extra curricular activities during his stay here in our fair city, which leads me to believe that the good doctor doesn't exactly practice what he preaches, or does he?

Conf Source

William H. Been

William H. Been, Agent

WHB/je

~~SECRET~~

May 18, 1964

Re: Martin Luther King

Information received by this investigator indicated that the above captioned, during the early morning hours of April 27, 1964, had been laying up with a local white prostitute and the prostitute had picked up a $100 reward for her services. This investigator, through informants, managed to pick up the name and number of this white prostitute and decided to check the above information out for what it might be worth.

Now, normally a situation like the one mentioned above wouldn't be considered as anything new, but due to the above captioned's position as a God-fearing man of the cloth and respected leader of the SCLC, it was decided that perhaps an inquiry made to the prostitute in question might shed an important light on King's conduct in view of his role as a national leader of the Negro people.

This investigator phoned the above mentioned prostitute at about 11:45pm on May 15, 1964 and spoke to a girl named Gail, who agreed to meet this investigator at a designated spot on South Fifth Street. However, due to her being called out at about the same time as this investigator called her, the meeting eventually came off at about 3 a.m. on May 16, 1964. Following is the information that Gail gave this investigator and, I write it as she told it.

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Clara Ward then left this prostitute, Gail, to the Sands Hotel bar [illegible] drinks, [illegible] Ward made a [illegible] call and shortly thereafter, Rev. Martin Luther King appeared [illegible] them at the bar and they both accompanied him to his room in the Sands Hotel. Clara Ward introduced Gail to the Rev. King as a very good friend who worked as a dancer in the line at the Tropicana.

NW-68262 DocId:32989551 Page 85

Gail stated that she, the Rev. King and Clara Ward all sat down in his room and started drinking Vodka and Gin drinks and the Rev. King started telling about his "juice" around the country, which Gail stated was apparently told to impress her on what a big man the Rev. King was. After a short time drinking and bragging, the Rev. King called, by phone, to another room where as he said, "my partner is staying, sleeping off a drunk", and spoke to "his partner", with the following remark, "don't call me a black son of a bitch but get your dammed ass down to my room because I have a beautiful white broad here". He then hung up and told Gail that he, the partner, told him he would be down pretty soon.

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Rev. King then laid Gail on the bed and had intercourse with her while Clara Ward sat by in the chair and watched the action. After what Gail stated seemed like hours, King rolled off and had another drink, then climbed back on again for a second go around. After awhile King rolled off again and about that time, King's partner, a Negro male, name unknown, entered the room and had a drink and then stripped naked at the invitation of King and he had intercourse with Gail on the bed while Clara Ward and the Rev. King watched the action from a closeby position. During the momentary breaks in the action, Clara Ward would do a little feeling and stroking of her own.

Gail then stated that she was getting scared as they were pretty drunk and all using filthy language and at last she told Clara Ward she would have [illegible]. Clara Ward then told King that as Gail had to [illegible] the following [illegible], [illegible] would have to leave. The Rev. King [illegible], "I would like to try you sometime again if I could get you away from Clara". At this time Gail and Clara left and had another drink at the bar in the Sands before parting company.

Gail stated to this investigator that "that was the worst orgy I've ever gone through" and added that a few days later Clara Ward called her on the phone and asked her to come up to her, Clara's room for a few drinks later in the evening, which Gail stated she refused to do.

GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670) DATE: 1/27/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585) JUNE

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

Re Bureau letter, 1/17/64.

Due to lack of productivity, ~~NY 4179-S~~ Elsur*, covering the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Office, 312 West 125th Street, New York City, was discontinued at 4:00 PM, 1/24/64.

EXP. PROC.

REC-50

100-106670-294

1-30

5 JAN 28 1964

2 - Bureau (100-106670) (RM)
1 - New York (100-136585) (414)

JFN:gmd
(3)

EX-114

SUBV. CONTROL

DONOHUE

SPEC. MAIL RM.

6 FEB 3 1964

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106-03

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

DATE: 1/8/64

JUNE

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-6520) (P)

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

ODD HOUR SHIFTS
ATLANTA DIVISION

Reference is made to certain sensitive-type coverage pertaining to captioned matter in the Atlanta Office.

For security reasons, it is logical and practical to use one Agent on a 24-hour shift basis involving three Agents. However, only one Agent will be on each shift. Each Agent will make his basic forty hour week. The hours are from 12:01 p.m. to 11:59 a.m.

The above schedule will be followed UACB.

(2) - Bureau RM

2 - Atlanta
(1 - 100-6520)
(1 - 66-772)

HGR:mel
(4)

REC- 45

EX-102

12 JAN 10 1964

See addendum page 2

SPEC. HAND. RM.

pa4

ADDENDUM: Domestic Intelligence Division WTF:pag 1-20-64

This installation involves technical coverage on the residence of Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, both of Atlanta, Georgia. Both of these installations are part of a highly sensitive investigation. It is necessary that the personnel involved be kept to a minimum for security reasons.

The installation involved is located at rented space away from the Atlanta Office, necessitating that there be Bureau personnel on duty around the clock and it is not feasible to dismantle the equipment each day. It would appear logical that one Agent departing and one entering at noon each day would cause less attention and afford more security than Agents working an 8-hour shift. Therefore, it is recommended that the schedule set forth by Atlanta be approved.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 90

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. (IS) 100-442529

October 27, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

A technical surveillance was instituted on the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia, on [redacted] The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is a racial-type organization headed by Martin Luther King, Jr.

This technical surveillance has provided [redacted]

JFK Law 10(a)1

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-442529-1553

~~SECRET~~

REC-61

6 NOV 5 1965

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

EX-101

6 NOV 15 1965

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 6/7/65

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

JUNE

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM-C

Re Bureau telephone call of 6/3/65, authorizing microphone coverage of KING while in New York City at the Americana Hotel.

On 6/3/65, at 1:45 PM, misur coverage on rooms reserved for ANDREW YOUNG and KING was effected. These rooms, 3027 and 3029, were monitored from room 2927 by NY 5110-S*. MISUR

On 6/4/65, at 3:00 PM, coverage discontinued. No intelligence information was obtained. No further communication follows.

Mir not operative - see memo
J.A. Sizoo to WC Sullivan 6/7/65 "JUNE"

REC-13

EX 110

10 JUN 8 1965

10

3 - Bureau (100-106670) (RM)
1 - New York (100-136585) (42)

JMK:gmd
(5)

INT. REC.

DOMSHUE

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

6 JUN 14 1965

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 5/13/65

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670) JUNE

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C

Re Bureau telephone call of 5/12/65, authorizing Misur coverage of KING at the Sheraton Atlantic Hotel, NYC.

On 5/12/65, at 3:15 p.m., Misur coverage on room 1690-1, the suite registered to KING and party was effected.

On 5/13/65, at 5:20 p.m. coverage on suite was discontinued. The source was designated NY 5078-S and monitoring took place in suite 1790-1.

EX 110

REC 18

100-106670-734

25 MAY 19 1965

3-Bureau (RM)
1 - New York

JMK:bxb
(5)

SUPV. CONTROL

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

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 4/5/65

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

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585) JUNE

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM-C

Re Bureau telephone call of 4/2/65, authorizing misur coverage of KING at the Americana Hotel, 53rd Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City.

At 8:15 PM, on 4/2/65, misur coverage was effected on rooms 4619-21 at the Americana Hotel, the suite occupied by KING, BERNARD LEE and ANDREW YOUNG. The source which monitored their rooms was NY 5031-S*, and was in room 4519, Americana Hotel. X Conf. - JMSUC NY

On 4/3/65, at 1:30 PM, the source mentioned heretofore was discontinued.

No trespass was involved in this matter.

NY Tele 4/3/65 shows King did not spend night at Americana. Therefore misur was not activated, advice to A.G. Necessary - Jat. 100-106670

REC 61

1195

3 - Bureau (100-106670) (RM)
1 - New York (100-136585) (42)

21 APR 14 1965

JMK:gmd CC-888 RD
(5)

C O [illegible]

INT. SEC.
DONOHUE

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
6 APR 1 Special Agent in Charge

SPEC. MAIL RM

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

JUNE

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

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM: C. D. Brennan

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

DATE: December 19, 1966

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Rozamus
1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

By memorandum dated 12/15/66 you were advised of the microphone and wire tap coverage we had afforded Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Director wrote "When?" concerning the three times Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach was advised of the microphone installations and that trespass was involved. Also the Director wrote "When?" concerning the microphone coverage of King furnished Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, perusal of which would indicate that a microphone was the source of this information.

Attorney General Katzenbach was advised on the dates indicated by memorandum, that trespass was involved in the following microphone installations:

Installed	Discontinued	Location	Attorney General Advised
[redacted]			

JFK Law 10(a)1

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was furnished an eight page "Top Secret" memorandum marked [redacted] dated March 4, 1964. This memorandum is a summary of microphone coverage afforded King's [redacted] The wording of the memorandum is couched in such a manner that it is obvious that a microphone was the source. Also furnished

100-106670
DMW:rwf
(7)

REC 18 100-106670-2821

CONTINUED - OVER

EX-113

6 JAN 27 1967

6 JAN 23 1967

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

Left in

Attorney General Kennedy on 6/1/64 was a separate memorandum concerning King's degenerate sexual escapades with a white prostitute in Las Vegas, Nevada. This information, however, originated from a local police informant. No

JFK Law 10(a)1

By memorandum dated 9/11/64 former Assistant Director Courtney A. Evans recorded the return of the memoranda concerning King's [redacted] from Attorney General Kennedy wherein Evans recommended the destruction of this material. The Director noted "They are not to be destroyed but are to be filed with this memo. H." They have since been maintained under secure circumstances in accordance with the Director's wishes.

ACTION:

None. For information.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 96

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 15, 1966

FROM : C. D. Brennan

JUNE

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Rozamus
1 - Mr. D.M. Wells

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

This is to advise you of the microphone and wire tap coverage that we have afforded Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

As you are aware King has been in close association with individuals having Communist Party backgrounds since his rise to prominence in the civil rights field. Among such individuals is his principal advisor Stanley Levison, a long-time secret communist whose membership in the Communist Party, USA, has been established as late as July, 1963. Clarence Jones, another close advisor to King, was a former member and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, a communist front organization. Bayard Rustin, another of King's close advisors, was a member of the Young Communist League in the early 1940's and is an admitted homosexual.

On October 10, 1963, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy approved technical surveillances on King's current residence or at any further address to which he may move. He also approved the technical surveillance of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference New York City Office or any other address to which it may be moved.

A wire tap was installed on King's residence, 563 Johnson Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia, on November 8, 1963, and discontinued on April 30, 1965, when King moved from this address. It was not reinstituted on his new residence.

From October 24, 1963, to January 24, 1964, and from July 7, 1964, to July 31, 1964, a wire tap was maintained on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference New York City Office. In addition, on October 21, 1963, Attorney General Kennedy authorized a wire tap on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Headquarters at Atlanta, Georgia, which was maintained from November 8, 1963, to June 21, 1966, when Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach ordered it discontinued since he thought it might be prejudicial to the possible prosecution of Hosea Williams, a Southern Christian Leadership Conference official, under Interstate Transportation of Stolen Motor Vehicles Statutes.

100-106670
DMW:jmw

REC 18

SENT DIRECTOR
12-15-66

CONTINUED - OVER

EX-113

6 JAN 23 1967

6 JAN (7) 1967

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 97

In addition to the foregoing we maintained 16 microphones and 4 wire taps of a few days duration at various hotels and one temporary residence. These were installed because of the possibility of a meeting between King and his communist advisors. The 4 wire taps were installed under the original authority given by the Attorney General on 10/10/63 concerning King's residences.

Attorney General Katzenbach was specifically notified of three of these microphone installations. In each of these three instances the Attorney General was advised that a trespass was involved in the installation.

In addition, concerning microphone coverage of King, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was furnished the pertinent information obtained, perusal of which would indicate that a microphone was the source of this information.

ACTION:

None. For information.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 98

GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670) DATE: 8/23/66

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-35356)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C

ReBulet dated 3/24/66, and Atlanta letter to Bureau and Chicago dated 3/29/66, both having reference to promiscuous activities on the part of the subject.

INFORMANT CG 6732-C, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised recently as follows:

BARBARA MOORE is a light skinned Negro female, approximately 33 years of age, and is employed at the present time as a secretary at the main offices of Sears Roebuck and Company, 915 South Homan Avenue, Chicago. She resides in the Lake Meadows Apartment Development on Chicago's near south side, 500 East 33rd Street. She was formerly employed as a secretary at Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago.

Several years ago, exactly when not known, MOORE was introduced to KING by KING's Chicago attorney, CHAUNCEY EASKRIDGE, EASKRIDGE at that time carrying on an affair with JUDY MOORE, BARBARA's sister. According to this source, KING sees BARBARA MOORE every time he comes to Chicago and does not want her to see other men. KING has reportedly advised MOORE that he is in love with her.

Source later advised as follows:

The relationship between KING and MOORE has been going on for the past two or three years. On at least one occasion she has gone to Atlanta, Georgia, to [illegible] occasions, upon arriving there learned that KING was [illegible] taking another girl from Chicago. The name of this second girl was not known at the time to MOORE, other than that she was the former wife of [illegible], a so-called "policy-king" on Chicago's south side. [illegible] presence of this woman at Atlanta, whereupon he had her return to Chicago. The source has no information concerning the specifics of this travel on the part of either female as to its nature or by whom it was financed.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-5583) (RM)
1 - Chicago
JCS:jmd/mem
(5)

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

Source continued that sometime before the assassination of President JOHN F. KENNEDY, BARBARA MOORE was again visiting KING, this time in Florida. While there, MOORE met an attorney reportedly close to President KENNEDY who began courting her. KING learned of these attentions and became involved in a fist fight with this unknown attorney over MOORE.

Source continued that each time KING was in Chicago he contacts MOORE and has her visit him. He is understood to pay MOORE $300 or $400 for each visit during which he engages in natural as well as unnatural sexual relations with her. KING additionally is understood to be involved with a white girl residing in Chicago, but the identity of this party is not known to the source.

The source for the above information learned this in the course of personal contact with MOORE with whom he has been intimately acquainted for a number of years.

Continuing with the above, on 7/19/66 CG 6915-C-TE INFORMANT provided the following information:

The so-called former wife of JAMES IRVING, above mentioned, who is also an associate of KING, is probably ROSEMARY MITCHELL, 600 East 33rd Street, apartment 307, Chicago. MITCHELL at one time maintained a common-law relationship with IRVING years ago. She is 39 or 40 years of age and is self-employed as the owner of Rosemary Mitchell Interiors, 5225 South Harper Avenue, Chicago. This source could only describe MITCHELL as known to be a good friend of KING whom she first met in 1960 or 1961. He is believed to visit MITCHELL whenever he is in Chicago, although the source is not aware of the extent of his relationship with her. MITCHELL is believed to be an avid integrationist and very active in civil rights matters.

Chicago indices fail to reflect any additional pertinent data concerning MITCHELL.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 100

Regarding BARBARA MOORE, reference is made to Chicago report of SA RICHARD A. LORAH, 3/4/53, under the caption "MILDRED STRONG, aka., AEAA", Chicago file 116-38978; reference also Bureau letter dated 12/13/62 under the caption "BARBARA MOORE, nee STRONG, aka., Clerk-Veterans Administration West Side Hospital, Chicago, Illinois, SGE". This Bureau letter contained a copy of form SF-85 completed by MOORE and requested Chicago to submit in LHM form information concerning MOORE indicating she was reportedly a prostitute.

For information of Atlanta, a subsequent LHM was prepared on this matter by Chicago reflecting that BARBARA MOORE was born out of wedlock to MILDRED STRONG and GABRIEL STRONG prior to their marriage in about 1933. JUDITH STRONG was also born out of wedlock to these two.

During October, 1951, a robbery was committed at the Cragin Savings and Loan Association in Chicago during the course of which one of the participants was slain by the Chicago Police Department. He had in his pocket a cleaning ticket with a notation JUDY HARRIS, Burton Hotel. Subsequent investigation in this 91 matter developed that JUDY HARRIS was in fact BARBARA MOORE and she was subsequently interviewed relative to the bank robbery in October, 1951. During the interview, she acknowledged that she was regularly engaged in prostitution and frequented various bars and taverns where she picked up customers. She had met the individual involved in the bank robbery in a tavern a short time prior to the robbery and had given him the name she was then using together with the name of the hotel she was utilizing in connection with her operation as a prostitute.

There is no additional pertinent information concerning MOORE available in Chicago indices.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 101

The above is being furnished the Bureau and Atlanta for information only.

Chicago at this time does not feel this information is of the type which could be effectively used in a counter-intelligence fashion and, because of the nature and relationship of those individuals involved with subject, no recommendations are being made that they be interviewed. It should be borne in mind also that the information concerning MOORE was learned by the source in personal contact with her.

Chicago will remain alert for any additional information and Bureau will be promptly advised of same.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 102

~~SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Miss Holmes
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Simpson
1 - Mr. Rozamus

JUNE

(IS) 100-442529

June 22, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

My memorandum of April 28, 1966, pointed out that a technical surveillance on the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia, provided valuable intelligence information.

In accordance with your notation on the above memorandum, this technical surveillance was discontinued on June 21, 1966.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MJR:sss (9)

NOTE: This memorandum is classified "Secret" since it concerns a technical surveillance, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in serious damage to the Bureau's security coverage to the detriment of national security.

This technical surveillance was installed on 11/3/63. Memorandum of 10/27/65 justifying the continuation of the installation was returned by the Attorney General indicating approval. Memorandum dated 4/28/66, recommending continuance of this technical surveillance was returned with a notation by the Attorney General dated 6/20/66, "I think this coverage should be discontinued, particularly in light of possible charges of a criminal nature against Hosea Williams and possibly others."

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EX 110

REC- 66 100-442529-70

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

JUL 12 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 103

Memorandum for the Attorney General

NOTE CONTINUED:

Inspector J.A. Sizoo contacted SAC Atlanta on 6/21/66, instructing that this technical surveillance coverage be discontinued immediately. It was discontinued at 1:00 p.m., 6/21/66.

The Attorney General's notation concerning Hosea Williams refers to an Interstate Transportation of Stolen Motor Vehicles case under investigation by the Bureau wherein the principal subject Harold Belton Andrews alleges he stole four automobiles for subsequent sale to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. It was developed by investigation one of these stolen vehicles had been in the possession of Hosea Williams who is the Director of Voter Registration for King's organization. Due to the ramifications involving the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the civil rights movement, the Criminal Division of the Department has been directing the prosecution in this case rather than the U.S. Attorney. Following presentation of the case to a Federal Grand Jury by Departmental attorneys Andrews and one other person were indicted, however, Hosea Williams was not indicted.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 104

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

JUNE

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Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Wick
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 1/21/66

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Miss Holmes
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Rozamus
1 - Mr. Bates

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

Special Agent in Charge Roney, New York Office, called on 1/20/66 and advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., and some of his associates have a reservation at the Americana Hotel, beginning 1/21/66 for approximately four days. King and his party will have Rooms 3435 - 3437. The New York Office has available Room 3335 from which it advises it can maintain a microphone surveillance on King with full security assured and without the use of any wiring.

We have had prior information that King planned to meet with some of his advisors with communist backgrounds, such as Harry Wachtel and Clarence Jones this week in New York City. Past conferences with such advisors have shown the communist influence exerted by them upon King relative to the racial situation as well as the Vietnam situation.

New York Office requested authority to make the microphone surveillance installation the night of 1/20-21/66, to be activated 1/21/66 with full security assured. It also requested authority for expenditure of up to $35 per day for the monitoring room.

ACTION: (Remove this surveillance at once 1-21 Yes. H

On New York's assurance that full security was available and since time was of the essence, New York was told to go ahead with the installation and was also authorized to make the necessary expenditure for the monitoring room. Attached for approval is a memorandum to the Attorney General advising him that this microphone surveillance will be activated 1/21/66 and will be immediately discontinued upon King's departure on or about 1/25/66.

ENCLOSURE

1 - M. F. Row - Room 6221 IB

100-106670
Enclosure
RFB:deh
(9)

no one here approved this. I have told Sullivan again not to institute a mike surveillance without the

MAR 3 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Miss Holmes

Tolson
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Tele. Room
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TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 29, 1967

FROM : G. C. Moore

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Rozamus
1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

JUNE

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval is a memorandum to the Attorney General requesting a telephone surveillance of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, Georgia, in an effort to obtain intelligence of their plans for massive civil disobedience in the Nation's Capitol and 10 to 15 cities throughout the United States in the Spring of 1968.

BACKGROUND:

On December 13, 1967, you approved an airtel which was directed to Atlanta Office requesting them to conduct a survey as to the feasibility of instituting a secure telephone surveillance of SCLC's headquarters, Atlanta, Georgia. By communication dated December 20, 1967, Atlanta recommends installation and advises it can be accomplished with full security.

OBSERVATIONS:

Since SCLC's President, Martin Luther King, Jr., has urged massive civil disobedience throughout the country in an effort to spur Congress into action to help the plight of the Negro, it is felt that we need this installation to obtain racial intelligence information

Enclosure sent 1-2-68 REC-23 100-438794 2053

100-438794

EX 106

DMW:ekw
(7)

CONTINUED - OVER

11 JAN 5 1968

79 JAN 10 1968

concerning their plans. King has warned that these massive demonstrations may result in riots. Because of this, we should be in a position to obtain intelligence so that appropriate countermeasures can be taken to protect the internal security of the United States. Currently there are 52 telephone surveillances in operation. Thirty-four of those are in Bureau cases and 18 have been installed at the written request of the State Department.

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached communication be directed to the Attorney General for his approval.

A. G. will not approve, but believe we should go on record.

OK

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 107

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. J. H. Mohr
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan

Tolson
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Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: June 13, 1963

FROM : G. C. Moore

1 - Mr. A. Rosen
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
1 - Mr. O. G. Ausen
1 - Mr. J. F. McGuire
1 - Mr. J. J. Dunn
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. C. E. Glass

SUBJECT: POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN
RACIAL MATTERS

The following is a summary of developments in the Poor People's Campaign.

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION - ONGOING

A New York source advised that Stanley Levison, Southern Christian Leadership Conference advisor who has been identified as a secret Communist Party member as late as 1963, is of the opinion that half of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference staff is psychotic like Hosea Williams and James Bevel. He feels that Andrew Young, Executive Vice President, has "collapsed from the inside" and that Ralph D. Abernathy, the President, is as stupid as he sounds. He feels there is no one in a leadership capacity in the organization capable of assuming the leadership of the organization but would like to see Andrew Young as President. He feels the rest are "hustlers and opportunists." According to Levison the organization came to Washington, D. C., for the Poor People's Campaign with $1,000,000 and unprecedented support and now all of this has been dissipated. He feels the purpose of the June 19, 1968, mass demonstration is to give Abernathy the opportunity to make a speech like Martin Luther King, Jr. made in 1963 at a previous march on Washington, D. C. Levison stated in the source's presence that most of the people have left Resurrection City but it has been arranged that this cannot be detected. He said the arrangements for the June 19, 1968, demonstration are a complete fiasco. Levison feels the only thing that can rescue the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is for the organization to change direction.

One of our sources at Resurrection City reported that he estimates less than 500 people are residing there now. Another source reported that about 40 campaign participants went to Capitol Hill yesterday morning to attend hearings on economics. They left at 1 PM without incident. Shortly after 3 PM yesterday about 200 people started a demonstration at the Department of Agriculture which is to continue 24 hours a day until the campaign's demands are met. About 160 people were still there this morning. Yesterday about 80 of these

CEG:ebb
(14)

CONTINUED - OVER

people went to the United States Capitol to protest proposed legislation to ban camping on park land. They were not allowed to enter the Capitol and rejoined the group at the Department of Agriculture about 6 PM.

Yesterday police arrested two people outside the fence at the campsite for carrying machetes. One of them was reportedly absent without leave from the Army. Two residents of Resurrection City were arrested yesterday for stealing an American flag from around the Washington Monument.

Press reports reflect that a coalition of campus organizations led by the National Student Association, a nationwide organization of college students, pledged support for the June 19, 1968, demonstration and predicted at least 25,000 students would attend. One of our sources advised that a group from the Students for a Democratic Society, a militant youth group which has been extremely critical of United States policy in Vietnam, plans to join the campaign in Washington, D. C., tomorrow for a demonstration at the Office of Education.

The Puerto Rican Day of the Poor People's Campaign originally scheduled for June 8, 1968, is now planned for June 15, 1968, and groups of Puerto Ricans are to come to Washington, D. C., for what is planned to be a peaceful demonstration concerning Puerto Rican demands.

The mule train entered Georgia yesterday and is en route to Atlanta, Georgia.

ACTION:

Pertinent portions of the above are being furnished by teletype to the White House, Secretary of State, Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, Army, Air Force, and Secret Service. Copies of the teletype are going to the Vice President; the Attorney General; appropriate Divisions of the Department; Navy; the Secretaries of Commerce, Agriculture, Defense, and Labor; the Departments of Transportation and Interior; United States Information Agency; General Services Administration; National Aeronautics and Space Administration; and the National Security Agency.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 109

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

JUNE

June 3, 1968

DOWNGRADED TO
SECRET
Per C98W57B22
Date 6/24/2016

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. A. W. Gray

Mrs. Mildred Stegall
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Stegall:

In accordance with the request of Special Counsel Larry E. Temple, there is enclosed a six-volume file entitled "Communications Concerning Martin Luther King, Jr." for the President's information.

Volume 1 of this file includes a detailed table of contents, information concerning the instructions and approval of former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy regarding electronic surveillance coverage in this Bureau's security investigation of King, and a summary of material concerning communist influences on King and relating to his [redacted] Volume 2, labeled [redacted] contains exhibits keyed to the material in Volume 1. Volumes 3 and 4, labeled [redacted] set forth transcripts of electronic surveillances. Volumes 5 and 6 contain copies of this Bureau's communications previously sent to officials at the White House, including the President.

JFK Law 10(a)1

Sincerely yours,

REC 33

6 JUN 4 1968

Enclosure

AWG:ebp
(9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

~~TOP SECRET~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Delivered to Mildred Stegall on 6/3/68

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 110

Mrs. Mildred Stegall

NOTE:

See memorandum R. W. Smith to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated June 2, 1968, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr.," prepared by AWG:cbp.

Classified "Top Secret" because of the sensitive nature of the sources involved, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 111

GPO 954-574-70 NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: June 2, 1968

JUNE

FROM : R. W. Smith

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
REQUEST BY PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
FOR DETAILED FILE

Reference is made to memorandum of Mr. DeLoach to Mr. Tolson, 5/24/68, same title, which set forth the request of the President, conveyed through Special Counsel Larry E. Temple, for all information concerning King in the possession of the FBI, including the instructions and approval of former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy regarding electronic surveillance coverage in the security investigation of King.

Exhaustive file reviews have been conducted to locate and reproduce copies of all communications concerning King which have previously been furnished to White House officials, including the President. In addition, background data regarding the knowledge and approval of Mr. Kennedy of electronic surveillance coverage of King and eight transcripts of that coverage are included. These materials comprise six volumes entitled "Communications Concerning Martin Luther King, Jr." Volume 1 contains a detailed table of contents, information concerning the instructions and approval of Mr. Kennedy regarding the electronic surveillance coverage, and a summary of material concerning communist influences on King and relating to his [redacted] JFK Law 10(a)1 Volume 2, labeled [redacted] contains exhibits keyed to the material in Volume 1. Volumes 3 and 4, labeled [redacted] contain transcripts of electronic surveillances. Volumes 5 and 6 contain copies of FBI communications previously sent to officials at the White House, including the President. (Copies of Volumes 2 through 6 which contain reproductions of material in Bureau files will be retained in bulky exhibit of King file.)

EX-15 3479

Enclosures 6-3-68
AWG:ebp (8)

EX-105 6 JUN 6 1968

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. A. W. Gray

CONTINUED - OVER

8 AUG 13 1968

Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
REQUEST BY PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
FOR DETAILED FILE

ACTION:

That approval be granted for the attached letter to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House transmitting this top secret, six-volume file, "Communications Concerning Martin Luther King, Jr."

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 113

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Mr. Tolson

DATE: May 28, 1968

FROM: C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: DREW PEARSON - JACK ANDERSON COLUMN
REGARDING MARTIN LUTHER KING
WASHINGTON POST EDITION OF MAY 24, 1968

By memorandum of May 27, 1968, the Attorney General indicated that he is deeply troubled by the Drew Pearson - Jack Anderson column in "The Washington Post" of May 24, 1968, which dealt with the FBI's electronic surveillance coverage of Dr. Martin Luther King, as requested and approved by former Attorney General Kennedy.

The Attorney General noted that a portion of this column must have come from secret documents, the contents of which were known to only a very few people in the office of the Director and in the office of the Attorney General. He stated that the disclosure of these facts in the public press evidences a lack of integrity in the Department's system or in the personnel employed at some relevant time in his office and the Director's office. He requests advice on any information as to the manner in which these facts were disclosed, or any theory how such data may have been released. If no such information is available, he requests that an investigation be undertaken, if the Director deems such an inquiry feasible, to determine how this release occurred.

100-106670

NOT RECORDED
27 JUN 17 1968

Attached is a letter to the Attorney General providing a reply in this matter. The Attorney General is assured that the FBI has made a thorough analysis of the captioned article and has made a careful check of our FBI officials who normally handle contacts with the press. The Attorney General is assured that no officials of this Bureau were responsible in any way in furnishing information to Pearson which formed the basis for this article. It points out that the information in question could have originated from a fairly wide range of sources in that information regarding our electronic surveillance coverage of King received wide dissemination in the Government, including the Attorney General's Office, the Solicitor General's Office, the White House, the Vice President's Office, military intelligence agencies, and the Central Intelligence

Enc. 5-27-68

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Sullivan

CONTINUED - OVER

ORIGINAL FILED IN

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 114

Agency. This letter also notes that such coverage of King has previously been alluded to on a number of occasions by the press, including a column by "Washington Post" writer Richard Harwood (February 25, 1968), in addition to other press coverage.

In connection with the appearance of the date July 16, 1968, in captioned article, as the date on which Kennedy first instructed the FBI to conduct wiretap coverage of King, the Attorney General's attention is drawn to the fact that a number of individuals outside the FBI were familiar with this request. Some of these would include Courtney Evans, who received Kennedy's instructions in this matter, various Departmental officials who were at that time aware of Kennedy's interest in having the FBI institute this coverage of King, the Solicitor General, who was recently briefed by the Director concerning our electronic coverage of King, and certain current Departmental officials who were completely briefed by representatives of this Bureau regarding Kennedy's authorization of electronic surveillance coverage, in connection with a discussion of the possible use of a plea of immunity in the civil suit in Las Vegas against FBI Agents.

The Attorney General is told that the FBI will be glad to initiate investigation if he so desires. His attention is called to the fact that any investigation of this type would naturally entail interviews with all possible sources from which the data in question could have originated, including representatives of his office, the Solicitor General's Office, the White House, the Central Intelligence Agency, and various other departments and agencies.

ACTION:

Attached for approval is a letter to the Attorney General along the lines described above. Attached to the yellow of this letter are copies of pertinent documents in support of facts stated to the Attorney General.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 115

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, FBI

DATE: May 27, 1968

FROM : Ramsey Clark
Attorney General

SUBJECT:

I am deeply troubled by the Drew Pearson-Jack Anderson column in the Washington Post on May 24th. Copies of the full column and the portion run in the Post are attached.

A number of allegations made therein are beyond my knowledge of the fact. Several I know to be untrue. However, there are a number which are true and must come from secret documents, the contents of which are known or need be known to only a very few people in the office of the Director of the FBI and in the Office of the Attorney General. That these facts should become known outside of these offices and appear in the public press evidences either a lack of integrity in our system or in the personnel employed at some relevant time in these offices. Neither failure is permissible.

If you have any information as to how these facts were disseminated outside of these offices, or any theory as to how they may have been, please advise me. If not, please undertake whatever investigation you deem feasible to determine how this happened. In addition, I would like your suggestions as to any reform in the system of handling such sensitive information as may be necessary to prevent such a breach of integrity from happening again.

100-106670

Enclosures

NOT RECORDED
47 JUN 17 1968

EXP. PROC. 32
NOV 27 1968

CDD: JHG: TJE/ks

14 JUN 14 1968

CRIME RESEARCH

ORIGINAL FILED IN

51 JUN 27 1968

Kennedy Ordered King Wiretap

By Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson

The question of whether Bobby Kennedy, when Attorney General, ordered wide-scale wiretapping and eavesdropping by the FBI has become the subject of some controversy. It is also very important in gauging Kennedy's qualifications to be President, and whether he is telling the truth. After all, the credibility gap has become something of an issue these days.

In this connection, this column has learned that, when Attorney General, Mr. Kennedy ordered a wiretap put on the phone of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Kennedy denies this and other statements that he ordered or condoned the wide-scale wiretapping or eavesdropping undertaken by the FBI while he commanded the Justice Department. He states that nowhere in the Justice Department is there to be found a single eavesdrop order signed by him.

[Pierre Salinger, Senator Kennedy's press representative, gave the following statement to Richard Harwood of The Washington Post, traveling with the Senator in Oregon: "While he was Attorney General, Sen. Kennedy never authorized any wiretaps except in national security cases at the request of the FBI. He never authorized any bugs at anybody's request."]

However, the facts in the eavesdropping on Dr. King are irrefutable, and we can report them in detail.

Attorney General Kennedy first ordered Dr. King bugged on July 16, 1963. His reason was that Dr. King was in touch with various Communists and was being influenced by them.

The order caused surprise in the FBI. During the 1960 election campaign both Bobby and his brother, the late President, had offered to help Dr. King when he was arrested in Atlanta on Oct. 19 and refused to post bond in connection with a civil rights sit-in.

John F. Kennedy even issued a press release offering to help Dr. King, a gesture which had important effect on the Negro vote three weeks later. In Cook County it was the Negro vote which gave Kennedy his slender 8000-vote margin in Illinois and won him the Presidency.

FBI Objects

When, therefore, the brother of the President ordered a wiretap on Dr. King's phone, the FBI was amazed and opposed it. Courtney Evans, who served as liaison officer between J. Edgar Hoover and Bobby Kennedy, told the Attorney General that Dr. King traveled a lot, so a wiretap might not be too effective. Also he said that the wiretap would have a bad reaction among Negroes if discovered. The Attorney General remarked that he was not in the least interested in repercussions.

He did not press the matter, and so the FBI did not place any taps on Dr. King's wire in July, 1963.

However, in October of that year Bobby Kennedy signed an order for a tap on Dr. King's wires, and thereafter Dr. King's phone conversations were monitored.

This may have been why the highly publicized confrontation between Dr. King and J. Edgar Hoover turned out the way it did.

On Nov. 18, 1964, Hoover called Dr. King "the most notorious liar in the country" after Dr. King had urged civil-rights workers not to report violence to the FBI on the ground that FBI agents were Southerners who would take no action.

Dr. King hurried to Washington for a showdown with Hoover. Emerging from the FBI director's office after their conference, Dr. King made a statement surprisingly favorable to the FBI. He had no criticism for Hoover. Intimates have told us that Dr. King suspected Hoover was tapping his wires. However, King never realized that the person who originally ordered the monitoring was Robert F. Kennedy, the man who had offered to help get King out of jail. Later Kennedy was one of the most headlined mourners at King's funeral.

However, we can report that the FBI faithfully carried on Kennedy's original instructions and submitted regular reports on King's activities—right up until the time of his death. They are considered of some importance now in trying to track down King's assassin.

The wiretaps on King's phone also led to the reporting of King's movements around the country and various persons to whom he talked. These have been checked out for enemies and those who might be interested in assassinating King.

The King wiretap was probably the most sensational of the taps inspired or ordered by Bobby Kennedy when he was Attorney General, but it was by no means the only one. This phase of his government career has been scrutinized only casually in the past. However, the public has a right to know all of his record before voting on his qualifications to be President.

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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

May 22, 1968

Mr. Bishop:

RE: SENATOR HUGH SCOTT
(R - PENNSYLVANIA)
PROPOSED BILL TO COMMEMORATE
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Your attention is directed to the attached clipping from yesterday's "Washington Daily News" indicating that Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania proposed that one million bronze commemorative medals be struck in honor of Martin Luther King. Senator Scott indicated he would introduce a bill to authorize the medals and "a gold medal to be presented to Dr. King's widow." According to the article, the medals would be sold at cost to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Fund for Education at Morehouse College in Atlanta.

Senator Scott was first elected to the House in 1940 and was re-elected to seven additional terms. He was in the Navy for two years during the war and was first elected to the Senate in 1958, being re-elected in 1964.

Over the years we have had very cordial relations with Senator Scott, and the Director has regularly written him on his re-elections. He gave a tribute to the Director on the latter's 35th Anniversary. The Director sent him an autographed copy of "A Study of Communism" in 1963.

In addition, on May 11, 1964, the Director thanked Senator Scott for his splendid comments on the Senate floor with regard to the Director's administration of the FBI. On July 15, 1966, the Director sent Senator Scott a letter in connection with the latter's operation at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

On May 3, 1965, according to a confidential source, Martin Luther King participated in a panel discussion two days before in a panel commemorating Law Day sponsored by the Federal Bar Association. It was reported that Senator Scott was in attendance at this meeting and was "fawning" over King who gave the impression during his speech of trying to justify disobedience to the law.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
MA:lima/mc

CONTINUED - OVER

As indicated above, Senator Scott has always been very friendly. In the recent past, he has been sympathetic to the Bureau's viewpoint in connection with the Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill now pending on the Hill.

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of Senator Scott's friendly and cooperative attitude over the years, it is recommended that Mr. DeLoach brief him on a most confidential basis as to the background of Martin Luther King. Obviously, Scott has been "hoodwinked" as to King's true background.

M. A. Jones

TEB

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 119

0-13 (Rev. 7-27-67)

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

Sen. Scott Proposes Special King Medal

3

Sen. Hugh Scott, (R., Pa.) proposed today that one million bronze commemorative medals be struck in honor of Martin Luther King Jr.

Sen. Scott said he would introduce a bill to authorize the medals and "a gold medal to be presented to Dr. King's widow." The medals would be sold at cost to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Fund for Education at Morehouse College in Atlanta. (UPI

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
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World

Date

The Attorney General

May 28, 1968

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Gale
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Staffeld

Director, FBI

DREW PEARSON-JACK ANDERSON COLUMN
REGARDING MARTIN LUTHER KING,
WASHINGTON POST EDITION OF MAY 24, 1968

With reference to your memorandum of May 27, 1968, I share your concern regarding the Drew Pearson - Jack Anderson column in the "Washington Post" of May 24, 1968. As a matter of fact, immediately upon the appearance of this article I had a thorough analysis made of the alleged facts contained therein and, while a number of them are false or have previously appeared in publications, I nevertheless had a careful check made of all FBI employees who normally handle contacts with newspapers to determine if they had either released the alleged facts in question, or had discussed such matters with Pearson and Anderson. I have been assured that such is not the case. Therefore, in connection with your observation that only a very few people in your office and among representatives of my office would have access to such information and that this disclosure evidences a lack of integrity in our system, you may be assured that no such integrity gap exists among representatives of my office.

The fact that there was a wiretap on Dr. Martin Luther King has been alluded to previously in newspaper articles and columns. As a matter of fact, Richard Harwood, writing in the "Washington Post" on February 28, 1968, made reference to such coverage. Allegations in his article and in various other articles were obviously repeated by Pearson and Anderson in their column of May 24, 1968.

100-106670

NOT RECORDED
47 JUN 13 1968

The reference to the date July 10, 1963, as mentioned by Pearson and Anderson as the date [illegible] by General Kennedy first ordered an electronic surveillance placed on Dr. Martin Luther King, was likewise known to many sources.

CDD:JHG:TJE/csh
(7)

JUN 13 1968

NOTE: See DeLoach to Tolson memorandum, 5/28/68, same caption, CDD:JHG:TJE/csh

325

62 JUN 18 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

ORIGINAL FILED IN CASE

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 121

The Attorney General

Former FBI employee Courtney Evans, who is now a temporary employee of the Department of Justice (and whose credibility is subject to serious question as a result of a number of falsifications and distortions of fact he has made publicly regarding FBI practices), was very much aware of this particular date as well as virtually all information contained in the Pearson column. As you may recall, two FBI representatives questioned Mr. Evans quite thoroughly on December 24, 1965, and on June 2, 1966, and reviewed with him numerous memoranda which he prepared in making a record of his pertinent conversations with former Attorney General Kennedy regarding electronic surveillance coverage by the FBI.

The Attorney General's Office, of course, was aware of this date as a result of discussions between Evans and former Attorney General Kennedy regarding the coverage of King in question. Such individuals as former Executive Assistant to the Attorney General Harold Reis would have been aware of these discussions as would former Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall in connection with Mr. Kennedy's interest in having the FBI institute electronic surveillance coverage on Dr. King. In addition, the Solicitor General has been briefed concerning the FBI's electronic surveillance on Dr. King.

In connection with the desirability of a plea of immunity in the civil suit in Las Vegas against FBI personnel, three FBI representatives on October 16, 1967, briefed two representatives of the Department of Justice relative to former Attorney General Kennedy's authorization of microphones and wiretaps. The date July 16, 1963, was mentioned during this briefing in connection with a discussion of our electronic surveillance coverage of Dr. King. As you are perhaps aware, Mr. Kennedy first requested that a wiretap be placed on Dr. King on July 16, 1963. The FBI's memorandum regarding authority to make this installation was personally approved by Mr. Kennedy as of October 10, 1963. The wiretap, however, was not activated on Dr. King until November 8, 1963.

For your information, I did not bring up any reference to wiretap or microphone coverage during my meeting with Dr. King on December 1, 1964, as alluded to in Mr. Pearson's column. I am not aware of any statement made by Dr. King after this conference which was "surprisingly favorable" to the FBI.

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The Attorney General

Reports of Dr. King and his activities, involving sexual debauchery, and including infiltration and domination by communists, were disseminated to authorized sources on a number of occasions. In handling our heavy responsibilities in the field of internal security, it would be unthinkable not to disseminate such information. Your office, the White House, the Vice President's office, the military intelligence agencies, and the Central Intelligence Agency, have been the recipients of these classified reports. As you can well appreciate, where it is necessary to disseminate to other agencies in the government, the risk of leaks is ever present.

I am always dismayed when information of the above nature is given to unauthorized sources. I have also been greatly concerned, as you know, over the extreme harm which has been caused as a result of the disclosure of microphone coverage in numerous organized crime cases which, upon general and/or specific authorization of the Attorney General (and later installation by this Bureau), were fully exposed, as well as the logs pertaining thereto, in Federal court. This has occurred now in at least 27 instances. My objections to such procedures have been made known to you, both orally by my representatives, and in writing.

Considering the unjustified criticism that has been leveled at the FBI over the years by Messrs. Pearson and Anderson, it is inconceivable that any FBI employee having access to such data would volunteer information of this nature to these columnists. I cannot provide this same guarantee with regard to a number of former employees.

This Bureau will, of course, be glad to initiate an investigation of the circumstances surrounding the Pearson - Anderson column in question, if you so desire. You may be assured once again, however, that such information did not originate from representatives of this Bureau. I also wish to call to your attention that any investigation of this type would naturally entail interviews with all possible sources referred to in this letter, including representatives of your office, the office of the Solicitor General, the White House, military intelligence agencies, and various other Departments and agencies.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 123

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

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

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

CONTINUED ---- OVER

CDD:CSH (4)

JUN-6 1968

NOT RECORDED
184 JUNE 6 1968

54 JUN 13 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

CENTRE RESEARCH

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.

1. Absolutely.
2. We must be most careful what we send Weisl.

All SAs in Front Office, Crime Rep. Div, advised 5/23/67 TSB

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 125

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

JUNE

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

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 5/17/68

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

cc Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Gale
Mr. Bishop

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING
(Previous request for electronic coverage by Robert F. Kennedy)
LEAK OF INFORMATION BY DEPARTMENT

Ed Weisl, Jr. came over to see me at 4:15 p.m., 5/17/68. He asked me if the rumor was true that was going around Washington to the effect that Bobby Kennedy had specifically asked the FBI to tap the telephone of Martin Luther King. I told Weisl I had not heard this rumor. I asked him what prompted his question. He replied that he had heard about this several times and, as a matter of fact, a statement had appeared in a recent newspaper article.

I reminded Weisl that Messrs. Gale, McAndrews, and I had briefed him regarding all activities pertaining to Bobby Kennedy's requests for microphones and telephone taps during his tenure as Attorney General. I stated this briefing, as he should recall, concerned the basis on which the Department pleaded immunity in the civil suit against our agents in Las Vegas, Nevada.

Weisl stated he remembered the briefing and, as a matter of fact, this was when the information first came to his attention. I asked Weisl why he was now asking me this specific question. He replied because Drew Pearson had found out about this matter and probably would print it in order to embarrass Bobby Kennedy.

I asked Weisl if he had discussed this matter with Drew Pearson. He replied in the affirmative and stated his father, Ed Weisl, Sr., had also discussed the matter with Pearson. Weisl asked me if the FBI would have any objections to this matter being brought out before the public. I told him it appeared as if the matter had already been brought out before the public. I stated he should keep several things in mind, i.e., (1) regardless of how such an article was written, a segment of the Negro population of the United States would still feel very harshly toward the FBI and (2) this would obviously cut off some of our sources of information.

Weisl rebutted this statement with the fact that Richard Harwood of the Washington Post had already printed the fact that

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CONTINUED ----- over

CDD:CSH (5)

REC-27

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

MAY 21 1968

JUN 13 1968

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 126

the FBI had accumulated a number of tapes on King, as a result of the utilization of microphones. Weisl stated that Pearson would obviously indicate that Bobby Kennedy had ordered the FBI to take this action. I told Weisl that, nevertheless, certain Negro groups would still blame the FBI, whether we were ordered to take such action or not.

Weisl stated he would try to keep the above matter from being printed, if the FBI felt so strongly about it. I told him we held no brief for Kennedy, in view of the shoddy way in which he had treated the FBI; however, we did not want to be involved in any political maneuvers and action of this nature would most certainly concern politics. Weisl stated he would try to keep this from appearing.

Richard Harwood did include in his recent article on the Director a statement that the FBI had several tapes on Martin Luther King, as a result of the utilization of microphones. This fact has also appeared in a number of other newspapers. Apparently Weisl has discussed this matter with Pearson---Pearson desiring to print the facts in order to embarrass Kennedy.

The record is quite clear, through the medium of memoranda written by former employee Courtney Evans, that Kennedy first requested electronic coverage; however, Evans succeeded in talking him out of it. Several months later Evans approached Kennedy and requested permission for such coverage, at which time Kennedy approved this coverage. While an expose of such facts could obviously hurt Kennedy, such action would also harm the FBI from a public relations standpoint. We, therefore, should have no part in it and should discreetly discourage such action if brought to our attention.

ACTION -

If such an article is printed by Pearson, we should follow a strict "no comment" policy.

Right. D Good

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 127

TOP SECRET

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Miss Holmes
1 - Mr. Sullivan

The Attorney General

May 1, 1968

JUNE

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Rozamus

Director, FBI

DOWNGRADED TO SECRET
Per C98WS7B22
Date 6/21/2016

ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCES

This Bureau has submitted to you a number of requests, to which no reply has been received, for electronic surveillances on certain organizations and individuals that are a serious threat to the internal security of the United States during these critical times. I am bringing this to your attention since your decisions in the following cases are urgently needed:

Jane Ellen Sachs Hodes, New York City
National Mobilization Office for Demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention, Chicago, Illinois
The Midland News Agency (Communist Party, USA, Illinois District), Chicago, Illinois
Southern Christian Leadership Conference headquarters at Atlanta, Georgia, and Washington, D. C.
Tanzanian Mission to the United Nations, New York City
Vladimir A. Kuleshov, Washington, D. C.
William Vhanovich Mkrtchian, Washington, D. C.
Robert Alfonzo Brown, Chicago, Illinois
African-American Heritage Association, Chicago, Illinois
Boris N. Sedov, Washington, D. C.
Leibel Bergman, San Francisco, California

DELETIONS PERTAIN TO INVESTIGATIONS OF OTHER GROUPS OR INDIVIDUALS INCLUDING FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE MATTERS

Your prompt reply is requested in each of the above cases in order that this Bureau may fulfill its responsibilities in the field of internal security.

66-8160

MJR:sss
(8)

NOT RECORDED
29 MAY 13 1968

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 12:45 PM
DATE 5-1-68
BY

NOTE: See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated April 29, 1968, captioned "Electronic Surveillances Awaiting Approval of Attorney General," prepared by MJR:sss. Classified "Top Secret" since unauthorized disclosure could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

66-8160-2978

TOP SECRET

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

6 MAY 15 1968

L. L. Whalen
April 17, 1968

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~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Miss Holmes
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
1 - Mr. Rozamus

(RI) 100-433794

JUNE

April 2, 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL 1 - Mr. D.M. Wells

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

By letter dated January 2, 1968, authority was requested to institute a telephone surveillance on the national headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, because its President, Martin Luther King, Jr., had publicly announced he would lead a massive civil disobedience in the nation's Capital in the Spring of 1968. At that time it was pointed out that these massive demonstrations could trigger riots.

By letter dated January 3, 1968, you declined authorization of this installation because, "There has not been an adequate demonstration of a direct threat to the national security."

In view of the recent developments in Memphis, Tennessee, where King led a march that ended in a riot, it is reasonable to assume the same thing could happen later this month when King brings his "Poor People's March" to Washington, D. C.

EX-116 16 APR 10 1968

King, the day after the Memphis riot, was in conference with his principal adviser and long-time secret Communist Party member, Stanley Levison, concerning the events of the preceding day. King stated he was considering calling off the Washington march. Levison advised him to continue his plans for the Washington march.

DMW:dsm (9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

~~SECRET~~

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME
DATE
BY

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

APR 7 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Despite this violence in Memphis, Levison and King are continuing their plans for this massive civil disobedience to start the latter part of April, 1968, in Washington, D. C.

In view of the internal security aspect involved, authority is requested to install telephone surveillances of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at its national headquarters at the above-listed address and also at its local headquarters, 1401 U Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., so that we can keep apprised of the strategy and plans of this group.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Approved_____

Date_____

NOTE: Classified "Secret" since it concerns a technical surveillance, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in serious damage to the Bureau security coverage and to the detriment of national security.

This memorandum recommends the installation of a telephone surveillance on SCLC's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, and Washington, D. C., for intelligence-type data concerning King's plans for massive civil disobedience in the nation's Capital in the Spring of 1968.

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan same caption, dated 3/29/68 prepared by DJW:dsm.

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MARTIN LUTHER KING AT NATIONAL CATHEDRAL
MARCH 31, 1968

I need not pause to say how perfectly delightful it is to be here this morning, to have the opportunity of standing in this very great and significant pulpit, and I do want to express my deep personal appreciation to Dean Sayre and all the Cathedral clergy for extending the invitation. It is always a rich and rewarding experience to take at least a brief break from our day-to-day demands in the struggle for freedom and human dignity and ability and enjoy envolvement in worship which concerns friends and goodwill all over our nation. Certainly there's always a deep and meaningful experience to be in a worship service. So, for many reasons I'm happy to be here today. I'm going to use as a subject from which to preach this morning, "Remaining Awake Through a Great Revolution." The text for the morning is found in the Book of Revelation. There are two passages there that I would like to quote from the 16th chapter of that Book, "Behold, I make all things new," - "Former things are passed away.". I'm sure that most of you have read that interesting story from the pen of Washington Irving entitled, "Rip Van Winkle." The one thing we usually remember about the story is that Rip Van Winkle slept twenty years, but there is

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another point in that story that all too many people overlook. There was a sign in the inn from which Rip went up into the mountains for his long sleep. When Rip Van Winkle went up into the mountains, the sign had a picture of King George, III, of England. When he came down twenty years later, the sign had a picture of George Washington, the first President of the United States. Rip Van Winkle looked up at the picture of George Washington, and looking at the picture, he was amazed. He was completely lost. He knew not who he was. And this reveals to us the most striking thing about the story of Rip Van Winkle is not merely that Rip slept twenty years, but that he slept through a revolution. While he was peacefully snoring up in the mountains, a revolution was taking place that, in point, would change the course of history. Rip knew nothing about it, he was asleep. Yes, he slept through a revolution. One of the great tragedies of life is that all too many people find themselves living amidst a great period of social change and yet they fail to develop new attitudes, the new mental responses that the new situation demands. They end up sleeping through a revolution. As a matter of fact, there is a great revolution taking place in the world today. In a sense it is a triple revolution; that is, a technological revolution in weaponery with the emergence of atomic and nuclear weapons of warfare. Then there is the human-rights

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revolution, with the freedom explosion that is taking place all over the world. Yes, we do live in a period where changes are taking place. There is still the voice crying in the abyss of time saying, Behold, I make all things new. Former things are passed away. Now, when anything new comes in history, it brings with it new challenges and new opportunities. I would like to deal with the challenges that we face today as a result of this triple revolution that is taking place in the world today. First, we are challenged to develop a world spectacle. No individual can live alone. No nation can live alone; and anyone who feels that he can live alone is sleeping through a revolution. The world in which we live is geographically one. The challenge that we face today is to make the one term appropriate. Now, it is true that the geographical oneness in the days to come will be to a large extent through modern man's scientific ingenuity. Modern man, through his scientific genius has been able to go long distances through great time and change. Our jet planes have traversed in minutes distances that once took weeks and even months. All of this tells us that our world is a neighborhood. Through our scientific and technological genius we have made of this world a neighborhood; and yet we have not yet the ethical committments to make us a brotherhood. Somehow and in some way we got to do this. We must all learn to live

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together as brothers, or we will all perish together as fools. We are tied together in a single bond of destiny, thwarting any escape from the network of mutuality. Whatever people want directly, affects all indirectly. For some strange reason that I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be; and you can't be what you ought to be until I am what I ought to be. This is the way God's universe is made. This is the way of its structure. John Donne caught it years ago and finished in graphic times, "No man is an island entire unto himself. Everyman is a piece of the continent, a part of the main . . " and he goes on toward the end to say "For everyman's death diminishes me because I am a part of mankind. Therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." We must seize this, believe it and live by it, if we are to remain awake through a great revolution. Secondly, we are challenged to eradicate the last vestiges of racial injustice from our nation. I just say this morning that racial injustice is still the black man's burden and the white man's shame. It is an unhappy truth that racism is a way of life, and a vast majority of white Americans; spoken and unspoken, acknowledge and deny subtly. Sometimes not so subtly. The disease that racism permeates and poisons the whole body politically. I can see nothing more urgent for America to work passionately to get rid of the disease of racism. Something positive must be done.

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Everyone must share in its guilt; individuals and institutions. The Government must certainly share the guilt; individuals must share the guilt; even the Church must share the guilt. We must face the facts that 11:00 o'clock on Sunday morning when we stand to sing, "In Christ, there is no East nor West," we stand in the most segregated island of America. The hour has come for everybody from all of the institutions to disect from this body its cancer, and work to get rid of racism. And now as we have to do it, we must honestly admit certain things. We must get rid of certain myths that are constantly being disseminated all over our nation. One is a myth of time. There is a notion that only time can solve the problems of racial injustices. There are those who often appear to say to the Negroes that are in the white community, "Why don't you slow up? Stop pushing things so fast. Only time can solve the problems. If you will just be nice and patient and continue praying, in a hundred or two hundred years the problem will work itself out." There is an answer to that myth: It is that time is neutral. It can be used either constructively or destructively. I am sorry to say this morning that I am absolutely convinced that the forces of ill will in our nation, the extreme rightists in our nation, the people on the wrong ground use time much more effectively than the forces of good will. It may well be that we will have to impeach this generation. Not merely for patriotic words and devout actions of the bad people, but for the fallen silence

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and indifference of the good people who sit around and wait on time. Somewhere we will come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inability. It comes through tireless efforts and persistent work of dedicated individuals who are willing to be co-workers of God. Without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the primitive forces of social stagnation. So we must help time and realize that the time is always right to do right. Now there is another myth that still gets around. It is kind of over-reliance on the boot-strap philosophy. Now those that still feel that if the Negro is to rise out of poverty, if the Negro is to rise out of slum conditions, if he is to rise out of degradation and segregation, he must do it all by himself and so they say the Negro must lift himself by his own bootstraps. They never stop to realize that no other ethnic group has been a slave on American soil. The people who say this never stop to realize the debt they owe us who were kept in slavery 244 years. In 1863 the Negro was told he was free as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation being signed by Abraham Lincoln. He was not given any land to make that freedom meaningful. It was something like keeping a person in prison for a number of years and suddenly discovering that that person was not guilty of the crime for which he was convicted, and just go up to him and say now you are free. But you don't give him any crutch against time. You don't give him any money to get some clothes for his back or shoes for his feet. Yet this is the

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very thing that our nation did to the black man. It simply set him free and just left him in ignorance, not knowing what to do. And we all know that at the same time the nation failed to do anything for the black man, through an Act of Congress, it has given away millions of acres of land west of the Mississippi which meant that it was willing to share with the white man the tools of economic force and grant power to them. They sent men to teach them to farm. Not only did they provide county agents but as the years unfolded they provided low-interest rates so they could mechanize their farms, and to this day, thousands of these very persons have been seizing millions of dollars in federal subsidies every year not to farm, and they are the very ones who tell Negroes they must lift themselves by their own bootstraps. It is all right to tell a man to lift himself by his bootstraps. But it is a cruel jest to say to a shoeless man that he ought to lift himself by his own bootstraps. We must come to see that the roots of racism are buried deep in our country. And there must be something positive and natural in order to get rid of all the effect of racism and tragedy of racial injustices. And there is another thing closely related to racism that I should like to mention as another challenge. We are challenged to rid our nation of the word poverty. Like a monstrous octopus, poverty spreads its nagging prehensal tenacles into hamlets and villages all over the world. Two-thirds of the people of the world go to bed hungry at night. They are ill-housed, they are ill-nourished.

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I have seen it in Latin America; I have seen it in Africa; I have seen this poverty in Asia. I remember some years ago, Mrs. King and I journeyed to that great country known as India. And I never will forget the experience. It was a marvelous experience to meet and talk with the great leaders of India and get to talk with and speak to thousands and thousands of people all over that vast country. These experiences will remain dear to me as long as the haunts of memory linger. But I say to you this morning, my friends, there are those in Christendom - when they see with their own eyes literally millions of people are going to bed hungry every night - when he sees with his own eyes God's children sleeping on the sidewalks at night - In Bombay, more than a million people sleep on the sidewalks every night. In Calcutta more than 600,000 sleep on the sidewalks everynight. They have no beds to sleep in; they have no houses to go in. He discovers that in our vast population, more than five hundred million people, some 480 million, make an annual income less than $9000 a year. Most of them have never seen a doctor or nurse, and I know that we Americans say we are not concerned but . . . an answer came "Oh no . . " for the destiny of the U. S. is tied with the destiny of India and every other nation. We spend in America millions of dollars a day to store surplus. I know where we can store that food free of charge - in the stomachs of millions of God's children who go to bed hungry. Maybe we spend far too much of our national

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budget establishing military bases around the world, rather than basing our genuine concern and understanding in order to alleviate poverty abroad. I would remind you in our nation there are 40 million people who are poverty stricken. I have seen them here and there. I have seen them in the ghettos of the north. I have seen them in the rural areas of the south. I have seen them in Appalachia. I have been in the process of touring many areas of our country and I must confess it is some situation where I literally found myself crying. I was in Marks, Mississippi the other day, which is in Quitman county, the poorest county in the U.'S. I tell you I saw hundred of little black boys and girls walking the streets with no shoes to wear. I saw their mothers and their fathers trying to carry on the Head Start Program, but they had no money. The Federal Government hadn't funded them, they were trying to carry on . . . they raised a little money here and there; trying to get a little food to feed their children . . . trying to teach them something. And I saw mothers and fathers who said to me, not only were they unclothed, but they didn't get any kind of income - no old-age pension - no welfare - they didn't get anything. I said. "how do you live?" They said, "Well, we go around the neighbors and ask for a little something. When the berry season comes, we pick berries. When the rabbit season comes, we hunt and catch a few rabbits and that is how we get it."

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I was in Newark and Harlem just this week and I walked into the homes of welfare mothers. I saw such conditions - no wall-to-wall carpets - wall-to-wall rats. So I stood and talked and this welfare mother said to me even the landlord won't repair the place. "I have been living here 2 years. He has not made a single repair." She pointed out how a little boy was the victim of lead poisoning. She pointed out the wall and ceilings falling, and the hole where the rats came in night after night. They have to stay awake to keep the rats and roaches from getting to the children. I said how much do you pay for this apartment. She said $125. I looked and said to myself it isn't worth $60. Poor people are forced to pay more for such living conditions. Tragedy rears so often. These 40 million people are embittered. Because America is so affluent and so rich - because there are expressways carrying away from the ghettoes of the poor -

Jesus told a parable one day. He reminds us a man went to hell because he didn't feed the poor. The man was Diabees (Phonetic). He was a rich man. And there was a poor man in Nazareth who was not only a poor man, but was sick. He had sores all over his body. He was so sick that he could hardly move. He managed to get to the gate of Diabees every day, wanting to have just the crumbs that had fallen from his table. Diabees did nothing about it - Now when he died, Diabees went to hell - there was

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a rock between Lazarus and Diabees. There is nothing in that parable that says that Diabees went to hell because he was rich. Jesus never made the universal indictment against all wealth. It is true that one day a rich young man came to him and Jesus told him to sell all . . . Jesus was prescribing an individual surgery and not setting forth a universal diagnosis. If you will look at that parable and all its symbolisms, you will remember that the conversation took place between heaven and hell. And the angels had long-distance calls. It was Abraham talking to Diabees. Now Abraham was a very rich man. If you go back in the Old Testament, you will see he was one of the richest men of his day. Diabees didn't go to hell because he was rich. It was Diabees didn't realize his wealth was an opportunity. It was not his riches that separated him from brother Lazarus. Diabees went to hell because he passed Lazarus every day and didn't really see him. He went to hell because he allowed his brother to become invisible. Diabees went to hell because he maximized the minimum and minimized the maximum. And went to hell because he sought to be a conscientious objector in the war against poverty. This can happen to America . . the richest country in the world. There's nothing wrong with that. This is America of opportunity.- to help bridge the gulf between the have and the have nots. The question is whether America can do it. It has nothing to do with poverty. What is new is that we now have the techniques and resources to get rid of poverty. The real question is whether we have the will. In a few weeks, some of us are coming to

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Washington to see if the will is still alive. We are coming to Washington in a poor-peoples campaign. Everyone is bringing his pride along. The poor, the masses, we are going to bring all those who have known long years of hurt and neglect. We are going to bring those who have come to feel that life is a long and carved door with no exit sign. We're going to bring children, adults, and old people. People who have never seen a doctor or dentist in their lives. We are not coming to engage in any ~~historic~~ HISTRIONIC GESTURES ~~vistas.~~ We are coming to demand the Government to adjust itself to the problem of poverty. We read one day we hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men are created equal. That they are endowed with their Creator in certain inevitable rights. That among these are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. But if a man doesn't have a job or income, he has neither life, nor liberty, nor possibility for the pursuit of happiness. He merely exists. We are coming to ask America to be true to huge promise of prophetic signs years ago. We are coming to engage in traumatic non-violent action to call attention to the growth between promises fulfilled. To make the invisible visible. Why do we do it this way - we do it this way because it is our experience a nation doesn't move around questions of genuine equality, especially when the poor is involved until it is confronted massively. A great documentary is here to tell us that something should be done. We met here some years ago in a White House conference on civil rights. We came out with the same recommendations that we will be demanding in our campaign here, but nothing has been done

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about it. The President's Commission on technology, automation and economic progress recommended these things some time ago. Nothing has been done. Even a Presidential Board which was made up of mayors of other cities of our country, the leading businessmen, have said have these things done, still nothing has been done. Crime Commissions have come out this report, just a few days ago. Nothing has been done. In summary, nothing will be done till people of goodwill put their hearts and souls in motion. I believe this will make the difference. Yes, it will be a poor peoples campaign. This is the question facing America. Ultimately, a great nation is a compassionate nation. America has not met its obligations and its responsibilities to the poor. One day we will have to stand before our God and history. We will talk in terms of things we've done. Yes, we will be able to say we built gargantuan bridges to span the seas. WE built hugh buildings to kiss the sky. Yes, we have made our submarines to penetrate oceantic depths. We brought forth many other things of scientific and technological power. It seems that I can hear God and history saying That is not enough. But I was hungry and you fed me not. I was naked and you clothed me not. If you do it unto the least of these my brethern, you do it unto me. That is the question facing America today and I want to say one other challenge we face - simply that we must find an alternative to war and bloodshed. Anyone who feels, and I fear that a lot of people feel this way - that war can solve the social problems of mankind, is

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sleeping through a revolution. President Kennedy said on one occasion mankind must put an end to war or war would put an end to mankind. The world must hear this. I pray God that America will hear this before it is too late because today we are fighting a war I am convinced that it is one of the most unjust wars that has ever been fought in the history of the world. Our involvement in the war in Vietnam has torn up progress in Geneva . . strengthened the military industrial complex. It has strengthened the forces of reactionaries in our nations. It has put us against the self-determination of the vast majority of people. Put us in a position of protection of a corrupt regime that is stacked against this world. It played havoc with our domestic destiny. This day we are spending $500,000 to kill every Vietcong soldier and every time we kill one, we spend about $500,000. While we spend only $53 a year for every person trying to rise in poverty-stricken or so-called poverty programs which is not even a good skirmish against poverty. Not only that, it has put us in a position of appearing to the world that here we are ten thousand miles away from home, fighting for the so-called freedom of the Vietnamese people, when we do not even put our own house in order. We force young black men, young white men, to fight and kill in brutal solidarity, yet when they come back home, they can't hardly live on the block together. The judgment of God is on us today. We could go right down the line and see that something must be done, something must be done quickly. We have alienated ourselves from other nations but we end up morally and politically isolated in the

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world. For a few quiet nations like Taiwan, Thailand, South Korea, and a few others, this is where we are. Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind. The best way to start is to put an end to the war in Vietnam because if it continues, we will inevitably come to the point of confronting China, which could lead the whole world to nuclear annihilation. It is no longer a choice, my friends, between violence and nonviolence. It is between nonviolence and nonexistence and the alternative to this armanent, the alternative to greater suspension of nuclear tests, the alternative to strengthen the United Nations and thereby disarming the whole world may well be a civilization plunged into the abyss of nuclear holocaust. The world could be transformed into an inferno that even the mind of Dante could not imagine - this is why I am raising my cause today - working wherever I can to arouse the conscience of the nation. I remember so well when I first took my stand against the war in Vietnam, how the critics took me on. They had their say in sometimes the most vicious way. One day a newsman came to me and said, Dr. King don't you think you're going to have to stop assaulting the war and move more in line with the administration's policy. I understand that it hurts the budget of the organization. People who respected you have lost respect for you. Don't you feel that you really

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ought to change your position? I looked at him and I had to say, Sir, I am sorry you don't know me. I am not the consensus leader. There comes a time when one must take the position that it is neither political nor popular but he must do it, because conscience tells him it is right. I believe today that there is the need for all people of good will to come with an active conscience. Say, in the words of the old Negro spiritual, we ain't gonna study war no more. This is the challenge facing modern man. Then we close by saying we have twelve days ahead to struggle for justice and peace. I would not yield to a politician of despair. I'm gonna maintain hope. As we come to Washington in this campaign, the cards are stacked against us. This time we will really confront a goal line. God, grant that we will be like David who stood up against Goliath in justice. Make America the truly the great America that it is called to be. I'll say to you that I'll go this spring and I believe we're going to get there. We have been scorned, but we are a people whose destiny is tied up in the destiny of America. Before the pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth, we were here. Far across the pages of history, before the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. Before the beautiful words of the Star Spangled Banner were written, we were here. More than two centuries, our forefathers labored here with outrages, the cotton cane, they built the homes of the families under the most humiliating and oppressive conditions. Yet out of

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abundant vitalities, they continue to grow and develop. If the unexpressable cruelities of slavery could not stop us, the opposition that we now face will surely fail. We gonna win our freedom because both the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of the Almighty God are embodied in our ever-growing demand. I still can sing, we shall overcome. We shall overcome because - we shall overcome because Carlisle (Phonetic) was right. No lies can live forever. We shall overcome because true right is right. We shall overcome because . . . as we were singing earlier today, truth forever on the scaffold . . . that scaffold swayed the future behind the dim unknown standard of God within the shadows keeping watch above his own. With this faith, we will be able to transform the national course of our nation to a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. God grant that we will be participants in this newness, this magnificent development. If we will but do it, we will bring about a new day of justice and brotherhood and peace. That day the morning stars will sing together . . . and the sons of God will shout for joy. God bless you.

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SPEECH BY MARTIN LUTHER KING

BROADCAST BY STATION WOL AT 8:30 P.M., 3/31/68

UNMAN: (Commentator on WOL) Black ministers from around the country recently met to attack the problems of community leadership. We join Dr. KING as he delivers the closing speech to this group.

KING: We have discussed many issues; we have deliberated; we have had fellowship together, and we have heard many eloquent, profound and passionate presentations. In a real sense, for so many of us, this has been a mountaintop experience. There are those transfiguring moments in life when we do ascend a mountaintop, where we are inspired, where we are lifted and where we feel a sense of eternity. But I want to say to you today that in a few hours we will be returning to the valley. The valley calls us. We will be returning to valleys filled with men and women who know the ache and anguish of poverty. We're going to be returning to valleys filled with thousands and thousands of young people who lost faith in America. We go back to a valley filled with black people who are in moments of despair because of their circumstances and ever again they unconsciously find themselves crying out with PAUL (LAWRENCE DUNBAR) (ph) a crust of bread and a corner to sleep in, a minute to smile, and

an ( ) to weep in, a pint of joy to a peck of trouble, and never a laugh as the moans come double, and that is life. Now these cries are in the valley that we must go back to. The fact is that the vast majority of Negroes in America are still perishing on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. Now you know what happens in the realm of semantics that different words are used when you deal with the poor, the oppressed, the separated. Whenever you have massive unemployment in the black communities, it's called a social problem. Whenever you have massive unemployment in the white community, it's called a depression. The fact is that that is a depression in the black community. Now the other thing is whenever the government provides opportunities and privileges for white people and rich people, they call it subsidies; when they do it for Negroes and poor people, they call it welfare. The fact is that everybody in this country lives on welfare. Suburbia was built with federally subsidized credit and the highways that take our white brothers out to the suburbs were built with federally subsidized money to the tune of 90 percent. Everybody is on welfare in this country. The problem is that we

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all too often have socialism for the rich and ( ) free enterprise capitalism for the poor; that's the problem. As you know the economic problem is serious, and this has made for a lot of despair, made for a lot of bitterness, and a lot of anger in the black community; the situation is getting worse everyday. This anger has ended up in explosions of violence over the last few summers, and yet I don't see a riot as the answer; they don't pay off as from a practical point of view the enormity of the suffering and the loss of life far outweigh the gains that come as a result of our burned cities. We have to face this ( ) fact that no substantive change has come to America or to any city as the result of a riot; the only thing we see is a quick token poverty grant and maybe some water hydrant (squares) or what have you, and that's about it; no substantive change has come; no schools have moved toward more quality integrated education as a result. The job problem has not been solved as a result of the riots; we have to face it. So I don't see this as an answer, and yet something has to be done to get this nation to see that it has a moral responsibility to see that everybody in this country should have a job or an income. Years ago America signed a huge promissory note and placed it

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in its Declaration of Independence and talked about all men being created equal, and then it went on to say they are endowed by their Creator, and you know this creed did not say some men, it said all men; it didn't say all white men; it says all men which includes black men. And it goes on to say something else which ultimately distinguishes our form of government from other totalitarian regimes; it said that each individual had certain basic rights that are neither derived from or conferred by the state. In order to discover where they came from, it is necessary to move back behind the dim mist of eternity, they are God-given. Now this is what the nation said, but it hasn't lived up to that. Eight years from now we will celebrate 200 years of independence in this country, but I wonder if the black man will be able to celebrate it. What life have we known? Too often it's a life of unemployment, of misery and poverty. What liberty have we known? Too often it is merely the liberty to move from one slum to another I don't know if we can celebrate it eight or nine years from now. Now we're going to Washington and outline our demands; we're going to the seat of government with an outline of demands; now why do we have to go? Because, number one, we must

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find an alternative, the riots on the one hand and timid supplication for justice on the other and find a way to transmute the ( ) waves of the ghetto into a creative and constructive force. Well, that's one reason we need to go; people are angry; people are frustrated; they are bewildered, and you got to give an outlet, so we need to go to Washington for that reason. But the other reason is that this country never moves on the question of civil rights or genuine equality for the black man until it's made to move through pressure; it just doesn't happen; I wish it did; I tell you the truth, I'm tired of marching; I'm tired of going to jail; I'm being very honest about it. Now everybody .... not everybody but many people are saying that something should be done about the slums, about the economic problems that we face in the black community. I could mention source after source; three Presidential commissions have said it; they said everything that we gonna .... everything that we will demand in Washington they have already written down on paper and said it should be done; the Committee on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress said it; the White House Conference of Civil Rights said it; after the Detroit riot a group was formed

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called Urban Coalition with the mayors in most of the big cities in our country, and even some of the conservative mayors agreed that a massive program has to come into being to provide jobs for everybody desiring jobs; this is what the Urban Coalition came out with. LEANSER (ph) had been one of the architects of it and others, but you had on there some of the outstanding businessmen, DAVID ROCKEFELLER, HENRY FORD, and you can go right down the line. They have asked in a document for everything that we'll be talking about in Washington. "Newsweek" magazine, for the first time in its history, broke from its past policies of not editorializing about things like this and said the time for action is now; it's urgent and they recommended all the things about that we are gonna be asking for. The Harris poll revealed that 68% of the American people feel that some kind of massive program ought to come into being to provide jobs for everyone desirous of working; it revealed that 64% of the American people feel that slums should be eradicated, and the communities rebuilt by the people who live in them which would be another massive job program. So it seems there is a concensus in the nation about this thing, and yet our Congress is sitting around fiddling while the cities are burning. They aren't going to do a single thing until we act and

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until we act massively, until we create a non-violent crisis in this nation, and we are organizing right now some 15 communities. We want to start out with 3,000 poor people who have been trained in the discipline of non-violence, a thorough understanding of the demands because they must be their demands, and that would be the first wave, but you see you don't deal with hard-hearted Pharoah with just one plague; you gotta keep plaguing Pharoah, and we want waves and waves; we want to start out with this group to be sure we have a disciplined group to set the pattern and start out and then every day and every week we just want waves of people coming in bringing back grievances to Washington, saying we demand change. This is a poor people's campaign, and those who come who are a little more affluent will come in a supportive role fighting for something for poor people. And I urge you to do it because this is so much of our ministry; this is what our ministry really means. You know, you find it in your congregations; there are some among us in the middle class who kind of float out of the muddy waters and manage to get into the fresh flowing waters of the mainstream to a degree, and they forget the stench of the back waters. We must not allow our poorer brothers to be ignored; we, as preachers, must

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join hands with them. PAUL KILLECK (ph) is right; sin is separation. What represents it more than what we see going on in our nation and in the world; we're separated from ourselves, separated from our neighbors, and finally separated from God, and we are going to Washington to try to deal with some of these problems, and I said earlier it is not MARTIN LUTHER KING; it's these men around me, they do the work. They're men who are humble but at the same time are dedicated to the struggle; they are humble enough to take cuts in salaries; I know what I'm talking about; they could make much more, but they are doing this, and I don't mind asking you that we need your support; I don't mind saying to you today that we want you to leave here committed to this church, SCLC is a church, a church in action. It is not no accident that most of the staff members and board members and leaders are preachers in SCLC, and I am not saying that other civil rights organizations should not be supported, but I am saying that it is conviction that preachers are to be identified with SCLC because it is a social action church, that is working in this society. (Some applause) We need your support to get buses and to get people into Washington. We got to feed people; you've got to do a lot of things. If everyone of you in your communities would help us, America will see a

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movement that it has never seen before. After we get to moving, people will be coming from everywhere, and I want some congressman to go to the window and look out and say, I see a lot of people on these highways. Where are these people coming from? Who are they? And I want someone to go in there and say they are coming up out of Mississippi and Alabama. And I want somebody to go by there and say they are coming from the ghettos of Chicago, Detroit, Newark, New York, and Philadelphia. I want somebody to say they are coming up out of great trials; they are coming up out of years of neglect and years of hurt. Who are they? These are they. And I want somebody else to add, How many do you see out there? And I want somebody just to say, I've been trying to count them all, but it seems there need to be a number that no man can number. I am fired up over Washington ... . I want you to be in Washington with us, and I am serious about this, the nation need this. And I am going on to say that these are days that demand for us as clergymen a committed empathy. And a kind of dangerous altruism. This is what is demanded of us today, a dangerous altruism; we have got to give ourselves to others. Jesus told another parable, "One day a man came to Him and raised a lot of questions, and finally he ended up saying who is my neighbor?" Now that question

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could have very easily ended up in a philosophical debate. But Jesus immediately pulled that question out of mid air and placed it on a dangerous curve between Jerusalem and Jericho, and He talked about a certain man that fell among thieves. You know the story, I don't have to go through it. Finally the man who helped was a man of another race. And I want to tell you a little about it because I thought about it several times when I've been in the Holy Lands. We ask the question: Why? ...did the Priest and the Levi pass, and we come out with a lot of imaginary ideas; sometimes we say that they were busy; they had to get down to some ecclesiastical conference; at other times we say that maybe they were following a religious law which said that one was not to touch a human body 24 hours before carrying on a religious service, and then sometimes we say that this is a possibility that maybe the men were going down to Jericho to organize a Jericho road improvement association, and maybe they felt that it was better to get at the problem, at the cause of the source rather than get bogged down in an individual defect. That's a possibility, but when I think of this parable, my imagination goes somewhere else. It is possible that these men went on the other side too because they were afraid. And it's possible, you see,

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that when that Levi and Priest saw that man over there, they said that maybe the man is just a faker, and maybe he is just there to lure us over for quick and easy seizure, and now they could have said that maybe the robbers are still around, and we better get on and get out of this situation. You know the words. The first question that the Priest asked; the first question that the Levi asked, was if I stop to help this man, what will happen to me? But the good Samaritan reversed the question: If I do not stop and help the man, what will happen to him? That is the ultimate question of life. So often we are thinking about our jobs, our prestige, our positions, and we find ourselves saying: If I take a stand for this cause, what will happen to me? Will my home get bombed? Will I get put in jail, or will I lose my prestige in a particular group that I am in? That is divorced from the problem. What will happen to me is so often the question that we raise. Yeah, will I get put off the poverty board? What will happen to me? But the great question is if I do not take a stand, what will happen to our brothers and our sisters who are suffering? This is the question that we all have to weigh. I have weighed it in my life; I remember when I first took my position against the war in Vietnam, almost

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every newspaper in the country critized me. They don't bother me too much now because too many people agree with me, but when I took the position at first, it was a low period in my life; I could hardly open a newspaper. It wasn't only white people; it was Negroes. I must rush on to my conclusion, but I want to say that we are not only priests, but we are prophets. When God speaks, who can but prophesy. Prophesy until slums and rat-infested ghettos be a thing of the dead past and a dark past. And every man will be able to live in a decent sanitary house. Go out and prophesy until the vital industries of Appalachia are revitalized, and the wrinkled stomachs of Mississippi are filled. Go out and prophesy. Until brotherhood will no longer be the end of a world, at the end of a prayer, but the first item of business on every legislative agenda. Go out and prophesy. Until our state houses and city halls will be filled with men who will do justly, who will love mercy, and who will walk humbly with their God. Go out and prophesy. Until even the lion and the lamb can lie down together. And every man will sit under his own vine and fig tree, and none shall be afraid. It won't always be easy. Sometimes it may cause one of your children to ask you, "Daddy, why do you have to go to jail so much?" It may mean losing a job; it may mean weary nights.

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It may mean standing amid the chilly winds of adversity, but if we are followers of Jesus Christ, we know that Christianity is not a euphoria of unannoyed comfort and untroubled ease. What is it? It means taking up the cause, taking it with all its (tich) and pack agony and bearing that cross until it leaves the very marks of Jesus Christ on your body and on your soul. We need to take up the cross and follow Jesus, and finally as we leave, we are going back to a valley that is filled with despair; people have lost hope. We have the job of transforming the fatigue of despair into the buoyancy of hope. When people lose hope, they die spiritually and physiologically; keep the hope, the flame of hope burning. When people lose hope, they develop a disease called give-up-itis, and they develop a kind of nihilistic philosophy, which concludes that you can't change anything, so let us go on and disrupt for disruption's sake; let us go back and tell young men and young women that it is dark now; it is dismal, but morning will surely come; weeping may tarry for a night, but joy cometh in the morning. Oh, I believe that. Go back and tell our brothers and sisters to wait until the morning; don't give up too early; tell the black nationalists who want to give up on non-violence, don't give up yet; we haven't

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tried it in the North on a massive scale yet; go back and tell them that if this building caught afire, and you got three or four buckets of water to try to put the fire out, and it didn't put the fire out, you wouldn't say that water can't put the fire out. You'd just say that you need more water more efficiently and intelligently applied. It doesn't mean that non-violence won't work; we haven't tried it on a massive scale in the North. Everything that we have set out to get through a non-violent movement, we have gotten that. It's a success story; tell them to wait until the next morning; don't give up yet. I'm not going to stop singing "We Shall Overcome" because I know that ( ) is long, but it bends toward Justice. I'm not going to stop singing "We Shall Overcome" because I know that the truth crushed to earth shall rise again. I'm not going to stop singing "We Shall Overcome" because I know that the Bible is right. You shall reap what you sow. I'm not going to stop singing "We Shall Overcome" because I know that one day the God of the universe will be able to say to those who won't listen to him; I'm not a Playboy, don't play with me; I will rise up and break the backbone

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of your power. I'm not going to stop singing "We Shall Overcome" because mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord counting out the goodness where the grapes of wrath are stored. Glory Hallelujah, His truth is marching on.

Thank you for listening and a special word of thanks to those of you who support the work of the SCLC in our struggle for freedom and human dignity.

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~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

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

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. (RI) 100-438794

April 2, 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

By letter dated January 2, 1968, authority was requested to institute a telephone surveillance on the national headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 330 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, because its President, Martin Luther King, Jr., had publicly announced he would lead a massive civil disobedience in the nation's Capital in the Spring of 1968. At that time it was pointed out that these massive demonstrations could trigger riots.

By letter dated January 3, 1968, you declined authorization of this installation because, "There has not been an adequate demonstration of a direct threat to the national security."

In view of the recent developments in Memphis, Tennessee, where King led a march that ended in a riot, it is reasonable to assume the same thing could happen later this month when King brings his "Poor People's March" to Washington, D. C.

King, the day after the Memphis riot, was in conference with his principal adviser and long-time secret Communist Party member, Stanley Levison, concerning the events of the preceding day. King stated he was considering calling off the Washington march. Levison advised him to continue his plans for the Washington march.

No action

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Despite this violence in Memphis, Levison and King are continuing their plans for this massive civil disobedience to start the latter part of April, 1968, in Washington, D. C.

In view of the internal security aspect involved, authority is requested to install telephone surveillances of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at its national headquarters at the above-listed address and also at its local headquarters, 1401 U Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., so that we can keep apprised of the strategy and plans of this group.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Approved_____

Date_____

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Miss Holmes
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 29, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Rozamus
1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

JUNE

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval is a memorandum to the Attorney General requesting a telephone surveillance of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) headquarters at Atlanta, Georgia, and Washington, D. C., in an effort to obtain intelligence data concerning massive civil disobedience planned for the nation's Capital the end of April, 1968, by Martin Luther King, Jr.

BACKGROUND:

On January 2, 1968, we requested the Attorney General to authorize the installation of a telephone surveillance on the headquarters of SCLC in Atlanta, Georgia, because of possible riots which might ensue with King's planned Washington march. By letter dated January 3, 1968 the Attorney General denied our request advising, "There has not been an adequate demonstration of a direct threat to the national security."

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS:

EX 106

REC-15

On March 28, 1968, King led a march in Memphis, Tennessee, which resulted in a riot. On March 29, 1968, King conferred with his principal adviser and long-time secret Communist Party member, Stanley Levison, concerning this riot. King was considering calling off the Washington march and Levison advised him to continue with his plans.

Enclosure

100-438794

DMW:dsm (7)

CONTINUED - OVER

6 APR 1968

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
100-438794

OBSERVATIONS:

Since Levison, a long-time secret communist, is counseling King to continue the Washington march in spite of the Memphis riot, it is felt we should again request the Attorney General to authorize a telephone surveillance of SCLC since it would appear that a threat to the national security now exists. We have a total of 53 telephone surveillances in operation of which 34 are in Bureau cases and 19 are at the written request of the State Department.

RECOMMENDATION:

The attached communication be directed to the Attorney General for his approval.

"The Memphis situation" gives added importance to this request

OK

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~~SECRET~~

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

JUNE

January 3, 1968

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

Memorandum to: Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

From: Ramsey Clark
Attorney General

10-1

Re: Communist Infiltration
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Your memorandum dated January 2, 1968

I am declining authorization of the requested installation of the above telephone surveillance at the present time. There has not been an adequate demonstration of a direct threat to the national security. Should further evidence be secured of such a threat, or re-evaluation desired, please resubmit.

Other investigative activities should be undertaken to provide intelligence necessary to the protection of the national interest.

REC-51 100-439174-2065

EX 101

6 JAN 9 1968

~~SECRET~~

6 JAN 16 1968

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 171

1 - Mr. D[illegible]ach
1 - Miss H[illegible]es
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Rozamus

REC-23

(RI) 100-433794 — 2052

JUNE

January 2, 1968

1 - Mr. D.M.Wells

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

EX 106

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), has publicly stated that he will create massive civil disobediences in the Nation's Capital and in 10 to 15 major cities throughout the United States in the Spring of 1968 if certain commitments are not forthcoming from Congress in the civil rights field. An aide of King has stated "Jail will be the safest place in Washington, D. C., this spring."

The Atlanta Office of SCLC will be the focal point for planning and instructions concerning the massive civil disobediences and the telephone surveillance is highly desirable so that we can keep apprised of the strategy and plans of this group. Massive demonstrations could trigger riots which might spread across the Nation.

In view of the above, authority is requested to institute a telephone surveillance on the headquarters of the SCLC, 330 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, or on any office to which it may move.

DMW:ekw
(9)

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 4:[illegible]
DATE 1-2-68
BY [illegible]

Very truly yours,
SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Approved _____ John Edgar Hoover
Director

Date _____

~~SECRET~~

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

JAN 10 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

NOTE:

Classified "Secret" since it concerns a technical surveillance, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in serious damage to the Bureau's security coverage and to the detriment of national security.

This memorandum recommends the installation of a telephone surveillance on SCLC headquarters, Atlanta, Georgia, for intelligence-type data concerning King's plans for massive civil disobedience in the Nation's Capital and 10 to 15 major cities throughout the Nation in the Spring of 1968.

See memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan, same caption, dated December 29, prepared by DJW:ekw.

~~SECRET~~

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 6/25/69

FROM : T. E. Bishop

SUBJECT: VERA R. GLASER AND
MALVINA STEPHENSON
KNIGHT NEWSPAPERS
INTERVIEW WITH DIRECTOR

At 9:30 p.m., 6/24/69, Bill Barton of the Associated Press, telephoned Bishop and advised that the Associated Press had learned that the above captioned women reporters, who are with Knight Newspapers, claim to have had an exclusive interview with the Director on Tuesday, June 24, 1969. He stated that the only information about the contents of the interview that he has is to the effect that Mr. Hoover informed these reporters that "that racist columnist, Rowan" started the current controversy regarding wiretapping, that Mr. Hoover allegedly stated that Government agencies, "all over town" have been wiretapping, and that they quote Mr. Hoover as stating that he did not wish to get into the wiretapping of King but that former Attorney General Kennedy ordered it. Barton wished to know if the alleged interview with Mr. Hoover was authentic and if the FBI had any comments to make concerning it.

After checking with Miss Gandy and Mr. Tolson, Bishop was advised by Mr. Hoover that we should have no comment to make concerning this matter. Accordingly, at 9:55 p.m., 6/24/69, Barton of the Associated Press was advised that the FBI had no comment to make.

Attached hereto is a copy of a United Press International (UPI) story which appeared in "The Washington Post" on June 25, 1969, reporting on the alleged interview. Efforts are presently being made to secure copies of the "Detroit Free Press" as soon as they arrive in the Washington area, inasmuch as the full report of the alleged interview is contained in that newspaper, according to the attached article.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Enclosures

1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures
1 - Miss Gandy - Enclosures
1 - Miss Holmes - Enclosures
1 - Mr. M.A. Jones - Enclosures
TEB:jo (7)

(See ADDENDUM - OVER)

ADDENDUM: 6/25/69 TEB:jo

The "Detroit Free Press" newspaper of 6/25/69 has not yet arrived in Washington. Attached is a copy of the interview as it appeared in the "Detroit Free Press," which was dictated to Bishop's Office by ASAC Nally of the Detroit Office this morning.

✓ TEB

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TEB:jo 6/25/69

Bishop to DeLoach VERA R. GLASER & MALVINA STEPHENSON, KNIGHT NEWSPRS. INTERVIEW WITH DIRECTOR

At 9:30 p.m. 6/24/69 Bill Barton of AP called Bishop re exclusive interview above 2 women reporters had with Director. After checking with Miss Gandy & Mr. Tolson, Bishop was advised by Mr. Hoover that we should have no comment re matter. Barton was advised. Att. is copy of UPI story reporting alleged interview. Efforts are being made to secure "Detroit Free Press" when they arrive. REC: None. For info.

FD-247
(REV. 3-27-58)

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1968-323-141

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Mr. W. C. Sullivan 6/19/69

G. C. Moore JUNE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Pursuant to your instructions, information is set forth below regarding discontinuance of the telephone surveillance on the Atlanta, Georgia, residence of Martin Luther King, Jr.

The above-mentioned telephone surveillance was discontinued on April 30, 1965, when King changed residences in Atlanta. At that time matters of interest to us pertaining to King and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), were being obtained through a telephone surveillance on the Atlanta headquarters of SCLC. This telephone surveillance on SCLC in Atlanta was in existence from November 8, 1963, to June 21, 1965, when former Attorney General Nicholas de Katzenbach ordered it discontinued because of the involvement of an SCLC official (Hosea Williams) in a car theft case.

Attached is a copy of Atlanta airtel May 19, 1965, showing the discontinuance of the telephone surveillance on King on April 30, 1965.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

100-106670

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Attn: Mr. Rozanus
1 - Mr. C. L. Glass
1 - Mr. J. J. Dunn

JJD:fsh (8)

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 177

MR. W. C. SULLIVAN June 19, 1969

MR. G. C. MOORE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Pursuant to your instructions, information is set forth below regarding information furnished to former Attorney General Ramsey Clark regarding the communist affiliations of Martin Luther King, Jr.

The documents involved were entitled, "Communist Influence in Racial Matters - A Current Analysis," and "Martin Luther King, Jr. - A Current Analysis." These documents were furnished to Clark by cover letters dated April 10, 1967, and March 14, 1968, respectively. Copies of the documents and the cover letters are attached.

ACTION:

For information.

100-106670

Enclosures - 4

JJD:ekw
(6)

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. C. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan (Attention: Mr. Romanus)
1 - Mr. Glass
1 - Mr. Dunn

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop

June 19, 1969

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
(Attention:
Mr. Rozamus)
1 - Mr. Glass
1 - Mr. Dunn

MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

MR. G. C. MOORE

JUNE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Pursuant to your instructions, information is set forth below regarding knowledge by former Attorney General Nicholas de Katzenbach of electronic coverage on Martin Luther King, Jr.

Although we have no specific data in our files showing that Katzenbach authorized a telephone surveillance on King himself, there is ample information showing Katzenbach was well aware of our electronic coverage on King and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Attached is a copy of a memorandum dated 10/27/65 (initialed by Katzenbach in the upper right hand corner) showing we had a telephone surveillance on King's organization, the SCLC. Also attached is a copy of a memorandum 12/1/65 to the Attorney General regarding electronic coverage on King at the Americana Hotel in New York City. In response to this 12/1/65 memorandum, there is attached a copy of a note from Katzenbach to the Director stating, "Obviously, these are particularly delicate surveillances and we should be very cautious in terms of the non-FBI people who may from time to time necessarily be involved in some aspect of installation."

Copies are attached of nine memoranda to the Attorney General dated 10/20/64, 10/22/64, 11/3/64, 11/6/64, 11/12/64, 11/23/64, 12/17/64, 12/31/64, and 2/23/65. These set forth for Katzenbach's information valuable data developed on King. The data involved was derived from electronic coverage on King and the SCLC.

ACTION:

For information.

100-106670

Enclosures - 12

JJD:ekw
(8)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

June 16, 1969

G. C. Moore

JUNE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Pursuant to the Director's instructions, the facts concerning the telephone surveillance of the residence of the late Martin Luther King, Jr., are being furnished the President by the attached letter.

In view of the interest of the Vice President in urban affairs, it is felt this information would also be of interest to the Vice President and a letter to him is attached. The information in these letters has also been furnished the Attorney General.

ACTION:

That attached letters concerning the telephone surveillance on Martin Luther King, Jr. be furnished the President and the Vice President. This mail should be returned to Mr. DeLoach's office for delivery.

Enclosures - 2

100-105670

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
Attn: Mr. Davis
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
Attn: Mr. Rozanus
1 - Mr. Patterson in

TMB:fsh
(3)

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Gale (Attn: Mr. Devic)
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
(Attn: Mr. Rozamus)
1 - Mr. W. C. Patterson

June 16, 1969

JUNE BY LIAISON

Honorable Spiro T. Agnew
The Vice President
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Vice President:

The following facts are being furnished for your information concerning the telephone surveillance on the residence of the late Martin Luther King, Jr., authorized by former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and installed by this Bureau.

On July 16, 1963, an official of this Bureau saw Mr. Kennedy at the latter's request. On that occasion, Mr. Kennedy said he was considering the possibility of a telephone surveillance of King because of King's communist associations. He was advised by the Bureau official that since King was in travel status practically all the time, the productivity of such a surveillance was doubtful and he was asked to consider the repercussions if it ever became known that such surveillance had been instituted on King. Mr. Kennedy said he was not concerned about possible repercussions and that he thought it advisable to have as complete coverage as possible in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation. He was told that the feasibility of such coverage would be determined and an appropriate recommendation would be submitted to him.

100-106670

WCP:mms
(9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

DOWNGRADED TO
SECRET
Per CGBCUS 7B22
Date 6/21/2016

Honorable Spiro T. Agnew

On July 25, 1963, Mr. Kennedy changed his mind concerning his request and thought it ill-advised at that time, but on October 7, 1963, a request for authority to place a telephone surveillance on King's residence was sent to Mr. Kennedy. On October 10, 1963, he authorized this surveillance and a surveillance on any future residence of King by his written signature.

This telephone surveillance was installed on November 8, 1963, and was discontinued on April 30, 1965.

The President and the Attorney General have also been furnished this information.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. C. D. DeLoach, dated 6/16/69, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Security Matter - Communist," prepared by TJD:fsh.

Classified "Top Secret" because of sensitive nature of the information contained therein, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in exceptionally grave damage to the national security.

TOP SECRET

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Gale (Attention: Mr. Devic)
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
BY LIAISON
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan (Attention: Mr. Rozamus)
1 - Mr. Patterson

June 16, 1959

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

JUNE

Dear Mr. President:

The following facts are being furnished for your information concerning the telephone surveillance on the residence of the late Martin Luther King, Jr., authorized by former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and installed by this Bureau.

On July 16, 1963, an official of this Bureau saw Mr. Kennedy at the latter's request. On that occasion, Mr. Kennedy said he was considering the possibility of a telephone surveillance of King because of King's communist associations. He was advised by the Bureau official that since King was in travel status practically all the time, the productivity of such a surveillance was doubtful and he was asked to consider the repercussions if it ever became known that such a surveillance had been instituted on King. Mr. Kennedy said he was not concerned about possible repercussions and that he thought it advisable to have as complete coverage as possible in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation. He was told that

WCP:ekw
(9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

TOP SECRET
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

DOWNGRADED TO
SECRET
Per C98W57B22
Date 6/21/2016

The President

the feasibility of such coverage would be determined and an appropriate recommendation would be submitted to him.

On July 23, 1963, Mr. Kennedy changed his mind concerning his request and thought it ill-advised at that time, but on October 7, 1963, a request for authority to place a telephone surveillance on King's residence was sent to Mr. Kennedy. On October 10, 1963, he authorized this surveillance, and a surveillance on any future residence of King, by his written signature.

This telephone surveillance was installed on November 6, 1963, and was discontinued on April 30, 1968.

This information has been furnished the Vice President and the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan, dated 6/16/69, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Security Matter - Communist," prepared by TJD:fsh.

Classified "Top Secret" because of sensitive nature of the information contained therein, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in exceptionally grave damage to the national security.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 184

TOP ~~SECRET~~

1 - MISS HOLMES

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop

The Attorney General

June 10, 1969

1 - Mr. Gale (Attention: Mr. Davis)
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
(Attention: Mr. Rozamus)
1 - Mr. Glass

Director, FBI

JUNE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

The following facts are being furnished for your information concerning the telephone surveillance on the residence of the late Martin Luther King, Jr., authorized by former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and installed by this Bureau.

On July 16, 1963, an official of this Bureau saw Mr. Kennedy at the latter's request. On that occasion, Mr. Kennedy said he was considering the possibility of a telephone surveillance of King because of King's communist associations. He was advised by the Bureau official that since King was in travel status practically all the time, the productivity of such a surveillance was doubtful and he was asked to consider the repercussions if it ever became known that such a surveillance had been instituted on King. Mr. Kennedy said he was not concerned about possible repercussions and that he thought it advisable to have as complete coverage as possible in view of the possible communist influence in the racial situation. He was told that the feasibility of such coverage would be determined and an appropriate recommendation would be submitted to him.

On July 23, 1963, Mr. Kennedy changed his mind concerning his request and thought it ill advised at that time, but on October 7, 1963, a request for authority to place a telephone surveillance on King's residence was sent to Mr. Kennedy. On October 10, 1963, he authorized this

100-106670

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

CEG:ekw
(10)

TOP ~~SECRET~~

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

DOWNGRADED TO
SECRET
Per C98W57B32
Date 6/21/2016

The Attorney General

surveillance, and a surveillance on any future residence of King, by his written signature.

This telephone surveillance was installed on November 8, 1963, and was discontinued on April 30, 1965.

NOTE:

Because of the considerable publicity concerning the telephone surveillance on the residence of the late Martin Luther King, Jr., occasioned by the court hearings in the Selective Service case of Cassius Clay, the facts concerning the original request for this coverage by Robert F. Kennedy, are being furnished to the Attorney General.

Classified "Top Secret" because of sensitive nature of the information contained therein, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in exceptionally grave damage to the national security.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 186

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. Bancroft
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
June 10, 1969
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
(Attention:
Mr. Bonanza)
1 - Mr. Davis
1 - Mr. Class

MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

MR. G. C. MOORE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD
INTERNAL SECURITY - NATION OF ISLAM

JUNE

The Director has asked who authorized the wiretaps on Martin Luther King, Jr., and Elijah Muhammad and has asked to see the original authorizations.

There was a wiretap on King's phone at his residence in Atlanta, Georgia, from 11/8/63 to 4/30/65 when he moved. Wiretaps of several days duration were also instituted at the Pyatt House Motel in Los Angeles, California, the Claridge Motel in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and at a temporary address at 125 East 72 Street, New York City. A wiretap was instituted at the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in New York City on two occasions. All these wiretaps were on the authorization of Robert Kennedy, dated 10/10/63, which is attached.

In addition, a wiretap on SCLC headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, was instituted from 11/8/63 to 6/21/66 on Kennedy's authorization dated 10/31/63, attached.

A wiretap on the residence of Elijah Muhammad in Chicago was authorized 1/2/57 by Herbert Brownell, authorization attached. It was installed 1/4/57. On this same authorization wiretaps were installed at additional residences of Elijah Muhammad in Chicago, Illinois, and Phoenix, Arizona. The wiretap installed on this authorization was discontinued 6/23/66.

Ramsey Clark became Acting Attorney General on 10/3/66.

ACTION:

None. For information.

100-106670; 105-24522

Attachments - 3

CEG:ekw
(9)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop

June 9, 1969

MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
(Attention: Mr. Rozamus)

MR. G. C. MOORE

JUNE

1 - Mr. Glass

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Pursuant to your request the following facts concerning electronic surveillances on Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark's knowledge of these surveillances are set forth.

A wiretap was installed at King's address in Atlanta, Georgia, on 11/8/63 and was discontinued 4/30/65 when he moved. It was not reinstituted at his new address. Former Attorney General Robert Kennedy approved this 10/10/63. In addition, on Kennedy's 10/10/63 authorization, wiretaps on King were instituted at the Hyatt House Hotel in Los Angeles (4/24-5/3/64 and 7/7-8/64; at 125 West 73 Street, New York City, temporary address, 8/14-9/8/64); and the Claridge Hotel, Atlantic City, New Jersey, (8/22-27/64). These were discontinued when King left these addresses.

Wiretaps were installed at SCLC headquarters in New York City, 10-24-63-1/24/64 and 7/13/64-7/31/64. The discontinuance 1/24/64 was for lack of productivity; the discontinuance on 7/31/64 was because the office moved. There was a wiretap on the SCLC Atlanta headquarters 11/8/63 to 8/21/65 when former Attorney General Katzenbach ordered it discontinued because of the involvement of an SCLC official in a car theft case. These authorizations was also given by Kennedy on 10/10/63 and 10/21/63.

Former Attorney General Clark became Acting Attorney General on 10/3/66, he was confirmed by the Senate on 3/2/67, and was sworn in 3/10/67. On 1/2/68 Clark's approval was requested for a wiretap on SCLC headquarters in Atlanta, which authority he denied on 1/3/68. Authority was again requested on 4/2/68 and authority was denied by Clark in a memorandum to the Director 1/17/68. On 5/17/68 Mr. DeLoach discussed the King wiretaps with Assistant Attorney General Edwin L. Weisl. However, Weisl did not mention that Clark was aware of Weisl's inquiry concerning the King wiretaps.

ACTION:

None. For information.

/WANT TO SEE THE ORIGINAL AUTHORIZATIONS

100-106670

CLG:ckw (7)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. C. E. Glass

2/14/69

Airtel

To: SAC, Atlanta (100-6670E) JUNE

From: Director, FBI (100-438794) - 2525

REC 36 ST-110

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
IS - C

Reurairtel 2/7/69.

Provided full security is assured authority is granted to conduct a survey concerning a technical surveillance on the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta.

CEG:fsh
(4)

NOTE:

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is the organization of the late Martin Luther King, Jr. and its activities have long been influenced by communists. In the interest of national security, a request was made to the Attorney General in April, 1968, for a technical surveillance. This request was denied on 1/17/69. This technical surveillance is in line to be presented to the new Attorney General for authority, and a survey, with full security assured, to bring the data already in our possession into a current status, is desirable. Communists continue to influence the organization and the influence is increasing. Recently a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, was hired as aide to the President of the SCLC. The organization has announced plans to organize the poor of this country and has started to enlist the assistance of labor unions in this nation-wide organization. Communist advisors to the organization are dissatisfied with the present leadership and their attempts to install new leadership in this potentially powerful organization is also a matter of great interest to the national security.

COMM-FBI

NW 68262 Docid:32989551 Page 189

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 2/7/69

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

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (~~157-8428-Sub-2~~) JUNE

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670E)

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
IS - C

Re Bureau letter dated 2/5/69, wherein the former Attorney General's denial as contained in his memorandum of 1/17/69, regarding a request for tesurs was set forth.

The Bureau advised consideration will be given to re-submitting a request for such tesurs to the present Attorney General.

The Bureau is requested to advise Atlanta if a current technical survey should be prepared to facilitate requests contemplated of the present Attorney General for tesurs. If such survey is desirable, Bureau authority to conduct the survey is requested.

REC 36 1 2525
ST-110
25 FEB 19 1969

S. C. Bishop
3-Bureau (RM)
1-Atlanta
AFM:bjc (4)

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

TOP ~~SECRET~~

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

January 23, 1969

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. Deakin

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, founded by Martin Luther King, Jr., held demonstrations on January 15, 1969, King's birthday, urging that his birthday be made a national holiday. Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has advocated national holiday status for King's birthday, according to press accounts.

In view of this, there is enclosed a document regarding the communist influence on King during his career and his highly immoral personal behavior. For your information, a copy of this document is also being furnished to the President.

MAILED 7 JAN 23 1969 COMM-FBI

Enclosure

TJD:sd (8)

DOWNGRADED TO SECRET
Per C98W57B22
Date 6/21/2016

NOTE:

Classified "Top Secret" as information in this letter and in the enclosure, if disclosed, could compromise informants and jeopardize the national security. The Director approved memorandum Mr. G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated 1-17-69, captioned Martin Luther King, Jr., recommending enclosed document be sent to the President and the Attorney General. See memorandum Mr. G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated 1-22-69, captioned as above, prepared by TJD:sd.

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

TOP ~~SECRET~~
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

JAN 28 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 1-17-69

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
RACIAL MATTERS

It is recommended attached document regarding Martin Luther King, Jr. be furnished President-elect Nixon and the Attorney General designate, after the inauguration, in view of the agitation by some individuals and groups that King's birthday be made a national holiday.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, formed by King, held demonstrations on January 15, 1969, King's birthday, to urge that that date be made a national holiday. According to press accounts, Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy and other prominent Negroes met with President-elect Nixon on January 13, 1969, and Abernathy then urged Nixon to make King's birthday a national holiday.

Attached document, briefed down to half the length of the last write-up of King's career, sets out the extensive communist influence on King and details his highly immoral personal behavior.

It is felt we should aim to have the attached document regarding King ready for delivery to President Nixon and the Attorney General on Thursday, January 23, 1969, in view of the inaugural events scheduled between now and that date. Upon approval of attached document, appropriate transmittal letters will be prepared and the document will be printed. When printed, the document will be classified "Top Secret."

REC 99 100-106670-3559

6 JAN 23 1969

ACTION:

ENCLOSURE

That this document (a Xerox copy of the original and yellow file copy are attached) be approved for dissemination by letter to President Nixon at the White House and to the Attorney General.

TJD:sd (6)

Enclosure

ACTUE IN ENVELOPE

SECRET

JUNE

January 17, 1969

Memorandum to: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

From: Ramsey Clark
Attorney General

Re:

The memoranda listed below requesting approval of wiretaps or electronic surveillances which I have not heretofore approved are being returned at this time denied. For a number of reasons I have not felt any of them have been sufficiently justified by the evidence presented. This does not, of course, prejudice their resubmission if additional evidence supporting the request is presented, or their review by a subsequent administration.

DELETIONS PERTAIN TO INVESTIGATIONS OF OTHER GROUPS AND/OR INDIVIDUALS INCLUDING FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE MATTERS

Nikolay Andrianovich Fochin
Internal Security - Russia
Your memorandum dated December 13, 1968

Dimitri Ivanovich Yakushkin
Internal Security - Russia
Your memorandum dated December 16, 1968

Organization of Arab Students In the United States of America
Internal Security - Middle East

ENCLOSURE

Palestine Liberation Organization
Internal Security - Middle East
Your memorandum dated December 12, 1968

Ignacio Gonzalez
Internal Security - Russia
Your memorandum dated November 27, 1968

100-428774

NOT RECORDED
46 JAN 22 1969

FEB 7 1969

Victor Marciano Santiago
Internal Security - Puerto Rican Nationalist
Your memorandum dated November 26, 1968

Abba Eban
Internal Security - Israel
Your memorandum dated October 21, 1968

Leib [illegible], also known as Henry Cohen
Internal Security - China
Your memorandum dated October 18, 1968

Office of the Agricultural Counselor, Soviet Embassy
Washington, D. C.
Your memorandum dated October 10, 1968

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Racial Matters
Your memorandum dated September 16, 1968

Dorothy Dandridge
Your memorandum dated August 21, 1968

Russell Charles Meek
Your memorandum dated August 16, 1968

Lev K. Yadroshnikov
Internal Security - Russia
Your memorandum dated August 5, 1968

Tanzanian Mission to the United Nations
Internal Security - Tanzania
Your memorandum dated July 29, 1968

Juan Manuel Pena
Espionage - Cuba
Your memorandum dated July 18, 1968

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Racial Matters
Your memorandum dated June 27, 1968

Joseph Vinson
Your memorandum dated June 20, 1968

Fred Allen Hampton
Your memorandum dated June 18, 1968

Jesus Jimenez Escobar
Internal Security - Cuba
Your memorandum dated June 24, 1968

Students for a Democratic Society
Internal Security - Students for a Democratic Society
Your memorandum dated May 21, 1968

Jerry Clyde Rubin
Security Matter - Communist
Your memorandum dated May 13, 1968

Lawrence Aloysius Landry
Your memorandum dated May 10, 1968

African-American Heritage Association
Your memorandum dated April 23, 1968

Robert Alfonso Brown
Your memorandum dated April 12, 1968

Communist Infiltration
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Your memorandum dated April 2, 1968

You will recall the following information I gave you earlier concerning King's visit to Norway in Dec., 1964, which info, we received from a reliable source.

Bayard Rustin, an aide to King who accompanied King to Norway told two acquaintances of the following incident. (Rustin himself is a convicted homosexual). According to Rustin, when he was in Oslo, Norway, with Martin Luther King, Jr., in connection with the latter's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize, Rustin was called down by the police one morning at 4:30 a.m. 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. The prostitute claimed, however, that she was 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 Martin Luther King, Jr. Rustin also said that members of King's entourage had naked girls running up and down the corridors of a hotel where they stayed and that they were bringing white prostitutes into their rooms.

ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

I. Bureau notified by Memphis, Tennessee Police

1. King shot 4/4/68 on balcony of Lorraine Motel, 406 Mulberry Street, Memphis, Tennessee shortly after 6:00 pm (Memphis time)
2. Pronounced dead at 7:05 pm, 4/4/68 (Memphis time)
3. Department of Justice requested FBI investigation for possible violation of 18 U.S.C. 241.
4. Death attributed to bullet damage to spinal cord and neck vessels.

II. Crime Scene

A. Flophouse

1. Assassin fired shot from flophouse at 422½ S. Main located across street from motel.
2. Assassin rented room 5B between 3:00 pm and 3:30 pm 4/4/68 using name John Willard
3. Paid $8.50 for one week's rent.

B. Bullet - .30 caliber metal jacket, soft point, sporting type bullet of Remington (insufficient markings to allow positive identification

C. Rifle (Remington game master model 760 - .30-06 caliber).

1. Found on sidewalk near flophouse where thrown by white male who was running from scene
2. Remington game master model 760. Traced through Remington Company in Connecticut to dealer in Alabama.
3. Purchased - Aero Marine Supply Company, Birmingham, Alabama for $248.59
4. Purchaser - white male giving fictitious name Harvey Lowmeyer, and address, 1907 South 11th Street, Birmingham, Alabama.
5. Date of purchase - March 30, 1968

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 197

D. Zipper bag thrown on ground by assassin near the flophouse

1. It contained binoculars. FBI traced pair of binoculars to York Arms, 162 South Main Street where purchased 4/4/68 for $39.95. Purchase paid for in $20.00 bills

2. Tee shirt and shorts - laundry marks checked and traced to laundry in Los Angeles, California.

3. Pair of duckbill pliers - traced by FBI to Hardware Company in Los Angeles. Employees state item was sold from "bargain barrel" but could not identify purchaser.

4. 2 cans of Schlitz beer bearing Mississippi tax stamps

5. Hammer

6. Transistor radio

7. Numerous toiletry articles

E. White mustang car seen leaving scene of crime

1. Mustang formerly owned by William D. Paisley, Birmingham, Alabama

2. Paisley advertised car for sale on 8/29/67. Purchased 8/30/67

3. Eric S. Galt purchased with $1,950 cash.

4. Alabama drivers license issued to Eric Galt describes him as white male, born 7/20/31, 5'11", 175 lbs., brown hair, blue eyes, address 2608 Highland Ave., Birmingham, Alabama.

5. Mustang located 4/11/68 in Atlanta, Georgia, as result of inquiry by local authorities to FBI National Crime Information Center.

   a. Mustang abandoned in area of low-income white housing project in Atlanta

   b. Between 8:30 am and 9:00 am, 4/5/68 by white male, 5'11", 165 lbs, neatly dressed, who walked away after locking car.

   c. Speedometer on car when purchased 20,000 miles
      Speedometer on car when found in Atlanta, 39,000 miles

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d. serviced in Hollywood, California (no date available) serviced in Los Angeles, California, 2/13/68

e. Mexican tourist sticker indicated car entered Mexico at Nuevo Laredo, on 10/7/67

III. Evidence

A. Fingerprint (latent) on map found in items believed left by Galt in Atlanta rooming house is identical with print found on gun believed to be murder weapon.

B. Fingerprint (latent) found on gun identical with print found on binoculars purchased in Memphis and abandoned with gun.

C. Fibers found on bedspread recovered with rifle believed to be the murder weapon and fibers found on sheet recovered from Galt's automobile indicate that the two items have been in physical contact.

IV. Subject James Earl Ray, aka Eric Starvo Galt, John Willard, Harvey Lowmeyer

A. Identified with latent fingerprints on the rifle, binoculars, Schlitz beer can, shaving lotion bottle, and map recovered from roominghouse in Atlanta.

B. Latent prints checked against more than 53,000 persons on whom wanted notices have been posted.

C. Ray is escapee from a Missouri State prison, 4/23/67, serving 20 years for armed robbery and operating a motor vehicle without permission.On 3/17/60.he entered Missouri State prison.

D. Born 3/10/28, Alton, Illinois

E. Obtained psychological help from a clinical psychologist in Los Angeles, California from 11/27/67 through 12/14/67.

1. Ray gave his true name and date of birth

2. Doctor described Ray as shy, introverted and withdrawn but not psychotic or plagued with neuroses.

3. Ray furnished little information regarding background

4. Ray paid cash for all but one consultation.

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F. Arrest Record from 1949

1. Convicted of burglary in Los Angeles in 1949

2. Armed Robbery in Chicago 1952

3. Forging and cashing U. S. Postal Money orders in Missouri in 1955

Prison record: was incarcerated in Los Angeles County Jail - 1949
Illinois State Prison - 1952-54
Federal Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, 1955-58
Received Missouri State Prison on 3/17/60 to serve 20 year sentence for armed robbery and operating a motor vehicle without permission of the owner
Missing from prison 4/23/67

G. Bartender's school attended in Los Angeles from 1/19/68 to 3/2/68, under name of Mr. Willard, 751 Figueroa Street, LA. After graduation he declined to take job offered by school.

H. Locksmith correspondence course, from 1500 Cardinal Drive, Little Falls, New Jersey. Enrolled as Eric S. Galt submitting address of 2589 Rue Notre Dame, EST, Montreal, Canada. Submitted second address (no date) of 1535 N. Serrano, Los Angeles, California. Submitted third change of address on 3/30/68 as 113 14th St., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

I. Characteristics

1. "Loner" operates and travels alone

2. Likes to dance - took dancing lessons in Birmingham and Los Angeles

3. Drinks moderately

4. Avid reader of "girlie" magazines

V. Foreign Travel

A. Canada - Resided in Montreal approximately 1½ months in Summer of 1967

B. Mexico - Entered 10/7/67 in Puerto Vallarta Jalisio, Mexico until 11/13/67. ~~Spent considerable time with Mexican prostitute, Irma Morales.~~ Left for

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VI. Known residences and travel in the U. S.

Birmingham, Alabama - 9/12/67 to 10/7/67

Los Angeles, California - 12/15/67 to 3/17/68

Atlanta, Georgia - 3/24/68 to 3/31/68

Memphis, Tennessee - 4/3/68 to 4/4/68

Traveled from Los Angeles to New Orleans, Louisiana and returned to Los Angeles from 12/15/67 to 12/21/67.

VII. Prison associates

A. Raymond Louis Curtis - serving life sentence for murder

1. Curtis served time with Ray on three different occasions

2. Says Ray told him he engaged in burglaries and payroll jobs while operating out of Quincy, Illinois

3. Ray claimed to have hoodlum contacts in Chicago, Detroit, Tampa and Tijuana

4. Ray allegedly told Curtis a dozen times that if Martin L. King was alive when he got out of prison he would like to collect a bounty of $1,000,000 on King

B. James T. Bond

1. States he knew Ray in Missouri State Prison

2. Claimed Ray was dealer in amphetamine.

3. Said Ray was avid reader of sex books

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
APRIL 19, 1968

Attorney General Ramsey Clark announced today that the FBI has identified James Earl Ray, an escapee from the Missouri State Penitentiary, as Eric Starvo Galt, against whom a Federal complaint was filed last Wednesday in connection with the fatal shooting of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Director J. Edgar Hoover said that a systematic and exhaustive search of latent fingerprints uncovered in the Dr. King case against the fingerprints of the over 53,000 persons for whom "Wanted Notices" have been posted in the files of the FBI's Identification Division led to the determination that Galt and Ray are identical.

Mr. Hoover said that Ray, who is 40 years of age, was reported missing from the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri, on April 23, 1967. He had been received at that institution on March 17, 1960, to serve a 20-year sentence following conviction in St. Louis for armed robbery and for operating a motor vehicle without permission of the owner.

In September, 1966, while serving this sentence, he was confined for a time in the maximum security ward at the State Hospital at Fulton, Missouri.

According to Mr. Hoover, Ray has a known arrest record dating back to 1949. Prior to the 1960 conviction for which he received the 20-year term, Ray had been convicted of burglary in Los Angeles, California, in 1949; armed robbery in Chicago, Illinois, in 1952; and forging ~~and cashing~~ United States Postal Money Orders in Missouri in 1955.

He has served terms in the Los Angeles County Jail in 1949; in State Prisons at Joliet and Pontiac, Illinois, in 1952-54; and in the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1955-58.

Ray was an enlisted man in the United States Army from February, 1946, to December, 1948, at which time he was given a General Discharge due to ineptness and lack of adaptability for military service. While in the Army, he received a three-month sentence at hard labor for being drunk and breaking arrest.

Mr. Hoover said that during his criminal career, Ray has also used the names of James McBride, James Walton, W. C. Herron and James O'Conner. He is a white male; claims to have

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been born March 10, 1928, in Illinois; is approximately 5 feet 10 inches tall and weighs about 163 to 174 pounds. He has blue eyes and brown hair. There is a small scar on the center of his forehead and a scar on the palm of his right hand.

Ray has claimed that he attended school through the 10th grade in Alton, Illinois. He has had the reputation of being a "drifter" since leaving school. His vocational experience includes working as a baker, laborer and color matcher.

In connection with his escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary, an FBI complaint was filed in Jefferson City, Missouri, on July 20, 1967, charging Ray with unlawfully fleeing from the State of Missouri to avoid confinement. He has been a Federal fugitive since then.

Ray should be considered armed and extremely dangerous. Anyone having information concerning him should immediately contact FBI Headquarters in Washington, D. C., or the nearest FBI office.

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Background:

Martin Luther King, Jr., is a well-known southern Negro leader who is President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and is Copastor with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia. He was born in Atlanta on January 15, 1929. King became nationally prominent during 1955 and 1956 when he organized a protest that ended bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama. As a result of his activities in racial matters, he has been arrested on numerous occasions by local officials and charged with misdemeanors. Throughout his efforts in the racial field he has stressed nonviolent action.

Subversive Connections and Associations:

"The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, issue of November 6, 1960, carried an article entitled "Sobell Parley Called." According to this article widespread appeals on behalf of freedom for Morton Sobell were scheduled and would be climaxed at a national gathering in Washington, D. C., from November 19, 1960, through November 21, 1960. Among those who sponsored the national gathering was Martin Luther King, Jr.

"The Worker" issue of November 27, 1960, carried an article entitled "1200 Clerics urge Ike Free Sobell." The article listed King as one of those sponsoring an appeal to the President to urge a new trial for Morton Sobell or grant him clemency by commutation of sentence.

Morton Sobell was convicted on April 5, 1951, in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, for violation of Espionage Conspiracy statute and was sentenced to 30 years in prison.

The January 16, 1961, issue of the "National Guardian" carried an article entitled "Abolish The Un-Americans." This article indicated a petition was directed to the 87th Congress asking for the abolishment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Among the signers of this petition was the name of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

The "Atlanta Journal," a daily newspaper in Atlanta, Georgia, on February 23, 1961, carried an article entitled "Highlanders and Dr. King Join Forces." This article stated that the Atlanta SCLC, headed by Martin Luther King, Jr., and the "Tennessee Controversial Highlanders Folk School" had joined forces to train Negro leaders for the southern civil rights struggle. This article indicated that a Tennessee State Court revoked the school's charter after a legislative investigation charged that communists had lectured there.

The "New York Post," a New York daily newspaper, in the issue of May 2, 1961, carried an article which indicated the name of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., of Atlanta, Georgia, was listed on a petition requesting President John F. Kennedy to invoke executive clemency for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson.

Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, a self-admitted member of the Communist Party, Louisville, Kentucky, in testifying on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Criminal Court, in a State Sedition prosecution against Carl Braden identified Braden as having been known to her as a member of the Communist Party from 1951 until the time of her testimony. The "Courier-Journal," Louisville, Kentucky, a daily newspaper, on February 3, 1959, carried an article indicating that Carl Braden had been sentenced to one year in prison on a charge of contempt of Congress for his refusal to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

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"The New York Times," a daily newspaper, in the issue of January 24, 1959, carried an article to the effect that Frank Wilkinson was sentenced by the United States District Court, Atlanta, Georgia, to a year in jail for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The August 25, 1961, issue of "New America," an official publication of the Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation, carried an article entitled, "Prominent Americans Seek Pardon Junius Scales." He was sentenced to six years in prison under the Smith Act. Among those who joined this effort and who signed the petition urging suspension or reduction of Scales sentence was Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

On September 7, 1961, a testimonial dinner was held in honor of Henry Winston in the Skyline Ballroom of the Hotel Theresa, 125th Street, 7th Avenue, New York, New York. One of the speakers at this testimonial was Martin Luther King, Jr. At the time of the testimonial Henry Winston was publicly known as a member of the Communist Party, USA, National Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party, USA.

The November, 1963, issue of "Through to Victory" published in Ridgecrest, California, carried an article by Carl Prussion entitled "Communist Planned Tactics of King, N.A.A.C.P." In this article Prussion made the statement that Martin Luther King, Jr., and the N.A.A.C.P. were being influenced by communist generated revolutionary tactics. Prussion identified himself as a former counterspy for the FBI from 1947 to 1960. He made the statement that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was always set forth at communist meetings as the individual to whom communists should look and rally around in the communist struggle on the many racial issues. In a sworn affidavit Prussion made the statement "I hereby also state that Martin Luther King, Jr., has either been a member of or wittingly has accepted support from communist fronts, individuals, and/or organizations which gave aid to or espouse communist causes, numbering over 60."

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The March, 1963, issue of the "Southern Patriot," the official publication of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which is the successor of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an organization cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist Party front group, has several pictures of Martin Luther King, Jr., at an affair described as an annual reception for New York friends of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The main speaker for this affair was Martin Luther King, Jr.

The "National Enquirer," published in New York, New York, on April 5, 1964, carried a column entitled "Washington Pipeline" by John Henshaw. This column contained a paragraph as follows: "Martin Luther King, Jr., isn't happy about the detailed report that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has compiled about some of his past associations with communists. In order to limit the FBI's future role in civil rights investigations King has launched a backstage campaign to get President Johnson to transfer the authority to U. S. Treasury Department Law Enforcement Agencies and to especially established Corps of U. S. Marshals."

The "Atlanta Constitution," an Atlanta, Georgia, daily newspaper, on July 25, 1963, carried an article entitled "Onetime Communist Organizer Heads Rev. King's Office in N.Y." This article indicated that Jack H. O'Dell was Director of the New York office of the SCLC. This article identified O'Dell as being in the Communist Party as late as 1958. It was indicated that O'Dell was also known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell at one time and that he had been identified as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA.

The "Washington Post and Times Herald," a Washington, D. C., daily newspaper, on April 15, 1964,

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carried a column entitled "Matter of Fact," by Joseph Alsop. This article stated, "The subject of real head shaking is the Rev. Martin Luther King. His influence is very great. His original dedication to nonviolence can hardly be doubted. Yet, he has accepted and is almost certainly still accepting communist collaboration and even communist advice.

"In 1962-63 the issue of the communist role in the King organization was raised because of Hunter Pitts O'Dell commonly called Jack O'Dell. This man, a known communist, held posts in the Southern Christian Leadership Council, first in the South and then in the New York office, until the late Spring of 1963. King finally dropped him when he was warned by United States Government officials that O'Dell was the genuine communist article.

"Official warnings have been given to King about another, even more important associate who is known to be a key figure in the Covert apparatus of the Communist Party. After the warning, King broke off his open connections with this man, but a secondhand connection nonetheless continues."

The "Jackson Daily News" printed in Jackson, Mississippi, on May 18, 1964, carried an article entitled "Charges King Accepted Money From Group Labeled Subversive." This article indicated that in a speech to the North Jackson Exchange Club, Erle Johnston, Jr., Director of the State Sovereignty Commission said Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had accepted money from an organization labeled as subversive in spite of his claims that his SCLC "investigates any leaders" charged with communistic associations. Johnston showed members of this club a photostatic copy of a check made out to King by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated, of New Orleans. He pointed out in his speech that this was the successor organization to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which had been branded as subversive by both the House Committee on Un-American Activities and Senate Internal Security Committee.

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One of the associates of Martin Luther King, who was publicly identified as one of the leaders of the "March on Washington," was Bayard Rustin.

According to an article in the August 30, 1963, Washington, D. C., "Evening Star," a Washington, D. C., daily newspaper, captioned "Rustin Rights Actionist, Press On," Bayard Rustin joined the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1936 while attending the College of the City of New York. This article continued that he quit the YCL after four years and he later "served 28 months in prison for being a conscientious objector."

The "New York Herald Tribune," a New York daily newspaper, for August 14, 1963, is an article entitled "Thurmond Assails a Leader of March," reports that in addition to Rustin's past communist activities he was "convicted in 1953 for sex perversion." Rustin reportedly "declined to comment on the morals charge which was lodged against him in California and which involved two other men."

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~~STRICTLY PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

RESURRECTION CITY

This very synopsized account is a representative cross section of a large amount of material on the same subject matter.

It is to be noted that this account relates only to a factual description of certain day-to-day aspects of Resurrection City. It deliberately excludes any comments on economic, religious, political, educational, and sociological factors and interests. Further, no conclusions have been drawn or interpretations made.

On June 10, 1968, Senior Editor and Religious Editor Louis Cassels of the United Press International wrote:

> "A month after it began, the Poor People's Campaign is floundering. It is beset by leadership problems, racial friction, confused objectives and low morale...."

The Caravans

The Poor People's Campaign began with several caravans throughout the United States forming to travel to Washington, D. C. In Boston, Massachusetts, a man picketing the caravan was stabbed while it was forming. In Dayton, Ohio, following reports of missing purses and money, members of the Midwestern Caravan were searched by the caravan security force. Nine members of this contingent were sent back to Chicago because of those incidents. In Detroit, Michigan, local Negroes brought food to the caravan there but refused to give the food to caravan participants they described as "young heads."

Two officials of a caravan in Mississippi were arrested in possession of narcotics and Lester Hankerson, second in command

of the caravancalled the "Mule Train" was arrested in New Jersey in April, 1968, with drugs and a stolen gun in his car. Several members of the southern caravan were seen with pistols in their possession. In connection with the Midwest Caravan, large quantities of food, clothing, and blankets were found abandoned on buses used by the caravan. Campaign officials were not interested in having this material returned as they said it was all donated and they could get more on the way.

Violence

On May 20, at Resurrection City, a news cameraman was threatened for failing to enter a tent as instructed. A marshal, one of the city's own security force, told the newsman; "If you don't get in that tent, I'll cut you with my razor." Later, Jesse Jackson, a campaign official, said the marshal was only kidding and didn't know the incident was being recorded.

The next day a resident of Resurrection City was arrested for practicing a "quick draw" with a pistol loaded with "dum-dum" bullets. During a rock-and-roll music entertainment, six fights erupted. A marshal requested police assistance in removing armed men from Resurrection City in another incident, but a Reverend Young, a campaign official, said the marshals would handle this and denied entry to the city to the police.

There have been fights during meals which caused officials to call a town meeting to discuss the fights and the marshals had to disarm a man terrorizing other residents with a meat cleaver. The "Commandos," a group under the leadership of Father James Groppi, have clubs, six or seven butcher knives, and two guns.

Residents of Resurrection City have thrown rocks at passing automobiles, damaging four cars and injuring one woman. Two newspaper reporters were beaten by teen-age residents of the city and their walkie-talkie radio taken. To date, it has not been returned. It was valued at over $500. A drunk lunged at Senator Edward Muskie of Maine during the Senator's visit to the city.

On June 9, a Negro man stole a camera during the afternoon and ran into Resurrection City. Marshals refused to allow police

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into the city and no arrest was made. Members of a youth gang from Chicago at the city have been stealing goods there and selling the items they steal. At least four firebombs have been made at Resurrection City for use against factions of residents of the city.

Leadership

Resurrection City participants have repeatedly expressed objections to leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which organized the Poor People's Campaign, staying at the Pitts Motor Hotel in Washington, D. C., instead of at Resurrection City. Participants are also upset over heavy drinking and the presence of white and black females in the rooms of campaign leaders. Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy had obscenities shouted at him when he visited the tent city on June 7 because of the fact that he was residing at the Pitts Motor Hotel rather than in Resurrection City with his followers and because of rumors circulated to the effect that Resurrection City residents had caught him in bed with a white female.

Racial Friction

There has been friction between the Mexican-American contingent of the Poor People's Campaign and campaign Negro leaders. The Mexican-American contingent has charged racial discrimination. On June 7, Reverend Abernathy told Reies Lopez Tijerina, leader of the Mexican-Americans, to either move into Resurrection City, which the Mexican-Americans have so far refused to do, or leave town.

While a Negro newspaper reporter was getting a story in Resurrection City, a white reporter nearby was told to leave by a Negro resident. The white reporter's notebook was taken, the pages with writing on them torn out, and the notebook thrown in the mud.

Washington, D. C.

Violence has not been confined to Resurrection City itself. Three campaign participants (two coming with a caravan)

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are being held for shooting and killing two U. S. Marine officers and wounding two other persons. These three were to move into Resurrection City the night of the murder.

Members of another teen-age gang called the "Invaders" who are with the campaign from Memphis, Tennessee, invaded the Ballou High School in Washington and roamed the halls setting off firecrackers and turning in two false fire alarms. A campaign participant was arrested for refusing to pay for drinks in a Washington restaurant and pulling a knife on the waitress.

During a demonstration at the Supreme Court Building, six campaigners threw rocks and broke five windows. Three campaigners were arrested for lowering the flag to half mast and five others were later arrested for obscene language.

At the Department of Justice, campaigners met with Attorney General Ramsey Clark and one said, "We ain't got no money, man, but we got matches, man. Mr. Ramsey Clark, you better tell the police to get their guns ready. For every one of us you kill in Resurrection City, ten cities are going to burn."

This was after Andrew Young reportedly said over the public address system in Resurrection City, "We cannot survive in America unless we put an end to the present government system that will inevitably lead to our destruction."

Immoral Activity

In May, 1968, a Negro female was raped in Resurrection City. On June 1 two carloads of white females came to the city at 2 a.m. to "volunteer their services." Negro females in the city are disturbed at Negro males for sleeping with Negro females during the day and then going to hotels with white females at night. Reverend James Lovel, a campaign official, replied to the complaints with derogatory remarks about black women. He refused to apologize and was threatened by male residents. An organization has been started in Resurrection City by Negro females to try to stop Negro male residents from sleeping with white females.

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A female marshal was raped at Resurrection City by three or four men and two days later two Negro female visitors were raped there. The boyfriend of one victim went to the city to confront the rapists and was met by campaign official Hosea Williams and marshals. The boyfriend was told to leave or he would be beaten.

A white female, approximately 22 years old, came to the fence at the city at night and said she wanted to do whatever she could to support the campaign. One Negro male suggested she enter the camp and engage in sexual relations with the participants. She entered Resurrection City, stayed two hours, and engaged in sexual relations with six or seven Negro men.

Current Situation

Between 800 and 900 participants remain at Resurrection City, which was built to hold 3,000 people. The permit to occupy the park originally scheduled to expire June 16, 1968, has been extended to June 23, 1968. Most of the legitimate poor people have left and in the main only "black nationalists" remain. Reverend Abernathy said on June 10 that evicting residents of Resurrection City when the permit expires would "infuriate those who would like to resort to violence" and would "only disturb those in cities around the country to the point where violence would break out."

The Poor People's Campaign has scheduled a mass demonstration, called "Solidarity Day" for June 19. This demonstration is to include sympathizers from all over the country besides residents of Resurrection City.

The Mexican-American contingent still refuses to move into Resurrection City and the city is still working on its housing and sanitary facilities. A Negro plumber who volunteered to lay pipe there was quite critical over the refusal of residents of the city to assist him in his work.

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Hosea Williams spent the night of June 16, 1968, at the Williard Hotel, Washington, D. C., in a room occupied by a white female, age 20-22, who claimed to be a secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

A white female who had resided at Resurrection City advised that one of the Poor People's Campaign marshals had pointed to Lincoln's statue in the Lincoln Memorial and said to her, "See that bastard? We're going to paint his skin black and make him look like a nigger." This individual also made an obscene reference to the Washington Monument. This female stated that several attempts were made by Negroes to have intercourse with her both voluntarily and forceably.

Another individual described the leadership of the Poor People's Campaign as chaotic and described the campaign as "Sodom and Gomorrah all over again."

An individual reported that a gang of young Negro youths from Chicago called the Rangers was stealing goods at Resurrection City and selling the items. This gang prefers white women and uses its authority to procure them.

Over $60,000 have been spent by the Poor People's Campaign staff residing at the Pitts Motor Hotel, Washington, D. C.; $7,000 reportedly were paid to Hosea Williams to cover cash and property stolen from him at Resurrection City. Campaign officials also have reportedly been cheating on travel vouchers.

Ralph Abernathy and his family have been living recently at the Howard Johnson Motor Hotel in Washington, D. C., without the knowledge of campaign participants.

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MEMORIES SPAN A CENTURY

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 16, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues an article that appeared in the Waynesboro, Ga., newspaper, the True Citizen, on June 11 regarding a lady who celebrated her 99th birthday, Mrs. Mary Savannah Barrett Cohen.

Although there is no doubt that having reached one's 99th year would be reason enough to be the subject of much thought and prose, in my case I feel especially fortunate to have a grand lady of this caliber residing in the First District of Georgia. Mrs. Cohen's senior years seem to enhance her charms, her keen interest in things happening around her, and her delight in reflecting back over her years from childhood to adulthood and remembering the vast changes in her hometowns of Waynesboro and Augusta.

I am indeed proud to be able to call Mrs. Cohen a neighbor and constituent, and I certainly hope that she will enjoy her 99th year in the same spirit and with the same zest for living as she has exhibited in all the wonderful years past.

The article follows:

HER MEMORIES SPAN A CENTURY

(By Joyce Odom)

Mary Savannah Barrett Cohen was 99 years old last week.

That in itself is a remarkable thing, but Mrs. Cohen reads three newspapers every day, can remember the ages of her great-grandchildren and writes letters in a graceful, flowing hand.

Bright blue eyes sparkle when she talks about her memories which span a century. She's confined to a wheelchair now at Keysville Nursing Home, and for the first time in her life is a bit less than completely independent.

She was born in Augusta June 2, 1870, and spent her early years in Waynesboro in a house where a service station is now on the town's main street, Liberty.

She remembers that during her childhood her father, Jim Barrett, and an uncle bought "an old broken down paper mill in Bath, S.C., that you had to get to uphill through sand beds." Mrs. Cohen said the mill first made paper from rags which came baled up and in all colors. Workers had to pick out the white ones to use for paper. Then "a man from Massachusetts" came and taught the Barretts to make paper from wood. "Papa took us down to the mill and we watched them grind up the wood. It looked like mush."

"I don't think that paper made from wood was as good as the paper from rags to print on, but they must not have got much for it because the mill went broke," she laughed.

The family also had a plantation here where they planted indigo. She remembers an overseer named Hodges who had a peg leg.

The family moved to Augusta when "Vannah," as she was always called, was seven and lived in a House on Carnes Road, now 15th Street. Her father was "in the cotton business." She lived there until she married Russell Cohen, the son of John J. Cohen of Augusta. Her children were born and went through elementary school in Augusta (a son, Russell, 75, who lives in Waynesboro, and a daughter who died 25 years ago).

The family lived in Nashville, Tenn., while Mrs. Cohen's son Russell attended Vanderbilt and became a football star there. After the children were grown, Mr. and Mrs. Cohen moved back to Augusta, and finally back to Waynesboro.

Mr. Cohen died 20 years ago, and since that time until just a few months ago, Mrs. Cohen has lived alone, driven her own car, cooked her meals and kept house. "I'm not sick or anything now, I just can't walk," she said. She fell and broke her leg recently.

Mrs. Cohen remembers Waynesboro when the downtown area consisted of one block of stores, the streets and sidewalks were unpaved and "every grocery store sold liquor."

"Young girls were not allowed to go to town on Saturday night," she said. Most of the stores were just shanties, she said, with the exception of those owned by the Fulchers and the Grays.

In answer to the inevitable question asked the very old, Mrs. Cohen said, in her honest, straightforward way, "I don't know why I've lived so long; my family members usually don't, but I did have an aunt who lived until she was 90."

She sees well and reads everything she can get her hands on including the Atlanta and Augusta daily newspapers and The True Citizen.

Mrs. Cohen's mother, Sophie Settagast, came from Germany and took her children there when "Vannah" was nine for a ten months visit. "Mama wanted us to learn to speak German, but we used to tell her, 'Nobody talks like that'."

Mary Savannah Barrett Cohen has a fond memory of Augusta which she especially likes to tell about: She remembers riding horseback to a drug store on Broad Street, in the now-traffic-jammed metropolis.

MARTIN LUTHER KING—THE TRUTH CAN NO LONGER BE HIDDEN

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 16, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, for the fourth time in 14 days I rise to call on the administration to make public information in its possession concerning the illegal, immoral, and subversive activities of the late Martin Luther King.

This information is known to exist. Some of it has already been destroyed.

Unless prompt action is taken, I have reason to believe that more will be destroyed or concealed.

The appropriate committee of the Congress should be given immediate access to what is left of these files before the whitewash is complete.

King's apologists no longer bother to deny his involvement—his close, continued cooperation—with well-known leaders of the Communist conspiracy, both here and abroad.

The American people have learned, a little at a time, of his close association with such identified subversives as Abner W. Berry, Myles Horton, James Dombrowski, Bayard Rustin, Jack H. O'Dell, Carl and Anne Braden, Herbert Aptheker, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Gus Hall, Dorothy Ray Healy, Mike Zagarell, John Abt, Daniel Rubin, and Arnold Johnson, all functionaries and officials of the Communist Party and all close "advisors," "aides," and "assistants" of King.

The close ties between King and such latter-day subversives as James and Dianne Bevel, Stokeley Carmichael, Paul Booth, John Hulett, James Forman, Rap Brown, Jerry Rubin, Fred Shuttlesworth, and Michael Wood are no longer denied. King's close association with known sex perverts Bayard Rustin and Ralph Abernathy is not even denied by his frantic defenders.

These facts are now too well known to the American people. The truth will not go away.

Instead, following the adage that the best defense is a good offense, the left has launched a vitriolic attack on the FBI in general and on J. Edgar Hoover in particular.

Mr. Hoover's monumental record of a lifetime of devoted service to his country needs no defense. History will recall him as one of the great Americans of all time. His meticulous care in the protection of the privacy of the individual while conducting the investigations vital to the security of the community has charted a course which is an invaluable addition to our way of life.

Americans, armed with the facts, have no trouble deciding the question of credibility between this man and his detractors. The latest coyote to join the yapping is Carl T. Rowan, whose column published in the Washington Star yesterday, I insert it at this point in my remarks:

IT IS TIME FOR J. EDGAR HOOVER TO GO

(By Carl T. Rowan)

A society is never in more peril then when the people lose the ability to identify a genuine threat to personal liberty.

This society is in a lot of peril if we may judge from the public reaction—or lack of it—to courtroom admissions of a variety of illegal FBI wiretaps and buggings of homes and hotel rooms.

A justice department official acknowledged in Federal District Court that Dr. Martin Luther King was under electronic surveillance in 1964 and 1965, and the FBI agent who supervised this surveillance told the court "it was my understanding that it went on after that."

The whole truth is that Dr. King's phones were tapped, his hotel rooms bugged, and he was personally shadowed right up to the time he was shot in Memphis on April 4, 1968.

Another FBI agent, C. Perry Pickett, told the court in Houston, Texas, that for four solid years he [illegible] five days a week to the [illegible] tap and a microphone planted in Muhammad's home.

These cases of electronic eavesdropping, which violate both federal law and a presidential executive order, were disclosed in a hearing on former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay's effort to overturn a five-year prison sentence for his refusal to be drafted.

These buggings, which caught some Clay conversations in their "net," are but a fraction of the illegal wiretaps that have moved this country far closer to a police state than most Americans realize.

Why the bland, indifferent reaction on the part of most Americans?

[illegible], there is the general FBI justi[illegible]ion for such tactics: "national security."

[illegible] Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who states emphatically that the FBI had no authority to wiretap or bug Dr. King, asserts that "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

Still, that term "National security" is more powerful than "motherhood," for it evokes fear, and men still surrender more things—including liberty—out of fear than they do out of love.

The puzzling thing about Clark's statement is that he acts as though he is surprised to hear of the wiretapping and bugging of Dr. King. Could Clark possibly have been unaware that FBI officials were going before congressional committees and partly justifying larger appropriations by titillating some congressmen and feeding anti-King ammunition to Southerners who despised the civil rights leader—all by way of revealing "tidbits" picked up through the wiretaps and buggings?

Was Clark unaware that certain FBI officials were roaming the country leaking to newspaper editors poisonous stories about Dr. King and what the buggings allegedly had revealed?

Everybody else in Washington of any consequence knew it, and many deplored it, but no one seemed to know how to go about making the FBI bend to the laws of the land.

There is a not-too-flippant assumption in Washington that J. Edgar Hoover has been FBI director for 45 years because all the recent Presidents have assumed that he knew too much about them to be replaced. So not only was he not replaced by any of the younger, very able FBI men in the normal course of things, but Presidents Johnson and Nixon have felt it wise or expedient to waive a law saying Hoover has reached the rocking-chair age.

Hoover ought to be replaced as FBI director—immediately.

As Washington agency heads go, Hoover may have done a better job than most. But the people of this country knew something when they limited the time one man might serve in the presidency. The saw personal fiefdoms as inimical to the democracy, the personal freedom, that we have come to cherish.

If it is dangerous to have one man serve three full terms as President, it is far more dangerous to have one man take lifetime possession of a powerful police-investigative agency that prods into the deepest secrets of the most prominent, most honored citizens and has the power to discredit, even destroy, almost anyone. The kind of abuse of and contempt for the law manifest in the King and Muhammad eavesdropping become almost inevitable when a man is left in a key job as long as Hoover has been.

Were Hoover a more thoughtful man, or as concerned about the preservation of democracy and liberty as his speeches suggest, he would have resigned long ago. He would not keep putting Presidents in the political bind of [illegible] him [illegible].

It is clear Hoover has no intention of re[illegible] the country [illegible]: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Goodbye."?

Mr. Speaker, this column sheds little light on King, except to suggest that which cannot be denied—much is known about his unsavory character and conduct. Rowan's intemperate attack on security surveillance and his personal attack on J. Edgar Hoover shed a great deal of light on the author and the clouding operation, however. Over the past 30 years the Communist Party had conducted the same attack Rowan has paraphrased without apology the party line. For comparison with his attack today, I insert at this point in my remarks a summary of this Communist Party line, according to its official organs, prepared and released by a committee of this House nearly 20 years ago:

REPORT ON THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD: LEGAL BULWARK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(Prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., September 17, 1950)

5. FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Investigate the Federal Bureau of Investigation because of "vicious assaults upon civil liberties" Editorial, (*Daily Worker*, March 13, 1940, p. 6).

An article in the Daily Worker indicated that the FBI had gone beyond the scope of its authority in conducting general intelligence investigations. Reference was made to the increase in the FBI's appropriation over a period of years, and it was alleged that because of its Director's "absorbing interest in investigating alleged subversive activities" the FBI was falling behind in its regular job of dealing with other types of specific Federal violations (*Daily Worker*, March 25, 1940).

The Nazi Gestapo is Hoover's Model of Conduct for FBI (*Daily Worker*, December 19, 1940, p. 5, columns 5, 6, and 7).

Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover was referred to as "Chief of the national thought police * * *" (Editorial, *Political Affairs*, January 1948, p. 10).

It seem that the FBI * * * is worried that the American people may get wise to its real function—which is thought control on the Gestapo and Japanese police model (Editorial, *The Worker*, June 6, 1948, p. 6).

The FBI and the Department of Justice have developed into a secret political police which exists outside the law and beyond the U.S. Constitution. * * * An aroused nation must stop the FBI effort to replace the American Constitution by the reign of the political spy (Editorial, *Daily Worker*, June 13, 1949, p. 7).

Continuation of * * * protests can turn the rumors about J. Edgar Hoover's resignation into actual and heartening fact (Editorial, *Daily People's World*, June 16, 1949, p. 6).

The FBI's "undercover network" is a menace to the internal security of the nation * * * The American people must rid the nation of this "undercover network," which serves not the nation but a class, the minority of the financial-industrial cliques. The Bill of Rights and the FBI's "undercover network" are incompatable. One or the other must go. We have no doubt which the people will choose (Editorial, *Daily Worker*, June 21, 1949, p. 8).

Surely the American people must see the FBI [illegible]. The time has come to investigate its methods, its scandal-[illegible], its blackmailing data, its misuse of public funds, its usurpation of power, its tentacles gripping all parts of our country [illegible], June [illegible], written by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Mr. Speaker, to make an intelligent judgment as to the credibility of two men whose testimony conflicts, it is necessary to know something of each of the men and of their motivation.

Athough J. Edgar Hoover, who called Martin Luther King "one of the most notorious liars in the country" is well known to our colleagues, and his accomplishments are known and respected throughout the world, it is otherwise with Carl T. Rowan who attacks him.

At this point in my remarks, I insert from the recently published Biographical Dictionary of the Left, by eminent historian Dr. Francis X. Gannon, the most recent biographical sketch of Rowan:

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF THE LEFT

(By Francis X. Gannon)

Carl Rowan was born on August 11, 1925 in Ravenscroft, Tennessee, son of Johnnie Bradford and Thomas Rowan. He married Vivien Murphy. He attended Tennessee State University and Washburn College. He is an alumnus of Oberlin College (A.B., 1947) and the University of Minnesota (M.A., 1948). He is the author of *South of Freedom* (1953), *The Pitiful and the Proud* (1956), *Go South to Sorrow* (1957), *Wait till Next Year* (1960), and *No Need for Hunger* (1962).

From 1948 until 1961, Rowan was with the *Minneapolis Tribune* as a copywriter (1948–1950) and as a staff writer (1950–1961).

From 1961 until 1963, Rowan was a deputy assistant secretary of state for public affairs. In that position, he was used as a speech writer and traveling companion for Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson. His major achievement for the State Department, however, was to serve as the Kennedy Administration's efficient hatchetman against Moise Tshombe of the Congo's Katanga Province. When Tshombe's anti-Communist regime seceded from the rest of the chaotic Congo, Rowan branded Tshombe as an "International Uncle Tom" who was nothing more than a hand-picked stooge for Belgian businessmen.

In 1963 and 1964, Rowan was U.S. Ambassador to Finland. In 1964 and 1965, he was Edward R. Murrow's successor as director of the United States Information Agency. While in that position, he travelled to Europe, promoting Lyndon Johnson's "bridge building" between the United States and the Communist bloc of eastern Europe. He went out of his way to assure Communist leaders that the United States government had placed its permanent seal of approval on Europe's Communist regimes. To an audience in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, Rowan said that Americans were acutely aware of revolutionary changes sweeping the world. He elaborated: "We emphasize that we believe in change because we were born of it, we have lived by it, we prospered and grew great by it. So the status quo has never been our god and we ask no one else to bow down before it."

In 1965, Rowan resigned his directorship and became a columnist for the *Chicago Daily News* and Publishers Newspaper Syndicate. He is also a regular contributor to *Reader's Digest* magazine and a radio and television commentator for the Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

Throughout his several careers, Rowan has demonstrated that he is a liberal and has [illegible] received [illegible] the Golden Ruler award from the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission [illegible] award from the National Conference of Christians and Jews. These [illegible] those who are actively promoting leftist-liberal causes.

When the Kennedy Dynasty discovered the value of Negroes' votes and began to place Negroes in high government positions, Rowan was one of the show pieces. In 1962, an application for membership to the famous Cosmos Club of Washington, D.C. was submitted on behalf of Rowan. The application was rejected. Within a few days, leading figures in the Kennedy Administration—many of them longtime members of the Cosmos Club—suddenly became color conscious and resigned their membership.

Alexander Jones, executive editor of the *Syracuse Herald-American*, rushed to the defense of the Cosmos Club officers: "I say this incident is a planned political effort in which the Kennedy forces are trying to make Negro capital, using Rowan as a sort of Freedom Rider in the National Capital on the club front.

"I have been a member of the fine old Cosmos Club for more than 20 years and I believe I can speak with some slight knowledge of how it operates.

"I say that there are people who think Carl Rowan is a bumptious, self-enamored and tasteless fellow.

"And that estimate completely discounts the color of his skin. He could be platinum blond and the people I am thinking about would still turn thumbs down on him.

"Many men have been blackballed in application for membership by the Cosmos Club committee, as they have in most private clubs.

"The only one I have ever heard of who ever made a public issue of it is this same Carl Rowan, who is giving every indication of becoming a professional racist."

Rowan has the normal prejudices of a modern liberal. He detests political conservatives and anti-Communist investigations. He is a staunch admirer of the United Nations and its Red hierarchy. He fancies himself an expert on foreign affairs but in reality he is no more than a parrotting apologist for the appeasement-toward-Communism policy that has prevailed for so long in the White House and the State Department.

In 1966, Rowan was convinced, or at least let his readers think he was convinced, that the Soviet Union's leaders were trying very hard to effect a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam War.

Rowan has long championed the idea that the United States should make friendly overtures to Red China—something which would have been done a long time ago, he contends, if only the "purges and inquisitions of the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy" had not had a stifling effect on public debate of U.S. policy toward Red China. (When and where this alleged stifling took place, Rowan has never mentioned.)

One curious facet of Rowan's work remains unexplained. On radio and television and in his writings, he is a persistent and dedicated defender of the Central Intelligence Agency—so much so that it is not unreasonable to suspect that he is or has been a CIA agent.

THE VALUE REVOLUTION

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 16, 1969

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, one of the [illegible] the [illegible] of student unrest and campus disorder. We must go far beyond merely reacting to the outward manifestation of this problem, that is, with restoring order to a riot situation and punishing those who destroy property. It is more important that we understand the fundamental questions these students are asking about our value system and the direction in which our country is heading.

I have recently read an article by Stewart Udall, former Secretary of the Interior, which I think really gets to the heart of the transition we are in and to the underlying issues of the campus turmoil. Because I agree with Mr. Udall's perception of this value revolution and the need for channeling this concern in a constructive way, I insert Mr. Udall's remarks at this point in the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, June 7, 1969]

THE VALUE REVOLUTION

(By Stewart L. Udall)

There is a deepening awareness that today's domestic turbulence is in reality a fundamental questioning of the value system of American society.

The protest of the blacks against the personal affronts and indignities of daily life is also a more general protest against the false and frequently inhuman values of our total social system. The widespread student antagonism toward the standards of "the establishment" represents an even broader disagreement with conventional values.

SOCIAL RENEWAL

I believe this pervasive and pointed questioning of values may bring about a shift in those ideas and attitudes that ultimately shape the nation. In fact, we may already be engaged in the most vital sorting out of values since 1776. Even our search for the roots of failure at the time of the Depression was more a questioning of the workability of the economic system than a radical search for the elements of thorough-going social renewal.

Our contemporary turmoil concerns human relationships: between the privileged and the impoverished, between black and white, between parents and children.

If we honestly believe, as I do, that the present young generation is not only the best educated, but also the most aware and idealistic in our history, we must be responsive to its causes and complaints. The anger of the young blacks against the built-in inequalities and hypocrisies of "the system" legitimately challenges the moral basis of the old order.

If a large proportion of the superior university graduates turn their backs on corporate careerism, if many of our most creative minds are turned off by conventional opportunities, we should question the incentives and concepts that make the system go. For there is no doubt that the desire to be merely affluent is yielding to the impulse to live in an environment that is life-giving and creative.

If most of our cities and countrysides are increasingly unclean and ugly we should begin to reconsider the policies that have made them a disordered mess. If technology is to continue its thrust, then it must be influenced by social considerations and aspirations—in short, technology must be civilized. [illegible] tion the most, I believe, is the waste endemic in [illegible] life: the [illegible] of the contributions the unmelted minorities could make if we gave them a chance; the [illegible]

EXCESSES OF WAR

With the benefit of hindsight we now realize it is a judgment wiser than Washington's—a judgment that the lives and wealth expended were excessive and misdirected, and thus demeaned us before mankind.

We will always need in this country all the idealism we can get, particularly from our youth, for the idealist is more sensitive to crucial moral issues, more attuned to the nonmaterialistic opportunities. Who, indeed will pierce our old frauds and follies unless fresh minds question the habits and attitudes of the past?

The value revolution is upon us. It may transform our lives. Those preoccupied with the selfish scramble for easy wealth, unmerited advantage and personal ease should become accustomed to the well-aimed arrows of those who have contempt for these aspects of American life.

The value doubters will continue to scorn our efforts to define the national well-being solely by Gross National Product, freight-car loadings, auto production, or the sufficiency of military preparedness. They want to assess (and they are entitled to raise the issue) what that product is, what the freight cars contain, what the relevance of individual wheels is to our mass transportation needs, how humanism fits into what can never again be a simple logistical measure of preparedness.

The time has come to recognize the worth of the value revolution and to encourage it toward constructive channels. It can have a profound and beneficial influence on our future if it causes us to renew our lives, revise our institutions, and reassess our directions and purposes.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY MEMBERS SPEAK TO NATIONAL COAL ASSOCIATION

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 16, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Representative JOHN B. ANDERSON and myself had the pleasure of speaking this morning to the 52d anniversary convention of the National Coal Association. Our respective speeches follow:

NEEDED: A PEACE TREATY FOR THE ENERGY COMMUNITY

(Remarks by the Honorable JOHN B. ANDERSON, Member, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Before the National Coal Association, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., June 16, 1969)

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. I hope it isn't too early in the day to speak to you about a serious subject.

I refer to the increasing public opposition, not a little of it wholly unreasoning, to the construction of all electric power plants. The fact that the preponderance of this opposition has of late been concentrated on nuclear power plants should not be of comfort to you. There are those who have made efforts to trade upon the visceral public anxieties associated with the atom, [illegible] But their temporary success, if you can call it that, has [illegible] these efforts are stopped, objective dialogue will give way to unrestrained charge and countercharge, with effects that are [illegible] intent upon destroying the wonders of nature impairs public confidence in the motivation and integrity of these men in a way that is harmful to more than nuclear power.

As a result, coal and other fossil-fueled plants, hydroelectric projects and pumped storage facilities also have encountered significant and growing public opposition. I regret to say that the situation will probably continue to deteriorate before it begins to improve.

It seems that what should be a genuine, legitimate and quite understandable concern about the effects on the environment of large power plants has been transformed in many instances into an insistence on pristine purity that refuse to recognize the need

Dec. 30, '63

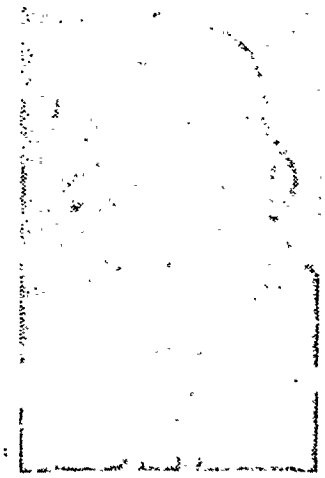
Dear Bill:

Man-of-the-Year now!!
(See enclosure)

Next, we'll have a Vice-Presidential Candidate or Cabinet member on our hands!

Have you decided yet if we can tell John Richardson, Pres. of Radio Free Europe, about the "script"? Mattie and I are ready to go.

Best Regards,
Frank Barnett



REV. MARTIN L. KING
... 'indelible mark.'

Time Names Rev. M. L. King Man Of Year

NEW YORK (AP) — The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights leader who became a symbol of the Negro revolution in 1963, has been named Man of the Year by Time Magazine.

Time's editors described King in the announcement yesterday as the man who "dominated the news of that year and left an indelible mark — for good or ill — [illegible]."

The [illegible] said King [illegible] the first Negro to be so designated since Time established the [illegible]

[illegible] so [illegible] in Christian concepts that King has made himself the unchallenged voice of the Negro people — and the disquieting conscience of the whites, the magazine said "that voice in turn has infused the Negroes themselves with the fiber that gives their revolution its true stature."

5 Missing As Freighter Collides Off Sweden

GOTEORG, Sweden (AP) [illegible]

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Tele. Room
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Gandy

A-9

Hoover Brands Carl T. Rowan Racist Columnist

DETROIT, June 24 (UPI)—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover today called Negro columnist Carl T. Rowan a racist while discussing the controversy over the tapping of the telephones of slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., two Knight newspaper reporters said.

"That racist columnist, Rowan," was Hoover's response to a question on who started the current dispute, which has already involved President Nixon and three former attorneys general.

In his June 15 column, Rowan accused Hoover of illegal eavesdropping, implying that Negroes were being victimized. He branded Hoover's long tenure as FBI Director as dangerous and urged the President to replace him.

Hoover's comments were reported by two Knight newspaper reporters in the Detroit Free Press.

The Washington Post Times Herald A-9
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
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Examiner (Washington)

Date JUN 25 1969

DETROIT FREE PRESS June 25, 1969 (page 4B)

FBI'S HOOVER CALLS CARL ROWAN A RACIST

Vera Glaser and Malvina Stephenson
Knight Newspapers Special Writers

Washington: FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover called Negro columnist Carl T. Rowan a racist Tuesday while discussing the controversy over the tapping of the telephone of the slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King.

In an interview Hoover was asked who started the current dispute which already has involved President Nixon and 3 former Attorneys General.

"That racist columnist, Rowan!" Hoover exploded.

It was one of the most revealing glimpses of Hoover's personal sentiments since he called King "the most notorious liar in the country" in 1964. That charge, at a meeting with newswomen, rocked the Nation.

Hoover also declared Tuesday that other Federal agencies had been tapping "telephones all over town for years" on their own authority until the Johnson Administration clamped down.

In his syndicated column of June 15, Rowan accused Hoover of illegal eavesdropping, implying that Negroes were being victimized.

Rowan said the phone taps "have moved this country far closer to a police state than most Americans realize."

He branded Hoover's long tenure as the Nation's chief law enforcement officer as dangerous and urged President Nixon to replace him immediately.

Rowan was Assistant Secretary of State, Ambassador to Finland and Director of the U.S. Information Agency under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

Until now, Hoover has made no comment on the feud with Rowan which has dominated front pages in Washington for more than a week.

Hoover's fast reaction to the Rowan column came in the form of a letter signed by his long time aide, Clyde A. Tolson.

Later Hoover told a reporter about two memoranda in FBI files which he said documented his claim that Robert F. Kennedy as Attorney General both suggested and authorized the wiretaps on King to detect possible communist contacts.

"Without that (the memoranda) it was just my word against theirs," Hoover said Tuesday. The memoranda have never been made public.

Hoover also remarked that the main question now is who originated the idea of the King phone taps.

Nicholas Katzenbach, the former Attorney General, has accused Hoover of prodding Kennedy into authorizing the taps.

"That's not true," Hoover asserted. This put Hoover into direct disagreement with Katzenbach who said last week it was false to "say or imply that this tap was the original concept of Robert Kennedy."

Both Katzenbach and his successor, Ramsey Clark, admitted however, that Kennedy authorized the tap on King's telephone on October 10, 1963.

According to Hoover, King was under electronic surveillance from early 1964 until April 30, 1965.

Clark last week called for Hoover to resign. But Hoover, who received a strong statement of confidence from President Nixon at his last press conference shows no sign of quitting.

He was relaxed and friendly at the interview which was conducted in a Washington restaurant where he was having lunch.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 224

Hoover described Mr. Nixon as an old and good friend. He recalled they used to vacation together in Miami during the Eisenhower Administration.

Since Mr. Nixon has been President, Hoover has been a guest at the White House and at Camp David.

He said Mr. Nixon telephoned him before the press conference last week, and "personally investigated" the King wiretap authorization.

Discussing his general attitude toward electronic surveillance, Hoover said he has always been opposed to unrestricted wiretapping by Federal agencies.

He said he is opposed not only in principal but also because it tarnishes the FBI's image.

This assertion also contradicted the statements of Katzenbach and Clark, who said he was constantly goading them to tap phones.

Said Hoover: "Years ago I recommended that all tapping by any agency have the approval of the Attorney General.

"I didn't want the authority. Agencies were doing it all over town. Nobody paid any attention to me on this before President Johnson."

Asked to specify the agencies, Hoover cited "the CIA, the Defense Department, the Internal Revenue Service and other intelligence agencies."

"There was so much of it going," he said, "someone would come to me and complain. Then I would check around and would find it was one of the other agencies."

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 225

Katzenbach Disputes FBI On King Tap

Former Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach charged last night that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's account of why Dr. Martin Luther King's phone was tapped is false.

Katzenbach acknowledged that the wiretap was "personally authorized" by then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

"But to say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy . . . is false," Katzenbach said.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark said in a statement that Hoover's account was unfair "because it comes after Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King have been murdered in the service of humanity and are unable to defend themselves." Clark also said the "selected materials from FBI files" released by Hoover were "deceptive in depicting Mr. Hoover as a reluctant eavesdropper of Dr. King. He (Hoover) repeatedly requested me to authorize a FBI wiretap on Dr. King while I was Attorney General. The last of these requests, none of which was granted, came two days before the murder of Dr. King."

Other sources who held high positions in the Justice Department under Kennedy said the Attorney General approved the tap on Dr. King only after the FBI had urged him to "over and over and over again" for two years because the FBI believed Dr. King was either a Communist or a tool of the Communist Party.

Kennedy's defenders spoke after President Nixon strongly supported Hoover.

Mr. Nixon told his press conference last night that his personal check had found that bugging "had always been approved by the Attorney General, as Mr. Hoover testified in 1964 and 1965."

The President made it clear that the recent disclosure of the King wiretapping and the controversy over who wanted it — Hoover or Kennedy — led him to look into the controversy personally.

Katzenbach, issuing a statement in New York, said that: "It is unworthy of the tradition of the FBI to attack in this fashion the reputation of two men who cannot defend themselves."

During Kennedy's first two weeks as Attorney General in early 1961, the other sources said, the FBI came to Kennedy and said that Dr. King was deeply involved with two members of the Communist Party.

FBI representatives repeated their charges frequently during the next two years, these sources, who held positions at assistant secretary level or above, said.

See BUG, A12, Col. 6

RFK Yielded to FBI Arguments For King Tap, Katzenbach Says

BUG, From A1

In the fall of 1963, Kennedy agreed to place a tap on King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference phone to verify or disprove the FBI allegations, the sources said.

The version of the incident that Hoover has made public is very similar—except that his account attributes the fears that Dr. King was a Marxist to Kennedy.

Hoover told the Evening Star yesterday that Kennedy proposed tapping King's phone to discover if the civil rights leader was closely associated with Marxist ideas and had Marxist followers.

Hoover reportedly showed the Star two memoranda from 1963. The first, written by then assistant director of the FBI and liaison man with the Justice Department Courtney Evans, reported a conversation between Evans and Kennedy in which the Attorney General reportedly inquired whether tapping King's phone was feasible.

The second was Hoover's request for the wiretapping authorization; it bore Kennedy's signature and the date "10 10 63" in the lower left-hand corner.

An FBI spokesman made clear in response to questions that Hoover would not talk to the Washington Post. The spokesman said the Star story "speaks for itself" and would not comment further.

Evans, now in private law practice here, was reported to be en route to Puerto Rico and could not be reached.

The wiretapping of Dr. King's phone was disclosed during Cassius Clay's draft-evasion hearing in Houston and has caused angry debate over the role of the FBI, a bureau of the Justice Department.

"I have never authorized installation of technical electronic devices without authority of the Attorney General," the Star quoted Hoover as saying. He said the King wiretap was stopped April 30, 1965 —two months before former President Johnson issued an order banning the practice except in national security investigations.

The Washington Post
June 20, 1969
Page 1

DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop

CARL T. ROWAN

It Is Time for J. Edgar Hoover to Go

A society is never in more peril than when the people lose the ability to identify a genuine threat to personal liberty.

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The New York Times
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The New Leader
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Examiner (Washington)
Wash. Star, Date 6/20/69

Strong Tuesday in Senate Monetary Center

See attached

DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop

CARL T. ROWAN

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Washington, Date 6/25/69

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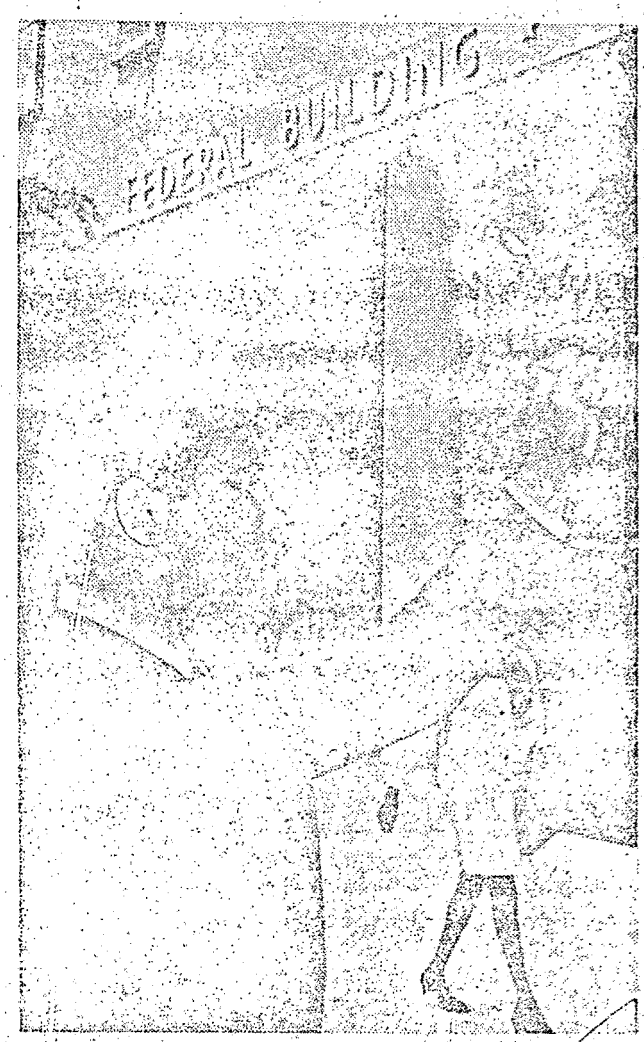
Wash Star, Date 6/23/69



Associated Press

Cassius Clay acknowledges a greeting from a bystander as he leaves Federal Court building in Houston. The hearing is reviewing his conviction for draft evasion.

FBI Agent Testifies On Muslim Wiretap

HOUSTON, Tex., June 5 (AP) — An FBI agent testified in the Cassius Clay wiretap hearing today that telephone conversations of Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslim sect, had been monitored by Federal agents at least four years.

Similar testimony Wednesday indicated that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights leader, had been under electronics surveillance from 1964 until his death in 1968.

The hearing was ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court to determine whether the wiretaps affected the trial in which Clay was convicted of refusing to be inducted into the Army.

The former heavyweight boxing champion contended he was a Black Muslim minister and thus exempt from military duty.

Agent C. Barry Pickett of Jacksonville, Fla., did not give the specific reasons for the surveillance of Elijah Muhammad.

Charles Morgan Jr., Clay's chief counsel, sought repeatedly to obtain specific reasons, but Pickett insisted his instructions were general.

"I am trying to prove he had specific instruction to obtain information on the religious beliefs of this defendant," Morgan told U.S. District Court Judge Joe Ingraham.

Summaries of four taped conversations involving Clay were admitted into evidence Wednesday. One involved King and three involved Black Muslim officials.

Ingraham had a fifth summary in a sealed envelope but refused to admit it into the record on grounds such action could endanger national security.

The monitored conversations were not revealed by the Justice Department until Clay appealed his 1967 conviction. Clay then received the maximum sentence of five years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

Pickett said he monitored conversations of Elijah Muhammad while working as a clerk in the FBI office in Phoenix, Ariz., from 1962 to 1966.

"You spent four years of your life listening to conversations of the leader of the Muslim religion?" Morgan asked.

"Yes, sir."

Testimony Wednesday indicated the three Black Muslim conversations had been monitored in Phoenix. Pickett testified that he had prepared a March 24, 1964, summary of a conversation between Clay and Elijahh Muhammad. The Black Muslim leader was quoted as advising Clay to keep quiet after telling him he would make a better minister than fighter.

"My instructions were to monitor conversations both in the home and by telephone and make notes of conversations by Elijah Muhammad," Pickett said. "I recorded all conversations I heard but prepared only pertinent facts to go into the log."

"You obtained the information by electronics bugging?" Morgan asked.

"Correct."

Pickett said only summaries were prepared on each conversation.

"What to you was pertinent?" Morgan asked.

"Whatever I considered of value."

"What criteria did you employ for determining what you considered pertinent?"

"There were written instructions but not for a particular case. They were general, a guideline as to what we were to listen for, facts relevant to the case we were working on."

Didn't OK King Tap, Clark Says

Nicholas C. Chriss
Los Angeles Times

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark said yesterday that while he headed the Justice Department, the FBI had no authorization to wiretap or bug the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

In an interview, Clark said: "The implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat are outrageous."

Clark also denied that he ever had authorized the FBI to bug or wiretap Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims.

Clark's statement raises the question of whether the FBI acted without authority in conducting electronic surveillance of the two Negro leaders while Clark was in office. It also suggests that the FBI may have violated the 1965 Executive Order by President Johnson providing that no wire tapping "shall be undertaken or continued without first obtaining the approval of the Attorney General."

The first official acknowledgement that Dr. King and Muhammad had been monitored came last week in Houston during a Federal court hearing on the appeal by former heavyweight champion Cassius Clay of his 1967 draft refusal conviction.

Clay contends that FBI eavesdropping on his conversations with Dr. King and Muhammad tainted his conviction.

Confirmation that Dr. King's home phone was tapped from 1964 until around the time of his assassination, April 4, 1968, came from FBI agent Robert Nichols. Asked if the tap continued until the assassination date, Nichols nodded.

FBI headquarters issued a statement late Friday referring newsmen to Director J. Edgar Hoover's testimony before a House subcommittee on appropriations in the years 1965 through 1968.

Hoover testified then that the taps all were authorized in advance and in writing by the Attorney General then in office. A Justice Department spokesman termed Hoover's testimony "accurate in every respect."

Clark said he required the FBI, over whom he was the nominal superior, to give him every three months a list of individuals under electronic surveillance.

The names of Dr. King and Muhammad never appeared on such a list, he said.

Wash Post
6-8-69
p 8-9

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NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 232

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Washington Post
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Holmes
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King Wiretap Called RFK's Idea

Hoover Cites 2 Memos Giving Authority to FBI

(Copyright 1969 by
The Evening Star Newspaper Co.)

By JEREMIAH O'LEARY
Star Staff Writer

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover today disclosed that wiretapping of the Rev. Martin Luther King's telephone was proposed by then Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy to FBI officials in [illegible] the signed authorization of Kennedy [illegible].

Hoover said the FBI has in its files two memorandums which [illegible] authorized the bureau to proceed with the wiretapping on Oct. 10, 1963.

Kennedy initiated the idea for the tap in a conversation with Courtney Evans, then assistant director of the FBI and liaison officer between the agency and the Justice Department, Hoover told The Star today.

Memorandum Cited

Hoover said the FBI has a memorandum in its files from Evans to Hoover, dated in June, 1963. Evans reported that Kennedy said he was concerned about allegations that King was a student and believer in Marxism. Kennedy, according to the Evans memorandum, expressed concern that Marxism might infiltrate the race issue in the United States because of King's leadership of Negroes through his Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Evans reported in the memo to the FBI director, Hoover said, that the attorney general was alarmed by alleged associations between King and a New Yorker with Marxist connections. [illegible] the memorandum said, [illegible] electronic devices to monitor King's conversations in an effort [illegible] a possible threat [illegible].

According to Evans' memo, the liaison man told Kennedy there were technical difficulties in installing such devices in the case of the Negro leader because he was a man who was almost constantly traveling.

Hoover told The Star that the FBI also told Kennedy at the time that they questioned the advisability of undertaking the electronic surveillance because of possible political repercussions.

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Times Herald
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The Nation [illegible]
People's World

Date 6-14-69

On October 7, 1963, however, following subsequent discussions Hoover said he sent a memorandum t othe Attorney General in which he reported that it was now technically feasible to apply telephone wire taps to King's telephone at SCLC headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., and at an unnam edaddress in New York City. This was, in effect, a request for authorization to proceed, the director said.

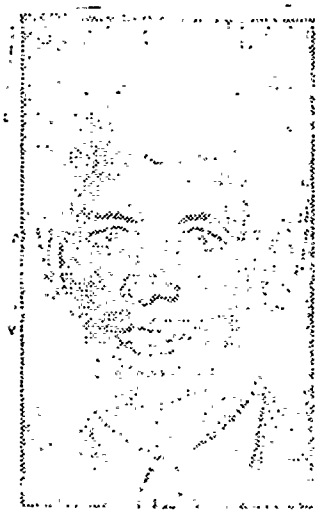
Dated October, 1963

That Hoover memorandum bears the signature of "Robert F. Kennedy" in the lower left-hand corner over the handwritten date "10-10-63."

Hoover made the bombshell disclosure today as the climax to a long series of charges and counter-charges involving Justice Department officials, the FBI and Star columnist Carl Rowan over the manner in which the conversations of King were intercepted and taped by the Bureau.

Rowan charged in a column Sunday that the FBI had no authority to wiretap or bug Dr. King's conversations and quoted former Attorney General Ramsey Clark as saying "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

The following day, Associate FBI Director Clyde A. Tolson wrote a letter to Rowan in which he stated that the official wiretapping on Kink had the advance approval of Kennedy.



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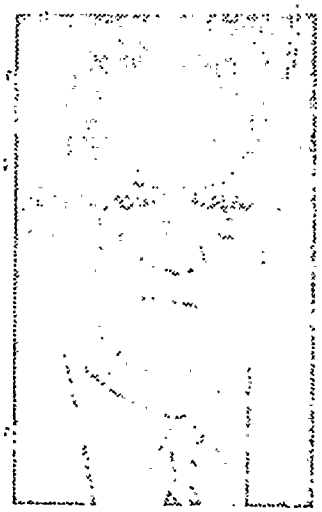

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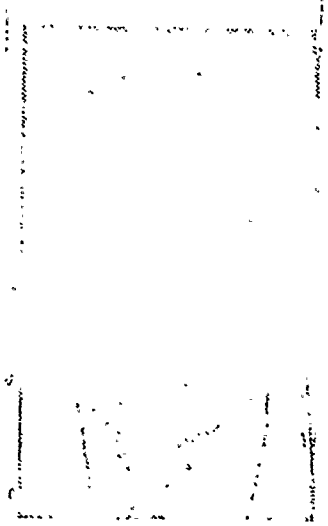

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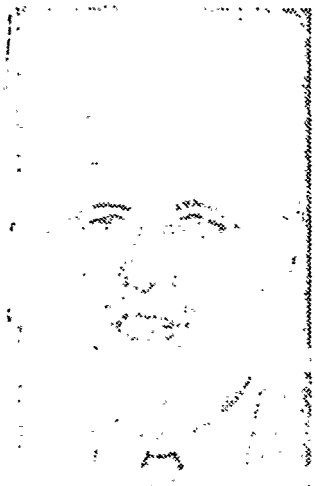

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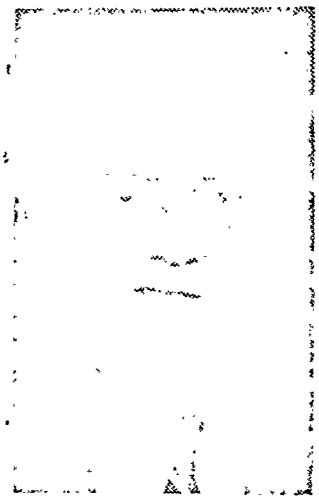

J. EDGAR HOOVER

MARTIN LUTHER KING

King Wiretap Called RFK's Idea

Hoover Asserts Memo to FBI Cited Concern Over Marxism

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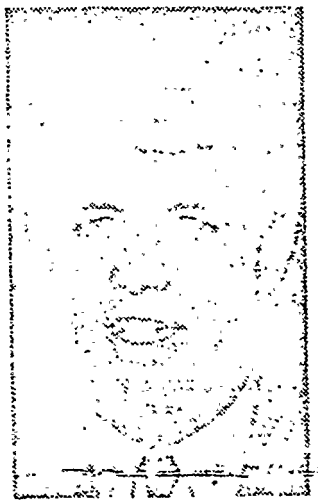
By JEREMIAH O'LEARY
Star Staff Writer

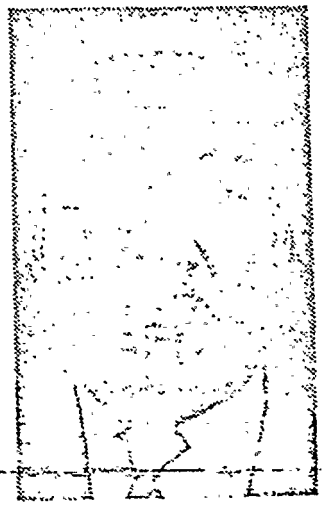
Wiretapping of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s telephone was proposed to the FBI by then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in June, 1963, and authorized by him in writing later that year, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover told The Star today.

Hoover revealed the contents of two memorandums in one of which Kennedy expressed concern about possible infiltration of the race issue by Marxists and spoke of allegations that the Negro leader was closely associated with Marxist ideas and followers.

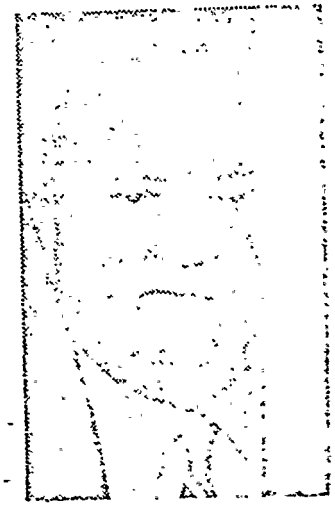
That memorandum to Hoover, dated June, 1963, was written by Courtney Evans, then assistant director of the FBI and liaison man with the Justice Department. It reported the substance of a conversation Evans had just had with Kennedy in which the Attorney General asked about the feasibility of installing electronic devices on King's telephones. King headed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.



ROBERT F. KENNEDY



MARTIN LUTHER KING



J. EDGAR HOOVER

The Evening Star
Washington, D.C.
June 19, 1969
Page 1

Kennedy, according to the Evans memo, was concerned at reports that King was a student of Marxism, that he was associating with a New York attorney with known Communist connections, but that he did not openly espouse Marxism because of his religious beliefs. The Evans memorandum indicated Kennedy wanted to know if it was technically feasible to use electronic devices to prove or disprove these allegations.

The Evans memo said Evans replied to Kennedy that King was a man who traveled almost constantly and that it was extremely difficult to use wiretaps effectively in such cases.

Hoover told The Star that FBI officials also informed Kennedy at that time that they doubted the advisability of undertaking electronic surveillance of Dr. King because of possible political repercussions.

However, the second memorandum cited by Hoover shows that on October 7, 1963, the FBI chief reported to Kennedy that it was then technically feasible to apply wiretaps to King's telephones at two places, one of them at an unnamed location in New York.

That memorandum constituted the FBI's request for authority

See WIRETAP, Page A-6

King Wiretap RFK's Idea, Hoover Says

Continued From Page A-1

to proceed with the wiretap proposed by Kennedy four months before. The document bears in the lower left-hand corner the signature, "Robert F. Kennedy," and under the name the date "10-10-63."

Hoover did not indicate to The Star when the surveillance was started but said the taps were discontinued on April 30, 1965. At that time Nicholas Katzenbach was serving as Attorney General.

Asked about the results of the electronic surveillance today, Hoover declined comment.

The FBI director told The Star: "I have never authorized installation of technical electronic devices without written authority of the Attorney General."

Today's disclosures climaxed a long smoldering controversy over the role of the FBI, a subordinate bureau of the Justice Department, in using wiretaps or other electronic devices in investigative matters. The matter came to a head Sunday when Carl Rowan, a columnist for The Star, charged that the FBI had no authority to wiretap Dr. King's conversations. He quoted former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who succeeded Katzenbach, as saying "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

The Rowan charges prompted Associate FBI Director Clyde A. Tolson to write to Rowan early this week defending legality of the King wiretaps.

"For your information," Tolson said in his letter, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late attorney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy."

Tolson added that the monitoring device was "strictly in the field of internal security and therefore was within the provision laid down by the President of the United States."

Evans, now a Washington lawyer, was en route to Puerto Rico today and could not be reached for comment. However, Tuesday night Evans said he had no recollection of whether a wiretap authorization directed at King had ever been involved in his discussion with Kennedy.

Aides to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., said today he would have no comment on Hoover's disclosure.

Friends of Robert Kennedy had suggested in recent days that, during 1964, in the period after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the attorney general's interest in some of his official affairs had flagged. However, the assassination came nearly six weeks after Robert Kennedy signed the authorization for the King wiretap.

Hoover and Kennedy, after the latter became a New York senator, accused each other of being responsible for use of hidden microphones in investigations.

Evans figured in that controversy when Kennedy made public a February, 1966, letter to him from Evans which made the point that the use of hidden microphones was not Kennedy's responsibility but suggested he may have directly approved the use of wiretaps on phones. That letter said the FBI sent national security wiretap requests to Kennedy for approval.

It is reliably reported that Kennedy was reminded by the FBI that it still had in its files the authorizations signed by him as Attorney General for telephonic wiretaps. However, Hoover did not disclose at that time any names of persons under wiretap surveillance with Kennedy's approval.

At that stage, Kennedy and Hoover broke off the public exchange of charges as if by mutual consent. This was regarded partly as due to Kennedy's realization that his signed authorizations were still in FBI files, partly to the FBI's desire not to have special attention drawn to its investigative techniques nor to engage in a battle with the Kennedy forces that could have political overtones.

The Justice Department on Tuesday declined a direct an-

0-19 (Rev. 7-17-68)

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

CARL T. ROWAN

It Is Time for J. Edgar Hoover to Go

A society is never in more peril than when the people lose the ability to identify a genuine threat to personal liberty.

This society is in a lot of peril if we may judge from the public reaction — or lack of it — to courtroom admissions of a variety of illegal FBI wiretaps and buggings of homes and hotel rooms.

A Justice Department official acknowledged in Federal District Court that Dr. Martin Luther King was under electronic surveillance in 1964 and 1965, and the FBI agent who supervised this surveillance told the court "it was my understanding that it went on after that."

The whole truth is that Dr. King's phones were tapped, his hotel rooms bugged, and he was personally shadowed right up to the time he was slain in Memphis on April 4, 1968.

Another FBI agent, C. Barry Pickett, told the court in Houston, Texas, that for four solid years he had listened eight hours a day, five days a week, to the conversations of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims. Pickett employed both a telephone wiretap and a microphone planted in Muhammad's home.

These cases of electronic eavesdropping, which violate both federal law and a presidential executive order, were disclosed in a hearing on former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay's effort to overturn a five-year prison sentence for his refusal to be drafted.

These buggings, which caught some Clay conversations in their net," are but a fraction of the illegal wiretaps that have moved this country far closer to a police state than most Americans realize.

Why the bland, indifferent reaction on the part of most Americans?

First, there is the general FBI justification for such tactics: "national security."

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who states emphatically that the FBI had no authority to wiretap or bug Dr. King, asserts that "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

Still, that term "national security" is more powerful than "motherhood," for it evokes fear, and men still surrender more things — including liberty — out of fear than they do out of love.

The puzzling thing about Clark's statement is that he acts as though he is surprised to hear of the wiretapping and bugging of Dr. King. Could Clark possibly have been unaware that FBI officials were going before congressional committees and partly justifying larger appropriations by titillating some congressmen and feeding anti-King ammunition to Southerners who despised the civil rights leader — all by way of revealing "tidbits" picked up through the wiretaps and buggings?

Was Clark unaware that certain FBI officials were roaming the country leaking to newspaper editors poisonous stories about Dr. King and what the buggings allegedly had revealed?

Everybody else in Washington of any consequence knew it, and many deplored it, but no one seemed to know how to go about making the FBI bend to the laws of the land.

There is a not-too-flippant assumption in Washington that J. Edgar Hoover has been FBI director for 45 years because all the recent Presidents have assumed that he knew too much about them to be replaced. So not only was he not replaced by any of the younger, very able FBI men in the normal course of things, but Presidents Johnson and Nixon have felt it wise or expedient to waive a law saying Hoover has reached the rocking-chair age.

Hoover ought to be replaced as FBI director — immediately.

As Washington agency heads go, Hoover may have done a better job than most. But the people of this country knew something when they limited the time one man might serve in the presidency. They saw personal fiefdoms as inimical to the democracy, the personal freedom, that we have come to cherish.

If it is dangerous to have one man serve three full terms as President, it is far more dangerous to have one man take lifetime possession of a powerful police-investigative agency that prods into the deepest secrets of the most prominent, most honored citizens and has the power to discredit, even destroy, almost anyone. The kind of abuse of and contempt for the law manifest in the King and Muhammad eavesdropping become almost inevitable when a man is left in a key job as long as Hoover has been.

Were Hoover a more thoughtful man, or as concerned about the preservation of democracy and liberty as his speeches suggest, he would have resigned long ago. He would not keep putting Presidents in the political bind of deciding to keep him or ease him out.

It is clear Hoover has no intention of resigning. So when does the President muster the courage to say: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Goodbye."?

Shadowed
C. Cobb
6 times

Hoover

The Washington Post
Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star (Washington)
The Sunday Star (Washington) E-4
Daily News (New York)
Sunday News (New York)
New York Post
The New York Times
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Examiner (Washington)

Date JUN 15 1969

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 240

Yale Honors Dr. King for Rights Work

NEW HAVEN, Conn., June 15 (AP)—Yale University, predicting that "generations of Americans yet unborn will echo" its admiration, conferred an honorary degree today upon the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Dr. King, who heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was released on bond from the St. Augustine, Fla., jail on Saturday, where he had been held after a civil rights sit-in demonstration. He was one of 13 persons who received honorary degrees at the University's 263d commencement.

The others included Peace Corps Director R. Sargent Shriver, Under Secretary of State W. Averell Harriman, Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) and stage personalities Alfred Lunt and his wife, Lynn Fontanne.

The University's citation to Dr. King said:

"As your eloquence has kindled the Nation's sense of outrage, so your steadfast refusal to countenance violence in resistance to injustice has heightened our sense of national shame.

"When outrage and shame together shall one day have vindicated the [illegible] of legal, social and economic opportunity for all citizens, the [illegible] everywhere and of generations of [illegible] will echo our admiration [illegible]"

Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Dalbach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele Room
Holmes
Gandy

Recommended

The Washington Post and Times Herald — A4
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
People's World
Date

JUN 16 1964

Associated Press

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., speaking at the protest, voices demand to "stop the bombing."

Story Behind Peace Movement Role

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, Admin-

paigns 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 apprehen-

See KING, A4, Col. 1

Washington Post
4-16-67
Pg. A-1

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—From Page A1

Story Behind ...

... night in July, 1965. Before ... sympathetic Negro listeners, he called for a ... 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 Chicagos 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 ... 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

... 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 exalt the killing of 500 Vietcong in Vietnam?" he asks.

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 Luthuli, 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 support-

'Monolithic Movement'

Furthermore, they pointed out, Dr. King, as the most visible and popular civil rights spokesman, could not ... himself in the pub... [illegible] ... looked at as a monolithic movement," ... personally, ... 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 antipoverty ... [illegible] ... even Young ...

But Dr. King had ... [illegible] ... 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 ... 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

[illegible] Dr. King seemed [illegible] [illegible]

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 [illegible] movement since the emergence of the "Black Power" radicals in 1965. Other civil rights at first 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 attempt- [illegible]

King [illegible] 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 [illegible] chairman with a respected group of moderates called [illegible] [illegible] chiefs as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. "I don's 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 in the pursuit of justice 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 [illegible]

cate to see if they could find an answer: Why does he run?

"The people of the black community do not control political elements of this society," he told them. "It is white power that makes the laws. It is white power that enforces these laws with guns and nightsticks.

"To correct this pattern will call for far-reaching [illegible] revolutionaries. The question is [illegible]

[illegible]

By nightfall and for the [illegible] Negro college students [illegible] calm in Nashville this week.

Was this the answer?

Were violence and what some call sedition what makes Stokely Carmichael run?

The Nashville Banner [illegible]

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 [illegible] 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 on 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 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 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

-4-

F.B.I. Says Kennedy Approved Wiretap On Dr. King's Phone

WASHINGTON, June 17 (AP) —The Federal Bureau of Investigation attacked as "scurrilous" today a report that its director, J. Edgar Hoover, had acted on his own in wiretapping the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The wiretap "was specifically approved in advance in writing" by the Attorney General, the late Robert F. Kennedy, the F.B.I. said.

The bureau released the text of a letter written by Clyde A. Tolson, associate director, to Carl T. Rowan, the columnist, who denounced Mr. Hoover on Sunday and called for the director's resignation.

The letter said:

"My attention has been called to the malicious article which you wrote in The Washington Sunday Star on June 15, 1969, concerning Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F.B.I.

"For your information, the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy. This device was strictly in the field of internal security and, therefore, was within the provisions laid down by the then President of the United States.

"It is to be hoped that you will give the same publicity to this letter as was given to your scurrilous editorial."

The fact that the Government wiretapped the assassinated civil rights leader's phone was confirmed two weeks ago during hearings in Houston, on whether the conviction of Cassius Clay, the former heavyweight boxing champion, was tainted by illegally obtained evidence. Clay is appealing a sentence for refusing induction into the armed forces.

The Justice Department, at that time, said that Clay at no time had been the target of a Government wiretap. But a spokesman said some of his conversations were overheard during other wiretapping operations.

N.Y. Times
6-19-69

0-19 (Rev. 7-17-68)

King Material

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

How Long Has This Been Going On?

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has offered as justification for tapping the telephones of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. two assertions: one, that this tapping was authorized by the late Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General at the time it was initiated: and, two, that Mr. Kennedy instigated the wiretapping.

The first of these assertions appears to be uncontested, although Mr. Hoover has yet to produce any documentation of it. In considerable degree it relieves him of responsibility for a gross intrusion into the privacy of an honored citizen. The responsibility for this intrusion must be lodged, in fairness, with the Attorney General if he did indeed give his approval of it in advance. We regret, therefore, that in calling for Mr. Hoover's resignation recently, we imputed the responsibility to him alone—there are far better reasons than this for him to step down.

The second of Mr. Hoover's assertions has been categorically contested by two former Attorneys General, one of them Deputy Attorney General under Mr. Kennedy at the time the wiretapping was begun. Nicholas Katzenbach declared bluntly: "To say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy—that he was the moving force in this situation—or that he had any doubts whatsoever as to Dr. King's loyalty or integrity is false." Ramsey Clark similarly called Mr. Hoover's assertion "unfair and deceptive." And Mr. Clark added a comment that seems to us most significant: "He (Mr. Hoover) repeatedly requested me to authorize FBI wiretaps on Dr. King while I was Attorney General. The last of these requests, none of which was granted, came two days before the murder of Dr. King."

How long the tapping of Dr. King's telephone continued and whether it continued beyond the date of President Johnson's order forbidding such surveillance except in cases directly affecting national security is difficult to determine. Did the tapping continue under the Attorney Generalship

The Washington Post
Times Herald A-20
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
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Examiner (Washington)

Date 6-25-69

of Mr. Katzenbach and under the Attorney Generalship of Mr. Clark, without benefit of their approval? Another former high Federal official, Columnist Carl Rowan, says: "Certain buggings and other surveillance of King did not end in April, 1965. As a top Government official, I read FBI surveillance reports on King long after the date when Hoover says the wiretaps were ended."

The essential facts of this controversy cannot be established through selective release of materials from the FBI's files. Mr. Hoover has a habit of calling what he does not wish to disclose "classified," while allowing discreet glimpses of material that serves his purposes. His whole handling of the wiretap problem over a period of 30 years has been, in our view, disingenuous to say the least. It began with an assertion that President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized him to tap telephones in national-security cases; but he insisted that the President's letter conferring this power was classified and therefore could not be made public; it became public only recently.

Over and over again, moreover, Mr. Hoover has said that his Bureau has tapped telephones only in connection with national security; and he has said this in terms and contexts which led readers and listeners to believe that he was tapping only in situations involving espionage or sabotage by enemy agents. If his concept of a threat to "national security" embraces the leadership of a civil rights movement, then he lacks either the judgment or the candor to direct the FBI.

Mr. Hoover has held his present job for 45 years. It entails a most dangerous power. In many respects he has served the American people ably and deserves their gratitude. But long before now he ought to have handed in his resignation. No man who does not recognize the impropriety and the danger involved in a 45-year tenure as head of a secret investigating agency is qualified to hold an office so powerful and so fraught with peril to a free people.

of Mr. Katzenbach and under the Attorney Generalship of Mr. Clark, without benefit of their approval? Another former high Federal official, Columnist Carl Rowan, says: "Certain buggings and other surveillance of King did not end in April, 1965. As a top Government official, I read FBI surveillance reports on King long after the date when Hoover says the wiretaps were ended."

The essential facts of this controversy cannot be established through selective release of materials from the FBI's files. Mr. Hoover has a habit of calling what he does not wish to disclose "classified," while allowing discreet glimpses of material that serves his purposes. His whole handling of the wiretap problem over a period of 30 years has been, in our view, disingenuous to say the least. It began with an assertion that President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized him to tap telephones in national-security cases; but he insisted that the President's letter conferring this power was classified and therefore could not be made public; it became public only recently.

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Clay Case Testimony Reveals Long-Term Taps

Houston, June 5 (AP) — Witnesses in the Cassius Clay wiretap hearing testified today that telephone conversation of Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslim religion, had been monitored as early as 1960.

Witnesses had indicated yesterday that the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., had been under wiretap surveillance for at least four years before his death last year.

C. Barry Pickett a Jacksonville (Fla.) FBI agent, testified today that he monitored Mr. Muhammad's conversations from 1962 to 1966 while working as a clerk in the Phoenix (Ariz.) FBI office.

Frederick A. Brownell, a former special agent at Phoenix, said he had supervised the surveillance there prior to his retirement in late 1965.

"I cannot recall when the case was opened, but it probably was around 1960," Mr. Brownell said.

Mr. Brownell was the government's final witness.

T. Oscar Smith, former chief of the Justice Department's conscientious objector section, testified today that he had recommended on Nov. 25, 1966, that Mr. Clay's claim be rejected because many Black Muslim beliefs "rest on grounds primarily political and racial."

"He objects not to all wars, but to specific types," Mr. Smith said. "He had not established that he was opposed to war in any form."

Mr. [illegible] said [illegible] handling the monitoring had instructions to maintain [illegible] on Mr. [illegible] and [illegible] tant.

Refused Induction

The hearing was ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court to determine whether the wiretaps affected the trial, in which Mr. Clay was convicted of refusing to be inducted into the Army.

The former heavyweight boxing champion contended he was a Black Muslim minister and thus exempt from military duty.

Mr. Pickett did not give the specific reasons today for the surveillance of Mr. Muhammad.

Charles Morgan, Jr., Mr. Caly's chief counsel, sought repeatedly to obtain specific reasons, but Mr. Pickett insisted his instructions were general.

Evidence Admitted

"I am trying to prove he had specific instructions to obtain information on the religious beliefs of this defendant," Mr. Morgan told Judge Joe Ingraham, of the U.S. District Court.

Summaries of four taped conversations involving Mr. Clay were admitted into evidence yesterday. One involved Dr. King and three involved Black Muslim officials.

Judge Ingraham had a fifth summary in a sealed envelope but refused to admit it into the record on the grounds that such action could endanger national security.

The monitored conversations were not revealed by the Justice Department until Mr. Clay appealed his 1967 conviction.

Mr. Clay received the maximum sentence of five years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

Monitored Conversations

Mr. Pickett said he monitored conversations of Mr. Muhammad while working as a clerk in the FBI office in Phoenix, Ariz., from 1962 to 1966.

"You spent four years of your life listening to conversations of the leader of the Muslim religion?" Mr. Morgan asked.

"Yes, sir."

Testimony given yesterday indicated the three Black Muslim [illegible] tored in Phoenix. Mr. [illegible] summary of a conversation between Mr. Clay and Mr. Muhammad on March 24, 1964. The Black Muslim leader was quoted as advising Mr. Clay to "keep quiet" after telling him he would make a better minister than a fighter.

"My instructions were to monitor conversations both inthe home and by telephone and make notes of conversations by Elijah Muhammad," Mr. Pickett sadi. "I recorded all vonversations I heard bt prepared only pertinent facts to go into the log."

"You obtained the infomation by electronic bugging?" Mr. Morgan asked.

"Correct."

Mr. Pickett said only summaries were prepared on each conversation.

"What to you was pertinent?" Mr. Morgan asked.

"Whatever I considered of value."

"What criteria did you emply for determining what you considered pertinent?"

"There were written instructions but not for a particular case. They were general, a guideline as to what we were to listen for, facts relevant to the case we were working on."

Warren L. Walsh, [illegible] FBI agent, testified that to [illegible] knowledge Mr. Clay neverh [illegible] been under electronics surveillance in Louisville, his home town.

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Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
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Gandy

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
The Sun (Baltimore) 6-7
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Examiner (Washington)

Date

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

THE COLUMBIA RECORD

Columbia, South Carolina

JOHN A. MONTGOMERY
Editor

H. HARRISON JENKINS
Associate Editor

12-A

Thursday, June 26, 1969

Best Forget The King Wiretap

Enough now has been written and spoken about the wiretapping of the late Martin Luther King, the orders of the late Attorney General Robert Kennedy and the position of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. The affair is best left to history and future documentation.

Our conservative columnist, William F. Buckley, is dead wrong when he asserts that a Congressional inquiry is in order. It most positively is not. Informed and intelligent Congressmen realize quite well that the whole affair should be quietly dropped.

The King wiretap was brought into the foreground again (not disclosed for the first time, as Buckley believes) through the Cassius Clay trial in Houston. Then, the syndicated columnist, Carl Rowan, asked that Hoover retire on the basis of the King wiretap testimony.

Rowan has served the Federal government well as ambassador to Finland and with the USIA and is a usually competent observer of the national scene. Yet, at the same time, he can err—like all newsmen.

The simple fact is that any FBI director, or any CIA director, will be forced to take needless, supernumerary public lumps—without answer. Occasionally, however, for the sake of these agencies, the directors must set the record straight. In this instance, Hoover was again the unfortunate victim.

The surface facts are that Robert Kennedy ordered the wiretap on King, before his death. That wiretap (in the interest of national security) was continued under Kennedy's successor, Nicholas Katzenbach.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, perhaps still smarting from the campaign chatter of President Nixon, got into the act with a denunciation of Hoover. Clark has the unfortunate habit of opening his Texas mouth, wide, when he should keep it shut.

A singular fact which should be borne in mind is that a Congressional inquiry, to be fair to all parties involved (including King, Hoover and Robert Kennedy), would also extend into the White House—bringing in both the late President John F. Kennedy and the former President, Lyndon Johnson, who has been [illegible].

The [illegible] of the Kennedys and King, the reputations of all concerned, and—above all—the nation's interests are best served by a present dismissal of chatter about the whole incident.

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

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

12-A

The Columbia Record

Columbia, S. C.

Date: 6/26/69
Edition: Metro
Author:
Editor: John A. Montgomer
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

Calls for Black-White Brotherhood

4000 Hear Dr. King Attack Racism From Pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral

From News Dispatches

LONDON, Dec. 6 — Nobel Prize-winning American Negro leader Martin Luther King warned Britain today against allowing racism to grow out of the influx of colored immigrants to the British Isles in recent years.

Mr. King made his call for black and white brotherhood before a packed congregation in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was the first Baptist ever to mount the Anglican pulpit under Sir Christopher Wren's mighty dome.

The novelty of an American Negro preacher at St. Paul's brought more than 4000 to evensong. Persons of all races crowded the nave. Many had to stand in the aisles.

Mr. King warned that a doctrine of black supremacy was as great a danger as one of white supremacy. Unless men and nations live together, they will perish together, he said.

"Too many of our white brothers," said Mr. King, "are only concerned with their economic problems, their social status, their political powers and their so-called way of life."

Of his own people he said: "We must not seek to rise from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage, substituting injustice of one type for that of another."

The American preacher, who had breakfasted with visiting Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri of India, said America spent millions of dollars on storing surplus foods. It could be stored free of charge, he suggested, in the wrinkled bellies of India's hungry.

Mr. King also advocated Communist China's membership in the United Nations. He said the presence there of China "in spite of its despotic and totalitarian regime" would help toward disarmament efforts and a suspension of all nuclear tests.

Monday Mr. King will meet members of Parliament and of the British Council of Churches before addressing a Christian Action meeting at City Temple on the racial issue. He leaves Tuesday for Norway to collect his Nobel Prize.

NW 68262 DocId:32989551 Page 252

Dr. King Accepts Nobel Peace Prize 'With an Abiding Faith in America'

OSLO, Dec. 10 (UPI)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. accepted "with an abiding faith in America" the $54,600 Nobel Peace Prize he has pledged to the cause of racial freedom and equality in the United States.

Dr. King was visibly moved by the stirring ceremony today in which he was presented the check, diploma and gold medal as the winner of the 1964 award in the main auditorium of Oslo University.

The audience included members of his family and friends, King Olav V and Crown Prince Harald, representatives of the government, members of the diplomatic corps and the cream of Norway's cultural and social circles.

The 35-year-old American Negro civil rights leader hailed the award as "profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time—the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression."

Scientists Honored

In Stockholm at about the same time, two American scientists received awards in medicine and physics. (See related story.) The Peace Prize is given in Oslo because the winner is selected by a committee of the Norwegian Parliament.

Dr. King is the third Negro to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. An American, Ralph Bunche, Deputy Secretary General of the United Nations, was the first, in 1950. The second was Chief Albert Luthuli, leader of the outlawed African nationalist movement in South Africa, who was honored a decade later.

"I accet this award today with an abiding faith in America and an audacious faith in the future of mankind," Dr. King told the audience, which included perhaps the largest number of nonwhites ever to attend a ceremony in this north European capital. Among them were a number of uniformed American Negro military officers, South African students and a group of Dr. King's followers who said they had scraped and saved to come here for the ceremony.

Stresses Nonviolence

Dr. King stressed the necessity of nonviolence in what he called the struggle for social justice and said "sooner or later all the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace . . ."

"If this is to be achieved, man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation," he continued.

"The tortuous road which has led from Montgomery, Ala., to Oslo bears witness to this truth. This is a road over which millions of Negroes are traveling to find a new sense of dignity."

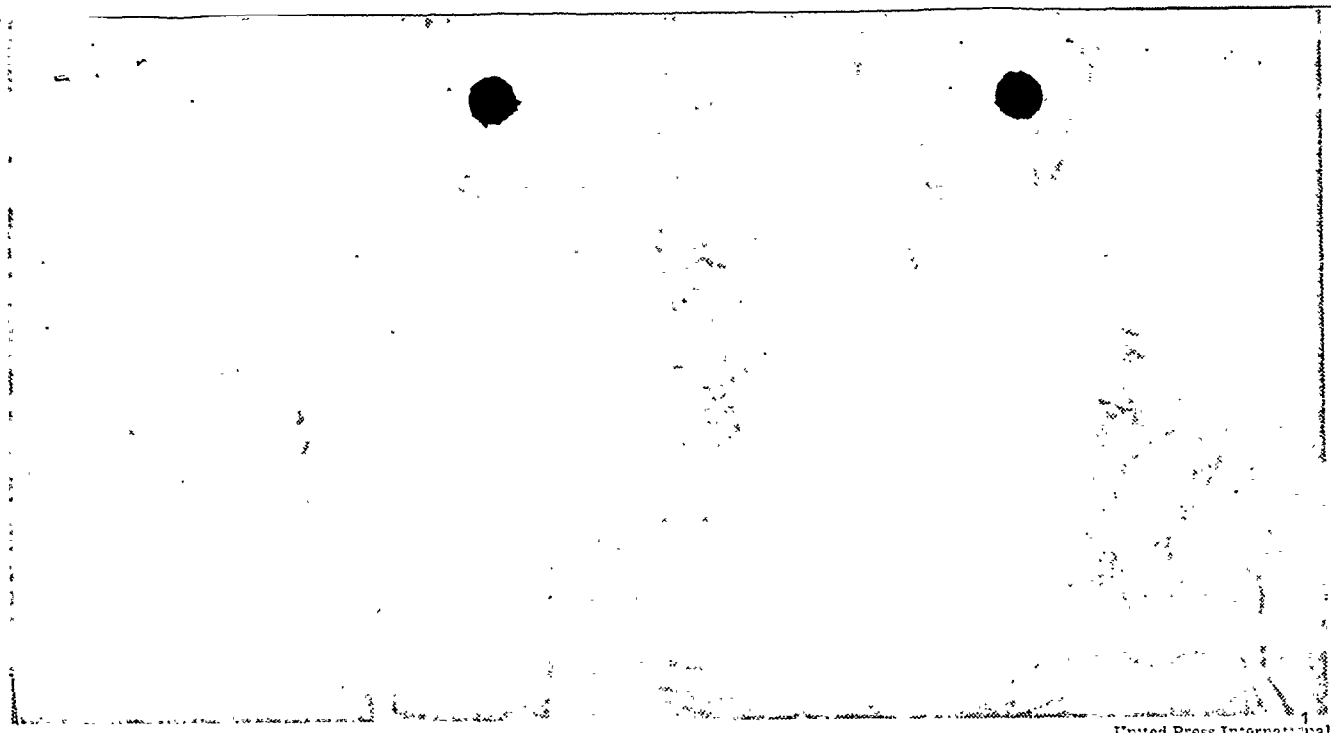
Gunnar Jahn, chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, hailed Dr. King in his presentation address as "the first person in the Western world to have shown us that a struggle can be waged without violence."

Ceremony Televised

The ceremony was televised throughout Europe. After the speech, Dr. King was presented to King Olav and Prince Harald and shook hands with them while the audience gave them a standing ovation.

Dr. King was guest of honor at the traditional Nobel Prize dinner here tonight and will deliver his Nobel lecture to students at the university Friday. He will then fly to Stockholm before returning to the United States.

The Washington Post
12-11-64



United Press International

Crown Prince Harald of Norway, left, and King Olav congratulate the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. after he received the Nobel Prize. Watching at the ceremonies in Oslo was Mrs. King.

Dr. King Orders Scripto Co. Boycott

By Paul Good
Special to The Washington Post

ATLANTA, Dec. 10—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. took his fellows into the U.S. labor movement today by proxy by calling his first Nation-wide economic boycott in support of a union here.

While Dr. King was receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Norway, his Southern Christian Leadership Conference was mounting a boycott against the Scripto Co., one of the world's leading manufacturers of pens and cigarette lighters. The [illegible] is the opening move [illegible] by Dr. King to stress SCLC [illegible] action in the [illegible]

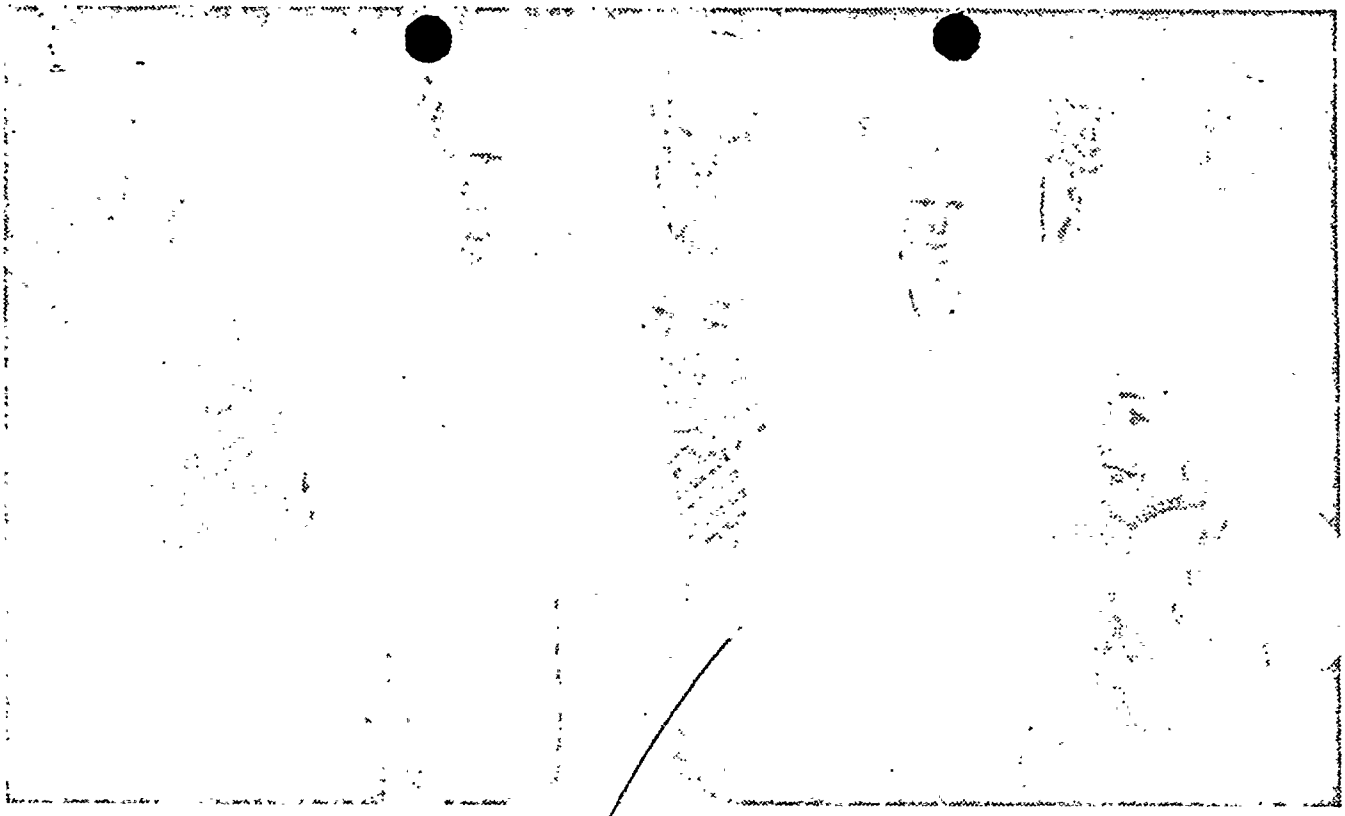
[illegible] Workers Union (AFL-CIO) [illegible] on strike since Thanksgiving. They charge that racial discrimination is behind low wages for 750 unskilled colored workers at a sprawling plant here in the heart of the Negro section and only a few blocks from SCLC national headquarters. The Company says it pays competitive wages for the Southeast and labels the racial charge a "fake."

Although Dr. King is absent from the scene, the SCLC has notified 2200 affiliates that "Dr. King feels that this is the most important thing we can do at the moment in the freedom struggle."

The boycott, which the SCLC terms an "economic withdrawal," is international in scope. While the support of other U.S. civil rights groups like CORE is being solicited, pleas are also going out to Scripto plant in England, Southern Rhodesia and Mexico.

Dr. King has announced [illegible] European visit to [illegible] SCLC's next major action campaign, scheduled to begin [illegible] Southern [illegible] is not settled soon it is believed that Dr. King will show up on the picket line with the Nobel Peace Prize in hand.

THE WASHINGTON POST
12-11-64



United Press International [illegible]

ACCEPTS PEACE PRIZE IN OSLO: The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is congratulated by King Olav V of Norway. Crown Prince Harald is at the left. Mrs. King stands to the right. Dr. King was cited for civil rights efforts.

Dr. King Accepts Nobel Peace Prize as 'Trustee'

By JAMES FERON

Special to The New York Times

OSLO, Norway, Dec. 10—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. accepted the Nobel Peace Prize today on behalf of the civil rights movement

Text of speech by Dr. King appears on Page 33.

and "all men who love peace and brotherhood." The Bap- [illegible] at Oslo University, said the [illegible] when 22 million Negroes of the United States are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice." Nevertheless, he said that he had an "abiding faith in America" and refused to believe that mankind was "so tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality." Dr. K[illegible] speech was delivered before [illegible] King Olav V of Norway, Government and diplomatic leaders, members of Dr. King's family and his associates in the civil rights movement. He spoke in English and the ceremony was televised throughout Europe. The award carried a money prize equivalent to about $54,000. The 35-year-old minister, the youngest person ever to win the coveted award, said he recognized [illegible] "which has not won the very [illegible] is the essence of the Nobel Prize." Why, then, award this prize to a movement "which is beleaguered and committed to unrelenting struggle?" Dr. King asked. He said that "after contemplation" he had reached this conclusion: "This award, which I receive on behalf of that movement, is a profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral [illegible]

Continued on Page 32, Column 5

NEW YORK [illegible]

12-11-64

DR. KING ACCEPTS PRIZE AS 'TRUSTEE'

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

pression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression." Speaking for 10 minutes in a slow, deep voice that filled the marble hall at Oslo University, Dr. King said that he had come to Oslo as a "trustee" for the "humble children" of the civil rights movement "who were willing to suffer for righteousness' sake."

"I think Alfred Nobel would know what I mean when I say that I accept this [illegible] cious heirloom which he holds in trust for its true owners—all those to whom truth is beauty and beauty truth—and in whose eyes the beauty of genuine brotherhood and peace is more precious than diamonds, or silver or gold," he declared.

The Negro leader is the third of his race to win the award. The first was Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, for his work as a United Nations Under Secretary, and the second was Chief Albert Luthuli of South Africa.

Dr. King was hailed by Gunnar Jahn, the chairman of the Norwegian Parliament's Nobel Committee, as an "undaunted champion of peace," and the "first person in the Western world to have shown us that a struggle can be waged without violence."

Dr. Jahn spoke in Norwegian for more than half an hour describing Dr. King's background and his fight for civil rights. He said that though Dr. King "has not personally committed himself to the international conflict, his own struggle is a clarion call for all who work for peace."

Steadfastness Praised

He [illegible] Dr. K[illegible] his [illegible] less has never faltered."

[illegible] bel medal and diploma to Dr. King as the audience of several hundred guests stood and applauded. The ceremony, by tradition, takes place on the anniversary of the death in 1896 of Dr. Alfred Nobel [illegible] the prize. Dr. Nobel was a Swedish citizen.

After Dr. King's acceptance speech the orchestra of the Norwegian Broadcasting system played excerpts from George Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess." Then King Olav and Crown Prince Harald, who had watched the ceremony from seats in the center of the aisle, stepped forward to congratulate Dr. King.

Among those in the party of 30 accompanying Dr. King to Europe were his father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr., from Atlanta, Ga.; a sister, Mrs. Christine Farris, and a brother, the Rev. A. D. King of Birmingham, Ala.

The ceremony of awarding the peace prize is always held [illegible] the other Nobel prizes are handed out in Stockholm. According to Dr. Nobel's will, the peace prize winner is selected by a five-member committee that is chosen by the Norwegian Parliament. Recipients of the other prizes are selected by Swedish learned societies.

0-9 (Rev. 7-17-68)

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Outside the Law

The Department of Justice has come forward with an appalling paradox: entrusted with enforcement of the Federal laws, it holds itself to lie outside the ambit of those laws; committed to the championship of the United States Constitution, it holds itself to be free from the restraints of that fundamental charter. Expressly, the Department declared on Friday that it possesses legal power—despite a clause of the Constitution and an Act of Congress to the contrary, and without bothering to obtain judicial authorization in advance—to carry on electronic surveillance of any members of organizations who, in its opinion, may be seeking to "attack and subvert the Government by unlawful means."

No more pernicious notion has ever been propounded by an agency of the United States Government. What this comes down to is a bald assertion that the Department can take the law into its own hands whenever it thinks the national security is threatened—from within or from without. Last week, in a Federal District Court in Chicago, the Department disclosed that it had employed wiretapping or bugging devices to monitor conversations of the antiwar activists who were indicted for inciting riots at the Democratic National Convention last August. What is the Department's justification? "Any President who takes seriously his oath to 'preserve, protect and defend the Constitution,'" the Department asserts, "will no doubt determine that it is not 'unreasonable' to utilize electronic surveillance to gather intelligence information concerning those organizations which are committed to the use of illegal methods to bring about changes in our form of government and which may be seeking to foment violent disorders."

Of course, the Constitution which any President has taken an oath to "preserve" specifically forbids unwarranted searches. And the Supreme Court has plainly said that electronic surveillance constitutes a search permissible under the Fourth Amendment only when properly circumscribed and authorized in advance by a judge. Congress only last year, wishing to regularize and control electronic eavesdropping, stipulated precisely in the Crime Control Act the conditions under which bugging and wiretapping could be authorized.

Yet the Department of Justice appears to be saying that both the Constitution and the Crime Control Act can be ignored whenever the President thinks that certain groups are "committed to the use of illegal methods to bring about changes in our form of government." What could better illustrate

The Washington Post
Times Herald A-22
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star (Washington)
The Sunday Star (Washington)
Daily News (New York)
Sunday News (New York)
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The New York Times
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Examiner (Washington)

Date JUN 19 1969

the absurdity of this standard than its application in regard to the tatterdemalion crew of New Leftists who stirred up disorder in the streets of Chicago. If the President or the Department of Justice can see a threat to the Nation's security in that tawdry, loose-lipped cabal, it can see a threat in anything.

And if a supposed threat to national security can justify setting aside the Constitution and the law respecting electronic eavesdropping, why can it not be used to justify setting them aside for any other purpose the President and the Department of Justice may deem expedient or convenient in the protection of national security? Will they some day think it not "unreasonable" to set aside the prohibitions against arbitrary arrest or against random physical searches of citizens' homes or against imprisonment without trial or against suppression of speech deemed dangerous? What the Department of Justice has so blandly enunciated is the rationale of dictatorship. It is the justification of every despot from Caligula to Adolf Hitler.

It has been disclosed recently that the Federal Bureau of Investigation systematically, over a period of years, tapped telephones in flagrant violation of the law and in cases having nothing whatever to do with national security. It bugged and tapped the homes and hotel rooms of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and of Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader, for example. It is beside the point if, as the FBI now asserts, the Attorney General, at that time Robert F. Kennedy, authorized the eavesdropping; no Attorney General had any authority to do so. The FBI also bugged and tapped numerous persons alleged to be part of that undefined group called the "Mafia." This eavesdropping was done in violation of the Constitution, in violation of the law, in violation of a presidential order and in violation of repeated assurances by the Director of the FBI that it was not being done. J. Edgar Hoover has forfeited the confidence of the American people. He ought to resign or be removed from office.

A Federal Bureau of Investigation which eavesdrops on citizens is a peril to privacy and a menace to freedom in any circumstances. But a Federal Bureau of Investigation which does this in direct defiance of Congress is intolerable. Congress, in its wisdom, decreed last year that bugging and tapping could be done under court order. For the Department of Justice to assert now that it may bug and tap at its own discretion is to undermine the whole concept of a government of laws.

(1-19 (Rev. 7-17-68)

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Gandy

CARL T. ROWAN

FBI Won't Talk About Additional Wiretappings

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has refused to say whether it has ever tapped the telephones of any members of Congress as part of its job of "protecting internal security."

Clyde A. Tolson, the FBI associate director who disclosed in a letter to me that the telephone of the late Dr. Martin Luther King was tapped "strictly in the field of internal security," has also refused to say whether the FBI has tapped the telephones or bugged the homes of other civil rights leaders such as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or James Farmer, formerly of the Committee on Racial Equality and now an assistant secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

In a curt exchange of letters with this reporter, Tolson takes the view that in revealing that the wiretap on King was authorized by the late Robert F. Kennedy, the FBI's purpose has "been accomplished" and "there is no need to continue this correspondence."

Thus the FBI seeks to evade the thrust of my recent column that Tolson labeled "scurrilous" by resting its case on an assortment of allegations against two dead men who cannot talk back.

First, in an all-out effort to protect the reputation of J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI has alleged that the wiretap on King was both suggested and approved by the late Senator Kennedy.

A check of records I kept on the King affair during my government days, including discussions of the matter with FBI officials, suggests that Kennedy did approve the wiretap, but that the FBI lies in stating that it was Kennedy's idea originally.

A significant point that was central to my column has been obscured by the "Hoover or Kennedy?" controversy. That is my point that the FBI can, does and will tap the phone or bug the dwelling of just about any American in the name of "internal security."

Rather than meet this point, the FBI wants the wiretapping-bugging controversy to focus on King because it possesses tape recordings and photographs that it thinks will blacken King's reputation.

(Tolson has carefully neglected to comment on my report that for years the FBI has had a small army of agents and allies roaming the country whispering the dirt about King.)

FBI strategy is based on the assumption that some of the public already hates King, others automatically despise heroes who turn out to have feet of clay, and still others are quick to adopt a holier-than-thou posture and throw the first stone. The assumption seems to be that if the FBI leaks enough degrading details about King the American people will forget the central charge in my column that the FBI found so wounding it finally decided to tell the American people part of the truth.

That charge, I repeat, is that we are a lot closer to becoming a police state than most Americans realize. Nothing illustrates this more than the current FBI campaign.

But the issue is not whether King was a saint—and perhaps this is the time for me to reveal that I have read the FBI reports based on electronic surveillance of the late Nobel prize-winner. I know how much dirt the FBI has dug up, and 99 percent of it is barnyard gossip that has nothing to do with "internal security" or "Marxist influences."

The Washington Post
Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star (Washington) A-13
The Sunday Star (Washington) FINAL
Daily News (New York)
Sunday News (New York)
New York Post
The New York Times
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Examiner (Washington)

Date JUL 20 1969

The question is: Should a powerful, police-investigative agency be permitted to tap an American's telephone, bug his home, sneak electronic devices into his hotel rooms, just because someone in the Justice Department (Hoover, Kennedy or whoever) thinks he has "Communist associates"? Ought not there be the safeguard of some court concluding that some "clear and present danger" justifies such an invasion of a free man's privacy?

Was there a "clear and present danger" that King would endanger the nation's security. If so, why did the danger disappear on April 30, 1965, when the FBI claims it discontinued the wiretap? King was seeing the same "dangerous" people for almost three years after that.

The answer is that certain buggings and other surveillance of King did not end in April 1965. As a top government official, I read FBI surveillance reports on King long after the date when Hoover says the wiretaps were ended.

The answer is that the FBI will not admit to this later surveillance because it cannot claim that it was authorized by Attorneys General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach and Ramsey Clark, both of whom are alive to defend themselves.

There is a fundamental point about the King affair that is valid no matter who authorized the wiretap and buggings. If the FBI had information that King was an enemy of and menace to his country, we have courts and other proper channels in which to make whatever charges the FBI felt it could prove. This affords the accused a chance to face his accuser, to reply.

But the most frightful aspect of this whole business is to have FBI officials waging a campaign to destroy a man by rumor, by stealth, by whispers, by stealth, by flashing dirty pictures in smoke-filled bars.

These are the legal and moral issues that the American public must face. And we must not be blinded to the reality by a shrewd campaign to make the late Robert F. Kennedy and the late Martin Luther King the villains.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER MONDAY, JUNE 9, 1969 PAGE A24

Contempt of Law

Why did the Federal Bureau of Investigation tap the telephone of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.? The tapping was disclosed, beyond any contradiction, in testimony given on Wednesday in a Federal District Court. It violated an Act of Congress, the Federal Communications Act. It violated the repeated assertion by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that his agency tapped telephones only in national security cases.

John S. Martin, an attorney in the U.S. Solicitor General's office, acknowledged in court that the civil rights leader had been under FBI electronic surveillance in 1964 and 1965 and that the four FBI wiretaps made of telephone conversations in which he participated were illegal. There can be no doubt whatever as to the illegality of these wiretaps. In point of fact, the Government did not choose to contest their illegality.

Mr. Hoover has said many times that his agency taps no telephones without express authorization from the Attorney General. Did Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, a distinguished champion of civil rights, authorize surveillance, in clear violation of law, of the country's most respected civil rights leader?

Mr. Hoover has said many times, in congressional hearings and in public statements, that his agency taps no telephones except in cases affecting the country's security. Will he assert that he believed the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King presented a peril to national security? He has indicated on past occasions that he takes an elastic, and sometimes a very confused, view of national security. But Martin Luther King?

It is no light matter to have the law flouted by the country's foremost investigating agency. Contempt for the law by public agencies and public officials breeds contempt for the law by the public itself. Worse still, a contemptuous disregard for the privacy and the essential freedom of American citizens strikes dangerously at the foundations of American life. The American people cannot afford to let J. Edgar Hoover be a law unto himself, no matter how valuable his past public service. A people careless of fundamental rights can hardly be said to deserve those rights at all.

FBI Reveals King Wiretap In Clay Case

HOUSTON, Tex. (AP)—Cassius Clay returned to court today to hear Federal Bureau of Investigation agents testify how they eavesdropped on conversations of the former heavyweight champion with the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and with Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims.

C. Barry Pickett, an FBI agent, testified today that he recorded the conversations between Clay and Muhammad in Phoenix, Ariz., from mid-1962 to mid-1966. He said the eavesdropping was carried out both by wiretapping and other devices.

FBI agent Robert Nichols of Atlanta, Ga., testified yesterday that electronic surveillance of King was in progress as early as 1964 and an investigation of the Black Muslims began as early as 1958.

U. S. District Judge Joe Ingraham admitted into evidence summaries of four taped conversations after government lawyers acknowledged the tapes had been recorded illegally.

He refused to admit a fifth summary, on the ground disclosure of its content could endanger national security.

The taped conversations were not disclosed until the Supreme Court received Clay's appeal of a 1967 conviction on a charge of refusing to be inducted into the Army. The court ordered this special hearing to determine if the conversations affected his Selective Service records or trial. Clay had claimed a draft exemption because he was a Black Muslim minister.

Besides King and Elijah Muhammad, the four admitted summaries involved Clay conversations with three other Black Muslim officials—Herbert Muhammad, a brother of Elijah and Clay's boxing manager; John Ali, business manager for the sect, and Chauncey Eskridge, a Chicago lawyer for both Clay and Elijah and former counsel for King.

An FBI agent 22 years, Nichols said he was supervising the Atlanta surveillance of King when a conversation with Clay and Eskridge was recorded Sept. 4, 1964.

The summary quoted Clay as advising the civil rights leader to take care of himself and "watch out for them whiteys."

Martin said the three other admitted summaries were prepared by FBI agents in Phoenix, Ariz.

The Washington Post
6-5-69
A2

Laurence Stern and Richard Harwood

'King Tape' Emerges From Legend To Underline a Danger to Liberties

FOR SEVERAL years a piece of Washington apocrypha known as "the Martin Luther King tape" was the subject of sly and ugly surmise among certain journalistic insiders. There are those who claim to have had The Tape played for them by obliging law enforcement officials. Others are said to have been given transcripts of a gathering, bugged by Government investigators, at which Dr. King and friends were present.

It was one of those repugnant but enduring stories that cling to controversial public figures. The FBI and Justice Department steadfastly denied knowing anything specific about electronic surveillance of Dr. King. Shoulders would shrug, eyebrows would arch knowingly, fingers would point discreetly in other directions. And FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover contented himself with attacking the civil rights leader as "the most notorious liar in the country."

Now the unseemly truth is out. It emerged in the form of sworn testimony by FBI agents in a Houston Federal courtroom in the case of former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay, now Muhammad Ali. The agents acknowledged that they had snooped on Dr. King for a period of several years.

The gist of the testimony was that a group of men—one of them a 22-year-old FBI clerk—sat in air-conditioned rooms and listened to the private conversations of this prominent American without the faintest shred of legitimacy or sufficient cause.

"I WAS told to write down whatever I heard that I would consider of value," testified FBI agent C. Barry Pickett in words that should be engraved on some monument to our time. After four years of eavesdropping eight hours a day, five days a week on the telephone conversations of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, Pickett was elevated from clerk to agent.

Why was Dr. King under surveillance? No one has said. But it may be significant that the snooping began at a time when he criticiezd the FBI for assigning Southern agents to protect civil rights workers in the South. It is also ironic that this seemingly gratuitous invasion of Dr. King's personal life occurred at a time when many high-ranking members of the Justice Department would have expressed nothing less than roaring outrage at the thought that his phone was being tapped by Government agents. It was the time, in other words, when Robert F. Kennedy was Attorney General of the United States.

After the disclosure last week, there was an understandable rush to disavow responsibility for electronic pursuit of Dr. King. Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark denied authorizing any wiretaps or bugs against Dr. King or Elijah Muhammad while he headed the Justice Department. His predecessor, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach declined to say anything publicly.

Did Robert Kennedy know? The FBI's only recorded comment on the affair was to refer questioners to Hoover's testimony over a period of years that each bug was authorized in writing before installation by the Attorney General. And the Justice Department last week described Hoover's testimony as "accurate in every respect." Inferentially, the FBI is saying that Mr. Kennedy knew and approved. Sen. Kennedy was questioned during the Oregon primary in 1968 about the charge that he ordered Dr. King's phone tapped and his reply was equivocal.

IN JUNE, 1965, President Johnson issued an executive order prohibiting wiretapping except in "national security" investigations. In his testimony Hoover speaks of "internal security" matters.

What constitutes "internal security," this column asked of an FBI spokesman. "It has to speak for itself," he replied.

There is a spectacular ambiguity about it all.

Attorney General John N. Mitchell now intends to use the authority conferred on him by Congress last year to use wiretaps in the wide variety of cases permitted under the new Omnibus Crime Act.

When you consider the scope of the blatantly illegal wiretapping carried out by Government agents during the past few years it boggles the mind to consider how pervasive official snooping might become once it was legitimized by local courts at the behest of local prosecutors. During the second half of 1968, for example, state officials obtained 174 wiretapping warrants, all but seven of them in New York where authorities used wiretapping for such suspected offenses as larceny and gambling.

It is chilling to contemplate the size of the electronic dragnet that might be thrown over American citizens in the name of stamping out suspected gambling violations.

Yet President Nixon and his Attorney General have embraced the new Federal eavesdropping law with resounding public enthusiasm. They may rue it when the returns start coming in.

FBI Claims Kennedy OKd Tapping of Dr. King's Phone

By LYLE DENNISTON
Star Staff Writer

A top official of the FBI has claimed that official wiretapping on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had the advance approval of the late Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Clyde A. Tolson, the bureau's associate director, defended the legality of the much-criticized tapping of King's phone in a letter dated Monday.

The letter was sent to Carl T. Rowan, a columnist for The Star, and was intended as an answer to an article Rowan wrote for last Sunday's edition, attacking FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for the electronic spying on King. A copy of the letter was sent to the editor of The Star.

"For your information," Tolson wrote to the columnist, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late attorney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy."

First Revealed in Houston

Tolson added that the monitoring device "was strictly in the field of internal security, and, therefore, was within the provision laid down by the then President of the United States."

The first public revelation that King had been the subject of FBI wiretapping came earlier this month in a federal court hearing in Houstonn.

Robert Nichols, a special agent in the FBI office in Atlanta, testified that he had supervised a device attached to the telephone lines at King's home there.

The wiretap apparently was installed sometime in 1964, and there have been indications that the wiretapping continued for some time after that, perhaps until shortly before King's assassination April 4, 1968. Kennedy was attorney general from January 1961 until Sept. 3, 1964.

If the wiretapping had the specific approval of the attorney general, and if it was used as part of a "national security" investigation, it apparently was not operated in violation of legal restrictions in effect at the time.

Rowan Blasts Hoover

Tolson's letter seemed clearly designed to show that both aspects of legality had been met by the FBI. His letter was prompted by comments by the columnist that Hoover had been flouting the law by permitting the wiretap on King's phone. Rowan directly accused Hoover of "abuse of contempt for the law."

Branding this a "malicious" and "scurrilous" article, Tolson invited Rowan to give his answer wide publicity.

The FBI's new defense of itself seemed likely to start a new round of public dispute over the official responsibility for the use of electronic listening devices.

Three years ago, Hoover and Robert Kennedy, then a U.S. senator from New York, traded public charges that each other was responsible for approval of the use of hidden microphones, as opposed to direct wiretap, for investigation.

Kennedy Released Letter

At that time, the late senator made public a letter to him dated Feb. 17, 1966, from Courtney A. Evans, who had been assistant FBI director while Kennedy was attorney general.

While Kennedy relied on that letter to help him make the point that the use of hidden microphones was not Kennedy's responsibility, the letter did carry a paragraph which suggests that Kennedy had been involved directly in approving the use of wiretaps.

The paragraph read: "On Jan. 10, 1961, while you were attorney general designate, a memorandum was delivered to you furnishing a summary on the use of wiretapping by the FBI in serious national security cases. Thereafter, individual requests in these serious national security cases for wiretap authorization were sent to you by the FBI for approval. These were the only wiretap authorization which were ever submitted to you."

Evans, now a Washington lawyer, said last night that he simply had no recollection about whether a wiretap authorization directed at King had ever been involved in his discussion with Kennedy.

Interest Said to Flag

If the King wiretap was installed any time during 1964, and if it did have approval by the attorney general, that could have come only from Kennedy or his successor, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

Katzenbach could not be reached immediately for comment on the matter.

Aides to Kennedy suggested last night that, during 1964, the period after the assassination of his brother, President John F. Kennedy, the attorney general's interest in some of his official affairs flagged.

At the time, Katzenbach was Kennedy deputy at the Justice Department.

A later attorney general, Ramsey Clark, has told reporters that he personally had never given approval for wiretapping on King. Clark also has said he required the FBI to tell him every three months the names of people being monitored electronically and that King's name was never reported to him in that category.

No Document Included

If the wiretapping had continued until shortly before King's death, it would have been in operation during Clark's leadership of the department.

Tolson's letter to Rowan, while saying that the wiretap on King had been "specifically authorized" by Kennedy, did not say directly that King himself was the subject under investigation.

In addition, Tolson did not include with his letter a copy of the specific document upon which the claim of authorization apparently was based.

Testimony at the Houston hearing appeared to indicate that King himself was the subject of the investigation, and that this was the reason that his telephone had been tapped for long periods of time.

A Justice Department spokesman, asked whether there was any document to support the claim in Tolson's letter, declined a direct answer last night. However, the spokesman referred to a statement issued by the department earlier this month which had said that Hoover was "accurate in every respect" when he had repeatedly told Congress all wiretaps had been authorized in advance and in writing by the attorney general in office at the time the tapping was proposed.

The spokesman thus appeared to be implying that Tolson's letter also was an accurate description of authorization.

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

Wiretap Disclosures Reopen Hoover Dispute

By OSWALD JOHNSTON
[Washington Bureau of The Sun]

Washington, June 5—The disclosure that the FBI maintained a telephone tap on the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., during the last four years of his life again throws into question the relationship between J. Edgar Hoover and his nominal superiors in the Justice Department.

According to a policy established by former President Johnson in June, 1965, all government wiretapping activity was to be suspended except "where the national security is at stake."

Approval Needed

The order further provided that no tap then in existence was to be continued "without first obtaining the approval of the Attorney General."

Reliable sources in Washington confirmed today that Nicholas Katzenbach, the Attorney General in office when Mr. Johnson issued his directive, ordered the tap on Dr. King discontinued as soon as its existence was reported to him.

Reliable reports also said that Ramsey Clark, who took over the Justice Department in October, 1966, did not order the tap on the civil rights leader resumed.

Nevertheless, the Cassius Clay wiretap hearing in progress in Houston produced this exchange yesterday when the existence of the tap on Dr. King was first disclosed:

Charles Morgan, Jr., representing the former heavyweight champion, asked if the surveillance continued until Dr. King's assasination in April, 2968.

Richard Nichols, the FBI agent who carried out the surveillance during 1964 and 1965, made no audible reply, but nodded.

In answer to another question, Mr. Nichols indicated that the surveillance "went on after" he was removed from the assignment in May, 1965.

Different Policy

And he testified at another point that the FBI "did not follow regular policy on this particular surveillance." He did not explain further what he meant.

The Johnson directive, which was aimed at limiting the use of illegal wiretap eavesdropping by government agents, was dated June 20, 1965.

Public disclosure of FBI activity in this field has in the past been acutely embarrassing to the bureau, and spokesmen today maintained a rigid silence over the Houston disclosures.

Late in the day, however, the Attorney General's Public Information Office, which operates separately from the FBI press office, issued a veiled hint that the surveillance of Dr. King had been initiated by attorneys general in previous administrations.

Letters from Hoover

An official spokesman called attention to a letter Mr. Hoover sent Representative H. R. Gross (R., Iowa) in December, 1966, during the course of a widely publicized dispute between the FBI director and the late Robert F. Kennedy, who was Attorney General when the wiretap on Driking was initiated.

"All wiretaps utilized by the FBI have always been approved, in writing in advance, by the Attorney General," Mr. Hoover wrote then.

Justice Department spokesmen also pointed out today that government lawyers in Houston have been successful in blocking defense questions regarding authorization of the FBI taps disclosed there.

Disclaimed Responsibility

Back in 1966, Mr. Kennedy sought to disclaim responsibility for much of the widespread electronic eavesdropping FBI agents carried out during the early 1960's.

To counter the Hoover letter to Mr. Gross, he made public a letter from Countriney A. Evans, a Washington lawyer who was the FBI liaison officer with the Justice Department leadership during Mr. Kennedy's tenure as Attorney General.

The letter said that "the only wiretap authorizations which were ever submitted" to Mr. Kennedy involved "serious national security cases."

The charge and countercharge between the FBI director and the former Attorney General gave added weight to reports of friction between Mr. Hoover and Mr. Kennedy and his immediate predecessors.

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
The Sun (Baltimore) A-7
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Examiner (Washington)

Date JUN 5 1969

rather bloody-minded people in both action and reaction" has been obscured by "a [illegible] of historical amnesia." Perhaps, since this obscuration is still very much with us, it would be better to call it "political amnesia." We would like to think we are a peace-loving people; at the same time we insist on venting our hostility on any individual or nation that questions our virtue and the superiority of our ways.

The Wall Street Journal (June 9) takes issue with the commission on several points. "So far from being bloody-minded," it says editorially, "the average citizen is appalled and deeply saddened at the violence he is constantly reminded of both at home and on the distant battlefields of Vietnam." The violence at home may indeed sadden him, although it probably frightens him more and makes him inclined to resort to violence of his own—certainly the enormous sales of guns to individuals indicate as much. But as for Vietnam, only a small part of the American public is concerned about the agony that has been inflicted on the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. Reports from the front that artillery and air strikes have killed several hundred of the enemy, at the cost of a few American lives, cause no public outcry. One would think that only Americans were human. The Pentagon countered a recent rise in the weekly American casualty total with a statement that half a million of the enemy had been killed. Half a million, in a country so small! Not a murmur was heard from all those "appalled and saddened" citizens *The Wall Street Journal* knows about.

In a dispatch from Saigon in *The Christian Science Monitor* (June 4), Elizabeth Pond provides some figures on American violence as applied in Vietnam with no result except the virtual ruin of the southern half of the country. The caption of the story says that there are currently 1.3 million refugees in South Vietnam and the government appropriates one-third of 1 per cent of the national budget to helping them. The policies of the government of South Vietnam can be controlled by the government of the United States; we have proof here that we not only resort to large-scale violence for phantasmal ends but do not even trouble ourselves to repair some of the damage.

This war has produced, according to Miss Pond, at least 4 million refugees, 300,000 physically disabled, 20,000 to 50,000 prostitutes, more than 90,000 orphans, "and no one knows just how many juvenile delinquents and predelinquents." Apart from the dead, it has displaced up to a third of the population, rent the social fabric, and bled the country of several generations of leaders. She says the situation is "vastly" improved over two years ago but it still is horrifying.

Of course many Americans are perturbed by all this; some are actually trying to ameliorate the distress. "An entire nation is being destroyed," asserts the White Paper of the American Friends Service Committee, but this compassion does not go down to the grass roots.

The animosity against Brown's dictum was amplified by the fact that it was true. The commission's report will be viewed more tolerantly but probably it will not be as long remembered.

'A Dirty Business'

Justice Holmes once said all that ever need be said about wire tapping when he referred to it as "a dirty business." But some taps, of course, are dirtier than others. A prime example is the wire tap that the FBI maintained on the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Evidence offered at the Cassius Clay hearing in Houston indicates that the taps began as early as 1965 and were maintained until Dr. King's death on April 4, 1968. It is clear also that the taps were maintained after President Johnson, on June 30, 1965, ordered an end to wire taps except those ordered by the Attorney General in "national security" cases. The mind boggles at the notion that Dr. King, a Baptist minister (Ph.D., Boston University, D.D., Chicago Theological Seminary), Nobel Prize winner (1964), founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, could have been involved in activities that, in the view of J. Edgar Hoover and former Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, may have constituted a threat to the national security of the United States.

Incredulity is enhanced by a clear indication of what it was that prompted Mr. Hoover to request authorization of this particular wire tap. District Judge Ingraham, who is conducting the Clay hearings in Houston, would not permit FBI agent Robert Nicols to explain why Dr. King was under surveillance, but he did let him testify that the surveillance—that is, the particular surveillance which Nicols supervised—occurred at a time when Dr. King was attacking the FBI for assigning Southern rather than Northern agents to civil rights investigations. The inference is that sharp criticism of his actions is regarded by Mr. Hoover as a threat to national security.

In an entirely legitimate attempt to secure an official explanation, the Chicago *Daily News* propounded a series of questions to the FBI: "Why was Dr. King's phone tapped? Did J. Edgar Hoover approve? Was Dr. King considered a security risk?" In each instance the answer was: "No comment."

Not merely is the public entitled to an explanation of the kind sought by the *Daily News*, but the continued failure to provide it will encourage slander of the dead. Recently the regents of the University of California, over the objection of Gov. Ronald Reagan, approved naming a new hall at the Davis campus in honor of Dr. King. Rep. John Rarick (D., La.) promptly denounced Dr. King as "errand boy" for "international communism" (*Congressional Record*, May 26). Rep. Robert Leggett (D., Calif.) expressed "dismay" that Rarick had given credence to "the libelous and ridiculous charges that Dr. King was a Communist." On June 2, Rarick repeated the charges and, in doing so, demanded that the files of the FBI on Dr. King be made public. To this Leggett responded (June 5) by placing in the *Record* many pages of tributes to Dr. King. But nothing will shame or silence Rarick, who again returned to the attack with this comment: "Public acknowledgment that Martin Luther King was under FBI surveillance can be accepted in only one man-

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Text of Dr. King's Speech

OSLO, Norway, Dec. 10 (AP)—Following is the text of a speech today by the American civil rights leader, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., in accepting the award today of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize:

Your Majesty, your Royal Highness, Mr. President, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I accept the Nobel prize for peace at a moment when 22 million Negroes of the United States of America are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice. I accept this award in behalf of a civil rights movement which is moving with determination and a majestic scorn for risk and danger to establish a reign of freedom and a rule of justice.

I am mindful that only yesterday in Birmingham, Ala., our children, crying out for brotherhood, were answered with fire hoses, snarling dogs and even death. I am mindful that only yesterday in Philadelphia, Miss., young people seeking to secure the right to vote were brutalized and murdered.

I am mindful that debilitating and grinding poverty afflicts my people and chains them to the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

Therefore, I must ask why this prize is awarded to a movement which is beleaguered and committed to unrelenting struggle; to a movement which has not won the very peace and brotherhood which is the essence of the Nobel prize.

After contemplation, I conclude that this award which I received on behalf of that movement is profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time—the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression.

Civilization and violence are antithetical concepts. Negroes of the United States, following the people of India, have demonstrated that nonviolence is not sterile passivity, but a powerful moral force which makes for social transformation. Sooner or later, all the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace, and thereby transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood.

If this is to be achieved, man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love.

The tortuous road which has led from Montgomery, Ala., to Oslo, bears witness to this truth. This is a road over which millions of Negroes are traveling to find a new sense of dignity. This same road has opened for all Americans a new era of progress and hope. It has led to a new civil rights bill, and it will, I am convinced, be widened and lengthened into a superhighway of justice as Negro and white men in increasing numbers create alliances to overcome their common problems.

Faith Is Affirmed

I accept this award today with an abiding faith in America and an audacious faith in the future of mankind. I refuse to accept the idea that the "isness" of man's present nature makes him morally incapable of reaching up for the eternal "oughtness" that forever confronts him.

I refuse to accept the idea that man is mere flotsam and jetsam in the river of life which surrounds him. I refuse to accept the view that mankind is so tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality.

I refuse to accept the cynical notion that nation after nation must spiral down a militaristic stairway into the hell of thermonuclear destruction. I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality. This is why right temporarily defeated is stronger than evil triumphant.

I believe that even amid today's mortar bursts and whining bullets, there is still hope for a brighter tomorrow. I believe that wounded justice, lying prostrate on the blood-flowing streets of our nations, can be lifted from this dust of shame to reign supreme among the children of men.

I have the audacity to believe that peoples everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality and freedom for their spirits. I believe that what self-centered men have torn down men other-centered can build up. I still believe that one day mankind will bow before the altars of God and be crowned triumphant over war and bloodshed, and nonviolent redemptive goodwill will proclaim the rule of the land. "And the lion and the lamb shall lie down together and every man shall sit under his own vine and fig tree and none shall be afraid." I still believe that we shall overcome.

This faith can give us courage to face the uncertainties of the future. It will give our tired feet new strength as we continue our forward stride toward the city of freedom. When our days become dreary with low-hovering clouds and our nights become darker than a thousand midnights, we will know that we are living in the creative turmoil of a genuine civilization struggling to be born.

Today I come to Oslo as a trustee, inspired and with renewed dedication to humanity. I accept this prize on behalf of all men who love peace and brotherhood. I say I come as a trustee, for in the depths of my heart I am aware that this prize is much more than an honor to me personally.

Every time I take a flight I am always mindful of the many people who make a successful journey possible, the known pilots and the unknown ground crew.

So you honor the dedicated pilots of our struggle who have sat at the controls as the freedom movement soared into orbit. You honor, once again, Chief (Albert) Lithuli of South Africa, whose struggles with and for his people, are still met with the most brutal expression of man's inhumanity to man.

You honor the ground crew without whose labor and sacrifices the jetflights to freedom could never have left the earth.

Most of these people will never make the headlines and their names will not appear in Who's Who. Yet the years have rolled past and when the blazing light of truth is focused on this marvelous age in which we live—men and women will know and children will be taught that we have a finer land, a better people, a more noble civilization—because these humble children of God were willing to suffer for righteousness' sake.

I think Alfred Nobel would know what I mean when I say that I accept this award in the spirit of a curator of some precious heirloom which he holds in trust for its true owners—all those to whom beauty is truth and truth beauty—and in whose eyes the beauty of genuine brotherhood and peace is more precious than diamonds or silver or gold.

Martin Luther King Incident Underwrites Need To Give Agency Independence, Says Writer

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 — On the surface, it may look as if the current controversy between J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., head of a leading Negro organization, merely concerns a question of veracity about incidents in Albany, Ga., in connection with the handling of complaints by Negroes and civil rights workers in that city. But the issue goes deeper. It involves the effort of organized groups to pressure governmental agencies into taking action to meet protests based upon passion and emotional feelings, rather than on the rules of law which require substantial evidence before arrests can be made.

Independent FBI Urged

The effort to convert the FBI into a political agency is not new. It has been evident in the activities of other pressure groups from time to time. Sooner or later, the FBI will have to be made an agency separate from the Department of Justice, unless the department itself becomes an independent agency.

For when it comes to the operations of the law, the citizens expect enforcement to be fair and impartial.

A case which illustrates the caution that the FBI exercises can be cited in connection with the investigation of the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi a few months ago. The FBI, according to information which has been given out by high officials, has collected in that case certain information of an incriminating nature. But the making of arrests has been deferred in order to gather data which could make it possible to obtain convictions.

Law enforcement is not merely a matter of using the FBI as a national police force such as is found in totalitarian countries. The Federal courts have in recent years, for example, released prisoners on the ground that they were improperly interrogated before they were arraigned.

Under the existing circumstances, the investigative agencies of the Government feel that they must be very cautious and careful before they make arrests. But this will not satisfy those who think that certain suspects should be promptly arrested and tried.

It is small wonder that J. Edgar Hoover seemed to give vent to impatience when he talked to a group of women reporters this week on the general subject of law enforcement. Mr. Hoover was particularly bitter about some of the activities of Mr. King. The FBI chief said that Mr. King had told members of his organization not to report acts of violence to the FBI in Albany, Ga., because the agents there are all Southerners and would not do anything about such complaints. Mr. Hoover's reply was that the majority of FBI agents in the South are Northerners, and that four of the five agents in Albany were born in the North.

The FBI director conceded that there have been difficulties with local authorities, some of whom, due to their prejudices, are lax in law enforcement involving violations of civil rights. But the FBI has no authority over the State and local police, and has to depend on their voluntary co-operation. In cases where the local police cannot be relied upon, the FBI may increase its forces. But this does not mean that it can always gather enough evidence to bring a case against all persons suspected of violating civil rights.

Somewhat the same dilemma confronts the FBI in connection with the measures that might have been taken to protect the late President Kennedy against assassination. It is natural for the FBI director to resent the criticism of his agency made in the report of the Warren Commission. For, as Mr. Hoover told his press conference this week, it is impossible to take out of circulation "every individual who might threaten the safety of the President" when the chief executive makes a public appearance, especially when he rides down city streets in an open auto. The implication that somehow the FBI was responsible for the failure to prevent Lee Harvey Oswald from shooting Mr. Kennedy is resented by the FBI men who know the facts.

The truth is that the FBI and Secret Service combined do not have sufficient personnel to carry out the kind of precautions which, the Warren Commission report intimated, might have been taken in Dallas.

Can't Detect All Violations

The same thing applies to civil rights. The Federal Government has no investigative force big enough to detect all the civil rights violations that are going on. Nor does it have enough enforcement agencies to prepare cases against those who violate the law.

Unless a huge national police force is built, or until certain cases can be prosecuted which will furnish an example to the nation and have a deterrent effect, it is not likely that the FBI, by merely making a number of arrests without ample evidence, will be able to solve the major problems of law enforcement.

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